

PICTORIAL SATIRE IN VICEREGAL MEXICO: FRANCISCO AGÜERA BUSTAMANTE'S ENGRAVINGS FOR *LA PORTENTOSA VIDA DE LA MUERTE*

Elizabeth C. DeRose, Ph.D. Candidate

Whether dancing, carousing, or masquerading as Don Quixote or as a Revolutionary, the *calaveras* that populate José Guadalupe Posada's satirical illustrations exemplify Mexico's vibrant graphic tradition. Satire in Mexico, as a critical approach in graphic art meant to effect political and social change, began in the nineteenth century with Posada and his contemporaries. It then extended to the *Taller de Gráfica Popular* in the late 1930s and continues in the work of contemporary artists, such as Enrique Chagoya.¹ Pictorial satire in Mexico is thought to mirror the development of narrative publications that proliferated with the gradual liberalization of the press following Mexico's declaration of independence in 1821.² Prior to this time, printed illustrations were infrequent in books, pamphlets, newspapers, and broadsides due to the authoritarian control of the viceregal government. By the mid-nineteenth century, Mexican newspapers, such as *El Calavera* and *El Iris*, included illustrations that employed caricature and lampoon to satirize societal ills and governmental misdeeds.³ However, scholars have been indifferent or slow to examine the sources for the origin of pictorial satire in Mexico, particularly during the colonial period.

The image of viceregal Mexico City presented in the numerous maps, courtly *biombos*, and devotions is one of an orderly, wealthy, and devoutly Christian society.⁴ Though true, these representations reflect the hegemonic dominance of the Spanish crown and the Roman Catholic Church, and thus convey only half of the story. As Inquisition records attest, the authority of the Crown and the Church was continuously challenged. In many censored prints and books, another image of New Spain emerges, one in which satire was employed as a means to subvert authority.

Fray Joaquín Bolaños's 1792 moral satire, *La portentosa vida de La Muerte* was censored by the Inquisition several months after publication for its fabrication and perceived grotesque treatment of death.⁵ This book was written as a criticism against reforms of funerary practices by the Bourbon regime that undermined the Catholic stratagem of propagating ideas of death via representations to instill the fear of God in the faithful.⁶ Illustrating *La*

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portentosa are eighteen engravings that chronicle the fictitious life of Death by the little-known Mexican printmaker, Francisco Agüera Bustamante (active 1784-1829). Employing strategies of humor, irony, and sarcasm, the artist ridicules man's vices and shortcomings. Bustamante's illustrations add a new dimension to the existing knowledge of subversive prints, and, it is my contention, locate the origin of Mexican pictorial satire in the colonial era, providing a likely precedent for the nineteenth-century political cartoons that shaped the image of the revolution and Mexico's popular culture.

Satire in colonial Mexican graphic art has yet to enter the critical art historical discourse. Nevertheless, two recent studies by Julie Greer Johnson and Linda Curcio-Nagy, which explore the pervasiveness of satire throughout the colonial period in performance and literature, are indicative of the mounting rebellious tone of the late eighteenth century.⁷ The authors discuss how the creoles employed satire as a means of self-definition and political resistance against peninsular authority. One example relayed by Curcio-Nagy is the 1724 parade in honor of Louis I of Spain.⁸ The parade was composed of the usual thematic floats and marchers, though a satirical tone added to the spectacle. Students dressed as cats and riding on horseback accompanied one float while meowing and threatening the onlookers with their claws. The float featured an obese cook surrounded by pots filled with pork, a parody of the King. The group of students dressed as howling cats were meant to represent the King's subjects as they begged the cook for a few scraps of food. As the float passed, the cook threw pieces of meat at the crowd.

