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THE *CRISTOS YACENTES* OF GREGORIO FERNÁNDEZ:
POLYCHROME SCULPTURES
OF THE SUPINE CHRIST IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

A Dissertation in

Art History

by

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Abstract

The *Cristo yacente*, or supine Christ, is a sculptural type whose origins date back to the Middle Ages. In seventeenth-century Spain these images became immensely popular as devotional aids and vehicles for spiritual contemplation. As a form of sacred drama these sculptures encouraged the faithful to reflect upon the suffering, death, and Resurrection of Christ as well as His promise of salvation. Perhaps the most well-known example of this type is by the Valladolidian sculptor, Gregorio Fernández (1576-1636). Located in the Capuchin Convent of El Pardo near Madrid, this work was created in accordance with Counter-Reformation mandates that required religious images inspire both piety and empathy.

As a “semi-narrative”, the *Cristo yacente* encompasses different moments in the Passion of Christ, including the Lamentation, Anointment, and Entombment. As an *andachtsbild*, it is a devotional image that allows contemplation on various stages of the Passion. Images of the supine Christ played a key role in liturgical reenactments in both the Eastern and Western church; *epitaphioi* and medieval wooden sculptures of the dead Christ served as iconographical precedents for the *Cristo yacente* by establishing a relationship between the Eucharist and the physical body of Christ. These *Cristos yacentes* are meant to be understood not only as metaphors for the Eucharist but also as embodiments of the promise of resurrection.

The symbolism of the *Cristo yacente* as the bread of life was furthered by the construction of structures that recreated the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and by ceremonial reenactments held during Holy Week in which these figures were processed through cities in Spain. It was through imagery that both the Holy Sepulchre and the

Resurrection of Christ were recreated as part of a sacred drama. The sculpture of the *Cristo yacente* then functioned as a surrogate for the physical body of Christ and played a key role in the liturgical ceremony.

Fernández's formulation of the Spanish *Cristo yacente* type was aided by sixteenth-century carved and printed precedents. Together with contemporary mystical writings by San Juan de la Cruz, St. Teresa of Ávila, and Fray Juan de Ávila, these provided the artist with the necessary visual and verbal imagery that was to be crystallized in three-dimensional form. Through a detailed study and cataloguing of the most significant examples of the type, most of them produced by Fernández and his workshop, I present, for the first time in English, a thorough material, critical, and socio-historical evaluation of the *Cristo yacente* as a sculptural and devotional image.

Contents

List of Figures	vi
Acknowledgements	xiii
Chapter I	
Iconography and Meaning: Understanding the <i>Cristo yacente</i>	1
Chapter II	
Juni, Becerra, and Rincón: Sculptural precedents for the <i>Cristo yacente</i>	28
Chapter III	
Gregorio Fernández and his Workshop: A closer look at <i>Cristos yacentes</i>	55
Chapter IV	
<i>Teatro Sacro</i> : Religious thought, ceremony, and procession in seventeenth-century Spain	124
Conclusion	154
Appendix A: An Inventory of <i>Cristos yacentes Madrileños</i>	156
Appendix B: An Inventory of <i>Cristos yacentes Vallisoletanos</i>	164
Appendix C: Map of Spain	174
Appendix D: Figures	175
Bibliography	252

List of Figures

- Figure 1. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1615. Polychrome wood, resin, ivory, and glass, 1,55 meters. Convento de Capuchinos El Pardo, El Pardo, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.
- Figure 2. Niccolò dell'Arca, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, 1462-63. Painted terracotta, life size. Santa Maria della Vita, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, Italy. Photo credit: Scala/Art Resource, NY.
- Figure 3. Guido Mazzoni, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, 1477-1480. Polychrome wood, Christ figure 1,74 m, Maria Salome 1,50 m, Magdalene 1,45 m, Nicodemus 1,15 m, Joseph 1,28 m and the Virgin 1,08 m. San Giovanni Battista, Modena, Italy. Photo credit: Scala/Art Resource, NY.
- Figure 4. Virgin with the Dead Christ (*Röttgen Pieta*), c. 1300-1325. Polychrome wood, 0,88 meters high. Rheinisches Landmuseum, Bonn, Germany. Photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.
- Figure 5. Juan de Juni, *Entombment*, 1544. Polychrome wood and gilding, life size. Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.
- Figure 6. The Anointment and Entombment, Three Marys at the Tomb, *Psalter of Ingeborg of Denmark*, Queen of France, c. 1210. MS 9/1645, folio 28 verso, 30 x 20 cm. Musée Condé, Chantilly, France. Photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.
- Figure 7. *Body of Christ surrounded by Angels*, Byzantine shroud embroidered by Anthony of Heracles, 14th century. Silk with gold and silver thread. Studenica Monastery, Studenica, Serbia. Photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.
- Figure 8. Hieronymous Wierix, *The Virgin and Mary Magdalene watching over the Body of Christ*, *Life of the Virgin* series of 32 Plates, c. 1570. Engraving, 105 x 65 mm. Bruxelles Bibliothèque Royal Albert I, Bruxelles. Photo credit: Bruxelles Bibliothèque Royal Albert I.
- Figure 9. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of reliquary, 1609. Polychrome wood, 2,05 x 0,65 x 0,70 meters. Convento de San Pablo, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.
- Figure 10. Gaspar Becerra, *Cristo yacente*, detail of reliquary, c. 1563. Polychrome wood, glass, gold, and silver. Monasterio Descalzas Reales, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.
- Figure 11. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1609. Polychrome wood, 2,05 x 0,65 x

0,70 meters. Convento de San Pablo, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.
During the Holy Week Procession of the Confraternity of the Descent and the Christ of the Good Death.

Figure 12. Matthias Grünewald, *Isenheim Altarpiece*, c. 1515-20. Oil on panel, 269 x 650 mm. Musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar, France. Photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

Figure 13. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Dead Christ*, 1521. Oil on wood, 30.5 x 200 cm. Kunstmuseum, Basel, Switzerland. Photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

Figure 14. Andrea Mantegna, *Dead Christ*, c. 1501. Tempera on canvas, 68 x 81 cms. Pinacoteca di Brera, Mantua, Italy. Photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

Figure 15. Orazio Borgianni, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, 1615. Etching, 23.2 x 21.5 cm (image). Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, San Francisco, California. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Marcus Sopher Collection, 1985.1.405. Photo credit: Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco.

Figure 16. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, view from the feet, 1620-25. Polychrome wood, resin, ivory, and glass, 1,77 x 0,66 meters. Convento de Encarnación, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 17. Attributed to Sanchez Barba, *Cristo yacente*, 17th century. Polychrome wood, 1,78 meters. Iglesia de Nuestra Sra. del Carmen, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 18. Attributed to Sanchez Barba, *Cristo yacente*, 17th century. Polychrome wood, 1,78 meters. Iglesia de Nuestra Sra. del Carmen, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 19. *The Holy Face (Volto Santo)*, 10th century. Polychrome wood. Duomo San Martino in Lucca, Italy. Photo credit: Scala/Art Resource, NY.

Figure 20. Francisco de Zurbarán, *Holy Face (Veronica's Veil)*, c.1631. Oil on canvas, 70 x 51.5 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Sweden. Photo credit: Art Resource, NY.

Figure 21. Giulio Clovio, *The Deposition and Shroud of Turin*, c. 1550. Miniature, 45 x 52 cm. Galleria Sabauda, Turin, Italy. Photo credit: Scala/Art Resource, NY.

Figure 22. View of Sacro Monte, Varallo, Italy. Photo credit: Cristina Mendoza.

Figure 23. Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Calvary* (Crucifixion, Chapel 38), and Giovanni d'Enrico

(sculptures), c.1510 and 1600. Fresco and polychrome wood. Sacro Monte, Varallo, Italy. Photo credit: Alinari/Art Resource, NY.

Figure 24. View of Chapel of Santo Domingo de Guzmán with chamber for *Cristo yacente*, second quarter of the 18th century. Polychrome wood and gilding. Convento de San Pablo, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 25. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, ivory, glass, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns), 0,455 x 1,880 x 0,670 meters body, and urn 1,585 x 2,390 x 1,300 meters. Museo de Arte Sacro, Clarisas de Monforte de Lemos, Lugo, Spain. Photo credit: Museo de Arte Sacro.

Figure 26. Gaspar Becerra, *Cristo yacente*, inside chapel setting, c. 1563. Polychrome wood, glass, gold, and silver. Monasterio Descalzas Reales, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 27. Gaspar Becerra, *Cristo yacente*, c. 1563. Polychrome wood, glass, gold, and silver. Monasterio Descalzas Reales, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 28. Francisco Rizi, *Drawing of Altar*, c. 1660. Pencil, pen, and sepia drawing, 470 x 485 mm, inventory 10558. Santarelli Collection, Uffizi, Italy. Photo credit: Uffizi.

Figure 29. Francisco de Rincón, *Cristo yacente*, c. 1597. Polychrome wood, 1,91 meters. Convento de Sancti Spiritus, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Junta de Cofradías de Valladolid.

Figure 30. Cornelius Cort after Taddeo Zuccaro, *Lamentation*, New Testament. Engraving, 403 x 274 mm; lower margin: 38 mm. The Illustrated Bartsch, Vol. 52, Vienna. ID 89-II (101). Photo credit: Abaris Books.

Figure 31. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1609. Polychrome wood, 2,05 x 0,65 x 0,70 meters. Convento de San Pablo, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 32. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of torso, 1609. Polychrome wood, 2,05 x 0,65 x 0,70 meters. Convento de San Pablo, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 33. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of feet, 1609. Polychrome wood, 2,05 x 0,65 x 0,70 meters. Convento de San Pablo, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 34. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1606-10. Polychrome wood and gold, 1,76 x 0,60 meters. Convento de Santa Clara, Lerma, Burgos, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

- Figure 35. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of reliquary and torso, 1606-10. Polychrome wood and gold, 1,76 x 0,60 meters. Convento de Santa Clara, Lerma, Burgos, Spain. Photo credit: Author.
- Figure 36. Gregorio Fernández?, *Cristo yacente*, 1611. Polychrome wood, 1,85 meters. Convento del Sacramento, Boadilla del Monte, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.
- Figure 37. Gregorio Fernández?, *Cristo yacente*, detail of head and torso, 1611. Polychrome wood, 1,85 meters. Convento del Sacramento, Boadilla del Monte, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.
- Figure 38. Gregorio Fernández?, *Cristo yacente*, detail of hand and *subligaculum*, 1611. Polychrome wood, 1,85 meters. Convento del Sacramento, Boadilla del Monte, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.
- Figure 39. Gregorio Fernández?, *Cristo yacente*, detail of feet, 1611. Polychrome wood, 1,85 meters. Convento del Sacramento, Boadilla del Monte, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.
- Figure 40. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1615. Polychrome wood, resin, ivory, and glass, 1,55 meters. Convento de Capuchinos El Pardo, El Pardo, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.
- Figure 41. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1620-25. Polychrome wood, resin, ivory, and glass, 1,77 x 0,66 meters. Felipe Diricksen, *The Virgin, St. John and Mary Magdalene*. Oil on canvas, 1,65 x 0,75 meters. Convento de Encarnación, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.
- Figure 42. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of pillow and head, 1620-25. Polychrome wood, resin, ivory, and glass, 1,77 x 0,66 meters. Convento de Encarnación, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.
- Figure 43. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of head, 1620-25. Polychrome wood, resin, ivory, and glass, 1,77 x 0,66 meters. Convento de Encarnación, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.
- Figure 44. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of chest wound, 1620-25. Polychrome wood, resin, ivory, and glass, 1,77 x 0,66 meters. Convento de Encarnación, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.
- Figure 45. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of *subligaculum*, 1620-25. Polychrome wood, resin, ivory, and glass, 1,77 x 0,66 meters. Convento de Encarnación, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.
- Figure 46. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1620-25. Polychrome wood, resin,

ivory, and glass, 1,71 meters body, 1,85 meters urn. Convento de San Plácido, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Convento de San Plácido.

Figure 47. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1625-30 or 1627. Polychrome wood, ivory, glass, cork, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns), 1,83 x 0,73 meters. Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 48. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of head and torso, 1625-30 or 1627. Polychrome wood, ivory, glass, cork, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns), 1,83 x 0,73 meters. Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 49. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of hand, 1625-30 or 1627. Polychrome wood, ivory, glass, cork, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns), 1,83 x 0,73 meters. Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 50. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of *subligaculum* and knees, 1625-30 or 1627. Polychrome wood, ivory, glass, cork, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns), 1,83 x 0,73 meters. Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 51. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1629. Polychrome wood, ivory, and glass, 1,85 x 0,75 meters. Convento de Santa Clara, Medina del Pomar, Burgos, Spain. Photo credit: Monasterio de Santa Clara.

Figure 52. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, glass, resin, and ivory (or pulp paste), 1,95 x 0,91 x 0,40 meters. Segovia Cathedral, Segovia, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 53. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of head and torso, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, glass, resin, and ivory (or pulp paste), 1,95 x 0,91 x 0,40 meters. Segovia Cathedral, Segovia, Spain. Photo credit: Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Culturales de Castilla y León.

Figure 54. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of *subligaculum* and hand, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, glass, resin, and ivory (or pulp paste), 1,95 x 0,91 x 0,40 meters. Segovia Cathedral, Segovia, Spain. Photo credit: Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Culturales de Castilla y León.

Figure 55. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of back of pillow, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, glass, resin, and ivory (or pulp paste), 1,95 x 0,91 x 0,40 meters. Segovia Cathedral, Segovia, Spain. Photo credit: Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Culturales de Castilla y León.

Figure 56. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, ivory, glass, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns), 0,455 x 1,880 x 0,670 meters. Museo de

Arte Sacro, Clarisas de Monforte de Lemos, Lugo. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 57. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1627-30. Polychrome wood, glass, ivory, cork, wax, and *cornamenta* (bull's horn), 1,90 x 0,64 x 0,42 meters. Iglesia de San Miguel, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 58. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of head and chest wound, 1627-30. Polychrome wood, glass, ivory, cork, wax, and *cornamenta* (bull's horn), 1,90 x 0,64 x 0,42 meters. Iglesia de San Miguel, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 59. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of right hand, 1627-30. Polychrome wood, glass, ivory, cork, wax, and *cornamenta* (bull's horn), 1,90 x 0,64 x 0,42 meters. Iglesia de San Miguel, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 60. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of feet, 1627-30. Polychrome wood, glass, ivory, cork, wax, and *cornamenta* (bull's horn), 1,90 x 0,64 x 0,42 meters. Iglesia de San Miguel, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 61. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, 1,77 x 0,69 meters. Convento de Santa Catalina, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 62. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of pillow and head, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, 1,77 x 0,69 meters. Convento de Santa Catalina, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 63. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of right hand, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, 1,77 x 0,69 meters. Convento de Santa Catalina, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 64. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of chest wound, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, 1,77 x 0,69 meters. Convento de Santa Catalina, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 65. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of *subligaculum*, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, 1,77 x 0,69 meters. Convento de Santa Catalina, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 66. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of feet, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, 1,77 x 0,69 meters. Convento de Santa Catalina, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 67. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, resin, and glass, 1,87 x 0,70 meters. Convento y Museo de Santa Ana,

Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 68. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of head, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, resin, and glass, 1,87 x 0,70 meters. Convento y Museo de Santa Ana, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 69. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of wound, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, resin, and glass, 1,87 x 0,70 meters. Convento y Museo de Santa Ana, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 70. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of *subligaculum*, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, resin, and glass, 1,87 x 0,70 meters. Convento y Museo de Santa Ana, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 71. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of torso and hand, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, resin, and glass, 1,87 x 0,70 meters. Convento y Museo de Santa Ana, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 72. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of right hand, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, resin, and glass, 1,87 x 0,70 meters. Convento y Museo de Santa Ana, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 73. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of feet, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, resin, and glass, 1,87 x 0,70 meters. Convento y Museo de Santa Ana, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 74. Francisco Fermín, *Cristo yacente*, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, cork, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns), 1,90 x 0,75 x 0,44 meters. Iglesia de Santa María la Nueva, Zamora, Spain. Photo credit: Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Culturales de Castilla y León.

Figure 75. Francisco Fermín, *Cristo yacente*, detail of head and chest wound, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, cork, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns), 1,90 x 0,75 x 0,44 meters. Iglesia de Santa María la Nueva, Zamora, Spain. Photo credit: Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Culturales de Castilla y León.

Figure 76. Francisco Fermín, *Cristo yacente*, detail of hand, *subligaculum* and knees, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, cork, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns), 1,90 x 0,75 x 0,44 meters. Iglesia de Santa María la Nueva, Zamora, Spain. Photo credit: Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Culturales de Castilla y León.

Figure 77. Francisco de Zurbarán, *Crucifixion, with a Painter*, c.1635-40. Oil on canvas, 105 x 84 cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Scala/Art Resource, NY.

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“la escultura tiene el ser y la pintura el parecer...”

Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, 1623

Chapter I

Iconography and Meaning: Understanding the *Cristo yacente*

Sculptures of the *Cristo yacente* were produced increasingly in the first-half of the seventeenth century. Defined by a solitary figure of the supine Christ carved in wood and painted, it is one of the most moving images in the history of Spanish Baroque art. The most famous example of this type is preserved in the Capuchin Convent of El Pardo in Madrid. Securely attributed to Gregorio Fernández (1576-1636) it was produced in 1615 as commissioned by Philip III (Figure 1).¹ Fernández's sculpture shows Christ's dead body lying on a shroud as narrated by St. Luke in chapter 23:53 of the Bible: "And he took [the body] down, and wrapped it in linen, and laid it in a sepulchre that was hewn in stone, wherein never man before was laid."²

Representations of the *Cristo yacente* relate iconographically to scenes of the Pietà, Lamentation, and Entombment, and can also be associated with medieval catafalques and other devotional images of the dead Christ throughout history.³ These sculptures of Christ are also closely related to depictions of the Anointment, and perhaps most directly to images of the Holy Sepulchre. The *Cristo yacente* is the main component of recreations of the Holy Sepulchre that took place during Holy Week and is meant to be understood not only as a surrogate for the Eucharist but also as a promise of resurrection.

Many of the extant sculptures of the *Cristo yacente* are kept hidden from public view for most of year until Thursday of Holy Week, when they are presented for

¹ Juan José Martín González, *El Escultor Gregorio Fernández* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1980), 194.

² Luke 23:53 (Authorized King James Version).

³ Enrique Cordero de Ciria, "Cristos yacentes Madrileños," *Villa de Madrid* 24 (1986): 44.

revelation.⁴ What spectators are able to see at this time is an image of the dead Christ characterized by several key features. The body of Christ lies flat on its back though it is slightly tilted to the right along with the head. The left leg is bent and placed to the right to further the full viewing of the figure. One or two pillows, frequently decorated with elaborate brocades, hold up the head while the entire body lies on a shroud. His right hand rests on the shroud, while the left hand remains on the gathered fabric, or *subligaculum*, which covers his genitals. The body's repose to the right allows for the direct viewing of the wounds and, particularly, the chest wound produced by Longinus' lance, through which blood and water poured as described in John 19:34.⁵ The blood and water are usually replicated by polychrome paint and resin. An elongated nose, high cheekbones, and sunken eyes distinguish the features of the face. In Fernández's version, like many others to follow, the mouth is shown half-open, as are the eyes, through which the dead figure of Christ subtly engages the viewer. Painstaking details are rendered in the execution of musculature, hair, teeth, and skin. Sculptures of this type were often carved from a single piece of pine wood, which was then varnished and painted. The image of the *Cristo yacente* seeks to communicate with the viewer by encouraging ardent religious fervor; its pathos explains the image's popularity in seventeenth-century Spanish society.

Although imagery related to the *Cristo yacente* type has been studied over the years, little, if anything, has been written about the particular iconography of the type.

Linked to the above-mentioned images of the Lamentation, Pietà, and Entombment, the

⁴ A. Igual Ureda, *Cristos Yacentes en las Iglesias Valencianas* (Valencia: Servicio de Estudios Artísticos, Institución Alfonso El Magnánimo, 1964), 11. Holy Week celebrates the Passion of Christ and the events preceding Easter Sunday.

⁵ John 19: 34 (Authorized King James Version). Original text: "But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water."

Cristo yacente is distinct in form because the sculptural aspect is restricted to a single figure. The Virgin Mary and the other mourners such as Mary Magdalene, St. John the Evangelist, Nicodemus, and Joseph of Arimathea are absent. The Lamentation over the body of Christ is traditionally placed after the Deposition in the narrative sequence; the previously mentioned figures crowd over his body, which is usually placed on the floor or on an altar-like stone slab.⁶ In Niccolò dell' Arca's *Lamentation* for Santa Maria della Vita in Bologna dated 1463-85, for example, the body of Christ is placed low on the floor and rests on a stone slab complete with pillow and shroud (Figure 2). According to Roberta Olson, Niccolò's group paralleled Franciscan meditations by allowing the devout to express their communal grief while at the same time witnessing Christ's death.⁷ Niccolò's *Lamentation*, along with that of Guido Mazzoni's for Santa Maria degli Angeli in Modena, 1472-80, serve as important precedents in terms of "illusion of life" (Figure 3).⁸ The Pietà, like the Entombment, represents the mourning over the body of Christ, in this case by the Virgin Mary alone. The overall arrangement of the scene varies; on occasion the Virgin is shown holding Christ's head while his body rests on the floor while other examples show Christ's body resting entirely on her lap as if he were a child. The Pietà first emerges during the latter Middle Ages in Germany and is associated with the Vespers for Good Friday, which centered around the images of the dead Christ on his mother's lap.⁹ An excellent example of this sculptural type is the *Röttgen Pieta*, c. 1300-

⁶ James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979), 246.

⁷ Roberta Olson, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 34.

⁸ Charles Seymour Jr., *Sculpture in Italy: 1400 to 1500* (Baltimore MD: Penguin Books, 1966), 185-186. Niccolò dell'Arca's figure of Nicodemus within his Lamentation group is said to be a self-portrait of the artist and functions perhaps as an ex-voto. For a thorough discussion on dell'Arca's Lamentation see N. Grammaticini, "La déploration de Niccolò dell'Arca: Religion et politique aux temps de Giovanni II Bentivoglio," *Revue de l'art* 62 (1983): 21-34.

⁹ Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, 1st American Edition, vol. 2 (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1971), 179.

1325 today in the Rheinisches Landmuseum, Bonn, Germany (Figure 4). The Pietà is most often described as a devotional image to aid in contemplation in which the narrative is implied; it is understood as an *andachtsbild*.¹⁰ This term is used to explain a devotional image that is both narrative and iconic; the image is presented as a “semi-narrative” allowing personal contemplation and reflection.¹¹ According to Erwin Panofsky, the purpose of these images is to place the viewer in a state of “contemplative immersion.”¹² This contemplation is directly linked to the fact that scenes of the Lamentation and Pietà are not described in the Gospels and do not represent specific historical moments; therefore, they encourage viewers to meditate on overall themes of the life and Passion of Christ.¹³

The Entombment includes many of the same characters that are represented in the Lamentation, figures that, again, are not included alongside the *Cristo yacente*. Juan de Juni’s *Entombment of Christ*, 1541-44, for the funerary chapel of Franciscan, Antonio de Guevara, for the destroyed monastery of San Francisco in Valladolid is often claimed as a precursor for the *Cristo yacente* because in this case the sculpture of Christ can be separated from the rest of the figural group (Figure 5).¹⁴ In this Entombment, like many others, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus take precedent over some of the other figures, and the scene usually takes place before a hollow rock of varied forms or near a

¹⁰ Joanna Ziegler, *The Word Becomes Flesh* (Worcester, MA: Cantor Art Gallery, 1985), 14. For more on *andachtsbild* see Georg Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, vol. II (Leipzig, 1923), 117-23 and E. Panofsky, “‘Imago Pietatis: Ein Beitrag zur Typengeschichte des ‘Schmerzensmanns’ und der ‘Maria Mediatrix’,” in *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer zum 60. Geburtstag* (Leipzig, 1927), 294.

¹¹ James Clifton, *The Body of Christ in the Art of Europe and New Spain* (New York: Prestel, 1997), 14.

¹² Panofsky 264.

¹³ Schiller 174. Ziegler 15.

¹⁴ Juan José Martín González, “En torno a Gregorio Fernández: Obras inéditas o poco conocidas,” *Goya* 84 (1968): 349.

sarcophagus.¹⁵ Matthew 27:57-61 describes how Joseph “had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock: and he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed. And there was Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, sitting over against the sepulchre.” John 19:38-42 recalls that Joseph was helped by Nicodemus, who brought myrrh and aloes to preserve the body.¹⁶ He also adds that the tomb was in a garden near the place of crucifixion. When the subject is dealt with as less of a narrative and more of a devotional work, angels take the place of human figures.¹⁷ Schiller has argued that the Entombment’s devotional aspect is directly tied to its emotional content, which allows the image to move away from straightforward narration to more empathetic and generalized representation.¹⁸ This notion is significant to our own understanding of the *Cristo yacente*. The complete absence of figures in the *Cristo yacente* also allows the narrative to be implied and the work, therefore, serves as an aid to meditation and functions as an *andachtsbild*. As such it is a devotional image that encourages contemplation not only of the death of Christ but, more specifically, of his sacrifice for humankind and the forgiveness of sin. By extension, it allows the faithful to reflect on their own eventual death and resurrection.

¹⁵ Hall 113.

¹⁶ John 19:38-42 (Authorized King James Version). Original text: “And after this Joseph of Arimathaea, being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews, besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus: and Pilate gave him leave. He came therefore, and took the body of Jesus. And there came also Nicodemus, which at the first came to Jesus by night, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pound weight. Then took the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury. Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid. There laid they Jesus therefore because of the Jews’ preparation day; for the sepulchre was nigh at hand.”

¹⁷ Hall 114.

¹⁸ Schiller 174.

Another important event in Christ's Passion, and one that is often overlooked by scholars, is the Anointment. This scene takes place after the Deposition and the Bearing of the Body; in the latter Christ's body (which can be naked or covered in a shroud) lies on a bier or on the ground, but is always deposited before a rock.¹⁹ The Bearing of the Body and the Entombment are closely related as one scene leads to the next. From the fourteenth century onward it is significant that the Christ of the Entombment is no longer wrapped in a shroud and is represented with his genitals covered by a cloth.²⁰ Although the Gospels state that the body was wrapped in cloth, the tendency to represent the body exposed is of utmost importance for the Spanish tradition in particular, where to witness the body of Christ is to believe in his humanity and incarnation.²¹ The Anointment, during which Christ's body was prepared for burial, is mentioned in John 19:39.²² The author recounts how Christ's body was embalmed with herbs brought by Nicodemus in a scene that is prefigured by the gift of myrrh by the Magi to the Christ child.²³ A scene showing the actual process of anointment is represented in fol. 28v of the *Ingeborg Psalter* dated c. 1210 today in the Musée Conde, Chantilly (Figure 6).

The theme of the Anointment begins to appear in Western art from the twelfth century onward. According to Schiller this scene is distinct in that "the dead Christ lies

¹⁹ Schiller 169.

²⁰ Schiller 171.

²¹ For a further discussion on the correlation between Christ's nudity and humanity see Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983).

²² John 19:39 (Authorized King James Version). Original text: "And there came also Nicodemus, which at the first came to Jesus by night, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pound weight."

²³ Schiller 172. Erika Langmuir, "The Dual Nature," in *The Image of Christ*, Gabriele Finaldi et al. with an introduction by Neil MacGregor (London: National Gallery, 2000), 46. The Anointing of Christ's feet by the anonymous sinner also prefigures the anointing of his dead body, a scene that takes place at the House of the Pharisee. See Luke 7:36-50.

not on a flat stone but on either a high chest resembling a sarcophagus or a bier.”²⁴ In the Eastern Byzantine tradition, Christ is placed on an anointing stone. This image was depicted in embroidered shrouds known as *epitaphioi*, literally meaning upon the tomb.²⁵ The stone slab represented in the scenes of the Anointment is the Stone of Unction, which was brought to Constantinople as a relic in the twelfth century and whose original location is marked by a marble slab in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.²⁶ The *epitaphios* image has two formats: one in which no subsidiary figures are present and a second in which angels and evangelist symbols sometimes accompany the body of Christ.²⁷ During the Byzantine period *epitaphioi* were originally used to cover the chalice and the paten before the Eucharist was revealed and by the fourteenth century were used only during Holy Week.²⁸ In their earlier form *epitaphioi* were known as “Great Aeres” because they were larger in size than the *poterokalymma* and *diskolaylmma* used to cover the chalice and paten, respectively.²⁹ The Great Aer was used to cover both gifts simultaneously and was larger. Great Aeres were embroidered with the image of the dead Christ as early as 1300 and over time were displayed only on the feast days of Good Friday and Holy Saturday during funeral processions that reenacted the burial of Christ.³⁰ By the fifteenth century the iconography of the *epitaphioi* changed, perhaps because of its use in scenes of the Entombment, and came to

²⁴ Schiller 172.

²⁵ Schiller 173.

²⁶ Schiller 173, Warren Woodfin, “Liturgical Textiles,” in *Byzantium; Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, edited by Helen C. Evans (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 296.

²⁷ Schiller 173.

²⁸ Woodfin 312. Woodfin discusses the liturgical uses of *epitaphioi* which were first used during the Eucharist and offering procession known as the Great Entrance and later were used only during Holy Week. He also notes that today the Great Aer and the *Epitaphioi* are different liturgical cloths.

²⁹ Woodfin 295.

³⁰ Woodfin 296.

include mourners such as the Virgin, St. John, and Mary Magdalene.³¹ Warren Woodfin argues that the mourners and angels included in these *epitaphioi* were “mystical participants in the Eucharist, with Christ himself as the offering” supporting the argument that images of the dead body of Christ were understood as Eucharistic.³² The Byzantine *Epitaphios* embroidered in silver and gold by Anthony of Heracles and dated to the 14th century is a Serbian example that includes figures of angels (Figure 7). The *Cristo yacente* combines the Western and Eastern traditions of the scene of the Anointment by including the bier and removing the subsidiary figures, ultimately narrowing the viewer’s focus on the body and blood of Christ as Eucharistic gifts.

Along with the indirect influence of *epitaphioi*, Gregorio Fernández was likely inspired by prints. The consensus among scholars is that Gregorio Fernández used the prints of Hieronymous Wierix as sources for works such as the *Kiss of Judas* on the *Retablo of Plasencia*.³³ In this instance, the poses of the figures are the same and the print is used primarily as a source of inspiration or guide and is not recreated exactly. Therefore, it is plausible that Fernández derived the idea of a dead Christ lying on a bier from Wierix’s engraving, *The Virgin and Mary Magdalene watching over the Body of Christ* from his *Life of the Virgin* series, c. 1570 today in the Bruxelles Bibliothèque Royal Albert I (Figure 8). The print shows Mary and the Magdalene sitting in contemplation at the head and feet of the body of Christ, respectively. Two angels holding candles in their right hands open a curtain while observing Christ meditatively. The body of Christ is placed higher above ground than in scenes of the Lamentation and

³¹ Woodfin 297.

³² Woodfin 296.

³³ Benito Navarrete Prieto, “Fuentes y modelos en la obra de Gregorio Fernández,” *Gregorio Fernández 1576-1636*, Sala de Exposiciones del BSCH, Nov. 1999-Enero 2000 (Madrid: Fundación BSCH, 1999), 64. See figures 12 and 13.

in a similar fashion to that of the Anointment. The scene takes place in what appears to be the Holy Sepulchre as narrated in Matthew 27:61, recalling that there was “Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, sitting over against the sepulchre.”³⁴ In this case, however, the space seems ethereal as if to deny the narrative aspects of the Gospel. The most striking similarity between Wierix’s print and Fernández’s *Cristo yacente* is the inclusion of a pillow, upon which Christ’s head rests. In both cases, the upper body is slightly elevated and tilted to the right allowing the viewer to observe all his wounds. This print is indispensable in determining the precedents for Fernández’s works that will be discussed in the following chapter.

Scenes of the Holy Sepulchre, which relate to the liturgy of Good Friday and Easter, are also linked to the *Cristo yacente*. From the first half of the tenth century onward some monasteries enacted a liturgical entombment during which the host was buried and then raised on Easter Sunday. On these occasions the host was placed “under a stone, in a chalice on a secondary altar or in a container of a burial niche” and was later resurrected.³⁵ This liturgical reenactment was paralleled by the construction of structures intended to imitate the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. These chapels, which likewise date to the tenth century oftentimes had tombs in which a crucifix or host was buried on Good Friday. In the Externsteine chapel in Germany, in addition to the burial of the host, a wooden figure of Christ was also buried. An example of such a wooden sculpture, from 1290, is preserved in the monastery of Luneburg in Wienhausen near Celle, Germany.³⁶

³⁴ Matthew 27:57 (Authorized King James Version).

³⁵ Schiller 182.

³⁶ Babette Hartweg, “Drei gefasste Holzskulpturen vom Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts in Kloster Wienhausen,” in *Zeitschrift für Kunsttechnologie und Konservierung* (Worms am Rhein: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1988), 207. Hartweg discusses the original location and context of the figure and its use during Black Friday. Furthermore, she suggests that the sculpture was ritually anointed with some sort of coating to preserve the wood. *Effigy of Christ and Sarcophagus*, c. 1290 and 1449. Oak, 247 x 58 x 30

Here, the figure was placed in the tomb while the host was hidden in a small box in Christ's side on Maundy Thursday or Good Friday.³⁷ This figure was later removed on the night of Easter and replaced by a figure of the risen Christ.³⁸ It is worth noting in connection with this tradition that two of the Spanish *Cristos yacentes* also have receptacles for the placement of the host. Gregorio Fernández's first *Cristo yacente* at the church of San Pablo in Valladolid has a receptacle that has now been sealed for conservation purposes (Figure 9). Likewise, Gaspar Becerra's figure in the Monastery of Descalzas Reales in Madrid has a glass reliquary that allowed for the placement and viewing of the host (Figure 10).

Formal devotion to the Holy Sepulchre began around the beginning of the thirteenth century with the founding of the Order of the Augustine Canons of the Holy Sepulchre in 1214, who established the traditions surrounding its veneration.³⁹ The site itself had been venerated since the Early Christian period, but with the establishment of the Crusades and the tomb's destruction in 1009 by Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim, there was a renewed interest in reestablishing a Christian presence in Jerusalem.⁴⁰ It was not until the thirteenth century that a more systematic approach, which included recreations, was put into place outside the Holy Land since the area had fallen under Muslim control and was inaccessible to Christians.

(fn. 36 cont.) cm (effigy); 252 x 80.5 x 172 (sarcophagus). Wienhausen, Germany. Image available online at: <http://monasticmatrix.usc.edu/figurae/?function=detail&image=standard&id=354>

³⁷ Schiller 182.

³⁸ *Arisen Christ with sarcophagus*, c. 1280-90. Oak, 95.5 x 36 x 34.5 cm (Christ), 37 x 70.5 x 25.5 cm (sarcophagus). Wienhausen, Germany. Image available online at: <http://monasticmatrix.usc.edu/figurae/?function=detail&image=standard&id=340#relatedWork>

³⁹ Schiller 183. For a complete history of the Holy Sepulchre see Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: from the beginning to the 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) who traces its beginnings to the year 325.

⁴⁰ Martin Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Phoenix Mill, GB: Sutton Publishing, Ltd., 2000), 21. See also page 76 for a discussion regarding the seemingly uninterrupted pilgrimages to the site.

The *Cristo yacente* provides a direct link to the early medieval tradition that rejects subsidiary figures and focuses on pageantry and reenactment. Little evidence exists to explain the loss of the supplementary figures that accompanied *Cristos yacentes*, as none appear to have been commissioned. From the mid-fourteenth century onward sculpted figural groups of the Holy Sepulchre were placed on side altars as devotional images.⁴¹ As devotional images *Cristos yacentes* were placed in private chapels and moved occasionally throughout the liturgical year within the confines of the monastery; on Maundy Thursday or Holy Friday of Holy Week they were available to a wider audience as part of public processions.⁴²

The absence of additional figures in the *Cristo yacente* type can also be discussed in connection with Franciscan reconstructions of the Passion, as this order was known for recreating separate moments for processional sculptures and also reducing them to a single figure.⁴³ Though the scenes reproduce a particular moment in the life of Christ, they inspire reflection on other moments as well. It cannot be overlooked that a great majority of *Cristo yacentes* are processed on Thursday of Holy Week and become “activated” when they come in contact with the outside world. Christ’s presence in the lives of the faithful becomes palpably real as he is processed through the streets of Spanish cities. Sculptures like the *Cristo yacente* were and continue to be the focal point of these liturgical reenactments of the burial of Christ.

⁴¹ Schiller 184.

⁴² As devotional images throughout the liturgical year, *Cristos* were available to only a select few. This is especially true of cloistered images. Further discussion regarding each monastery and their respective processions will be addressed in chapter three.

⁴³ Neil MacGregor, *Seeing Salvation: Images of Christ in Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 156. Olson 135.

Susan Verdi Webster discusses the context of ritual processions in Seville in her book *Art and Ritual in Golden Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week*. Webster's research highlights the importance of confraternities in establishing processional traditions during Holy Week, including the *pasos de misterio*, which substituted earlier religious dramas deemed inappropriate since 1511.⁴⁴ Even after edicts such as that of 1604 that prohibited theatrical representations during Holy Week, the Confraternity of the Santo Entierro (Holy Sepulchre) continued celebrating the interment of Christ, albeit in a reduced fashion.⁴⁵ Webster further notes that along with the prohibitions on theatrical religious dramas, the sculptural arrangements that replaced actors allowed for decorum and clear narration.⁴⁶ Sculptures like the *Cristo yacente* became the focal point of these liturgical reenactments of the burial of Christ. Francisco Almela y Vinet describes the ceremonies of the Confraternity of the *Santo Entierro* in Seville and paints a picture of the activities surrounding the image of Christ:

[The Sepulchre was] atop four solomonic columns of tortoiseshell. With bases, capitals and other finishing touches of silver and glass, with Seraphim on the corners and in the center, and its corresponding finials and adornments. The sepulchre was gilded on the inside with images in miniature, and the frames of the glass [windows] were inlaid with different precious stones, all parts of the Holy Body of the Lord were visible.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Susan Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 149, 154.

⁴⁵ Webster 150. Also see Alonso Sánchez Gordillo, *Religiosas estaciones que frequenta la religiosidad sevillana*, edited by Jorge Bernal Ballesteros (Seville: Consejo General de Hermandades y Cofradías, 1983), 168. Original text: "solo ha quedado la forma y procesión del entierro quitando lo demás." (all that remains is the form and procession of the sepulchre, the rest has been removed.)

⁴⁶ Webster 154.

⁴⁷ Webster 162. Francisco Almela y Vinet, *Semana Santa en Sevilla: Historia de las cofradías* (Seville, 1899), 8-14. Original text: "Sobre cuatro columnas salomónicas de Carey, con basas, capiteles y otros perfiles de plata y cristales, con Serafines en las esquinas y centros, y sus correspondientes remates y adornos. Por dentro estaba el Sepulcro dorado con imágenes de miniatura, y en el moldurado de los cristales estaban engastadas diferentes piedras preciosas, registrándose por todas partes el Sagrado Cuerpo del Señor." Translation by Webster.

In Valladolid similar contemporary descriptions are recorded that assist in recreating the function of the *Cristo yacente* within the Holy Week celebrations (Figure 11). These are discussed in detail in Chapter III.

Franciscan doctrine also placed importance on the role of works of art as aids to prayer. Influenced by the writings of Franciscan Fray Bernardino Laredo, Carmelite Teresa of Ávila believed that her conversion and devotion to prayer was due in part to the help of life-like images. As she notes in chapter 9 of her autobiography:

It happened that, entering the oratory one day, I saw an image which had been procured for a certain festival that was observed in the house and had been taken there to be kept for that purpose. It represented Christ sorely wounded; and so conducive was its devotion that when I looked at it I was deeply moved to see Him thus, so well did it picture what He suffered for us.⁴⁸

The Franciscan regard for images is also directly related to private devotion. The Order supported the medieval movement known as the *Devotio moderna* in which a personal and intimate relationship with Jesus and his Passion was combined with devotion to Holy Sites.⁴⁹ The life of St. Francis of Assisi, which is said to parallel the life of Christ, is just one example of this practice. Together with the mystic writings of St. Bonaventure and St. Bridget they spell out the steps towards meditation.

⁴⁸ St. Teresa of Ávila, *La Vida de la Santa Madre Santa Teresa de Jesús y algunas de las Mercedes que Dios le hizo escritas por ella misma por mando de su confessor* (Madrid: Imprenta y Fundición de M. Tello, 1882), 86. Original text: “Acaecióme que entrando un día en el oratorio, vi una imagen que avian traído allí á guardar, que se avia buscado para cierta fiesta que se hacia en casa. Era un Cristo muy llagado, y tan devota que, en mirándola toda me turbó de verle tal, porque representaba bien lo que pasó por nosotros.” As translated and edited by E. Allison Peers in *Saint Teresa of Jesus: The Complete Works*, vol. 1 (London; Sheed and Ward, 1963), 54. All Spanish texts are quoted as printed and are often missing accents. The works of St. Teresa are documented in an inventory that may have been accessible to Fernández. See Esteban García Chico, *Documentos para el Estudio del Arte en Castilla*, Pintores, vol. 3 (Valladolid: Publicación del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología, 1940), 102.

⁴⁹ María Ruiz Gómez, “Dos nuevos lienzos de la escuela madrileña en las Descalzas Reales de Madrid, y una hipótesis sobre la devoción al Santo Sepulcro,” *Reales Sitios* vol. 35, no. 138 (1998): 57.

The Dominican Order also propounded the idea that art served an important religious function, specifically as an aid in memory. For them, art was useful as a “catalyst for devotion” while at the same time supporting the tenets that were clearly expressed by the Council of Trent in 1563.⁵⁰ The Dominicans, as evidenced in the monastery of San Marco in Florence, would use a scene such as the “Mocking of Christ” to stimulate meditation on various aspects of the event. A single image such as this one could lead to thoughts on the suffering of Christ and another day on what it means to mock Christ and so on.⁵¹ The *Cristo yacente* may be understood in relation to both of these contexts as an aid to prayer that can be read in multiple ways: as the image of the dead Christ, the soon-to-be anointed Christ, the suffering Christ, the body as Holy Eucharist, the promise of resurrection, and the forgiveness of sin.

The image of the supine Christ in its simplest understanding represents the dead body of the Son of God. Solitary depictions of the dead Christ can be traced to Northern European painted representations like those of Matthias Grünewald and Hans Holbein the Younger, which come to mind as powerful examples. Grünewald’s *Christ of the Entombment* is located in the predella of the *Isenheim Altarpiece*, c. 1515 Musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar, France (Figure 12). The body here bears the ravages of the horrific agony that is depicted in the Crucifixion panel. In his study on images of Christ, Macgregor notes that it must have taken Mary and John a long time to pull out each thorn and clean each wound to prepare the body for burial.⁵² In this case, then, it appears that the Anointment scene has already occurred and we are witnessing the Entombment itself.

⁵⁰ Clifton 13. David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 162.

⁵¹ MacGregor, *Seeing Salvation*, 157.

⁵² MacGregor, *Seeing Salvation*, 136.

This stark and uncompromising representation of Christ has been related to the patronage and location of the work as it was placed in a hospital for victims of the skin disease known as St. Anthony's fire. The body of Christ is pierced by thorns and plagued in sores which parallel the torments of the patients of this flesh-eating disease. Although context provides a basis for this portrayal of Christ, James Marrow contends that images such as this show additional sufferings inflicted upon Christ's body associated with Northern Passion iconography.⁵³ Robert Baldwin further argues that works such as those of Grünewald were popular in the North because they followed the late medieval tradition in which realism served to further stimulate empathy.⁵⁴ More importantly, this imagery was based on a Pauline-Augustinian tradition of sublime humility that is evidenced in texts such as Paul's *Epistles*, Augustine's *City of God*, Bonaventure's *Mystic Vine (Contemplation on the Life of Christ)*, and the Franciscan texts *Ars Concionandi* and *Meditations on the Life of Christ*.⁵⁵ Although the Cistercians were the first to center their ideology on the sublime humility of Christ, it was the Franciscans who disseminated it most widely through art and writings.⁵⁶ It may not be coincidental, then, that most of the *Cristos yacentes* are held in Cistercian, Augustinian, and Franciscan monasteries. The *Cristo yacente* commissioned by Philip III is housed by the Franciscan Capuchin Monks at El Pardo in Madrid. The location and patronage of these works supports the iconographic reading of the *Cristo yacente* as an image that is humble, realistic, and intended to provoke empathy. These images of the suffering Christ fulfill

⁵³ James Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative* (Belgium: Van Ghemmert Publishing Company, 1979).

⁵⁴ Robert W. Baldwin, "Christ's Sublime Humility as a Model for style in Northern Renaissance and Baroque Religious Painting," (PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 1983), 82.

⁵⁵ Baldwin 124.

⁵⁶ Baldwin 16, 18.

what Baldwin refers to as the “sublime clothed in the humble” whose primary purpose is to encourage meditation.⁵⁷

Perhaps even more relevant to the development of the iconography of the *Cristo yacente* is Holbein’s over-life size panel of the *Dead Christ*, 1521-22, located in the Kunstmuseum, Basel (Figure 13). According to Strugis, Christ’s humanity is expressed best in his first and last moments on earth.⁵⁸ Holbein’s *Dead Christ* shows extreme humanity—humanity only achieved through death. Christ’s body lies flat on a slab covered by a shroud, his arms and legs extended straight. His mouth is open as if the last gasp of life has just expired from his body. The surrounding claustrophobic space leads us to suspect that he is indeed entombed. Like Grünewald’s Christ, this image is also horrifying and shocking and is meant to provoke compassion and devotion. Although the context of Holbein’s work remains shrouded in mystery it has been suggested that its original location was a small cloister in Basel and its patron, Bonifacius Amerbach.⁵⁹ The darkness that permeates Holbein’s image is quite telling of what is to follow. Only through resurrection can the agony of death be accounted for; darkness is the path that leads to the light of God. The presence of the body helps the faithful focus on existence as opposed to absence. Only rarely is the empty tomb represented as one of the Passion

⁵⁷ Baldwin 19. A connection between Spanish and German art can be made regarding the use of religious and devotional texts that Baldwin includes in his research. Furthermore, tax exemptions put in place by Isabel of Castile promoted a mass migration of Flemish and German artists during the 15th & 16th centuries. German sculptors were well received in such cities as Burgos and polychromed Flemish figures were recorded in the art fairs of Medina del Campo. See Mari-Tere Álvarez, “Artistic enterprise and Spanish patronage: the art market during the reign of Isabel of Castille (1474-1504)” in *Art markets in Europe, 1400-1800*, edited by Michael North and David Ormrod (Aldershot, Hampshire, UK: Ashgate, 1998), 53, 55. For a good study for German stylistic influence on Spain see Angela Franco Mata, “L’influence germanique sur le Crucifix douloureux espagnol du XIVE siècle,” in *Figur und Raum: Mittelalterliche Holzbildwerke im historischen und kunstgeographischen Kontext* (Berlin: Reimer, 1994), 53-69.

⁵⁸ Strugis 45.

⁵⁹ Christian Müller, “Holbeins Gemälde ‘Der Leichnam Christi im Grabe’ und die Grabkapelle der Familie Amerbach in der Basler Kartrause,” *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archologie und Kuntsgeschichte* 58 no. 4 (2001): 278-289.

scenes. Indeed, it became almost obsolete after the Council of Trent as such depictions were not favored by the Church during the Counter-Reformation.⁶⁰ It is the presence of the lifeless physical body that alludes most dramatically to the transformation of the resurrected flesh and spirit to come.

As a sculpture, the *Cristo yacente* has additional facets, namely its physical presence, that requires further consideration. Seventeenth-century artist and art theorist Francisco Pacheco said it best when he commented that “*la escultura tiene el ser y la pintura el parecer*” (sculpture has existence, painting has appearance).⁶¹ As a three-dimensional object, sculpture exists in the same three-dimensional plane that its viewers occupy, and as such it is a medium meant to be interacted with in real time and space. To borrow John Paoletti’s observation, polychromed sculpture, whether in wood, wax, or terracotta possessed a verisimilitude that provided the viewer with a “sacral experience” in which time and reality were collapsed.⁶² Paoletti concludes that the medium of painted wood was uniquely well-suited to empathetic devotion.⁶³ The long established dialogue between painting and sculpture, the *paragone*, calls into question whether painters were reacting to sculptures or vice-versa. In the case of Northern artists such as Grünewald and Holbein it seems logical to presume that they were responding to the medieval tradition of sculpted images of the dead Christ as seen in the example located in the Monastery of Wienhausen. As will be discussed in Chapter IV, when looking at Spain

⁶⁰ MacGregor, *Seeing Salvation*, 185. The Council of Trent’s call for clarity in sacred images is included in J. Waterworth, *The canons and decrees of the sacred and oecumenical Council of Trent* (London, Dolman, 1848), 234-236.

⁶¹ MacGregor, *Seeing Salvation*, 145. Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, edited by Bonaventura Bassegoda I Hugas (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990), 100.

⁶² John Paoletti, “Wooden Sculpture in Italy as Sacral Presence,” *Artibus et Historiae* 13, no. 26, (1992): 85. This inspiring article discusses the tradition of polychromed wooden crucifixes in Italy and their function as devotional “art”.

⁶³ Paoletti 96.

we have evidence of artists such as Mateo Cerezo and Francisco Camilo, who were producing painted versions of the *Cristo yacente* after their sculpted counterparts. Spanish sixteenth-century precedents for the *Cristo yacente* serve to suggest that there is little variation within the iconographical type of the *Cristo yacente* and with few exceptions they tend to be rather conservative with only subtle deviations.⁶⁴

Sculptures of the *Cristo yacente* are works that are displayed on a bier, placed on a stone slab, or encased in an urn and almost always positioned at eye level to a person kneeling. This personal relationship between viewer and wounds is exemplified in a quote by Carthusian saint, Marguerite of Oingt, in which, regarding Christ and his proximity, she notes: “I lean over that glorious side pierced for me.”⁶⁵ The body of Christ in these sculptures is arranged to be viewed from the right, although an alternative view is from the feet, as the Pardo Capuchin monks clearly realized when they placed a kneeling pad at both the feet and head.⁶⁶ Mantegna’s famous painting of the *Dead Christ*, c. 1501, in the Pinacoteca de Briera, Milan demonstrates that this view allows not only for the foreshortening of the body, but for all the wounds to be visible at one time (Figure 14). Orazio Borgianni, who is documented as spending time in Valladolid, also depicted a foreshortened Christ in his etching *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, c. 1615, Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, California (Figures 15 & 16). Both the level at which the sculpture is displayed and this view reveal that interaction with the sculpture is

⁶⁴ Paoletti 94. Paoletti argues for little iconographic variation regarding wooden sculptures regardless of subject. Visual research conducted seems to point to the same conclusion regarding the recumbent Christ in Spain. Some stylistic variations exist; these have been analyzed in detail by Jesús Urrea and others and will be addressed in chapter three. Although, I do agree with Paoletti that any attempts to date based on stylistic evidence can lead to problematic outcomes I have chosen to include such proposed dates and analysis.

