

ABSTRACT

Title of thesis: The Representation of Purgatory in a
Colonial Painting from Latin America.

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The representation of purgatory in painting was very popular after the Council of Trent. While Protestant denied the existence of purgatory, the Catholic Church, with the help of religious orders and brotherhoods, fostered the devotion to the suffering souls. During the colonial period in Latin America, this devotion gained a unique importance. This fact is reflected in the numerous paintings representing purgatory that are displayed in cathedrals and churches.

The purpose of this thesis is to study the iconography of one of these paintings representing purgatory. The chosen painting presents different figures of souls among the flames. The Virgin del Carmen is represented holding one soul, while the figures of St. Peter and St. Michael are looking toward heaven. A Crucifix and the Holy Ghost appear above the figure of the Virgin.

The representation in purgatory of a bishop, a nun and a Black man, besides the depiction of souls at different ages show the Catholic belief that every sinner has to pass through purgatory. Two unusual motifs are the depiction of St. Peter in purgatory and the representation of the Virgin pulling a soul from the flames. The painting reflects the concept of purgatory that the Catholic Church spread after the Council of Trent. The effectiveness of masses to help the souls, symbolized by the depiction of Christ on the Cross, and the intervention of Mary to release souls from purgatory are two important messages that this painting is presenting to the worshiper.

THE REPRESENTATION OF PURGATORY
IN A COLONIAL PAINTING
FROM LATIN AMERICA

by

Rafael Alas Vásquez
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DEDICATION

TO GOD, MY FAMILY AND ALL THE SALVADOREANS WHO MISS
EACH DAY PART OF THEIR IMPORTANT
CULTURAL HERITAGE

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I. Introduction

Colonial Latin American art is a product of the conquest and colonization by Spain and Portugal of an extensive territory of the American continent, from the south part of the United States to South America. Before the conquest began, this continent was inhabited by many groups of people, each with its own social, political and economic organization. In the territory of what is now called Latin America, two main civilizations dominated separate areas of territory: the Aztecs in the north and the Incas in South America. Traces of important previous cultures, above all the Maya, were still evident in such things as the architecture, art, astronomy and mathematics of the people who were conquered by the Spaniards.

Although the European and native cultures strongly differed, both shared a common characteristic: their religions played a decisive role in their lives. During the colonial period in Latin America, events connected with the Spanish crown were celebrated with pomp and ostentation, weeks after the news had arrived. However, Catholics and their converts in the New World celebrated the major feasts of the Church with the same fervor and on the same days as did Europeans.

During the colonial period, most of the natives probably did not understand all the mysteries of the Catholic faith; but American native people always had a deep respect for everything related to the hereafter. Thomas Gage, a Dominican friar who visited Latin America during the eighteenth century, relates that if a native found a missing object, he immediately gave it to his priest -- because natives thought that such objects were property of the departed souls who could return to claim them.

Sculptures and paintings in cathedrals, churches and chapels were didactic instruments to teach Catholic doctrine to American natives. During the first years of the colonial period, European paintings and sculptures were brought to the New World. Some European artists traveled to the Spanish colonies in America, and their artistic production in the main cities of the viceroyalties were very important for the development of local workshops, in which native artists began to adopt particular styles.

The main centers of artistic production during the colonial period were the Viceroyalty of New Spain (México), created in 1535, and the Viceroyalty of Perú, created in 1544. In cities such as México, Lima, Quito,

Guatemala and many others, colonial artists worked to fill numerous commissions from a society whose very sense of time was determined by the ringing church bells.

It is difficult to establish precise dates for the colonial period in Latin America. Dates for the conquest of a certain territory, for the foundation of new cities and for independence from the Spanish crown vary in each of the Latin American countries. In general terms, the colonial period in Latin America extends from c. 1500 to the second half of the nineteenth century. The dates at which the various Latin American countries achieved their independence (which historically meant the end of the colonial period), do not represent precise points of transition toward a new cultural expression. Artists continued working under the influence of the "colonial style" for many decades after the end of the Spanish domination in America.

The subject of purgatory was one of the numerous Catholic motifs and devotions that colonial artists represented in their works. Influenced by the Catholic doctrine about since a concept, and by European representations of it, the colonial artists represented

the theme widely, especially in painting.

The focus of this study is a little-known painting of Purgatory, probably from the end of the eighteenth century, located in Atiquizaya, a provincial city of El Salvador. Its handling of the theme is typically Latin American. The image depicts, in the lower part of the painting, the souls of the dead among the flames of purgatory. The Virgin del Carmen is represented on the central vertical axis. On both sides of the Virgin, the figures of St. Peter and St. Michael are represented looking toward heaven. A Crucifix is represented above this central group with the Holy Ghost on the apex of the composition.

Each of these figures will be studied in terms of its role in purgatory scenes. The painting as a whole will be studied in order to interpret the message that it presents to the viewer. The Catholic teachings about purgatory that the painting must reflect, besides its descriptions by saints and visionaries, will be considered for this study. Comparisons with other paintings will be made in order to place the Salvadorean work in the context of contemporaneous representations of purgatory in Europe and Latin America.

II. The concept of purgatory

The word purgatory comes from the Latin: purgatorium. The Latin word purgo or purgare means to clean, to clear away or to wash off (1). According to the New Catholic Encyclopedia, purgatory is "the state, place or condition in the next world, which will continue until the last judgment, where the souls of those who die in the state of grace, but not yet free from all imperfection, make expiation for unforgiven venial sins or for temporal punishments due to venial and mortal sins that have already been forgiven and, by so doing, are purified before they enter heaven" (2).

There is no specific mention of purgatory in the Bible, but the Catholic Church considers some passages of the Old and New Testaments to be references to purgatory. One of these passages is in the second book of Machabee (2 Mc 12.39-45). According to this text, Judas Machabeus realized after a battle that some of the dead soldiers of his army wore pagan amulets. Judas made a collection to offer sacrifices in Jerusalem for those who died in a state of sin. The author of 2 Machabee finishes his account by saying: "It is therefore a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from sins." The fact that

Judas made this collection for his soldiers proves that there was a belief in the forgiveness of sins after death and a belief that sacrifices helped souls to gain that forgiveness.

According to the New Catholic Encyclopedia, this passage of the second book of Machabee is the only indirect reference to purgatory that can be found in the Old Testament. Other indirect references related to sin, judgment and death can be found in the New Testament. One of these references is the text of 1 Corinthians 3, 13-15, which is taken as an allusion to purgatory: "For that day (the day of judgment) dawns in fire, and the fire will test the worth of each man's work. If a man's building stands, he will be rewarded; if it burns, he will have to bear the loss; and yet he will escape with his life, as one might from a fire." However, there is no explicit mention, in either the Old or the New Testament, of a specific place in which souls will stay before entering heaven.

Despite this lack of direct Biblical references, the tradition of the Catholic Church has helped to form a doctrine of purgatory. Jacques Le Goff in his book The Birth of Purgatory explains the development of the concept of purgatory during the Middle Ages. According

to Le Goff, the noun purgatorium did not appear in Christian texts until the end of the twelfth century (3). Before then, however, several Christian writers helped to form the concept of purgatory. Le Goff says the two "inventors" of the concept were the Greek patristic writers Clement of Alexandria (d. prior to 215) and Origen (d. 252/254). Clement distinguished two categories of punishment, one in this life and another in the hereafter (4). Origen said there is a purification of the soul after death (5). However, according to Le Goff, it was St. Augustine (354-430) who more decisively established the "classic" concept of purgatory. St. Augustine distinguished between two kinds of fire: one that is eternal and another that ends with the Last Judgment. Although he was still hesitant about this temporary fire (6), St. Augustine affirmed the efficacy of prayers for the dead (7).

Another important author to consider in the development of the concept of purgatory was St. Gregory the Great (c. 540-604), who is considered by Le Goff "the last founder of Purgatory" after Clement of Alexandria, Origen and St. Augustine. St. Gregory is the first Christian author who wrote clearly about what happens to the soul after death (8). St. Gregory mentions in his Dialogues the existence of the fire of

purgatory: "But yet we must believe that before the day of judgment there is a purgatory fire for certain small sins." (9). St. Gregory also relates a story concerning the release of a monk's soul from the purgatory fire by the celebration of thirty masses in thirty days after the monk's death (10). This is the beginning of the Catholic tradition of Gregorian Masses, which are exclusively dedicated to the souls of the departed. In these stories St. Gregory mentions that souls can be helped with alms, prayers and, above all, with masses. Later the Catholic Church used similar stories in order to confirm the existence of purgatory (11).

Jacobus da Voragine (c. 1228-1298), in his book The Golden Legend, says that souls in purgatory are punished by bad angels and the good ones use to visit and console the suffering souls. Da Voragine relates many stories about souls who suffer in purgatory, specially stories taken from the life of St. Gregory the Great. In the first quarter of the fourteenth century Dante Alghieri composed The Divine Comedy, in which he vividly describes hell, purgatory and heaven. The Italian poet mentions several times in his second book the efficacy of prayers for the souls who are suffering in purgatory (12). Dante's circumstantial description of purgatory reveals an original yet

complete vision of this place, in which souls were purged of each capital sin in seven different levels located on a mountain. In an alternate view, St. Frances of Rome (1384-1440) saw purgatory as divided into three sections. During her visions, St. Frances saw three different places, located one beneath the other. According to the nature of its sin, she said, each soul was punished in a lower, intermediate or upper purgatory. Fire is the torment for souls in the lower purgatory, while ice, boiling oil and pitch, and a pond of liquid metal appear in the three sections of the intermediate purgatory. The upper purgatory, although not described by St. Frances, is the place reserved for souls waiting for the moment in which they will be released to meet God. St. Frances could also see angels assisting souls in their sufferings (13).

St. Catherine of Genoa (1447-1510) wrote a Treatise on Purgatory, which presents her visions about the subject. St. Catherine did not describe the physical environment of purgatory in her book, but rather the feelings that torment the soul. The complexity of the spiritual state of the soul in purgatory is described when St. Catherine says that "no happiness can be found worthy to be compared with that of the soul in purgatory except that of the saints in Paradise," (14)

but she also says that souls "endure a pain so extreme that no tongue can be found to tell it." (15) According to St. Catherine, happiness is the love for God that fills the soul, and pain is caused because the soul sees its imperfections which prevent it from meeting with God. Therefore, St. Catherine concludes that both feelings are present in purgatory: "So that the souls in purgatory enjoy the greatest happiness and endure the greatest pain; the one does not hinder the other." (16) In her descriptions of these feelings, St. Catherine mentions only one physical element: fire, which purifies souls from sin.

In contrast with the spiritual description of purgatory by St. Catherine of Genoa, a fifteenth century visionary from England wrote about purgatory describing the environment of this place. In A Revelation of Purgatory, Margaret, a soul, moves through three fires that cleanse the soul of sin. This visionary writer mentions in addition two other purgatories -- the purgatory of mercy and the purgatory of grace -- that she does not describe (17). In contrast with St. Catherine's treatise, A Revelation of Purgatory emphasizes the punishment and the pain of the soul because of its sins (pain of sense). Marta Powell Harley, who studied these manuscripts, points

out that the pain felt because the soul cannot see God (pain of loss) is absent in A Revelation of Purgatory. "Typical of those in the earlier afterlife visions, the purgatorial punishments in A Revelation of Purgatory are emphatically physical", she says. "The pain of loss is more often ignored in these works of "spiritual shock treatment." (18)

The presence of angels in purgatory mentioned by St. Frances of Rome is also found in the purgatorial visions of St. Mary Magdalen dei Pazzi (1566-1607). This Italian nun had visions of souls being comforted by their guardian angels, although she also saw demons torturing other souls with their frightful appearance. St. Mary Magdalen even saw religious people suffering the torments of purgatory. During her visions, this Carmelite nun saw souls being tormented in separate places according to the sins that they had committed. The contradictory feelings of souls in purgatory as described by St. Catherine of Genoa is also mentioned by St. Mary Magdalen dei Pazzi: "Descend, O Precious Blood, and deliver these souls from their prison. Poor souls! You suffer so cruelly and yet you are content and cheerful" (19).

The existence of purgatory was mentioned in the

Second Council of Lyons (1274), in the Council of Florence (1439) and in the Council of Trent (1549-1563). Although in the Second Council of Lyons the word purgatory is not used, Innocent IV had written a letter twenty years before specifying the name of purgatory (20). In the Council of Florence, the Catholic Church had to confirm the existence of purgatory against the negations of the Greeks, as it also did in the Council of Trent against the Protestants, who denied the existence of purgatory because of the lack of clear references to it in the Bible. The Council of Trent, in total disagreement with the Protestant position, decreed in its twenty-fifth session in December 1563 that "the sound doctrine of purgatory, transmitted by the Fathers and Sacred Councils, be believed and maintained by the faithful of Christ, and be everywhere taught and preached." (21) The Council of Trent also affirmed that mass can be rightly offered for souls in purgatory (22), and instructed bishops to see that the "sacrifice of the mass, prayers, alms and other works of piety which they [the worshipers] have been accustomed to perform for the faithful departed, be piously and devoutly discharged in accordance with the laws of the Church" (23).

After the Council of Trent, Dominicans, Franciscans

and new religious orders, such as Jesuits and Discalced Carmelites, contributed in different ways to diffuse the concept of purgatory. The Jesuits' St. Robert Bellarmine and Francisco Suárez wrote about purgatory. St. Teresa of Avila (1515-1582), founder of the Discalced Carmelites, mentions purgatory in some of her writings. In her book Libro de las Fundaciones, St. Teresa tells the story of the soul of don Bernardino de Mendoza. His soul was delivered from purgatory when the saint founded a monastery in Valladolid. After the first mass in the new monastery, St. Teresa saw the soul of don Bernardino delivered from his torments, just as Christ had promised her (24).

Notes to chapter II

- (1) D. P. Simpson, Cassell's New Latin Dictionary (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1960).
- (2) New Catholic Encyclopedia, volume XI (New York, St. Louis: MC Graw-Hill Book Co. 1967), p. 1034.
- (3) "It was at the crossroads between these two worlds, that of the monasteries and that of the urban schools, that some time between 1170 and 1200 --possibly as early as 1170-80 and surely by the last decade of the century-- Purgatory first emerged."
Jacques Le Goff, The Birth of Purgatory (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 168. See also pp. 3, 375 and 165.
- (4) Ibid., p. 54.
- (5) Ibid., p. 57.
- (6) Ibid., p. 69.
- (7) See St. Augustine, Confessions (9.13:34-37) and The City of God (21.24).
- (8) Joseph McClain, The Doctrine of Heaven in the Writings of St. Gregory the Great (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1956), pp. 13, 19.
- (9) The Dialogues of St. Gregory the Great (Boston: Philip Lee Warner, 1911), p. 233.
- (10) Ibid., pp. 250-252.
- (11) Jacques Le Goff, The Birth of Purgatory, p. 93.
- (12) See Dante Alghieri, The Divine Comedy Purgatory: Cantos III (141), IV (133-135), V (70-72), VI (24-48), and XIII (147).
- (13) F. X. Schouppe, Purgatory, Illustrated by the lives and legends of the Saints (Cincinnati, New York: Benziger Brothers, 1893), p. 11.