Among other anti-government sentiments was the Lord's Prayer in which the petitioner asked God to protect and save colonial subjects from the poor government inflicted on them by peninsular Spaniards.⁹ Courtly life and the subordinate status of women were also targeted. Critical of the idealized vision of femininity projected in courtly lyric poetry, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, one of New Spain's most celebrated poets, composed comical, satirical poems using the strategies of inversion, sarcasm, and burlesque. In *Respuesta*, for instance, she contends that even the world's greatest authorities could learn from women:

But, lady, as women, what wisdom may be ours if not the philosophies of the kitchen? Lupericio Leonardo spoke well

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when he said: how well one may philosophize when preparing dinner. And I often say, when observing these trivial details: had Aristotle prepared victuals, he would have written more.¹⁰

This blend of wit and criticism is similarly found in Bolaños's *La portentosa*, albeit not as overtly humorous. In the epitaph to the death of the doctor, Don Rafael Quirino Pimentel y de la Mata, who had been Death's greatest ally, Bolaños wrote:

This elegant funerary monument belongs to a doctor, as is evident. In dispatching people to the Otherworld he had no equal. With a single vomiting remedy that Don Rafael prescribed, he would sentence the sick man to the penalties of purgatory. Death now blushes with resentment because she has lost a life that has given her so many others. What a difficult and desperate situation! Death's own favored son was unable to escape her.¹¹

Although *La portentosa* finds its place among the canon of satirical literature covered by Johnson in *Satire in Colonial Spanish America*, it differs by its inclusion of illustrations.¹²

Satire is found in literature and performance, as well as in the graphic arts. The reason for the absence of knowledge of this pictorial genre during the colonial period is two-fold. First of all, the ephemerality of prints contributed to their easy disposal. This characteristic was magnified in a culture where paper was in constant shortage and therefore constantly recycled. Unfortunately, many prints have been lost. Others are tucked into books and stored in rare book collections. While preserved, they often remain obscure and inaccessible. Additionally, art historical scholarship largely overlooks graphic arts. For example, the Philadelphia Museum exhibition catalog for, *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820* discusses at length colonial painting, decorative arts, textiles, silver, sculpture, and furniture.¹³ Not one woodcut or engraving printed in New Spain is included. Rather, the authors perpetuate the stereotype of prints as mere models for copy.

Kelly Donahue-Wallace, professor of Art History at the University of North Texas, is the only English-speaking scholar who has investigated colonial

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Mexican printmaking in any depth. Her research has elevated printmakers from the label of simple “craftsman” to that of an intellectually and socially engaged artist.¹⁴ While Donahue-Wallace does not directly explore satire, she discusses subversive imagery and iconoclasm in viceregal prints.¹⁵ Donahue-Wallace contends that printmakers generally functioned outside the control of secular and ecclesiastical authorities.¹⁶ They catered to the needs and desires of their clientele, handling legal issues when they arose. The absence of publication approval requests for printed images in the Mexican National Archives further indicates that the civil laws requiring publication licenses for printed material were ignored. The Index of Prohibited Books issued every few years by the Inquisition included previously published texts and images.¹⁷ Although technically censored, many books remained in circulation. This phenomenon explains why Bolaños’ text was published and then censored months later.¹⁸

It is important to recognize that the significance of prints and print production in New Spain was not solely an eighteenth century phenomenon. Immediately following Cortés’ landing in the “New World,” woodcuts and engravings were employed as signs of authority and as didactic tools for conversion.¹⁹ While the printing press, introduced in Mexico City in 1539, was mainly used to create heraldic devices in official documents, images of devotion, and to illustrate histories, *vidas*, and scientific manuals, unorthodox imagery also existed. Playing cards were frequently decorated with unsanctioned imagery, a somewhat surprising fact since their production was government-regulated.²⁰ Marginalized sectors of society eventually appropriated and exploited the strategies used by both the imperial regime and evangelical clergy as powerful vehicles for moral and political criticism. Prints were particularly appealing for the dissemination of subversive expression. Since, as sheets of paper, they were inexpensive and accessible to all sectors of society, they could simply be destroyed or discarded, and multiple copies could be produced easily.²¹ “So long as artists could put knife or burin to a woodblock or copperplate and people could purchase the results for pennies,” says Donahue-Wallace, “the medium was too anonymous, too rapidly disseminated, and too widely popular in appeal to be contained.”²² Bolaños and Bustamente undoubtedly were aware of this print culture when they engaged in writing, illustrating, and publishing *La portentosa*, a social criticism that chronicles the birth, baptism, marriage, and death of its central character, “Death.” Both of them most likely knew

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that this subject would be viewed as an act of subversion and they must have been conscious of the possible consequences if caught under the mandates of the Inquisition.