⁶⁵ Ziegler 24. Originally in Caroline Walker Bymun, “Women mystics and Eucharistic devotion in the thirteenth century,” *Women’s Studies* 11 (1984): 181.

⁶⁶ During the long days spent photographing and documenting this *Cristo* not once did anyone kneel at the head of the sculpture.

meant to evoke something specific, the act of humility. The position from the feet is one of humility and piety, relating to *humus* or earth. At the feet of Christ the viewer becomes a surrogate Mary Magdalene, who kisses his feet, and laments over his body as in the Wierix print. We are expected to kneel in prayer and contemplate his death. Furthermore, physical contact with the *Cristo yacente* is established by the many worshippers who literally wipe and kiss his feet, as evidenced by the worn polychromy of the sculptures in that area (Figures 17 & 18).⁶⁷ Again, we become like Mary Magdalene who sought physical contact with Christ as an expression of love and devotion such as in the scene of *Noli me tangere*.⁶⁸

Cristos yacentes, in the same manner as Juan de Juni's *Entombment*, place the viewer in the role of lamenter. An important precedent for Fernández, Juan de Juni's work shows Christ on a bier, lying on a shroud and two pillows, and accompanied by the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, Salome, St. John, Joseph, and Nicodemus. Juni's example is remarkable in that the lamenting figures can be removed and what remains is a *Cristo yacente*. When looking at *Cristo yacentes*, the viewer assumes the role of these figures and in this case, as we shall see, of Nicodemus in particular. Literally at the feet of Christ we become penitent observers of his suffering. In scenes of the Entombment, Nicodemus is placed at his feet as a sign of humility; this reflects his character as represented in miracle plays where he declares that he is only worthy of the feet of Christ.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ The *Cristo yacente* at the Iglesia del Carmen en Madrid attributed to Sánchez Barba shows extreme wearing of the feet. All the polychromy is worn and the wood has lost all modeling. The figure is encased in glass through which the feet are left exposed as per request of the churchgoers.

⁶⁸ Macgregor, *Seeing Salvation*, 189.

⁶⁹ John Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance* (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1966), 289.

Nicodemus, who gave up his tomb for Christ and also procured the necessary herbs for his Anointment, was also believed to be a sculptor. The legend of the *Volto Santo*, a sculpture of the crucified Christ in the Cathedral of San Martino in Lucca, contends that Nicodemus, with the assistance of an angel, produced the work (Figure 19).⁷⁰ Leobinus' version of the legend of the *Volto Santo* was available in manuscript form at the Volto Santo Chapel in Lucca Cathedral and was likely recounted by pilgrims throughout the Christian world.⁷¹ Nicodemus became known as a sculptor with the ninth-century translation of the proceedings of the council of Nicea of 787, which noted that Nicodemus had created an image of Christ.⁷² The association of Nicodemus with a carved image of Christ parallels the belief in St. Luke's painted image of the Madonna. The *Cristo yacente* can be understood then, on one level, as a sculptural representation of the dead Christ as Nicodemus and others would have seen him—a primordial image that was replicated and re-imagined by later artists. In the course of this process the sculptor of the *Cristo yacente* becomes Nicodemus, who like the spectator was a visual and tactile witness to the Passion and burial of Christ.⁷³ The sculpture is thus the result of a mystical and contemplative encounter between artist and the divine. Curiously, a Spanish legend recounts that certain images were carved by Nicodemus and painted by St. Luke,

⁷⁰ MacGregor, *Seeing Salvation*, 96. Legend has it that Fernández like Nicodemus could not finish the face of his *Cristo* at El Pardo and God himself finished it. This legend as it appears in *Compendio de la Historia del Santísimo Cristo de El Pardo* (1807) is mentioned by Martín González (1980), 194. For more on the *Volto Santo* see A. Guerra, *Storia del Volto Santo* (Lucca, 1881), 11-12. FP Luiso, "La leggenda de Volto Santo," *Il Volto Santo, Storia e culto*, exh. Cat., Chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Reparata (Lucca, 1982), 141-144.

⁷¹ Corine Schleif, "Nicodemus and Sculptors: Self-Reflexivity in Works by Adam Kraft and Tilman Riemenschneider," *The Art Bulletin* 75, no. 4 (December, 1993): 608.

⁷² Schleif 607. An interesting prefiguration of the Resurrection is present in the conversation of Nicodemus and Christ as quoted in the Gospel of St. John 3: 1-21. See Wolfgang Stechow, "Joseph or Arimathea or Nicodemus," in *Studien zur toskanischen Kunst: Festschrift für Ludwig Heinrich Heydenreich*, edited by W. Lotz and L.L. Möller (Munich, 1963), 300.

⁷³ Schleif 608. Quote reads "was created by Nicodemus, the Pharisee who saw and touched Christ" in G. Schnürer and J. Ritz, *Sankt Kummernus und Volto Santo* (Dusseldorf, 1934), 131.

furthering the collaboration between sculptor and polychromer.⁷⁴ Corine Schleif discusses the historical development of the theme of Nicodemus as sculptor concluding that Nicodemus served for artists as a “prototype for emulation” and therefore their sculptures are self-reflective or at times merely self-referential.⁷⁵ As Panofsky has shown, *Volto Santo* was venerated throughout Europe as demonstrated by the many versions and adaptations of the prototype in Lucca, including one still in the Cathedral of Burgos.⁷⁶

The legend of the *Volto Santo* can also be related to the burial shroud of Christ through Leobinus’ version of the legend, where we read that that Nicodemus carved the crucifix according to “the impression that Christ’s body had left in the grave cloth.”⁷⁷ Belief in the survival of the true likeness of Christ has a long tradition in devotional lore and is closely related to the idea of physical or empathetic contact with Christ himself. The Mandylion and the Veronica were both believed to be images of Christ recorded on cloth made through contact with him (Figure 20).⁷⁸ John 20:5-7 mentions the finding of linen cloths that wrapped Christ’s body and the *sudarium* (napkin) that covered his head.⁷⁹ The Shroud of Turin is the most famous example of these images that demonstrates the importance of the relationship between contact, object, and religious fervor. The relic in Turin was believed to be the shroud in which Christ’s body was

⁷⁴ Schleif 610. Originally in *Wallfahrten zu Unserer Lieben Frau in Legende und Geschichte* (Freiburg, 191), 123.

⁷⁵ Schleif 608, 619.

⁷⁶ Schleif 610. Panofsky, “Das Braunschweiger Domkruzifix und das ‘Volto Santo’ zu Lucca,” *Festschrift Adolf Goldschmidt* (Leipzig, 1923): 37-44.

⁷⁷ Schleif 608. Schnürer and Ritz 138-142.

⁷⁸ MacGregor, *Seeing Salvation*, 98. Alexander Sturgis, “The True Likeness,” in *The Image of Christ* (London: National Gallery, 2000), 77.

⁷⁹ John 20:5-7 (Authorized King James Version). Original text: “And he stooping down, and looking in, saw the linen clothes lying; yet went he not in. Then cometh Simon Peter following him, and went into the sepulchre, and seeth the linen clothes lie, and the napkin, that was about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself.”

wrapped; it is this same shroud that the *Cristo yacente* is placed upon in many of the sculptural representations of the type. The Shroud is imprinted with a frontal view of the face and body as well as a back view of a figure that was believed to be the body of Christ.⁸⁰ There are paintings throughout Europe and Latin America that show the Shroud of Turin. One such work is Giulio Clovio's *The Deposition and Shroud of Turin*, today in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin (Figure 21).

The Shroud was first displayed around 1357 and by 1578 was in Turin.⁸¹ It was accessible to seventeenth-century viewers through pilgrimage. The belief in the Shroud of Turin also resonates in Spain where the relic of the napkin that covered Christ's face is held. Known as the Sudarium of Oviedo, this cloth has been linked by scholars directly to the Shroud of Turin and its presence has been recorded since the seventh century.⁸² The *Cristo yacente* relates to both the true likeness and the belief that through contact with Christ images can be imprinted. Can a piece of wood then been imprinted as was a piece of cloth?⁸³ The repetition of the *Cristo yacente* type relates to the economic and commercial needs of a workshop that had to satisfy a particular market, but the idea that all images of Christ lying dead on a bier need to be similar is also logical.⁸⁴ Much like the representation of the Madonna and Child and the belief that the first of these images was produced by Luke, we may deduce that not only the patron but also the worshipper,

⁸⁰ Macgregor 101. It is not within the scope of my research to address the authenticity of this object.

⁸¹ Ian Wilson, *The Shroud of Turin: The Burial Cloth of Jesus Christ* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1978), 169, 193.

⁸² Mark Guscini, "The Sudarium of Oviedo: Its History and Relationship to the Shroud of Turin," (Conference Paper, International Scientific Symposium on the Shroud of Turin, International Center for the Study of the Shroud of Turin, Nice, France, May 12-13th, 1997).

⁸³ There is one such example of the "true face" of Christ on wood panel, located in Rome at the Sancta Sanctorum. I am indebted to Dr. Brian Curran for bringing this to my attention.

⁸⁴ Marjorie Trusted, *Spanish Sculpture: Catalogue of the Post-Medieval Spanish Sculpture in wood, terracotta, alabaster, marble, stone, lead and jet at the Victoria & Albert Museum* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1996), 12.

who in many cases were one and the same, appreciated both iconographical and typological continuities. The importance of a type, as will be discussed further in Chapter III, also allowed for the status of the seminal work and, by extension, the status of the artist to be transposed to lesser-known works of the same formulation. The result, then, is an altogether similar spiritual encounter and cognitive reaction to all *Cristos yacentes* regardless of authorship.⁸⁵

The need to replicate an authentic image goes hand in hand with the need to replicate an authentic place, the Holy Sepulchre. As the location in which Christ was crucified, died, and was buried, the Holy Sepulchre has important ties to the Eucharist and the Resurrection.⁸⁶ Many recreations of the Holy Sepulchre have been produced within the history of art, one of the most impressive ones being that of Sacro Monte in Varallo (Figures 22 & 23).⁸⁷ Established in 1491 by Franciscan monk Caimi, the Sacro Monte is a sanctuary that recreates through the use of polychrome sculpture and architectural assemblages, passages of the Bible and stages of the life of Christ. According to Ryan Gregg, the Sacro Monte becomes a surrogate for the Holy Land while also serving as a site to practice Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*.⁸⁸ Because the Holy Sepulchre at Sacro Monte was made to replicate faithfully the tomb of Christ in

⁸⁵ Freedberg 178.

⁸⁶ A link has been made between physical union in the Eucharist and a desire to see the Holy Sepulchre during the Crusades. See Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The religious significance of food to medieval women* (Berkeley; University of California Press, 1987); H. Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter: Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion* (Berlin, 1981) and O.P. Axters, *Geschiedenis van de Vroomheid in de Nederlanden, II* (Antwerp, 1953).

⁸⁷ For general studies on the Sacro Monte see Fassola, *La Nuova Gerusalemme ossia il Santo Sepulcro di Varallo* (Milan, 1671); P. Galloni, *Il Sacro Monte di Varallo* (Varallo, 1909 and 1914); M. Bernardi, *Il Sacro Monte di Varallo* (Turin, 1960) and S. Lange, *Sacri Monti Piemontesi e Lombardi* (Milan: Collana Italia 1967).

⁸⁸ Ryan Gregg, "The Sacro Monte of Varallo as Physical Manifestation of the *Spiritual Exercises*," *Athanor* 22 (2004): 49-55. Gregg concludes that with the addition of grilles the site stops being a space of liminality and one in which the Tridentine hierarchy of the church is emphasized. See John C. Olin, "The Idea of Pilgrimage in the Experience of Ignatius of Loyola," *Church History* 48, no. 4 (Dec. 1979): 387-397.

Jerusalem it included a *Dead Christ*, c. 1516 by Gaudenzio Ferrari in a niche.⁸⁹ Upon entering chapel 43 one finds a supine image of Christ encased in glass urn. A scene of the Resurrection is painted above the body. The chapel was the first one built on site by Caimi and holds relics such as his own skull and a piece of the Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Macgregor notes that the location of Varallo between Latin and Germanic Europe allowed for a “powerful mix...of aesthetic traditions” that can be easily compared to the sculptures produced in Spain.⁹⁰ Some *Cristos yacentes* are similarly associated with reconstructions of the Holy Sepulchre, specifically that of San Pablo in Valladolid. Its previous location in a *retablo* of a side chapel included a painted reconstruction of the Holy Sepulchre showing Golgotha (Figure 24).

Many of the original backdrops for these *Cristos* have been lost, including, presumably, scenes of the Holy Sepulchre. Two main formats were available for the presentation of *yacentes*. Some were placed in urns within a chapel or side altar while others formed part of *retablos* (Figures 25 & 26).⁹¹ Both presentational types formed part of theatrical recreations of the Holy Sepulchre.⁹² For example, documentary evidence exists that the *Cristo yacente* produced by Gaspar Becerra for the convent of Descalzas Reales in Madrid was complemented by a backdrop that included tapestries and paintings, which recreated Calvary and Jerusalem (Figure 27). The backdrop produced a

⁸⁹ MacGregor, *Seeing Salvation*, 140. Muslim rule had made the Holy Land inaccessible to many so Caimi’s purposes for the site are quite clear.

⁹⁰ MacGregor, *Seeing Salvation*, 140. For a discussion of “hyperrealism” see Roberta Panzanelli, “Pilgrimage in Hyperreality: Images and Imagination in the Early Phase of the ‘New Jerusalem’ at Varallo (1486-1530),” (PhD Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1999).

⁹¹ Neil C. Brooks discusses all sepulchre types and formats in his book *The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy with special reference to the liturgical drama* (Illinois: University of Illinois, 1921), 13-25, 59-66. He makes a distinction between “true” sepulchres and the *reposoir* or Place of Repose where the host is placed on Maundy Thursday for use in Friday mass. The *yacentes* of San Pablo and Descalzas Reales are “true” sepulchres in that they are used to place the host on Holy Friday which is later removed on Easter.

⁹² Jesús Urrea, “Los Cristos yacentes de Castilla y León,” *Tercer Encuentro para el Estudio Cofradero: En Torno al Santo Sepulcro. Zamora, 10-13 de Noviembre, 1993* (Zamora: Imprenta Jambrina), 17-29.

similar effect to the altar scene in a drawing by Francisco Rizi, dated c. 1660 located today in the Santarelli Collection of the Uffizi (Figure 28).⁹³ Another Spanish work that postdates the *Cristo yacente* illustrates this transition from tomb to altar quite clearly. Pedro Roldán's *Entombment* of 1670-2 in the *retablo* of the Hospital de la Caridad, Seville shows the body of Christ being lowered into the tomb.⁹⁴ The relationship of the Holy Sepulchre with the altar derives from the traditional belief that the tomb is the altar.⁹⁵ By consequence the body becomes the Eucharist and Christ becomes the sacrificial lamb. He sheds His blood for the faithful—blood that is coincidentally abundant in the sculptures of the *Cristo yacente*—and His body becomes the bread of the Eucharist, both of which redeem sins and lead to everlasting life. By sacrificing His mortality Christ promises believers eternal life at His side. The incarnation of Christ was the key event that allowed for His ultimate suffering, death upon the cross. Therefore, His body is at once the host and the bread of life.⁹⁶

Today the pageantry relating to the *Cristo yacente* begins at midnight on Holy Thursday. His body is revealed on the same day that it is believed the first Eucharist took place; as a result, the sculptures' significance as both the literal and symbolic representation of the body of Christ is strengthened. The doctrine of transubstantiation became significant after the Council of Trent passed a decree concerning the Holy Sacrament and particularities such as preparation, veneration and its role within Catholic

⁹³ Maria Ruiz Gómez 58. See Alfonso Pérez Sánchez, *El Dibujo Español de los Siglos de Oro* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1980), 103. Francisco Rizi, *Drawing of Altar*, c. 1660. Pencil, pen and sepia drawing, 470 x 485 mm, inventory 10558. Santarelli Collection, Uffizi, Florence.

⁹⁴ MacGregor, *Seeing Salvation*, 211. Pedro Roldán, *Entombment*, 1670-72. Polychrome wood, 3,10 meters wide. Hospital de la Caridad, Seville, Spain.

⁹⁵ MacGregor, *Seeing Salvation*, 185.

⁹⁶ Freedberg 164.

dogma.⁹⁷ Like the Pietà, the *Cristo yacente* in this circumstance becomes a “Eucharistic surrogate” whilst the viewer is in contemplation; through empathetic meditation the viewer is spiritually bound to God.⁹⁸ As we shall later see in the discussion of context and patronage in Chapter III, most works were placed in small chapels or, oftentimes, in cloistered convents. The private sphere of devotion and reception aids our understanding of the work—a work that only becomes public when processed.

The sculptural representations of Christ produced by Fernández follow Counter-Reformation mandates that dictated that the viewer should react with empathy and even sorrow upon viewing religious images, particularly those of the Passion of Christ. The sculptures then functions, as noted by Beato Juan de Ávila in his treatise *Audia Filia* published in 1556, as an aid to visionary experience. In *Audia Filia*, Juan de Ávila recommends in chapter 75 on how to meditate on the Passion of the Lord that “For this it is very useful to have some well proportioned images of the stages of the Passion, which you would look upon many times, so that later without much sorrow you can imagine them on your own.”⁹⁹ This treatise, like the texts produced in the sixteenth century by Fray Juan de la Cruz and St. Teresa of Ávila, further acknowledges that adequate sculptural images of the Passion of Christ, including the *Cristo yacente*, served to foster deeper spiritual reflection. This spiritual function was enriched by the association of these images with the devotion to the Holy Sepulchre, a practice that gained popularity in Spain through ceremonial reenactments held during Holy Week. It was through imagery

⁹⁷ Waterworth 75-91.

⁹⁸ Ziegler 25. Freedberg 164.

⁹⁹ Beato Juan de Ávila, *Avisos y reglas cristianas sobre aquel verso de David: Audia Filia, 1556* (Barcelona: Flors, 1963), 169 in subsection “No forzar la imaginación.” Original text: “Y para esto sirve mucho tener algunas imágenes de los pasos de la pasión, bien proporcionadas, en las cuales miréis muchas veces, para que después, sin mucha pena las podáis vos sola imaginar.”

that both the Holy Sepulchre and the Resurrection of Christ were recreated as part of a sacred drama, in which sculptures of the *Cristo yacente* operated as a surrogate to the physical body of Christ.

Chapter II

Juni, Becerra, and Rincón: Sculptural precedents for the *Cristo yacente*

The seventeenth-century concept of the *Cristo yacente* has direct sculptural precedents in the previous century. Working in the region of Castilla y León, Gregorio Fernández would have been aware of these precursors. The works of his most significant predecessors include Juan de Juni's *Entombment* (1541-44) for the Monastery of San Francisco in Valladolid, Gaspar Becerra's *Cristo yacente* (c. 1562) for the Monastery of Descalzas Reales (Royal Discalced Nuns) in Madrid, and Francisco de Rincón's *Cristo yacente* (1597) for the Monastery of the Sacramento y San Nicolás in Valladolid. It is in these three sculptures that one finds the ingredients for Fernández's later masterpiece: the *Cristo yacente*. Fernández relied on these sculptural precedents, which, when combined with the sixteenth-century prints of Cort and Wierix, resulted in a unique vision of the supine Christ that was commissioned by patrons both royal and religious. A detailed discussion of the works of Juni, Becerra and Rincón also establishes a background for understanding the socio-religious context of the *Cristo yacente* within the culture of the time. Likewise, the devotional benefits of prints, as demonstrated by St. Ignatius of Loyola, lend another dimension to our understanding Gregorio Fernández's working methods.

The earliest precedent for Fernández's *Cristo* is Juan de Juni's *Entombment*, carved for the Monastery of San Francisco in Valladolid between 1541 and 1544 (Figure 5). The date of the French-born artist's arrival in Spain is unclear.¹ He is first documented in León in 1533, then in Valladolid in 1540, where he lived and worked until

¹ He was born in Joigny, Burgundy. Juni is the spanization of his place of birth.

his death in 1577.² Juan de Juni was known primarily as a sculptor, although the connoisseur and traveler Antonio Ponz (1725-1792) in his *Viaje a España*, published in 1772, claims he was a painter as well.³ Juni had his own workshop and assistants, which included artists such as Francisco de la Maza.⁴ He is recognized along with Alonso Berruguete as one of the masters of sixteenth-century Spanish sculpture. The painter and art theorist Antonio Palomino (1653-1726) notes that his work is characterized by monumental figures—arguably influenced by Michelangelo—that communicate with the viewer through both position and placement.⁵ Juni’s work has been described as having mannerist tendencies, with exaggerated physical gestures, and elements derived from both Burgundian and Italian sculptural traditions. The drama of his work seems to anticipate seventeenth-century trends and his *Entombment* specifically was influential on the work of Gregorio Fernández, who clearly knew of Juni and his work. Indeed, in 1615 Fernández bought the houses that had belonged to Juni in Valladolid, and throughout his career created sculptures in the workshops that were previously used by the artist.⁶

Juni was commissioned to produce a *Holy Sepulchre* or *Entombment* piece for the Bishop of Mondoñedo, Fray Antonio de Guevera, for his funerary chapel in the

² J.M. Azcárate, “Escultura del Siglo XVI,” *Ars Hispaniae: Historia Universal del Arte Hispánico*, vol. 13 (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1958), 154.

³ Estebán García Chico, *Los Grandes Imagineros en el Museo Nacional de Escultura* (Valladolid: Gráficas Andrés Martín, 1965), 30. Antonio Ponz, *Viaje a España Seguido de los dos Tomos del Viaje Fuera de España*, edited by Casto María del Rivero, vol. 12 (Madrid: M. Aguilar Editor, 1947) letter 5, chapter 9, 1064.

⁴ Estebán García Chico (1965), 28-30. Ponz mentions the Convent of San Francisco and Juni’s *Entombment* in vol. 11, letter 3, chapters 40-42, 971-972.

⁵ Antonio Palomino, *Lives of the Eminent Spanish Painters and Sculptors*, translated by Nina Ayala Mallory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 72. Palomino mentions Juni traveled to Rome and learned the art of sculpture “in the school of Michelangelo.”

⁶ José Martí y Monsó, *Estudios Histórico-Artísticos Relativos Principalmente a Valladolid basados en la Investigación de Varios Archivos*, 2nd edition (Valladolid: Ámbito Ediciones S.A., 1992), 419. Document: “Venta de Casas Otorgada por Juan Rodriguez Gavilan por si y en nombre del los herederos de D.a Damiana Fernandez su madre abuela y suegra a favor de Juan de la Eras Labrador,” 1675, Cuaderno Suelto, Archivo de Protocolos, Valladolid.

Monastery of San Francisco.⁷ Documentary evidence suggests that the chapel was begun in 1537.⁸ The patron, Fray Antonio, was a distinguished one, having served as an assistant and chronicler to the Emperor Charles V.⁹ Fray Matías de Sobremonte, who wrote a history of the Monastery of San Francisco, describes the arrangement of the sculptural group in 1660:

In the niche of the altar, underneath the half shell and between large gesso sculptures that represent two guardian soldiers, each in between two columns, is a wooden retablo of the Sepulchre of our Lord Christ with five other life size figures which show with propriety and valor the effects of pain and admiration.¹⁰

Sobremonte's description makes it clear that the work was originally located in a *retablo*, this is now unfortunately lost. The soldiers that flanked the sculpture have likewise disappeared. Palomino also notes that there were two sculptural figures, of St. Francis and St. Bonaventure, also set between the columns.¹¹ The convent was destroyed in 1836 and the group is now housed in the Museo Nacional de Escultura in Valladolid.

Although the carving and design is conclusively by Juni, Estebán García Chico suggests that the polychromy was possibly executed by Benito Rabuyate.¹² Rabuyate is

⁷ Azcárate 160.

⁸ Martí y Monsó 355. "Actas de Ayuntamiento," 1595, Archivo del Ayuntamiento, Valladolid.

⁹ Jesús Urrea, *Tesoros del Museo Nacional de Escultura, La Lonja Zaragoza, Sept-Oct. 2005* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 2005), 20.

¹⁰ Estebán García Chico (1965), 34 and Fray Matías de Sobremonte, "Noticias Chronograficas y Topograficas del Real y religioissimo convento de los frailes menores observantes de San Francisco de Valladolid," manuscript 19.351, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. This work was destroyed in a fire at the University of Valladolid in 1939 but an 18th century copy exists in the Biblioteca Nacional in manuscript 19.351 and is also cited in Manuel de Castro, OFM, *Manuscritos Franciscanos de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Valencia, 1973). Original text: "En el nicho del altar devajo de la media concha y entre vultos grandes de hieso vaciados que representan dos soldados de guardia cada uno entre dos columnas esta un retablo de madera del Sepulcro de Cristo Nuestro Señor, con otras cinco figuras de estatura natural que representan los efectos de dolor y admiración con gran propiedad y valentía." Also see Francisco Anrón, "Obras de arte que atesoraba el monasterio de San Francisco de Valladolid," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 11, no. 4 (1935-36): 19-49 and María Antonia Fernández del Hoyo, "El Convento de San Francisco de Valladolid: Datos para su historia," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* (1985): 411-439.

¹¹ Palomino 71. It is not clear if Palomino and Fray Matías de Sobremonte are referring to the same two sculptures but we can assume this is the case.

¹² García Chico (1965), 31.

documented in 1578 as an appraiser of the *retablo* of the major chapel of the Convent of San Francisco, but there are no documents that specify he painted the *Entombment*.¹³

The sculptural group of the *Entombment* is comprised of seven over life-size figures with Christ at the center. The additional figures of Joseph, Salome, St. John, the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, and Nicodemus form a parenthetical enclosure around the figure of Christ. When outlined, their arrangement shows the curves and counter-curves that arguably anticipates Baroque compositions. The overall sculptural composition is closed and the poses of the figures are mirror images of each other. The ensemble is meant to be viewed from the front and the overall distribution of figures is symmetrical. The counter-positioning of the figures conveys not only movement but also a sense of individual reaction and emotion.¹⁴ Each figure is individualized by a particular temperament, age, and psychological reaction. The mirrored figures of Salome and Mary Magdalene exemplify the complementary arrangement of the entire group. Their poses are reversed as Salome's right arm is raised as is Mary Magdalene's left arm. Salome is elderly while Mary Magdalene is youthful; the former is shown in agony while the latter gracefully swoons. Centrally located, the figures of John and the Virgin Mary crouch down, placing greater emphasis upon the body of Christ. John moves into the viewer's space to restrain the Virgin Mary who recedes from us while channeling her grief through her open arms. The central pair of John and the Virgin is spatially closed and the flanking pairs open up as the viewer's eyes progress outward from the center of the composition. The figures of Joseph and Nicodemus serve as the respective end points of the group and contain the interior drama. All the figures gather to anoint the body of Christ and to remove the

¹³ J. Martí y Monsó 356. "Protocolo de Pedro de Arce," 1578, Archivo de Protocolos, Valladolid.

¹⁴ Azcárate 160.

nails, clean the wounds, and perfume the body. Joseph presents nails to the viewer in his left hand as if to demand an explanation for what has happened to Christ. The face of Joseph is not idealized but, rather, highly veristic. Both Salome and Nicodemus hold rags in their right hands; the latter also carries a pitcher that echoes the container held by Mary Magdalene. Here Christ's body is prepared for burial with the aloes and herbs brought by Nicodemus as related in John 19:39. The inclusion of Nicodemus in this *Entombment* raises questions about self-reflexivity—that is, parallels may be drawn between Nicodemus and Juni and between the former's sculpture of the primordial image of Christ and the latter's supine Christ. The figure of Nicodemus in the *Entombment* is a self-reference to Juan de Juni.¹⁵ José Martí y Monsó, an archival researcher writing in 1898, notes that if a portrait Juni survived we would know for sure if Nicodemus and Juni are one in the same. He continues by saying “*No diremos nosotros que la [cabeza] de Nicodemus sea precisamente un retrato del autor, pero así nos le figuramos; grande, fuerte, varonil....*” (We would not say that the head of Nicodemus is precisely a portrait of the artist, but this is how we imagine him: large, strong, manly....)¹⁶

One of the most interesting aspects of this work is that the figures can be moved as they are all carved in the round and are therefore independent of one another. This physical individuality establishes the Christ figure as a predecessor of the more intentionally isolated *Cristo yacente*. The figure of Christ is placed on a faux-marble green sarcophagus decorated with a red banner and the coat of arms of the patron, Fray Antonio de Guevera. The two coats of arms flank an inscription drawn from Genesis

¹⁵ For a study of Nicodemus and self-reflexivity see Corine Schleif, “Nicodemus and Sculptors: Self-Reflexivity in Works by Adam Kraft and Tilman Riemenschneider,” *The Art Bulletin* 75, no. 4 (December, 1993): 608.

¹⁶ Martí y Monsó 356.

23:6, which reads: “*Nos in electis Sepvl Chris Nostris Sepeli Mortvvm Tvvm.*” However, this passage appears in Genesis as “*Nos in electis Sepvl[cris] Chris[tus] Nostris Sepeli Mortvvm Tvvm*” or “[Hear] us: in the choice of our tombs, Christ, bury your dead.”¹⁷ The sarcophagus is gilded as are many of the surfaces of the figures. The figure of Christ rests on a golden shroud with red undertones and his head is supported by two pillows decorated in *estofado* (gilding).¹⁸ The lower pillow has an *espigado* (zig-zag) pattern while the upper pillow is brocaded and accented by green piping.¹⁹ Both pillows have tassels, few of which have survived the ravages of time. The body of Christ is placed on its back with a slight angling of the torso. The legs lie flat while the right arm is tilted sideways so the hand wound can be viewed frontally. This wound is accentuated by the half-closed hand. The left arm is placed on the abdomen inviting the viewer to touch the wound, which measures one-half inch deep. The head is almost completely turned to the right. The head is characterized by half-open eyes, through which the pupils are barely visible, and a closed mouth. The face is framed by a thick mass of curly hair and a beard. Red pigment, meant to imitate blood, is applied to the wounds and elsewhere across the body. The blood is dark and seems coagulated. The loincloth, edged with a red stripe, is also splattered with blood and is held in place by a carved piece of fabric. Evidence of Christ having been bound is supplied by the darkened skin of the wrists and ankles. The polychromy of the knees is also shaded, recalling Christ’s struggle with the cross on the

¹⁷ Genesis 23:6 (Authorized King James Version). Original text: “Hear us, my lord: You are a mighty prince among us; bury your dead in the choicest of our burial places. None of us will withhold from you his burial place, that you may bury your dead.”

¹⁸ Juan de Juni also uses the two pillow motif in his *Dead Christ* for the Old Cathedral, now known as the Castro Monument, in Salamanca. This sculpture is mentioned by Palomino and Ponz. See Palomino 71, footnote 28. Ponz vol. 12, letter 6, chapter 33, 1085. *Estofado* is polychromy technique used to embellish the garments of carved figures. See glossary in *Spanish Polychrome Sculpture 1500-1800 in United States Collections*, edited by Suzanne Stratton (New York: Spanish Institute, 1993), 190-191.

¹⁹ Ronda Kasl, “Painters, Polychromy and the Perfection of Images,” *Spanish Polychrome Sculpture 1500-1800 in United States Collections*, edited Suzanne Stratton (New York: Spanish Institute, 1993), 38.

road to Calvary. Overall, when compared to Gaspar Becerra's later work at the Monastery of Descalzas Reales, this piece is more restrained. The *Entombment's* expressive emotion and psychological agony are reserved for the subsidiary figures and not for the figure of Christ himself, who appears at peace.

Scholarly discussion of the context and devotional function of this sculptural group has been minimal at best. Ultimately, in terms of layout, the work parallels the North Italian Passion groups created in Milan and Bologna by artists such as Niccolò dell' Arca and Guido Mazzoni in the second-half of the fifteenth century. The inclusion of a supine Christ in these groups is significant as is their association with the Holy Sepulchre, paraliturgical ceremonies, sermons, and religious plays.²⁰ When considering the purpose of these groups in a funerary context, Leonardo da Vinci's work at Santa Maria della Grazie in Milan for Duke Ludovico Sforza comes to mind.²¹ Leonardo's *Last Supper* mural, dated 1495-98, shares with Juni's *Entombment* the inclusion of the patron's coat of arms, the execution of the work for a specific location as well as the patron's desired meaning. Each patron hoped not only to be remembered after their death but also for the work of art to fulfill a function. In the case of Leonardo's fresco, the celebration of the Last Supper of Christ with his disciples in the context of a refectory is of course traditional. But beyond this literal meaning, the celebration of the Last Supper may also be understood as Eucharistic. The fact that Sforza planned his family's burial

²⁰ See Randi Klebanoff, "Passion, Compassion, and the Sorrows of Women: Niccolò dell'Arca's *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* for the Bolognese Confraternity of Santa Maria Della Vita," in *Confraternities and the Visual Arts in Italy: Ritual, Spectacle, Image*, edited by Barbara Wisch and Diane Cole Ahl, 146- 172 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Also see *Il compianto sul Cristo morto. Quattro capolavori della scultura emiliana del Quattrocento* (Bologna: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, 1996) and for Adalgisa Mazzoni Lugli, *Guido Mazzoni e la rinascita della terracotta nel Quattrocento* (Turin: Umberto Allemandi, 1990) and Timothy Verdon, *The Art of Guido Mazzoni* (New York: Garland, 1978).

²¹ See Leo Steinberg, *Leonardo's Incessant Last Supper* (New York: Zone Books, 2001).

place to be in the adjoining Church of Santa Maria della Grazie reinforces and commemorates the Eucharistic context of the fresco.²² The perpetual celebration of the Eucharist in painted form guaranteed Sforza and his lineage symbolic “resurrection.”

The same can be said of Juan de Juni’s *Entombment* in the funerary chapel of Fray Antonio de Guevara. As a Franciscan, Guevara would have recognized the appeal of Eucharistic devotion and meditative contemplation. He would have been aware of the writings of Fray Bernardo of Laredo, which were influential to St. Teresa of Ávila. Understandably, a scene of the dead Christ was an appropriate choice for a funerary chapel because it shows corporeal death. Symbolically, though, Eucharistic meaning is implied by the presence of the dead body of Christ; the *Entombment* then signifies the promise of resurrection. This reading of the *Entombment* parallels and anticipates an aspect of my interpretation of the *Cristo yacente*.

Another significant sixteenth-century precedent for Fernández’s *Cristo* is the carved figure of Christ by Gaspar Becerra, *pintor de camara* to Philip II, who, in 1562, is recorded as working on the *retablo* of Descalzas Reales in Madrid the following year (Figure 27).²³ Becerra was born in Baeza, in the kingdom of Jaén in Andalusia.²⁴ Writing in the eighteenth century, Palomino observed that Becerra, at that time considered primarily a painter, worked in the manner of Michelangelo and was heavily influenced by the artist’s Medici Tombs (1519-34) in San Lorenzo, Florence and the *Last*

²² The Eucharistic context in Santa Maria della Grazie is also reinforced by the *Crucifixion* scene in the South Wall opposite the *Last Supper*. The mural by Giovanni Donato Montorfano, 1495, has donor portraits of Ludovico and Beatrice done in *fresco secco* which support the commemorate aspect mentioned above. See Pietro C. Marani, Roberto Cecchi and Germano Mulazzani, *Il Cenacolo: Guide to the Refectory and Church of Santa Maria della Grazie* (Milan: Electa, 1999), 11-47.

²³ Juan José Martín González, “Precisiones sobre Gaspar Becerra,” *Archivo Español del Arte* 48, no. 190-191 (April-September 1975): 328. Ponz summarizes the history of Descalzas Reales and Becerra’s work on the altar in vol. 5, section 5, chapters 15-22, 471-472.

²⁴ Palomino 16.

Judgment (1534-1541) fresco in the Sistine Chapel in Vatican City, Rome.²⁵ Becerra's figures, whether painted or sculpted, are characterized by voluminous form and a close attention to musculature. His figures appear "fleshy" and his canon of proportions similar to that used by Alonso Berruguete and Juan de Juni. In 1585, Juan de Arfe observed that the above-named artists employed a system based on fifths in order create a figure that was one fifth the width relative to its height.²⁶ Becerra's fame was such that he came to the attention of Giorgio Vasari, with whom he worked in the Palazzo Cancellaria (c. 1544), as recorded in the Life of Cristofano Gherardi in Vasari's 1568 version of *Le Vite*.²⁷ After settling in Valladolid in 1557, Becerra's students included Isaac de Juni, Francisco de la Maza, and the Álvarez brothers.²⁸ He was, in short, well-known and admired by his contemporaries, and his *Cristo yacente* was a precedent that would not have been ignored by Gregorio Fernández.

Sometime around 1563, Becerra was commissioned to provide a *Cristo yacente* for the Monastery of Descalzas Reales in Madrid, an institution founded by Princess Doña Juana of Austria. To establish this new religious community, the princess

²⁵ Martín González (1975), 330. Palomino 18.

²⁶ Juan de Arphe y Villafañe, *De Varia Commensuración para la Escultvra y Architectvra* (Sevilla: Imprenta de Andrea Pisco, 1585), book 2, title 1. Martín González (1975), 331.

²⁷ Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' piu eccelenti pittori, scultori e architetti, scritte e di nuovo ampliate da Giogio Vasari co' ritratti loro e con l'aggiunta delle vite de' vivi e de' morti dall' anno 1550 insino al 1567* (Florence, 1568), 294. Gaspar Becerra is noted as "*Bizzera spagnuoli*" in the life of *Cristofano Gherardi ditto Doceno dal Borgo San Sepulcro Pittore*, vol. 5, line 26, 294. He is also mentioned in vol. 6, line 37, 388 of the *Descrizione dell'opere di Giorgio Vasari pittore e architetto arentino* and vol. 5, line 37, 544 of the life of *Daniello Ricciarelli da Volterra pittore e scultore*. See Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite*, Giuntina edition also available online <http://biblio.cribecu.sns.it/vasari/consultazione/Vasari/indice.html>.

²⁸ Jesus Urrea, "El escultor Francisco Rincón," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 39 (1973): 497. Urrea mentions that Francisco de la Maza was a student of Gaspar Becerra who is already noted as working in Juan de Juni's workshop. Francisco de la Maza worked in Valladolid and he was considered for some time the author of the *Cristo yacente* of the Sancti Spiritus attributed to Francisco Rincón. Regardless of the work's authorship, the collaborative efforts of sculptors in Valladolid allow us to link the city's workshop to Becerra. See Palomino 22, footnote 6.

purchased the building in 1555 from Don Alonso Gutiérrez, bookkeeper to Emperor Charles V. Work began the following year and was still under way in 1559 when the first of the nuns arrived.²⁹ The monastery served as a residence for such distinguished royals as Empress María, Ana Dorotea of Austria, and Infanta Sor Margarita de la Cruz during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³⁰ Gaspar Becerra's *Cristo yacente* is among the convent's vast cultural inventory, which includes a sculpture by Pedro de Mena and paintings by Alonso Sánchez Coello, Peter Paul Rubens, and Luca Giordano. Elías Tormo, one of the first to attribute the *Cristo yacente* in the Descalzas Reales to Gaspar Becerra, describes the work he saw in 1913 in the then-cloistered monastery in his book *En las Descalzas Reales: Estudios Históricos, Iconográficos y Artísticos*.³¹ Select areas of the monastery are now open to the public as a museum that forms part of the National Patrimony of Spain. Becerra's sculpture is located in a chapel on the right at the top of the main stairs in the upper cloister. The chapel has a curved vaulted ceiling decorated in *grisaille* with *intarsia* panels directly under the sculpture and tile work on the floor at its center. The *grisaille* scenes attributed to Becerra were done in a manneristic style in the late sixteenth century and include the *Apparition of the Resurrected Christ to the Virgin Mary* (above center), *Christ in Limbo* (above right), and the *Resurrection* in addition to the *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (above left).³² Other scenes are depicted in color below the vault. One of these shows three angels who hold a shroud

²⁹ Ana García Sanz, "The Convent of Descalzas Reales," *The Convents of Descalzas Reales and Encarnación* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2003), 11. Princess Juana may have bought this particular building because she was born there.

³⁰ Javier Portus, "Las Descalzas Reales en la cultura festiva del Barroco," *Reales Sitios* 35, no. 138 (1998): 4.

³¹ Elías Tormo, *En las Descalzas Reales: Estudios Históricos, Iconográficos y Artísticos*, vol. 1-4 (Madrid: Imprenta San Mateo, 1982).

³² Enrique Cordero de Ciria, "Cristos Yacentes Madrileños," *Villa de Madrid* 24 (1986): 48. Tormo, vol.1, 48.

that serves as a backdrop to the sculpture of the *Cristo yacente*. On either side are still life paintings; depicted on the right is a scene of the *Noli Me Tangere* and on the left the *Three Marys at the Tomb*. All eight works are related topically and reinforce the theme of victory over death.

The appearance of the *Cristo yacente* in its chapel setting is very impressive; the sheer size of the figure and its bold polychromy have a shocking impact on the viewer. This figure has half-open eyes and an open mouth. The pupils fall obliquely and the eyes sink downward toward the pursed lips. The face seems to express great agony on account of its furrowed brow. The muscles of the neck are tensed, creating a contortion of the face that is carried throughout the entire body. The hair and beard are worked in great detail. The contorted pose of the body and the musculature reflect a mannered approach to the figure. The muscles read as bulges under the skin while the figure's swollen appearance indicates its state of decay. The polychromy of this work is equally dramatic, as the sculpture is covered with lacerations over the entire body. Heavily painted areas where red pigment replicates blood are concentrated on the forehead and at the wounds. From the chest wound blood also flows onto the shroud. The skin is darkened around the knees and ankles. The exaggerated proportions of the torso and limbs culminate in attenuated hands and fingers. The veins of the right arm are accentuated and are clearly visible from a distance. Overall, the hands and legs seem slimmer than the torso, which is punctured not only by Longinus' spear wound but also by a deep-set navel. Christ's head is supported by three fabric pillows with tassels and golden brocade. The sculpture serves as a reliquary, and if we look closely we can observe that the lance wound doubles as a repository for the Holy Eucharist. The work's primary view is from the right in

order to call attention to the reliquary wound. The over life-size figure is carved in the round and, according to Martín González, it is one of the first *Cristo yacente* types in Spain produced for processional use.³³

The multifunctional aspects of the sculpture as reliquary and processional work are important in the understanding of the functions of the *Cristo yacente* type and confirm the associations mentioned in the previous chapter. Longinus' wound has been enlarged to accommodate the addition of a receptacle that would receive the Eucharistic wafer. This cavity is covered in gold-plated silver that is embossed and engraved. Its glass lid is encircled by a silver frame that allows the interior to be visible.³⁴ The edge of the void is trimmed in gold. It is clear in this case that the sculpture was intended to function as a reliquary from the outset, on account of its anatomical particularities, its contorted and proportionally-large chest, and the ample space provided for the reliquary.³⁵ Tormo reports that no additional figures were commissioned and that this work functioned on its own as a recreation of the Holy Sepulcher.³⁶ The single figure of the *Cristo yacente* thus served to represent the entire scene of the Entombment while also calling attention to Christ's sacrifice for humanity and his promise of salvation through the celebration of the Eucharist.

The *Cristo yacente* by Gaspar Becerra functioned then in three capacities: as a recreation of the Holy Sepulchre within a chapel setting, as a reliquary for the Eucharistic wafer, and as a processional sculpture used during Holy Week rituals. This last function was essential, since it permitted the faithful to participate as witnesses to the reenacted

³³Martín González (1975), 353.

³⁴Martín González (1975), 354.

³⁵ Martín González (1975), 353.

³⁶ Tormo, vol. 1, 50.

death and burial of Christ. The Popes have granted permission for this sculptural type to serve as a reliquary since the early sixteenth century. The figure of Christ is moved on Holy Friday and processed to the public cloister of the monastery. This special privilege was first granted to the Descalced Clairs of the Convent of Gandía by Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503)—a privilege that was likely transferred to the nuns at Madrid via Sor Francisca de Jesús, who officiated as abbess, or perhaps by Sor Juana de la Cruz, the younger sister of Francesco Borgia.³⁷ When Juana of Austria established the new Franciscan community of Descalzas Reales, seven sisters from the Convent of Santa Clara in Gandía were incorporated.³⁸ The number of nuns allowed to live in the convent at any one time was limited to 33. This number is significant because it was the age of Christ when he died. Presently there are 32 nuns living in the convent.³⁹ In the seventeenth century, the chaplain Tomás Luis de Victoria composed *Eheu!* or *Lamentaciones*, a repetitive and engaging rhythm sung by the nuns.⁴⁰ In her dissertation on the convent, María Leticia Sánchez Hernández summarizes the events that took place involving the sculpture derived from devotional exercises printed for the foundation of the convent:

Holy Friday was invested with particular interest in the Descalzas due to the celebration, with the permission of the apostolic authority, of the procession of the *Cristo* through the upper cloister. [The celebration] consisted of the procession of Becerra's *Cristo*, held in the first chapel of said cloister, which has in the side of the chest a reliquary in which was placed one of the three hosts that according to the customs of this convent was consecrated the day of Holy Thursday. Before the beginning of the procession the president of the assembly would remove his chausable and put on a cope to initiate the cortege accompanied by three soprano

³⁷ Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "Arte y mentalidad religiosa en el Museo de la Descalzas Reales," *Reales Sitios* 35, no. 138 (1998): 15.

³⁸ García Sanz 11. The official name of the monastery is Franciscanas Coletinas de la Madre de Dios de la Consolación.

³⁹ Visiting Tour, (Las Descalzas Reales, Madrid, 11 October 2006).

⁴⁰ María Ruiz Gómez, "Dos nuevos lienzos de la escuela madrileña en las Descalzas Reales de Madrid, y una hipótesis sobre la devoción al Santo Sepulcro," *Reales Sitios* 35 no. 138 (1998): 57.

singers. At the same time that the four sides of the cloister were traveled, the prelate intonated the versicle ‘heu heu domine’ and ‘heu heu Salvador noster’ followed by the voices of the sopranos and the rest of the chapel. Once at the altar in the chapel of the *Cristo*, the Sacred Host was placed in the *monumentico* as the motet ‘sepulto domino’ was sung, at the end of which the high mass celebrant kneeled until the conclusion of the prayer. On Holy Saturday, the Resurrection of Christ was celebrated very early in the morning. For this, the major chaplain would give the appropriate orders for the decoration of the walls of the cloister and the altars at the four corners with tapestries. As had been done on the afternoon of Holy Friday, the celebration of Easter began with the procession of the Sacred Host that had been removed from the side of the *Cristo* and had been placed in the monstrance.⁴¹

The procession of Becerra’s *Cristo yacente* is described in further detail by Tormo in his account of his 1913 visit to the convent. He explains that the procession took place on the afternoon of Good Friday and that the sculpture was accompanied by three *monaguillo* (acolyte) singers impersonating the three Marys: Mary Solomon, Mary Cleofe, and Mary Magdalene.⁴² The procession did not extend to the outside of the convent and only took place inside the complex as the sculpture was moved from the church to the upper cloister of the convent. The work was carried through the *Claustro de Capellanes*, which was decorated from the second quarter of the seventeenth century

⁴¹ María Leticia Sánchez, *Monacato Regio y Ordenes religiosas femeninas en el Madrid de los Austrias: Descalzas Reales, Encarnacion y Santa Isabel* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1998), 282, 283. Event as recorded in “Ejercicio de Devoción y oración para todo el discurso del año del real monasterio de las Descalzas Reales de Madrid, que mandó imprimir la serenísima señora infanta sor Margarita de la Cruz, Anvers, año de MDCXXII,” 1622. Original text: “El viernes santo se revestía de un particular interés, en las Descalzas, ante la celebración de la procession del Cristo por el claustro alto, con permiso de la autoridad apostólica. Consistía en sacar en procession al Cristo de Becerra, conservado en la primera capilla del citado claustro, que tiene en el costado una custodia en la que se colocaba una de la tres Formas que, conforme a la costumbre de este Convento, se consagraba el día de Jueves Santo. Antes de comenzar la procesión, el presidente de la asamblea se quitaba la casulla y se ponía una capa para iniciar el cortejo acompañado por tres tiples. Al tiempo que se recorrían los cuatro laterales del claustro, el prelado entonaba el versículo ‘heu heu domine’ y ‘heu heu Salvador noster’, seguido por las voces tiples y del resto de la capilla. Una vez se llegaba al altar dispuesto en la capilla del Cristo, se colocaba al Santísimo en el monumentico mientras se cantaba el motete “sepulto domino”, y acabado el cual, el preste se arrodillaba hasta concluir la oración. En el Sábado Santo se celebraba muy de mañana la Resurrección del Señor. Para ello, el capellán mayor daba las órdenes oportunas para el adorno con paños de la paredes del claustro y de los altares de los cuatro ángulos del mismo. Al igual que se había hecho durante la tarde del Viernes Santo, la celebración de la Pascua comenzaba con la procesión del Santísimo que se había sacado del costado del Cristo y se había colocado en la custodia.”

⁴² Tormo, vol. 4, 107.

onward with tapestries after Rubens by Jan Raes commissioned by Isabel Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II.⁴³ According to Martín González, there was a time when the *Cristo yacente* was carried in procession on Holy Friday through the streets of the city; today the ritual takes place at five o'clock in the afternoon on Holy Friday and is confined to the lower cloister.⁴⁴ Rodríguez G. de Ceballos describes a seventeenth-century procession of the Holy Eucharist through the streets of Madrid that included King Philip IV and his family; however, it is unclear if the procession included Becerra's *Cristo*.⁴⁵

A drawing of an altar scene (c. 1660) by Francisco Rizi places Becerra's *Cristo* at the center of a highly elaborate backdrop that included tapestries and paintings recreating Calvary and Jerusalem and that was perhaps used during the occasion of the *Cuarenta Horas* (Figure 28).⁴⁶ The *Cuarenta Horas* (Forty Hours) was a celebration established in Rome by Clement VIII (1592-1605) and that later was extended to Spain by Pope Gregory XV (1621-1623). From the latter Pope, Philip IV (1605-1665) received the special privilege to exhibit the Holy Sacrament uninterrupted for three days.⁴⁷ This activity was celebrated most frequently in times of distress. Crumly states, according to papal constitution, that the purpose of the Forty Hours Prayer was not only to encourage the devotion of the faithful to the Sacrament but also to highlight the willingness of God and his Son to aid and defend the Church against threats.⁴⁸ The period of forty hours was

⁴³ Ruiz Gómez 57.

⁴⁴ Martín González (1975), 353.