- (14) Saint Catherine of Genoa, Treatise on Purgatory - The Dialogue (London: Sheed & Ward, 1946), p. 18.
- (15) Ibid., p. 19.
- (16) Ibid., p. 29.
- (17) Marta Powell Harley, A Revelation of Purgatory by an Unknown, Fifteenth Century Woman Visionary (Lewiston/Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1985), pp. 14-15.
- (18) Ibid., p. 11.
- (19) F. X. Schouppe, Purgatory, p. 13.
- (20) Jacques Le Goff, The Birth of Purgatory, pp. 283-286.
- (21) Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent (Rockford: Tan Books and Publishers, Inc., 1978), p. 214.
- (22) Ibid., p. 146.
- (23) Ibid., p. 214.
- (24) St. Teresa of Avila, Libro de las Fundaciones, vol. I (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1973), pp. 187-191.

III. Devotion to the souls in purgatory

Catholics use to pray for the souls of the dead in daily masses and specially in the feast of All Souls' Day (November 2). Prayers for souls during the mass (memento of the dead) appear since the fourth century (1). About the feast of All Souls' Day and according to Butler's Lives of Saints, Amalarius, in the beginning of the ninth century, settled an office for the dead after the feast of All Saints. Later, St. Odilio (c.962-1048), fifth abbot of Cluny, ordered that on the day following the feast of All Saints (November 1) the Cluniac monasteries were to remember the dead and pray for their salvation (2). Such a feast of All Souls, on November 2, was later authorized by the Catholic Church. Jacobus da Voragine (c. 1228-1298) already mentions this feast in his book The Golden Legend.

After the Council of Trent, there was an increase in the devotion to the souls in purgatory. One of the main elements that helped to diffuse this devotion was the brotherhood of the souls (called Cofradía de Animas in Spain). Émile Mâle has pointed out the increase in the number of these brotherhoods in the seventeenth century as a consequence of the Protestants challenges to the existence of purgatory (3).

One testimonial to the activities of these brotherhoods dedicated to the souls is the diploma issued in May 1691 in Italy (plate 1). This "cedola" represents an agreement between the brotherhood of Jesus, Mary and Joseph (canonicamente instituita per Suffragio dell'ANIME PIU BISOGNOSE) and Camila Santevia. It says that when she dies, the "sorella" Camila will be buried in the church of the brotherhood and masses will be celebrated (one requiem and one each year) for her soul. The brotherhoods of souls collected alms to pay for masses for the souls in purgatory. In doing this, these brotherhoods followed the decrees of the Council of Trent, which affirm that it is proper to offer masses for souls in purgatory (chapter I, note 22). Mâle mentions a Spanish almsplate with two statuettes representing souls (in Spanish, ánimas), which one of these brotherhoods used to collect money for such masses (4).

These brotherhoods also commissioned artists to make altarpieces and sculptures for their chapels. Jacopo Palma the Younger painted in Venice (1600-1603) the ceiling of the "sala terrena", in the meeting house of one of these brotherhoods, with thirteen panels representing different ways to help souls in purgatory (5). The Sevillian sculptor Cristóbal Ramos (1725-1799),

considered by Carmen Montesinos Montesinos as one of the best Spanish sculptors of the second half of the eighteenth century, made four "retablos de ánimas" during his artistic life. Among them was one for the brotherhood of the parish church of Santa Ana de Algodonales (Cádiz) and another for the brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament and Blessed Souls of the parish church of San Martín (Seville) (6). Although the dimensions and materials of these retables depended on the wealth of the brotherhood, there is no doubt that many important artists were commissioned to execute rich altars during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Mâle says that the members of these brotherhoods frequently were "gentilshommes", but the popularity of the theme of purgatory in the context of the Counter-Reformation is another cause that could explain the luxury of these altars. One of these, the retablo of the Brotherhood of Las Animas, commissioned for the Church of Santo Domingo (now in the Church of La Compañía, Córdoba), shows an elaborate design made with marble and jasper by the sculptor Alonso Gómez de Sandoval (7). Besides paintings and retables, these brotherhoods had other expenses: they had to pay for incense, oil for lamps, candlesticks and bells rung for the dead, among other things (8).

The devotion to departed souls was carried to the New World by Spanish friars and priests, and it was in Latin America during the Colonial period that the devotion to souls in purgatory would gain a unique importance. On November 10, 1738, in the city of Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala (now Antigua Guatemala), the members of the municipal government named the Blessed Souls, "protectoras de la Ciudad" (protectors of the city) (9). This title means that the ánimas could be invoked in certain dangerous situations, such as earthquakes or floods.

Salvador de Madariaga, in his book The Rise of the Spanish American Empire (10), relates incidents from the colonial period that demonstrate this extreme devotion for the ánimas. Among these accounts there is one in which the departed souls appeared in human form to protect a lady and her two daughters, who were "very devout worshipers of the blessed souls in purgatory," from a gang of robbers. In another account, the souls responded to the call of a wife, and saved her and her lover from being killed by the jealous husband. Despite these miracles made by the souls, they continued requiring prayers. In another of these accounts, the dead body of a nobleman rose from the coffin and asked for prayers, because the Virgin Mary interceded for him

and at that moment he had arrived in purgatory.

This high devotion to the ánimas in colonial Latin America is also reflected in the number of brotherhoods dedicated to the souls in purgatory. Santiago Montes, in his book Etnohistoria de El Salvador, says "...dominando en las cofradías las advocaciones del Santísimo Sacramento y de Animas, las más protegidas en España y América" (11). Montes also includes a list of brotherhoods from El Salvador and Guatemala, taken from the book of Pedro Cortéz y Larraz, a bishop who visited both territories in the second half of the eighteenth century (12). In that period, there were 196 brotherhoods of the Blessed Sacrament (63 in El Salvador and 133 in Guatemala), and 178 brotherhoods of ánimas (56 in El Salvador and 122 in Guatemala). These brotherhoods head a list of ninety nine possible devotions. The brotherhoods of ánimas exceed in number many popular devotions and saints in colonial Latin America, such as St. Sebastian, the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption of the Virgin. Also, the number of brotherhoods of the ánimas exceed in number those of other devotions related to the theme or the representation of souls in purgatory, such as Our Lady of El Carmen, St. Nicholas of Tolentino and the Archangel St. Michael.

The Catholic Church in Latin America actively fostered a devotion to the ánimas during the colonial period, and bishops approved the foundation of new brotherhoods. This is evident in a document in which the archbishop Pedro Cortéz y Larraz endorsed the foundation of a brotherhood of the blessed souls in the town of Sololá, Guatemala, in the second half of the eighteenth century:

"...en atención de haberse suspendido a más de dos años seis hermandades,... y que sirviera en lugar de dichas Hermandades erigir una Cofradía de las Benditas Animas, con obligación de pagar una Misa cantada, con su responso, y Vigilia el primer lunes de cada mes, y celebrar aniversario en el día de los difuntos, conciderando su Ilustríssima, ser esta Cofradía mui conforme a las intenciones piadosas de Nuestra Madre la Iglesia, y que debía establecerse en todas las Parroquias, condesciende en conceder la erección..." (13).

The archbishop recommends in this document that brotherhoods of souls be established in each parish church. The document also mentions the activities of these brotherhoods: they should pay for masses for the souls, one mass the first Monday of each month and the mass on All Souls Day. Probably the brotherhood also paid for paintings representing purgatory that would be hung in the churches. The commissioning of painting was important because during the colonial period religious art works, either paintings or sculptures, were a didactic instrument to teach the mysteries of the

Catholic faith to new worshipers (14). Due to this, even priests must have commissioned these paintings if there was no brotherhood of ánimas established in the church.

Paintings representing purgatory show the sufferings of the poor souls; therefore, these paintings had to be a motivation for a devout christian life (less earthly sins meant less time in purgatory). The small figures carved on wood representing suffering souls among the flames (plate 2) had to be made with similar purposes (15). The view of these paintings also would move the worshipers to pay for masses for the souls and especially for the souls of relatives. Boxes to collect these alms for masses (in Spain, the almsplates already mentioned) were placed in colonial churches (16).

The association of one day of the week, in this case Monday, with the celebration of a mass for the souls (this day was mentioned in a document on page 21), is evident also in the city of Quito, Ecuador, where a brotherhood of souls was founded in the Cathedral:

"El cuatro de enero de 1566 el Cabildo Eclesiástico acordó fundar en la Catedral la Cofradía de las Almas del Purgatorio, comprometiéndose a celebrar una misa cada lunes por las almas de los bienhechores difuntos y nombrar cada año el mayordomo encargado de recoger las limosnas y administrar los bienes muebles e inmuebles de la Cofradía. Existe en la Capilla llamada de las almas el cuadro del Purgatorio que presidía la misa semanal de los cofrades" (17).

Benedict XIV (1675-1578) granted a special privilege to the Catholic Church in Spain, Portugal and the New World. On All Soul's Day priests could celebrate three masses for the faithful departed (18). This privilege, extended later to all priests around the world by Benedict XV, was a recognition of the extreme devotion that people in the New World had for souls in purgatory.

Notes to chapter III.

(1) For the history of the memento of the dead in Catholic liturgy see: Joseph A. Jungmann, The Mass of the Roman Rite: its origins and development, vol. 2. Translated by Francis A. Brummer (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, 1987), pp. 236-248.

(2) Butler's Lives of Saints, vol. IV. Edited, revised and supplemented by Herbert J. Thurston and Donald Attwater (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, 1987), p. 241.

(3) Émile Mâle, L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1972), p. 62. See also: Christopher F. Black, Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 14, 106. For more about Italian confraternities of souls in the sixteenth century see also pp. 104-106.

(4) Ibid., p. 62.

This almsplate, formerly in the collection of the Conde de las Almenas, was acquired by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. During research about two similar statuettes in the collection of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, current information about the almsplate was sent to this institution. The assistant curator of the Los Angeles Museum says that the statuettes were attached to the almsplate in a recent date. This discovery does not deny the existence of these almsplates in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, because other examples can be found in other Spanish museums. See: Fernando Zamanillo, Museo Diocesano Regina Coeli (Santander; Obispado de Santander, 1976), p. 18; and Matilde Revuelta Tubino, Museo de Santa Cruz de Toledo, vol. I: siglos XIV, XV y XVI (Toledo?: Consejería de Educación y Cultura de la Junta de Comunidades Castilla-La Mancha, 1987), pp. 65-66.

(5) Christopher F. Black, Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century, p. 261.

(6) Carmen Montesinos Montesinos, El Escultor Sevillano D. Cristóbal Ramos (1725-1799) (Sevilla: Excelentísima Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1986), pp. 45, 58-59.

(7) See Jose Camón Aznar and others, Summa Artis. Vol. XXVII: Arte Español del siglo XVIII. (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1984), fig. 371.

(8) "Las salidas de dinero (de las cofradías de ánimas) iban encaminadas a pagar a los sacerdotes por las misas que celebraban, los sermones y responsos que decían, por las procesiones que presidían, por las novenas. También se gastaba dinero en comprar cera, incienso, botijas de aceite para las lámparas, candeleros y manteles para situarlos en el altar de ánimas, imágenes, cuadros de ánimas, vestidos sagrados para el sacerdote, costear entierros de los pobres para que su alma no quedare errante en la tierra, dobles de campanas, etc."

Juana Estarriol Jiménez, La pintura de cuadros de Animas en Tenerife (Las Palmas: Mancomunidad de Cabildos, Plan Cultural y Museo Canario, 1981), p. 11.

(9) J. Joaquin Pardo, Efemérides de la Antigua Guatemala 1541-1779 (Guatemala: Consejo Nacional para la Protección de la Antigua Guatemala, Archivo General de Centro América, ...1984), p. 149.

(10) Archivo Boliviano. Colección de documentos relativos a la Historia de Bolivia edited by Vicente de Ballivian y Roxas. París, 1872 Cited by Salvador de Madariaga, The Rise of the Spanish American Empire (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1975), pp. 203-204.

(11) Santiago Montes, Etnohistoria de El Salvador, tomo I (San Salvador: Dirección de Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación, 1977), p. 170.

(12) Relación de las cofradías y hermandades del arzobispado de Pedro Cortés y Larraz. Cuaderno primero: numero, advocación y bienes. 10. de julio de 1775. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, leg. 948. Cited by Santiago Montes, Etnohistoria de El Salvador, tomo I pp. 171-173.

(13) Pedro Cortés y Larraz, Descripción Geográfico-Moral de la Diócesis de Goathemala, edición de Adrián Recinos. Guatemala: Biblioteca Goathemala, 1958. Cited by Santiago Montes, Etnohistoria de El Salvador, tomo I, p. 123.

(14) Madariaga, Salvador de, The Rise of the Spanish American Empire, p. 181.

(15) The author had the opportunity to see that these small representations of souls were still in use around 1972 in El Salvador. In the parish church of the city of Chalatenango, a small table covered with a mantle was placed in front of the presbytery. On the table two small figures of souls flanked a crucifix. Since the table could easily be removed, this altar was placed there exclusively for a mass for the souls.

(16) "They [the natives] are taught that they must remember the souls in Purgatory, and therefore that they must cast their alms into a chest, which stands for that purpose in their churches..."
Thomas Gage, Thomas Gage's Travelers in the New World. Edited by Eric S. Thompson (Westport: Greenwood press, 1981), p. 238.

(17) José María Vargas, Museo Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño y el Patrimonio Artístico (Quito: Centro de Publicaciones de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, 1978), pp. 139-140.

(18) Francisco Javier Hernández, Colección de Bulas, Breves y otros Documentos relativos a la Iglesia de América y Filipinas. Tomo II (Vaduz: Krauz Reprint Ltd., 1964 (1879), pp. 555-564.

IV. Iconography in a representation of purgatory from El Salvador

The iconography of representations of purgatory is a subject that still needs to be studied. Le Goff has pointed this out (1), despite the fact that, after the Council of Trent, representations of purgatory became very popular, above all in painting. One of the problems for this survey, even in regional studies, is the richness and the variety of the iconography of these representations.

Despite the abundance of possibilities for the iconography of these paintings, all of them must have a common basis: the vision of purgatory promoted by the Catholic Church after the Council of Trent. The decree of this Council concerning purgatory can be summarized in two main points:

- a) There is a place of purgation called purgatory, in which souls who died with minor sins are cleansed and purified until they meet God.
- b) Worshipers can help the souls in purgatory with prayers, alms, but above all with masses.

Among the devotions that shorten the stay of souls in purgatory was that of the rosary (2), since devotion to the Carmelite scapular also guarantees that the Virgin will intercede and release a soul from the

flames. Saints can be invoked for the release of souls because, according to the decrees of the Council of Trent: "it is good and beneficial suppliantly to invoke them and to have recourse to their prayers, assistance and support in order to obtain favors from God through his Son, Jesus Christ our Lord." (3)

These views of purgatory were represented in paintings from the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to these ideas and taking into account some paintings from Italy, France, Spain and Latin America, a proposal of classification for the iconography of these paintings is presented in figure 1.