Few contracts between patron and printer exist, and this is true of Bolaños and Bustamante. For this reason, the extent to which Bolaños dictated the details of each image or made the selection of chapters to illustrate is unclear. Typically, the printmaker created the image and then the patron was permitted to alter it at his discretion. There is no evidence to suggest that this arrangement was otherwise. Little is known of the printmaker Bustamante except that he was active in Mexico City from 1784–1829. He created at least sixty engravings and etchings, mainly for the publications of Joseph de Jauregui and Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros' firms—*La portentosa* was published by the former. In addition to these prints, he created devotional images, scientific illustrations, and engravings of pre-Hispanic stone carvings for *Descripción histórica y cronológica de las dos piedras* by Antonio de León y Gama in 1792, the very same year Bustamante illustrated *La portentosa*. This book was the first scholarly publication on the archeological discoveries made during the renovations of the Zócalo in the late 1780s. As will become clear, these contributions are significant as they confirm Bustamante's knowledge of Pre-Hispanic mythology.

Bustamante created eighteen images to accompany *La portentosa*: one frontispiece and seventeen illustrations corresponding to the adjacent chapters. His imagery, specifically the figure of the animated skeleton, finds its source in the Christian theme of the “Dance of Death” that was first illustrated in France in the fifteenth century. The motif's original form was an elongated mural painting that depicted a procession of alternating living and dead figures, arranged in order of precedence. This tradition spread throughout Western Europe, although no pictorial representations of the “Dance of Death” are known to exist in Spain.²³ Considering the influx of Northern prints to the Americas, it is possible that Bustamante's inspiration came from these sources. In 1538, the German artist, Hans Holbein the Younger published his version of the allegory in a series of forty-one woodcuts that combine the “Dance of Death” with the tradition of *Memento Mori*, the Latin term that translates as the phrase, “Remember that thou shalt die.”²⁴ In each woodcut, Death appears with a single figure, invoking the message that death is universal regardless of status. While it is unclear if Holbein's *Danza*

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de la Muerte circulated in the “New World,” distribution was likely, given the frequency of European prints imported to Mexico and the popularity of the book. Eleven editions of *Danza de la Muerte*, not including those that were unauthorized, were published before 1562.

Personifications of Death were rare in seventeenth-century Flemish prints, which often depicted genre scenes of everyday life. Nevertheless, these works often had a moralizing tone and employed a combination of text and image, much like Bustamante’s engravings. When genre was paired with a religious subject, the religious element was expressed in words, typically in Latin (as is the case in *La portentosa* engravings) while the profane was illustrated by images. When the allegory of Death did appear, the message stressed the importance of maintaining a harmonious relationship with death. Unlike the “Dance of Death,” which promotes the idea that no one can escape Death, the Flemish prints warn against clinging to earthly riches. In the first of two etchings by Werner van den Valckert, for instance, Death antagonizes a couple. The accompanying inscription reads, “To those who pursue an evil life, silent Death appears, a cruel and deadly enemy.”²⁵ The second etching, by contrast, depicts a couple befriending Death. The inscription states, “But to those who learn how to die, with steadfast hope besides, Death can be an angel full of life.”²⁶