⁴⁵ Rodríguez G. de Ceballos (1998), 16. For a detailed discussion of Holy week in Madrid during the seventeenth century see Miguel Herrero García, *La Semana Santa de Madrid en el siglo XVII* (Madrid: 1935), 12-33, 44-45, 47, 50, 54, 59. These pages deal specifically with the Holy Sepulchre.

⁴⁶ Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, (1998), 15. See Alfonso Pérez Sánchez, *El Dibujo Español de los Siglos de Oro* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1980), 103. Pencil, pen and sepia drawing, 470 x 485 mm, inventory 10558, Santarelli Collection, Uffizi, Florence.

⁴⁷ Rodríguez G. de Ceballos (1998), 16.

⁴⁸ Arthur Crumly, "The Forty Hours Prayer," *Latin Mass Society of England and Wales News Letter* (August 2003), <http://www.latin-mass-society.org/fortyhours.htm>.

significant as this was the time during which Christ remained in the tomb before his Resurrection. The Forty Hours Prayer closely parallels the devotional practices of the Holy Sepulchre. Rodríguez G. de Ceballos mentions that the House of Austria, in particular, had a special connection with ceremonies that reenacted the Holy Sepulchre as they originated in Bavaria and Tyrol.⁴⁹ The House of Austria had a tradition of celebrating the burial of Christ that when combined with the Forty Hours Prayer reinforced their devotion to the Eucharist. The inclusion of the *Cristo yacente* in these celebrations allowed the sculpture to be viewed by a broader audience beyond the context of Holy Week procession.

The sepia drawing by Rizi shows a baldachin surrounded by a balustrade and flanked by two architectural perspectives. All the elements are placed above a decorated platform. The platform includes depictions of Eucharistic prefigurations such as the Sacrifice of Abel and the Sacrifice of Isaac⁵⁰ The Resurrection and the Holy Face are visible in the platform below Becerra's *Cristo yacente*, which lies upon a shroud. Scenes from Christ's Passion, such as the Flagellation and the Ecce Homo, can be seen in front of the architectural perspectives at the left and right respectively. A number of figures are present, including angels, saints, and allegories, as well as the Trinity group and a personification of Faith holding a cross. Ruiz Gómez proposes that two anonymous paintings of *Pilate presenting Christ* and *Christ on the Road to Calvary*, today in the

⁴⁹ Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, 'Espacio sacro teatralizado: el influjo de las técnicas escénicas en el retablo barroco,' *En torno al teatro de Siglo de Oro* (Almería: Instituto de Estudios almerienses, 1992), 141.

⁵⁰ Rodríguez de Ceballos, 142, 143. Gaspar Becerra's design for the retablo can be seen in A. Bustamante y F. Marías, *Dibujos de arquitectura y ornamentación de la Biblioteca Nacional, Siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid, 1991) no. 1.

Monastery of Descalzas Reales, originally complemented Rizi's ensemble and added to the narrative sequence.⁵¹

Although the sculpture itself is solitary, it is clear from the preceding discussion that Becerra's *Cristo yacente* formed only a part of a larger program or installation that centered on the cult of the Eucharist, a devotion that was critical to the establishment of the Monastery of Descalzas Reales. The most important tenet of its foundation, as revealed in the convent's manifesto of 1572 was "the promotion of continued praise to God for the benefits that she [Doña Juana] and the House of Austria had received, praise that was to concentrate on the adoration and cult to the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist."⁵² The Franciscan Juan de Carillo, writing in 1616, further notes that:

all the foundation of this convent, its estate, and the care placed [regarding its establishment] seems to have been directed towards this end and effect, that the Holy Sacrament, and the honor owed to such a mystery be as precise as possible and that its festivities be celebrated with grand formality.⁵³

The Holy Sacrament is referred in contemporary documents as the "*Sacramentum Amoris Austriaci*," which linked the devotion to the Eucharist to the founder of the House of Austria, Conde Rudolfo, and by extension to the House of the Hapsburgs.⁵⁴ Juana de Austria's rigorous prescriptions for devotions to the Holy Sacrament are documented on

⁵¹ Ruiz Gómez 58.

⁵² Rodríguez G. de Ceballos (1998), 14. See "Acta de ratificación por parte de Felipe III: Real fundación de la capilla y monasterio de las religiosas franciscanas descalzas de la primera regla de Santa Clara, que en la villa de Madrid dotó y fundó la Serenissima Señora Doña Juana de Austria, Infanta de Castilla y Princesa de Portugal, por los años de 1572, con las declaraciones que a ella hizo en Gumiel de Mercado a 15 de octubre de 1602, el señor Rey don Phelipe III, como Patrón y Protector que era, confirmadas por la Santidad de Clemente VIII, en 24 de marzo de 1601."

⁵³ Juan de Carillo, *Relación histórica de la Real Fundación del Monasterio de las Descalzas de Santa Clara de la villa de Madrid* (Madrid: Imprenta Luis Sánchez, 1616), 35. María Leticia Ruiz Gómez (1998) notes in page 56 that the manuscript "Crónica y historia verdadera de las cosas memorables y particulares del Sancto Convento de la Madre de Dios de Consolación de Madrid" served as a reference to Carillo. Original text: "toda la fundación de este convento, y toda la hazienda y cuidado que puso en ella parece que iba encaminada a este fin y efecto, de que el Santísimo Sacramento, y la honra debida a tanto misterio, estuviese en toda la puntualidad posible, y que sus fiestas se celebrasen con grandísimo cumplimiento."

⁵⁴ Rodríguez G. de Ceballos (1998), 14.

folio 30 of the *Crónica y historia verdadera de las cosas memorables y particulares del Sancto Convento de la Madre de Dios de Consolación de Madrid* of 1597. Summarizing her requirements, it states that:

the festivities and eight days of the Holy Sacrament be very solemn...that the stretcher for the wafer be adorned with all its jewelry, very carefully, and richly and that the ministry be conducted with a lot of music....⁵⁵

As the above quotation intimates, the religious rites of the Descalzas Reales were characterized by “liturgical splendor.”⁵⁶ The patronage of a select number of *Cristos yacentes* is related to royal commissions and those of other high-ranking individuals. The growing demand for this sculptural type was almost certainly fueled by the crown’s unyielding support for and promotion of the Holy Sacrament. Gaspar Becerra’s *Cristo yacente* has been correctly described as a “living reliquary” for the consecrated Eucharist—a fitting term for a monumental type where transubstantiation of the host into the body of Christ takes literal form.⁵⁷

The most direct precedent for Gregorio Fernandez’s formulation of the *Cristo yacente* is found in the work of Francisco de Rincón. Few documents exist to trace the life of this artist. It is known that he was born around 1567 in Valladolid and died there in 1608.⁵⁸ Rincón is connected to other sculptors such as Isaac de Juni, Juan de Juni’s son, through documents that note him as a witness in various legal transactions. He also

⁵⁵ “Crónica y historia verdadera de las cosas memorables y particulares del Sancto Convento de la Madre de Dios de Consolación de Madrid,” manuscript, folio 30, General Archive of the Palace. Published by Ruiz Gómez, 61. Original text: “las fiestas y octavas del Sanctissimo sacramento fuesen muy solemnizadas...que las andas en que avia de estar la custodia se aderezasen con todas sus joyas, muy curiosa y ricamente, y los oficios que se hiziesen con mucha musica...”

⁵⁶ Ruiz Gómez 56.

⁵⁷ Rodríguez G. de Ceballos 15.

⁵⁸ Jesús Urrea, “El Escultor Francico Rincón,” *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arquelogía* 39 (1973) 492, 496.

likely worked with other sculptors in Valladolid, including the Álvarez brothers.⁵⁹

Rincón can be linked indirectly to Becerra through his collaborations with Becerra's students.⁶⁰ His *Cristo yacente*, now housed in the Convent of Sancti Spiritus, was at one time attributed to Francisco de la Maza, who is recorded as both a student of Becerra and as present in Juan de Juni's workshop.⁶¹ Moreover, de la Maza is recorded as working in the church of the Convent of San Francisco where Juni's *Entombment* was located.⁶² If the *Cristo yacente* in Sancti Spiritus could indeed be verified as a work by Francisco de la Maza, the connection to Juan de Juni and Becerra would be even more direct.

Unfortunately, de la Maza's ties to Gregorio Fernández are not as clearly established as the relationship between Fernández and Francisco de Rincón.

Rincón was living in Valladolid in 1600 and had a workshop in Puente deillas de Zurradores, today Panaderos street.⁶³ Gregorio Fernández is recorded as working with Rincón from 1600 until 1605.⁶⁴ We do not know if Fernández was an associate or workshop assistant but a connection between the two artists is clear. In 1660, Fray Matias de Sobremonte in his history of the Convent of San Francisco mentions "a famous sculptor named Rincón, teacher of the great Gregorio Fernández..." which based on

⁵⁹ García Chico (1965), 29. Martí y Monsó, 368. "Protocolo de Luis González," 1598, Archivo de Protocolos, Valladolid. Urrea (1973), 492. Jesús Urrea, *La Escultura en Valladolid hacia 1600, 26 de marzo al 16 de abril 1985* (Valladolid: Caja de Ahorros Popular de Valladolid, 1985), Francisco Rincón biography.

⁶⁰ Urrea (1973), 497.

⁶¹ Azcárate 281. Attributed to Francisco de la Maza in Juan Agapito y Revilla, *La obra de los maestros de la escultura castellana*, vol. 2 (Valladolid: Santarén, 1920-29), 108. Martín González also bases his attribution to Francisco de la Maza on stylistic analysis of the *Cristo* in the Pietà group in the Parochial Church of Simancas in J.J. Martín González, "Cuatro esculturas inéditas de taller vallisoletano," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios Arte y Arqueología* 31(1965): 137. Authorship is given to Francisco Rincón by Urrea (1985), Catalogue entry: *Cristo yacente*. Nieto argues that it is "in the style of Francisco de Rincón" in Gratiniano Nieto, *Guías artísticas de España, Valladolid*, edited by Federico Wattenberg (Valladolid: Editorial Arie, 1964), 52.

⁶² Martí y Monsó 357. "Protocolo de Pedro de Arce," 1578, Archivo de Protocolos, Valladolid.

⁶³ Enrique García Martín, *Los Escultores Francisco del Rincón y Gregorio Fernández* (Valladolid: Editorial Sever-Cuesta, 2001), 12.

⁶⁴ García Martín 12.

Martín González's stylistic comparative analysis may indeed be the case.⁶⁵ Upon the death of Francisco de Rincón, Fernández took on the deceased artist's son, Manuel de Rincón, as an apprentice in his shop.⁶⁶ In the eighteenth century, Palomino considered the *Cristo yacente* to be by Gregorio Fernández while Martín González attributed the work to Francisco de la Maza.⁶⁷ Martín González based the authorship on the stylistic similarities to the Christ figure in the *Piedad (Pietà)* group of the parish church of Simancas in Valladolid dated 1571.⁶⁸ The director of the Museo Nacional de Escultura, Jesús Urrea, considers the *Cristo yacente* a work by Francisco de Rincón dated to 1606.⁶⁹ Urrea bases his attribution on the argument that the treatment of the hair and beard is similar to other works by Rincón. Conclusively, Rincón is the author of the *Cristo yacente* in Sancti Spiritus because he can be connected to Juni, Becerra, and Fernández.

Measuring 1,91 meters and carved of pine wood, Rincón's *Cristo yacente* was originally located in the Monastery of San Nicolás, whose members accepted the Order of San Augustine from 1606 onwards.⁷⁰ Palomino maybe referring to this *Cristo* when he mentions works by Gregorio Fernández in Valladolid, which include "a marvelous Entombment of Christ in the Convent of Nuns of San Nicolás...."⁷¹ The convent of San

⁶⁵ This citation appears quoted in Martín González, *El Escultor Gregorio Fernandez* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1980), 59. Original text: "un famoso escultor llamado Rincón, maestro del gran Gregorio Fernández..." In chapter 3, page 56, footnote 6 he explains that Sobremonte must have known of this news through Diego Valentín Díaz, friend and collaborator to Fernández.

⁶⁶ García Martín 47.

⁶⁷ Palomino 71. Ceán Bermúdez also mentions the work in vol. 2, 268. Original text: "El Entierro de Cristo."

⁶⁸ Martín Gonzalez (1965): 137.

⁶⁹ Jesús Urrea, "Los Cristos yacentes de Castilla y León," *Tercer Encuentro para el Estudio Cofradiero: En Torno al Santo Sepulcro. Zamora, 10-13 de Noviembre, 1993* (Zamora: Imprenta Jambrina), 19. See also Agapito y Revilla 108-109.

⁷⁰ Urrea (1985), Catalogue entry: *Cristo yacente*. Juan José Martín González and Francisco Javier de la Plaza Santiago, *Catálogo Monumental: Monumentos Religiosos de la Ciudad de Valladolid*, vol. 15, part 2 (Valladolid: Diputación de Valladolid, 2001) 207, fig. 791.

⁷¹ Palomino 71.

Nicolás was founded by Doña María Sanz de Salcedo, wife of Juan de la Moneda in late sixteenth century. An archival document notes:

the commissioners executed her testament on the 7th of March of 1597, naming as heir said monastery that was then named Concepcion Jerónima, which in accordance with the monastery of the Sacrament located outside the door of the Campo...joined with it...incorporating said monastery of the Sacrament with [the monastery of] St. Nicolás so they became one in the same.⁷²

The Monastery of San Nicolás was originally known as *Concepción Jerónima* before it was combined with the Monastery of the Sacramento. In a document dated January 16, 1609 published by Martí y Monsó, the convent is referred to as the Monastery of the Sacramento y San Nicolás.⁷³ The monastery had an adjacent church that was to serve as the resting place of Doña María Sanz and her heirs. Documents note that the sculptors working at the church and Monastery of San Nicolás were Diego de Praves, Juan de Vila, and Juan de Muniátegui.⁷⁴ The first two were working on the *retablo* of the monastery, and were said to have been doing “works of sculpture or carving.”⁷⁵ Scholars agree that the *Cristo* was originally in the Monastery of San Nicolás but there is no clear documentation that the work was actually commissioned for this location, nor is their secure evidence regarding its authorship. In its present location in the Cistercian Monastery of Sancti Spiritus, the statue is displayed in a private room within the church of the Holy Spirit, where it is venerated exclusively by the resident nuns. The sculpture

⁷² Martí y Monsó 635. “Papeles Varios.” Archivo de Hacienda, Valladolid. Original text: “los comisarios otorgaron su testamento en 7 de Marzo de 1597 nombrando por tal heredero al dicho monast.^o que entonces se llamaba de la Concepcion Jheronima el qual por concordia hecha con el monast.^o del sacramento sito fuera de la puerta del Campo...se junto con el...yncorporandose el dicho monast.^o del sacramento con el de s.^l nicolas para que fuesen una misma cosa...”

⁷³ Martí y Monsó 635. See note 3: “Protocolo de Tomás López,” 1612, 1615, Archivo de Protocolos, Valladolid. Original text: “En el monasterio del sacramento y san nicolas...a 16. Enero. 1609 parecieron antonio de arta maestro de canteria...y la priora y monxas...”

⁷⁴ Martí y Monsó, 635-636. See note 3, page 635, “Protocolo de Tomás López,” 1612, 1615, Archivo de Protocolos, Valladolid. Original text: “Juan de muniategui ensamblador se constituyo por su fiador.” Also see note 1, page 636, “Protocolo de Pedro de Arce,” 1596, Archivo de Protocolos, Valladolid.

⁷⁵ Martí y Monsó 635.

was for a time processed within the confines of the monastery, but is now kept permanently in its present location. It has been publicly shown on three occasions during Holy Week.⁷⁶

Rincón's *Cristo yacente* is placed on a shroud and lies flat on its back. Its torso and legs are not tilted or twisted as in other sixteenth-century examples of the type. The repose of the body is similar to Juan de Juni's Christ in the *Entombment*. Each arm is placed at the sides of the body; the fingers of the left hand are bent and fanned out with the index finger extended. The right hand has a similar arrangement that places emphasis on the wounds. The fingers are bent and the small finger is slightly separated from the rest. The head is completely turned to the right in a fashion reminiscent of the *Cristo yacente* by Becerra, although in the present case, the turn is so exaggerated that the head seems dislocated. The head rests on two pillows decorated in an *espigado* (zig-zag) pattern similar to that on the pillows of Juan de Juni's *Entombment*. The pattern is outlined in blue and gold while red is used to reproduce a brocaded effect. The two pillows are decorated alike using the *estofado* (gilding) technique, which is now flaking. The shroud or blanket is accented with gold bands in what is known as a *rajado* (striped) pattern.⁷⁷ The shroud cascades under the body in two areas of folds, one below the shoulder in front of the pillows, and the other below the thighs in front of the right hand. Blood drips all over the body and concentrates on the areas of Christ's wounds. The chest wound is relatively long and deep when compared to other examples. The face of Christ is sunken and the eyes are half-open showing the pupils and irises. The mouth is closed. The hair is carved as if not to appear voluminous and seems to anticipate

⁷⁶ Laura Úgides Fernández, nun at the Sancti Spiritus, Valladolid, interview by Cristina Mendoza, 10 September 2007.

⁷⁷ Kasl 38.

Fernández's "wet look" with its high gloss finish. The polychromy of the skin appears grey in tone and lacerations are mimicked throughout. The work appears to have been conserved and cleaned. The sculpture was placed in an urn around 1700 and to accommodate it, the top of its head was shaved off.⁷⁸ As noted very little evidence survives regarding the commission and authorship of the work and the same can be said about its context. Yet, the housing of the work in a convent dedicated to the Sacrament and San Nicolás certainly provides the Eucharistic context in accordance with all the other *Cristos* discussed thus far, and suggests it was made for the complex shortly after its establishment in 1597.⁷⁹ The church and monastery also had a funerary aspect, as it was the resting place of Doña María Sanz, thus providing further contextual parallels to Juan de Juni's *Entombment* in San Francisco in Valladolid.

As noted previously, the attribution of the *Cristo yacente* at the Convent of Sancti Spiritus in Valladolid to Rincón is based on stylistic analysis rather than documents. This attribution is solidified by a summary of Rincón's associations with Juni, Becerra, and Fernández, most of which are documented. It is clear that Rincón and Fernández knew each other and that Rincón was an acquaintance of Juan de Juni's son and a collaborator with one of Becerra's students, Manuel Álvarez.⁸⁰ The artistic atmosphere in Valladolid was certainly congenial enough to allow for these sculptors to meet and the coincidences are numerous. Taking into account these events and the stylistic similarities between all three works it becomes clear that Juan de Juni, Becerra and Rincón served as the basis for

⁷⁸ J.J. Martín González and Francisco Javier de la Plaza Santiago, *Monumentos Religiosos de la Ciudad de Valladolid: Conventos y Seminarios, Catálogo Monumental de la Provincia de Valladolid*, vol. 15, part 2 (Valladolid, Diputación de Valladolid, 2001), 207. Martín González says the pillow was also cut in Martín González (1965): 137.

⁷⁹ Martín González and Francisco Javier de la Plaza Santiago, 206.

⁸⁰ Urrea (1973), 497-498.

Fernández's formulation. All of the works share the use of pillows, the shroud, the recumbent pose, and the Eucharistic meaning. Rincón combines Christ's bodily position in Juni's *Entombment* with Becerra's turn of the head. Fernández's sculpture echoes Rincón's layout of the fingers and is inspired by the folds of the shroud.⁸¹ As I will show, Fernández most crucial sources for the positioning of the body were prints, namely those of Wierix and Cort.

Besides the obvious sculptural precedents, a closer look at the possible inspiration of prints is necessary. Benito Navarrete Prieto concludes that Fernández used the prints of Cornelius Cort, the Wierix brothers, Juan de Jáuregui, and Johann Heinrich Löffler as the basis of for many of his compositions.⁸² As mentioned in Chapter I, Wierix's *The Virgin and Mary Magdalene watching over the body of Christ* from the *Life of the Virgin* series, c. 1570 (Bruxelles Bibliothèque Royal Albert I), shows a Christ lying on the tomb (Figure 8). The figure of Christ is accompanied by two angels as well as the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene. Christ is arranged with his torso slightly bent and angled to the right. His head rests on a pillow and his arms are placed at his side. Like the *Cristo yacente* at the Sancti Spiritus by Rincón the legs are not bent. Hieronymus Wierix tilts the entire body of Christ towards the right allowing only a slight contraction of the torso.

⁸¹ Urrea (1985), Catalogue entry *Cristo yacente*. Urrea uses the words "same disposition" and "identical treatment" to refer to Fernández's positioning of the hand and his use of folds, respectively. Although the hands are indeed similar I do not find identical the treatment of the shroud. When comparing Rincón's work in reference to Fernández's *Cristo yacente* in San Pablo in Valladolid both shrouds are indeed decorated with a golden band made of three stripes but the layout and folds of the shroud are different as Fernández's shroud is livelier and more robust.

⁸² Benito Navarrete Prieto, "Fuentes y modelos en la obra de Gregorio Fernández," in *Gregorio Fernández 1576-1636*, Sala de Exposiciones del BSCH, Nov. 1999-Enero 2000 (Madrid: Fundación BSCH, 1999), 56. For more on Cornelius Cort see J.C.J. Bierens de Haan, *L'Oeuvre Gravé de Cornelius Cort: Graveur Hollandais 1533-1578* (The Hague, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948), 87, 101, 103. Catalogue entries: 87, 89, 92. As discussed in chapter 3, the 1661 inventory of Diego Valentín Díaz which included four books of prints of the life of Christ and two books on the life of the Virgin might have been as Fernández's disposal. See Esteban García Chico, *Documentos para el Estudio del Arte en Castilla*, Pintores, vol. 3 (Valladolid: Publicación del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología, 1940), 89 inventory n. 52 and n. 59, 90 n. 63, 95.

The position of the body appears stiff and unnatural but provides an optimal view for all of Christ's wounds. Cornelius Cort's *Lamentation* print after Taddeo Zuccaro from the *New Testament*, c. 1575 echoes directly Fernandez's pose of the legs (Figure 30).⁸³ In Cort's example, mourners gather around the body of Christ and provide a weighted composition towards the left of the print. At right, a landscape opens up in which Golgotha is marked by the three crosses. Christ lies on the ground on a shroud; his legs are bent and crossed at the ankles. The positioning of Christ's torso is more exaggerated than in Wierix's print. The same arrangement can be seen in Fernández's *Cristos*, although the ankles are not crossed. But the left leg in his sculptures does cross over the right as in Cort's print. Cort provides an alternative to the unnatural pose found in Wierix's print. Fernández combines Wierix's use of the pillow with Cort's bent knees and arrives at a solution that will be replicated continuously in sculptures of the supine Christ.

Prints served artists by providing models from which to work compositionally. For Gregorio Fernández, prints may have served a devotional function as well. Palomino writes that Gregorio Fernández "did not undertake to make an effigy of Christ Our Lord or of His Holy Mother without preparing himself first by prayer, fast, penitence, and communion...."⁸⁴ A devout man, Fernández was almost certainly aware of the many prints that were used for spiritual meditation, such as those that accompanied the *Spiritual Exercises* recommended by St. Ignatius of Loyola. In the second stage of spiritual exercise, number 298, St. Ignatius mentions the sepulchre, anointment, and

⁸³ Cornelius Cort after Taddeo Zuccaro, *Lamentation*, New Testament. Engraving, 403 x 274 mm; lower margin, 38 mm. The Illustrated Bartsch, vol. 52, Vienna.

⁸⁴ Palomino 70.

burial of Christ.⁸⁵ This spiritual exercise focuses on the death of Christ and his subsequent burial, and directly relates to images of the *Cristo yacente*. What the viewer imagines while meditating is a figure of Christ in the identical state and pose of these sculptures. In 1593 the Spaniard Jerónimo Nadal published the *Illustrations of the Gospel Stories*, a text also known as the *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, which included prints by the Wierix brothers.⁸⁶ As a member of the Society of Jesus the aim of this book was to provide a visual guide for prayerful meditation on the Gospels following in the tradition of St. Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises*.⁸⁷ Nadal includes a scene of the burial of Christ in plate 133 of his 1593 edition. This scene incorporates all of the elements that characterize the *Cristo yacente*: Christ is shown dead lying on a bier on top of the shroud, with his body and head slightly tilted at an angle. The viewer is again called upon to meditate on this particular event. Nadal's illustrations were published again in 1594 and 1595 along with accompanying readings that were arranged according to the liturgical year as prescribed by the Roman Missal in *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia* (*Notes and Meditations on the Gospels*).⁸⁸ As we shall see in Chapter IV, mystical writings play an important role in the development of the sculptural conception of the *Cristo yacente*. These, combined with the requirements of devotional practices during Holy Week, set these sculptures within a religious, historical, and cultural context that transcends their existence as mere works of art to something that approximates a living, if ultimately imaginary, reality.

⁸⁵ St. Ignacio de Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola*, translated by Father Elder Mullen, S.J. (New York: P.J. Kennedy and Sons, 1914), 69.

⁸⁶ Navarrete Prieto 56.

⁸⁷ Jerónimo Nadal, *Imágenes de la Historia Evangélica*, edited by Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, (Barcelona: Ediciones el Albir, 1975) plate 133: *De Christi Sepultura*. See also A. Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "Las imágenes de la Historia Evangélica del padre Nadal en el marco del jesuitismo y la Contrarreforma," *Traza y Baza* 5 (1974): 77-95.

⁸⁸ Emilio Orozco, *Mística, Plástica y Barroco* (Madrid: Cupsa Editorial, 1977), 19.

Gregorio Fernández absorbed the visual elements of the works produced by earlier sculptors and printmakers in order to arrive at his version of the *Cristo yacente*. The works of Juni, Beccera, and Rincón, respectively, provided specific ideas: the carving of a separate figure of Christ, the placement of a reliquary for the host in the body, and even the fanned out placement of the fingers. At the same time these earlier works provided a broader basis in terms of context, which is the most important element of the *Cristo yacente* figure. The archival documents associated with the work of Becerra offer evidence as to the processional nature of the sculptures of the supine Christ. Likewise, the liturgical practices recorded in contemporary accounts serve to set these works in a contextual framework of Eucharistic devotion. In fact, the context of all three sculptures may be summarized as Eucharistic. Therefore, these earlier *Cristo* figures served not only as inspiration for the artist, but also as socio-cultural and religious images that carried a specific meaning in Hapsburg Spain—devotion to the *Sacramentum Amoris Austriaci*.

Chapter 3

Gregorio Fernández and his Workshop: A closer look at *Cristos yacentes*

Gregorio Fernández was one of the most prolific and widely-recognized sculptors in Spain during the seventeenth century. Born in Galicia, he established himself in Valladolid around 1600, and his works traveled beyond Castille and León to such locales as Portugal and Lima, Peru.¹ The influence of his style lasted through the early part of the eighteenth century and some of the compositional elements of his works are still used by today's *imagineros*.² Although we have a good sense of his artistic practice and considerable effort has been dedicated to the study of his *oeuvre*, the circumstances of Fernández's early life and training still remain unclear. The historiography of the artist begins with Antonio Palomino's 1724 publication, *Lives of the Eminent Spanish Painters and Sculptors*, which provides us with a biography, and Antonio Ponz's *Viaje a España*, from 1772, which describes some his works.³ Fernández is also considered, albeit briefly, in Ceán Bermúdez's *Diccionario Histórico* of 1800.⁴ These early biographies are complemented by the work of modern Spanish scholars, including Juan Martí y Monsó and Enrique García Chico, who have published collections of primary documents. The former also wrote a monograph on the artist as did Ricardo Orueta and Beatrice Gilman Proske. The art historians Juan Agapito y Revilla and Juan José Martín González have

¹ Jesús Urrea, "Aproximación biográfica al escultor Gregorio Fernández," *Gregorio Fernández 1576-1636, Sala de Exposiciones de la Fundación Santander Central Hispano, Noviembre 1999-Enero 2000* (Valladolid: BSCH, 1999), 16, 18. Juan José Martín González, *El Escultor Gregorio Fernández* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1980), 16, 41. Gregorio Fernández signs his name Hernández only once but historical documents made by notaries often refer to him by the latter.

² Martín González (1980), 79-86. An *imaginero* is an image maker, a maker of sculptures. For a discussion of the role of the sculptor and his working methods see Juan José Martín González, *El Escultor en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Gráficas Andrés Martín, 1985).

³ Antonio Palomino, *Lives of the Eminent Spanish Painters and Sculptors*, translated by Nina Ayala Mallory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 70-73.

⁴ Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de la Bellas Artes en España*, vol. 2 of 6 (Madrid: La Real Academia de San Fernando Imprenta Viuda de Ibarra, 1800), 263-271.

produced catalogues of Fernández's works accompanied by detailed analyses of individual pieces. The American scholars Joseph Brooks and Gridley McKim-Smith have written important dissertations on the subject of his *pasos procesionales*. Lastly, Jesús Urrea, Director of the Museo Nacional de Escultura of Valladolid, has assumed the task of conducting further archival research, cataloguing, and connoisseurship studies.⁵ Urrea continues to promote interest in the artist by publishing articles, organizing exhibitions, and catalogues that shed light on Fernández's importance during his own lifetime. The forthcoming German publication, *Körper der Passionen: Die lebensgrosse Liegefigur des toten Christus vom Mittelalter bis zum spanischen Yacente des Frühbarock* by Agathe Schmiddunser, is soon to be released.⁶

Gregorio Fernández was referred to by Philip IV as the “most exquisite sculptor in this my kingdom,” a bold statement on the part of the king that puts the sculptor's artistic renown into perspective.⁷ He is said to have been born around 1576 in Sarria, Galicia, to

⁵ The following sources are essential to the study of Gregorio Fernández: José Martí y Monsó, *Estudios Histórico-Artísticos Relativos Principalmente a Valladolid basados en la Investigación de Varios Archivos*, 2nd edition (Valladolid: Ámbito Ediciones S.A., 1992), 391-422. Ricardo de Orueta, *Gregorio Hernández* (Madrid: Saturnino Calleja, 1920). Beatrice Gilman Proske, *Gregorio Fernández* (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1926). Juan Agapito y Revilla, *La Obra de los Maestros de la Escultura Castellana*, II (Valladolid: Santarén, 1929). Estebán García Chico, *Documentos para el Estudio del Arte en Castilla*, Escultores, vol. 2 (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1941). Estebán García Chico, *Gregorio Fernández* (Valladolid: Gerper, 1952). Joseph Carter Brooks, “*The Pasos of Valladolid: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Sculpture*” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1974). Gridley McKim-Smith, “*The Passion Scenes of Gregorio Fernández*” (Ph.D. diss., University of Harvard, Mass, 1974). Juan José Martín González, *El Escultor Gregorio Fernández* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1980). Jesús Urrea, “Aproximación biográfica al escultor Gregorio Fernández,” *Gregorio Fernández 1576-1636, Sala de Exposiciones de la Fundación Santander Central Hispano, Noviembre 1999-Enero 2000* (Valladolid: BSCH, 1999), 15-42. For additional books and manuscripts that mention the artist see Martín González (1980) on criticism pages 59-68 and the attached bibliography.

⁶ Agathe Schmiddunser, *Körper der Passionen: Die lebensgrosse Liegefigur des toten Christus vom Mittelalter bis zum spanischen Yacente des Frühbarock* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2008).

⁷ Martín González (1980), 23. Joaquín Martínez Díez, *Alfaro Llave de Castilla* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros, 1976). Cédula de Felipe IV, September 2, 1635, Archivo de la Colegiata de San Miguel Arcángel, Alfaro (La Rioja). Original text: “escultor de mayor primor que ay en estos mis reynos...”

a father of the same name, who was also a sculptor.⁸ His mother was likely widowed and had remarried. The artist had a half-brother Juan Álvarez who was an *oficial* (workmaster) of his workshop.⁹ In addition to the previously-discussed influences of Juan de Juni, while in Galicia Fernández would have also seen the works of Juan de Angés.¹⁰ On his way to Valladolid, Fernández may have stopped in Madrid, but there is no documentary evidence to support this. It was perhaps in Madrid that he met his future wife, María Pérez Palencia, who owned property in the city.¹¹ Fernández married María sometime in 1605, and they had a boy who died at the age of five and a daughter, Damiana.¹² Fernández's departure from Galicia was doubtless inspired by the *ensamblador* (altarpiece carpenter) Juan de Muniátegui, son-in-law to Isaac de Juni, who took over the workshop upon the death of the master and had connections to Francisco Rincón in Valladolid.¹³ Fernández worked with Rincón in his workshop as an associate or *oficial* during his initial transition into his new city.¹⁴ Upon the death of Rincón, Fernández took custody of the deceased's son, Manuel Rincón, as well as arguably his artistic heritage and prominence.¹⁵ Fernandez's relocation to Valladolid proved to be a

⁸ Fermin Bouza Brey, "Sobre la familia y cuna del escultor Gregorio Fernández," in *Homenaje al Professor Cayetano de Mergelina* (Murcia, 1961-1962), 203. Francisco Javier Plaza Santiago, "El pueblo natal de Gregorio Fernández," *Boletín Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arquelogía* 39 (1973) 505. Urrea (1999), 17.

⁹ María Antonia Fernández del Hoyo, "Oficiales del taller de Gregorio Fernández y ensambladores que trabajaron con él," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arquelogía* 49 (1983): 348. *Oficial* is a craftsman who has completed an apprenticeship, probably having passed a guild examination. See Ronda Kasl, "Painters, Polychromy and the Perfection of Images," *Spanish Polychrome Sculpture 1500-1800 in United States Collections*, ed. Suzanne Stratton (New York: Spanish Institute, 1993) 33 and the glossary of the same book pages 190-191.

¹⁰ Urrea (1999), 17.

¹¹ Martín González (1980), 21.

¹² Martín González (1980), 21. Urrea (1999), 18, 19.

¹³ Jesús Urrea, "En torno a Gregorio Fernández," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arquelogía* 39 (1973): 245. Martín González (1980), 23. Urrea (1999), 17. *Ensamblador* is a carpenter specializing in the construction and installation of altarpieces. See Kasl, 33.

¹⁴ Martín González (1980), 47.

¹⁵ Urrea (1999), 21.

fruitful endeavor, in that it allowed him to establish not only his reputation but also the connections that would guarantee him future patronage and success.

Valladolid, at the turn of the seventeenth century, was a burgeoning city that served as a gathering place for such literary masters as Luis de Góngora and Cervantes, in addition to sculptor Pompeo Leoni and painters Pantoja de la Cruz and Peter Paul Rubens, the last of whom spent some months in the city during 1603.¹⁶ One of Fernández's first responsibilities after his arrival was to produce the sculptural decorations for the "*salón del sarao*" of the Royal Palace, which he arranged for the celebration of the baptism of Philip IV.¹⁷ Because Valladolid was the residence of Philip III and Margaret of Austria from 1601-1606, artists there had ample opportunities to secure royal patronage. For Fernández, this similarly ensured access to some of the city's most important and discerning art patrons and collectors. Among them were King Philip III, the duke of Lerma and his children the dukes of Uceda, the countess of Nieva and her husband, the marquis of Valderrábano, as well as the counts of Fuensaldaña, the duchess of Frías, and the countess of Lemos.¹⁸ In time, Fernández's popularity increased and besides royals, his patrons came to include ecclesiasts and important city administrators. Some of the members of the clergy that patronized his work were bishop of Astorga and brother to count Molina de Herrera, Alonso Mexía de Tovar, and the bishop of Segovia, don Melchor Moscoso y Sandoval, who commissioned the *Cristo yacente* for the Segovia

¹⁶ Martín González (1980), 34.

¹⁷ Jesús Urrea, "La Plaza de San Pablo escenario de la Corte," *Valladolid: Historia de una Ciudad: La Ciudad y el Arte*, I (Valladolid: Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, 1999), 27-41. Urrea (1999), 19.

¹⁸ For a discussion on workshop practices as related to patronage see María Antonia Fernández del Hoyo, "La Compañía, Gregorio Fernández y los Condes de Fuensaldaña," *Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología* 48 (1982): 420-429. As noted by McKim-Smith in footnote 12, p. 27 the Spanish monarchs patronized local sculptors for religious images and foreign ones for portraits. For example Martínez Montañés is called to model a wax bust of Philip IV that is later sent to Pietro Tacca. See Steven Orso, "A Note on Montañés's Lost Bust of Philip IV," *Source* 8, no. 2 (1989): 21-24. These patterns regarding sculpture still need further study but they do parallel painting patronage practices.

cathedral.¹⁹ Administrators of the state and learned men like don Jerónimo de Villanueva and don José González de Uzqueta also acquired his works, which were of course available to anyone, regardless of title, that could afford them.

Such high demand for his work had repercussions on Fernández's production and on the scale of his workshop. The physical area of the workshop (or *taller*) was enlarged in 1611 with the rental of an additional space and again in 1615 when he bought and restored the former shop of Juan de Juni. In 1630 he acquired yet another house, adding more room for production.²⁰ His workshop, then, was clearly extensive with its participants able to be divided into apprentices, *oficiales*, and *ensambladores*. Among his apprentices were Manuel Rincón, Augustín Castaño, Pedro Jiménez and Pedro Zaldívar.²¹ He worked with the *ensamblador*, Juan de Muniátegui, and later with the Velázquez family (Francisco and Juan) upon Muniátegui's death. Juan de Muniátegui's circle included Lucas Sánchez, Damián Rodríguez Deza, Gaspar Barrios, Diego de Anicque, Juan Bautista Garrido, Martín Pierna, and Fabián López, who, together with the *ensamblador* Diego de Basoco, Urrea believes, associated occasionally with Fernández.²² Other *ensambladores* he worked with were Pedro Leonisio, Martín Ferrer, Juan de Maseras, and Jaques and Santiago del Castillo.²³ His *oficiales* were Juan López, Pedro

¹⁹ Urrea (1999), 32.

²⁰ Urrea (1999), 24, 39. José Martí y Monsó, *Estudios Histórico-Artísticos Relativos Principalmente a Valladolid basados en la Investigación de Varios Archivos*, 2nd edition (Valladolid: Ámbito Ediciones S.A., 1992), 419. "Venta de Casas Otorgada por Juan Rodríguez Gavilán por si y en nombre del los herederos de D.a Damiana Fernández su madre abuela y suegra a favor de Juan de la Eras Labrador," 1675, Cuaderno Suelto, Archivo de Protocolos, Valladolid.

²¹ Urrea (1999), 21. Martín González (1980), 54-55. Fernández del Hoyo (1983) mentions Zaldívar and Jiménez on p. 359 and Manuel Rincón on p. 361. For more on the subject see Jesús Urrea, "Escultores coetáneos y discípulos de Gregorio Fernández en Valladolid," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 50 (1984): 349-370.

²² Urrea (1999), 22. Fernández del Hoyo (1983) also mentions Lucas Sánchez as a member of Fernández's workshop along with José Zurro p. 357, Damián Rodríguez Deza p. 358 and Diego Basoco p. 366.

²³ Fernández del Hoyo (1983): 363-370.

González, and Pedro de Sobremonte.²⁴ Other *oficiales* as well as apprentices included Antonio y Pedro Salvador, Francisco Fermín, Antonio de Ribera, Cosme del Río, Juan de Beobide, Miguel Elizalde (his first son-in-law), Juan Francisco de Iribarne (his second son-in-law), Andrés de Ichaso, Alonso González del Peral, and Luis Fernández de la Vega.²⁵ This large number of assistants gives us an idea of the extent of Fernández's production. In addition to the *ensambladores*, *oficiales*, and apprentices Fernández also worked with polychromers Estancio Gutiérrez, Marcelo and Francisco Martínez, Jerónimo de Calabria, Miguel Guijelmo, and most significantly, Diego Valentín Díaz.²⁶ Manuscript 1735, folio 345, in the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid, notes regarding the polychromy of a *Cristo yacente* that "it is stipulated that the Christ in the sepulchre is to painted in flesh-tones in this city by Diego Valentín Díaz and no other person and that if it has glass eyes...that these be paid by the convent..."²⁷ Glass eyes were provided on occasion by *lapidarios* (stone-workers) such as Hervás Garcés.²⁸ Fernández likely relied on the services of a *tracista*, known as an architectural draftsman, and *entalladores*, carvers who specialized in decorative motifs.²⁹

²⁴ Urrea (1999), 23. Fernández del Hoyo (1983) mentions all in page 360.

²⁵ Urrea (1999), 29. See also Fernández del Hoyo (1983): 352-361. Martín González (1980), 21.

²⁶ García Chico (1952), 16, 20, 30, 32. Diego Valentín Díaz is mentioned in "Condiciones que sean de guardar en el dorado y estofado y encarnado y pintura en el retablo del Convento de Nuestra Señora de Aniago de la Orden de Cartuja," n/d, Número 1735, folio 345, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid as published in García Chico (1952) document 8, line 18 in appendix. Marcelo Martínez is mentioned in "Libranza de 28 reales de los hombres que truxeron el Paso desde casa de Gregorio Hernández a las Angustias," Marzo 28, 1617, Legajo de Cuentas, Archivo de la Penitencial de las Angustias as published in García Chico (1952), 20. See also Martín González (1980), 51.

²⁷ "Condiciones que sean de guardar en el dorado y estofado y encarnado y pintura en el retablo del Convento de Nuestra Señora de Aniago de la Orden de Cartuja," n/d, Numero 1735, folio 345, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid as published in García Chico (1952) document 8, line 18 in appendix. Original text: "Es condición que el Cristo en el sepulcro la han de encarnar en esta ciudad Diego Díaz y no otra persona, y si llevare ojos de crystal...lo ha de poner el convento..."

²⁸ "Libranza de 28 reales de los hombres que truxeron el Paso desde casa de Gregorio Hernández a las Angustias," March 28, 1617, Legajo de Cuentas, Archivo de la Penitencial de las Angustias as published in García Chico (1952), 20.

²⁹ Kasl 33.

Fernández's large workshop and business obligations no doubt limited his ability to travel. He did not leave town often and when he did, he stayed within Spain, traveling only to supervise necessary projects in places like Plasencia (Cáceres) and Guipúzcoa.³⁰ In addition to works encountered during these sojourns, he must have been inspired and influenced by images he could see in books, prints, and drawings. No inventory of his personal belongings survives but it is possible that he consulted Diego Valentín Díaz's extensive library. Díaz was Fernández's neighbor, friend, polychromer, and painter of his only surviving portrait.³¹ As an intellectual, Díaz owned treatises on architecture and geometry by Palladio and Serlio, prints by Dürer, Raphael, and perhaps most important, devotional books and accounts of the lives of saints St. Ignatius of Loyola and St. Teresa of Ávila.³² García Chico argues that the artist must have read devotional books, particularly those of Fray Luis de Granada and Father Luis de la Puente.³³ Besides books on the life of Christ and the Virgin, the inventory also records the following descriptive titles: The History of the Capuchins, Adoration of Holy Images, The Veneration of God, Light of the Wounds of Christ, Spiritual Exercises, and The Works of St. Teresa.³⁴ Art collections were also available to the artist, including those of the Royal Palace of Valladolid, the duke of Lerma's Palace at the Plaza de Duque, and the Palacio de la

³⁰ Urrea (1999), 34.

³¹ Martín González (1980), 19, 20.

³² Martín González (1980), 22. The 1661 inventory of Diego Valentín Díaz is included in Esteban García Chico, *Documentos para el Estudio del Arte en Castilla*, Pintores, vol. 3 (Valladolid: Publicación del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología, 1940), 69-106.

³³ García Chico (1952), 13. The books of Fray Luis de Granada and Fray Juan López appear in the book inventory of Diego Valentín Díaz included in García Chico, vol. 3 (1940), 98-99.

³⁴ García Chico, vol. 3 (1940), 97, 100, 101, 102.

Ribera.³⁵ The last of these, according to inventories, had a piece by Giambologna among its garden sculptures.³⁶

By the middle of his career, Fernández had accumulated a great deal of wealth, as is evidenced by documents pertaining to economic transactions, such as his daughter's dowries and the assessed value of his property.³⁷ His piety and generosity were demonstrated by his donations to religious organizations and his membership in the penitential confraternities of the *Pasión*, *Angustías*, and *Vera Cruz*.³⁸ Palomino relates that the artist was:

regarded as venerable for his many virtues; he did not undertake to make an effigy of Christ Our Lord or of His Holy Mother without preparing himself first by prayer, fast, penitence, and communion, so that God would confer his grace upon him and make him succeed. He lived next to the Puerta del Campo in Valladolid, and his house was as well known to the poor as if it had been a hospital, and so they went to it for all their needs; for Gregorio was not content with relieving their hunger and remedying their nakedness, but also cured them of their ailments.³⁹

As the above quotation reveals, Fernández was as highly regarded for his beneficence as he was for his artistic abilities. Fernández became ill just before 1625 and his bouts with illness continued until his death on January 22, 1636.⁴⁰

³⁵ Martín González (1980), 35.

³⁶ Martín González, "Una estatua del Palacio de la Ribera en Londres," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 26 (1960): 44. Martín González (1980), 48. José M Florit, "Inventario de los cuadros y otros objetos de arte de la quinta real llamada "la Ribera" en Valladolid," *Boletín de la sociedad Española de excursiones* 14 (1906): 153.

³⁷ Martín González (1980), 21. Martí y Monsó 402. Urrea (1999), 36. Urrea notes "Hipoteca de Casas," 1649, Prot. 2.290, fol. 841, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid.

³⁸ Urrea (1999), 36. Translated as the Confraternities of the Passion, the Sorrows and the True Cross.

³⁹ Palomino 70. As translated by Nina Mallory. The word venerable here refers to a title given by the Congregation of Rites in Rome to those having a reputation of holiness. This is used by Palomino but may have not been granted officially. See Mallory note 7, p. 72. Original text: "...en opinion de Venerable, por sus muchas virtudes; pues no hazia Efigie de Christo Señor Nuestro, y de su madre Santísima, que no se preparasse con la Oracion, Ayunos, Penitencias, y Comuniones, porque Dios le dispensasse su gracia para el acierto. Vivió junto a la Puerta del Campo en Valladolid; y su casa era tan conocida de los pobres, como pudiera serlo un Hospital, y asi acudian á ella con todas sus necesidades; pues no se contentaba Gregorio con remediarles la hambre, y socorrerles su desnudez, sino curarles tambien sus dolencias..." from Acisclo Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco, "Juan de Juni y Gregorio Hernandez, Escultores," *El Museo Pictorico y Escala Optica*, vol. 3 (Madrid: L.A. de Bedmar, Impressor del Reyno, 1715-1724), 278.

According to art historian Martín González, Fernández's work can be divided into six periods of four years.⁴¹ Towards the second decade of the seventeenth century, he develops what González calls his mature style, which was characterized by an increased naturalism and a penchant for sharp folds in the drapery.⁴² Fernández's draperies are heavy and angular and are curiously reminiscent of the *tela encolada* (primed, glued, or sized fabric) that was used occasionally by painters for *bozzetti*, and which he used earlier in his career.⁴³ It is also at this time that he began to use glass eyes and other *postizos*.⁴⁴ In sculpture it is the use of glass eyes, and other faux materials, such as hair, and ivory to detail the works. After synthesizing the lessons of Rincón and the visual vocabulary Juni, Leoni, and perhaps even Giambologna, Fernández developed works that were increasingly life-like in appearance. As we shall see, the *Cristo yacente* illustrates well these changes as the figures that fall into this time period are characteristically hyper-realistic. Many of his sculptures were carved from a single block of wood that was hollowed out; later, when his workshop was in high demand, some works were made with separate hands and heads carved by the master, while the rest of the work was given to the workshop.⁴⁵ When the sculpture was done in several sections, the separate carvings were placed together and at times the joints were concealed by linen strips fastened into place with a flour and water paste known as *engrudo*.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Urrea (1999), 34, 41. Martín González (1980), 15.

⁴¹ Martín González (1980), 69-77.

⁴² Martín González (1980), 49.

⁴³ Martín González (1980), 49, 50.

⁴⁴ *Postizos* may be defined as something artificial or that which is unnatural.

⁴⁵ Martín González (1980), 49, 54.

⁴⁶ Marjorie Trusted, *Spanish Sculpture: Catalogue of the Post-Medieval Sculpture in Wood, Terracotta, Alabaster, Marble, Stone, Lead and Jet in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum), 9. Kasl 35.

As stated above, Fernández worked with *pintores de imaginería* since he himself was not a painter, and it was these artists that used resin, paint, and cork to create realistic wounds and lacerations.⁴⁷ Before the work was painted it was prepared by an *aparejador* or preparatory, who applied layers of glue, white ground, or bole to the surface.⁴⁸ The preparation consisted of an initial layer of *gíscola* (animal glue size), up to five layers of *yeso grueso* (thick gesso) followed by the same number of layers of *yeso mate* (matte gesso), which was then smoothed out by *lixas* (dried cuttlefish) and *rayadores* (marking tools).⁴⁹ The skin was painted by *encarnadores* in a *pulimento* or *mate* finish; the *pulimento* finish is glossy and consists of an oil base.⁵⁰ The *mate* or matte finish was preferred, no doubt influenced by Pacheco's suggestion that this finish was the most natural of options.⁵¹ Pacheco asserts that:

God, in his great mercy, wished to banish from the world these glazed platters, so that the better conceived and more agreeable matte *encarnaciones* might be introduced. They are made with a more natural way of painting which allows

⁴⁷ For more on the realistic depiction of wounds see Luis Muñoz, *Vida de la Venerable madre Mariana de San Jose, fundadora de la Recolectión de las monjas augustinas* (Madrid, 1645).

⁴⁸ Trusted 9. Kasl 34. See glossary in *Spanish Polychrome Sculpture 1500-1800 in United States Collections*, 190-191.

⁴⁹ Kasl 35.

⁵⁰ *Encarnadores* were specialists in painting flesh tones. Francisco Pacheco, "The Art of Painting," *Artists's Techniques in Golden Age Spain: Six Treatises in Translation*, edited and translated by Zahira Veliz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 79-83. In book 3, chapter 6, Pacheco explains that *polimento* or *pulimento* is the name given to the glossy finish for flesh tones and the technique of its application. Pigments are grinded together with fat oil or with a clear, light varnish, which is then applied to the work with brushes and a damp leather cloth. The surface is first prepared with animal glue size known as *gíscola* followed by two or three layers of *yeso grueso* and after by two or three layers of *yeso mate*. Next, one or two layers of white ground mixed with water and size are applied and, after all is dry, another layer of size is added. The *polimento* mixture varies according to the desired flesh tone. Pacheco maintains that this finish is not as popular and that it is mostly used on poorly-rendered pieces in order to hide their imperfections (and are therefore roughly-modeled). Matte finish is the preferred method, in his opinion, due to its greater sense of naturalism and because it does not detract from the careful modeling of the piece. For this finish, a layer of *gíscola* is followed by two or three layers of *yeso muerto* (dry gesso), which has been mixed with white lead, water, and size. This is then primed with a layer of oil. A mixture of white and vermilion is often used for lighter skin tones while ochre or red earth of the Levante is used for darker ones (such as in *yacentes*). For the Spanish version, see Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, edited by Bonaventura Bassegoda I Hugas (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra S.A., 1990) 490-503.