In paintings of type A, the Virgin Mary and saints are represented interceding for souls to Christ or the Trinity. Saints and angels are represented drawing the souls out from the flames. A painting by Philippe De Champaigne (plate 3), one by Guercino (plate 4) and a work by the colonial painter Gregorio Vázquez Ceballos (plate 5) are examples of this type of iconography. There is a common feature in these three representations: the depiction of Christ with an undraped torso, which allows the view of the wound of his side. This characteristic is also present in the

painting Alegoría de las almas del Purgatorio (plate 6) which is another painting of type A. In these works Christ is represented as judge of souls, in the same way as in Last Judgment scenes. An exceptional example of this type is a work by Il Passignani (plate 7), in which the Virgin Mary is represented at the top of the painting, rather than Christ or the Trinity. The Virgin is not represented as intercessor: instead, as the mother of Christ (notice her hand on her breast), she can also decide the fate of the soul. (4)

In type B paintings the Virgin Mary with the Christ Child are represented at the top of the painting. Saints are interceding for the souls while the angels pull the already purified souls from the flames. In the painting by Massimo Stanzione (plate 8), there is no representation of saints interceding for the souls. All the attention of this painting is focused in the hand of the Virgin, fully enlightened, which points out the soul who has to be delivered. The angel repeats the gesture with his left hand while the soul emerges from the darkness of purgatory. Another example of type B painting is the colonial work The Virgin of the Rosary (plate 9). St. Dominic, accompanied by St. Francis, is receiving the rosary from the hands of the Virgin. The prayers of the rosary, in which fifteen mysteries are

represented in the roundels, can release a soul from purgatory, and that is what the angels on the sides are doing: they are giving the rosary to the souls to release them from the flames. The painting San Filippo Neri intercede per le anime presso la Madonna del Carmelo (plate 10), by Thaddeus Kuntz is another example of a painting that can be classified as type B (5).

In type C paintings the Virgin Mary and/or saints and/or angels are represented drawing souls out from the flames. A painting from the Guatemalan school (plate 11) is an example of this type of representation. An example of type C painting in which a saint is represented drawing souls from purgatory is a colonial work from Perú, San Francisco transita por el purgatorio (plate 12). Angels carrying the souls to heaven are represented in the painting El Purgatorio by Manuel Peti (plate 13) and in a colonial painting from Perú (plate 14) (6).

The paintings classified as type D show only the souls among the flames of purgatory. The painting by Alonso Cano (plate 15) is an example of this type of purgatory representations. The work by Cano was made for the base of an altarpiece, therefore the souls are

represented raising their eyes and hands to the images (paintings or sculptures) that were originally placed in the central and top part of the altarpiece. (7)

Considering this variety in the iconography of purgatory representations after the Council of Trent, and the large number of these paintings in Europe and in Latin America, this classification is not presented as a rigid scheme that tends to establish a pattern for all paintings representing purgatory. This classification is proposed as a guide to understand these representations according to Catholic teaching about purgatory, and above all this classification is presented to place an important Salvadorean painting in the context of other images representing purgatory.

The painting selected for special attention in this study (plate 16) is located in the parish church of the city of Atiquizaya, in the west part of the Central American country of El Salvador. The painting has no signature nor date, and the priest did not find any written references to it in the archives of the church. The medium of the painting is oil on fabric, and its dimensions are 3.75 meters (h) by 2.48 meters (w). There is no monograph on colonial painting in El Salvador, nor does any inventory exist of paintings in

the nation's churches. Many colonial works are severely damaged and others have been sold to foreign collectors. The "cuadro de ánimas" of Atiquizaya has never been restored, its colors are faded, and the fabric is torn in the bottom right corner.

This painting probably came from Guatemala, where important colonial painters and workshops were active in Antigua Guatemala, during the early years of the colonial period, and after 1773 in Guatemala city. The unusual quality of the figures in the painting, its impressive dimensions and the proximity of the city of Atiquizaya to the capital of the Capitanía General de Guatemala makes it probable that this painting was carried from Guatemala to the city of Atiquizaya. Further studies have to be made in order to determine who painted this representation of purgatory, although many of these colonial works were made by unknown artists. The lack of signatures and dates on many colonial paintings makes difficult to trace the work of individual colonial painters in Latin America (see appendix A).

This painting is located in the left chapel of the transept of its parish church. The main altar of this chapel presents the sculpture of the black Christ of

Esquipulas with the sculptures of Our Lady of Sorrows, St. John Evangelist, Mary Magdalén and Veronica. The "cuadro de ánimas" now hangs on the right side wall of the chapel. For some years before it reached its present location, the painting was not exhibited in the church. It had apparently been relegated (for an unknown time) to a storage room before being placed in its present location. The original location of the painting is unknown. It is possible that this "cuadro de ánimas" was originally placed on one of the walls near the main entrance. Another painting representing purgatory, dated 1890, is hung in one such wall in the colonial church of the Salvadorean village of Panchimalco, near the capital city of El Salvador. Such locations near the main entrance of the church probably makes allusions to the passing of the soul through purgatory to meet God, in the same manner that the worshiper comes from the sufferings and sadness of the world (outside of the church) to enter into the house of God where he or she meets Christ in the Blessed Sacrament.

The painting (plate 16) presents on its lower part the souls among the flames. The Virgin Mary is releasing one of the souls from purgatory while St. Peter and St. Michael are looking toward heaven. Christ

is represented as dead on the Cross with the Holy Ghost on top. Taking into account the classification already mentioned the Salvadorean painting could be classified as a picture of type A (figure 2). However, certain differences are present in this painting in comparison with the model proposed for type A, Mary (not the angels) is represented drawing a soul out from the flames, and there is no evident gesture of intercession for the fate of souls in the figures of St. Peter and St. Michael. Neither of these figures are represented in direct relationship to the souls themselves. These saints are represented with their eyes raised beyond Christ, toward the top of the painting. They are apparently contemplating an unseen presence in heaven, who has to be God the Father. He is the only person of the Trinity who is not represented in the painting.

In the lower part of the painting are represented departed souls among the flames of purgatory. The depiction of souls on the lower part of the painting, a constant feature in these representations, is due to the association of purgatory with an underworld place, in some ways similar to hell (8). Le Goff, in The Birth of Purgatory, mentions several times this early characteristic of purgatory which was very popular during the Middle Ages. These figures of souls are

arranged in two groups: males on the right side of the painting (which corresponds to Mary's right hand) and on the left side females (Mary's left hand). This division according to the sex of the soul is not evident in the other representations of purgatory presented in this study. The presence of the fire that cleanse the soul in the hereafter has been mentioned ever since early Christian writers began to approach the problem of purgatory. Before being considered a certain place, purgatory was identified with the existence of fire that cleans and torments the soul in the afterlife (9). A passage in St. Paul (1 Corinthians 3:13-15), claiming that fire will test the earthly behavior of every person, has always being considered by the Catholic Church to be one of the biblical texts that supports the existence of purgatory. Clement of Alexandria and Origen took into account this passage from St. Paul (10). St. Augustine also considered this text in his book The City of God (21.26), in which he distinguished between two kinds of fire (one that punishes and another that purges). The same passage also is considered by St. Gregory the Great in chapter thirty-nine of his Dialogues, in which he affirmed that there is a purgatorial fire for certain minor sins. After the Council of Trent the Jesuits Bellarmino and Suárez returned to the same passage by St. Paul to

prove the existence of purgatory (11).

The fire of purgatory was also present in the visions of saints. St. Frances of Rome and St. Catherine of Genoa mentioned fire that punishes the souls in purgatory, Dante Alghieri also mentioned the presence of fire in certain places of purgatory, and the lustful are tormented by fire in the last level of his mountain of purgatory. Water also was mentioned during the Middle Ages in some descriptions of purgatorial torments (12). However, in artistic representations, and despite the elaborate descriptions of several torments by writers and saints, purgatory generally was represented by a place filled exclusively by fire. Le Goff has presented one of the earliest representations of purgatory (plate 17). It comes from the Breviary of Philip the Fair, dated 1296, and shows figures of souls in purgatory surrounded by flames.

The representation of purgatory from El Salvador is another example of this common motif: purgatory is a place in which fire torments departed souls. The figures, whose bodies are almost covered by flames, are represented, as usual, as naked (see plates 1-17, 19, 23-24, 33, 35-37, 39, 43-44, 54, 56). There is a biblical text that supports the depiction of souls as

naked figures. In I Timothy 6:7, St. Paul says: "For we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out." The evidence of this text in art was reflected first in Last Judgment representations in which souls are represented as naked bodies. Therefore, souls in purgatory, based on St. Paul's text and these earlier representations of souls, were depicted in the same way. In the Salvadorean painting almost all the bodies of the repentant mortals are covered by flames and their souls are represented as busts among the fire. The figure of the male soul, which the Virgin draws from the fire, is the only figure that partially shows his body. However, he is holding a drapery to cover his nakedness (plate 18). A similar motif is represented in the work by Philippe de Champaigne (plate 3). In this painting a soul, partially covered with a cloak, is helped by an angel to leave purgatory.

The representation of nude figures in the art of Spain and its colonies in America, as well as in some parts of Europe (13) after the Council of Trent, was condemned by members of the Catholic Church and even by Spanish painters. The first restrictions came from the Council of Trent, which prohibited "all lasciviousness" in the representation of sacred images (14). In some

Spanish publications of the seventeenth century there is a condemnation of "lascivious representations" (15), and the Inquisition named veedores (inspectors) to approve religious images (16). These restrictions were carried to the New World (17). Therefore, nude figures do not often appear in the art of Spain and its colonies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. When the nude appears it is chaste, rather than sensual (18).

For the colonial artist in Latin America who painted purgatory scenes, the representation of nude figures was not a problem. The device of the flames could be used to cover the nakedness of the soul's bodies. In the Salvadorean painting, the soul drawn up by the Virgin is holding a white garment to cover his nude body (plate 18). Does this mean that a soul cleansed after purgatory has to be dressed, or is the fabric only a device due to the restrictions for the representation of the nude? A possible answer to this question can be found in a painting from the Cuzco school (plate 19), dated from the eighteenth century. In that painting the naked souls in purgatory are being released from their torment or they are asking for mercy. Although some of these figures are almost out of the flames, no one is represented in a frontal

position; the breasts are not emphasized in the female figures; and the showing of genital parts is avoided.

The figure of a soul is kneeling and kissing the dress of the Virgin of El Carmen in the painting from Cuzco; however, this figure of a soul is dressed in a tunic. This soul must have been cleansed of sin, because she is out of purgatory and has appeared in front of the Virgin after being released from purgatory. Thus the soul already free from faults is represented dressed in a tunic. In the book of Revelations (7.9-14) there is a text that supports this convention: the faithful are dressed in white tunics. In the painting from Cuzco, in the upper right corner, an angel leads a group of naked souls toward the gates of heaven. Already cleansed, these souls are going to be dressed with the white tunic in heaven. A similar motif is presented in the triptych of the Last Judgment (19) by Hans Memling, dated around 1470s. In one of the panels of this triptych, the naked figures of the blessed are receiving clothes and are being dressed by angels in front of the gates of heaven. The other figure of a dressed soul is in the lower right hand corner of the painting from Cuzco. An angel is represented on the side of this soul. Both figures form a standard motif that can be found in Spanish and

colonial Latin American art: the Guardian Angel. The reason for the representation of the Guardian Angel in purgatory is because he was considered the guide of the soul. This angel guides the soul to purgatory, he assists the soul in his or her sufferings and finally, he accompanies the soul to heaven (20). The representation of the soul with the Guardian Angel was found in European art, either dressed or undressed (21).

There are two figures of souls in the Salvadorean painting that can be identified by certain attributes: a bishop wearing a miter (plate 20), and a female wearing a wimple (plate 21). There are two alternative ways to identify the latter figure. One of them is that the figure could be a widow. Spanish widows used to dress like nuns, as is evident in the portrait of doña Mariana de Austria by Carreño de Miranda in which the Queen of Spain is represented in the Hall of the Mirrors of the Alcázar dressed as a nun after the death of her husband Felipe IV (22). In Las Meninas by Velázquez, doña Marcela de Ulloa is represented wearing what it seems to be a religious habit (23). However, in the context of purgatory paintings, this figure with a wimple must be a nun. A similar figure, a nun wearing a wimple without a veil (plate 22), can be found in the

Museo de Arte Colonial of Antigua Guatemala. However, the strong reason for the identification of this figure in the Salvadorean painting as a nun is the emphasis in these paintings on representations of friars, cardinals, bishops, nuns, king and queens, -- in other words, persons (or souls) of all ranks in purgatory. This characteristic is evident in other Latin American colonial paintings representing purgatory (plate 12, 23). Despite the usual nakedness of these figures in purgatory, crowns, miters and cardinal hats were depicted upon the heads of the souls as elements that make possible their identification. For the natives, the association of the rank of the person with what he wears upon his head was part of his idiosyncrasy since pre-Hispanic times. Besides, natives used to see these elements in representations of very important saints: the cardinal's hat in figures of St. Jerome or the papal tiara upon the head of St. Peter.

The presence of religious personalities in purgatory was mentioned by St. Mary Magdalen dei Pazzi in her visions of purgatory (see p. 11). In the Breviary of Charles V, commissioned between 1347 and 1380, a miniature shows bishops, a king and a queen in purgatory (plate 24). In the painting by Enguerrand Charonton named The Crowning of the Virgin, dated to

1453-1454, even a pope is represented as leaving purgatory (24). Juana Estarriol Jimenez, in her catalogue of the "cuadros de animas" in Las Palmas, Tenerife, has pointed out this characteristic of representations of purgatory (25). The representation of what seems to be a Black male in the lower left corner of the Salvadorean painting (plate 25) is further testimony of the same intention: to present members of different social groups in purgatory--the powerful man next to the humble, the wealthy beside the poor. No one escapes from purgatory. The same message contained in the Medieval motif of the Dance of Death is now used in the representation of purgatory. After death, no matter what their rank, even the friar, the bishop and the king all have to pass through purgatory.

The strong feeling of the fragility of earthly things, such as fame and power, and the power of death over the prominent men on Earth are evident in many Spanish works. In some Spanish representations Death is shown as a skeleton with miters, crowns and pope's tiaras at its feet (plate 26, a and b). The allegories, In Ictu Oculi and Finis Gloriam Mundi, painted by Juan de Valdes Leal in 1672 for the Hermandad de la Caridad in Seville, present the same characteristic. In In Ictu Oculi (plate 27a) Death, with a coffin under his arm,

is extinguishing the light of a candle (life). A tiara, crowns, a miter, crosiers, scepters and a Golden Fleece Collar are spread out elsewhere. In Finis Gloriam Mundi (plate 27b) the dead bodies of a bishop and a knight are putrefying in their coffins. Jonathan Brown has expressed the message of these Sevillian paintings as: "the fugacity of life, the inevitability of death, and hence the futility of wordly aims and achievements (26).

In Latin America, where society during the colonial period shared Spanish feelings about life and death (27), the colonial catafalque of the Museo de Toluca, México, presents in its painted panels the dead bodies of a king, a pope, a cardinal and a bishop. In another panel of this catafalque, used by the Carmelite order in the convent of Toluca, Death is represented in a triumphal chariot that carries tiaras, miters, cardinal's hats and scepters (plate 28). The final verses on the shield, with the Carmelite emblem on top, describe this representation:

"de todo triumpho, y en su Carro abarca
quantos despojos le quitó a la vida,
por eso ostenta Sceptros y Bastones,
Tiaras, Capelos, Mitras y Pendones."

A surviving Peruvian fabric for the covering of one of these catafalques shows the skeleton of a king, with

crown and scepter, and the skeleton of a pope crowned by the tiara and holding in his hand the pontifical cross (28) (plate 29). A crown and a miter along with coins (richness) and musical instruments (earthly delights) are also represented in one of the pages of the Polyptych of Tepotzotlán, a work that expresses the colonial concept of death in Latin America, now in the Museo Nacional del Virreinato in Tepotzotlán, México (29). The depiction of bishops, kings and cardinals among the flames in purgatory is another way to express this feeling of the fragility of fame and power, which ends with death. Miters and crowns are not depicted in purgatory paintings only as symbols of power but also as a representation of a Catholic belief; every sinner, if not comndemed to hell, has to pass through purgatory.

The different expressions on the soul's faces in the Salvadorean painting reflect the kind of place that purgatory is. It is a place in which feelings of suffering, faith (plate 30) and patient waiting for release (plate 31) are mixed. The representation of different feelings of the souls in purgatory is present in Spanish representations, such as the painting Souls in Purgatory (plate 15), painted by Alonso Cano in the first half of the seventeenth century. The

representation of supplicant souls with eyes and hands raised to heaven is one of the most popular motifs in purgatory paintings (30). It is important to consider that in representations of purgatory not only suffering is represented in the soul's faces. St. Catherine of Genoa and St. Mary Magdalen of Pazzi mention a mix of happiness and pain among the souls in purgatory. However, the characteristic desperation in representations of figures in hell is not present in purgatory, because here the souls hope to see God soon.

The figure of the Virgin (plate 32) in the Salvadorean painting is represented grasping the arm of the already pure soul, while her left hand is holding a scapular. Although it is difficult to identify the emblems in the scapular and in the habit of the Virgin, due to the bad condition of the painting, this figure is wearing the traditional habit of the Carmelite order: a brownish-reddish dress with a white cloak (31). The devotion to the Virgin del Carmen and the Carmelite scapular is related to the release of souls from purgatory. According to a tradition from the fifteenth century, the Virgin will release from purgatory the soul of the faithful departed on the first Saturday after death, if the faithful has died wearing the Carmelite scapular (32). This relationship between the

Virgin del Carmen and souls in purgatory was soon represented in art. Spanish prints from the end of the sixteenth century show the Virgin del Carmen seated in clouds and angels drawing souls from purgatory (plates 33, 34). In 1613 there was a decree from the Catholic Church permitting the preaching of this devotion (33). Therefore, the Virgin del Carmen is one of the most popular figures in the representation of purgatory in colonial Latin America. Even when in some colonial paintings the Virgin del Carmen is represented in heaven, among clouds, the figure of an isolated soul is included at her feet (plate 35), to symbolize the special favors that the Virgin grants to souls for whom she mediates.

The devotion to the Virgin del Carmen and her scapular was very strong in Spain (34). This devotion was carried to the New World by members of religious orders and secular clergy (35). It is interesting that a proper devotion of a certain religious order has been spread by other orders. The "universality" of this devotion was represented in the art of Spain and its colonies. In the painting El juicio de un alma by Mateo Cerezo, dated 1663-1664 (36), the Virgin del Carmen is interceding for a soul. St. Dominic and St. Francis, founders of two religious orders whose members were the

first missionaries in the New World, are helping her. A similar theme is present in a seventeenth century painting by the Guatemalan school (plate 11). In this painting, the Virgin del Carmen, St. Dominic and St. Francis are releasing souls from purgatory. The latter uses his girdle to draw up souls into heaven, while St. Dominic is using his rosary. The Virgin del Carmen shows the scapular to the souls, and some of them are represented wearing the Carmelite scapular. In a painting from Cuzco (plate 36), the Virgin del Carmen is depicted with two saints of another popular religious order in Latin America, the Jesuits St. Ignatius of Loyola and St. Francis Javier, who are praying to the Virgin and the Christ Child.

Certain features in the Salvadorean painting are common in the representation of the Virgin del Carmen in colonial Latin America. First of all, the Virgin is represented wearing the habit of the Carmelites with the emblem of the order upon her breast. Crowned Virgins were depicted very often (plate 11, 35, 36, 37), although the crown is not present upon Mary's head in the Salvadorean painting (plate 38). Very characteristic of these representations of Mary are the emphases on the wavy hair that falls upon her shoulders, and the brooch for her white cloak (plates

11, 37, 38).¹ In the Salvadorean painting, the Virgin del Carmen also wears a pearl necklace and long earrings. These pieces of jewelry are present in the figure of the Virgin del Carmen from the Guatemalan school (plate 11) and in a painting from Cuzco (plate 36).

The figure of the Virgin Mary in the Salvadorean painting is depicted at the foot of the Cross. This is probably an allusion to the Gospel of St. John (19, 25) in which the Evangelist says that Mary was at Calvary when Christ was dying in the Cross. This fact was also treated in literature, such as in the poem Stabat Mater, very popular among Catholics since the Middle Ages. However, in the Salvadorean painting Mary is not represented as the Sorrowful Virgin. She is represented as the Virgin del Carmen, but her depiction at the foot of the Cross means that she is also redeemer of humanity. This role of Mary is also present in the Mexican painting by Jose de Páez, Nuestra Señora del Monte de Piedad (plate 39), which relates the theme of the Pieta with purgatory. In the painting already mentioned by Il Passignani (plate 7), souls in purgatory raise their eyes and hands to the Virgin who is represented with her hand on the breast. This gesture in the context of the painting means that, as mother of Christ, she is also redeemer. John B.

Knipping in his book Iconography of the Counter-Reformation in the Netherlands mentions a woodcut dated 1509 in which an angel is represented pouring Christ's blood and Mary's milk contained in a chalice over the souls in purgatory (37). The pouring of Mary's milk over the souls in purgatory is represented in the paintings and sculptures of the Madonna delle Grazie (38). In these representations the Virgin, sometimes helped by the Christ Child, is squeezing her breast to pour the milk over the souls. In Spain, the sixteenth century painting by Pedro Machuca, Nuestra Señora del Sufragio (39), presents this motif of the Virgin pouring the milk of her breasts over the souls in purgatory.

Being also redeemer of the human being, Mary can release souls from purgatory, and this is what the Virgin is doing in the Salvadorean painting. Although in the purgatory paintings mentioned in this study the Virgin is not represented grasping the arm of a soul, this characteristic is evident in the representations of "Nuestra Señora de la Luz" (Our Lady of Light) (plate 40). The paintings or prints of Our Lady of Light were the model for the representation of the Virgin del Carmen in the Salvadorean painting. The devotion to Our Lady of Light, very popular in the

Catholic missions in the Far East and in Latin America (40), was prohibited around 1770 because of the representation of Mary drawing a soul out from hell (41). Since after this date Mary could not be represented as Our Lady of Light, the Virgin del Carmen is represented in the Salvadorean painting with similar attributes: pulling a soul, but now from purgatory, not from hell. Manuel Trens in his book María, Iconografía de la Virgen en el arte español presents a Spanish painting from the seventeenth century which formerly represented Our Lady of Light but was transformed into a Virgin del Carmen (plate 41). According to Trens the soul that Mary is holding in the representations of Our Lady of Light was replaced by Carmelite scapulars and, instead of the basket with hearts, the angel on the right is holding a basket filled with scapulars. Although Manuel Trens presents this painting as a seventeenth century work, the changes in the painting had to be made after 1770 when the making of representations of Our Lady of Light was prohibited.

The archangel St. Michael (plate 42) is represented in the Salvadorean painting with a banner and scales. This archangel, very popular in Last Judgment representations, is strongly related to the fate of Christian souls in the hereafter (42). The painter

Francisco Pacheco (1564-1654) in his book Arte de la Pintura, emphasizes and explains the depiction of the scales in St. Michael's hands (43). This book by Pacheco is mentioned by Antonio Gallo in a list of sources that colonial artists in Latin America could use to create the iconography of their works (44). This relationship of St. Michael with the hereafter and especially with purgatory was often seen in the colonial art of Latin America. St. Michael is one of the most popular figures in representations of purgatory. In a catalogue of colonial paintings in the district of Toluca, México, St. Michael is one of the main protagonists of purgatory paintings (45). Juana Estarriol Jiménez in her book La pintura de cuadros de Animas en Tenerife has chosen the figure of this archangel as the basis for her clasification of paintings representing purgatory in the Spanish island of Tenerife. In three of the four categories of compositions established by Estarriol Jiménez, the figure of St. Michael is represented either at the center, on the left or in the top part of the painting (46).

Some colonial Latin America paintings representing St. Michael include a scene of purgatory that emphasizes the attribute of this archangel as weigher

of souls. A Mexican painting dated in the seventeenth century shows St. Michael holding a palm, the symbol of Christian victory (plate 43). At his feet some souls are represented among the flames of purgatory. A more elaborate composition is present in a painting from Cuzco, dated in eighteenth century (plate 44). Saints, angels and figures of souls in purgatory surround the figure of St. Michael. An angel holds St. Michael's scales while some souls, with eyes and hands raised to the archangel, seem to ask for his mercy. The emphasis of this painting is the relationship between St. Michael and purgatory. The saints who are depicted on the top corners of the painting are the Virgin del Carmen and St. Joseph. The former figure is strongly related with the fate of the souls in purgatory, as was mentioned earlier. St. Joseph, holding the staff with lilies, is also an equally related figure, because he is invoked by Catholics to gain a Christian death in grace of God (47). An angel is also shown giving the Carmelite scapular to the souls in purgatory. All these figures suggest one meaning of the painting: worshipers can invoke St. Michael when praying for souls in purgatory.

The banner that St. Michael is holding, which is wrongly identified by Leopoldo Castedo as the banner of

the Resurrection (48), is also held by St. Michael in the Salvadorean painting (plate 42). Similar customs are present in some representations of St. Michael from Guatemala (plate 45) and in the scales held by this archangel two hearts emphasize the role of St. Michael as weigher of souls.

The figure of St. Peter (plate 46) is represented in the Salvadorean painting holding the keys of heaven in his right hand. These keys were symbolically given by Christ to St. Peter (49). Therefore the reason for the representation of St. Peter in this purgatory painting is because he allows access to heaven (50) and also because he (and all Catholic priests, according to the Catholic tradition) have directly from Christ the power to forgive sins. The meaning of two keys (plate 47), is explained by Pacheco in his Arte de la Pintura (51). The representation of St. Peter wearing a blue tunic with an orange cloak is also mentioned by Pacheco (52). Gabriella Ferri Piccaluga and Gianvittorio Signorotto have pointed out the relationship that can be found between the ephisode of the release of St. Peter from the jail and the release of souls from purgatory. This relationship is probable because in some works purgatory is represented as a jail in which the soul waits to be released by angels (52). On the other hand,

Giuseppe M. Toscano mentions how in the motif of the tears of St. Peter, the Catholic Church sees the sinner who repents for his sins and cleans his soul. Therefore, St. Peter was proclaimed patron saint of repenants and of the sacrament of the Confession (54).

In the Salvadorean painting Christ is represented as dead on the Cross. Three angels sorround him. They hold cups in which they are collecting Christ's blood from the wounds in his side and his hands (plate 48). The collection of Christ's blood in cups, particularly the collection of the blood and water from the wound in Christ's side, is an allusion to the mass, which is considered the renewal of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross (55). Giuseppe M. Toscano in his book El Pensiero Cristiano nell'Arte has pointed out this allusion in certain European paintings. Two early works by Rogier Van der Weyden, one in the Museo del Prado and the other in the Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts, Anvers (56), include a crucifixion in the foreground while in the background a priest, celebrating the mass in the nave of a Gothic church, is raising up the host. This moment of the mass, acording to the belief of the Catholic Church, is when the bread and the wine are transformed in the flesh and blood of Christ.

Toscano also mentions the motifs, often represented in art, of St. Gregory's vision and Christ in the vineyard as other allusions to the connection between the sacrifice of Christ and the celebration of the mass. In a relief by Luigi Capponi (plate 49) who was active in the second half of the fifteenth century, St. Gregory is celebrating the mass in front of an altarpiece with the figure of Christ. From the wound of Christ's side, blood is falling into the cup placed in the altar. Other motifs, related to the judgment of the soul and the Eucharist, are represented by Toscano, such as a relief from the fourteenth century in which a soul is saved from hell when the cup of Christ's blood is placed in one plate of the scales held by St. Michael (plate 50). For Toscano, the meaning of this scene is clear: "l'anima si salva perchè ha partecipato alla virtù salvifica della Messa" (57). A similar motif is presented in an Italian altarpiece (plate 51) dated 1717. In this work the Virgin Mary is represented pouring the blood of Christ in one of the plates of the scales holded by the figure of Justice. A putto is presenting to Mary another chalice with blood, however it is no longer necessary, as the blood of Christ has unbalanced the scales: one of the souls represented at the foot of the Cross has been saved from purgatory. A more explicit representation of this connection between

the sacrifice of Christ, the Eucharist and souls in purgatory is presented in the wood engraving from the seventeenth century (plate 52). From the wound of Christ's side a ray of light passes through the host in the monstrance (the Blessed Sacrament), which is placed on the altar, to finally reach the souls in purgatory.

In a Spanish print from 1622 (plate 53), the motif of the Mass of St. Gregory is represented in the foreground. Christ is represented on the altar and the blood from his side is falling into the chalice. In the background Christ is shown feeding the souls in purgatory because: "...también éstas pueden participar del bien de la Eucaristía" (58). A colonial artist from Cuzco painted a special representation of purgatory that points to the relation between this place and the mass (plate 54,a). This anonymous artist probably took as a model a print from a painting by Rubens (54,b), dated around the 1630s. The inclusion in the background of the motif of the Mass of St. Gregory, which remarks the effectiveness of masses for the souls, and the replacement of St. Teresa of Avila by the figure of the Virgin Mary (or Mary Magdalen) are changes that this Latin American artist made to the original composition.

The emphasis in the representation of the blood of

Christ collected by the three angels is also due to the Catholic belief that Christ's blood cleanses mortal sins. St. Mary Magdalen dei Pazzi said that Christ's blood releases souls from purgatory (see p. 11). This belief was represented in art. In the etching, Il mondo lavato del sangue di Cristo by Bernini (plate 55), the blood from Christ's wounds flows to clean all the humanity. The female figure who extends her arms to receive the blood from Christ's side could be Mary or the figure of the Catholic Church. This motif is repeated in a Mexican painting by Antonio Rodríguez, called Alegoría de las almas del purgatorio (plate 6). This painting, dated 1677, presents many souls suffering in purgatory while saints are interceding for them. On the top of the painting, Christ is represented with God the Father and the Holy Ghost. From the wound of Christ's side, blood is fallen first into the hands of the Virgin and then in purgatory. In the Salvadorean painting the emphasis on the amount of blood that floods from the wound of Christ's side is evident. This characteristic is also present in the representations of the Mass of St. Gregory already mentioned. A Salvadorean representation of purgatory, dated 1890 (plate 56), which shows one angel collecting in one big cup the blood from the wound of Christ's side, follows the same tradition and presents the same message:

masses can help the souls in purgatory.

In this painting (plate 56) the Virgin points to Christ, or more specifically, to the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, which is a symbol of the Mass, as it was mentioned before. However, Mary is represented as "Nuestra Señora de la Merced, redención de cautivos" (Our Lady of Mercy, redemption of captives). The Virgin is represented wearing the traditional white habit with the emblem of the Mercedarian Order, which was founded in Spain during the thirteenth century to release Christian captives by the Moslims (59). In this painting the Virgin is releasing souls with the mercedarian scapular while St. Francis on the other side is using his girdle (a similar motif is presented in plate 11). The crucifix is placed among the souls and flames of purgatory, while on top the symbol of the Holy Ghost appears over the Cross. This motif also appears in the painting from Atiquizaya (plate 16), however without the figure of God the Father, who is not included in the painting. Despite the differences in both paintings, the meaning is the same: the power of masses and the intervention of Mary to release souls from purgatory. Among its flames, in the nineteenth century painting, the depiction of one bishop and a queen, means that still at the end of this century

purgatory was conceived as a place of social equality.

Notes to chapter IV

(1) "On the iconography of purgatory, a vast subject still largely unexplored,...."

Jacques Le Goff, The Birth of Purgatory, p. 420, note 2

(2) This relationship between the rosary and souls in purgatory was represented in prints. See: Walter L. Strauss, The Illustrated Bartsch (New York: Abaris Books, 1984), plates .018(b) and .133S1.