⁵¹ Martín González (1980), 51. Veliz 81.

retouching various times, and with which the exquisite works we see today were made.⁵²

The *estofador* specialized in painted or gilt decoration imitating textiles such as those found on the pillows of the *Cristos yacentes*. These decorative designs were sometimes made by *patrones* (stencils) that were then transferred onto the gilding. The patterns were often modeled after Italian textiles and occasionally after prints.⁵³ A sepia ink drawing in the Collection of the Lázaro Galdiano Foundation shows a border decoration reminiscent of those on the *Cristo* pillows.⁵⁴ The gilder who specialized in frames and not on the details of the figure was known as a *dorador*.⁵⁵

The importance of polychromy in the painting of these images is confirmed by the decree issued by the Episcopal Synod that took place in the late sixteenth century, which stated that figures should be gilded and painted when possible.⁵⁶ Sculptures that had yet to be painted were literally “*en blanco*,” or in a blank state of lifelessness.⁵⁷ Pacheco writes that “The figure of...wood requires the painter’s hand to come to life.”⁵⁸

⁵² Veliz 81. As translated by Zahira Veliz. For Spanish version see Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, edited by Bonaventura Bassegoda I Hugas (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra S.A., 1990) 497. Original text: “Quiso Dios, por misericordia, desterrar del mundo estos platos vedriados y que con mejor luz y acuerdo, se introduxesen las encarnaciones mates, como pintura más natural y que se dexa retocar varias veces, y hacer en ellas los primores que vemos hoy.”

⁵³ Kasl 38. Veliz 59.

⁵⁴ Figure 14, page 58 in Veliz. Inventory number 15.510, 48 x 167 mm by 143 x 210 mm, Sixteenth century, Madrid.

⁵⁵ Trusted 10. Kasl 34.

⁵⁶ Trusted footnote 48, 8. Original text: “mandamos que las tales imagines se hagan de vulto o tabla, doradas y estofadas, y cuando no se pueda hazer se aderezen con todo honestidad”. “Constituciones Synodales del Obispado de Pamplona,” Lib. III, Tit. XX, Pamplona, 1591, as quoted in P. Echevarría Goñi, *Policromía del Renacimiento en Navarra* (Pamplona, 1990), 42, and 47, note 26.

⁵⁷ Kasl 34. For discussions on polychromy see Juan José Martín González, “La policromía en la escultura Castellana,” *Archivo Español del Arte* 26 (1953): 295-312, María Elena Gómez Moreno, *La policromía en la escultura española*, Publicaciones de las Escuelas de Artes de Madrid, 16 (1963): 12-14, and Joaquín Folch y Torres, *La Escultura Polícroma* (Barcelona: Editorial David, c. 1920).

⁵⁸ Francisco Pacheco “A los profesores del arte de la Pintura: The Difference between Painting and Sculpture”, *Italy and Spain 1600-1750: Sources and Documents*, Robert Engass and Jonathan Brown (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1970), 222.

Enhancing this effect were *postizos* such as ivory teeth and nails made of bull's horns.⁵⁹

Real lace was also used to decorate the borders of the simulated fabrics. Contracts, such as the one for Juan de Ávila's *Cristo del Despojo* for the Confraternity of Jesús Nazareno, are very specific in regard to the finish of the skin, the wounds, the drapery decoration, and the use of *postizos*, granting the artist liberty only in the application of blood. The contract states:

It is stipulated that the figure of the most Holy Christ is to be matte flesh-toned and is to have been mistreated in the elbow[s], knees and back, with its skin flayed as in Valladolid. The wound of the back is to have its cork and coagulated blood. The *subligaculum* [is to be] gold striped, [and the body is to have] its purity wounds and glass eyes...and on the body some blood spilled on parts that are convenient and the hair [be] of [a] ripe almond color with chiaroscuro [highlights].⁶⁰

Fernández's *Cristos* provide an excellent demonstration of his carving techniques, folded drapery style, and use of *postizos*. In the works that follow, certain recurring characteristics may be observed. All of his *Cristos yacentes* lie on a shroud that is usually placed in an urn or set within a *retablo* below the altar in a chapel. Christ's upper body and head are supported by one or two pillows that bend the upper torso. The legs fold slightly at the knees and are tilted to the right. The left foot is usually placed lower than the right one. The wounds are positioned to be visible to spectators and are enhanced by paint simulating blood and on occasion resin imitating water. The chest wound is of particular importance as two of Fernández's *Cristos*, those in *San Pablo* in

⁵⁹ Martín González (1980), 52.

⁶⁰ García Chico (1965), footnote 10, 77. "Condiciones que los mayordomos diputados y cofrades de la cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Misericordia sita en el monasterio de San Agustín desta villa de Medina del Campo," December 8, 1629, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid. Original text: "Es condición que la figura del santísimo Cristo a de ser la encarnación mate y a de estar maltratado en codo, rodillas y espladas, con sus desollones puestos como en Valladolid y la llaga en las espladas a de ir con su corcho y sangre cuaxada, el paño dorado y raxado y sus cardenales con limpieza y los oxos de crystal ...y en el cuerpo derramada alguna sangre en parte que convenga y el cabello de color de avellana madura con su claro oscuro." Punctuations added.

Valladolid and *Santa Clara* in Lerma (Burgos), have reliquaries placed within them. Wounds on the left shoulder and knees become significant around the 1620s and the addition of cork to these wounds heightens their sense of naturalism. When touched the cork depresses allowing the viewer to replicate the experience of doubting Thomas by making tactile contact with the wounds of Christ. The position of the fingers is also noteworthy, since the index and small finger are typically separated and bent while the others are not.⁶¹ There are, of course, several variations upon this arrangement. Early on the left hand was posed as in Rincón's *Cristo yacente* at Sancti Spiritus, showing the hand folded. Also in some early examples a drapery fold is placed between the index and middle finger of the right hand. In later examples, both hands are placed flat and the fingers are bent. Two of Fernández's *Cristos*, one in San Miguel in Valladolid and another in Santa Clara in Lugo, are carved entirely in the round and can be separated from their shroud. The shroud folds change in terms of sharpness, placement, and decorative elements. The pillows also show changes in their positioning. In the early works, the pillows are stacked high one upon the other, while in subsequent versions, the top pillow is placed further back to permit the body to recline vertically. Eventually, one pillow is placed below the shroud changing the character of the illusion created. Finally, only one pillow is used but it is placed in such a way that it presents Christ at a visually-ideal height. The *subligaculum* includes a string that holds it in place, though by the 1620s this had been abandoned to show a continual line throughout the length of the body. The *subligaculum* is also sometimes decorated with a painted or lace border.

The patrons of these *Cristos yacentes* include the king of Spain, the duke of Lerma, and the archbishop of Segovia, while still others remain anonymous. Further

⁶¹ Martín González (1980), 50.

archival research is required to establish a broader view of the patronage of these works. If one were to look at Fernández's *oeuvre* as a whole, it is clear that he had a continuous working relationship with the Carmelites, though other orders purchased his works as well.⁶² Among those who commissioned versions of the *Cristos yacentes* were the Jesuits, Dominicans, and Franciscans, the latter of whom commissioned the lost *Cristo yacente* of Nuestra Señora de Aránzazu. The pieces described below are works that either have been securely attributed or tentatively attributed to Fernández or his workshop.⁶³ These attributions are based on previous scholarship, but include additional observations. Authorship, although important, is not my primary concern in this chapter. The purpose of my analysis is to identify the commonalities and differences between the pieces through meticulous description. For some *Cristos*, we have conservation and restoration reports that offer insight into their current condition and other details such as pigment analysis.⁶⁴ The most important feature uniting all of these sculptures is their iconographical similarity and function. As sculptures produced within a specific workshop environment, each has characteristics that make them individual within the broader framework of an iconographical type.

The production of these *Cristos yacentes*, many of which seem to be almost identical, was aided by the use of models. Early in his career, Fernández was required to produce wax, clay, or gesso *bozzetti* of his proposed works.⁶⁵ Later, as his reputation increased, these were not demanded in contracts but probably still used in the workshop.

⁶² Martín González (1980), 27.

⁶³ For an inventory of *Cristos yacentes* in Madrid and Valladolid see Appendix A and B.

⁶⁴ I am very grateful to Javier Toquero, director of the Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Culturales de Castilla y León for sharing these conservation reports. For further reading see Marisa Gómez González and Teresa Gómez Espinosa, "Diagnóstico y metodología de restauración en la escultura policromada," *Arbor* 169 (Jul-Aug 2001): 613-644.

⁶⁵ Martín González (1980), 54.

As discussed in Chapter II, Fernández was not the inventor of the *Cristo yacente*, though he did establish a clear iconographical vocabulary for its production and dissemination. Nancarrow Taggard has observed that sculptures such as the *Cristo yacente* “were popular prototypes that evolved in the absence of copyright protection” and were understood regardless of authorship as synonymous with the “sculptor’s brand (name).”⁶⁶ To recall Chapter 1, spiritual involvement with these works is the same regardless of originality; because the impression of the brand name, in this case that of Gregorio Fernández, was still present in the generic variants that were produced by his workshop.⁶⁷ McKim-Smith further comments that the experience produced by Fernandez’s *Cristos* was also tied to the idea of the artist having been divinely selected to make images of the visions granted to him by God.⁶⁸ This connects Fernández’s works with the concept of the primordial image of the dead Christ as Nicodemus and others would have seen (and sculpted) Him. Seen from this perspective these images of the supine Christ would have been viewed as divinely-charged before, during, and after their production. The initial preparation by Fernández involved, among other things, receiving the Sacrament as recounted by Palomino; it was at that time he translated his divine vision into sculptural form with the outcome being an image that was exceedingly naturalistic.⁶⁹ This spiritually-enhanced, creative empowerment is furthered by the blessing of the work before it was used in ceremonies and by its ceremonial procession during Holy Week, an event that serves to activate and reinforce the inherent sanctity of the sculpture. Of the

⁶⁶ Mindy Nancarrow Taggard, “Piety and Profit in Spanish Religious Art,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 134, no. 1570 (Nov. 1999): 206.

⁶⁷ David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 178.

⁶⁸ Gridley McKim-Smith, “Spanish Polychrome Sculpture and its Critical Misfortunes,” *Spanish Polychrome Sculpture 1500-1800 in United States Collections*, ed. Suzanne Stratton (New York: The Spanish Institute, 1993), 23.

⁶⁹ Palomino 70.

fourteen *Cristos*, eight either were or are used in such processions.⁷⁰ The context of their use encourages us to place them within the realm of active, dramatic sculpture. The sixteenth-century religious writings of Fray Luis de Granada, Juan de la Cruz, and St. Teresa of Ávila, in addition to certain Counter-Reformation mandates, provide the background for the pieces discussed. The fourth and final chapter looks at perceptions of painted and sculpted images of the *Cristo yacente* and how they relate to religious practices and mystical thought of the seventeenth century.

The *Cristos yacentes*:⁷¹

***Cristo yacente*, Convento de San Pablo de Padres Dominicos, Valladolid**

Figures 31-33

Polychrome wood

2,05 x 0,65 x 0,70 meters⁷²

1609

Order: Dominican

This is one of the first *Cristo yacente* sculptures created by Gregorio Fernández. The positioning of the lower body is less twisted when compared to some later examples. The knees are not completely turned to the right and left foot remains almost flat. The left knee is bent and placed higher than the right knee. The head is turned towards the right, as is customary. The musculature of the figure is heavier than it is in works produced in the 1620s. The head is supported by two pillows placed on top of one another; they are decorated in black with a gold band. Embroidery is recreated by creating actual surface texture in the carving of the pillows with gilding known as *estofado*. The *rajado* pattern is used on the *subligaculum* and shroud. Gold paint is also

⁷⁰ The *Cristos yacentes* of San Pablo and Encarnación are documented as processional during the seventeenth century. The *Cristos* of Medina del Pomar, and Santa Catalina have a long oral history of procession within the confines of the monasteries. The works of Segovia, San Miguel, Santa Ana, and Zamora are used today during Holy Week by their representative confraternities.

⁷¹ See Appendix C for a Map of Spain with locations of *Cristos yacentes*.

⁷² Urrea (1999), 94. Martín González (1980), 192. The measurements given for the *Cristo* are 1,67 x 0,70 meters.

used in the imitation of fabrics that are painted in white; the edge of the *subligaculum* has a double stripe while the shroud has three thick stripes with two thinner stripes in between. The shroud and *subligaculum* give the illusion of being one and the same; the latter is held in place by a string.

Blood is represented on the forehead and the wounds but is scarce on the body when compared to later examples. Blood trickles down from the chest wound to the pelvis and extends toward the left knee. The chest cavity protrudes from the surface of the body. The wound made by Longinus' lance is not deep but is covered liberally with painted blood. The lack of depth is doubtless related to the use of the area as a reliquary that has now, for conservation purposes, been fastened permanently in place. The wounds of the hands and feet are deep. The wound on the left foot shows the two indentations left by the nailhead that is also depicted in the Santa Ana *Cristo yacente*. The mouth and eyes are both half-open. In the left eye, a hint of a pupil and iris is visible. The hair is wavy and thick but controlled and situated close to the face. The hair of the beard curls slightly and is parted at the center. The teeth and tongue are also visible. The lips are blue-grey in color. The fingernails are not done in ivory or bull's horn as in other examples. The finger joints and veins can be seen in the left hand, which is folded. The left hand is presented in a similar fashion to the left hand in Francisco Rincón's *Cristo yacente* of Sancti Spiritus.⁷³ The left hand is closed with the thumb folded over and the rest of the fingers fanned out. The fingers of the right hand are separated; a fold in the shroud is placed between the index finger and the middle finger. The index finger is bent while the others remain at rest. There are also bruises on

⁷³ Jesús Urrea, *La Escultura en Valladolid hacia 1600, 26 de marzo al 16 de abril 1985* (Valladolid: Caja de Ahorros Popular de Valladolid, 1985), Catalogue entry: *Yacente*.

the body of Christ from being tied across the wrists and ankles to the column of the flagellation. The placement of the toes is significant. The large toes point upward while the smaller ones curl inward. The joints are softly modeled. This arrangement is seen in the *Cristos yacentes* of Santa Clara, Sacramento, Pardo, Encarnación, and San Plácido. The finish of the skin is done in *pulimento*, a technique characteristic of the early seventeenth century.⁷⁴

This work is mentioned by Antonio Ponz in his *Viaje a España* published in 1773. Ponz notes in his description of San Pablo in Valladolid that “In the chapel on the left hand one can respect with [good] reason a statue of Our Lord, dead, that is thought to be by Gregorio H[F]ernández, from whom there is some other thing in the church.”⁷⁵ Urrea believes this work to be the *Cristo* mentioned in the 1614 letter from Tomás de Angulo to the duke of Lerma, Francisco Sandoval y Rojas.⁷⁶ The sculpture is described in an inventory as “a large dead Christ on a litter with well carved bier, with a wound on the side with a monstrance that has a little door to place the Holy Sacrament inside on Holy Friday.”⁷⁷ The style of the piece is similar to the *Cristo* of the Pietà group in Carmen

⁷⁴ Martín González (1980), 192.

⁷⁵ Antonio Ponz, *Viaje a España Seguido de los dos Tomos del Viaje Fuera de España*, edited by Casto María del Rivero (Madrid: M. Aguilar Editor, 1947) vol. 11, letter 2, entry 50, 961. Original text: “En una capilla a mano izquierda se estima con razón una estatua del Señor, difunto, que se tiene por de Gregorio Hernández, de quien hay alguna otra cosa en la iglesia.” Ceán Bermúdez, vol. 2, 267. Original text: “La estatua del santo Cristo difunto en una capilla a mano izquierda.” (The statue of the Holy dead Christ in a chapel on the left hand.)

⁷⁶ Tomás de Angulo, January 30, 1614, Leg. 325, fol. 311 CSR, 325, 311, Archivo General de Simancas, Casa y Sitios Reales. Published in Gregorio Blanco García, *Historia de “El Cristo de el Pardo”* (Madrid: Convento de PP. Capuchinos, 1987), 14. Also published as Leg. 15, fol. 311 in Juan José Martín González, *Escultura Barroca Castellana* (Madrid: Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, 1959), 152.

⁷⁷ Urrea (1985), Catalogue entry: *Yacente*. He cites Protocolo no. 683, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid. Original text: “un Xpto. (Cristo) grande muerto echado en un lecho en unas andas de muy buena talla en el costado de la llaga una porteguela con su viril para poner dentro del Santísimo Sacramento el biernes santo.”

Descalzo in Burgos, which allows us to place the work within the context of his overall production.⁷⁸

In 1601 the duke of Lerma became the patron of the major chapel of Santa Pablo in Valladolid, which is where he would eventually be buried.⁷⁹ The funerary sculptures produced by Pompeo Leoni were placed here as was the crypt for the duke's burial.⁸⁰

The duke was devoted to the cult of the *Santísimo Sacramento* as evidenced by his donation of a "sumptuous monstrance" for worship.⁸¹ Juan López notes in his history of the order of Saint Dominique that "The Duke has indicated [his] devotion to the Holy Sacrament by not only having made a bier with a monstrance of much greatness, of great value and draftsmanship for the week in which the Holy Church celebrates the *Corpus* and for the sepulchre of Holy Thursday, a work of much greatness, that will be everlasting...."⁸² It is appropriate then to conclude that a clear relationship can be established between the *Cristo yacente* as reliquary and the cult of the *Santísimo Sacramento*. As discussed previously when addressing the *Cristo yacente* by Becerra in Descalzas Reales, the figure in San Pablo was used as a reliquary for the *Sagrada Forma* on special occasions such as Holy Thursday and Holy Friday. Furthermore, the work was processed in an *Entierro*, a reenactment of the Sepulchre, which left San Pablo and at times included the Duke himself; Julián Paz notes that "the image that was carried in the

⁷⁸ Jesús Urrea, "A propósito de los yacentes de Gregorio Fernández," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 38 (1972): 544. Martín González (1980), 191.

⁷⁹ Urrea (1972), 543.

⁸⁰ Martín González (1980), 191.

⁸¹ Martín González (1980), 192.

⁸² Juan López, *Quatra Parte de la Historia de Santo Domingo y su Orden* (Valladolid, 1915), 982. As it appears in Martín González (1980) footnote 105, 192. Original text: "Háse señalado el Duque en la devoción del Santísimo Sacramento, no solamente en aver hecho unas andas de mucha riqueza y de gran valor y traça con su custodia, para la semana en que la santa Iglesia celebra las fiestas del Corpus, y para el sepulcro del Jueves Santo, una obra de mucha grandeza, que será perpetua...."

procession was a sculpture of great merit that was placed in the altar of Saint Luis Beltrán.”⁸³

From 1994 to 2007, the statue was carried in procession during Holy Thursday from 12:30 a.m. until 3:00 a.m. It departed from the church of San Miguel and served as the representative image of the Cofradía El Descendimiento y Santo Cristo de la Buena Muerte (Confraternity of the Descent and the Holy Christ of the Good Death). Although the *Cristo yacente* was regularly used during Holy Week processions, it remains in good condition and was conserved in 2003. The conservation report states that the sculpture was affected by xylophagus (wood eating insects), changes in temperature, candle wax, and electrical lamps that created burn spots.⁸⁴ The polychromy of the right hand is worn, perhaps because a *besamano* (kissing of the hand) was either allowed or implemented at one point.⁸⁵ The piece is carved out of pine, which was then prepared with layers of gesso and size; white lead was used as a pigment, and bole was used in the areas that were gilded.⁸⁶ Interestingly, x-rays revealed that a coin had been placed in the inner hollow of the sculpture.⁸⁷ The final notes on the restoration performed by Raquel de los Mozos Crespo from the Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes culturales de Castilla y León (Center of Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Properties of Castille and León) concludes that the work had been infested by *Anobium-punctatum*

⁸³ Julián Paz, *El Monasterio de San Pablo de Valladolid* (Valladolid, 1897), 58. Martín González (1980), footnote 106, 192. Original text: “La imagen que se llevaba en la procesión era una escultura de gran mérito, que estaba colocada en el altar de San Luis Beltrán.”

⁸⁴ *Dossier, Restauración de Imágenes Procesionales: Cristo yacente* (Cofradía El Descendimiento y Santo Cristo de la Buena Muerte, n.d.), 7 .

⁸⁵ *Dossier* 7.

⁸⁶ Raquel de los Mozos Crespo, *Memoria Final: Restauración del Cristo yacente de Gregorio Fernández* (Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Culturales de Castilla y León, December 2003), 13.

⁸⁷ *Dossier* 8.

(woodboring beetle) that made the top pillow near the face of the *Cristo* sink.⁸⁸ The sculpture was first treated by applying Permethrin to each hole before placing the entire work in a plastic bubble for fifteen days so as to absorb the insecticide's vapors.⁸⁹ To solidify the weakened areas especially in the shroud Paraloid B72 and Araldite for wood were used.⁹⁰ The oxidized top layer of varnish was removed with a mix of water, alcohol, and white spirit.⁹¹ The removal of this layer revealed the tones of the original polychromy. The oxidized layer was replaced by a layer of reversible varnish made of the Paraloid B72 dissolved in Xylene at 5% that was applied to protect the sculpture.⁹² It was only after this restoration that the flagellated areas and bruises around the ankles became visible.⁹³ Today, the *Cristo yacente* is temporarily displayed in a funerary chapel dating to the fourteenth century, while the cathedral is undergoing reconstruction. Its usual location is in front of the Chapel of St. Domingo de Guzmán, next to the chapel of St. Gregory inside the San Pablo Cathedral. It is usually placed in a retablo dating to the second quarter of the eighteenth century that is painted in red and green and gilded and that contains a chamber at its base.⁹⁴ This chamber is decorated with a scene of Calvary.

⁸⁸ de los Mozos Crespo 5, 6.

⁸⁹ de los Mozos Crespo 5.

⁹⁰ de los Mozos Crespo 6.

⁹¹ de los Mozos Crespo 8.

⁹² de los Mozos Crespo 11.

⁹³ Sources that discuss this work include Juan Agapito y Revilla, *Las cofradías, las procesiones y los pasos de Semana santa en Valladolid* (Valladolid: Editorial Maxtor, 2007 reprint of 1925 edition), 85.

Jesús Urrea, "A propósito de los yacentes de Gregorio Fernández," *Boletín Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 38 (1972): 544. Juan José MartínGonzález, *Escultura Barroca en España* (Madrid: Ediciones Catédra, 1983), 62. Enrique Cordero de Ciria, "Cristos yacentes madrileños," *Villa de Madrid* 24 (1987): 49. Jesús Urrea, *Esculturas de Gregorio Fernandez* (Valladolid: Caja de Ahorros Popular de Valladolid, 1984) Catalogue entry: *Yacente*. Jesús Urrea, "Los Cristos yacentes de Castilla y León," *Tercer Encuentro para el Estudio Cofradiero: En Torno al Santo Sepulcro. Zamora, 10-13 de Noviembre, 1993* (Zamora: Imprenta Jambrina, 1993), 19.

Jesús Urrea, *Gregorio Fernandez 1576-1636* (Valladolid: Fundación BSCH, 1999) 94. Juan José Martín González and Francisco Javier de la Plaza Santiago, *Catálogo Monumental: Monumentos Religiosos de la Ciudad de Valladolid*, 15, Part 2 (Valladolid: Diputación de Valladolid, 2001), 266.

⁹⁴ Martín González and de la Plaza Santiago 265.

***Cristo Yacente*, Convento de Santa Clara, Lerma, Burgos**

Figures 34-35

Polychrome wood and gold

1,76 x 0,60 meters⁹⁵

1606-1610

Order: Clares

This *Cristo yacente* is displayed in an urn composed of glass and gilded wood and decorated with *gallones y trajetillas* (egg and dart pattern).⁹⁶ This container makes it difficult to view the work *in situ*. The figure rests on a shroud and the head is placed on two pillows. The pillows appear dark green due to the loss of gold polychromy but were originally meant to imitate brocade. The decorative brocade that covers the pillows was made with a stencil, though there are irregularities in the carving of the border pattern. The pillows support the head, which tilts to the right. The top pillow is moved further back than in the San Pablo example, and it is placed at a lesser angle, permitting the head and chest to rest parallel with the shroud. The open mouth shows the teeth and tongue, in a manner resembling the San Pablo *Cristo*. The brow is furrowed and the eyebrows curve upward. The eyes open slightly to show their irises and pupils. Small details, such as the eyelashes, are painted. The cheeks are shaded darker and appear sunken. The hair is thick and wavy, while the beard is curly and forked. The curving of the hair toward the ear is similar to that of the San Pablo example. Some of the hair even falls upon the pillow.

The body of the figure appears muscular and solid. The muscles have grey undertones. The left hand rests on the *subligaculum* and the right on the shroud. On the left hand the fingers are slightly bent while on the right we see the usual separation

⁹⁵ Martín González (1980), 191. If we follow Urrea's attribution and date for the *Cristo yacente* in San Pablo this work would post date 1609.

⁹⁶ Martín González (1980), 191.

between index and middle fingers. The decision not to fold the left hand is significant and supports the idea that this was the first of Fernández's *Cristo yacentes* since all of the other ones with the exception of San Miguel, Santa Ana, and Zamora, have a folded left hand.⁹⁷ Martín González dates this work to 1606, which would make the San Pablo version the second earliest example.⁹⁸ The San Pablo *Cristo* shows the direct influence of Rincón's *Cristo*, which continues to be evident in other works through the placement of the left hand. The *subligaculum* and shroud are painted white. The former is held in place by a gold string and decorated with a gold border. The left leg crosses over the right and is bent slightly, forcing the left foot to lie flat. The wounds in the feet are deep. Those in the hands are also visible, and they too are deep, but less bloody. Blood is applied to the hairline and forehead, and the marks appear as if they were tiny drops of rain that began at the face and trickled down the body. There is evidence of the figure having been bound as the polychromy in the wrists and ankles is of a darker tone. The polychromy is done in *pulimento*.⁹⁹ Curiously, the lance wound is lined with gold. The blood of the chest wound is composed of various colors and there are visible traces of resin. The figure is well-conserved, a consequence perhaps of its display in a tamper-proof glass container.

The gold-lined lance wound is relevant to the patronage and function of the piece. At the chest of the figure there is a small cavity sealed in gold with an inscription that reads "*Sangre de Xhristo*" (Blood of Christ).¹⁰⁰ The convent of Santa Clara was founded by the duke of Lerma as part of a larger program of construction that included his palace,

⁹⁷ The examples at Santa Ana and Zamora are workshop pieces.

⁹⁸ Martín González (1980), 191.

⁹⁹ Martín González (1980), 191.

¹⁰⁰ Martín González (1980), 191.

which was begun in 1602.¹⁰¹ The sculpture is described in the mid- seventeenth century by Fray Francisco Calderón as follows: “This chapel is a graceful reliquary...crowning this sacrarium is an admirable Holy Christ in the sepulchre in whose wound is a small golden box with coagulated blood or sign of precious blood given by the great Queen doña Margarita.”¹⁰² It is clear from this description that the *Cristo* of Santa Clara of Lerma served as a reliquary for the Blood of Christ. We know that doña Margarita, wife of Philip III, donated the relic but it is uncertain if the reliquary, the *Cristo yacente*, was also part of this gift.¹⁰³ The patronage of the piece can be attributed to Margarita or to the duke of Lerma himself. Regardless, the patronage was doubtless royal in nature.¹⁰⁴

***Cristo Yacente*, Convento del Sacramento, Madrid**

Present location: Boadilla del Monte, Madrid

Figures 36-39

Polychrome wood

1,85 meters¹⁰⁵

1611

Order: Carmelitas Descalzas (Unshod Carmelites)

This cloistered *Cristo yacente* is not available for general public viewing and can only be seen with special permission. The figure of Christ lies on a white shroud. His head is placed above two white pillows decorated with blue-green paint giving the illusion of needlepoint, *granido* (course stitching), and embroidery in the form of vines. The blue decoration is placed along the edge of the pillow as marked carvings that indent the surface of the wood give the illusion of a border. The top pillow is placed further

¹⁰¹ Martín González (1980), 190.

¹⁰² Fray Francisco Calderón, “*Primera Parte de la Crónica de la Santa Provincia de la Purísima Concepción, de la regular observancia de N.S.P.S. Francisco*,” manuscrito, cajón 1, legajo 1, num. 3, Archivo de los Padres Franciscanos, Valladolid. See Martín González (1980), footnote 98, 191. Original text: “Esta capilla es un gracioso relicario...coronando este sagrario un santísimo Cristo en el sepulcro, de admiración: en cuya llaga del costado está una cajita de oro con sangre cuajada o señal de sangre preciosa, dádiva desta gran Reyna Doña Margarita.”

¹⁰³ Martín González (1980), 191.

¹⁰⁴ For additional sources see Martín González (1983), 62. Urrea (1993) 21. Cordero de Ciria 49.

¹⁰⁵ Urrea (1972), 546.

back as in the Lerma example, allowing for the chest to rest more horizontally. The head, face, and legs are turned toward the right. The musculature of the figure is slight when compared to the San Pablo and Lerma examples. The eyes are open enough to show the irises and pupils. The eyebrows are not arched toward the center as in the Lerma *Cristo*. The mouth is open, showing the teeth and tongue, but the gesture of the mouth is not as severe as the Lerma example. The hair is wavy and thick and spread farther across the pillow as the tendrils curl away from the face. The beard curls and separates at the chin. Painted blood is applied to the forehead and over the surface of the body in a naturalistic manner. The body is further accented by diagonally-oriented lacerations. The wounds are not carved all the way through but, rather, are shallow. The red paint of the hand and feet wounds is rendered in an asterisk pattern. The lance wound is also relatively shallow and is highlighted by blood in different hues that continues down the abdomen. The left hand is folded and fanned out above the *subligaculum* like the one on the *Cristo* by Rincón in Sancti Spiritus and on Fernández's version in San Pablo. The right hand rests on the shroud; the small finger is bent slightly with a single fold separating the index and middle fingers. The shroud and the *subligaculum* are both painted white. The former has a blue border giving the impression that the fabric has a finished edge. The brown string holding it in place cuts diagonally across the pelvis. The placement of this string is reminiscent of its equivalent in San Pablo. The drapery folds seem to be gaining more life, losing the softness of previous examples and becoming more angular. The left leg is bent slightly and the left foot is nearly flat. The right leg remains comparatively more vertical and the right foot points upward.

This sculpture has been described by Martín González as a mediocre workshop piece.¹⁰⁶ Gómez Moreno believes it to be a late work by an imitator, while Tormo attributes it to Fernández.¹⁰⁷ Urrea argues that we should reconsider Tormo's attribution but concludes that it is a workshop piece dated to 1611.¹⁰⁸ Though Urrea does not mention the authorship issue in his 1993 article "Los Cristos yacentes de Castilla y León," he does note that a collaboration between the Lerma family and Fernández was previously established, which would all but confirm the work's patronage by the duke of Uceda.¹⁰⁹

So is this work by Fernández? Would Uceda accept a workshop piece? Insofar as the sculpture is dirty and, as a result, the condition of the polychromy difficult to evaluate, the quality of the work has long been obscured and undervalued. The face of the figure and the draperies are carefully-rendered. The carving, which Urrea claims to be treated unevenly, as well as the modeling that Gómez Moreno refers to as poor, are actually quite similar in character to what we see on the Lerma example.¹¹⁰ When looking at both works from above, the ribcage is rendered almost identically. Both statues share a peculiar sternum depression, which is placed at a ninety degree angle from the navel. I agree with Urrea that we should reconsider Tormo's attribution.¹¹¹ If this is a workshop piece it is of exceedingly high quality. Agapito y Revilla agrees that this

¹⁰⁶ Martín González (1980), 193 notes it is a workshop piece of good quality.

¹⁰⁷ María Elena Gómez Moreno, *Escultura del Siglo XVII*, Ars Hispaniae, vol. 16 (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1963), 324 notes that it is a late imitator and describes the work in page 82. Elías Tormo, Visitando lo no visitable: La Clausura de las Bernardas del Sacramento, *Boletín de la Sociedad de Excursiones* 3 (1921): 125. Urrea (1972), 546.

¹⁰⁸ Urrea (1972), 546

¹⁰⁹ Urrea (1993), 21.

¹¹⁰ Urrea (1972), 546. Gómez Moreno (1963), 82.

¹¹¹ Urrea (1972), 546.

Cristo is a “good piece.”¹¹² Although certainly less decorative, with the absence of gold in the pillows and fabrics, this *Cristo* fulfils our expectations of Fernández’s work, especially in the treatment of the face and hair.

The Convent of Sacramento was founded in 1615 by the duke of Uceda, don Cristóbal Sandoval y Rojas, the eldest son of the duke of Lerma. On the occasion of its establishment nuns from Santa Ana of Valladolid were moved into the convent.¹¹³ A 1614 letter from Tomás de Angulo to the duke of Lerma notes of Fernández and his *Cristos* that he “is the one from Valladolid that made your Excellency’s and that of my lady the Duchess of Uceda...”¹¹⁴ It is therefore possible that Cristóbal Sandoval y Rojas, following in his father’s footsteps, commissioned this work for the Convent of the Sacrament. The convent’s dedication to the Holy Sacrament also serves to link the *Cristo yacente* with its function as a surrogate for the Eucharist.

Cristo yacente, Convento de Capuchinos El Pardo, Madrid

Figure 40

Polychrome wood, resin, ivory, and glass

1,55 meters¹¹⁵

Order: Capuchin

This sculpture by Fernández is placed inside an elaborate marble and glass urn dated to 1945 that was made by Félix Granada and donated by Francisco Franco (1892-1975).¹¹⁶ The label at the convent reads that the *Cristo* itself dates to 1605. The urn can be reached from two stairways, which allow visitors to view the sculpture from the head

¹¹² Juan Agapito y Revilla, *La obra de los maestros de la escultura castellana*, vol. 2 (Valladolid: Santarén, 1920-29), 24.

¹¹³ Martín González (1980), 193.

¹¹⁴ Martín González (1959), 152. Tomás de Angulo, January 30, 1614, leg. 325, fol. 311 CSR, 325, 311, Archivo General de Simancas, Casa y Sitios Reales. Published in Blanco García 14. Also published as leg. 15, fol. 311 in Martín González (1959), 152. Original text: “el de Valladolid que es el que hizo el V.E. [Vuestra Excellencia] y el de mi señora la Duquesa de Uceda...”

¹¹⁵ Martín González (1980), 194.

¹¹⁶ Blanco García 66.

or feet and to kneel in prayer at either end. The frontal view is not an optimal one by this placement, so much so that I had to climb a ladder to take pictures of the *Cristo*. Inside the urn, a carved wooden bed supports the sculpture and a velvet cushion rises at an angle that places Christ's body at a slant. According to Martín González, the sculpture and shroud are carved from a single block of *nogal* wood.¹¹⁷ The eyes and mouth of the figure are open, appearing half-dead. The eyes are made of glass and the teeth of ivory. The hair is carved in large tresses of curls that seem alive, especially above the left ear. Blood is applied sparingly on the forehead, where the artist has depicted traces of the crown of thorns that pierced Christ's forehead. Blood is also included on the shoulder, the hip, the lance wound, and the wounds of the hands and feet. The chest displays a fleshy wound with six drops of resin imitating coagulated blood and water. Blood is also shown running down the neck on the left, continuing past the nipple, the left elbow and left hand, and onto the shroud in three drops. The hand and fingernails are rendered naturalistically. The flesh of the knees, legs, and feet has been darkened. The polychromy of the wounds and feet is worn from believers touching it. In fact, the feet are so worn that we can see the wood grain. The wounds of the feet are very deep and can be seen from above. The body is carefully-rendered and includes details such as veins in the hand and neck and folds of flesh on the back of the left foot. The *subligaculum* is rendered with soft folds edged in gold with blue trim and held in place by a string. The string is thinner than the one in the San Pablo example and the carving of it is uneven. This is perhaps attributed to the fact that lace fabric was added at some point to cover the string. The modern lace was removed during conservation. The shroud is broken at the bottom left hand corner next to the feet and at the top right next to the head.

¹¹⁷ Martín González (1980), 194. *Nogal* is walnut.

The pillow that supports the head is colored in white and dark blue or black. The pattern is intended to imitate embroidery, while the indentations on the wood are meant to mimic the stitches of needlepoint or *granido*. The pattern has minor variations but was still likely done with a stencil. A second pillow under the shroud is implied. Orueta and Urrea mention anatomical imperfections though they do not specify what these are.¹¹⁸ We may assume, however, that they are referring to the slenderness of the shoulders and the bend at the thigh of the left leg, which appears disjointed from the pelvis.

The convent of El Pardo was founded on November 12, 1609 by Philip III, and was inaugurated in 1613.¹¹⁹ The *Cristo yacente* was also commissioned by Philip III to celebrate the birth of his son Philip IV, who was born on Holy Friday in 1605. It was placed in the convent in 1615.¹²⁰ Jerónimo de Cabrera (Calabria) is recorded as having “painted all the ornament of the Sepulchre of Christ that His Majesty gave to the Capuchins in the imitation of marble (or jasper)”.¹²¹ Based on documentary evidence, it seems that the sculpture was placed in the oratory of the Palacio Real of El Pardo before it was moved to the Capuchin church.¹²² According to Father Mateo Anguiano, who wrote a history of the convent in 1713, once Gregorio Fernández finished the work he:

placed it in the urn and took it to his Majesty who was impressed by its sight and notably happy [that the artist] had executed exactly what he had wished for. The pious Monarch remunerated him for his work and ordered that the sacred image be put in his Oratory. From then on he venerated it and frequented it many times and with much tenderness. Later (when his Majesty returned to the court in Madrid) he had the Sacred Image brought and made that it be placed in his Oratory where it remained until 1615 when his Majesty donated it to the Royal

¹¹⁸ Orueta, 46. Urrea (1993), 21.

¹¹⁹ Martín González (1980), 193.

¹²⁰ Philip IV was born on April 8.

¹²¹ Jerónimo de Cabrera (Calabria), n/d, leg. 38, fols. 65-66, CSR, 38, 65-66, Archivo General Simancas, Casa y Sitios Reales. Published in Martín González (1980), footnote 116, 194, and Blanco García 17.

“pintó de jaspe todo el ornamento del Sepulcro de Cristo que Su Majestad dió a los Capuchinos.”

¹²² Urrea (1993), 21.

Convent of El Pardo and ordered that it be brought and placed in an urn within the chapel, as was done....”¹²³

This document informs us that the work was moved from Valladolid to Madrid, placed in the Oratory, and then transferred to the convent. Martín González argues that the *Cristo yacente* was in the convent by June of 1615, while the 1713 documents claims that it was installed on a Friday in March of the same year.¹²⁴ Although the patronage of the work is secure, the date of the sculpture is still debated. The date of the commission is also problematic. Enrique Serrano Fatigati argues that the work was ordered in 1603 and venerated by 1606 in the Royal Palace of Valladolid.¹²⁵ More commonly, it is believed to have been commissioned in 1605, but Martín González presents documentary evidence that suggests it was commissioned in 1614. A letter from Tomás de Angulo to the duke of Lerma dated March 30 (Archivo General de Simancas, Casa y Sitios Reales, Leg. 325, fol. 311) reads:

El Martes pasado estuve en El Pardo a veer cómo se caminava en la guerta de los Padres capuchinos y rematar algunas obras que allí y en trofa faltaban y dar prisa a todo, para quando su Magestad fuere allá esté como se desea.

El Padre comisario me dixo cómo su Magestad mandaba que en un aposentillo que está debaxo del altar mayor se hiziese un sepulcro y me dió el papel que va aquí para las medidas del lienzo que se ha de pintar de pinzel que ha de ser de Nuestra Señora de la Piedad al pie de la Cruz con su hijo en los brazos, y San Joan y la Magdalena a los lados, y también del Christo que se ha de hazer de bulto, que éste lo podría hazer Rodríguez el de Valladolid que es el que hizo el de V.E. y el de mi señora la Duquesa de Uceda, que haya Gloria, y a la pintura de lienço se podrá hacer aquí....”¹²⁶

¹²³ Father Mateo Anguiano, *Parayso en el desierto donde se gozan espirituales delicias y se alivian las penas de los afligidos* (Madrid: 1713), 109 as it appears in Blanco García, 17. Original text: “la colocó en una urna y se la llevó a Su Magestad quien quedó admirado de verla y notablemente gustoso de que hubiese tenido el acierto de executar lo mismo que había deseado. Remuneróle el piadoso Monarca su trabajo, y mandó poner la sagrada imagen en su Oratorio. Desde entonces la veneró y frecuentó mucho y con gran ternura. Después (cuando Su Magestad volvió a Madrid a la Corte) mandó traer la Sagrada Imagen, e hizo que se colocase en su Oratorio donde estuvo hasta 1615, en que Su Magestad gustó donarla a su Convento Real del Pardo, y mandó se traxese a él y que se colocase en una urna de la capilla como se hizo....” Punctuations added to translation.

¹²⁴ Martín González (1980), 194. Father Mateo Anguiano 112. Blanco García 17.

¹²⁵ Enrique Serrano Fatigati, *Escultura en Madrid* (Madrid: Fototipia de Hauser y Menet, 1912), 102.

¹²⁶ Tomás de Angulo, January 30, 1614, Leg. 325, fol. 311 CSR, 325, 311. Archivo General de Simancas, Casa y Sitios Reales, Spain. Published in Blanco García, 14. Also published as Leg. 15, fol. 311 in Martín

[Last Tuesday I was at the Pardo in order to take a walk in the vegetable gardens of the Capuchin fathers and to complete some works [pending] rushing to make sure everything is to the Majesty's liking upon his arrival.

The chief Father told me how his Majesty ordered that in the small room that was under the major altar a sepulchre be made and he gave me the paper enclosed here with the measurements of the canvas to be painted by brush which is to be of Our Lady of Piety at the foot of the cross, with her child in her arms, St. John and Magdalene at the sides, and also of a Christ to be done in *bulto* (high relief), that can be made by Rodríguez [Fernández] from Valladolid, who is the one that made your Excellency's and that of my lady the Duchess of Uceda, may there be by Glory, and the painting on canvas can be done here....]

The *Cristo yacente* of El Pardo is the most well-known of Fernández's *Cristos yacentes*. It is recorded in such widely-read primary sources as Palomino, Ceán Bermúdez, and Ponz.¹²⁷ Palomino mentions "the image of the Most Holy Christ in his Tomb in El Pardo..."¹²⁸ Ceán Bermúdez cites "Another [Christ] our Lord also at the sepulchre in his chapel."¹²⁹ And Ponz writes that "one goes up to the convent of the Capuchin fathers that was founded in the time of Philip III. They have in their church some works worthy of esteem, particularly the image of Jesus Christ in the sepulchre placed in the altar of his chapel, one of the best made by the celebrated Gregorio [F]ernández."¹³⁰ The titles that Palomino and Ponz give to the piece, "Most Holy Christ in his Tomb" and "Christ at the Sepulchre," respectively, are important to the understanding of the function of the type, as they make explicit connection to the Holy

(fn. 126 cont.) González (1959), 152. Urrea believes the historical mistake on dating the work to 1605 stems from Mateo Anguiano, *Parayso en el desierto donde se gozan espirituales delicias y se alivian las penas de los afligidos* (Madrid, 1713), 106. The reliance on this source explains the 1605 date in the label at the Capuchin Convent and Blanco García's insistence for the earlier date. Cordero de Ciria 50, notes a document dated to 7 January 1613, manuscript 3.661, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid holds all the secrets to the date of the work. Unfortunately I was unable to locate this document as cited.

¹²⁷ Palomino 70.

¹²⁸ Palomino 70.

¹²⁹ Ceán Bermúdez, vol. 2, 270. Original text: "Otro señor también en el sepulcro en su capilla."

¹³⁰ Ponz, vol. 6, Real Sitio el Pardo, entry 12, 564. Original text: "se sube al convento de padres Capuchinos, que se fundó en tiempo de Felipe III. Tienen en su iglesia algunas obras dignas de estimación, y lo es en particular la imagen de jesucristo en el sepulcro colocado en altar de su capilla, de las mejores que hizo el celebre Gregorio Hernández."

Sepulchre. Since Philip III was the patron of the convent, it is likely that this *Cristo yacente* was venerated by the royal family. Martín González observes that in 1692 a Mass was held in front of the *Cristo yacente* that granted the participant indulgences for time spent in purgatory.¹³¹ This clearly illustrates what McKim-Smith calls the “potency” of the image.¹³² In Christian tradition, certain images are thought to have the power to intercede of behalf of the viewer and provide a truer meditative experience. Even today, many pilgrims venerate this statue and kneel in prayer at its feet.¹³³ The intercessory character of the work is further confirmed by the anecdote in the anonymous *Compendio de la Historia del Santísimo Cristo de El Pardo* (1807) that recounts what Fernández said of the *Cristo yacente*: “I have made the body but only God has been able to make the head.”¹³⁴ Fernández establishes a connection between himself and God as the ultimate creator of Christ and all images of him.

Cristo yacente, Convento de Encarnación, Madrid

Figures 41-45

Polychrome wood, resin, ivory, and glass

1,77 x 0,66 meters¹³⁵

1620-25¹³⁶

Felipe Diricksen

The Virgin, St. John and Mary Magdalene

Oil on canvas 1,65 x 0,75 meters¹³⁷

Order: Augustinian

¹³¹ Martín González (1980), 193.

¹³² McKim-Smith 23.

¹³³ For additional sources see García Chico (1952), 17. Gómez Moreno (1963), 81. Urrea (1972) 543. Cordero de Ciria (1986), 49-50. Teresa Fernández Pereya, “Cristos de Madrid,” *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños* 33 (1993): 171.

¹³⁴ Martín González (1980), 194. Original text: “El cuerpo lo he hecho yo; pero la cabeza sólo la ha podido hacer Dios.” This is a variant on the legend of the Volto Santo.

¹³⁵ Martín González (1980), 195.

¹³⁶ Martín González (1980), 195.

¹³⁷ Diego Angulo Íñiguez y Alfonso Pérez Sánchez, *Pintura Madrileña del primer tercio del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1969), 345.

The *Cristo yacente* of Encarnación is displayed on a bier covered with red velvet and a lace-trimmed white cloth. The figure lies on a white shroud; the *subligaculum* blends into the shroud since they are the same color. The *subligaculum* appears as if it was a fold of the shroud and no string is used to keep it in place. The elimination of the string permits a more complete presentation of the body. The *Cristo* is turned slightly to the right as both knees are parallel to one another and directed toward the viewer. The head is suspended by a single pillow that is painted white and decorated with blue paint intended to imitate embroidery. There is a suggestion of a second pillow under the shroud, even though it is not visible. The pillow is similar to the one at the Pardo but has no indentations to imitate needlepoint. The design seems to be done with the aid of a stencil but shows minor variations in the pattern, especially in the side border.

The figure has glass eyes and an open mouth with visible teeth and tongue. The hair extends across the surface of the pillow. There is a piece of hair that is broken on the left side of the head and was restored but left unpainted. Urrea correctly observes that the hair is more abundant and curly in this example.¹³⁸ Once again, painted blood accents the wounds, head, shoulders, shroud, knees, and feet. There is a laceration painted on the brow of the figure as evidence of the crown of thorns. The chest wound is deep. The blood of the wound varies in color and is decorated with resin that imitates water. The right hand is relaxed with separations between the index and middle fingers and between the ring finger and small finger. There are no folds on the shroud below the hand to aid in the arrangement of the fingers. The left hand is folded and the fingers are fanned; however, the index finger is extended. The hands and feet have wounds that penetrate all the way through creating holes. The wounds of the feet can be seen through the soles.

¹³⁸Urrea (1993), 22.

The wood is cracked on the left knee. The folds on the shroud are more angular and the *subligaculum* has no edging. The overall musculature is slim. The most exceptional aspect of the piece is the heightened degree of pathos visible on the figure's face.¹³⁹

Restoration of the statue was conducted from June to December 1992. The polychromy seems very bright, especially in the area of the hair, which is a reddish-brown. Francisco Torrón Durán summarizes the restoration of the sculpture and notes that the polychromy was done in oil in *encarnación mate* and that the wood is pine from Soria that has contracted and expanded over the years to produce small cracks.¹⁴⁰ The statue was affected by years of handling, the smoke of candles, and the accumulation of dust, and then further compromised by three layers of gesso that were applied at different times. During the conservation, it was cleaned with neutral soap and in some areas with ammonia.¹⁴¹ Because this was a restoration as well as a conservation effort, repairs were done and the piece was retouched with paint that matched the original polychromy.

The convent of the Encarnación was founded in 1611 and built by 1616, as ordered by Philip III and Margaret of Austria.¹⁴² The convent followed the Augustinian Rule and had the support of two Papal Bulls, the first issued by Pope Paul V in 1618 and the second by Gregory XV in 1625. Margaret of Austria selected the nun Mariana de San José to serve as prioress, and together with Augustín Antonlínéz, provincial of Castille and later archbishop of Santiago, she carried out a country-wide reform of the order of St. Augustine.¹⁴³ The building's architect was Juan Gómez de Mora, who made a design that

¹³⁹ Gómez Moreno (1963), 82.

¹⁴⁰ Francisco Torrón Durán, "Cristo yacente de Gregorio Fernández en el Monasterio de Encarnación," *Reales Sitios* 114 (1992): 58. Martín González (1980), 195.

¹⁴¹ Torrón Durán 58.

¹⁴² Ana García Sanz, "The Convent of Las Descalzas Reales," *Royal Convents of Madrid: Las Descalzas and La Encarnación* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2003), 57.

¹⁴³ García Sanz 57.

connected the convent to the Alcázar Palace via a passageway. We can conclude that the patron of the *Cristo yacente* may well have been Philip III, who negotiated the commission through Mother Mariana.¹⁴⁴

Martin Gonzalez agrees that this is an original Fernández.¹⁴⁵ This *Cristo* is similar to the one at El Pardo, but the body is slimmer, and the overall appearance of the figure is more pathetic, tragic, and morose. Originally, the sculpture was placed in front of a painting and below a cross, and was flanked by sculptures of St. Augustine and St. Monica.¹⁴⁶ The original installation is described in the *Vida de la Venerable Madre Mariana de San Joseph* written by Luis Muñoz and printed in Madrid in 1646:

Going into the chapter of the church...at the head of the room, above a wide pedestal [the step before the altar] also covered in tiles there is a Sepulchre of beautiful design and joinery labor painted in various marbles, especially in black. This Sepulchre encloses an excellent sculpted image of Our Lord Christ dead, almost two yards long, with wounds at the feet, hands and side that look like they are bleeding. The face is so human that it causes a fearful reverence: the head shows the cruel mistreatment of the crown that vividly demonstrates the harshness of the torment. The half-open eyes are of glass with natural eyebrows, the mouth is somewhat open and a tongue is visible. All of this provokes devotion and tenderness. He reclines his head over the sculpted pillows; also sculpted is the shroud where the body is placed. The artist has been previously named. Painted in the panel at the front of the sepulchre are Our Lady, St. John, and Magdalene. The work is covered with a cloth from India and hidden behind two curtains that give it better propriety. In the middle of the Sepulchre is written *Crucifixus etiam pro nobis, et sepultus est*.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Fernández Pereya, 171. Martín González (1980), 195. As an additional source for this Cristo see García Chico (1952), 17.