About the representation of the Virgin of the Rosary and souls in purgatory, Manuel Trens says: "Este es un tipo iconográfico generalmente sin monumentalidad, extraño a la gran pintura y escultura, y casi limitado a la ilustración de tratados y estampas populares." Manuel Trens, María, iconografía de la Virgen en el arte español (Madrid: Editorial Plus Ultra, 1947), p. 314.

A colonial painting from Perú (plate 9) represents the Virgin of the Rosary and souls in purgatory. This composition could have been taken from a European print.

(3) Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, p. 215.

(4) Another paintings of type A can be found in: Philippe Ariés, Images of Man and Death, plate 239. See also plates 23 and 54a.

(5) For more paintings of type B see:

- Alfred Moir, The Italian Followers of Caravaggio (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), plate 182.
- Artes de México, No. 56/57 (1964), p. 85.
- Giuseppe M. Toscano, El Pensiero Cristiano nell'Arte, volume terzo, figs. 538, 544.
- Nicola Spinoza, Pittura Napoletana del Settecento (Napoli: Electa, 1986), plate 251.
- Jose Rogelio Ruiz Gomar C., La Capilla del Señor de Contreras..... (Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 52 [1983]), fig. 6.
- Richard Cocke, Pier Francesco Mola (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), plate 3.
- Pál Kelemen, Peruvian Colonial Painting (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1972), plate 27.
- Robert L. Shalkop, A comparative view of Spanish Colonial painting, (Colorado Springs: The Taylor Museum of the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, 1970), plate 4.

See also plate 19

(6) Other paintings of type C can be found in:
- Antonio Morasi, A complete catalogue of the paintings of G. B. Tiepolo (London: Phaidon Press, 1962).
plate 218.
- Giuseppe M. Toscano, El Pensiero Cristiano nell'Arte
vol. terzo, fig. 542.
- Egidio Martini, La Pittura Veneziana del Settecento
(Venezia: Edizioni Marciane, 1964), fig. 254.
John B. Knipping in his book Iconography of the Counter-Reformation in the Netherlands (vol. 2, p. 340) says: "The most current image was flames enveloping totally or partly nude figures in the attitudes of supplication and prayer, with angels floating about them. These kind of formulae had already been applied in the early sixteenth century."
See also plate 37.

(7) For another painting of type D see:
Enrique Valdivieso González and Alfredo J. Morales Martínez, Sevilla Oculta: monasterios y conventos de clausura (Sevilla: F. Arenas Peñuela, 1980), fig. 182.

(8) Gabriella Ferri Piccaluga and Gianvittorio Signorotto, L'immagine del suffragio (Storia dell'arte 49, 1983), p. 240.

(9) "Before being considered a place, Purgatory was first conceived as a kind of fire, whose location was not easy to specify but which embodied the doctrine from which the later doctrine of purgatory was to develop."
Jacques Le Goff, The Birth of Purgatory, p. 43.

(10) "From the Old Testament, Clement and Origen took the notion that fire is a divine instrument, and from the New Testament the idea of baptism by fire (from the Gospels) and the idea of a purification trial after death (from Paul)."
Ibid., p. 53.

(11) Ibid., pp. 41, 43.

(12) "If fire came to occupy a place of paramount importance in the symbolic system of purgatory and ultimately became the symbol of the doctrine par excellence, it generally figured in a symbolic pair, coupled with water."
Ibid., p. 9.

(13) See: -Charles Dejob. De l'influence du Concile de Trente sur la littérature et les beaux-arts chez les peuples catholiques (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1969), pp. 240-260.

-Julián Gallego. Visión y símbolos en la pintura española del siglo de oro (Madrid: Cátedra, 1984), pp. 68-71.

-Émile Mâle, L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente, pp. 1-3.

(14) "Furthermore in the invocation of the saints, the veneration of relics, and the sacred use of images, all superstition shall be removed, all filthy quest for gain eliminated, and all lasciviousness avoided, so that the images shall not be painted and adorned with a seductive charm,..."

Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, p. 214.

(15) See in Francisco Calvo Serraler, La Teoría de la Pintura en el siglo de Oro, (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1981):

-Francisco de Braganza?, Copia de los pareceres y censuras de los reverendísimos padres y maestros y señores catedráticos de las insignes universidades de Salamanca, y de Alcalá, y de otras personas doctas. Sobre el abuso de las figuras, y pinturas lascivas y deshonestas, que se muestra que es pecado mortal pintarlas, esculpiras y tenerlas patentes donde sean vistas. 1632, pp. 237-258.

-Vicente Carducho, Diálogos de la pintura, su defensa, origen, esencia, definición, modos y diferencias, 1633. p. 318.

See also Francisco Pacheco, Arte de la Pintura. Notes by Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón (Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de don Juan, 1956), p. 345.

(16) Julián Gallego, Visión y símbolos en la pintura española del siglo de oro, p. 69.

(17) Elisa Vargas Lugo, La expresión pictórica religiosa y la sociedad colonial. Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas (50/1, [1982]), pp. 61-63, 73-74.

(18) José Moreno Villa, Lo Mexicano en las Artes Plásticas (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1986), pp. 141-149.

(19) Giorgio T. Faggin, Hans Memlinc (Milano: Fratelli Fabbri Editori, 1966), fig. II.

(20) The presence of Guardian Angels in purgatory was also mentioned by St. Mary Magdalen dei Pazzi (see p. 11). Gabriella Ferri Piccaluga and Gianvittorio Signorotto in their article L'immagine del suffragio (Storia dell'Arte 49 [1983], note 17) say that the description of the role of the Guardian Angel in purgatory can be found in: M. Pelaez, Visioni di Francesca Romana (Roma, 1981). On pages 237 and 238 of the same article, Ferri Piccaluga and Signorotto describe an altar from 1687 located in the parish church of Cemmo. The central panel of the altar, representing the Virgin of El Carmen with saints and souls in purgatory, is flanked by two small sculptures of St. Michael and the Guardian Angel guiding a child. Obviously, the representation of these two figures flanking the images of the Virgin of El Carmen and the souls became a popular motif in the context of purgatory representations.

(21) See: Enrique Valdivieso, Catálogo de Pinturas de la Catedral de Sevilla (Sevilla, 1978), plates XIV and LIX. For more about the motif of the Guardian Angel see: Émile Mâle, L'Art religieux apres le Concile de Trente, pp. 307-309.

(22) "No mas de treinta y cinco anos tendrá la reina viuda (doña Mariana de Austria), enfundada como tal en sus tocas monjiles; Carreño, a quien la reina protegió, la representa [] como gobernante sentada en su sillón de clavos..."
E. Lafuente Ferrari, Museo del Prado. Pintura española de los siglos XVII y XVIII (Madrid: Aguilar, S.A. de Ediciones, 1969), p. 282.

(23) "Tras el grupo de la infanta y sus acompañantes, en el penumbroso rincón de la estancia, doña Marcela de Ulloa, con sus tocas de viuda que tanto se asemejan al hábito monjil..."
Ibid., p. 205.

(24) Philippe Ariés, Images of Man and Death. Translated by Janet Lloyd (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1985), plate 238.

(25) Juana Estarriol Jiménez, La Pintura de cuadros de Animas en Tenerife (Las Palmas: Mancomunidad de Cabildos, Plan Cultural y Museo Canario, 1981), p. 23.

(26) See Jonathan Brown, Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 128-146.

(27) "La sociedad virreinal con sus firmes creencias en la vida del más allá y con el aspecto religioso presente en todos los momentos de la vida, estuvo muy familiarizada con la muerte y por ende tenía el concepto de la 'vanidad de las cosas de este mundo'. En esto seguía el mundo pictórico presente en las obras de Pereda, de la escuela madrileña, y de Valdéz Leal de la escuela sevillana."

José de Mesa y Teresa Gisbert, Historia de la pintura Cuzqueña, tomo I (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese y Banco Wiese Ltda., 1982), p. 296.

(28) There are some suggestions about the date of this piece. One of them is that the tapestry was made for a memorial service for King Philip III of Spain and Pope Paul V, both of whom died in the same year, 1621. Pal Kelemen presents another possibility: the death in 1724 of Pope Innocent XIII and Louis I of Spain. However, skulls and skeletons representing the fragility of mundane things and the power of death over everybody were so popular during the colonial period that probably the skeletons on this cloth wearing a pope's tiara and a crown are not related with the death of a certain king and pope in the same year.

(29) Gonzalo Obregón, Representación de la muerte en el arte colonial (Artes de México, no. 145 [1971]), pp. 37-45. Obregón says in this article that the priest represented on the third page of the polyptych is the commissioner of this work, Obregón also says that the inscription in a tombstone on the same page: "Falleció don M.A.S. el día 10 de noviembre de 1775 de edad de 35 años, 2 meses y 11 días", represents the name of the priest and the date on which this polyptych was made.

(30) For more about the soul's gestures in purgatory see: Gabriella Ferri Piccaluga and Gianvittorio Signorotto, L'immagine del suffragio, pp. 243-245.

(31) According to Manuel Trens, (Maria, Iconografía de la Virgen en el arte español, p. 379), the representation in sculpture of the Virgin del Carmen wearing the Carmelite habit dates from the eighteenth century. However, this way of representing the Virgin del Carmen probably appeared in art earlier than the eighteenth century, because in a Spanish print from the end of the sixteenth century (plate 34), the Virgin is already represented wearing the Carmelite habit.

(32) Dizionario degli Istituti di perfezione, volume II (Roma: Edizioni Paoline, 1975), p. 507.

(33) Ibid., p. 507.

(34) "Le scapularie fut la grande dévotion que les Carmes répandirent dans le monde. Dès le XVI^e siècle, il n'y avait guère de famille, en Espagne, où on ne le portât: les deux filles de Philippe II l'avaient reçu dès l'enfance. L'Espagne et le Portugal ressemblait à une grande confrérie du Carmel."

Émile Male, L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente, p. 450.

(35) "The most extraordinary point in this century-old devotion to Carmel's Queen in Latin Countries in South America is that this devotion was not propagated by Carmelites The only explanation to be had is that Catholic Spain in the 15th and 16th centuries was so devoted to the Scapular that her sons Dominicans, Mercedarians, Franciscans, as well as Secular Clergy, were all enthusiastic apostles of Carmel's Queen." Take this Scapular (Chicago: The Carmelite Third Order Press, 1949), p. 120.

(36) Jose R. Buendía and Ismael Gutiérrez Pastor, Vida y Obra del pintor Mateo Cerezo (Burgos: Excelentísima Diputación Provincial de Burgos, 1986), plate 47.

(37) John B. Knipping, Iconography of the Counter-Reformation in the Netherlands (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graff, 1974), p. 342.

(38) For the motif of the Madonna delle Grazie see: Giuseppe M. Toscano, Il Pensiero Cristiano nell'Arte, vol. II (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1960), pp. 492-496.

(39) Ibid., plate 446.

(40) Pál Kelemen, Vanishing Art of the Americas (New York: Walker and Company, 1977), pp. 59-60.

(41) Juan Carrete Parrondo and others, Summa Artis, vol. XXXI (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1987), p. 429.

(42) "Christians invoke Michael as St. Michael, the benevolent angel of death, in the sense of deliverance and immortality, and for leading the souls of the faithful 'into the eternal light'. . . . As the angel of

the final reckoning and the weigher of souls (an office he shares with Dokiél, Zehanpuryu, and others) he holds in his hands the scales of justice."

Gustav Davidson, A Dictionary of Angels (New York: The Free Press, 1967), p. 194.

(43) "... si bien no se escusa decir algo de la insignia común que se le pinta, que es el peso [the scales], de que trato Molano largamente, el cual se pinta para que entiendan los ignorantes que tiene poder para recibir las almas de los hombres y pesar sus méritos, que es decir que en el juicio particular, como recto juez, despues de haberlos ponderado pronuncia la sentencia, como dice Juan Echio y otros Doctores, siendo asi que en el cielo no puede entrar l'alma [] que no fuere pura y sin mancha, pero significase por esta pintura que debemos estar libres de todo peso de pecado que nos oprime y agrava, para que el santo arcángel Miguel nos presente libres ante la luz eterna," Francisco Pacheco, Arte de la Pintura, p. 303.

(44) Antonio Gallo, Escultura colonial en Guatemala (Guatemala: Ministerio de Educación, 1979), p. 241.

(45) See María Eugenia Rodríguez Parra and Mario Ríos Villegas, Catálogo de Pintura Colonial en edificios Religiosos del Municipio de Toluca (Toluca: Universidad Autónoma del estado de México, 1984), pp. 20, 41, 68, 81, 95, 111.

(46) Juana Estarriol Jiménez, La pintura de cuadros de Animas en Tenerife, pp. 21-24.

(47) According to Butler's Lives of Saints, (pp. 631-632), this devotion to St. Joseph as the saint who can give a happy death "was late in obtain recognition." In this source it is mentioned that in the Rituale Romanum from 1614 there is no mention of St. Joseph in the ancient formularies for the help of the sick and dying. In the apocryphal History of Joseph the Carpenter, a book very popular in the East according to Butler's, it is mentioned that Jesus and Mary helped St. Joseph in his agony (hence St. Joseph, who was so well assisted in his final moments, can help the dying in the same way). Despite these considerations, it is remarkable that D. Tomás Cayetano de Ochoa y Arín in 1761 dedicated his book about the last years of life to St. Joseph (Gonzalo Obregón, Representación de la muerte en el arte colonial, p. 37). It is important to point out that the figure of St. Joseph is not depicted as a secondary figure in some Latin American paintings representing purgatory. Another fact to consider is the

representation of the death of St. Joseph. Émile Mâle (L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente, p. 324) explains why this motif was so popular in European painting after the Council of Trent: "C'est qu'il [St. Joseph] était le patron de la bonne mort et que beaucoup de confréries, formées sous ce vocable, l'avaient pris comme intercesseur..." The death of St. Joseph was often represented in colonial Latin American painting. Examples of these paintings can be found in: a) María Ester Ciancas, El arte en las iglesias de Cholula (México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1974), p. 111. b) Manuel Toussaint, Colonial Art in México (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1967), plate 318. c) María Eugenia Rodríguez Parra and Mario Ríos Villegas, Catálogo de Pintura Colonial en Edificios Religiosos del Municipio de Toluca, p. 149. Hence the devotion to St. Joseph as the patron saint of the dying could have been well known in Latin America during the colonial period.

(48) Castedo, in his book The Cuzco Circle (1976), says the banner that St. Michael is holding in this painting is the banner of the Resurrection, which emphasizes "his power as the selector of souls." However, this banner is the attribute of St. Michael as chief of the host of heaven, a role that is also mentioned by this scholar and by Francisco Pacheco: "S. Miguel es el príncipe de la celestial milicia en order a recibir todas las ánimas de los hombres." Francisco Pacheco, Arte de la Pintura, tomo II, p. 315.

(49) St. Mathew 16, 19.

(50) Hans Memling in one of the lateral panels of his triptych The Last Judgment (Notre-Dame, Dantzing, dated from the beginning of the decade of 1470) painted St. Peter with the keys in his hands welcoming the blessed in front of the gates of heaven. See Giorgio T. Faggin Hans Memling, fig. II

In Spain, an early representation of this motif in painting is the panel of the altar of Soriguerola, made by the Master of Soriguerola in the thirteenth century. In one of the scenes of this painting, St. Peter is represented at the gates of heaven. He is holding the keys in his right hand and with his left hand he is grasping the arm of a small naked figure (a soul), which is carried by an angel. See: Joan Ainaud de Lasarte, Catalan Painting, (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1990), p. 130.

(51) "Y quizá no se ha observado hasta ahora por que le pintan la una de oro y la otra de plata [the keys], como se ve en muchas iglesias de [] Italia y Roma, por la llave de oro se entiende la potestad de la absolución; por la de plata, la de la excomuni6n, porque 6sta es inferior y aqu6lla, superior." Francisco Pacheco, Arte de la Pintura, tomo II, p. 315

(52) Ibid., p. 315.

(53) Gabriella Ferri Piccaluga and Gianvittorio Signorotto, L'immagine del suffragio, pp. 240-241, 244.

(54) Giuseppe M. Toscano, El Pensiero Cristiano nell'Arte, p. 320.

(55) "Gesù ha istituito l'Eucaristia durante la sua Passione, ed ha voluto rinnovarvi il sacrificio del Calvario. Rinnovando un sacrificio, l'Eucaristia è divenuta essa medesima un sacrificio." Giuseppe M. Toscano, Il Pensiero Cristiano nell'Arte, volume terzo, p. 517.

"The special significance attaching to the wound of Christ's side and much of the symbolism surrounding it is due first to St. Augustine. The 'blood and water' which, according to St. John issued from the wound was conceived by him to represent the Eucharist and Baptism ... From the 14th century one or more angels, each bearing a chalice, are similarly engaged floating beside the cross, one at each wound." James Hall, Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art (New York, Hagerstown: Harper & Row, 1974), p. 85.

(56) Giuseppe M. Toscano, El Pensiero Cristiano nell'Arte, vol. terzo, figs. 465-467.

(57) Ibid., p. 531.

(58) Juan Carrete Parrondo and others, Summa Artis, vol. XXXI, p. 290.

(59) This twenty century association of Our Lady of Mercy with purgatory is based in some representations of purgatory as a jail mentioned by Ferri Piccaluga and Signorotto (see note 49). Since Our Lady of Mercy was invoked to release Christians from the Moslims jails, she could release souls imprisoned in purgatory. Representations of souls with chains among the flames are also connected with this vision of purgatory as a jail.

V. Conclusions

The Salvadorean painting of Purgatory reflects the vision of purgatory and the teachings about it that were diffused by the Catholic Church after the Council of Trent. Through this painting the Church assures us:

- of the existence of purgatory, in which souls are cleansed before their entering into heaven.
- of the effective intervention of the Virgin Mary in the release of souls from purgatory. The Catholic belief that the Virgin del Carmen will release the soul of the worshiper on the next Saturday after his death is emphasized in the painting by the representation of the Virgin grasping the arm of a departed soul.
- of the power of Masses for the dead to achieve a rapid release of souls from purgatory. The mass is symbolized in the painting by the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross. The emphasis on the shedding of his blood, which is collected by three angels, is an allusion to the doctrine that Christ's blood cleanses the soul of sin.
- of the power of popes, bishops and priests in the forgiveness of sins. In the Salvadorean painting, the figure of St. Peter is the representative of the entire Catholic hierarchy. St. Peter is considered by

Catholics the first pope; and he is represented in the painting as holding both a golden key, which represents the excommunication (a prerogative of all Catholic bishops) as well as a silver key, which is a symbol of the confession (an office of all Catholic priests).

This painting represents the colonial Latin American vision of purgatory. Souls are suffering or waiting for their release from its flames. While some souls are represented praying with clasped hands and closed eyes, others are raising their hands and eyes to the Virgin, begging for release. Obviously, the message of this representation conveys a moralistic intention. The depiction of souls suffering among the flames makes the worshiper fear to be subject to such sufferings, and therefore to follow a righteous life. The writings of saints and visionaries also supported the same moral program, when they described the terrible sufferings of souls in purgatory. However, feelings of faith and hope are also present among the figures depicted in the attitude of prayer. One soul in the bottom right hand corner of the painting looks toward the viewer with a hand on her cheek. This posture reflects hope, and a patient expectation of her release from the purgatorial flames. The depictions of a bishop, a nun, and a Black, in addition to representations of young

and old people among the flames, show a vision of purgatory as a place of social equality. Such a representation of departed souls is not present in the Italian paintings mentioned in this thesis, but it is a common feature in many colonial Latin American paintings, as well as in the early French representations mentioned above (plate 24 and see note 22 in chapter IV).

Two unusual characteristics of this painting are its representation of the Virgin del Carmen grasping the arm of a soul, and the representation of St. Peter in purgatory. As it was mentioned before, the representation of Our Lady of Light was the model for the figure of the Virgin in such a position in the Salvadorean painting. The figure of St. Peter, despite his role as the guardian of the gates of heaven, was not very often represented in purgatory. On the other hand, St. Michael is one of the most popular figures in representations of purgatory. Both figures, despite their attributes related to the fate of souls, are represented as waiting the final decision about a soul, which has to come from God the Father. In contrast with the attitudes of both figures, the Virgin del Carmen is not shown as obliged to await such a decision. She, supported by the sacrifice of Christ

(she stands at the foot of the Cross), is confidently drawing a departed soul out of the purgatorial fire.

In comparison with other images of purgatory, in the Salvadorean painting there is no gesture of intercession for the souls of the departed, and there are no angels pulling souls from the flames. There is an evident intention to simplify the composition. Therefore, with the hope of using fewer figures than other representations, the painter has focused his main message on the center of the composition: in the figures of the Virgin and the Crucified Christ, which represent respectively the devotions to the Carmelite scapular and the mass.

Latin American colonial paintings of purgatory became sermons painted on fabric. Obviously, these painted scenes would have been easier for many natives to understand than the preaching of their local clerics about purgatory. Such images, as represented by the Salvadorean painting and many others that are spread over Latin America, are not only colorful sermons, but also permanent teachings about what purgatory is and what the worshiper can do to shorten his stay among its purging fires.

Appendix A
Some considerations about the painting
El Purgatorio from the city of Atiquizaya.

When the archbishop Cortez y Larraz visited his diocese in 1769-1770, Atiquizaya was a small town which was part of the parish of Chalchuapa, a neighbor city. According to the priest of Chalchuapa, the population of Atiquizaya in 1769 was formed by 136 families (1). The archbishop Cortéz y Larraz, in his Descripción Geográfico-Moral de la Diócesis de Guatemala, says that Atiquizaya was inhabited by ninety one families of mestizos (2).

Although without a priest living in town, in Atiquizaya, around 1770, there was a church and a brotherhood of souls, according to Phelipe Aceytuno, priest of Chalchuapa: "...a dos cuadas del Sur, y en tierras de Exidos del Pueblo esta la Hacienda de Animas que es de la Iglecia y Cofradía y ésta misma tiene un Trapiche por suyo." (3). Therefore, the painting El Purgatorio from Atiquizaya could have been commissioned by this brotherhood of souls, since it had a plantation and a sugar mill, and probably enough funds to pay for this painting.

The comission had to be made after 1770 considering

that in this year the representation and devotion of Our Lady of Light was prohibited. Therefore, after 1770, it is possible that the representation of the Virgin del Carmen presents influences from the forbidden images of Our Lady of Light. These influences are evident in the painting from Atiquizaya.

Considering the style, this painting does not present the characteristic compositions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with saints and angels interceding for the souls and pulling them from the flames, while the naked figures in purgatory beg their release with dramatic gestures. The composition is simple and it is evident the balance and serenity in the postures of the figures without the flowing draperies (except Mary's veil) and complicated postures which are very common in the representations of purgatory from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, from this period it is evident a sense of drama in certain details of the painting, such as the realistic depiction of the sores in the knees and in the left shoulder of Christ, as well as in the flood of blood from the wound of his side.

Although all these considerations about the Salvadorean painting could be evidences that this work

dates from the late eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century, further studies, specially on colonial representations from Guatemala, have to be made in order to establish a certain date for the painting from Atiquizaya.

Notes to Appendix A.

(1) Relación de las cofradías y hermandades del arzobispado de Pedro Cortéz y Larraz. Cited by Santiago Montes, Etnohistoria de El Salvador, tomo II, p. 205.

(2) Pedro Cortéz y Larraz, Descripción Geográfico-Moral de la Diócesis de Goathemala, tomo I (Guatemala: Biblioteca "Goathemala" de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala, 1958), p. 232.

(3) Relación de las cofradías y hermandades del arzobispado de Pedro Cortéz y Larraz. Cited by Santiago Montes, Etnohistoria de El Salvador, tomo II, p. 206.

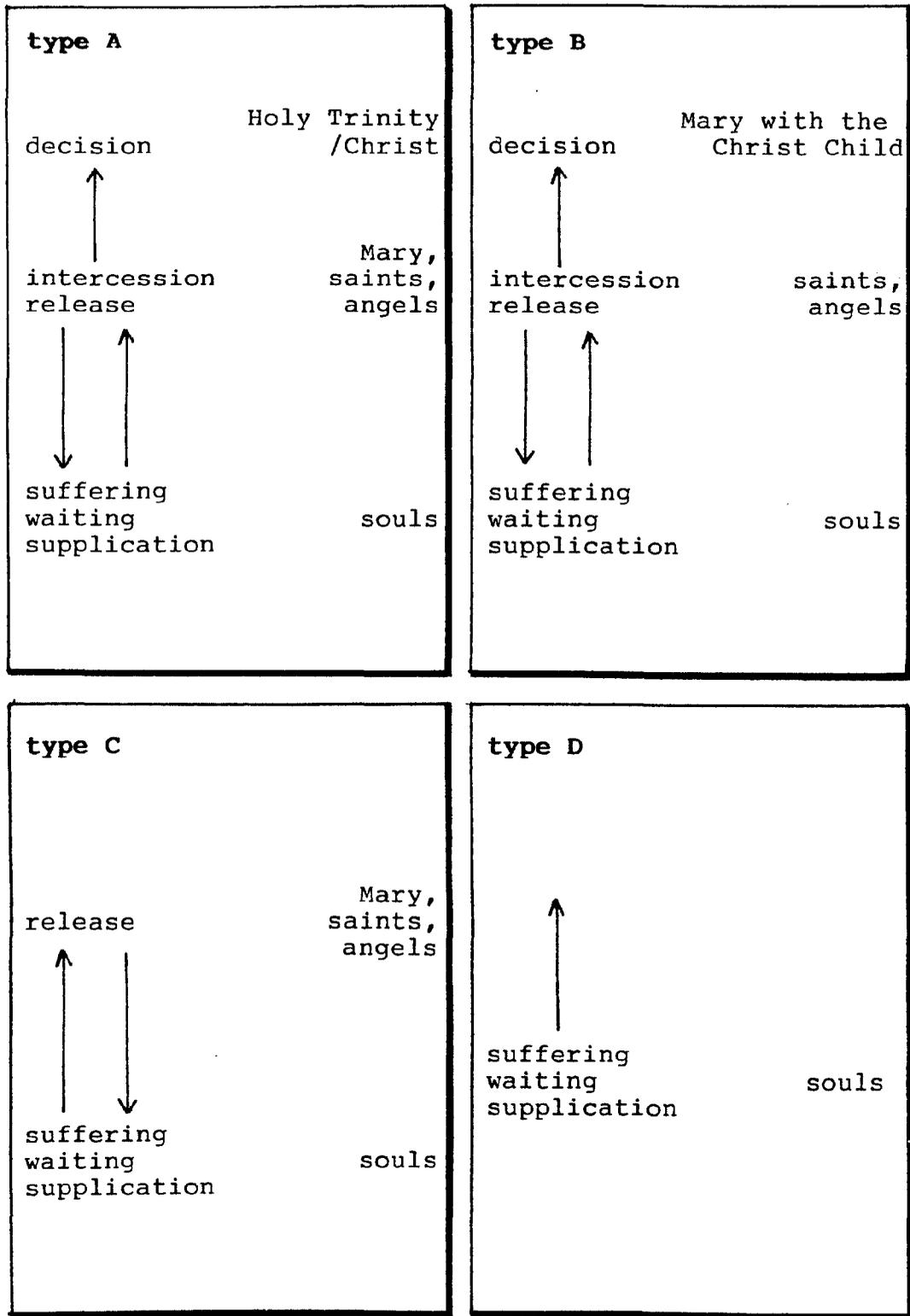
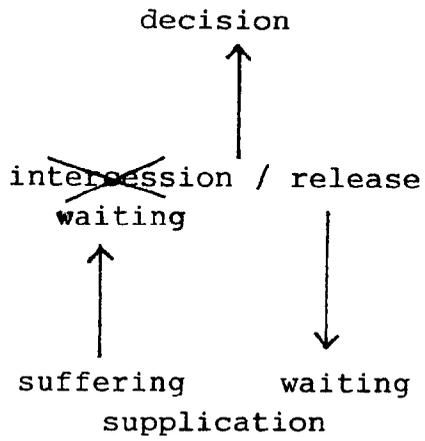


Figure 1. Classification of paintings repres. purgatory

type A: the Salvadorean painting



type A: the Salvadorean painting

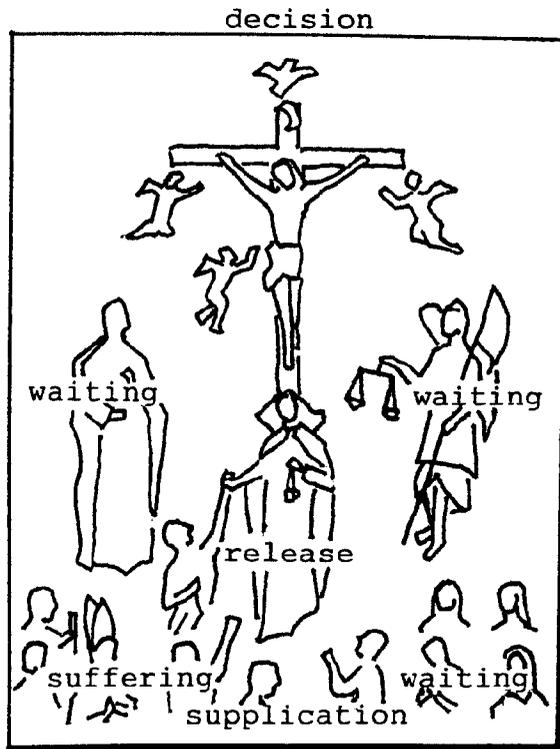


Figure 2. The Salvadorean painting

Nos Trimerio, e Guardiani della V. Confraternità di
GIUSEPPE MARLA E GIUSEPPE
 canonicamente instruiti per Suffragio dell' ANIME FIV BI:
 SOGNOSE del Purgatorio Hauendo annuo nel numero de Es:
 agiatori *Antonio Cassella* la *seccazione*
 con la presente dichiariamo che conuando *elli fratelli*
 per tutto il tempo della sua vita senza mai traduciere nella
 somministrazione di un *proprio* il mese come spontaneamente
 si e esibito per il mantenimento dell' suffragi di Messa et altro
 che di proprio instituto si fanno dalla detta Confraternita con l'
 aiuto della sua morte e restituzione della presente cedola se
 gli faranno subito celebrare Messa Base à requie manuro
 se gli darà la sepultura gratis nella nostra Chiesa saba par:
 tepe dell' Annuersario che in un giorno tra l' oraua di Morti si celebrara ogn' anno in perpetuo per tutti i nostri fratelli
 e sorelle del detto Numero e di tutti i suffragi soliti farsi dalla Medesima Confraternita Auertendo che li Pagamenti non
 si haeranno per boni se no con riceuta del fratello esattore da deputarsi da noi e nostri successori puo tem:
 pore quai riceute si doueranno fare a tergo della presente Cedola o pure in foglio a parte così fermato
 stabile e Decretato nelle nostre Conuogazioni secreta e Generale tenute li 4. Ottobre 1689.
 Dal nostro Oratorio questo di *17* del Mese di *Marzo* dell' Anno 1689.