¹⁴⁵ Martín González (1980), 195.

¹⁴⁶ Martín González (1980), 195.

¹⁴⁷ Luis Muñoz, *Vida de la Venerable Madre Mariana de San Joseph* (Madrid, 1646) as it appears in Martín González (1980), 195. Original text: “Pasemos al Capítulo...A la cabecera de la pieza, sobre una peana ancha también cubierta de azulejos está un devoto Sepulcro de bella traça, y labor de samblaje pintado de varios jaspes, en particular el negro. Encierra este Sepulcro una excelente imagen de talla de Christo Nuestro Señor muerto, casi de dos varas, las llagas de los pies, manos y costado parecen vierten sangre, el rostro tan mortal y propio que causa una reverencia temerosa: la cabeza maltratada de la crueldad de la corona que muestra con gran viveza la acerbidad del tormento. Los ojos son de crystal, medio abiertos, con cejas naturales, algo abierta la boca, y se divisa la lengua. Todo provoca a devoción y ternura, reclina la cabeza sobre almohadas de talla, como la sábana en que se estiende el cuerpo. Fue su artifice el ya nombrado. En el tablero de enfrente del sepulcro están de pincel Nuestra Señora, San Juan y la Magdalena, dolorosos. Está cubierto con un paño de la India: tiene de ordinario dos órdenes de cortinas

This *Cristo yacente* was also involved in a procession. Velasco de Zazo writes that “The procession regarding the sepulchre that is carried out by the nuns in the morning of the Sunday of Resurrection is traditional [and announced] by the ringing of bells.”¹⁴⁸ It was placed in the chapter house in the seventeenth century and today it is in the sculpture room on the first floor of the Convent of Encarnación.¹⁴⁹

***Cristo yacente*, San Plácido, Madrid**

Figure 46

Polychrome wood, resin, ivory, and glass

1, 71 meters body; 1, 85 meters urn¹⁵⁰

1620-1625

Order: Benedictine

This sculpture is located in the last chapel on the right when looking toward the altar in the so-called Chapel of the Sepulchre. The original chapel of the same name was destroyed in 1908; it was decorated with frescoes by Francisco Rizi and Claudio Coello, among others.¹⁵¹ The *Cristo yacente* is displayed in an urn from the second half of the seventeenth century in a retablo format. A painting of the Virgin and two additional paintings of angels hang above the sculpture and its urn.¹⁵²

In this work Christ is placed on a white shroud. The head of the figure is supported by two pillows, one located under the shroud and one above it. The pillow is richly decorated and stands out among the pillows of all the rest of the *Cristo* statues. It has a reddish-brown stripe that looks like varnished wood, which was likely painted over

(fn. 147 cont.) para mayor decencia: en medio del Sepulcro está escrito Crucifixus etiam pro nobis, et sepultus est.” Punctuations have been added to English translation.

¹⁴⁸ Codero de Ciria 50. Antonio Velasco Zazo, *Recintos Sagrados de Madrid* (Madrid: Artes Gráficas Municipales, 1951), 70. Original text: “Es tradicional la procesión que en torno del sepulcro hacen las monjitas en la madrugada del Domingo de Resurrección, anunciando ésta con el volteo de campanas.”

¹⁴⁹ Maria Leticia Sánchez Hernández, “The Convent of La Encarnación,” *Royal Convents of Madrid: Las Descalzas and La Encarnación* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2003), 64.

¹⁵⁰ Martín González (1980), 197.

¹⁵¹ Martín González (1980), 196.

¹⁵² Martín González (1980), 197.

in gold. Some of the gilding on the patterns of the pillow's decor have chipped off and support the idea that the border was also gilded. The rest of the pillow is decorated in blue and gold floral scrollwork. The patterning is not as precise as in other examples. The outlines have disappeared, perhaps as a result of the choice of pigment. Regardless, the pattern was meant to imitate brocade. Christ's hair is soft and curves more delicately than in the Pardo example; it appears wet and has a sheen that reflects light. The light brown color is also peculiar and may be a result of a recent cleaning and restoration. The shroud on which the figure lies has a border that has lost its color but may originally have been gold. The *subligaculum* is blue and contrasts sharply with the paleness of the body and its surroundings. The string of earlier works has been abandoned to show the flesh of the right thigh.

The glass eyes are open as is the mouth. The bottom lip is thicker than in other examples. The top teeth are visible and composed of ivory. Hair floats on the right side of the head as if it was broken at the bottom but is actually a technique of flaring the hair. Painted blood is liberally applied to the figure. There is a thick drop on the forehead and a gash above the brow reminiscent of the Segovia example. Blood is also depicted on the cheeks. The blood on the body is concentrated in certain spots, such as on the wounds, and is colored in different hues. The lance wound is deep. The wounds of the hands and feet have an asterisk pattern created in red pigment. The hands are thin. The right hand is placed on the shroud and all the fingers are bent slightly. The index and middle fingers are somewhat separated. The left hand is folded and the fingers are fanned out like in Rincón's *Cristo yacente* and like those of San Pablo, Sacramento, Pardo, and Encarnación. There is blood on the right shoulder, on the left knee, and on the ankles.

The shoulder and feet have areas that peel recreating torn flesh. The knees appear dark and have deep wounds. Overall the body is slimmer than those of the *Cristos yacentes* already mentioned. The chest is sunken and the body lies flatter than previous works. The feet seem to have been rubbed in the past as evidenced by their worn polychromy. The skin has blue undertones and the *encarnación* is matte. The figure is arguably descendent of the Pardo version, although it is not as tragic in appearance as the Encarnación *Cristo*; it conveys a stronger sense of corporeal death.

The convent of San Plácido was founded in 1623 by don Jerónimo de Villanueva, secretary of state and a trusted friend of count duke Olivares, and a member of the court of Philip IV.¹⁵³ As patron of the convent, where he arranged to be buried, he donated a great number of artworks, perhaps including the *Cristo yacente*, although this is not mentioned in his will.¹⁵⁴ Besides Jerónimo de Villanueva, another possible patron could be Philip IV himself, who donated Velázquez's *Crucifixion* (oil on canvas, Museo del Prado, 1632) to the convent.¹⁵⁵ Ponz, a primary source, noted that "the dead Christ in the sepulchre is an esteemed work of sculpture."¹⁵⁶ Martín González considers the work of excellent quality and dates it to 1620-25.¹⁵⁷ The work was restored in 1993 by the Instituto Central de Restauración de Madrid and has barely any polychromy.¹⁵⁸ The relative lack of polychromy illustrates the mastery of the sculpture as discussed by

¹⁵³ Martín González (1980), 196.

¹⁵⁴ Martín González (1980), 196.

¹⁵⁵ Martín González (1980), 196.

¹⁵⁶ Ponz, vol. 5, entry 27, 473. Original text: "el Cristo muerto en el sepulcro es obra estimable de escultura."

¹⁵⁷ Martín González (1980), 197.

¹⁵⁸ Urrea (1993), 27. Other sources that mention the work are Cordero de Ciria 50 and Gómez Moreno (1963), 82.

Pacheco, who argued that works that are well-carved need not be covered in excessive finishing layers.¹⁵⁹

***Cristo yacente*, Museo Nacional de Escultura
Iglesia de la Casa Profesa de los Jesuitas, Madrid
Figures 47-50
Polychrome wood, ivory, glass, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns)
1,83 x 0,73 meters shroud¹⁶⁰
1625-30 or 1627
Museo del Prado
Order: Jesuits**

This sculpture is today at the Museo Nacional de Escultura in Valladolid but belongs to the Prado. It was originally installed in the Church of Felipe Neri or in the Casa Profesa de la Compañía de Jesús (College of the Society of Jesus); it was later housed in the Church of Atocha until 1903 when it was moved to the Church of Buen Suceso.¹⁶¹ The sculpted figure and shroud are displayed on a contemporary wooden bier. The head of Christ is supported by two pillows, one placed below the shroud and another above it as in the San Plácido example. The shroud is curved at the back of the bottom of the top pillow. The bottom pillow is painted to imitate red fabric with a gold border. The top pillow has white overpaint through which the original brocade decoration (that appears to be gold on red) is visible. More of the original decoration will likely be revealed by the restoration the work is currently undergoing. Gómez Moreno has suggested that the polychromy was likely retouched in the eighteenth century.¹⁶² The darkened appearance of the work is the result of years of burning candles and worshipers touching the sculpture. The polychromy of the skin is *encarnación mate*.

¹⁵⁹ Veliz 81. See footnote 52 in this chapter.

¹⁶⁰ Martín González (1980), 198. The 1627 date is from the label at the Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid.

¹⁶¹ Martín González (1980), 197.

¹⁶² Gómez Moreno (1963), 82.

The sculpture is made from *cassal* wood. The upper body of the figure is slender and the chest is sunken. The lower body is more muscular than that of the figure at San Plácido. The wounds are deep. The lance wound invites the viewer to reenact the inspection of the doubting apostle Thomas, a tactile feature that is enhanced by the insertion of cork that depresses in response to the touch. The flesh inside the chest wound is revealed through the opening. This wound has blood that varies in color. The deep scabs on the knees are recreated through the use of cork. Blood is depicted on the forehead and above the right lip. Some blood is also visible on the shoulder, legs, and on the wounds of the hands and feet. A shoulder wound, the result of Christ carrying the cross, is also represented on this sculpture. There is a mark on the thigh that could be an additional wound, although this might be the result of chipping. The hair is wavy and similar to the Pardo *Cristo* but unlike that example it is wet in appearance. The hair cascades over the pillow and is spread out. The small snake-like curls of the other pieces have been abandoned in favor of a full explosion of hair. There is a short curl of hair similar to that of the *Cristo* at San Plácido; because it appears here as well, we might conclude that this is a recurring decorative motif. The half-open glass eyes and mouth seem to communicate with the viewer. Painted eyelashes accent the eyes and ivory teeth are visible in the mouth. The eyes and cheeks are sunken. The head appears shorter when compared to other examples. The shroud is white and the *subligaculum* appears grey-blue. The folds of the *subligaculum* are more angular than those on sheet. Both legs are placed to the right and the knees are aligned together. The left leg is bent over the right. The right foot is placed like those of all previously-discussed *Cristos* with the large toe pointing up. The left foot, conversely, has all of its toes parallel. The

subligagulum is damaged on the far right when viewed frontally. The shroud is also cracked on the far right of the left front. The right hand has slightly bent fingers; the index and middle fingers have a subtle separation as does the small finger. The left hand is folded but the fingers are not fanned; the pose is similar to the *Cristos* of Medina del Pomar and Monforte de Lemos. The broken nail on the index finger on the right hand is perhaps intentional and is a reference to Christ's struggles with the cross. The nails are made of bull's horns (*cornamenta*).

Urrea refers to a document related to the polychromy of the piece. This is a contract dated to March 6, 1627 in which the painters and *doradores* Diego de la Peña y Jerónimo de Calabria "are obligated to gild and paint the flesh tones of two Christs in the sepulchre with their urns...to the contentment and satisfaction of the College of the Society of Jesus and of his brother sacristan."¹⁶³ The artists were to be paid 600 reales per urn. Urrea notes that only two *Cristos* by Fernandez are owned by Jesuits, the one today at the Museo Nacional de Escultura and another in the former Jesuit church known today as San Miguel in Valladolid.¹⁶⁴

Ponz mentions the sculpture, noting that "In another chapel within the body of the church, next to the *Evangelio*, there is a Sacred Christ in the sepulchre (a work of sculpture) by Gregorio Hernández [Fernández]."¹⁶⁵ Palomino also refers to the work and, when writing about the image of the *Cristo del Pardo*, notes that there is "another one

¹⁶³ Urrea (1993), 23. The lack of citation of a folio for the source did not allow for its verification. I came to the conclusion though that Jerónimo de Calabria and Jerónimo de Cabrera must be one in the same. As documented in footnote 121 he was responsible for the décor of the Pardo *Cristo yacente*. He also cited by García Chico (1952), 32 and Martin Gonzalez (1980), 51, as one of Fernández's polychromers. Original text: "se obligan a dorar y encarnar dos Cristos en el Sepulcro con sus urnas...a contento y satisfacción de la casa profesa de la Compañía de Jesús y de su hermano sacristán."

¹⁶⁴ Urrea (1993), 23.

¹⁶⁵ Ponz, vol. 5 entry 3, 467. Original text: "En otra capilla del cuerpo de la iglesia, al lado del Evangelio, hay un Santo Cristo en el sepulcro (obra de escultura), de Gregorio Hernández."

that is venerated in the College of the Society of Jesus, also excellent.”¹⁶⁶ Finally, Ceán Bermúdez describes a “Dead Christ in his altar that one cannot appreciate because it is covered by a sheet.”¹⁶⁷

Cristo yacente, Convento de Santa Clara, Medina de Pomar, Burgos

Figure 51

Polychrome wood, ivory, and glass

1,85 x 0,75 meters¹⁶⁸

1629

Order: Clares

The *Cristo yacente* of Medina del Pomar falls into Fernández’s final period of production.¹⁶⁹ Like other *Cristos*, the body lies on a shroud, which is placed on top of a wooden bier that is angled wider at the head of the figure and lined with gold-trimmed red velvet. The bier has handles and is painted green and decorated with gold. The shroud is bordered by two gold stripes, the *rajado* pattern, and edged in silver lace. The white shroud stands in sharp contrast to the body of the figure, whose head is turned to the right along with the legs that bend at the knees. The left foot rests more horizontally than the right. The toes are arranged parallel to one other with the exception of the large toe on the right foot, which is placed lower than the others. The joints of the toes and feet are modeled more prominently than in previous examples. The right hand no longer displays the parted index and middle fingers. The left hand is folded without fanning out the fingers. The pose is relaxed when compared to the left hands of the *Cristos yacentes* of San Pablo and the Pardo. The head rests on a white pillow decorated with red, blue, yellow, and gold paint. The blue paint imitates brocade that covers the outer edges of the

¹⁶⁶ Palomino 70.

¹⁶⁷ Ceán Bermúdez, vol. 2, 270. The work is mentioned also by Cordero de Ciria 50, and Gómez Moreno (1963), 82. Original text: “Cristo muerto en su altar, que no se goza porque le tienen cubierto con una sábana.”

¹⁶⁸ Urrea (1999), 142. The 1629 date is posed by Urrea. Martín González (1980), 197 gives a 1625-1630 date and the following measurements 1,75 meters for the body and 1,92 meters for the shroud.

¹⁶⁹ Martín González (1980), 197.

pillow and is contained within a curved, or *ondulado*, yellow and red stripe leaving the central area of the pillow blank. Each corner of the pillow is decorated with a red tendril. The pillow has a gold and black border of stripes alternating with floral elements. The second pillow, mostly hidden under the shroud, has gold tassels with red fringe. The head of the *Cristo* has blue glass eyes and ivory teeth.¹⁷⁰ The eyes are sunken deeper than in previous examples. The hair is rendered in dark ochre and has a wet quality heightened by the use and application of wax. Curls of the hair snake onto the pillow. The beard is curly and has sharp points that fork at the chin. The proportions of the body are slender. The ribs and sternum protrude and are highly visible. The *subligaculum* is blue and decorated with lace and is also placed under Christ's body.¹⁷¹ The folds of both the *subligaculum* and shroud are sharp and lively. Blood is depicted on the wounds, the forehead, and shoulders. The wounds of the hands and feet are painted in an asterisk pattern. The wound in the chest shows some depth.

The work was likely commissioned, according to Martín González, by don Juan Fernández de Velasco, patron of the building.¹⁷² Urrea believes that since don Juan Fernández de Velasco y Guzmán, fourth constable of Castille and fifth duke of Frías died March 15, 1613, the most likely scenario is that his son don Bernardino Fernández de Velasco (1609-1652) commissioned the piece.¹⁷³ Don Bernardino Fernández de Velasco, seventh constable of Castille, sixth duke of Frías, and duke of Medina del Pomar, was married at the time to doña Isabel de Guzmán (d. 1640) and later to doña Maria

¹⁷⁰ Martín González (1980) 197. Urrea (1999) 142, notes the teeth are made of pulp paste.

¹⁷¹ I do not have any condition reports that reveal whether or not the lace dates to the seventeenth century. I assume that the lace is original because of the additional presence of the tassels which are repeated in other *Cristos yacentes*.

¹⁷² Martín González (1980), 197.

¹⁷³ Urrea (1999), 142.

Sarmiento Mendoza (d. 1647). Urrea believes the document cited below (dated 1629) allows us to date the work to 1628-29, since it provided a model for the now lost Aránzazu *Cristo yacente*.¹⁷⁴ At the very least, the date of the document provides a *terminus ante quem* that, combined with stylistic analysis, permits us to date the work to Fernández's late period.

The document dated to May 24, 1629 was originally published by García Chico and subsequently republished by Urrea. It is concerned with the gilding of an urn for a *Cristo yacente* made in Valladolid for the Franciscan Convent of Aránzazu (Guipúzcoa-País Vasco). We read that "the Christ that goes in this tabernacle is to be decorated like the ones made for the duchess of Frías and the duke of Lerma."¹⁷⁵ The entirety of the text is included here in order to provide a contemporary visual description of the urns that accompanied such works.

El plinto primero ha de ser imitando pórfido negro y las piedras que hay en él, de oro y en los sobrepuestos cuadrados en forma de tablosas se han de imitar unas piedras preciosas como serán ágates, pórfidos, lapislázuli y los que tuvieren medias cañas han de ser doradas. La media caña que va encima del plinto a de ser de jaspe de espeja y los sobrepuestos que llevar correspondientes a los de abajo. La urna principal ha de ser de mármol pardo gateado y los agallones y sobrepuestos que llevar, dorados. Las cartelas de esta urna han de ser negras y las que van prosiguiendo arriba, ha de ser, el cuerpo principal de mármol gateado y los sobrepuestos donde está la talla, escamada y las piedras y agallones y hojas han de ser de oro y el plinto donde cargan las cartelas grandes a de ser de escamado. El cuarto bocel con su filete ha de ser de oro y el plinto de estos pedestales, de oro y unas tablocillas que hay, han de ser jaspeadas. El muro y campo que va jugando alrededor del marco, ha de ser de mármol negro y el marco, salvo los sobrepuestos y una moldura tallada con la media caña que ha de ser de oro, lo demás de mármol verde. En el friso, que ha de ser de jaspe de

¹⁷⁴ Urrea (1993), 26.

¹⁷⁵ Estebán García Chico, *Documentos para el estudio del Arte en Castilla*, Escultores, vol. 2 (Valladolid: Gráficas Afrodiseo Aguado, S.A. Publicación del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología, 1940), 195. Urrea (1993), 24. "Acuerdo entre Diego Valentín Díaz and Juan Díaz," May, 24, 1629, No. 1883, folio 261, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Protocolos de Valladolid. Citation does not match document found in archive. Only the beginning of the text that García Chico cites is accurate until "Aquí entra". Here it is presented as published by Urrea. Original text: "el Cristo que van en este tabernáculo se ha de adornar como los que se han hecho para la duquesa de Frías y el duque de Lerma...."

espeja, los sobrepuestos de encima y piedras han de ser de oro. El plafón, techo de mármol negro y la corona de mármol pardo gateado y el bocel que va jugando con el frontispicio, ha de ser de oro y la media caña que sirve de gola, ha de ser de mármol de espeja. Lo que hace modo de arbotante, de mármol gateado. Lo del segundo cuerpo correspondiente al de abajo. El cuadrado sobre el que se asienta el sobrecuerpo, ha de ser negro y los sobrepuestos correspondientes a lo demás. La caja de abajo del hueco de todo este tabernáculo, en la techumbre de él, se han de dorar unas fajillas de oro y en las pilastras de adentro, el cuerpo principal ha de ser de mármol gateado como lo de afuera y las tablosas sobrepuestas han de ser de jaspes ricos y todo lo demás del hueco de adentro, ha de ser imitando a lo de afuera. La tablosa grande del respaldo, ha de ser pórfido negro y las letras que se acomodaren, de oro. En los recuadros o tarjetas que se dieren vidrios para ellas, se han de fingir unos esmaltes. El Cristo que van en este tabernáculo, se ha de adornar como los que se han hecho para la duquesa de Frías y duque de Lerma. Los dos ángeles del remate se han de encarnar mate y los remates de todo este tabernáculo, de oro y han de ir peleteados de oro molido las cabezas de los angeles. El Dios padre que van en el sobrecuerpo ha de ser, la capa, imitando a brocado y lo de abajo, una alba blanca, cabeza y manos en encarnado mate y retocado de plata el pelo y se entiende que todo esto ha de ser imitando el natural y si conviniera mudar alguna de las condiciones dichas, se entienda no es mejoría y se haya de dar mas de lo concertado y se declara como sean algunas piedras y algunas cositas que sean de más adorno. Todo el oro de este tabernáculo ha de ser bruñido y todo lo demás pintado, ha de ir al oleo. Es condición que dicho tabernáculo ha de llevarlo el convento a su costa en cajas y si en el camino se maltratase o robare o tuviere algún daño, ha de ser en tornarlo a poner e perfección, a costa y cuenta del dicho Diego Valentín Díaz, yendo por su persona a ello. Y por todo este trabajo de reparo y jornada, no se le ha de dar cosa ninguna particular, excepto el tiempo que estuviere en Nuestra Señora de Aránzazu reparando la dicha obra, le dará el convento lo necesario de sustento, y cama y cabalgadura para él y un oficial. Pero, si lo que Dios no quiera, si acaso, llevando la dicha obra, sucediese, por aquellas cuestas, despeñarse algún ganado y romperse la obra que van en las dichas cajas, no ha de ser por cuenta ni riesgo del dicho Diego Valentín sino solamente lo que en el camino se maltratara o rozara como arriba va dicho. Y es condición que si dicho Diego Díaz, Dios no lo quiera, estuviera indispuerto, de manera que obligue la necesidad a no poder ir en persona a hacer dichos reparos, cumpla con enviar un oficial maestro, capaz y suficiente, que sepa reparar los maltratamientos que tuviere la dicha obra y por toda esta obra de manos y oro y pintura y todo lo demás que fuere necesario conforme a las dichas condiciones, se ha de dar al dicho Señor Diego Valentín Díaz, 200 ducados, los cuales se le pagaran acabada toda la obra, puestos en esta ciudad de Valladolid, en casa y poder del dicho Diego Valentín Díaz a costa del dicho convento de Nuestra Señora de Aránzazu o del guardián que es o fuera de dicho convento de aquí adelante. Y el Sr. Diego Díaz se ha de obligar a dar acabado el dicho tabernáculo, Cristo, Dios padre y los dos ángeles contenidos en estas condiciones para este desde el día en que se otorgare la escritura en un año y si la acabara....

[The first plinth is to be [made] imitating black porphyry and the stones within it of gold and in the superposed squares in the form of placards precious stones are to be imitated such as agates, porphyries, lapis lazuli, and those [placards] that have [frames of] half rounds should be gilded. The half round that goes over the plinth is to be of [reflective?] jasper and the superposed [squares] should correspond to those below. The principal urn is to be of brown veined marble and the echinus and the superposed [elements] are to be gilded. The modillions of this urn are to be black and [likewise] those that follow above, the principal body is to be of veined marble and the superposed [elements] that are carved, scalloped, and the stones and echinus and leaf [decoration] are to be of gold and the plinth that carries the large modillion is to be scalloped. The quarter round with its listel is to be of gold and the plinth of these pedestals [is also to be made] of gold and there are some small placards that are to be marbled. The wall and field [dentils?] that plays around the frame is to be of black marble and the frame with the exception of the superposed [elements] and the carved half round molding is to be of gold, the rest of green marble. In the frieze, which is to be of [reflective?] jasper, the above superposed [elements] and stones are to be in gold. [In] [t]he soffit of the architrave, [place a] black marble cover and [in] the crown, brown veined marble and the quarter round that plays with the frontispiece, is to be of gold and the half round that is to serve as cyma, is to be of [reflective?] marble. This functions [then] as a buttress of veined marble. The [decoration of the] second body corresponds to the one below. The square on which the overbody is placed is to be black and the superposed [elements should] correspond to the rest. The ceiling of the box under the hollow of this tabernacle is to be [decorated] with gold leaf and the interior pilasters of the principal body are to be of veined marble as on the outside and the superposed placards are to be of rich jaspers and all the rest of the interior hollow shall imitate the exterior. The large background placard is to be of black porphyry and in gold the letters that are to be placed there. In the panels or placards shall be provided glass to feign some enamel. The Christ [figure] that goes in this tabernacle is to be decorated like the ones made for the duchess of Frías and the duke of Lerma. The angels of the pinnacle are to be flesh-tone painted in a matte finish and the pinnacles of the entire tabernacle [are to be painted] in gold and the hair of the angel heads should be made of powdered gold. God the Father that is above the [main] body is to be [as follows], the cape imitating brocade and under, a white alb, head and hands done in matte finish and the hair highlighted in silver and it is understood that all this is to imitate the natural and if it's convenient to change some said stipulations, it is understood that it is not [for] improvement and [no] more than what is agreed [monetarily] will be given and it is declared that some stones and some things that are of more ornament [be used if needed]. All the gold of this tabernacle is to be burnished and all the rest that is to be painted is to be done in oil. It is a condition that said tabernacle is to be taken to the convent in boxes at their cost and that if in the way it is mistreated or stolen or suffers any damage it will be returned to [its state of] perfection at his own cost and account [by] said Diego Valentín Díaz, [who will be] going in person to do this. For all this repair work and journey, no particular

thing will be given [to him], except that while he is at Nuestra Señora of Aránzazu repairing said work, the convent will provide the necessary sustenance and bed and horses for him and one of his officials. But, God forbid, that in the case that when transporting said work, [something] were to happen in those hills [like] some live stock precipitating down a hill and that the work in the boxes be broken it shall not be on account or risk of said Diego Valentín [but] only if in the way it is mistreated or scratched like is said above. And it is a condition that said Diego Díaz, God forbid, should be indisposed in a manner that obligates the necessity of not being able to go in person to make such repairs that he send a capable and qualified master official that knows how to repair said work's mistreatments and for all this work of hands and gold and painting and all the rest that would be necessary, conforming to said stipulations, said Mr. Diego Valentín Díaz will be given 200 ducats, which will be paid upon the completion of the work, put [forth] in this city of Valladolid, in the house and power of said Diego Valentín Díaz at the cost of said convent of Nuestra Señora de Aránzazu or the guardian that is or will be named for said convent herein. And if Mr. Diego Valentín Díaz is obligated to finish said tabernacle [with] Christ, God the Father and the two angels as mentioned in these stipulations he has a year from this day in which the contract is given to complete it....]¹⁷⁶

Later in the document, Gregorio Fernández is recorded as a witness and is described as responsible for receiving the work. It is instructed that “[because] Mr. Juan Díaz de Garallo, who is the syndic of said convent, is not in this city, [one must] comply with delivering it to said Gregorio Fernández as if it were to the prior of said convent....”¹⁷⁷

Today the Medina del Pomar *Cristo* is cloistered and is seen outside of the church only during Holy Week veneration. A 1921 account notes that it was “brought out for Good Friday procession.”¹⁷⁸ The sculpture is well- preserved, to the point that the polychromy can be appreciated for its light application. Gómez Moreno refers to this *Cristo yacente* as a “weak” workshop piece, while Urrea believes the work to be one of

¹⁷⁶ Urrea (1993), 24.

¹⁷⁷ Original text: “no estando en esta ciudad el Sr. Juan Díaz de Garallo que es el síndico de dicho convento, cumpla con entregarlo al dicho Gregorio Fernández como si fuera al prior de dicho convento....”

¹⁷⁸ M. Cortés Arrese, “Cristo yacente,” in *Time to Hope/Tiempo para la Esperanza: Las Edades del Hombre, Cathedral St. John the Divine, New York 2002* (Valladolid: Fundación las Edades del Hombre, 2002), 248.

Fernández's best "quality" works. Since Urrea's proposal in 1973, Martín González and García Sainz de Baranda now agree that the statue is a Fernández.¹⁷⁹

Cristo yacente, Segovia Cathedral, Segovia

Figures 52-55

Polychrome wood, glass, resin, and ivory (or pulp paste)

1, 95 x 0, 91 x 0, 40 meters¹⁸⁰

1631-36

This *Cristo* is displayed in the chapel of the Descent, also known as the chapel of the Sepulchre, in the Cathedral of Segovia. It is the second chapel on the right upon entering the main door and when facing the altar. Martín González believes that the layout and decoration of the chapel took the installation of the *Cristo yacente* into consideration, and was therefore organized around its display sometime in the third quarter of the seventeenth century.¹⁸¹ The acquisition and decoration of the chapel was carried out under the patronage of the Canon Cristóbal Bernaldo de Quirós.¹⁸² The sculpture forms part of a seventeenth-century retablo, c.1670, whose subject is the Passion; it includes scenes of the Death, Descent, and the Sepulchre of Christ. Until recently, the sculpture was placed above the altar and set within the retablo to represent the Eucharist.¹⁸³ The piece is now separate from the retablo and enclosed in what appears to be a modern glass urn decorated with imitation of granite and bronze. Urrea and

¹⁷⁹ Gómez Moreno (1963), 82. Urrea (1999), 142. For additional sources see J. García Sainz de Baranda, *Apuntes Históricos sobre la ciudad de Medina del Pomar* (Burgos, 1917) and *Medina del Pomar arqueológico y centro de turismo* (Burgos, 1966), Urrea (1973), 259, Martín González (1983), 63 and M. Cortés Arrese, "Gregorio Fernandez. Cristo Yacente," *Las Edades del Hombre: Memorias y Esplendores* (Palencia, 1999).

¹⁸⁰ Martín González (1980), 199. Gives the measurement of 1,89 meters.

¹⁸¹ Martín González (1980), 199.

¹⁸² José Antonio Ruiz Hernando, *La Cathedral de Segovia* (León: Edilesa, 1994), 82.

¹⁸³ Ruiz Hernando 82.

Martín González agree that the patron of the *Cristo yacente* was Bishop don Melchor Moscoso y Sandoval.¹⁸⁴

The *Cristo yacente* lies on the shroud, which has grey undertones and was once edged in lace. This sheet that is placed under the body curves in a manner similar to the Pardo example. The folds of the shroud are soft and natural. The *subligaculum* is blue, trimmed in gold fabric, and remains open at the side without a string. The pillow lies flat and is not angled in such a way as at the Pardo. The pillow has large areas of blue and is decorated with scroll work that imitates brocade. The central border is decorated by four sets of course stitching or *granido*. The brocade is painstakingly rendered without variations demonstrating the use of a stencil. From the back it appears that the head rests on an additional pillow that is painted red with gold trim and reminds us of the pillow of the *Cristo* at Medina del Pomar. The sheet at the back of the head starts to fold, forming a conspicuously curved edge on which the surviving white lace is visible. The hair is flatter and less curly than in other examples.

The body lies flatter when compared to other *Cristos yacentes* and the legs appear thicker and more muscular than those of the work at Encarnación. Blood is placed on the forehead, shoulder, and wounds. The eyes are open and the teeth are visible. The eyes are round and sunken, and details such as eyelashes have been applied. The roundness of the eyes first appears in the work at the Museo Nacional de Escultura and later in Medina del Pomar. The left brow has a wound as a result of the crown of thorns. The beard divides at the chin. The upper lip has blood at the right. The chest wound has a significant amount of blood and six drops of resin. The feet are positioned differently,

¹⁸⁴ Urrea (1999), 32. Juan José Martín González, *La Escultura Barroca Castellana*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Publicaciones Lázaro Galdiano, 1971), 95.

the left one being slightly lower than the right causing the left leg to rise higher. The wounds of the feet are deep and extend all the way through. The left calf also has a wound. The musculature of the figure is heavy. The hands are not as delicately rendered and the fingers are thicker than is the case with the other works studied. The right hand is reminiscent of the Museo Nacional de Escultura *Cristo*; there is a subtle separation between the index and middle fingers and the small finger and ring finger. The skin coloration is very light, perhaps due to the restoration of the piece (noted below). The veins of the arm are visible. The polychromy of the feet and knees is of a darker tone. The feet of the *Cristo* are unique; the toes are all parallel to each other and the joints are softly modeled.¹⁸⁵

This *Cristo yacente* is today carried in procession by the Feigresía de la Parroquia de San Andrés, who wear a black hood and robe tied by a white string and march to the drums of the musical composition, *Contigo Nuestro yacente*. The procession takes place on Friday of Holy Week at 8:30 p.m. The 2003 restoration of the work left the polychromy uneven in appearance. The polychromy of the shroud and *subligaculum* was flaking and there was a light layer of dust on the surface of the statue.¹⁸⁶ The piece was again conserved by Paloma Sánchez González in 2007. The polychromy that was lifting was repaired with rabbit glue applied with heat. The polychromy was painted with pigments of the Maimeri brand using a technique of crossed lines.¹⁸⁷ These pigments were employed to conserve the protective layer of varnish that the work was given in

¹⁸⁵ Work is mentioned by Urrea (1993), 23.

¹⁸⁶ Paloma Sánchez González, *Restauración de Paso Procesional "Camino al Sepulcro", Cristo yacente, Catedral de Segovia, Segovia* (Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Culturales de Castilla y León, 2007), 1.

¹⁸⁷ Sánchez González 2.

2003. Dust was removed with soft brushes and by aspiration.¹⁸⁸ The shroud also had stains that were the likely result of candle wax drops. The re-pigmentation and repairs were sealed with a layer of natural Dammar varnish at 5%.¹⁸⁹

***Cristo yacente*, Museo de Arte Sacro, Clarisas de Monforte de Lemos, Lugo**

Figure 56

Polychrome wood, ivory, glass, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns)

***Cristo yacente* 0,455 x 1,880 x 0,670 meters**

Urn 1,585 x 2,390 x 1,300 meters¹⁹⁰

1631-36

Order: Clares

This work is housed in the Museo Conventual de Arte Sacro in Monforte de Lemos. Upon entering the museum, the sculpture may be seen at the far right end of the room. It is located within a seventeenth-century urn that is painted in red and blue with gold accents and with many decorative elements, such as volutes and dentils. The original glass panels are small and reminiscent of window panes. The glass lid has a pyramidal form. The figure is laid out on a single pillow and white shroud. The pillow's edges are decorated in gold brocade, *estofado*, with an *espigado* (zig-zag) border that is complemented by tendrils. The pillow is sunken in the center to allow the placement of the head. The shroud has lively folds and is edged with a painted decorative trim. The figure itself is carved separately from the shroud and entirely in the round, so it can be ritually buried according to the celebrations of Holy Week during which an entombment was reenacted.¹⁹¹ The body type is robust and strong when compared to previous examples such as the *Cristo* in the Museo Nacional de Escultura. The head and hair are carved with great detail. The hair seems frozen in action, as is the beard, which seems to

¹⁸⁸ Sánchez González 2.

¹⁸⁹ Sánchez González 3.

¹⁹⁰ Martín González (1980), 199. Chamoso, 158.

¹⁹¹ Martín González (1980), 77.

float against and defy the rules of gravity. The head and neck are erect. The sunken eyes are made of glass and the teeth of ivory. The body is punctuated by the blue *subligaculum* that has a lace border. The hands are placed at the sides of the figure and have nails made of bull's horns as do the feet. The digits of the right hand are bent and spacing is visible between the index and middle fingers and between the ring and small fingers. The left hand is folded without fanning as in the Medina del Pomar example. The index finger is extended in a manner similar to the *Cristo yacente* of Encarnación. Blood is present in the usual wounds and on the left brow. The application of painted blood is restrained and we see the asterisk pattern in the wounds of the hands and feet. The wound of the chest is deep and wide showing tearing of the skin. The skin on the knees is also torn. The skin of the feet shows the mark made by the pressure of the nails. The treatment of the toes is also reminiscent of the Medina del Pomar example. The joints are prominently modeled and the large toe of the right foot is slightly separated and raised; the other toes remain parallel. Tendons and veins heighten the effect of naturalism.

The Franciscan convent at Burgos was founded by the seventh count of Lemos and marquis of Sarria, Pedro Fernández de Castro y Andrade (1575?-1622), who was married to doña Catalina de la Cerda y Sandoval (1580-1648), daughter of the duke of Lerma and sister of the duke of Uceda.¹⁹² In 1610 Fernández was named viceroy of Naples where the couple lived for six years. After the death of the count in 1622, the

¹⁹² The count of Lemos held further titles as the fifth count of Villalba, third count of Andrade, grandee of Spain, gentleman in waiting, lieutenant of his Majesty, captain general of the kingdom of Naples, ambassador in Rome during the Pontificate of Pope Paul V, president of the supreme council of the Indies and later of Italy. Doña Catalina was the granddaughter of the fourth marquis of Denia, don Francisco Gómez y Sandoval and doña Isabel de Borja, daughter of the duke of Gandía, San Francisco Borja. Therefore she is great-granddaughter of the aforementioned saint. For a complete history of the couple see Chamoso 8.

countess founded the convent. She joined the community on August 27, 1634 and took the name sor Catalina de la Concepción.¹⁹³ The building was not finished until August 27, 1646 and two years later on August 14, the countess, now abbess of the convent, died.¹⁹⁴ The archive of the convent includes a Bull issued by Pope Paul V, which doña Catalina received during her time in Naples and in which the Pope proclaimed that all archbishops, bishops, and abbots in the kingdom of Naples would give her relics. This, together with “other pontifical and familial gifts,” forms the cornerstone of the collection of the Museo de Arte Sacro.¹⁹⁵ Curiously enough, among the gifts given to doña Catalina is an *Arqueta del Monumento (Reliquary Chest for the Host)* of Holy Thursday that Urban VIII presented to her on August 27, 1634 for the celebration of her taking orders. The reliquary measures 0.470 x 0.730 x 0.510 meters and was used to house the Holy Sacrament as is noted in the rules of the convent. The reliquary is made of gilded wooden and decorated with bronze. Ebony intended to imitate blue iron work gives it a jewel-like appearance. The piece is rectangular in format and is adorned with rock crystal double columns with bases and Corinthian capitals. Three sets of columns are placed on the short sides and four on the long sides with only three total columns in each corner. Between the columns are ovals with four circles placed at each side. The lid projects upward as if the base of a pyramid. The interior of the reliquary has a metal plaque engraved with birds, pomegranates, and vegetables. The overall appearance of the object recalls the urns in which *Cristos yacentes* were typically placed. The similarity of the reliquary to the urns of *Cristos* reflects the parallel function of the objects—as containers for the host and expressions of the sanctity of the Eucharist as the Body of

¹⁹³ Chamoso 30.

¹⁹⁴ Martín González (1980), 198.

¹⁹⁵ Chamoso 31.

Christ. Interestingly, the lid of the urn for the *Cristo yacente*, which is not currently on display because it casts shadows on the sculpture, closely resembles the lid on the reliquary in terms of materials and design. The reliquary dates to 1634 and we may assume that the *Cristo* was likewise made for the celebration of doña Catalina receiving her orders and which reinforces the dates of 1631-36 offered by Martín González. Patronage of the work could be attributed to doña Catalina herself or to a generous friend.¹⁹⁶

***Cristo yacente*, San Miguel, Valladolid**

Figures 57-60

Polychrome wood, glass, ivory, cork, wax, and *cornamenta* (bull's horn)

1, 90 x 0, 64 x 0, 42 meters¹⁹⁷

1627-1630

Order: Jesuit

This work is displayed in a chapel next to the epistle. The Granada-style retablo dates to the first quarter of the eighteenth century and was likely made to include the *Cristo yacente*.¹⁹⁸ The retablo is gilded and decorated with mirrors. It is a “retablo-sepulcro” whose lower level opens to a burial chamber.¹⁹⁹ The wooden bier measures 2,10 x 0,77 x 0,56 meters and is decorated with silver and gold florals. The *retablo* includes a number of polychrome sculptures, including a *Dolorosa* at the lowest level, and a *Calvary* and *Pietà* above. Small high-relief sculptural scenes of the Passion such as the Flagellation are also included. The ensemble perhaps originally belonged to the Cofradía el Descendimiento y Santo Cristo de la Buena Muerte (Confraternity of the

¹⁹⁶ Chamoso 64, 66, 96. Urrea (1972), 544. Urrea (1993), 27. Martín González (1983), 63.

Martín González “En torno a Gregorio Fernandez: Obras inéditas o poco conocidas,” *Goya* 84 (1968): 350. Martín González, “Dos esculturas inéditas de Gregorio Fernández,” *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos* (1963): 251.

¹⁹⁷ Martín González (1980), 200, 201. Martín González dates the work to 1631-36 and gives the measurement of 1,91 meters; the other date was taken from Church of San Miguel label.

¹⁹⁸ Martín González (1980), 200.

¹⁹⁹ Martín González and de la Plaza Santiago 120.

Descent and the Holy Christ of the Good Death), whose name refers to a figure of the *Cristo yacente*. This confraternity used the *Cristo* in the church of San Pablo in Valladolid during its Holy Week procession due to the unstable nature of transporting their own *Cristo yacente*, who is fully carved in the round. In 2008 they integrated the San Miguel *Cristo yacente* into the procession, thanks to the provision of a new bier that was created to mold to the shape of the sculpture. The anatomy of this piece, as well as the nudity without the inclusion of pillows or a shroud, has prompted many to conclude it was made by Gregorio Fernández. It is believed that Fernández made the sculpture for the Colegio de San Ambrosio de la Compañía de Jesus of Valladolid (College of St. Ambrose of the Society Jesuits of Valladolid). The work was held in the church of Veracruz 70 years ago and the confraternity kept the work although it belonged to the archbishop of Valladolid.²⁰⁰

The sculpture is placed under a glass cover and has been restored several times. Because the piece is carved in the round without a pillow or shroud, it was placed until recently in a modern bed with a purple fabric border in gold tassels and covered in lace. When holding the work it appears hollow and is very light. The work is polychromed throughout and the genitals are represented merely as a suggestion. The paint and wax imitating blood is a vivid red and is applied to the forehead, wounds, knees, and the once bound ankles. The asterisk pattern is followed in the wounds of the hands and feet. This *Cristo* also shows evidence of the flagellation. The arms, like the ankles, have bruises from being tied. The hands are fleshy and recall those of the *Cristo yacente* at Monforte de Lemos. The right and left hand are relaxed and the index and small fingers are

²⁰⁰ Jesús Losa (Art Historian and Assistant at the Iglesia of San Miguel), in discussion with the author, October 25, 2005.

separated from the rest. The holes of the wounds of the hands are deep and are represented in the palms. The nailbeds of the fingers are long because the *postizos* are missing or were never set in place. The nails of the feet are still preserved. The sculpture has cracks on the legs and knees. The lance wound is deep and from it blood and water issue forth; cork is used in this wound. There is an area for a missing droplet where resin would have been placed to imitate water. The head bends backward and the eyes are open. The sunken glass eyes are brownish-green with big pupils. The polychromy is chipping around the eyes. The head has worm holes. The muscles in the neck protrude. The hair is not very curly but it ends in floating curls that are damaged at the end at the right of the face and recall the Monforte de Lemos example. The hair has gold highlights. The beard is curly and forks open. The left brow has a laceration. The left shoulder shows the use of cork to replicate the wound made from carrying the cross. The lower teeth are made of ivory or pulp paste and are whiter than the uppers because they are covered in blood. Blood is visible on the lower lip and on the beard. The lower lip is full as in the Segovia example. The anatomy is rendered accurately and veristically. There is blood on the hip. The knees are made of cork to represent them as scraped and bloody. The feet are worn and the wounds on the feet do not go all the way through. The right large toe was broken and repaired and the left ankle has a crack. The left foot lies at a lesser angle and is slightly higher than most, making the knee less bent. The toes are elongated and the large toes are bent down. The joints are softly modeled. No veins are represented as in other examples.

Urrea agrees with the dating proposed by Martin González, 1627-30, but suggest a date closer to 1627.²⁰¹ Urrea also argues that this *Cristo yacente* was likely polychromed by Jerónimo de Calabria because “it coincides in technique, with the style and taste of Fernández”.²⁰² Lending support for this is the above-mentioned document of March 6, 1627 that mentions that the painters and *doradores* Diego de la Peña y Jerónimo de Calabria “are obligated to gild and paint the flesh tones of two Christs in the sepulchre with their urns...to the contentment and satisfaction of the College of the Society of Jesus and of his brother sacristan,” for which the artists we paid 600 reales per urn.²⁰³

The work was conserved along with the retablo by Celia Cabezón Calaza, Mercedes Fernández Gutierrez, Teresa García García and Gloria Martínez Gonzalo of the Centro de Conservación y Restauración de bienes Culturales de Castilla y León in Simancas in 1995.²⁰⁴ The sculpture of the *Cristo yacente* had xylophagus (wood eating insects) that were treated with insecticide in a vapor chamber for two months. The holes were injected with xilamon without success, so the work was taken to the CRBC of Simancas for a special gas treatment.²⁰⁵ Due to the nature of the piece, which is carved in the round, it has suffered much damage to the fingers and toes; the middle toe of the right foot is completely reconstructed out of epoxy resin. The toenails of the small toes are

²⁰¹ Urrea (1993), 23.

²⁰² Urrea (1993), 23.

²⁰³ Urrea (1993), 23. Original text: “se obligan a dorar y encarnar dos Cristos en el Sepulcro con sus urnas...a contento y satisfacción de la casa profesa de la Compañía de Jesús y de su hermano sacristan.” See also Jesús Urrea, *Arte y saber: La cultura en tiempos de Felipe II y Felipe IV, Catalogue* (Valladolid: Museo de Escultura de Valladolid, 1999), 297.

²⁰⁴ Celia Cabezón Calaza, Mercedes Fernández Gutierrez, Teresa García García, Gloria Martínez Gonzalo and Mercedes Barrera del Barrio, *Memoria Final: Restauración del Retablo de la Amargura, Iglesia de San Miguel y San Julián, Valladolid* (Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Culturales de Castilla y León, April 1995), 1-26.

²⁰⁵ Cabezón Calaza et al., 4.

original to the sculpture.²⁰⁶ During conservation, candle wax was removed and the work was cleaned with a mixture of water, ammonia, and turpentine. The previous restoration had left an uneven pigmentation and was therefore removed and redone. A final layer of varnish (Paraloid with Xylene at 7 %) was applied for protection as was microcrystalline wax.²⁰⁷ The figure was carved in pine and painted with a mixture of white lead, red organic lacquer, and charcoal for the skin, while the blood was done in red lacquer.²⁰⁸

The *Cristo yacente* of San Miguel can also be seen now during Holy Week. As noted, thanks to the new bier made for the sculpture by Ángel Martín García that cradles it and gives it stability, the *Cristo* is now used in procession. The processional route of *Cristo al Humilladero* (Christ on the Road to Calvary) begins at Thursday at 11:45 p.m. at the Royal Parrochial Church of San Miguel and San Julián. The procession goes through the streets of San Ignacio, Encarnación, Santo Domingo de Guzmán, Expósitos, San Quirce and Plaza de la Trinidad to the Conventual Church of San Quirce and Santa Julia where an act of humiliation is recreated with the assistance of the Penitential Confraternity of the Sacred Passion of Christ. It continues through the streets of Isidro Polo, Imperial, Estebán García Chico, and San Quirce to the Plaza of San Pablo where a prayer and an act of reflection are carried out before the Cross of the *Humilladero*. The procession is then led through the streets of León, San Diego, Plaza of Santa Brígida, and San Ignacio before returning to the Royal Parrochial Church of San Miguel and San Julián. The dress worn by the confraternity participants is a purple tunic with a white waistband, white cape with an insignia on each shoulder, and a purple *capirote*. The *Cristo* is placed on a larger bier decorated in each corner with a lantern and flower

²⁰⁶ Cabezón Calaza et al., 4.

²⁰⁷ Cabezón Calaza et al., 5.

²⁰⁸ Cabezón Calaza et al., 9, 10.

bouquets. The bier is carried by seven men. The procession is quiet, with the exception of the sounds of the tunics dragging on the floor and the pounding drums.

Santa Catalina, Convento de Santa Catalina, Valladolid

Figures 61-66

1, 77 x 0, 69 meters

Polychrome wood

1631-1636, workshop piece of mediocre quality according to Martín González²⁰⁹

Order: Dominican

This work can be seen in the Chapel of the *Santo Cristo* in the lower cloister of the Convent of Santa Catalina of Sena. The chapel ceiling is decorated with rosettes, interlacing patterns, and tendrils while the floor is covered in painted tiles. The chapel is also adorned with a painting (c. 1530s) by Antonio Vázquez and seven canvases (c. 1630s) by Diego Valentín Díaz. There are three sculptures, *St. Vincent Ferrer* by Gregorio Fernández, *St. Raimundo* attributed to Francisco Rincón, and one of *San Pablo* attributed to Juan de Ávila. The *Cristo yacente* is placed in a seventeenth-century urn under the table of the altar, reinforcing the figure's Eucharistic meaning. The figure of Christ is placed on a bier painted to imitate green marble decorated with gilded wood. Christ lies on a white shroud with a gold and blue decorated border. The fabric gathers and curves under the pillow. A blue and gold pillow with an edge decorated with dots, known as *picados*, form a pattern. The head is united to the chest and abdomen unnaturally by eliminating the neck. The hair is rendered in a fluid manner and creeps onto the pillow, writhing about like small snakes. The green eyes have eyelashes painted in brown. The upper teeth are visible through the open mouth. Blood is placed at the crown of the head, on the laceration on the left brow, and on the wounds. The asterisk pattern is followed and the bruises from being bound are also depicted. The figure is

²⁰⁹ Martín González (1980), 198.

hollow underneath, giving an idea of how it was carved. The *subligaculum* is blue with an edge lined also in blue and a gold brocade of real fabric that is preserved above the groin area. The wound in the chest is not deep but shows the ripping of the flesh and profuse bleeding. Veins are depicted in the hand. The left hand is gathered and folded in a similar fashion to the *Cristo* of San Pablo while the right hand rests flat. The fingernails have white edges. The hands are rendered with less detail than the other *Cristos*. The knee lacerations are deep. Blood is also depicted on the feet both on top and at the bottom of the wounds. The toes are parallel to each other and do not show variation. The bottoms of the feet are flat, and like the hands, rendered somewhat unnaturalistically.