Antonio Cassella
Antonio Cassella
Antonio Cassella
Antonio Cassella

1689

Antonio Cassella Secretario

1. Diploma issued by the brotherhood of souls of Purgatory. Private collection, 1691 (after Ariès).



2. Soul in Purgatory. Private collection, eighteenth century? (after Montes).



3. Philippe de Champagne, Les âmes du Purgatoire. Musée de Toulouse (after Mâle).



4. Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, The Purgatory. San Paolo, Bologna, seventeenth century (after Pigler).



5. Gregorio Vázquez Ceballos, El Purgatorio. Church at Funza, Colombia, 1670 (after Groot et al).



6. Antonio Rodríguez. Alegoría de las almas del purgatorio. Sacristía del ex-convento de Churubusco, México, 1677 (after Toussaint).



7. Domenico Cresti (Il Passignani). Il Purgatorio.
Galleria di Parma, seventeenth century (after Toscano)



8. Massimo Stanzione, Il Purgatorio. Chiesa del Purgatorio al Arco, Napoli, seventeenth century (after Toscano).



9. Anonymous. Virgin of the Rosary with portraits of Manuel Cayoso Guevara and Bishop Moscozo y Peralta. Church of Urubamba, Perú, 1784 (photo: Archbishop of Cuzco and World Monuments Fund).



10. Thaddeus Kuntz. San Filippo Neri intercede per le anime presso la Madonna del Carmelo. Parish church, Casalattico, eighteenth century (after Rudolph).



11. Guatemalan School. The Virgin of Carmen with Saints Dominic and Francis of Assisi, detail. Private collection, seventeenth century (after Reading Public Museum).



12. Basilio Santa Cruz. San Francisco transita por el Purgatorio. Cloister of San Francisco at Cuzco, Perú, 1667 (photo: Archbishop of Cuzco and World Monuments Fund).



13. Manuel Peti. El Purgatorio. Valladolid, seventeenth century (after Valdivieso González).



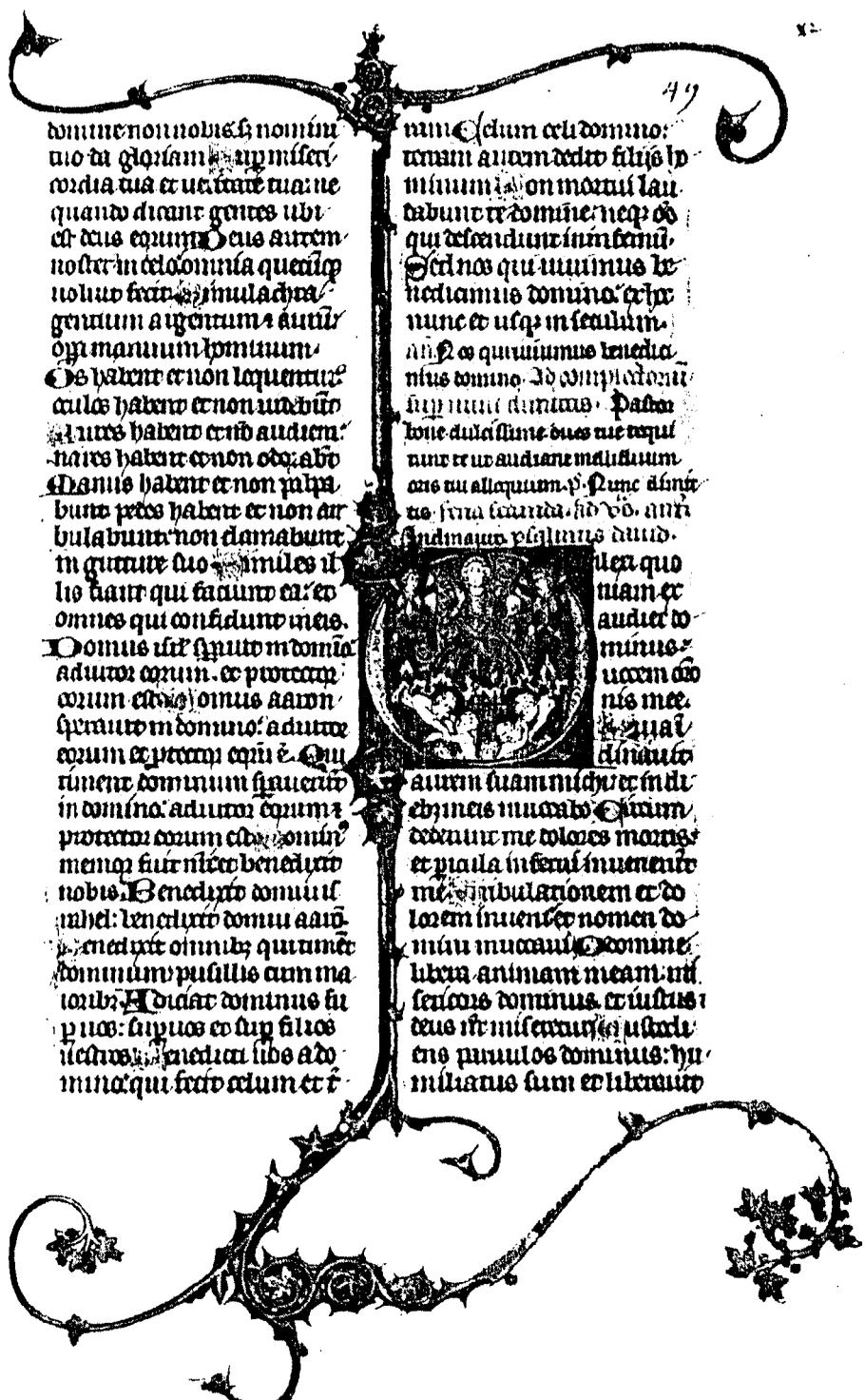
14. Anonymous. Ascent of a Christian soul from purgatory. Church at Maras, Perú, eighteenth century? (photo: Bishop of Cuzco and World Monuments Fund).



15. Alonso Cano. Souls in Purgatory. Museo Provincial de Sevilla, Sevilla, c. 1636 (after Wethey).



16. Anonymous. El Purgatorio. Parish church of Atiquizaya, El Salvador, eighteenth century? (photo: author).



domine non nobis s; nomini
 tuo in gloriam. sup miseric
 cordia tua et ueritate tua: ne
 quando dicant gentes ubi
 est deus eorum. Deus autem
 noster in celo omnia quecunq;
 uoluerit fecit. simulachra
 gentium a argentum et aurum
 op; manuum hominum.
Des habent et non loquentur
 oculos habent et non uident
 et uires habent et non audient.
 nares habent et non odorantur.
 Nasus habent et non palpa
 bunt pedes habent et non ar
 bulabunt non clamabunt
 in guttore suo. Similes il
 lis sunt qui faciunt ea: et
 omnes qui confidunt in eis.
Domus ista habitatio in domo
 aduitorum eorum. et protectio
 eorum est. Omnis autem
 spera uero in domino: aduitor
 eorum et protectio eorum est. Qui
 timeat dominum fauentur
 in domino: aduitor eorum et
 protectio eorum est. Omnis
 mentis fuit misericordie benedictio
 nobis. Benedixit domus il
 iahel: benedixit domus aam
 et benedixit omnibus qui timeat
 dominum pusillis cum ma
 ioribus. **D**idit dominus su
 p uos: sup uos et sup filios
 uelut os. **P**roducta uos a do
 mino qui fecit celum et t

49
 rum. **C**elum celi domino:
 terram autem dedit filiis ho
 minum. Non mortui lau
 dabunt te domine: neq; os
 qui descendit in infernum.
Sed nos qui uiuimus be
 nediciamus domino: et hoc
 nunc et usq; in seculum.
 an. **R**es qui uiuimus benedica
 ntis domino. **A**d complendum
 sup uos dominus. **P**astor
 bone dulcissime dices tunc requi
 rant te ut audiant malitiam
 ans tu aliquid. **P**. **R**unc abin
 te. **S**erua secunda. **S**id. **V**o. **A**nti
 phona. **P**salterius dauid.
Dilex quo
 niam et
 audiet to
 minus
 uocem oro
 nis mee.
Quia i
 diuato
 a uocem suam michi: et in di
 ebus meis inuocabo. **Q**uia in
 uocabunt me dolores mortis
 et puella in seculi inueniente
 me. **T**ribulationem et do
 lorem inueniet nomen do
 mini in uocant. **O** domine
 libera animam meam: ut
 seruatus dominus et iustus
 deus iste miseratus est uelut
 ens paruulos dominus: hu
 miliatus sum et liberauit



17. Anonymous. Judgment and Rescue from Purgatory. Breviary of Philip the Fair, Biblioteque nationale, Paris, 1296 (after Le Goff).



18. Anonymous. El Purgatorio, detail: soul holding a drapery. Parish Church of Atiquizaya, El Salvador, eighteenth century? (photo: author).



19. Anonymous, Cuzco School. The Madonna del Carmen with devotional Saints and Purgatory. Private collection, Munich, eighteenth century (taken from Barocke Malerei aus den Anden).



20. Anonymous. El Purgatorio, detail: a bishop. Parish church of Atiquizaya, El Salvador, eighteenth century? (photo: author).



21. Anonymous. El Purgatorio, detail: a nun. Parish church of Atiquizaya, El Salvador, eighteenth century? (photo: author).



22. Anonymous. Sor Manuela Ignacio Muñoz y Avila. Museo de Arte Colonial, Antigua Guatemala, eighteenth century (taken from Museo de Arte Colonial, Antigua Guatemala).



23. Anonymous. San Francisco intercediendo por las ánimas del purgatorio. Church of San Francisco at Calixtlahuaca, México, seventeenth century? (after Rodríguez Parra and Ríos Villegas).

amen dico uob. qz qui nomen
 meum. la nome sine commēce
 ambr. me am dico uo. qz veli.

erabo
 clony
 rony

En la commemoration trismo.

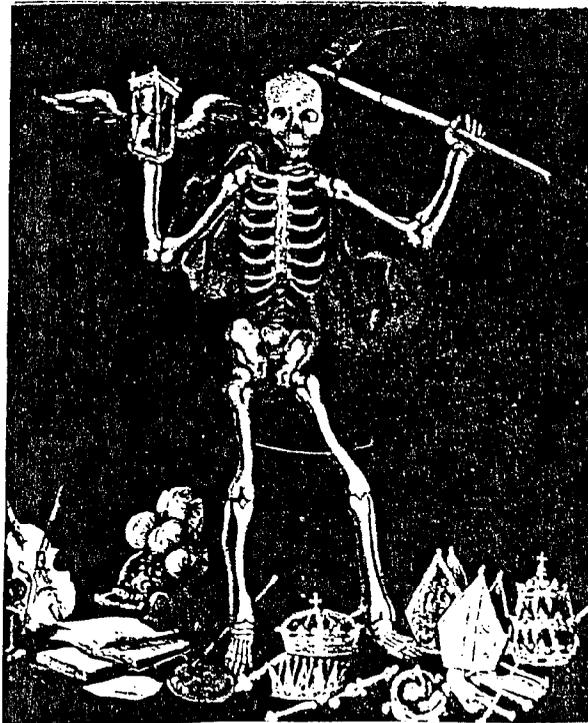
24. Anonymous. Leaving Purgatory. Breviary of Charles V, Biblioteque nationale, Paris, 1347-1380 (after Le Goff).



25. Anonymous. El Purgatorio, detail: a Black man.
Parish church of Atiquizaya, El Salvador, eighteenth
century? (photo: author)



26. a) Dionisio Cartujano, Cordial. Zaragoza, 1491 (after Sánchez Camargo).



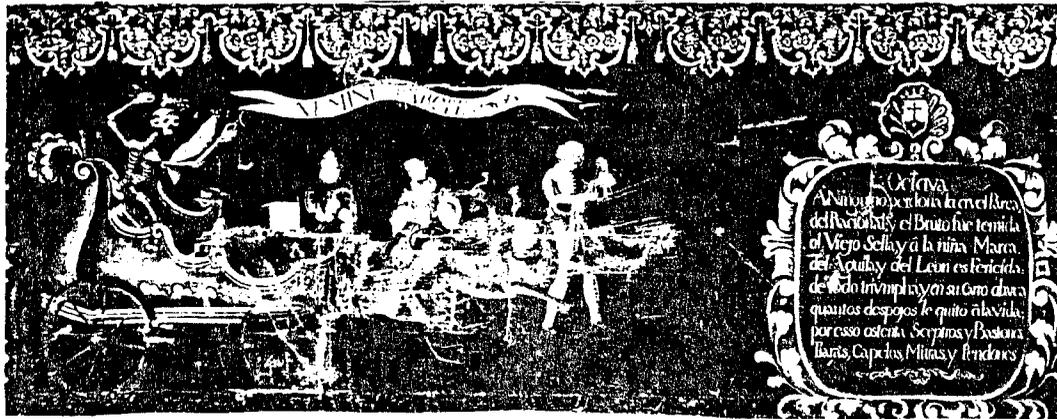
26. b) Anonymous, La muerte victoriosa. Private collection, Madrid, 1700 (after Sánchez Camargo).



27. a) Juan de Valdéz Leal. In ictu oculi. Hospital de la Caridad, Sevilla, 1672 (after Brown).



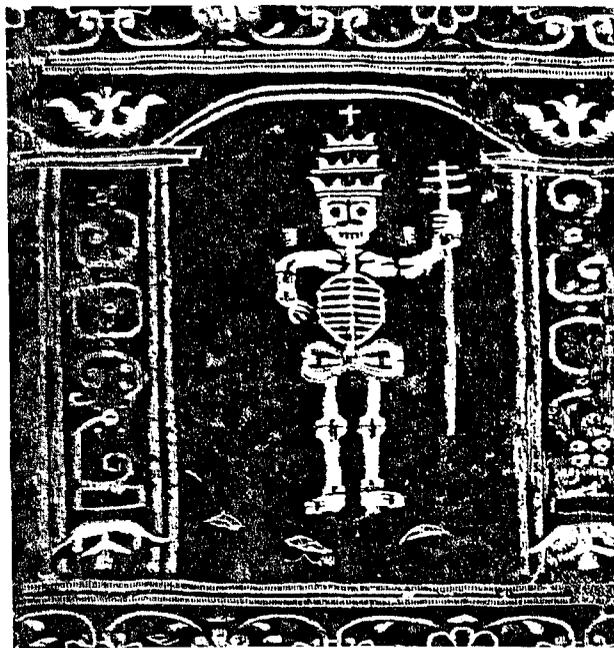
27. b) Juan de Valdéz Leal. Finis Gloriarum Mundi. Hospital de la Caridad, Sevilla, 1672 (after Brown).



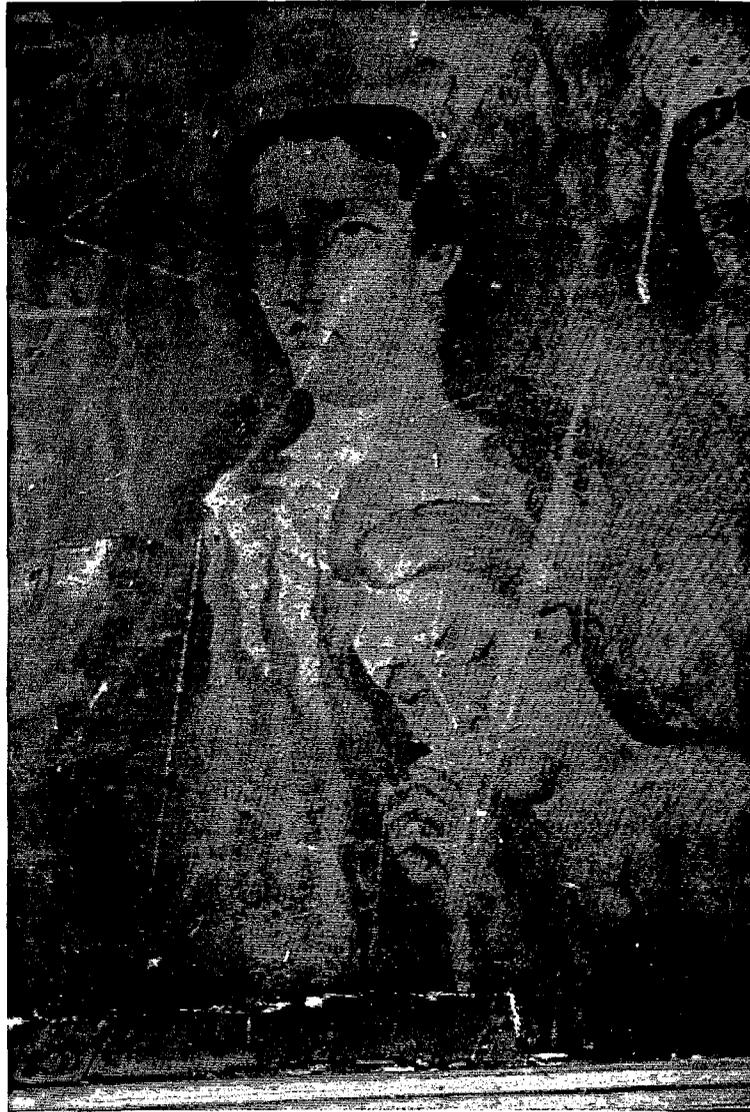
28. Anonymous. Catafalque of Toluca, detail: chariot of Death. Municipal Museum of Toluca, México, eighteenth century (after Kelemen).



29. a) Peruvian piece of cloth, detail: the dead emperor. Puno, Perú (after Kelemen).



29 b) Peruvian piece of cloth, detail: the dead pope. Puno, Perú (after Kelemen).



30. Anonymous. El Purgatorio, detail: souls suffering and praying. Parish church of Atiquizaya, El Salvador, eighteenth century? (photo: author).



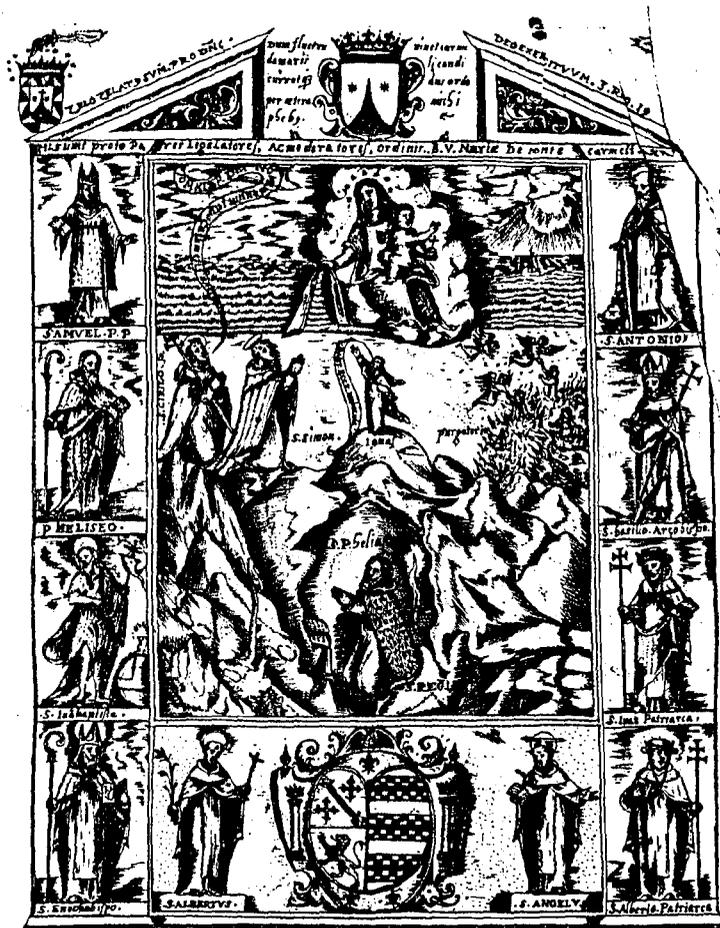
31. Anonymous. El Purgatorio, detail: soul waiting for her release. Parish church of Atiquizaya, El Salvador, eighteenth century? (photo: author).



32. Anonymous. El Purgatorio, detail: the Virgin del Carmen. Parish church of Atiquizaya, El Salvador, eighteenth century? (photo: author).



33. Pedro Peret. María intercediendo por las almas del purgatorio. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, 1599 (after Carrete Parrondo).



DIVCIDARIO IDEMOS TRACION DELAS CHRONICAS I ANTIGVEDAD

Del dicho orden de la siempre virgen madre de Dios santa Maria del monte carmelo. por el maestro Frai Diego de corra real donado de la provincia del Andaluzia del dicho orden

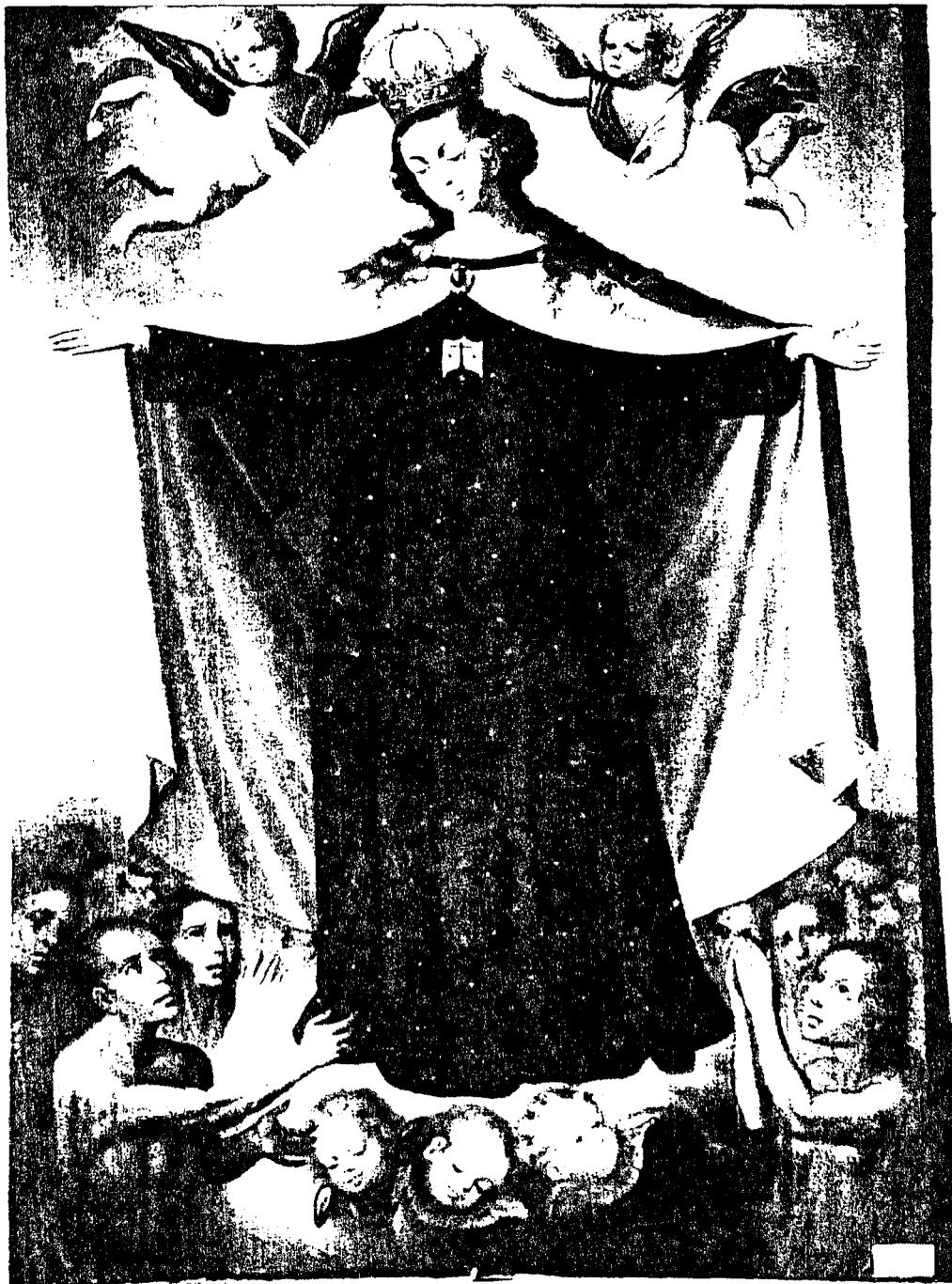
Dirigido al Licenciado Alonso nuñez de los rios de la corte de su magestad y de la santa y pontifical yquisition

Impreso en cordova. Año de 1598. en la casa de andrés bavera impresor i mercader de libros.

34. Anonymous. La Virgen del Carmen. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, 1598 (after Carrete Parrondo).



35. Anonymous. Virgen del Carmen. Church at Maras, Perú, eighteenth century (photo: Archbishop of Cuzco and World Monuments Fund).



37. Anonymous. Virgen del Carmen coronada. Museum of San Francisco, Cuzco, Perú, eighteenth century (photo: Archbishop of Cuzco and World Monuments Fund).



38. Anonymous. El Purgatorio, detail: the Virgin del Carmen. Parish church of Atiquizaya, El Salvador, eighteenth century? (photo: author)



39. José de Páez. Nuestra Señora del Monte de Piedad.
Monte de Piedad, México, 1775 (after Toussaint).



40. a) Juan Bernabé Palomino. Virgen de la Luz. Private collection, 1753 (after Carrete Parrondo et al).



40. b) Anonymous. Our Lady of Light. México, eighteenth century (after Kelemen).



41. Anonymous. Virgen del Carmen, formerly Our Lady of Light. Museo Diocesano, Barcelona, seventeenth century (after Trens).



42. Anonymous. El Purgatorio, detail: St. Michael. Parish church of Atiquizaya, El Salvador, eighteenth century? (photo: author).



43. Anonymous. San Miguel Arcángel. Church of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Tecaxic, México, seventeenth century (after Rodríguez Parra and Ríos Villegas).



44. Anonymous. The Archangel Michael. Private collection, eighteenth century (after Castedo).



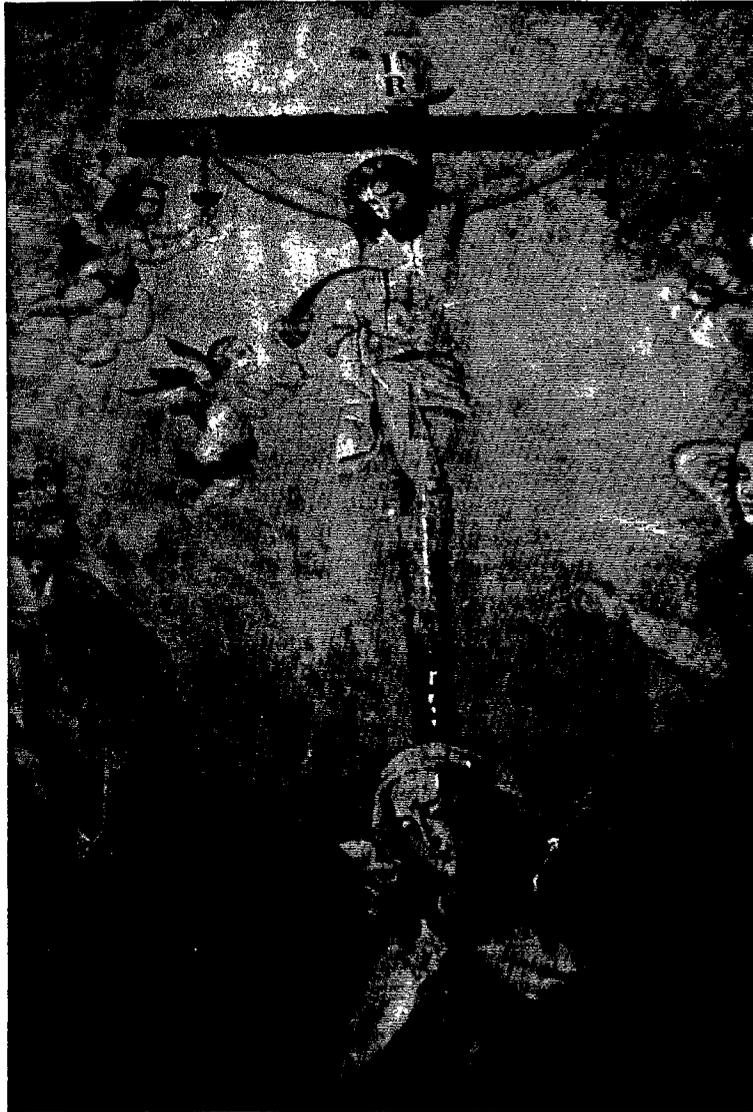
45. Anonymous. San Miguel Arcángel. Museo de Arte Colonial, Antigua Guatemala, Guatemala, eighteenth century (taken from Museo de Arte Colonial, Antigua Guatemala)



46. Anonymous. El Purgatorio, detail: St. Peter. Parish church of Atiquizaya, El Salvador, eighteenth century? (photo: author).



47. Anonymous. El Purgatorio, detail: the golden and the silver keys held by St. Peter. Parish church of Atiquizaya, El Salvador, eighteenth century? (photo: author).



48. Anonymous. El Purgatorio, detail: the Crucifix. Parish church of Atiquizaya, El Salvador, eighteenth century? (photo: author).



49. Luigi Capponi. La visione di S. Gregorio Magno.
Chiesa di San Gregorio, Roma, second half of the
fifteenth century (after Toscano).



50. Anonymous. Last Judgment, detail: St. Michael. Cathedral, Bourges, fourteenth century (after Toscano).



51. Bottega Fantoni, Pala scultorea del Suffragio.
Chiesa dei Disciplini, Solto Collina, 1717
(after Ferri Piccaluga and Signorotto).



52. Montauban. The Eucharist and Purgatory. Seventeenth century (after Toscano).



53. Alardo de Pompa. Exaltación de la Eucaristía.
 Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, 1622
 (after Carrete Parrondo).



54. a) Anonymous. Noli Me Tangere with the Mass of St. Gregory. Church of San Bartolomé, Perú, eighteenth century? (photo: Archbishop of Cuzco and World Monuments Fund).



54. b) Peter Paul Rubens. St. Teresa of Avila interceding for Bernardino de Mendoza. Royal Museum, Antwerp, 1630s. (after Dillon).



55. Gian Lorenzo Bernini. Il mondo lavato del sangue di Cristo. Galleria degli Uffizi, Firenze, seventeenth century (after Toscano).



56. Anonymous. El Purgatorio. Parish church of Panchimalco, El Salvador, 1890 (photo: author).

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