This work is placed in the choir during Lent but remains cloistered most of the year within the small chapel. Until 1934, the *Cristo* was used in procession by the Confraternity of the *Entierro*.²¹⁰ The work was restored by the Centro de Conservación y Restauración de bienes Culturales de Castilla y León in Simancas from 1994-1996. The unpublished conservation report dates the work to 1607-1618, based on historical data gathered by the center.²¹¹ The work was carved in pine wood.²¹² The report reveals that the preparation of the surface was done in gesso with *encarnaciones* (flesh tones) in oil.²¹³ The pigments used for the skin were white lead, charcoal, *azul esmalte*, and *laca roja*.²¹⁴ The pigments used for the *subligaculum* are interesting, because the work was repainted in two separate layers divided by a layer of size (*gíscola*). The original

²¹⁰ Sor Milagros Díez, in discussion with the author, October 27, 2005.

²¹¹ Mónica Oyón de Castro (chemist), *Conservation Report* with separate *Treatment report*, and *Final Lab Report* (Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes culturales de Castilla y León, Simancas) 3.

²¹² Oyón de Castro 11.

²¹³ Oyón de Castro 6.

²¹⁴ Report does not specify carmine lake or rose madder lake.

polychromy was grey, combining white lead and carbon black, while the second painted layer was a combination of white lead, charcoal, and perhaps Prussian blue. Both pigment layers were suspended in oil.²¹⁵ The blood was painted in a garancine lacquer mixed with resin.²¹⁶ The borders of the shroud and *subligaculum* are done in white lead and ultramarine blue; the lace added to the latter has artificial fibers, which reveal it to be a post seventeenth-century addition.²¹⁷ The green paint of the backdrop where the *Cristo* is placed is composed of dehydrated calcium sulphate and verdigris mixed with white lead and charcoal, while the the gold decor had bole underneath to hold it in place.²¹⁸ Worm holes are visible throughout the piece and these were treated with Araldite dissolved in toluene.²¹⁹ The areas of the beard and hair were cleaned with a 50/40 solution of alcohol and water. A 60/40 solution of alcohol and water with some drops of ammonia was applied to the skin, which had an oxidized layer of resin, and the areas that had candle wax accumulation were treated with a 50/50 mix of dimethyl trichloroethane.²²⁰ The work was covered with a layer of varnish of the Winsor-Newton brand.²²¹

The Convent is located on the Santo Domingo de Guzmán Street and was founded according to the Order of St. Dominic under the Augustinian rule.²²² The patron of the convent was doña María Manrique, widow of don Manuel de Benavides, whose daughter Elvira Benavides y Manrique, first prioress of the convent, carried out her mother's

²¹⁵ Oyón de Castro 12.

²¹⁶ Oyón de Castro 12.

²¹⁷ Oyón de Castro, 2 of lab report

²¹⁸ Oyón de Castro, 3 and 7 of the lab report.

²¹⁹ Oyón de Castro, 1 of treatment report.

²²⁰ Oyón de Castro, 2 of treatment report

²²¹ Oyón de Castro, 3 of treatment report.

²²² Papal Bull of Innocent VIII, 1488, Rome as it appears in Martín González and de la Plaza 61. See also Padre Vicente Velázquez, *Libro del Becerro del Convento de San Agustín de Valladolid*, edited by Carlos Alonso (Valladolid: Estudios Agustiniiano, 2003).

wishes.²²³ A Papal Bull written on November 29, 1488 by Innocent VIII, authorized the construction of the monastery, which began in 1489.²²⁴ As ordered in his last will and testament, Juan de Juni is buried here as are his second and third wives and daughter.²²⁵

In 1602 doña Maria de Castro, widow of Andrés Cabeza de Vaca, knight of Santiago and señor of Villamente, acquired the major chapel of the church for the family burial place, whose members were interred in a crypt below the presbytery in 1607.²²⁶ The funerary sculptures of the couple were made by Pedro de la Cuadra in the same year.²²⁷ Although the patron of the *Cristo* remains unknown and is especially problematic because of the broad range of dates offered for this piece, there is a precedent for commissions by important members of Valladolidian society.²²⁸

Cristo yacente, Convento de Santa Ana, Valladolid

Figures 67-73

1,87 x 0,70 meters²²⁹

Polychrome wood, resin, and glass

1631-1636

Workshop piece

Order: Cistercian

The figure of Christ is placed on a white shroud. The head rests on a black and white pillow imitating brocade that seems to have been repainted like the Museo Nacional de Escultura example. The overpaint is estimated to have taken place in the seventeenth century; below it acanthus-like leaves are visible. The shroud is curved

²²³ González and de la Plaza, 49.

²²⁴ Martín González and de la Plaza 61.

²²⁵ González and de la Plaza 49.

²²⁶ González and de la Plaza 50.

²²⁷ For a complete of the convent see Fray Candido Aniz Iriarte, O.P., *500 Años de Fidelidad: V Centenario de la fundación del Convento de Santa Catalina de Sena, Valladolid 1488-1988* (Burgos: Editorial OPE Caleruega, 1988).

²²⁸ The *Cristo* is mentioned in González and de la Plaza 58 and Agapito y Revilla (2007), 85. Agapito y Revilla considers it a Fernández.

²²⁹ Martín González (1980), 200. Measurements by González and de la Plaza in page 23 are 1,90 x 0,76 meters.

below the pillow. A second red pillow is placed underneath the shroud and has tassels and gold brocade like that of the *Cristo* of Medina del Pomar. A blue-green *subligaculum* covers the groin. Gold highlights can be seen in the hair on the back of Christ's head. The figure has brown eyes that are deeply sunken. The teeth are represented whiter above and darker below. Blood is shown on the lower lip and the left brow. The forehead is wider than in other examples. There is an area on the neck from which a sample of pigment was taken to better ascertain the authorship and date of the work. The flesh bubbles up on the lacerations of the shoulder wound; cork is used to replicate this. The chest wound has resin inside. Six resin drops imitating water were originally intended for the sculpture; one is detached but not lost while three other resin drops have disappeared. The fingernails are broken. There is also coagulated blood under the nails. The hip laceration from carrying the cross is also represented by cork that mimics skin. The lungs have collapsed and the sternum has broken. The wound of the chest is rendered naturalistically in order to suggest infection. There is abraded skin on the right knee. The right ankle is swollen. Veins are depicted in the hands and feet. The nail on the large toe is missing on the right foot. Also, the small toe and third toe were broken at one time and have since been repaired. The large toes are bent like the San Miguel *Cristo* but the joints are modeled prominently like the Medina del Pomar, Lugo, and Zamora examples. Evidence of being tied to the columns is shown on the hands and ankles. The flesh wrinkles on the back of the right leg. The nailheads have left an imprint on the feet. The nail of the feet was hammered at an angle, so the wound hole is also carved at an angle. The hole on the right foot is smaller than the one on the left to correspond to the effect of the nail passing through the crossed feet. The wounds

on this sculpture demonstrate a close attention to detail and the state of preservation of the sculpture in general is remarkable.

Legend has it that the work was left at the front door of the convent by an anonymous donor and that the signature of Fernández was inscribed on a piece of paper that has since been lost. Agapito y Revilla considers it to be an autographed work by Fernández.²³⁰ Martín González originally disagreed and describes it as a workshop piece done in the “Segovia mode.”²³¹ In his monumental catalogue on Valladolidian art and architecture, Martín González changes his mind and likewise attributes it to Fernández.²³² The work was cleaned and restored in 1993 by Raimundo Cruz Solís and Isabel Poza of the Instituto del Patrimonio Histórico Español. Urrea notes that Francisco Fermín, while working on the Zamora *Cristo*, mentioned a *Cristo yacente* that was made for don Gonzalo Fajardo, count of Castro and husband of the countess of Castro, marquesa of Camarasa, and served as a model for his Zamora patrons.²³³ The marquesa had a working relationship with the Bernardine convent of Santa Ana, which is illustrated by the fact that when work was carried out on the convent in the eighteenth century, the nuns lived in one of her palaces. Because of this connection between the family, the convent, and the above-mentioned *Cristo yacente*, Urrea attributes the work at Santa Ana to Fermín. He also observes that the head and body are stylistically similar to the *Cristo yacente* of Zamora. If, in fact, it is a work by Fermín, the sculpture of Santa Ana surpasses the Zamora example, which is proposed as a model in terms of anatomical

²³⁰ Agapito y Revilla (1920-29), 125.

²³¹ Martín González (1980), 200.

²³² González and de la Plaza Santiago 23.

²³³ Urrea (1993), 29.

construction and attention to decorative detail.²³⁴ Additional archival research might one day clarify the authorship of this work. Whoever made it, I believe this figure to be of great value as a study tool on account of its excellent state of preservation.

Presently, this *Cristo* is included in a procession that begins on Thursday of Holy Week at midnight and departs from the Church of San Joaquín y Santa Ana. The procession is known as the Holy Sepulchre and it is led by the confraternity of the same name, the Cofradía del Santo Entierro. The processional route starts at the Plaza of Santa Ana and ends at the monastery; on Saturday at 9:00 p.m. the work is returned to the church museum.²³⁵ The members of the confraternity wear black tunics with gold trim and waistbands of gold string as well as black *capirotes* with white gloves. They hold lanterns inscribed with the name of the confraternity.

Cristo yacente, Iglesia de Santa Maria la Nueva, Zamora

Figures 74-76

Polychrome wood, cork, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns)

1,90 x 0,75 x 0,44 meters²³⁶

1631-36

Attributed to Francisco Fermín (born 1599-?)

Order: Dominican

Housed in the Church of Santa Maria la Nueva since 1966, the work was previously held in the Convent of Concepción until 1853. Before that, it was at the Convent of Santo Domingo until 1809, at which time it was taken to Nuestra Señora de la

²³⁴ The *Cristo* of Santa Ana is also mentioned in Martín González and de la Plaza Santiago, 23 and Agapito y Revilla (2007), 90. Agapito y Revilla in this text still considers it a Fernández.

²³⁵ Processional route: Plaza de Santa Ana, María de Molina, Doctrinos, Bridge of Isabel la Católica, Ave. of José Luis Arrese, Pío del Río Hortega, until the Parrochial Church of San Vicente Paul in front of which a prayer is said, continuing to the Ave. of Vicente Mortes, Mieses, Ave. of the Cerros, Plaza Porticada, to the Church of San Pío X, where a solemn *Miserere* is prayed. Returning route: Plaza Porticada, Hogar, Enamorados, Oriental, Ave. of the Cerros, Mieses, Ave. of Vicente Mortes, Bridge of F. Regueral, Poniente Plaza, San Lorenzo and Plaza of Santa Ana, to the Monastery of the same name, where the procession ends.

²³⁶ Martín González (1980), 200 notes 1,90 x 0, 73 meters. Juan Carlos Martín García, *Memoria final, Cristo yacente, Santa Maria la Nueva, Zamora* (2003), 1.

Victoria; twenty-eight years later it was moved to Santiago el Burgo.²³⁷ The figure is recumbent, as usual, but the body is not as fully twisted to the right as in other versions. The right leg lies more parallel to the shroud, while the left leg is bent harshly over the right knee. The shroud is white, as is the single pillow that is decorated with a black border to imitate embroidery. The *subligaculum* is painted dark blue-green with a darker border that gives the effect of trim. The *subligaculum* has a ribbon that ties it down visibly above the left hip. The shape of the face is squarer than in Fernández's pieces; the forehead is broad like the ones on the *yacentes* of Segovia and Santa Ana. The eyes are sunken and the mouth is open wider than other examples. The teeth and tongue are visible. The eyes are blue and are not made of glass, but rather are painted. The left brow has a laceration. The cheeks are painted dark to appear sunken. The hair curves outward from the face and falls on the pillow but is for the most part contained. The beard is curly and forks slightly, projecting out along with the chin, a feature reminiscent of the Monforte de Lemos *Cristo*. The hands were carved separately and then attached. The fingers of the right hand are not bent as much as those of the left and do not fall naturally; they do, however, caress the shroud as in other examples. It is possible that there were difficulties with the execution of the hands and they were redone. The fingernails were inlaid as were the toenails. The toes are parallel to each other and the joints are prominently modeled. The polychromer applied a matte finish to the skin. The skin lacerations and knee wounds are made of cork. The representation of the lacerations on the knees is especially severe. The side wound of the chest is heavily laden with blood and resin. The wounds are deep and very bloody; those of the feet are depicted on

²³⁷ R. Fita Revert, "Apuntes para la investigación histórica sobre los orígenes de la imagen del Cristo Yacente," *El Correo de Zamora* 12, no. 4 (1981) and R. Fita Revert, "El Cristo yacente y su autoría," *Programa Oficial de Semana Santa* (1985): 56-58.

the top and on the soles. There is also a wound on the left shoulder and the left hip from carrying the cross. Blood is present at the forehead and throughout the body bruises of coagulated blood mark the spots where Christ was bound and flagellated. Binding marks are visible on the abdomen, biceps, and ankles.

Martín González considers the sculpture a workshop piece of the Segovia type datable to 1631-36.²³⁸ Urrea first attributed the work to Andrés Solanes, since he was known to have made some *Cristos yacentes* in the workshop of Fernández.²³⁹ Later, based on new documentary evidence, he re-attributed the work to Francisco Fermín.²⁴⁰ We can conclude that the patrons of this work were don Nicolás Enríquez (1580-1632), auditor of Royal Chancel of Valladolid, and his wife doña Isabel de Villagutiérrez, who commissioned it for their funerary chapel in the Dominican convent in Zamora.²⁴¹ Fermín would use the figure in Zamora as a model for another that he would make for don Gonzalo Fajardo, count of Castro. The contract, written in Valladolid and dated to April 1, 1636, and now located in the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid, Protocolo 1491, fol. 177, is an agreement between Fajardo and Fermín regarding the production of a figure for the funerary chapel of Nicolás Enríquez in the Dominican Convent of Zamora. It requests “in all perfection a natural [naturalistic?] Christ in his sepulchre in the size and form of the one he made for our lady doña Isabel de

²³⁸ Martín González (1980), 200. Martín González, vol. 2 (1971), 136.

²³⁹ Jesús Urrea, “Acotaciones a Gregorio Fernández y su entorno artístico,” *Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología* 46 (1980): 385.

²⁴⁰ Jesús Urrea, “El Cristo yacente de Zamora,” *Actas del I Congreso Nacional de Cofradías de Semana Santa*, Zamora (1987) 690.

²⁴¹ Urrea (1993), 28. For further biography on Nicolás Enríquez see María de la Soterraña Martín Postigo, *Los presidentes de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid* (Valladolid: 1982), 64-66.

Villagutierre, widow of sir don Nicolás Henríquez of the King's Council, auditor of this royal audience...for the price of 1300 reales....”²⁴²

Francisco Fermín may have joined Fernández's workshop by 1621, since by 1629 he claimed to have known the artist and his wife for a period of eight years.²⁴³ The *imaginero* lived in Valladolid and based upon documentary evidence dating to 1637 is believed to be the author of the retablo of the Descent for the Parrochial Church of Gallegos in Valladolid.²⁴⁴ During this commission he was responsible for the figures of Christ, St. John, and Nicodemus—works he did not complete.²⁴⁵ When comparing both works differences in style can be seen that are perhaps related to the nature of the commission or to the specifications of the patron.

The work was conserved by Juan Carlos Martín García from February 12, 2002 to February 2, 2003.²⁴⁶ The state of the sculpture before its conservation is described in the report. The sculpture had been damaged by woodboring beetles and the polychromy of the shroud and *subligaculum* were in a poor state and marred by accumulations of candle wax. The work had been previously treated with insecticide; layers of oxidized varnish were removed along with wax and the folds of the *shroud* were chemically

²⁴² “Contrato de Francisco Fermín,” April 1, 1636, Pro. 1491, fol. 177, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid. Original text: “en toda perfección un christo natural en su sepulcro del tamaño y forma que hizo otro para la señora doña Isabel de Villagutierre viuda del señor don Nicolás Henríquez del Consejo Rey nuestro señor, oydor desta Real Audiencia...por el precio de 1300 reales....” See Martín García 3.

²⁴³ Leg. 1.018, without folio, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid. Original text: “de vista, trato y comunicacion mas de ocho años a esta parte....” See also María Fernández del Hoyo, “Oficiales de taller de Gregorio Fernández y ensambladores que trabajaron con él,” *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 49 (1983): 350. María Antonia Fernández del Hoyo, “El Taller de Gregorio Fernández,” *Gregorio Fernández 1576-1636* (Valladolid: Fundación BSCH, 1999), 51.

²⁴⁴ Fernández del Hoyo (1983): 350. J.M. Parrado del Olmo, *Catálogo Monumental del antiguo Partido Judicial de Mota del Marqués* (Valladolid, 1976) 96. This *Cristo* is mentioned briefly in Francisco Plaza Santiago, “El Taller Vallisoletano de Gregorio Fernandez y la escultura en piedra: dos precisiones,” *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 60 (1994): 449.

²⁴⁵ 3-VI-1642, Prot. 2122, without folio, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid. Urrea (1987), 690.

²⁴⁶ Martín García 1.

strengthened.²⁴⁷ In 1941, the hands of the sculpture were separated from the body and used as reliquaries. They were taken to the homes of the sick, an action that presented a serious risk in terms of liability.²⁴⁸ Only a few of the *postizos* survive and only one original nail from the small toe of the left foot is still in place. Furthermore, 30 cm of the lace that was once placed on the border of the linens remains.²⁴⁹ The treatment outlined above involved the elimination of the polychromy added in the previous restoration, which was reversible. The process also included the cleaning of the polychromy and its reintegration using watercolors. It was decided that the joints of the hands should be visible to reflect their recent history.²⁵⁰ A final layer of Winsor & Newton varnish was also added to protect and complete the conservation. The lace border was removed, cleaned, and adhered to the shroud using Primal AC-347 acrylic.²⁵¹

Today, the work is carried in the procession of Holy Thursday by the Hermandad del Jesús Yacente (Brotherhood of the Supine Christ).²⁵² The participants wear cream robes with purple sashes. The procession includes sixteen lanterns, two penitential crosses, and the instruments of the Passion. The silence of the procession is interrupted only by the sound of bells and drums. The activity culminates with a choir chanting *Miserere*.

²⁴⁷ Martín García 5.

²⁴⁸ Martín García 6.

²⁴⁹ Martín García 6.

²⁵⁰ Martín García 7.

²⁵¹ Martín García 8.

²⁵² Processional route: Church of Santa María la Nueva, Corral Pintado, Reina, Juan Nicaso Gallego, Plaza Mayor, Balborraz, San Leonardo, Plaza of San Leonardo, San Juan de las Monjas, Puerta Nueva, Buscarruidos, Plaza of Santo Tomé, Tenerías, Plaza. Zumacal, Paternóster, Plaza de la Horta, Alfamareros, La Plata, Zapatería, Plaza of Santa Lucía, Cuesta de San Cipriano, Chimeneas, Doncellas, Moreno, Damas, Plaza of Viriato (Miserere Chant), Damas, Hospital, and Church of Santa María la Nueva.

Chapter IV

Teatro Sacro: Religious thought, ceremony, and procession in seventeenth-century Spain

The *Cristos yacentes* by Gregorio Fernández and his workshop are images meant to evoke piety through the display of gruesome hyper-reality. It is through the creation of a vision of suffering, utter agony, and pain that the faithful are transported to a higher state of perfection, and in some cases to a communion with God. Scenes of gory martyrdom are abundant in seventeenth-century Spanish art. According to the classic formulation of Emile Mâle, religious art after the Council of Trent sought to provide an ideal vision of sacrificial martyrdom that helped worshippers to cope more fully with the sufferings of life.¹ Mâle's argument poses a connection between the lives of the faithful and the images put before them—the pains of everyday life were equated with the physical-corporeal pain of Christ and the Saints. Maravall, in his study of Baroque culture, further postulates that the art produced during the seventeenth century offered the church and state a useful mechanism for social control as it “[provided an] atmosphere for the explanation of their own repressive rules, but more so...to excite the passion of the masses...with the end [goal of making] more closed their adhesion, more blind their obedience....”² The supine images of the suffering Christ discussed in the previous chapter would appear to substantiate the goals that Mâle and Maravall address. The *Cristo yacente* is an ultra-image of sacrifice because it is accompanied by the notion of true death. In the *Fifth Homily regarding Lazarus*, St. John Chrysostom distinguishes

¹ Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux d'après le Concile de Trente* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1932), 148-149.

² José Antonio Maravall, *La cultura del Barroco* (Madrid: Ariel, 1975), 331-332. Original text: “para ambientar la explicación de sus propias medidas represivas, pero más bien,...para excitar las pasiones de las masas,...a fin de hacer más cerrada su adhesión, más ciega su obediencia....” See also Gwendolyn Barnes-Karol, “Religious Oratory in a Culture of Control,” in *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain*, ed. Anne J. Cruz and Mary Elizabeth Perry (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1992), 51-77.

between Christ's death and humanity's state of prolonged sleep. He recalls what Saint Paul said of Christ: "Death was said regarding Christ so as to confirm the faith of his passion, but of us he said sleep to console our pain. Where resurrection had preceded, in confidence he spoke of death, but where resurrection was still hoped, he calls death sleep...."³ The *Cristo yacente* is an important Counter-Reformation image in that it signifies not only absolute sacrifice, since Christ is the ultimate martyr, but true corporeal death. Furthermore, the image fulfills the postulates of the Council of Trent that images should provoke devotion through imitation. As an *andachtsbild* the *Cristo yacente*'s "espoused compassion" was demonstrated both emotionally and physically.⁴ Within the context of procession, this devotion is heightened to produce visionary experiences through which communication with God is made possible and the forgiveness of sins attained with the ultimate goal being the resurrection and redemption of the human soul.

The twenty fifth session of the Council of Trent (1563) entitled "On the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics, of Saints, and on Sacred Images" declares:

And the bishops shall carefully teach this, that, by means of the histories of the mysteries of our Redemption, portrayed by paintings or other representations, the people are instructed, and confirmed in (the habit of) remembering, and continually revolving in mind the articles of faith; as also that great profit is derived from all sacred images, not only because the people are thereby admonished of the benefits and gifts bestowed upon them by Christ, but also because the miracles which God has performed by means of the saints, and their salutary examples, are set before the eyes of the faithful; that so they may give God thanks for those things; may order their own lives and manners in imitation of the saints; and may be excited to adore and love God, and to cultivate piety.⁵

³ San Juan Crisóstomo, "Homilía quinta acerca de Lázaro," *Obras Completas*, vol 2 (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1966), 129. Original text: "Puesto que de Cristo dijo muerte para confirmar la fe en su pasión, pero de nosotros dijo sueño para consolar nuestro dolor. Donde ya había precedido la resurrección, confiadamente hablaba de la muerte, pero en donde la resurrección aún estaba en esperanza, a la muerte le llama sueño...."

⁴ James Marrow, "Passion and Meaning in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 16, no. 2/3 (1986): 157.

⁵ J. Waterworth, *The canons and decrees of the sacred and oecumenical Council of Trent* (London, Dolman, 1848), 235.

This spiritual devotion was further promoted in Valladolid during the seventeenth century by local mystic writers and visionaries such as the Jesuit Alonso Rodríguez (1568-1616), who wrote the *Ejercicio de perfección y virtudes cristianas* (Seville, 1609) and by the Jesuit Luis de la Puente (1554-1624), who published his *Meditaciones de los misterios de nuestra santa fe* in 1605, *Guía espiritual* in 1609, and *De la perfección del cristiano en todos sus estados* from 1612-1616.⁶ In 1625 de la Puente published his *Directorio espiritual para la Confesión, Comunión y Sacrificio de la Misa*, which was followed by a posthumous publication in 1666 entitled *Vida de Doña Marina de Escobar*.⁷ These mystical writings along with those of the Carmelites San Juan de la Cruz and St. Teresa of Ávila, combined with Counter-Reformation directives regarding religious art and the cult of the sacrament, influenced the art produced in Spain and Valladolid at this time. Emilio Orozco, in his book *Mística, plástica y barroco*, discusses how devotional images coincided with the visions described by mystic writers and how, conversely, these authors have a tendency to describe their visions in concrete terms.⁸ This trend towards visualization can be traced back to St. Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* and his influence on the Jesuit Jerónimo Nadal (1507-1580). Nadal's 1593 publication of the *Illustrations of the Gospel Stories*, also known as the *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*,

⁶ *Exercises towards Perfection and Christian Virtue, Meditations on the Mysteries of Our Holy Faith, Spiritual Guide and On the Perfection of the Christian in all his States.*

⁷ *Spiritual Directory for Confession, Communion and the Sacrament of Mass, and The Life of Marina of Escobar.*

⁸ Emilio Orozco, *Mística, plástica y barroco* (Madrid: Cupsa Editorial, 1977), 16, 18. See also Emilio Orozco, *Estudios sobre San Juan de la Cruz y la Mística del Barroco*, José Lara Garrido ed., vol. 1 and 2 (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1994). For a short discussion on mysticism see Santiago Sebastián, *Contrarreforma y barroco: Lecturas iconográficas e iconológicas* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1989): 61-91. For a detailed discussion see Pablo Rousselot, *Los Místicos Espanoles: Malon de Chaide, Juan de Ávila, Luis de Granada. Luis de León, Santa Teresa, San Juan de la Cruz y su grupo*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Imprenta de Henrich, 1907).

included the prints by the Wierix brothers discussed in Chapter II.⁹ In this way, Nadal provided his readers with visions to aid in their devotions. Before these visions were provided to readers, mystic writers created verbal images through a particular style of writing and description identified by Maximilianus Sandeus as the “mystical style.”¹⁰ Juan de Ávila, in chapter 73 of his *Audia filia*, tells us that in order to meditate on images of the Passion one must:

poned dentro de vuestro corazón la imagen de aquel paso que quisieredes pensar; y, si esto se os hiciere de mal, haced cuenta que la tenéis allí cerquita de vos. Y digo esto así, por avisaros que no habéis de ir con el pensamiento a contemplar al Señor a Jerusalén, o apartaros lejos de vos, porque suele ser gran daño de la cabeza, y secar mucho la devoción, mas, haciendo cuenta que lo tenéis presente, poned los ojos de vuestra ánima en los pies de Él, o en el suelo cercano de Él. Y con toda reverencia oíd lo que le dicen, y mirad lo que pasa, como si a ello presente estuviérades....

[place inside your heart the image of that stage that you would like to think of and if this goes badly, realize that you have it there close to you. And I say this like as follows, warning that you should not go with your thoughts to contemplate Our Lord at Jerusalem or far from yourself because that usually ruins the mind and dries devotion, so realize that you have him there present and put the eyes of your soul at His feet or in the ground close to Him and with all reverence listen to what is said and look at what happens as if you were present there....]¹¹

St. Francisco de Borja also proclaimed the importance of images when he stated: “To aid in meditation one places an image that represents the evangelical mystery and therefore before beginning the meditation, [one must] look up to the image, particularly noticing

⁹ Benito Navarrete Prieto, “Fuentes y modelos en la obra de Gregorio Fernández,” *Gregorio Fernández 1576-1636*, Sala de Exposiciones del BSCH, Nov. 1999-Enero 2000 (Madrid: Fundación BSCH, 1999), 56. See Robert E. McNally, “The Council of Trent, the Spiritual Exercises and the Catholic Reform,” *Church History* 34, no. 1 (Mar. 1965): 36-49 and Thomas Buser, “Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome,” *Art Bulletin* 58, no. 3 (Sep. 1976): 424-433.

¹⁰ Victor Stoichita, *Visionary Experience in the Golden Age of Spanish Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995), 80. See Maximilianus Sandaeus, *Pro theologia mystica clavis*, Ed. de la Bibliothèque SJ (Cologne: Herverlee-Louvain, 1963).

¹¹ Beato Juan Ávila, *Avisos y reglas cristianas sobre aquel verso de David: Audia Filia*, 1556 (Barcelona: Flors, 1963), 168.

what is to be noticed, [in order] to consider it better during meditation and obtain its advantage....”¹²

Images to aid in prayer were also strongly recommended by mystics. San Juan de la Cruz, in book 3, chapter 35, section 3 of his *Subida al Monte Carmelo* (*Ascent to Mount Carmel*), notes how:

The use of images has been ordained by the Church for two principal ends—namely, that we may reverence the Saints in them, and that the will may be moved and devotion to the Saints awakened by them. When they serve this purpose they are beneficial and the use of them is necessary....¹³

Unlike the somewhat cautious San Juan de la Cruz, St. Teresa was a vehement supporter of images. She patronized paintings and sculptures and on occasion designed the compositions of the works.¹⁴ St. Teresa explains how images aided her visually: “I had so little ability to represent things in my mind that if I did not actually see a thing I could not use my imagination ...It was for this reason that I was so fond images.”¹⁵ St. Teresa

¹² As quoted in Sebastián 63 from Francisco de Borja, *Meditaciones para todos las dominicas y ferias del año y para las principales festividades* (Madrid, 1912). Original text: “Para hallar mayor facilidad en la meditación se pone una imagen que represente el misterio evangélico, y así, antes de comenzar la meditación, mirará la imagen y particularmente advertirá lo que en ella hay que advertir, para considerarlo en la meditación mejor y sacar mayor provecho de ella....”

¹³ San Juan de la Cruz, “Ascent to Mount Carmel,” *The Complete Works of Saint John of the Cross, Doctor of the Church*, translated and edited by E. Allison Peers, vol. 1 (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd., 1934), 310. San Juan de la Cruz, “Subida al Monte Carmelo,” in *Obras del Místico Doctor San Juan de la Cruz*, introduction and notes by Gerardo de San Juan de la Cruz, vol. 1 (Toledo: Imprenta, Librería y Encuadernación de Vuida é Hijos de J. Peláez, 1912), chapter 34 (not 35, I think this anomaly is only in this edition of the text), 372. Original text: “El uso de las imágenes para dos principales fines lo ordenó la Iglesia: es a saber, para reverenciar a los santos en ellas, y para mover la voluntad y despertar la devoción por ellas á ellos. Y cuanto sirven de ésto, son provechosas, y el uso de ellas necesario....”

¹⁴ Orozco 42 and Fray Gabriel de Jesús, *La Santa de la Raza, Vida Gráfica de Santa Teresa de Jesús*, vol.1 (Madrid: J. Sánchez de Ocaña, 1929-1945), 30, 33, 55, figs. 468 and 1.118. For a discussion on images and how they relate to her writing style see Barbara Mujica, “Beyond Image: The Apophatic-Kataphatic Dialectic in Teresa de Avila,” *Hispania* 84, no. 4 (Dec. 2001): 741-748.

¹⁵ *La Vida de la Santa Madre Santa Teresa de Jesús y algunas de las Mercedes que Dios le hizo escritas por ella misma por mando de su confessor* (Madrid: Imprenta y Fundación de M. Tello, 1882), Chapter 9, 89. Original text: “Tenia tan poco habilidad para con el entendimiento representar cosas, que si no era lo que via no me aprovechaba nada de mi imaginación...A esta causa era tan amiga de imágenes.” As translated by E. Allison Peers in *Saint Teresa of Jesus: The Complete Works*, vol. 1, E. Allison Peers ed. (London; Sheed and Ward, 1963), 55-56. I have changed the word “pictures” in Peers’ translation to “images.”

pities those, who do not like images and remarks: “Unhappy those who through their own fault lose this blessing! It really looks as if they do not love the Lord, for if they loved Him they would delight in looking at portraits of Him, just as they take pleasure in seeing someone one loves dearly.”¹⁶

The goal of the mystic visionary and the *imaginero* were one in the same—to create images, whether visual or literal ones, that moved the faithful. The “*visión plástica*” (formative vision) of these writers was directly linked in contemporary thought to ideas about nature, which was also seen as providing a means to achieve a more perfect state of devotion and sanctity.¹⁷ This adherence to nature connects directly to the preference for, and abundance of, naturalistic and hyper-real images such as the *Cristo yacente*. San Juan de la Cruz in book 3, chapter 38, section 2 of his *Subida al Monte Carmelo* comments that people using poorly sculpted images should be the subject of reproof: “those who have images so ill-carved that they take away devotion rather than produce it, for which reason some image-makers who are very defective and unskilled in this art should be forbidden to practice it.”¹⁸ This protest doubtless relates to San Juan’s own personal devotional focus on beauty and naturalism. He goes on to declare that miracles that are granted via works that are not well sculpted may be interpreted as a warning one should not put more trust on better rendered images. He observes: “For if God sometimes grants more favours by means of one image rather than by another of the same kind, it is not because there is more virtue to this effect in one than in another

¹⁶ Santa Teresa, Chapter 9, 90. Original text: ¡Desaventurados de los que por su culpa pierden de este bien! Bien parece que no aman á el Señor, porque si le amaran holgaranse de ver su retrato, como acá aún da contento ver el de quien se quiere bien.”

¹⁷ Orozco 31.

¹⁸ San Juan de la Cruz, “Ascent to Mount Carmel,” book 3, chapter 38, section 2, 318. San Juan de la Cruz, “Subida al Monte Carmelo,” (1912), chapter 37 (not 38), 381. Original text: “los que hacen algunas tan mal talladas que antes quitan devoción que la anaden, por lo cual habian de impedir á algunos oficiales que en esta arte son cortos y toscos....”

(however much difference there may be in their workmanship), but because some persons better awaken their own devotion by one than by another.”¹⁹ In section 2 of chapter 36, book 3, he further proposes that “God grants certain favours and works miracles, He does so as a means of certain images which are not well carved or cunningly formed or painted, so that the faithful may attribute nothing to the figure or painting.”²⁰ San Juan remarks, however, that the most successful works are those that are closer to reality and that, as a result, provoke devotion. He continues: “and therefore we must choose those that are most true and lifelike, and that most move the will to devotion, and our eyes must ever be fixed upon this motive rather than upon the value and cunning of their workmanship and decoration.”²¹ He sides again with naturalism by using the word “lifelike” and making a correlation between the ideas of “closeness to life” and “most moving.” In song 3, paragraph 57 of his *Llama de Amor Viva (Living Flame of Love)*, San Juan draws a parallel between art and the achievement of spiritual perfection that suggests he advocates naturalistic images: “Not everyone who can hew a block of wood is able to carve an image; nor is everyone who can carve it able to outline and to polish it; nor is everyone that can polish it able to paint it; nor can he that is able to paint it

¹⁹ San Juan de la Cruz, “Ascent to Mount Carmel,” book 3, chapter 36, section 1, 313. San Juan de la Cruz, “Subida al Monte Carmelo,” (1912), chapter 35 (not 36), 376. Original text: “De donde la causa porque Dios despierta milagros y hace mercedes por medio de algunas imagines más que por otras, no es para que estimen más aquéllas que las otras, sino para que con aquella novedad se despierte la dormida devoción y afecto de los fieles á oración.”

²⁰ San Juan de la Cruz, “Ascent to Mount Carmel,” book 3, chapter 36, section 2, 314. San Juan de la Cruz, “Subida al Monte Carmelo,” (1912), chapter 35 (not 36), 377. Original text: “Dios las mercedes y milagros en aquella imagen, que cierto está que no los hace Dios por la imagen, que en sí no es más que pintura, sino por la devoción y fe que se tiene con el Santo que representa.”

²¹ San Juan de la Cruz, “Ascent to Mount Carmel,” book 3, chapter 35, section 3, 310. San Juan de la Cruz, “Subida al Monte Carmelo,” (1912), chapter 34 (not 35), 372. Original text: “y por eso, las que más al propio y vivo están sacadas y mueven la voluntad más á devoción, se han de escoger, poniendo los ojos en ésto más que en el valor y curiosidad de la hechura y su ornato.”

complete it with final touches.”²² Moreover, he questions “How, in such a case, will the soul attain to the final perfection of a delicate painting, the art of which consists neither in the hewing of wood, nor in the carving of it, nor even the outlining of it, but in the work which God Himself must do in it?”²³ Indeed, San Juan’s focus on naturalism is such that he feels very strongly about *imágenes de vestir* complaining how:

Holding not in abhorrence the vain trappings of the world, they adorn images with the garments which from time to time vain persons invent in order to satisfy their own pleasures and vanities. They clothe images with these garments which are reprehensible even in themselves, a kind of vanity which was, and is still, abhorrent to the saints who the images represent.²⁴

San Juan de la Cruz is selective when it comes to images, how they are made and constructed and he explains that the devout “needs few images and uses few, and chooses those that harmonize with the Divine rather than with the human...”²⁵

As demonstrated above, these visionaries strongly relate to the importance of images, the nature of them and, for these reasons, may even be compared to art critics. Most importantly, these religious texts provided artists with the verbal equivalent of

²² San Juan de la Cruz, “Living Flame of Love,” *The Complete Works of Saint John of the Cross, Doctor of the Church*, translated and edited by E. Allison Peers, vol. 3 (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd., 1934) section 57, 192. Original text as it appears in “Llama de Amor Viva,” In *Obras del Místico Doctor San Juan de la Cruz*, introduction and notes by Gerardo de San Juan de la Cruz, vol. 2 (Toledo: Imprenta, Librería y Encuadernación de Vuida é Hijos de J. Peláez, 1912), 459. Original text: “No cualquiera que sabe debastar el madero, sabe entallar la imagen, ni cualquiera que sabe entallarla, sabe perfilarla y pulirla; y no cualquiera que sabe pulirla sabrá pintarla; ni cualquiera que sabe pintarla sabrá poner la última mano y perfección.”

²³ San Juan de la Cruz, “Living Flame of Love,” section 58, 192. San Juan de la Cruz, “Llama de Amor Viva,” (1912), 460. Original text: “¿cómo llegarás esa alma hasta la última perfección de delicada pintura, que ya no consiste en debastar, ni entallar, ni aun en perfilar, sino en la obra que Dios en ella ha de ir haciendo?”

²⁴ San Juan de la Cruz, “Ascent to Mount Carmel,” book 3, chapter 35, section 4, 310. San Juan de la Cruz, “Subida al Monte Carmelo,” (1912), chapter 34 (not 35), 373. Original text: “Esto se verá bien por un abominable uso que en estos nuestros tiempos usan algunas personas, que no teniendo ellas aborrecido el traje vano del mundo, adornan á las imágenes con el traje que la gente vana por tiempo va inventando para el cumplimiento de sus pasatiempos y livianidades, y del traje que en ellos es reprehendido visten ellas á imágenes, cosa que a los Santos que representan fué aborrecible y lo es...”

²⁵ San Juan de la Cruz, “Ascent to Mount Carmel,” book 3, chapter 35, section 5, 311. San Juan de la Cruz, “Subida al Monte Carmelo,” (1912), chapter 34 (not 35), 373. Original text: “pocas imágenes ha menester y de pocas usa, y de aquellas que más se conforman con lo Divino que con lo humano...”

imagery that could be painted or sculpted. The most difficult task of the mystic is to describe the indescribable, while that of the sculptor is to represent the unrepresentable.²⁶ How then does the sculptor represent the dead body of Christ? The Carthusian Fray Antonio de Molina in his *Ejercicios Espirituales* (*Spiritual Exercises*) describes the body of Christ as Mary would have seen it and challenges readers to consider how she felt:

cuando viese el Sagrado Cuerpo denegrido de golpes y cardenales, desollado y todo cubierto de llagas. Cuando viese la manos y pies tan desgarrados, con tan grandes agujeros; tentase los huesos, y los hallase todos descoyuntados y fuera de sus lugares, especialmente el hombro izquierdo; cuando le viese todo molido con el gran peso de la Cruz; la cabeza taladrada, y llena de llagas de la espigas, y sacase algunas, que se habian quedado quebradas; el rostro lleno de salivas, y sangre seca y cuajada, la garganta desollada de la sogá; y finalmente todo El maltratado....

[when she sees the Sacred Body denigrated by blows and bruises, flayed and all covered in wounds. When she sees the hands and feet so torn with such big holes; when she touches the bones and finds them disjointed and out of place, especially the left shoulder; when she sees it all worn with the great weight of the Cross; the head perforated and full of thorns and she takes some out that have broken; the face full of spit and dried and coagulated blood, the neck bruised by the rope; and lastly all of Him mistreated....]²⁷

The image of the dead Christ invoked above recalls Fernández's powerful and tragic *Cristos yacentes*. Dominican Fray Luis de Granada's "Pasión de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo" (Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ), first published in 1554 as part of his *Libro de oración y meditación* (*Book of Prayer and Meditation*), is a literary work that provides a meditation for every day of the week. As mentioned in Chapter III, the book is recorded in the inventory of Diego Valentín Díaz and was likely available to Fernández.²⁸ The meditations included in the text were a source of inspiration for Gregorio Fernández

²⁶ Stoichita 7.

²⁷ As quoted in Orozco 33-34, Antonio de Molina, *Ejercicios Espirituales, De las excelencias, provecho y necesidad de la Oración mental reducidos a Doctrinas y Meditaciones...* (Barcelona 1776), segunda parte, tratado 3, 573.

²⁸ Esteban García Chico, *Documentos para el Estudio del Arte en Castilla, Pintores*, vol. 3 (Valladolid: Publicación del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología, 1940), 99.

because they discuss the importance of the Sacrament, and particularities like the tying of Christ's hands, descriptions of the face and eyes, the nude body, and most importantly the wounds.

Luis de Granada understands the Sacrament as the life of the soul, as a cure-all and heal-all; as memorial to Christ, the Sacrament is his ultimate gift and display of love for the faithful.²⁹ The binding of the hands is described in great detail in his Tuesday meditation regarding the capturing of Christ; he concludes that the act is recreated spiritually by those that resist Christ's teachings.³⁰ The cruelties to which Christ was subjected are explained by Granada as a way to keep the faithful from sinning. He cites that "there is no other more powerful way to turn them away from sin than to place in front such a [lamentable] figure."³¹ This act of warding away sin, which serves to move viewers into a deeper spiritual state, also moves God.³² He describes the tormented, gaunt face of Christ and asks "what pillow will sustain it?"³³ Later, when pondering Christ's death, he asks "where do you lie?"³⁴ Sculptors like Rincón and Fernández answer both of these questions by providing beautifully-decorated pillows, which contrast with the devastation of Christ's face, and a place of rest for the body. The face can be further visualized with the words "look upon that mortal face, those dead eyes, and the droop of the face, and that yellowness and shadow of death"³⁵ The eyes "have lost their light.... Already broken are the eyes that with their vision brought happiness to

²⁹ Fray Luis de Granada, *La Pasión de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo*, José Ramos Domingo, ed. (Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme, 2003), 57.

³⁰ Granada 69, 71.

³¹ Granada 96. Original text: "no hay otro medio más poderoso para apartarlos del pecado, que ponerles delante tal [lastimera] figura."

³² Granada 97.

³³ Granada 111. Original text: "¿qué almohada la sostendrá?"

³⁴ Granada 116. Original text: "¿dónde yaces?"

³⁵ Granada 125. Original text: "mirad aquella cara mortal, aquellos ojos difuntos, y aquel caimiento de rostro, y aquella amarillez y sombra de muerte...."

the world.”³⁶ The open mouth with visible tongue present in many of the *Cristos yacentes* reminds us of the passage that reads: “The tongue that spoke of the marvels of the heaven no longer moves....”³⁷ Fray Granada also implores the reader to “Consider the cold that that holy body must feel, being as it was lacerated and nude, not only without vestments but also without skin and with so many doors and windows of open wounds all over.”³⁸ The four wounds of the hands and feet are described as four fountains that continuously erupt with blood.³⁹ Of the eyes, hands and feet he exclaims: “These are the eyes that darkened the sun with their beauty! These are the hands that resurrected the dead with their touch! This is the mouth from which the four rivers of Paradise came forth!”⁴⁰ All the elements mentioned by this theologian are rendered as focal points in the sculptures of the supine Christ.

The most significant of these is the chest wound, which relates to the Eucharistic dimension of the image and the resurrection it promised to worshippers. The importance of the chest wound is stressed by John Chrysostom when he instructs his readers to “put [your] mouth at Christ’s side so that we may drink his precious blood, and become participants in this sovereign mystery.”⁴¹ The words of Luis de Granada offer further evidence in support of the importance of the Eucharist and wound by clarifying its role

³⁶ Granada 128. Original text: “han perdido la luz...ya están quebrados los ojos que con su vista alegraban el mundo.”

³⁷ Granada 128. Original text: “Ya no se menea la lengua que hablaba las maravillas del cielo....”

³⁸ Granada 110. Original text: “Considera el frío que padecería aquel santo cuerpo, estando como estaba despedazado y desnudo, no sólo de sus vestiduras, sino también de los cueros y de la piel, y con tantas puertas y ventanas de llagas abiertas por todo él.”

³⁹ Granada 112.

⁴⁰ Granada 128. Original text: “¡Estos son aquellos ojos que oscurecían a sol con su hermosura! ¡Estas son las manos que resucitaban los muertos a quien tocaban! ¡Esta es la boca por donde salían los cuatro ríos del paraíso!”

⁴¹ As quoted in Granada 51. Homily 85, John 19:16-18. Original text: “poner la boca en el costado de Christo, y nos ponemos a beber de su preciosa sangre, y hacernos participantes de este soberano misterio.”

for the spectator. In this passage, quoted at length, Granada explains that from the wound:

salío de allí agua y sangre, con que se lavan los pecados del mundo. ¡Oh río que sales del paraíso, y riegas con tus corrientes toda la haz de la tierra! ¡Oh llaga del costado precioso, hecha más con el amor de los hombres, que con el hierro de lanza cruel! Oh puerta del cielo, ventana del paraíso, lugar de refugio, torre de fortaleza, santuario de los justos, sepultura de peregrinos, nido de las palomas sencillas, y lecho florido de la esposa de Salomón! Dios te salve, llaga del costado precioso, que llagas los devotos corazones; herida que hieres las ánimas de los justos, rosa de inefable hermosura, rubí de precio inestimable, entrada para el corazón de Christo, testimonio de su amor, y prenda de la vida perdurable....en ti se consuelan los tristes, contigo se curan los enfermos, por ti entran al cielo los pecadores, y en ti duermen y reposan dulcemente los desterrados peregrinos....Ábreme, Señor, esa puerta; recibe mi corazón en esa tan deleitable morada, dame por ella paso a las entrañas de tu amor, beba yo de esa dulce fuente, sea yo lavado con esa santa agua, y embriagado con ese tan precioso licor.

[came forth water and blood with which the sins of the world were cleaned. Oh river that comes out of Paradise and flows over the face of Earth! Oh wound of the precious chest, made with the love of man more than with the cruel iron lance! Oh door to heaven, window to Paradise, place of refuge, tower of strength, sanctuary for the just, tomb of pilgrims, nest of simple doves, and florid bed of the wife of Solomon! God save you wound of the precious chest that wounds the hearts of the devout; wound that wounds the souls of the just, rose of ineffable beauty, ruby of inestimable price, entry to the heart of Christ, testimony of his love, and token of everlasting life...in you the sad are consoled, with you the sick are healed, because of you sinners enter heaven and in you exiles and pilgrims sleep and rest sweetly...Open Lord that door; receive my heart in that delighted abode, give me through it access to the entrails of your love, may I drink of that sweet fountain, may I be washed with that sacred water, and inebriated with that precious liquor.]⁴²

It is apparent that images of the dead Christ were seen by Passion writers as beautiful representations of pain. Granada expressed the relationship thusly: “your bruises beautify me, your pains are gifts, your sorrows sustain me, your wounds heal me, your blood enriches me, and your love inebriates me.”⁴³ In front of images like the *Cristo yacente*,

⁴² Granada 125.

⁴³ Granada 95. Original text: “tus cardenales me hermocean, tus Dolores me regalan, tus amarguras me sustentan, tu llagas me sanan, tu sangre me enriquece, y tu amor me embriaga.”

the believer was expected to kneel in prayer and be moved to tears. The spectator was prompted to “spread and clean with tears the sacred body” as did those that lamented over the body of Christ.⁴⁴ The resurrected body of Christ is described as having turned “all his shadows into light and all his ugliness into beauty, and of the ugliest of bodies was made the most beautiful of them all.”⁴⁵ Fray Antonio the Molina and Fray Luis de Granada were responsible for “crystallizing” the imagery that would inspire and inform the creation of visual representations of visionary experience.⁴⁶ Their descriptions parallel what is seen in sculpted form. Their verbal imagery was made available to the masses through sermons.⁴⁷ But this rich relationship between image-vision and the spectator-believer has further layers of meaning to be explored.

Saintly visions were utilized by the Council of Trent to promote the cause of the Counter-Reformation, inviting the spectator-believer to be “the one who sees the seeing.”⁴⁸ Victor Stoichita, in his book *Visionary Experience in the Golden Age of Spanish Art*, discusses the relationship between religious visions and seventeenth-century paintings. His discussion of optical illusion and *trompe l’oeil* is of particular interest to our understanding of the *Cristo yacente*.⁴⁹ As discussed in Chapter I, the supine Christ displays an image of the body of the dead Christ as Nicodemus and others would have seen him—what we might call a primordial image. The sculpted *Cristo yacente* captures the artist’s vision, granted to him through divine inspiration, and aided by visionary

⁴⁴ Granada 132. Original text: “regando y lavando con lágrimas el cuerpo sagrado.”

⁴⁵ Granada 145-146. Original text: “todas sus tinieblas convirtió en luz y todas sus fealdades en hermosura, y del cuerpo más afeado de los cuerpos hizo el más hermoso de todos ellos.”

⁴⁶ Stoichita 8.

⁴⁷ Susan Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 176. See Antonio M. Martí, “La retórica sacra en el Siglo de Oro,” *Hispanic Review* 38, no. 3 (Jul. 1970): 264-298.

⁴⁸ Stoichita 17, 198.

⁴⁹ Stoichita 65.

descriptions such as those by Molina and Granada. Stoichita avers that there is a time when “the object of worship becomes an actual representation of a vision....”⁵⁰ The legend regarding the carving of the *Cristo yacente* at El Pardo recounts how Gregorio Fernández received help from God to complete the image as recorded in the anonymous *Compendio de la Historia del Santísimo Cristo de El Pardo* (1807).⁵¹ Of course this statement is propaganda in the sense that it addresses the piety of the sculptor and places greater “potency” on this particular work, which was commissioned by Philip III, but ultimately it stands as a statement of a Nicodemus-like miraculous creation. It is this miraculous power that gets transposed onto many of Fernández’s other works whose primary function is to encourage devotion.

In Stoichita’s discussion of *trompe l’oeil*, he mentions paintings by Juan Sánchez Cotán and Francisco de Zurbarán that appear to have been sculpted; this illusion is apparently intended to emphasize the “visionary effect of representation”; a transition between the two-dimensional and the three-dimensional is what leads to this effect (Figure 78).⁵² When dealing with sculpture the first of these steps is unnecessary, since the three-dimensional aspect of the work is self-evident. Sculpture facilitates closer contact between the spectator and the vision by occupying the same space as the viewer and, furthermore, by providing a tactile as well as a visual experience. In this sense, a devotional sculpture has two functions: it captures a vision and it has the effect of

⁵⁰ Stoichita 109.

⁵¹ Juan José Martín González, *El Escultor Gregorio Fernández* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1980), 194. “I have made the body but only God has been able to make the head.” Original text: “El cuerpo lo he hecho yo; pero la cabeza sólo la ha podido hacer Dios.”

⁵² Stoichita 68, 70. Zurbarán’s painting presents the viewer with a representation of Christ on the cross whose nature is unclear. It may be a painting, a sculpture, or a vision.

triggering further visions.⁵³ This “fooling of the eye” reached new heights by, in effect, fooling the mind. Concepts of *engaño* (deception) and *desengaño* (the revelation of the deception) are cultivated by the placement of *Cristos yacentes*, such as the one in the Monastery of Encarnación, in controlled and experience-enhancing settings. As seen in Chapter III, Luis Muñoz described the original setting of this piece, where “The work is covered with a cloth from India and hidden behind two curtains that give it better propriety....”⁵⁴ Ceán Bermúdez complains that viewers of the *Cristo yacente* in the College of the Society of Jesus (today in the Museo de Escultura) “cannot appreciate [it] because it is covered by a sheet.”⁵⁵ But in truth, both of these settings may be said to play with the idea of creating illusions. The way the work is sculpted, including the use of *postizos*, adds to the reality of the experience, as does the lack of lighting and the use of elements such as curtains and sheets. Imagine a visitor entering a candlelit space through curtains, removing a sheet, and encountering a vivid, sculpted image of Christ with glass eyes that reflect the flickering light just before examining wounds that appear to be bleeding. One wonders for how long such a spectator could have remained *engañado*.

This connection between two-dimensional and three-dimensional depictions may be seen in contemporary painted representations of the *Cristo yacente*. Artists such as Mateo Cerezo (1637-66) and Francisco Camilo (d. 1671) painted images reminiscent of

⁵³ Stoichita 124.

⁵⁴ Luis Muñoz, *Vida de la Venerable Madre Mariana de San Joseph* (Madrid, 1646) as it appears in Martín González (1980), 195. Original text: “Está cubierto con un paño de la India: tiene de ordinario dos órdenes de cortinas para mayor decencia....”

⁵⁵ Ceán Bermúdez, vol. 2, 270. The work is mentioned also by Cordero de Ciria 50, and Gómez Moreno (1963), 82. Original text: “que no se goza porque le tienen cubierto con una sábana.”

the sculptures carved by Gregorio Fernández.⁵⁶ Dated to c. 1659, Mateo Cerezo's *Christ in the Tomb* (oil on canvas, 253.2 x 135 x 15 cm), now in the Church of Nuestra Señora de San Lorenzo in Valladolid, shows a life size Christ lying on a shroud with his head resting on two pillows. The pillows recall those employed by Fernández, as does the pose of the head, the placement of the hair, the raised torso, and the pose of the left hand. The left hand is placed like those of the *Cristos* of El Pardo and San Pablo, which in turn mimic the one in *Sancti Spiritus* by Rincón. Christ's face is covered in shadow and his grey-toned body is arranged to offer a better view of his wounds. The angel at the right uncovers the shroud to display the body of Christ in what Martín González calls "a dramatic scene, as recommended by St. Ignatius."⁵⁷ This painting was placed above the main altar during Good Friday, an act that parallels the treatment of the sculpted representations of the dead Christ.

Francisco Camilo painted the *Cristo yacente* on four occasions and the works can be seen at the Prado Museum, the Museum of Jaén, the Church of the Jerónimos of Madrid, and the Monastery of Corpus Christi in Madrid. The last example most closely resembles the pose of the *Cristo yacente*.⁵⁸ Dated to the 1660s, the painting depicts the body of Christ lying on one decorated pillow and a shroud with a lace border. In Camilo's *Cristo yacente* (oil on canvas 121 x 211 cm), the head is tilted and the hair curls over the surface of the pillow. The eyes are closed and the mouth is open. Christ's expression, as with most of the *Cristos*, parallels the descriptions of expressions of

⁵⁶ See also Juan Antonio de Frías y Escalante's *Cristo muerto*, oil on canvas, Museo del Prado, 0,84 x 1,62 meters.

⁵⁷ Juan José Martín González, "Cristo en el Sepulcro," *Time to Hope/Tiempo para la Esperanza: Las Edades del Hombre, Cathedral St. John the Divine, New York 2002* (Valladolid: Fundación las Edades del Hombre, 2002), 282.

⁵⁸ For images see *Clausuras: Tesoros Artísticos en los Conventos y Monasterios Madrileños, Exposición* Real Academia de San Fernando, enero a marzo de 2007, Museo Diocesano de Barcelona, abril a junio de 2007 (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, Dirección General de Patrimonio Nacional, 2007) 120-125.

veneration published by Charles Le Brun in the eighteenth century, which mention the half open mouth with its corner drawn back.⁵⁹ The body of Christ is oriented towards the right. The left leg crosses over the right one. The right hand shows the separation of the index and small fingers while the left is held by an angel that points to the wound. The pink *subligaculum* is open as in Fernández's *Cristos yacentes* after the 1620s. The wounds in this painting are deep but not as bloody as their sculptural precedents. The facial expressions seen in all of these paintings recall what Stoichita identifies as part of the "seeing body," a concept related to the visions of saints and how they communicate visionary experience non-verbally. Christ's facial gestures in sculpted *Cristos* have him looking up towards the heavens, to the heavenly Father, as if he were still on the cross. The eyes of many contain raised pupils. This also parallels Le Brun's directives, which argue that "The eyebrows should be lowered...This lowering of the eyebrows and downward droop of the mouth are a sign of the soul experiencing submission and respect for an object it believes to be above it; the raised pupil appears to mark its elevation to the object it is contemplating which it knows to be worthy of adoration."⁶⁰ These paintings and sculptures of Christ communicate with the viewer non-verbally and stimulate emulation and empathy. Physical demonstrations of piety were not only common but encouraged. For example, authors such as Ludolph of Saxony instructed his readers to contemplate on the Passion of Christ while conveying their meditative state through bodily exertions like raising their hands and eyes.⁶¹ Unlike paintings of saints that show the spectator-believer how to "see" the vision through the expressions and gestures of the

⁵⁹ Stoichita 173. See also Charles Le Brun, *Méthode pour apprendre à dessiner les passions, proposée dans une conférence sur l'Expression Générale et Particulière* (Amsterdam, 1702), 4.

⁶⁰ Quote as it appears in Stoichita 173.

⁶¹ Marrow 155.

visionary, sculptures lack this figure—the vision itself tells the viewer how to react. Sculptures not only eliminate the two-dimensional transition needed for a vision, they eliminate the need for a visionary as well. There is no need for an intercessor on our behalf as the spectator has become the visionary. We are inspired to prostrate ourselves at the feet of Christ and venerate him; we are invited to uncover the “shrouds” placed on these works, to contemplate his body, and to examine his wounds. The twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent concluded that the viewer who adores Christ does so “by the images which we kiss, and before which we uncover the head, and prostrate ourselves....”⁶²

The sculpted images inspired by visionary liturgical texts also relate to the idea of reenactment. Besides writing about how to envision Christ, some visionaries also produced works of art. As noted previously, St. Teresa designed some of the compositions produced by other artists. Her most memorable recollection of these compositions pertained to St. Joseph and the Christ child, which helped to solidify the iconography of the subject in the visual arts.⁶³ On the other hand, San Juan de la Cruz himself was believed to be a sculptor and a painter.⁶⁴ There is a celebrated drawing of *Christ on the Cross* from the Convent of Encarnación in Ávila attributed to San Juan de la Cruz, which is associated with an image that, according to his biographer Fray Jerónimo de San José, was drawn from a vision.⁶⁵ Most importantly, San Juan de la Cruz organized reenactments of *autos sacramentales* (religious plays) from the life of the

⁶² Waterworth 235.

⁶³ She is credited by Orozco to creating this iconographical type, p. 42. See *Homenaje literario a la gloriosa Doctora, Santa Teresa de Jesús en el tercer centenario de su beatificación* (Madrid, 1914).

⁶⁴ Fray José Jesús de María, book 1, chapter 2, Orozco, page 50

⁶⁵ Jerónimo de San José, *Historia del venerable Padre fray Juan de la Cruz* (Madrid, 1641) book 2, chapter 9. Orozco 53, see image on page 54.

Virgin and scenes of martyrdom inside the cloisters of his monastery.⁶⁶ Fray José de Jesús María relates how in the *noviciado* of the Mancha in Jaén, San Juan de la Cruz rehearsed a martyrdom in which he played the main character and was actually beaten into confession.⁶⁷ How appropriate, then, that a creator of verbal images could also create literal ones, and extend his “representational” activity by organizing and participating in inspirational and (all too realistic) dramatic presentations.

The worlds of drama and religion intersected during the years of the Counter-Reformation. As mentioned in Chapter II, *Cristos yacentes*, including a particular one by Gaspar Becerra, were often placed in front of *apparati*, complete, if temporary, altar decorations that recreated the Holy Sepulchre.⁶⁸ The devotion of the Holy Sepulchre began on Holy Friday with a simulation of the tomb of Christ, accompanied by scenes of Calvary and Jerusalem. After the concluding liturgical ceremonies of the day, the Eucharist was placed in the tomb and remained under vigil for forty hours until Holy Saturday. It was then that the priest would remove the wafer from the tomb and present it to the public as the embodiment of Christ’s Resurrection.⁶⁹ The activity that took place on Maundy Thursday was known as the *reposoir*, or place of repose, when the Host is reserved for Friday’s Mass of the Pre-sanctified.⁷⁰ Because no host is consecrated on Friday, two were consecrated on Thursday, with one reserved for mass on Friday. These

⁶⁶ Orozco 47.

⁶⁷ Fray José Jesús María. *Vida de San Juan de la Cruz*, third edition (Burgos, 1937) Book 1, chapter 20. Orozco 49.

⁶⁸ Other Sacramental acts besides the Forty Hours Devotion also had theatrical sets as for example the Corpus Christi. See J. E. Varey. La Escenografía de los Autos Sacramentales: El Estado de la Cuestión,” *La Escenografía del Teatro Barroco*, Aurora Egido ed. (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca y Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo, 1989): 25-32.

⁶⁹ Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, “Espacio sacro teatralizado: el influjo de las técnicas escénicas en el retablo barroco,” *En torno al teatro de Siglo de Oro* (Almería: Instituto de Estudios almerienses, 1992), 141.

⁷⁰ Neil Brooks, *The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy with Special Reference to Liturgic Drama*, vol. 7 (Illinois: University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 1921), 30.

extraliturgical ceremonies were known as the *Depositio* (*Crucis*, or *Hostiae*, or *Crucis et Hostiae*), which commemorated the Entombment, the *Elevatio*, which honored the Resurrection, and on occasion the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, which remembered the three Marys' visit to the tomb.⁷¹ Pamela Sheingorn discusses the distinct types of *sepulchrum domini* in an article on the intersection of art and liturgy, in which she concludes that the German Holy Grave type representing the dead Christ functioned throughout the year as an *andachtsbild* and was used during Easter for extraliturgical rites.⁷² Likewise, the *Cristo yacente* served as a devotional image that recreated the Holy Sepulchre.

These recreations of the Holy Sepulchre were at times associated with the devotion to the Forty Hours, which had evolved out of medieval traditions that began on Good Friday and concluded on Easter morning.⁷³ In this important Counter-Reformation liturgical ceremony, the Eucharist was exposed for forty hours and in cities such as Rome it was accompanied by a perpetual prayer that was moved from one church to the next.⁷⁴ The number of hours of worship relates to the forty hours that Christ spent convincing his disciples of His Resurrection; it was seen as the ideal time for repentance and cleansing of the soul.⁷⁵ The architectural settings first seen in *apparati* later gave way to complicated visual allegories that functioned as *tableaux vivants*.⁷⁶ The main function of these *apparati* was to highlight the Eucharist and its promise of resurrection. This was in accord with the Council of Trent's thirteenth session, which concluded that

⁷¹ Brooks 30.

⁷² Scheingorn, Pamela. "The Sepulchrum Domini: A Study in Art and Liturgy." *Studies in Iconography* 4 (1978): 51.

⁷³ Mark S. Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974) 218-248, 220.

⁷⁴ Weil 218.

⁷⁵ Weil 221.

⁷⁶ Weil 218.

the real and permanent presence of the body of Christ (*corpus*) is the Eucharist.⁷⁷ The viewer's attention to the Eucharist was directed through the use of lighting and through the placement of the monstrance, which was located at the back of the church.⁷⁸

Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605) was a key figure in the establishment of the Forty Hours Devotion. On November 25, 1592 he issued a decree that ordered the Devotion to cycle from one Roman church to another and later, in the same year, he published the rules for the ceremony.⁷⁹ The rules did not permit lavishness and they limited the number of candles and lamps that could be present. It was instructed that the chapel be dark and the Sacrament screened by a thin silk veil.⁸⁰ Mark Weil notes that the rules were ignored when the Forty Hours prayer was held for special occasions such as illness or during carnival.⁸¹ If we compare the rules to the description given of the activity in the Monastery of Descalzas Reales (described in Chapter II), which included tapestries and sumptuous décor, we might presume that the rules were not explicitly followed in Spain.⁸² The Forty Hours were also instituted as a means to move people away from the lures of Carnival; in 1595 the Society of Jesus began to hold the event annually with this purpose in mind.⁸³ The decorations recorded for these celebrations, like those of

⁷⁷ Karl Noehles, "Scenografie per le quarant'ore e altari barocchi," *La Scenografia Barocca*, Antoine Schnapper ed. (Bologna: Editrice CLUEB, 1979): 151-155. 154.

⁷⁸ Weil 219.

⁷⁹ Weil 222, 223.

⁸⁰ Weil 223.

⁸¹ Weil 223.

⁸² Maria Ruiz Gómez, "Dos nuevos lienzos de la escuela madrileña en las Descalzas Reales de Madrid, y una hipótesis sobre la devoción al Santo Sepulcro," *Reales Sitios* 35 no. 138 (1998): 56, 61. Juana of Austria's stipulations were that "the festivities and eight days of the Holy Sacrament be very solemn mandating (Doña Juana) that the stretcher for the wafer be adorned with all its jewelry, very carefully, and richly and that the ministry be conducted with a lot of music...." As published in Spanish by Ruiz Gómez 61.

⁸³ Mark S. Weil, "Ludovico Burnacini and the migration of the forty hours style from Rome to Vienna," *La Scenografia Barocca*, Antoine Schnapper ed. (Bologna: Editrice CLUEB, 1979): 157-162, 159. See also Henry Schnitzler, "The Jesuit Contribution to Theatre," *Educational Theatre Journal* 4, no. 4 (Dec. 1952): 283-292.

Descalzas Reales, far exceeded the rules of humility established by Clement VIII.⁸⁴

Besides the Forty Hour Devotion decorations, ephemeral designs for Good Friday Sepulchres were also just as elaborate, becoming popular by the 1670s in Bavaria, Tyrol, and Spain.⁸⁵ The focus of these sepulchres was the body of Christ in his tomb. In Spain, they presumably evolved out of the initial use of the *Cristo yacente* during the Forty Hours Prayer.

Along with this discussion of the Forty Hours Devotion and reconstructions of the Holy Sepulchre, Weil further describes the relationship between *apparati* and Bernini's works such as the *Cathedra Petri* (1657-66) in St. Peter's, Rome.⁸⁶ An even closer association can be established with the *Ecstasy of St. Theresa* (1647-52) in the Coronaro Chapel in Santa Maria della Vittoria in Rome. The drawing owned by Lodewijk Houthakker of an *apparato* dated c. 1650 has architectural similarities to the *bel composto* that frames Bernini's central group of St. Teresa and the angel. The visionary experience of the saint and her transverberation are both framed and explained by this three-dimensional setting.⁸⁷ Here spiritual experience as expressed through the saint's own account is recreated to aid the believer by providing a concrete vision.⁸⁸ The Forty Hours functioned in a similar way—sculptures, backdrops, lights and sermons came together to create a vision. It was through dramatic presentations like this that the power

⁸⁴ Weil (1974): 225, 244 appendix 1. Weil (1979): 159.

⁸⁵ Weil (1979): 160. See A. Pérez Sánchez, *Mostra de disegni spagnoli*, 37 (Firenze: Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, 1972), 102 cat. no. 114.

⁸⁶ Weil (1974): 219.

⁸⁷ Bruce Boucher, *Italian Baroque Sculpture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1998), 138.

⁸⁸ See Jorge Checa, "Experiencia y representación en Santa Teresa de Jesús," *Experiencia y Representación en el Siglo de Oro* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1998): 67-112 and Michael J. Call, "Boxing Teresa: The Counter-Reformation and Bernini's Coronaro Chapel," *Woman's Art Journal* 18, no. 1 (Summer 1997): 34-39.

of the Eucharist was highlighted.⁸⁹ Karl Noehles says it best when he notes that the scene of the Forty Hours Devotion was “a spectacular apparition, an anticipation of paradise.”⁹⁰ The ceremonies of the devotion of the Forty Hours as well as those of the Holy Sepulchre also “included colourful processions of religious companies, the preaching of special sermons, and the singing of hymns and litanies.”⁹¹ These processions like liturgical and other religious ceremonies of the day played an important part in fashioning the devotional and social dimensions of Spanish life in the seventeenth century.

Processions, in particular held during Holy Week, were complicated phenomena whose multivalent significance has been studied in detail by Susan Verdi Webster in her book, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week*.⁹² Timothy Mitchell, in his essay “Spanish Catholicism on Trial” concludes that to today’s viewers these Holy Week processions are cathartic since they “provide a classic psychoanalytic abreaction for the community involved, a de facto psychotherapy that is all the more effective because it remains unarticulated.”⁹³ The processions also serve to reinforce group identity through common views on morality and the world.⁹⁴ As acts of popular piety seventeenth-century processions served a somewhat similar, if also somewhat different, purpose than Mitchell suggests. For the seventeenth-century participant, the function of Holy Week processions, as Webster puts it, was “expiatory: it allowed the participants to atone publicly and ritually for their sins and thus

⁸⁹ Weil 221.

⁹⁰ Noehles 153. Original text: “una spettacolare apparizione, una anticipazione del paradiso.”

⁹¹ Weil 218.

⁹² See footnote 47.

⁹³ Timothy Mitchell, “Spanish Catholicism on Trial. Scapegoating as Popular Theater. The Ethnography of Holy Week. Psychodrama, Spanish-style,” In *Violence and Piety in Spanish Folklore* (Philadelphia: University Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 122.

⁹⁴ Mitchell 123.

to cleanse their souls.”⁹⁵ Such collective ablutions involved specific elements that were culturally codified and understood.⁹⁶ According to Richard Donovan, the earliest account of a procession celebrating the Passion of Christ is recorded in a fourth-century manuscript written by a Galician woman and titled *Peregrinatio Etheriae*. The woman had traveled to the Holy Land and described the processions (to Holy Sites) and liturgical ceremonies that took place in Jerusalem during Holy Week.⁹⁷ The above-mentioned extraliturgical ceremonies related to the Holy Sepulchre and celebrated during Easter were complemented by Passion plays like those documented in Spain.⁹⁸ Plays developed out of the combination of these extraliturgical ceremonies and trope-singing.⁹⁹ These religious plays, or *autos sacramentales*, like those organized by San Juan de la Cruz and especially at Easter, also featured processions. Processions had formed an important part of Easter dramas since their beginnings in the tenth century and by the sixteenth both procession and drama were had been taken outside the church.¹⁰⁰ Donovan supplies the example of a *Visitatio Sepulchri* drama from the town of Gandía where processions not only took place but also formed part of the drama.¹⁰¹ Drama and procession were seen as closely linked forms of re-creation, during which participants could “relive in spirit the events recounted by the Evangelists.”¹⁰² By the sixteenth century, all forms of drama, and specifically religious drama involving actors, especially those whose performances

⁹⁵ Webster 179.

⁹⁶ Webster 175.

⁹⁷ Richard B. Donovan, *The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1958), 7. See Neil Brooks.

⁹⁸ Donovan 52, 59, 62, 139.

⁹⁹ Donovan 10.

¹⁰⁰ Donovan 4, 140. Plays began in the 10th century and were popular until the 1568 papal reform of the Roman breviary. Donovan mentions on page 2 and concludes on page 29 that liturgical drama in Castile was introduced through the monks of Cluny when the Mozarabic rite was replaced by the Roman rite.

¹⁰¹ Donovan 139-142.

¹⁰² Donovan 7.

were deemed less than pious, were denounced as inappropriate.¹⁰³ By the reign of Philip IV all religious drama was prohibited.¹⁰⁴

The actors of these condemned and eliminated religious theatrical productions were substituted by sculptural arrangements known as *pasos de misterio*. These sculptures, unlike actors, “embodied their personages without fiction—without ‘acting’—and never abandoned them to live in concubinage or to commit other sins of the flesh.”¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, and again unlike actors, these sculptures could exhibit miraculous powers and even intercede on behalf of the viewer.¹⁰⁶ Webster explains that the image was widely viewed as the vessel through which a spectator could communicate with God.¹⁰⁷ It is the act of procession that spiritually activated this vessel through both provocation and evocation.¹⁰⁸ The act of provocation is carried out through the senses—or as Webster puts it, by “visual, olfactory, auditory and tactile stimuli that trigger the collective cultural and religious memory of the spectator.”¹⁰⁹ These elements are ever-present in Holy Week processions in large part due to the proliferation of verisimilar sculptures, incense, flowers, the burning of candles, the beating of drums, the ringing of bells, the robes that drag through the streets, and the crowds of people—all of which provoke feelings of empathy, anguish, and compassion and which oftentimes bring many

¹⁰³ Webster 152.

¹⁰⁴ Webster 154. Palma Martínez-Burgos García, *Ídolos e imágenes: La controversia del arte religioso en el siglo XVI español* (Valladolid: Universidad, 1990), 75.

¹⁰⁵ Webster 154.

¹⁰⁶ See William Christian, “Christ Enshrined, 1580-1780,” *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981): 181-208.

¹⁰⁷ Webster 184.

¹⁰⁸ Webster 185.

¹⁰⁹ Webster 185.

spectators to tears.¹¹⁰ Spiritual activation of the sculpture via procession is carried along through the believer-spectator's reaction to the event. With a compassionate reaction, and through the intercession of the sculpture, participants' prayers are welcomed by God. In this way, it might be said that it is the sculpture that grants God's blessing and forgiveness.¹¹¹

It should be understood that the divinity of God is seen as ever-present in Spanish devotional sculpture and in Spanish art in general. The act of procession served to further open the channels of communication between spectator and the divine. Pacheco observes, regarding miraculous images, that "God authorizes [the use of images] with marvels and miracles in order to demonstrate how much they please Him...."¹¹² We may assume from this statement that the more pleased God is with the image, the more "potency" is granted to the image. Pacheco then explains how the divinity and images relate by quoting Leonicio, an ancient father of the Church:

All Christians (he says), when we embrace and the kiss the images of Christ and his martyrs, realize we are embracing and kissing the actual martyrs. And in this way we adore the Holy images...there is no problem, as long as the adoration that is given to the image is of the same quality and degree as that which is given to the prototype....¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Tears can be seen as cleansing agents. See William Christian, "Provoked Religious Weeping in Early Modern Spain," *Religious Organization and Religious Experience*, ed. J. Davis (London: Academic Press, 1982), 97-111.

¹¹¹ Webster 185.

¹¹² Original text: "...las autoriza Dios con maravillas y milagros para mostrar cuánto le agradan..." In Francisco Pacheco, "En que se concluye la materia de la pintura y las razones de su nobleza y su mayor alabanza," *Arte de la Pintura*, edited by Bonaventura Bassegoda I Hugas (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra S.A., 1990), chapter 10, 558.

¹¹³ Original text: "Todos los cristianos (dice) cuando abrazamos y besamos las imagenes de Cristo y sus mártires hacemos cuentas que abrazamos y besamos a los mimos mártires. Y si desta manera adoramos las Santas imágenes ...no hay dificultad, sino que la adoración que se dá a la figura es de la misma calidad y grado que la que se da a lo figurado..." As quoted in Francisco Pacheco, "En que se concluye la materia de la pintura y las razones de su nobleza y su mayor alabanza," *Arte de la Pintura*, edited by Bonaventura Bassegoda I Hugas (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra S.A., 1990), chapter 10, 557.

Although procession provides the most exemplary and optimal way of communicating with the Divine through sculpture, the preceding discussion also provides a useful context for understanding Spanish sculpture in general and that the Divine was believed to be inherently present in these works. The idea of *engaño* is epitomized especially by the processions that take place in the late hours of the night or in the morning when the *niebla* (fog) is rising. These atmospheric effects heightened the emotional connection between spectator-believer and image and between the image and the Divine through mimesis. Spectator imitation is at its most extreme in the example of the flagellants, who through penitence become one with the image, especially those of the Crucified and Supine Christ.¹¹⁴ Stoichita has noted regarding visionary experience that the object itself becomes the representation of a vision. In the case of procession that which is represented, the body and sepulchre of Christ, becomes the “thing-in-itself” erasing the boundaries of reality, vision and religious experience.¹¹⁵ Webster concludes that “The context of the procession itself elevated verisimilitude to mimesis, suspending the audiences’ ordinary, quotidian sense of reality...”¹¹⁶ This sense of reality was suspended through the aid of space and time. As the sculptures of the *Cristo yacente* are carried in procession through a city’s streets, it is the works themselves that approach the viewer. This movement towards and away from the spectator presents a series of views that Webster describes (and we see) as fragmentary.¹¹⁷ As opposed to a single, stationary and primary view, there are multiple, moving, secondary and tertiary views that are sequentially perceived and that more closely approximate ordinary vision.

¹¹⁴ See Webster 156-157 for further details. Marrow also mentions scourging as a physical demonstration of piety in page 155.

¹¹⁵ Stoichita 109. Webster 163.

¹¹⁶ Webster 167.

¹¹⁷ Webster 168.

Holy Week processions provided an occasion for the faithful to come together as a community to pray and repent while ensuring forgiveness and future collective and individual blessings.¹¹⁸ While the procession took place, stops were instituted along the way known as *estaciones*, or stations, which encouraged a communal time for prayer.¹¹⁹ The power of prayer was magnified through procession, which is well-explained in a document relating to the 1536 synod in Toledo that describes how “Processions were ordained in order to provoke the Christians to devotion and so that our Lord can better hear the prayers....”¹²⁰ Holy Week processions allowed the faithful to collectively demonstrate devotion through prayer and through various physical manifestations of veneration. It was these manifestations that served as catalysts for the activation of polychrome wooden sculptures of the supine Christ.

Many of the *Cristos yacentes* produced by Fernández and others before and during the seventeenth century have a great degree of potency on account of their verisimilitude and hyper-reality. Christ’s recumbent pose advances the ideals set forth by this kind of three-dimensional work. First, since the sculpture is literally dead (or at least lifeless), the viewer does not anticipate movement as one might with images like the *Jesús de la Pasión* by Juan Martínez Montañés, c. 1615.¹²¹ Works such as this have articulated arms that can be posed in various ways, including gestures of blessing. Sculpture in general is understood as inanimate; therefore, as a “dead sculpture,” the *Cristo yacente* has very different implications. As opposed to *Dolorosas* that depict

¹¹⁸ Webster 179.

¹¹⁹ Webster 183.

¹²⁰ Webster 182, fn 54 as in Martínez-Burgos García (1990), 50. Original text: “Las procesiones fueron ordenadas para provocar a los cristianos devoción y porque n[ues]t[r]o Señor mayor oyere las oraciones y plegarias que en ellas se adjunta.”

¹²¹ This sculpture which stands some 1.64 meters belongs to the Confraternity of La Pasión and is located in the Church of El Salvador, Seville. See Webster illustration 1.

Mary in sorrow or even representations of Christ on the Cross that appear to have the potential for one last breath, the *Cristo yacente* literally “acts” like the dead Christ.¹²² The legends of speaking sculptures and of sculptures coming to life, among them the myth of Pygmalion, are negated by such representations of a decidedly dead body. Within an inactive setting such as a chapel the spectator is fooled into believing that the sculpture is the actual body of Christ. Within the active setting of procession the spectator believes he is participating in the actual burial of Christ. The divine power of the *Cristo yacente* is also extended by its proximity to temporal reality. The viewer is transported to a specific time—to Christ’s death in the year 33. By lacking even the suggestion of potential of life the sculpture is truer to reality, thus furthering a religious experience that is magnified by Christ’s anticipated spiritual and corporeal Resurrection. Paradoxically, the very “deadness” of the *Cristo yacente* is alleviated, at least conceptually, by the promise of resurrection that is inherent to it. In this sense, the gruesome, hyper-real image of the *Cristo yacente* is an equally complex and successful Counter-Reformation image that provokes devotion through its verisimilitude and, at the same time, carries a message of the Savior’s (and the spectator’s) promise of eternal life. *Cristos yacentes* intercede on the viewer’s behalf with this end in mind while also producing a spiritually mimetic experience.

That said, Palomino’s introduction to chapter 11, vol. 2, of his *El Museo pictórico y escala óptica* provides a fitting conclusion:

How grateful is God of the adoration of sacred images is credited by the portents; declared by the councils; canonized by the church; and testified by the repeated testimonies of heaven, in the portents of nature and in images formed by strange and marvelous means...How many portents have been experimented through

¹²² For example Marcos Cabrera’s *Cristo de la Expiración*, 1575. 1.79 meters high. Confraternity of El Museo, Chapel of El Museo, Seville. See Webster illustration 34.

sacred images, those of sculpture like those of painting, there is no pen that could write them nor a tongue that could explain them. And it is therefore that we shall make memory of some images that through miraculous, and supernatural means have been formed, and others that through strange, and preternatural means have been sculpted.¹²³

¹²³ Acisclo Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco, “Repetidos Testimonios del Cielo, en abono de la Pintura, y el Culto de la Sagradas Imagenes,” *El Museo pictórico y escala óptica*, vol. 1, book 2 (Madrid: Lucas Antonio de Bedmar, Impresor del Reino, 1715-1724), 171 of 171-192. Original text: “Quanto se agrade Dios de la Adoracion de las Santas Imagenes, lo acreditan los Portentos; lo declaran los Concilios; los canoniza la Iglesia; y lo testifican repetidos Testimonios del Cielo, en Prodigios de la misma Naturaleza, y de Imagenes formadas por extraños, y maravillosos medios. ...Quantos Prodigios se ayan experimentado por medio de las Imagenes Sagradas, asi de Escultura, como de Pintura, no ay Pluma, que los pueda escribir, ni lengua, que los pueda explicar. Y asi, solo haremos memoria de algunas Imagenes, que por medios milagrosos, y sobrenaturales han sido formadas; y otras, que por medios extraños, y preternaturales se han hallado esculpidas.”

Conclusion

The seventeenth-century Spanish *Cristo yacente* is a unique image with multiple layers of meaning. Although its origins can be traced to the Middle Ages in both the East and West, it was not until the sixteenth century that painted and sculptural precedents emerge that isolate the figure of Christ. This solitary figure is presented in a hyper-realistic fashion; it is carved in wood, painted, and prepared with *postizos* that present the believer with a mimetic devotional image. As an *andachtsbild* the *Cristo* permits the viewer to meditate on different stages of the Passion of Christ. San Juan de la Cruz and St. Teresa of Avila discuss the importance of images as aids in spiritual contemplation. As promoted by these and other sixteenth-century mystical writers, meditations on different moments of the pain and suffering of Christ elevated the spirit to a higher state of perfection.

It was through images like the *Cristo yacente* that the spectator communicated with God. The atmospheres created for these sculptures within chapel settings and as part of Holy Week processions heightened the “visionary experience” of the devout by fooling the eye and mind and creating a state of *engaño*. Through a gruesome representation of the body of Christ spectators are allowed to experience His agony and to reflect on their own salvation. A select number of these works also serve as reliquaries for the sacred Host, ultimately calling attention to the idea of resurrection and the promise of salvation. The significance of the *Cristo yacente* lies in its function as an intercessor on behalf of the faithful, who long to experience spiritual resurrection.

Following the Council of Trent, the Eucharistic, as the transformed body and blood of Christ, as well as its surrounding devotional practices, were outlined in order to

assert their importance within the Catholic Church. The issue of transubstantiation was of particular significance after the Counter-Reformation, and to the Spanish crown specifically, who were seen as defenders of the faith and protectors of the Sacrament. Sculptures of the supine Christ produced in Spain during the seventeenth century embodied the ideas of the Church while also providing a way for the faithful to experience the Divine.

Appendix A:

An Inventory of *Cristos yacentes Madrileños*

Cristo yacente

Artist: Anonymous

Location: Iglesia de las Calatravas, Calle Alcalá 25

Measurements: 1,09m (length), 0,48m (width), 0,51m (height)

Medium: Polychrome wood

Date: 18th century

This small figure of Christ is shown from the right; his head is supported by a decoratively-hewn black pillow with tassels and his body is placed on a sculpted *sudarium* that rises up to cover his genitals. Red paint, obviously meant to imitate blood, has been applied to Christ's forehead, the center of his chest, the stigmata wounds, his wrists, and his knees in order to highlight his torture and suffering. The sculptor drilled holes into the feet of the figure to replicate the wounds made by the nails used in the Crucifixion. Likewise, the wound in Christ's chest is actual as opposed to decorative and, as a result, appears three-dimensional. The drapery folds are angular and show evidence of damage, likely due to time, transportation, and ardent worship. Christ's anatomy is well-proportioned and highly naturalistic. In terms of approximate overall dimensions, the head and neck measure five inches, the torso ten inches, and the legs eighteen inches.

Christ's head is executed in great detail in comparison to his body; his hair is linear and symmetrical. The face has angular features, the eyes are closed, and the mouth is open. A row of bottom teeth is suggested through a barely perceptible incised line that just above Christ's lips. The beard is rendered in the same manner as the hair and is divided symmetrically at the middle of the chin. The chest is dramatically emphasized, protruding from the body and furthering his contorted pose. The ribs that protrude from

the chest and the fold of the abdomen also serve to enhance the position of the chest. The legs are slim and the muscles of the body are softly defined. The articulations of the joints of the feet are exaggerated while the hands and fingers are rounded and less defined.

Cristo yacente

Artist: Attributed to Sánchez Barba

Location: Iglesia de San José, Calle Alcalá 41 y 43

Measurements: 1,86m (length)

Medium: Polychrome wood

Date: 17th century

The maxim “*A buen Cristo poco sangre*,” which translates to “For a good Christ little blood,” certainly does not apply to this sculpture of Christ. In this example, Christ lies on a pillow and bed constructed of a brocaded purple fabric edged with braided trim. The head is beautifully rendered and highly detailed. The eyes are only half open while the mouth is completely agape with bottom teeth visible. The hair is well-defined, sculpted in curls that fall from the side of the head. The beard is divided at the chin and the hair is rendered multi-tonally. Once again, blood-red paint has been added—to the forehead, side and stigmata wounds, shoulder, hip, knees, and feet—as a means of enhancing the drama and empathy of the encounter. Ripped flesh is an intriguing addition to this *Cristo*; his shoulder bone, hip, and knee caps are perceptible beneath a diaphanous veil of skin. The *sudarium* is striped, alternating between blue-green and red. The soft folds of the drapery compliment this decorative choice. The ability of the polychromer to follow such a thin line along the drapery folds demonstrates the skill of the artist.

In this example, Christ appears to be resting rather than deceased; since his body is not contorted he seems more at peace. He is well proportioned; approximate

measurements are eight inches (head and neck) by fifteen inches (torso) by thirty-five inches (legs). His musculature is soft and supple and is highlighted by contrasting hues of color. The ribs in Christ's chest are visible and the body is skewed slightly to the right. The right hand hangs open while the left is almost closed. The left foot hangs lower than the right and is barely visible. The toes are curled and are, perhaps, an allusion to Christ's agony on the cross. The hands are skilfully-rendered with naturalistic nails, knuckles, and joints. The sculpture is layered with red paint, although it is applied in a consistent, controlled manner. For example, when viewing the nail marks in Christ's feet, the blood issues forth in a star pattern. This, I would argue, is the product of artistic license or iconography rather than the close observation of nature or sculptural convention.

Santo Cristo de la Vida Eterna

Artist: Attributed to Juan Pascual de Mena

Location: Iglesia de Santa Cruz, Calle Atocha 6

Measurements (Urn): 1,75m (length), 0,58m (depth), 0,74m (height)-excluding scroll

Médium: Polychrome wood

Date: 18th century

This figure of Christ lies on two pillows constructed of red fabric with gold braided trim and tassels. The work is contained in a glass urn finished with elaborately gilded scroll work. Christ's face is depicted with closed eyes and an open mouth through which the upper and lower teeth are visible. The hair, which frames Christ's face, is characterized by delicate lines and curls. The sculptor has carved a lesion on Christ's shoulder, a wound resulting from bearing the weight of the cross. His knees, ankles, and stigmata are covered in blood. Red paint also highlights the right corner of the mouth. Despite this, relatively little blood (red paint) has been applied—in this example, it is

concentrated only on the forehead, wounds and toes. The toes are finely articulated as are the nail wounds, which are detectable from the bottom of feet.

In terms of color, paint is applied over a pale grey ground, giving the flesh a greenish appearance. Muted in dark shadow, these verdant tones allow for a realistic presentation of dead skin. The nails of the figure are done in a lighter pigment than the rest of the skin, which further enhances the naturalism of the sculpture. The body shows evidence of being bound at the wrists and ankles as the flesh is darkened due to deep contusions. Binding is also visible at the ankles, calling to mind Christ's flagellation at the pillar. The ribs are visible and protrude from the chest. The loincloth or *perizoma* is carved and its crisp white color interrupts the graceful curves of the body. The folds of the cloth are soft and rounded. The overall form of the figure is slender and well proportioned. Approximate measurements are: eight inches (head and neck) by fifteen inches (torso) by thirty-three and one-half inches (legs).

Cristo yacente

Artist: Anonymous

Location: Iglesia de San Marcos, Calle San Leonardo 10

Measurements: 2,11m (length)

Medium: Polychrome wood

Date: 18th century

In this version, Christ has no *sudarium*, loincloth or pillow and is placed in a burial urn that is covered in black fabric at the bottom. As with many examples, the head is not tilted. The face is characterized by open eyes and an open mouth through which teeth are visible. The hair shows very little evidence of modelling and is stylized in appearance. Red paint is applied to the forehead, wounds, knees and stigmata and is also employed to indicate the binding of Christ's feet. The body is covered by a lace loincloth that dates to the end of the eighteenth century (Tovar 169). The soft musculature of the

sculpture contrasts with the dark tonal highlights of the flesh. The face is especially dark around the eyes.

The head and neck measure approximately nine inches, the torso twenty-two inches, and the legs forty inches. The beard and head have been damaged; the latter is evidence that this particular *Cristo* once had a crown of thorns. Christ's limbs are movable and detachable, which supports the argument that this version was used in Passion plays as both a crucified and deceased. Some details, such as the right ear, are rendered only generally while others, like the wound in Christ's side, demonstrates a skilful attention to detail—especially in the construction of hollow space. The torn flesh of the knees is exquisitely rendered. Most interestingly, perhaps, the sculpture is positioned before a large (1,70 x 0,60 meters) eighteenth-century canvas that depicts Saint John, the Virgin Mary, and Mary Magdalene in an act of lamentation.

Cristo yacente

Artist: Michael Perronius

Location: Convento de la Encarnación, Plaza de Encarnación 1

Measurements: 0,94m (length), 0,45m (width)

Medium: Polychrome wood

Date: 1690

Here, Christ is placed on a black bed with decorative gold scrollwork and floral patterns. The pillow upon which the head rests is bronze-colored with gold highlights and is finished by two large tassels. The *sudarium* is likewise decorated with gold floral details, while the loincloth has a star form with central blue tones. Christ's head supports a crown of thorns. The softly modelled hair falls naturally, ending in tiny folds behind the neck. The chin faces upward, the eyes are closed and the mouth is open (making the tongue visible). Christ's face is idealized; the nose is sharply angled and blood is only minimally present on the forehead. The shoulder wound is once again present. There

appears to be a crack in the left/right arm or, perhaps, the arm was hewn from a different piece of wood and attached separately. Wounds are present on Christ's side, hip, and on the center of his chest—the former receding deeply into the body. The hands are unusually thin and the knees are bent. The entire body is contorted upwards and towards the left. Nail holes are rendered on Christ's feet only, and various instruments of the Passion, including a hammer, nails, and pliers, lay nearby. Dimensions are four inches (head) by ten and one-half inches (torso) by eighteen inches (legs).

Cristo yacente

Artist: Attributed to Sánchez Barba

Location: Iglesia del Carmen located at the end of the nave, Calle del Carmen 10

Measurements: 1,78m (length)

Medium: Polychrome wood

Date: 17th century

Votive candles, generating effects of light and shadow, enhance the drama and overall experience of this work when seen in situ. Christ is shown reclining, his head is tilted backward and his eyes peer outward from beneath a furrowed brow. His hair, carved in twisted coils, follows the contour of his head and shoulders as it falls. Red paint is applied almost solely to the stigmata wounds—although some traces of blood are present below the hair and neckline and on the knees and left thigh. The various wounds are not rendered in three dimensions, and both wrists show evidence of being bound. Christ's right palm faces upward while the left does not. The legs are bent towards the right and the chest faces upward. A loincloth with gold trim and thick, crisp folds leads the eye downward toward Christ's legs. There is no *sudarium*; Christ rests instead on bed of white fabric (probably a later addition) and pillow. His musculature is well-developed.

Despite its attribution to Sánchez Barba—the sculptor of the previously-mentioned San José *Cristo*—the two pieces are drastically different in terms of style. I

also suspect that this work is very much in need of restoration. Specifically, the polychromy and details of the feet are no longer visible—the likely result of generations of worshippers kissing and touching the sculpture—and, today, they appear as if only vaguely modelled pieces of wood.

Cristo yacente

Artist: José Planes (work is signed by artist on bottom left)

Location: Iglesia del Carmen, Calle del Carmen 10

Measurements: 1,70m (length at Urn bottom), 1,88m (length at Urn top)

Medium: Polychrome wood

Date: late 18th / 19th century?

This *Cristo* evinces a different stylistic development that occurs toward the beginning of the eighteenth century and culminates in the sitting, upright *Cristo*—that is, the contorted *Cristo*. The head and chest are directed upwards. The face is distinguished by half open eyes and mouth through which teeth are again visible. Christ's hair is exceedingly long, falling upon the sudarium located beneath his body. Blood covers the wounds of the stigmata as well as the abrasions on Christ's knees his left shoulder. The hands and feet are not well-modelled and the head seems dislocated from the rest of the body. The high drama of the work is a result of Christ's contorted posture and the apparent weight of his body—a sculptural convention with Italian precedents. Christ's musculature is similarly derived from Italian sources, most notably Michael Perronius, whose style, in turn, was influenced by Michelangelo. Some of the polychromy is missing or falling off and the feet are stained dark. The latter is, again, a product of years of ritual veneration (before the sculpture was enclosed in glass).

Cristo yacente

Artist; Anonymous

Location: Iglesia de San Martin, placed in Burial Crypt, Calle Desengano, 26

Measurements: 2,15m by 0,98m (Urn top); 1,85m by 0,67m (Urn bottom)

Medium: Polychrome wood

Date: Unknown

This particular *Cristo* is not accessible for public view as it has been relocated to the burial crypt at the side of the church, a revealing location if we are to consider the historical function of these figures. The sculpture is placed in a glass urn and lies on a golden *sudarium* with a patterned, brocaded pillow. The head is tilted to the right; the body lies flat except for where the left leg rises slightly. Christ's long hair undulates in "s-shaped" curves and falls flat on the brocaded pillow. The eyes and mouth, as usual, are half open and teeth are visible. Blood is present on the forehead, knees, wounds and cheek. Deep holes have been drilled into the feet and hands to replicate the stigmata. The right arm lies flat while the left is bent and lies atop Christ's left hip. The polychromy is worn and wax is noticeable on the pillow and sheet at the right side of body. The wax is a result of votive candles often burned near these *Cristos*.¹

¹ The documentation of these works was inspired by Teresa Fernández Pereya's article "Cristos de Madrid," *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños* 33 (1993): 157-173.

Appendix B:

An Inventory of *Cristos yacentes Vallisoletanos*

Cristo de Jesús Nazareno

Artist: Pedro de Ávila

Location: Iglesia de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno, *Retablo de Soledad*

Measurements: 1,55 x 0,69 meters

Medium: Polychrome wood

Date: Second half of the 17th century

This *Cristo* formed part of a *retablo* with the *Dolorosa* by Juan de Correas.¹ The head of Christ rests on two pillows imitating embroidery that are edged in a black band with gold flowers. The hair appears as if wet and is longer than most examples. The head has sunken eyes and an open mouth. The head sinks into the chest. Blood is concentrated on the forehead, chest, knees, hands, and feet. The wound of the chest serves as a reliquary for the host, which is placed in the cavity on Holy Thursday. The folds of the fabrics are “*cortados a cuchillo*”.² The *subligaculum* opens on the right. The muscles of the abdomen are exaggerated. The figure is well proportioned with a delicately-rendered head. Owned by a penitential confraternity of the same name.

Sources:

Filemón Arribas, *La Cofradía Penitencial de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno de Valladolid* (Valladolid, 1964), 91.

Enrique García Martín, *Cristos yacentes de Valladolid* (Valladolid: Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, 2000), 22.

_____. “Una cofradía en el convento de los Augustinos de Valladolid: La penitencial de Jesús Nazareno,” *Archivo Agustiniano* 74 (1995): 21.

Juan José Martín González and Jesús Urrea Fernández, *Catálogo Monumental: Monumentos Religiosos de la Ciudad de Valladolid: Catedral, Parroquias, Cofradías y*

¹ Enrique García Martín, *Cristos yacentes de Valladolid* (Valladolid: Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, 2000), 22.

² Martín González, Juan José and Jesús Urrea Fernández, *Catálogo Monumental: Monumentos Religiosos de la Ciudad de Valladolid: Catedral, Parroquias, Cofradías y Santuarios*, vol. 14, Part I (Valladolid: Diputación de Valladolid, 2001) 221.

Santuarios, vol. 14, part I (Valladolid: Diputación de Valladolid, 2001) 220-221 and figure 273.

Cristo yacente

Artist: Anonymous

Location: Iglesia de Santa María Magdalena, Gospel side of church in a *Retablo* by Juan and Pedro Correas (1719)

Measurements: 1,70 meters

Medium: Polychrome wood

Date: First decade of the 16th century

This work is located in a *retablo* with a *Dolorosa* and was contracted by the Confraternity of the Holy Sepulchre of the Hospital de Resurrección.³ The *retablo* includes an empty cross and angels as well as instruments of the Passion. The image of Christ is placed at the foot of the *retablo* in an urn. The work is carved in the round. The finish of the skin is done in *pulimiento* and the folds of the *sudarium* are pleated.⁴ The paint imitating blood has been applied somewhat erratically and in such great abundance that it makes the figure seem grotesque. The hands have bent fingers and are gathered above the groin. The head is angled back and the eyes are open, revealing pupils that also gaze backwards. The hair is straight and gathered at the right of the face while the beard is curly. The figure is long and slender especially through the chest. According to Martín González and Urrea it is “the first Supine Christ of Valladolidian art.”⁵

Sources:

J. Benito Arranz, “Un retablo desaparecido: el de la capilla del Santo Sepulcro del Hospital de la Resurrección en Valladolid,” *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 9 (1943): 173-178.

Enrique García Martín, *Cristos yacentes de Valladolid* (Valladolid: Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, 2000), 14.

³ García Martín 14.

⁴ Martín González, Juan José and Jesús Urrea Fernández 150.

⁵ Martín González, Juan José and Jesús Urrea Fernández 150. Original text: “es el primer Cristo yacente del arte vallisoletano.”

Juan José Martín González, "El arte en los hospitales de Valladolid," *Anales de la Real Academia de Medicina y Cirugía de Valladolid. Número extraordinario con motivo del 150 aniversario de la fundación de la Academia* (Valladolid, 1982), 196.

Juan José Martín González, and Jesús Urrea Fernández, *Catálogo Monumental: Monumentos Religiosos de la Cuidad de Valladolid: Catédral, Parroquias, Cofradías y Santuarios*, vol. 14, part I (Valladolid: Diputación de Valladolid, 2001), 150 and figure 209.

Cristo yacente

Artist: Anonymous

Location: Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Angustias, Gospel side

Measurements: 1,85 x 0,74 meters

Medium: Polychrome wood

Date: Mid 17th century in 18th century glass urn

This processional image is related to the Confraternity of the Sepulchre, known as *Durmientes*, and the *paso* by Alonzo and José de Rozas dated to the seventeenth century. Christ is placed on the *sudarium*. The head of Christ rests on a pillow. The eyes and cheeks are deeply sunken. Christ's brown eyes are open and are cast upwards. The mouth is also open and the teeth visible. The torso lies flat while the legs are bent towards the right. The *subligaculum* opens at the right thigh. The wounds are bloody and include the knees. Also depicted are the bruises on Christ's ankles from being bound. The hands have bent fingers and are placed at the sides of the figure. The right hand has the index and small fingers separated from the rest. The sculpture is intended to convey absolute agony.

Sources:

Juan Agapito y Revilla, *Las Cofradías, las procesiones y los pasos de Semana Santa de Valladolid* (Valladolid: Museo Provincial de la Bellas Artes, 1926), 62, 96.

Esteban García Chico, *Documentos para el estudio del arte en Castilla*, *Escultores*, vol. 2 (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1941), 336.

Enrique García Martín, *Cristos yacentes de Valladolid* (Valladolid: Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, 2000), 20.

Juan José Martín González, and Jesús Urrea Fernández, *Catálogo Monumental: Monumentos Religiosos de la Cuidad de Valladolid: Catédral, Parroquias, Cofradías y Santuarios*, vol. 14, Part I (Valladolid: Diputación de Valladolid, 2001), 233, figure 289.

Cristo yacente

Artist: Attributed to Pedro de Ávila

Location: Iglesia de San Felipe Neri, second chapel *Retablo*

Measurements: 1,08 x 0,44 meters

Medium: Polychrome wood

Date: First half of 18th century

This work originally formed part of *retablo* that included a *Dolorosa*.⁶ The body of Christ is displayed in the usual supine position. The left leg is bent and placed over the right which lies flat. The head rests on two flat white pillows that have black designs intended to imitate embroidery along the edges. The eyes of Christ are brown and sunken and details such as eyelashes are included. The mouth is open and teeth are visible. The *subligaculum* and *sudarium* are white; the former is done with “*plieges de cuchillo*,” which is characteristic of the artist’s style. Blood is placed in the wounds of the chest, hands, feet, and knees as well as on the forehead. There is significantly less blood than in examples by Gregorio Fernandez. The left hand shows a similar arrangement to Rincón’s *Cristo yacente* while the right has four bent fingers and an extended index finger. The sculpture is well-preserved.

Sources:

Enrique García Martín, *Cristos yacentes de Valladolid* (Valladolid: Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, 2000), 12.

L. Luna Moreno, *Pequeñas Imágenes de la Pasión de Valladolid: Catálogo de la Exposición* (Valladolid, 1987), 66.

Juan José Martín González, *La escultura barroca castellana* (Madrid: Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, 1959), 239.

Juan José Martín González and Jesús Urrea Fernández, *Catálogo Monumental: Monumentos Religiosos de la Ciudad de Valladolid: Catedral, Parroquias, Cofradías y Santuarios*, vol. 14, part I (Valladolid: Diputación de Valladolid, 2001), 297, figure 357.

Cristo del Retablo de los Dolores

Artist: José Fernández

Location: Iglesia San Pedro Apostol, next to epistle in the *Retablo*

⁶ García Martín 12.

Measurements: 0,85 meters

Medium: Polychrome wood

Date: 1749

Patron: Hermandad de María Santísima de los Dolores

This work is placed in the *Retablo de los Dolores* of the Church of San Pedro in a glass urn. The head of Christ rests on two pillows and lies on a *sudarium*. The arms are placed at either side and the left leg is slightly higher than the right. The *subligaculum* follows Fernandez's example in that it exposes the right thigh. Blood is present in the wounds.

Sources:

Juan José Martín González, and Jesús Urrea Fernández, *Catálogo Monumental: Monumentos Religiosos de la Cuidad de Valladolid: Catédral, Parroquias, Cofradías y Santuarios*, vol. 14, part I (Valladolid: Diputación de Valladolid, 2001), 167, figure 227.

Pietà

Artist: Anonymous

Location: Descalzas Reales, antechoir

Measurements: 1,92 meters

Medium: Polychrome wood, *subligaculum* of *tela encolada*

Date: Second half of the 17th century

This *Pietà* is composed of two figures, Mary and the supine Christ. The backdrop shows a painted recreation of Calvary. Christ's head is supported by Mary. His torso is raised and his legs are bent towards the right. The arms are placed at the sides of the body. Paint has been added to imitate blood in the wounds. The body is covered in bruises and lacerations. The chest wound is a reliquary for the blood of Christ.

Sources:

Juan José Martín González and Francisco Javier de la Plaza Santiago, *Catálogo Monumental: Monumentos Religiosos de la Cuidad de Valladolid: Conventos y Seminarios*, vol. 15, part II (Valladolid: Diputación de Valladolid, 2001), 99, figure 324.

Cristo yacente

Artist: Anonymous

Location: Monasterio de Huelgas Reales, Chapel of the Nativity
Measurements: 0,89 x 0,32 meters
Medium: Polychrome wood
Date: Third quarter of the 17th century

This *Cristo yacente* is processional and is used during a reenactment of the Holy Sepulchre. The head of Christ rests on a single white pillow with a decorated edge. The eyes and mouth are open. The *subligaculum* is blue and the *sudarium* is white. The arms are placed at the sides. The legs are bent slightly. The amount of (painted) blood is minimal and reserved primarily for the wounds.

Sources:

Juan José Martín González and Francisco Javier de la Plaza Santiago, *Catálogo Monumental: Monumentos Religiosos de la Ciudad de Valladolid: Conventos y Seminarios*, vol. 15, part II (Valladolid: Diputación de Valladolid, 2001), 118, figure 435.

***Cristo yacente* and *Pieta* painting**

Artist: Follower of Berruguete, painting by Jerónimo Vázquez.

Location: Convento de Santa Isabel de Hungría, Cloister, Chapel of San Francisco

Measurements: 1,59 x 0,50 meters

Medium: Polychrome wood

Date: Second half of the 16th century

This *Cristo yacente* is located in front of a painting by Jerónimo Vázquez of the Virgin, St. John, Mary Salome, Mary Magdalene, Nicodemus, and Joseph of Arimathea. Together the sculpture and painting recreate an Entombment scene. The body of the figure lies flat and the legs are parallel to each other. The head of Christ rests on a pair of gilded pillows. The eyes and mouth are open only slightly. The left hand has been placed on the chest while the right has been placed on the right leg. Christ's feet are placed together at angle. The gold *sudarium* falls in heavy folds around the body. Blood is present in the wounds and elsewhere across the body. Skin tones are done with a

pulimiento finish that is well-conserved. Seraphim angels with golden hair and wings adorn the *sudarium*.

Sources:

Enrique García Martín, *Cristos yacentes de Valladolid* (Valladolid: Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, 2000), 28.

Juan José Martín González and Francisco Javier de la Plaza Santiago, *Catálogo Monumental: Monumentos Religiosos de la Ciudad de Valladolid: Conventos y Seminarios*, vol. 15, part II (Valladolid: Diputación de Valladolid, 2001), 139, figure 487. _____. *El arte en las clausuras de los conventos de monjas de Valladolid, Catálogo* (Valladolid, 1983), entry 30.

Cristo yacente

Artist: Attributed to Pedro de la Cuadra

Location: Convento de Nuestra Señora de Portacelli, Sala capitular

Measurements: 1,31 meters

Medium: Polychrome wood

Date: First half of the 16th century

This sculpture is located above the altar. The body has been placed on top of a *sudarium* with no pillow. The head extends backwards. The eyes are barely open and are directed upwards. The mouth is closed and the beard is short. The arms are placed at the sides. The left hand is folded like Rincon's *Cristo yacente*. The white *subligaculum* covers the groin. The legs are bent and the left leg is placed higher than the right. Blood is visible at the wound sites. The polychromy of the chest wound is worn from being touched by the faithful.

Sources:

Juan José Martín González and Francisco Javier de la Plaza Santiago, *Catálogo Monumental: Monumentos Religiosos de la Ciudad de Valladolid: Conventos y Seminarios*, vol. 15, part II (Valladolid: Diputación de Valladolid, 2001), 177, figures 621, 624.

Cristo yacente

Artist: Anonymous

Location: Convento de Santa Teresa, Room of Santa Teresa

Measurements: 1,37 meters
Medium: Polychrome wood
Date: End of the 17th century

This sculpture shows a contorted body of Christ. The head extends backwards as the eyes look up and also back. The mouth is open and the teeth are visible. The arms are placed at the sides with inward folding hands. The legs are bent as if Christ were still on the cross. Blood is present in small amounts and can be seen only on the forehead and the wounds of the chest, hands, and feet. A *subligaculum* with many folds surrounds the body of Christ.

Sources:

Enrique García Martín, *Cristos yacentes de Valladolid* (Valladolid: Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, 2000), 30.

Juan José Martín González and Francisco Javier de la Plaza Santiago, *Catálogo Monumental: Monumentos Religiosos de la Ciudad de Valladolid: Conventos y Seminarios*, vol. 15, part II (Valladolid: Diputación de Valladolid, 2001), 223, figure 868.

Cristo yacente

Artist: Anonymous

Location: Iglesia de San Martín y San Benito el Viejo, Chapel of don Salvador

Felipe de Lemos, Gospel side

Measurements: 1,36 meters

Medium: Polychrome wood

Date: Last third of the 16th century

This sculpture was originally located in the church San Benito el Viejo.⁷ The work shows Christ's body lying flat with arms at the sides. The legs are parallel to each other. The body appears tense. The *sudarium* has multiple folds and does not open at the right thigh but rather wraps around the body. Blood is lightly concentrated on the chest, hands, feet, and forehead. The hair is rendered in delicate curls. The eyes are closed. The polychromy is worn most visibly at the feet of Christ.

Sources:

⁷ Martín González, Juan José and Jesús Urrea Fernández 100.

Enrique García Martín, *Cristos yacentes de Valladolid* (Valladolid: Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, 2000), 16.

Juan José Martín González, and Jesús Urrea Fernández, *Catálogo Monumental: Monumentos Religiosos de la Cuidad de Valladolid: Catédral, Parroquias, Cofradías y Santuarios*, vol. 14, part I (Valladolid: Diputación de Valladolid, 2001), 100.

Other *Cristos yacentes* worthy of brief mention:

Cristo yacente

Artist: Anonymous. Attributed to Fernández by Weise, this attribution was denied by Martín González.

Location: Convento de las Bernardas, Aranda de Duero, Burgos

Medium: Polychrome wood, glass, and bull's horns

Date: 17th century?

This sculpture shows Christ lying on a *sudarium* with feet parallel to each other. Christ's head rests on a single pillow. The eyes are composed of glass and the nails are inlaid with bull's horns. The figure is bloodily-rendered and includes the usual wounds in addition to another on Christ's right thigh. The finish of the skin is done in *pulimiento*.

Sources:

Juan José Martín González, *El Escultor Gregorio Fernández* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1980), 278.

Georg Weise, *Spanische Plastik aus sieben Jahrhunderten*, vol. 1, part I (Reutlingen and Tübingen, 1925-1939), 51, figure 186.

Cristo yacente

Artist: Anonymous

Location: Iglesia Parroquial Castro Urdiales, Santander

Medium: Polychrome wood, glass, and bull's horns

Date: Unknown

This *Cristo yacente* is in poor condition especially in the worn hands and feet. The eyes are made of glass. The inlay of the nails has been lost.

Sources:

Jose Luis Sáiz, *Conjunto Monumental de Santa Maria de Castro Urdiales* (Santander 1972), 62.

Juan José Martín González, *El Escultor Gregorio Fernández* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1980), 278.

Cristo yacente

Artist: Andrés Solanes?

Location: Parroquia de San Cebrián de Mazote, Valladolid

Medium: Polychrome wood

Date: c. 1630

This work is poorly preserved as the polychromy is almost entirely faded. In fact, it is so worn that many believe this work was never painted.

Sources:

Juan José Martín González, *El Escultor Gregorio Fernández* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1980), 280.

Appendix C: Map of Spain

Map of Spain with Locations of *Cristos yacentes*



Appendix D:

Figures

Figure 1. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1615. Polychrome wood, resin, ivory, and glass, 1,55 meters. Convento de Capuchinos El Pardo, El Pardo, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 2. Niccolò dell'Arca, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, 1462-63. Painted terracotta, life size. Santa Maria della Vita, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, Italy. Photo credit: Scala/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 3. Guido Mazzoni, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, 1477-1480. Polychrome wood, Christ figure 1,74 m, Maria Salome 1,50 m, Magdalene 1,45 m, Nicodemus 1,15 m, Joseph 1,28 m and the Virgin 1,08 m. San Giovanni Battista, Modena, Italy. Photo credit: Scala/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 4. Virgin with the Dead Christ (*Röttgen Pieta*), c. 1300-1325. Polychrome wood, 0,88 meters high. Rheinisches Landmuseum, Bonn, Germany. Photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 5. Juan de Juni, *Entombment*, 1544. Polychrome wood and gilding, life size. Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 6. The Anointment and Entombment, Three Mary's at the Tomb, *Psalter of Ingeburg of Denmark*, Queen of France, c. 1210. MS 9/1695, folio 28 verso, 30 x 20 cm. Musée Condé, Chantilly, France. Photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 7. *Body of Christ surrounded by Angels*, Byzantine shroud embroidered by Anthony of Heracles, 14th century. Silk with gold and silver thread. Studenica Monastery, Studenica, Serbia. Photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 8. Hieronymous Wierix, *The Virgin and Mary Magdalene watching over the Body of Christ*, *Life of the Virgin* series of 32 Plates, c. 1570. Engraving, 105 x 65 mm. Bruxelles Bibliothèque Royal Albert I, Bruxelles. Photo credit: Bruxelles Bibliothèque Royal Albert I.



Figure 9. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of reliquary, 1609. Polychrome wood, 2,05 x 0,65 x 0,70 meters. Convento de San Pablo, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 10. Gaspar Becerra, *Cristo Yacente*, detail of reliquary, c. 1563. Polychrome wood, glass, gold, and silver. Monasterio Descalzas Reales, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 11. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1609. Polychrome wood, 2,05 x 0,65 x 0,70 meters. Convento de San Pablo, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author. During the Holy Week Procession of the Confraternity of the Descent and the Christ of the Good Death.



Figure 12. Matthias Grünewald, *Isenheim Altarpiece*, c. 1515-20. Oil on panel, 269 x 650 mm. Musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar, France. Photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

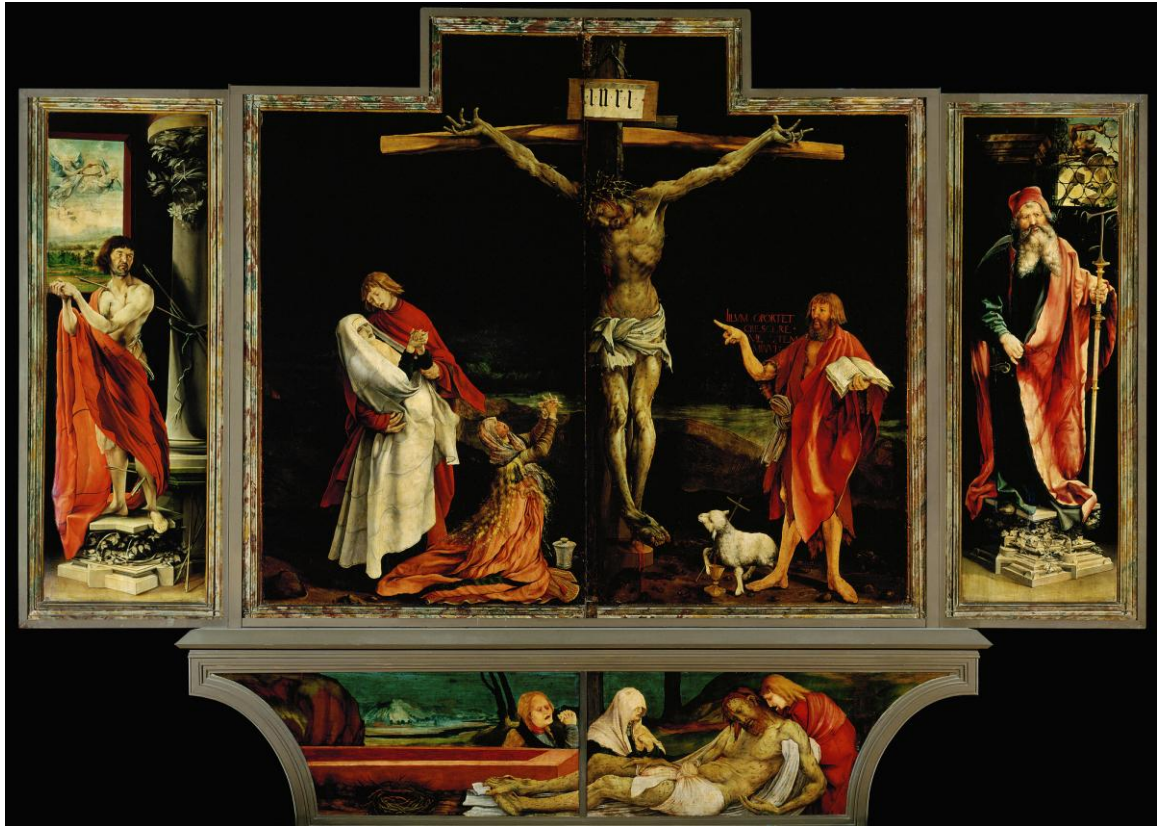


Figure 13. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Dead Christ*, 1521. Oil on wood, 30.5 x 200 cm. Kunstmuseum, Basel, Switzerland. Photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

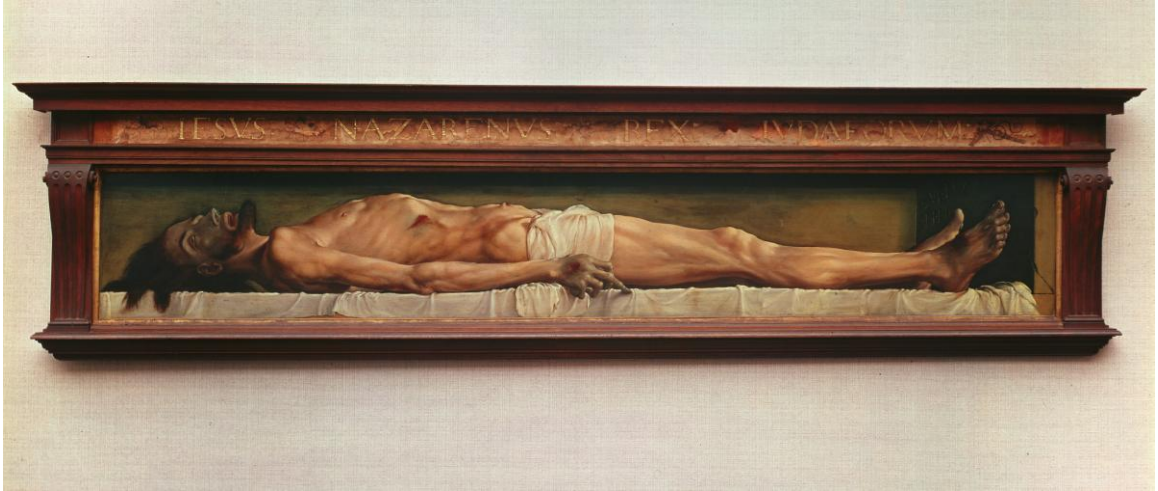


Figure 14. Andrea Mantegna, *Dead Christ*, c. 1501. Tempera on canvas, 68 x 81 cms. Pinacoteca di Brera, Mantua, Italy. Photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 15. Orazio Borgianni, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, 1615. Etching, 23.2 x 21.5 cm (image). Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, San Francisco, California. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Marcus Sopher Collection, 1985.1.405. Photo credit: Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco.



Figure 16. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, view from the feet, 1620-25.
Polychrome wood, resin, ivory, and glass, 1,77 x 0,66 meters. Convento de Encarnación, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 17. Attributed to Sanchez Barba, *Cristo yacente*, 17th century. Polychrome wood, 1,78 meters. Iglesia de Nuestra Sra. del Carmen, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 18. Attributed to Sanchez Barba, *Cristo yacente*, 17th century. Polychrome wood, 1,78 meters. Iglesia de Nuestra Sra. del Carmen, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 19. *The Holy Face (Volto Santo)*, 10th century. Polychrome wood. Duomo San Martino in Lucca, Italy. Photo credit: Scala/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 20. Francisco de Zurbarán, *Holy Face (Veronica's Veil)*, c.1631. Oil on canvas, 70 x 51.5 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Sweden. Photo credit: Art Resource, NY.



Figure 21. Giulio Clovio, *The Deposition and Shroud of Turin*, c. 1550. Miniature, 45 x 52 cm. Galleria Sabauda, Turin, Italy. Photo credit: Scala/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 22. View of Sacro Monte, Varallo, Italy. Photo credit: Cristina Mendoza.



Figure 23. Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Calvary* (Crucifixion, Chapel 38), and Giovanni d'Enrico (sculptures), c.1510 and 1600. Fresco and polychrome wood. Sacro Monte, Varallo, Italy. Photo credit: Alinari/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 24. View of Chapel of Santo Domingo de Guzmán with chamber for *Cristo yacente*, second quarter of the 18th century. Polychrome wood and gilding. Convento de San Pablo, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 25. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, ivory, glass, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns), 0,455 x 1,880 x 0,670 meters body, and urn 1,585 x 2,390 x 1,300 meters. Museo de Arte Sacro, Clarisas de Monforte de Lemos, Lugo, Spain. Photo credit: Museo de Arte Sacro.



Figure 26. Gaspar Becerra, *Cristo yacente*, inside chapel setting, c. 1563. Polychrome wood, glass, gold, and silver. Monasterio Descalzas Reales, Madrid, Spain.
Photo credit: Author.



Figure 27. Gaspar Becerra, *Cristo yacente*, c. 1563. Polychrome wood, glass, gold, and silver. Monasterio Descalzas Reales, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 28. Francisco Rizi, *Drawing of Altar*, c. 1660. Pencil, pen, and sepia drawing, 470 x 485 mm, inventory 10558. Santarelli Collection, Uffizi, Italy. Photo credit: Uffizi.

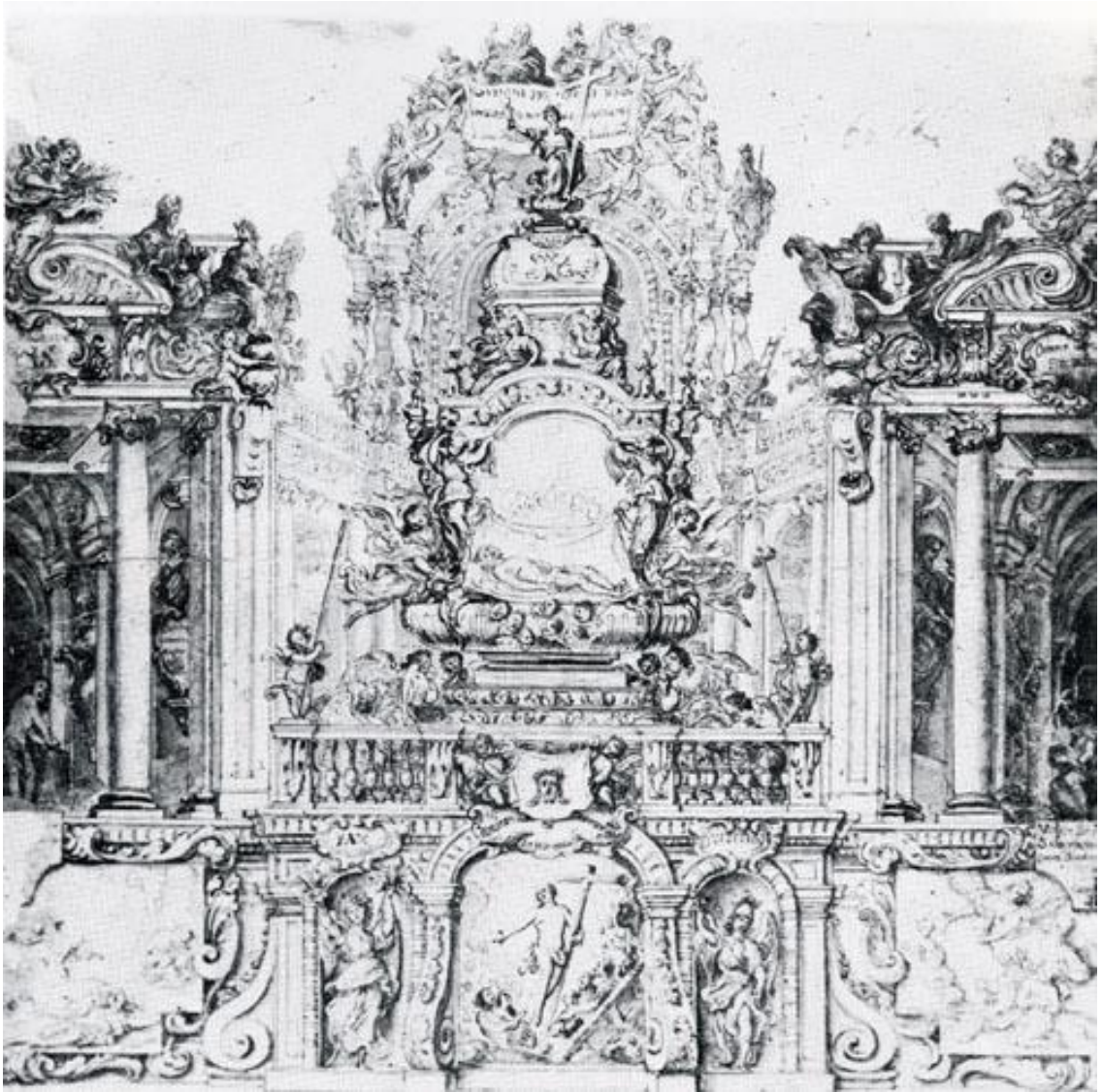


Figure 29. Francisco de Rincón, *Cristo yacente*, c. 1597. Polychrome wood, 1,91 meters. Convento de Sancti Spiritus, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Junta de Cofradías de Valladolid.



Figure 30. Cornelius Cort after Taddeo Zuccaro, *Lamentation*, New Testament.
Engraving, 403 x 274 mm; lower margin: 38 mm. The Illustrated Bartsch, Vol.
52, Vienna. ID 89-II (101). Photo credit: Abaris Books.



Figure 31. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1609. Polychrome wood, 2,05 x 0,65 x 0,70 meters. Convento de San Pablo, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 32. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of torso, 1609. Polychrome wood, 2,05 x 0,65 x 0,70 meters. Convento de San Pablo, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 33. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of feet, 1609. Polychrome wood, 2,05 x 0,65 x 0,70 meters. Convento de San Pablo, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 34. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1606-10. Polychrome wood and gold, 1,76 x 0,60 meters. Convento de Santa Clara, Lerma, Burgos, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 35. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of reliquary and torso, 1606-10. Polychrome wood and gold, 1,76 x 0,60 meters. Convento de Santa Clara, Lerma, Burgos, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

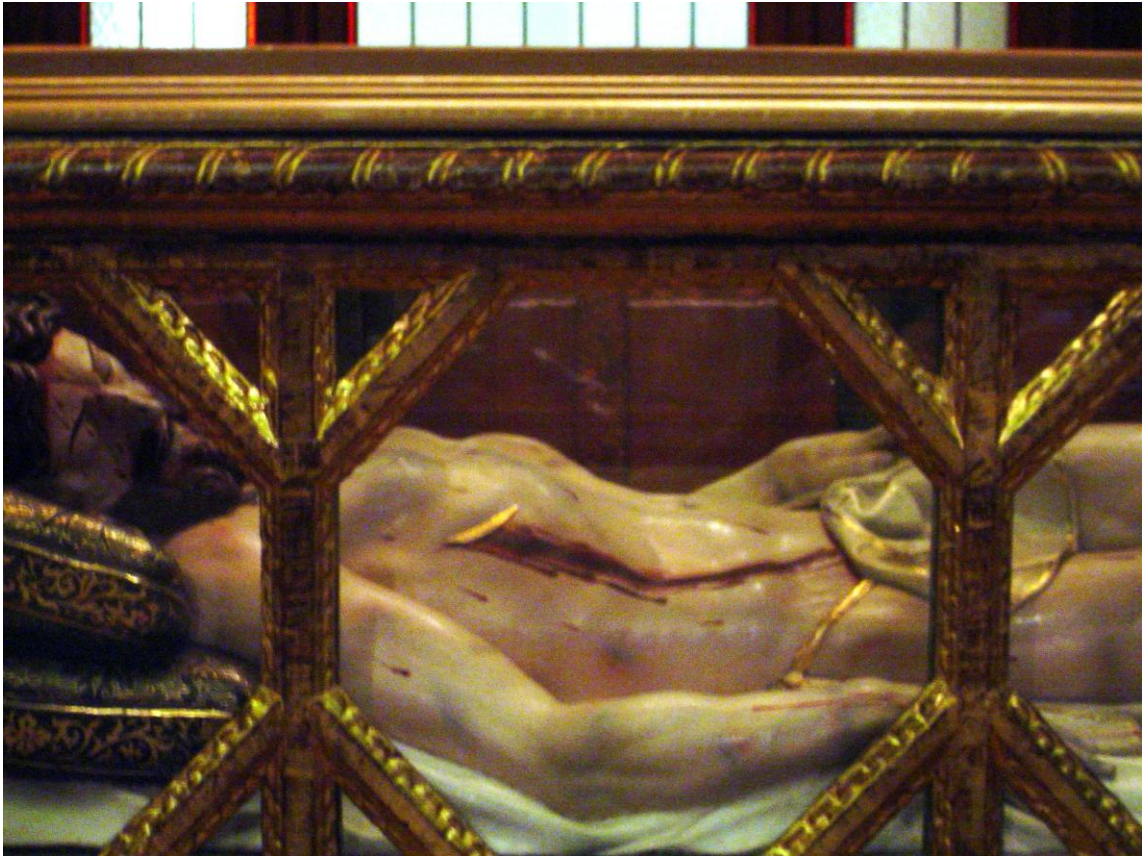


Figure 36. Gregorio Fernández?, *Cristo yacente*, 1611. Polychrome wood, 1,85 meters. Convento del Sacramento, Boadilla del Monte, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 37. Gregorio Fernández?, *Cristo yacente*, detail of head and torso, 1611.
Polychrome wood, 1,85 meters. Convento del Sacramento, Boadilla del Monte,
Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 38. Gregorio Fernández?, *Cristo yacente*, detail of hand and *subligaculum*, 1611. Polychrome wood, 1,85 meters. Convento del Sacramento, Boadilla del Monte, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 39. Gregorio Fernández?, *Cristo yacente*, detail of feet, 1611. Polychrome wood, 1,85 meters. Convento del Sacramento, Boadilla del Monte, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 40. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1615. Polychrome wood, resin, ivory, and glass, 1,55 meters. Convento de Capuchinos El Pardo, El Pardo, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 41. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1620-25. Polychrome wood, resin, ivory, and glass, 1,77 x 0,66 meters. Felipe Diricksen, *The Virgin, St. John and Mary Magdalene*. Oil on canvas, 1,65 x 0,75 meters. Convento de Encarnación, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 42. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of pillow and head, 1620-25. Polychrome wood, resin, ivory, and glass, 1,77 x 0,66 meters. Convento de Encarnación, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 43. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of head, 1620-25. Polychrome wood, resin, ivory, and glass, 1,77 x 0,66 meters. Convento de Encarnación, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 44. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of chest wound, 1620-25.
Polychrome wood, resin, ivory, and glass, 1,77 x 0,66 meters. Convento de Encarnación, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 45. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of *subligaculum*, 1620-25.
Polychrome wood, resin, ivory, and glass, 1,77 x 0,66 meters. Convento de
Encarnación, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 46. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1620-25. Polychrome wood, resin, ivory, and glass, 1,71 meters body, 1,85 meters urn. Convento de San Plácido, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Convento de San Plácido.

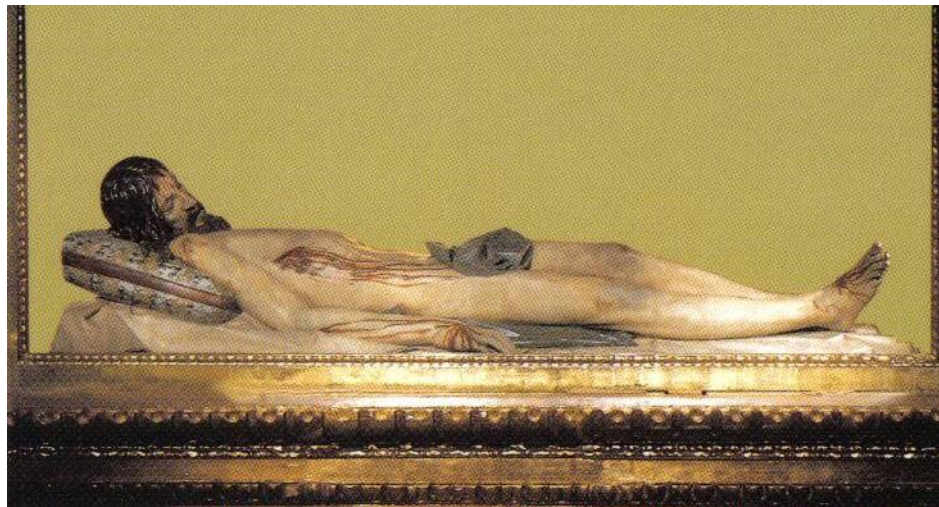


Figure 47. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1625-30 or 1627. Polychrome wood, ivory, glass, cork, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns), 1,83 x 0,73 meters. Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

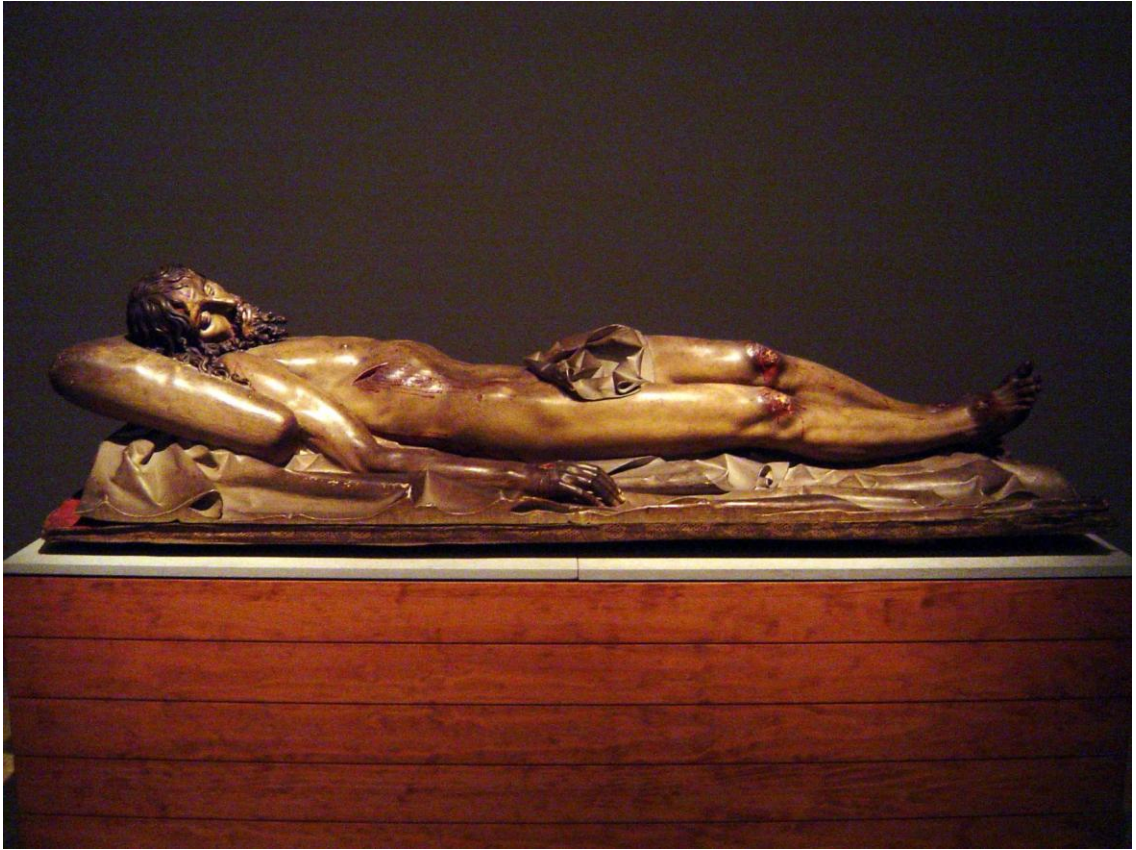


Figure 48. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of head and torso, 1625-30 or 1627. Polychrome wood, ivory, glass, cork, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns), 1,83 x 0,73 meters. Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 49. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of hand, 1625-30 or 1627.
Polychrome wood, ivory, glass, cork, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns), 1,83 x 0,73
meters. Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

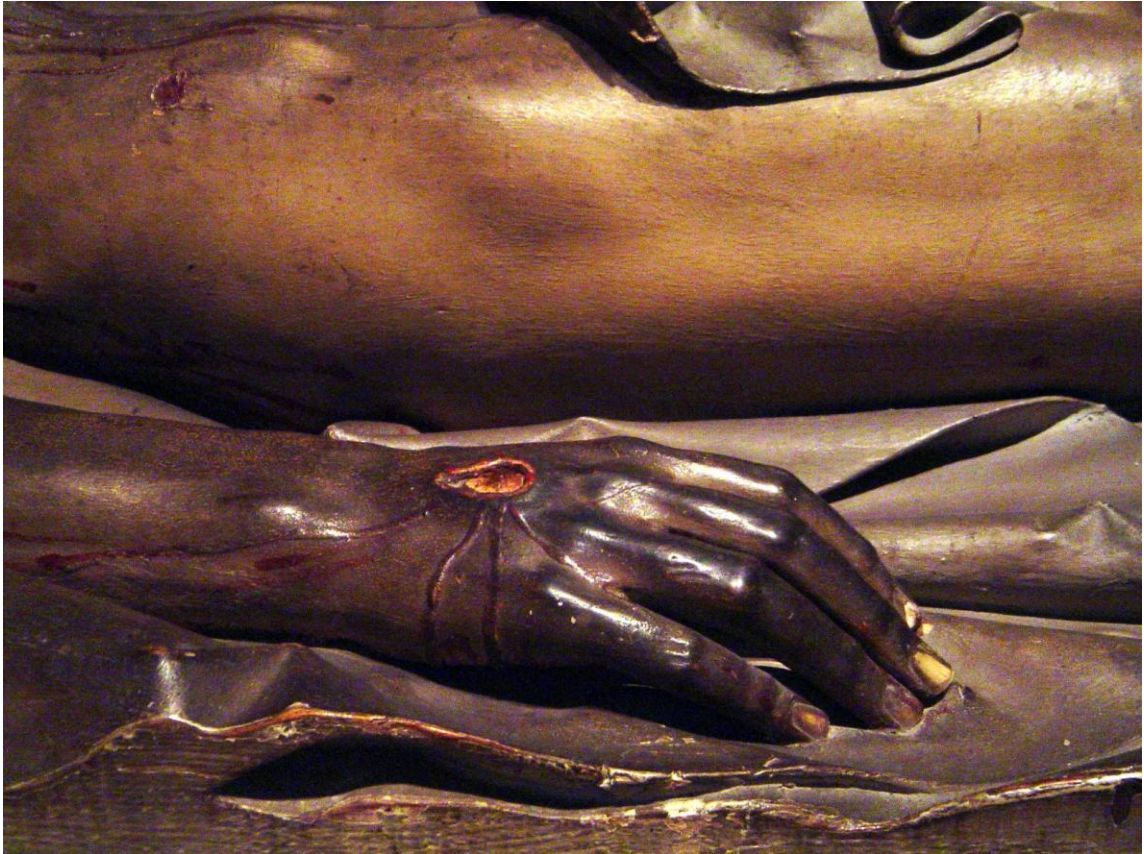


Figure 50. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of *subligaculum* and knees, 1625-30 or 1627. Polychrome wood, ivory, glass, cork, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns), 1,83 x 0,73 meters. Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 51. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1629. Polychrome wood, ivory, and glass, 1,85 x 0,75 meters. Convento de Santa Clara, Medina del Pomar, Burgos, Spain. Photo credit: Monasterio de Santa Clara.

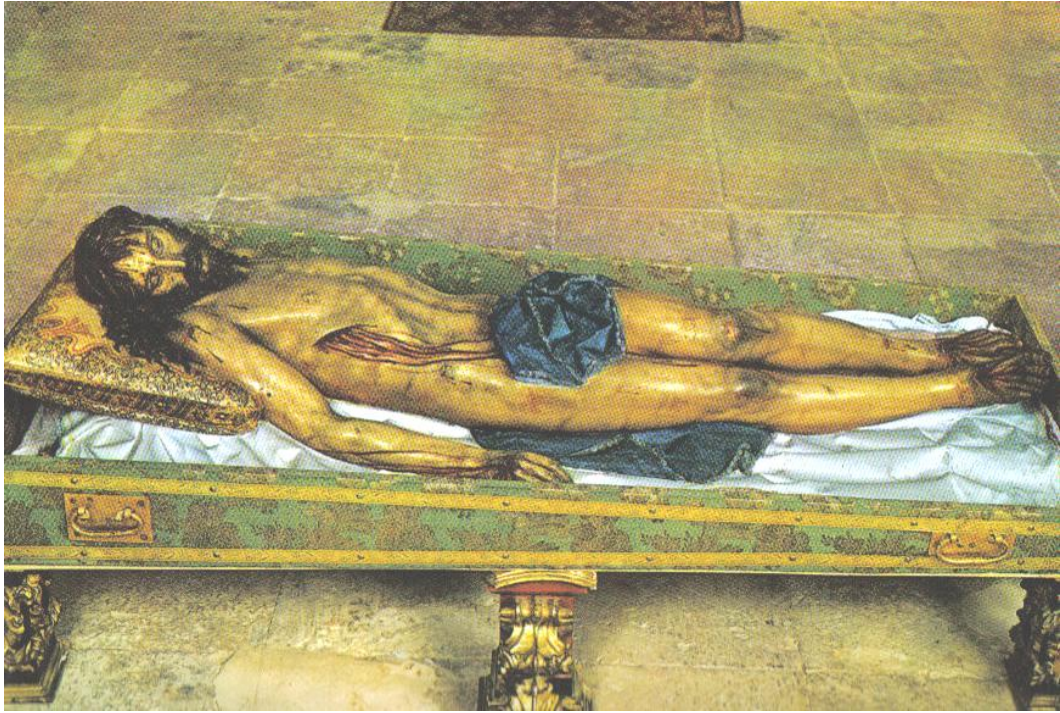


Figure 52. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, glass, resin, and ivory (or pulp paste), 1,95 x 0,91 x 0,40 meters. Segovia Cathedral, Segovia, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 53. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of head and torso, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, glass, resin, and ivory (or pulp paste), 1,95 x 0,91 x 0,40 meters. Segovia Cathedral, Segovia, Spain. Photo credit: Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Culturales de Castilla y León.



Figure 54. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of *subligaculum* and hand, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, glass, resin, and ivory (or pulp paste), 1,95 x 0,91 x 0,40 meters. Segovia Cathedral, Segovia, Spain. Photo credit: Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Culturales de Castilla y León.



Figure 55. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of back of pillow, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, glass, resin, and ivory (or pulp paste), 1,95 x 0,91 x 0,40 meters. Segovia Cathedral, Segovia, Spain. Photo credit: Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Culturales de Castilla y León.



Figure 56. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, ivory, glass, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns), 0,455 x 1,880 x 0,670 meters. Museo de Arte Sacro, Clarisas de Monforte de Lemos, Lugo. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 57. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1627-30. Polychrome wood, glass, ivory, cork, wax, and *cornamenta* (bull's horn), 1,90 x 0,64 x 0,42 meters. Iglesia de San Miguel, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 58. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of head and chest wound, 1627-30. Polychrome wood, glass, ivory, cork, wax, and *cornamenta* (bull's horn), 1,90 x 0,64 x 0,42 meters. Iglesia de San Miguel, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 59. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of right hand, 1627-30.
Polychrome wood, glass, ivory, cork, wax, and *cornamenta* (bull's horn), 1,90 x
0,64 x 0,42 meters. Iglesia de San Miguel, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit:
Author.



Figure 60. Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of feet, 1627-30. Polychrome wood, glass, ivory, cork, wax, and *cornamenta* (bull's horn), 1,90 x 0,64 x 0,42 meters. Iglesia de San Miguel, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.

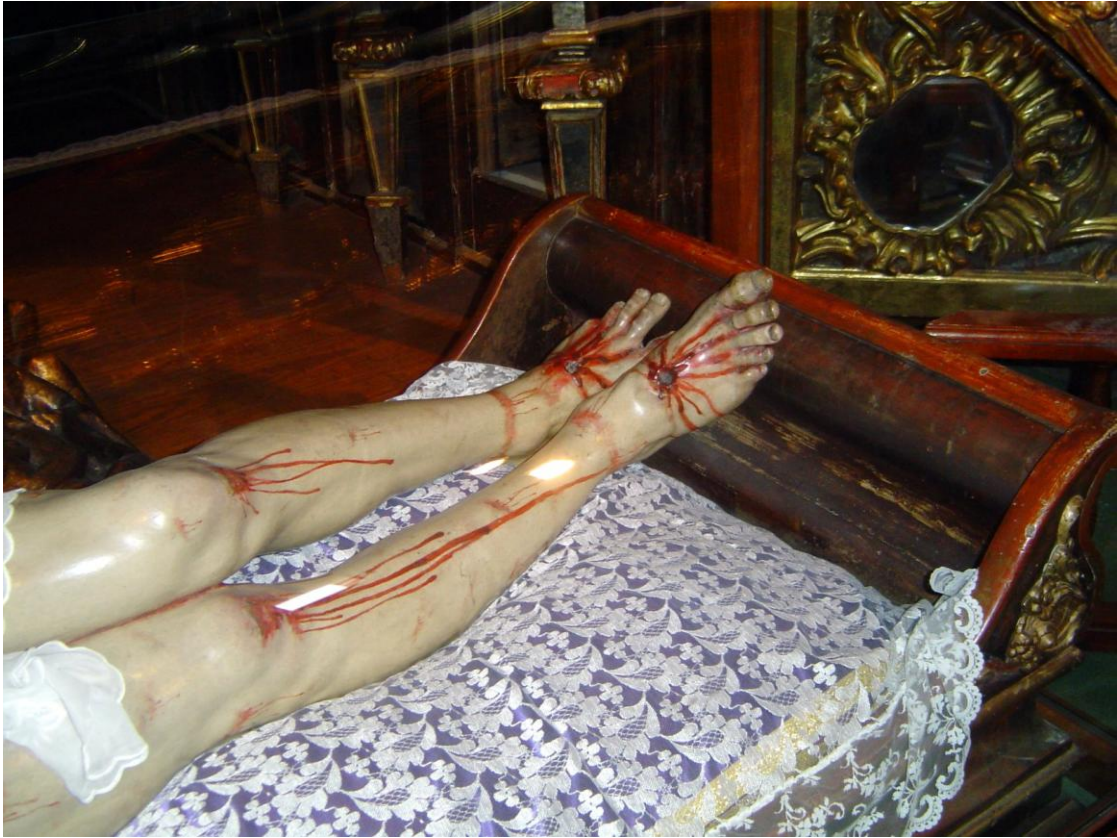


Figure 61. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, 1,77 x 0,69 meters. Convento de Santa Catalina, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 62. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of pillow and head, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, 1,77 x 0,69 meters. Convento de Santa Catalina, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 63. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of right hand, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, 1,77 x 0,69 meters. Convento de Santa Catalina, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 64. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of chest wound, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, 1,77 x 0,69 meters. Convento de Santa Catalina, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 65. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of *subligaculum*, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, 1,77 x 0,69 meters. Convento de Santa Catalina, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 66. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of feet, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, 1,77 x 0,69 meters. Convento de Santa Catalina, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 67. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, resin, and glass, 1,87 x 0,70 meters. Convento y Museo de Santa Ana, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 68. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of head, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, resin, and glass, 1,87 x 0,70 meters. Convento y Museo de Santa Ana, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 69. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of wound, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, resin, and glass, 1,87 x 0,70 meters. Convento y Museo de Santa Ana, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 70. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of *subligaculum*, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, resin, and glass, 1,87 x 0,70 meters. Convento y Museo de Santa Ana, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 71. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of torso and hand, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, resin, and glass, 1,87 x 0,70 meters. Convento y Museo de Santa Ana, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 72. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of right hand, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, resin, and glass, 1,87 x 0,70 meters. Convento y Museo de Santa Ana, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 73. Workshop of Gregorio Fernández, *Cristo yacente*, detail of feet, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, resin, and glass, 1,87 x 0,70 meters. Convento y Museo de Santa Ana, Valladolid, Spain. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 74. Francisco Fermín, *Cristo yacente*, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, cork, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns), 1,90 x 0,75 x 0,44 meters. Iglesia de Santa María la Nueva, Zamora, Spain. Photo credit: Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Culturales de Castilla y León.



Figure 75. Francisco Fermín, *Cristo yacente*, detail of head and chest wound, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, cork, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns), 1,90 x 0,75 x 0,44 meters. Iglesia de Santa María la Nueva, Zamora, Spain. Photo credit: Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Culturales de Castilla y León.

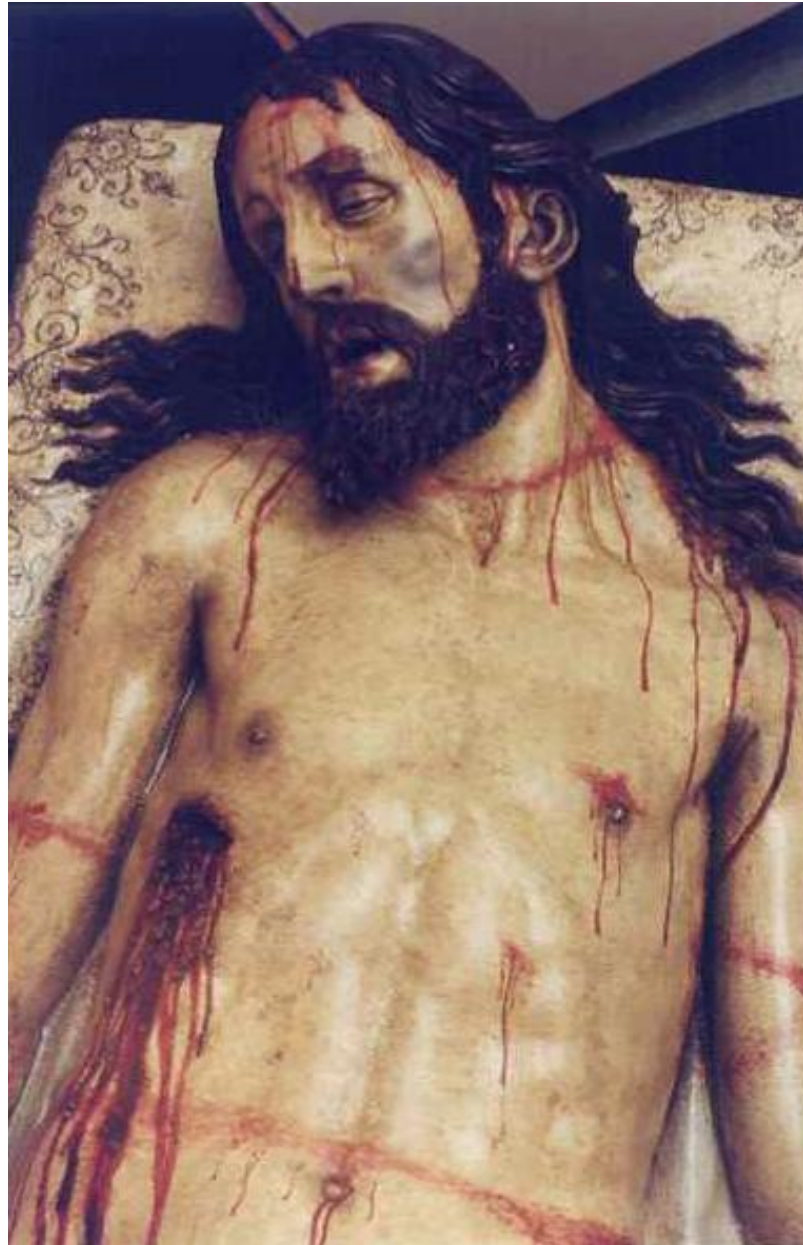


Figure 76. Francisco Fermín, *Cristo yacente*, detail of hand, *subligaculum* and knees, 1631-36. Polychrome wood, cork, and *cornamenta* (bull's horns), 1,90 x 0,75 x 0,44 meters. Iglesia de Santa María la Nueva, Zamora, Spain. Photo credit: Centro de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Culturales de Castilla y León.



Figure 77. Francisco de Zurbarán, *Crucifixion, with a Painter*, c.1635-40. Oil on canvas, 105 x 84 cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain. Photo credit: Scala/Art Resource, NY.



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