While it is possible that Bustamante may have known these European prints, since little is known of his life and training at this point, these European influences remain speculative. Perhaps more direct inspiration came from the representations of Death that are common in Mexican funerary sculpture. These moveable funerary structures, typically reserved for royalty and men of distinction, were often ornately decorated with animated skeletal figures. In one panel from the eighteenth-century *catafalque* of El Carmen, now housed in the Museo de Bellas Artes in Toluca, Death is seen in old-age, hunched over, walking with the assistance of a cane. The text above, spoken by an angel hovering behind him, reads, “Death runs hand in hand with time.”²⁷ Printmakers were frequently commissioned to engrave reproductions of *catafalques* to be included in books of funerary rites, such as the engraving by an unknown artist of the *catafalque* for Carlos II. Though many of these existing engravings reproduce the entire architectural structure of the *catafalque*, some, like the *Allegory of Death* by Manuel Galicia de Villavicencio, reproduce just the panel section.

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Bolaños' chronicle of Death's life parodies the format of the *vidas exemplares*, printed biographies that proliferated in New Spain during the eighteenth century. Their purpose was to demonstrate an exemplary Christian life and to inspire their Christian readers to similar lives. Visual representation of this ideal was embodied in printed portraits that accompanied Novohispanic clerical biographies.²⁸ For instance, in an engraved depiction of Pedro de Gante published by Wilhelm Edgar in *Vita admirabilis Laici, Minoritae strictioris Observantiae, Fratris Petri de Gandavo* (1625), the friar stands before scenes from his life that portray his Flemish heritage, his arrival in the "New World," his conversion and baptism of the natives, his influence in the construction of religious architecture, and his death.²⁹ While Bustamante illustrates some of Death's more heroic accomplishments—Death preaching in the city of Granada, for instance—other engravings depict Death's achievements as embodied in the sacraments of baptism and marriage since the Catholic Church viewed these sacraments as an expression of faith and a means toward salvation.

Imitating the conventions of the *vidas* format to produce a humorous effect, *La portentosa* opens with a printed portrait of its exemplary subject accompanied by the appropriate celebratory description, "The portentous life of Death, empress of the graves, avenger of offences against the Almighty, and a real woman of human nature, whose celebrated history is entrusted to men of good taste, Joaquín Bolaños" (Plate 4).³⁰ Bustamante's composition further enhances the mockery of this genre that privileges narrative clarity over Baroque decoration.³¹ Death stands alone triumphantly rather than against a cluttered background of heraldic vignettes. Dressed in courtly robes, with head crowned, and scepter in hand, she appears on stage, seemingly ready to present her life story. While at once humorous, the associated iconography of Death as a reminder of the brevity of life, a prompt to lead a Christian life of humility, and a marker of life's vanities is here reconfigured as exultant, and surely functioned as a reminder of human immortality.³²

The satiric vein of the first engraving is straightforward in comparison to the second (Plate 5). The image, titled, "Motherland and Parents of Death," juxtaposes Christian references to sin with the Aztec notion of death coming to life. Adam and Eve, hand in hand at the Tree of Knowledge, glance back toward Death in her crib. Bolaños informs the readers that Death's motherland is paradise. She is the legitimate daughter of the sin of Adam

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and the guilt of Eve, her mother.”³³ Death is shown as both the child of sin and as old as mankind. While the iconography of Adam and Eve was likely derived from European sources, the vision of Death in her crib was certainly a manifestation of the artist’s imagination. Stanley Brandes explains that death in eighteenth-century Mexico, and throughout Europe, was typically represented as a two-sided staircase: on the left, ascending side, a depiction of a baby represented the birth of life, and on the right, descending side, a skeletal figure symbolized the end of life.³⁴ Death as an infant, as coming to life, found its precedent in other sources.

The notion of life being born out of death in paradise parallels the Aztec creation myth conveyed by John Bierhorst.³⁵ According to this version, Quetzalcoatl, the creator god, gathered together the bones of man and woman and left Mictlán, the land of the Dead, for Tamoanchan, the paradise of the Aztecs. There, the bones were ground up by the Earth Goddess, Cihuacoatl, and fertilized with Quetzalcoatl’s blood. A new race of man arose from this mixture. As previously noted, Bustamante was familiar with the Aztec creation myth through his illustrations for León y Gama’s book. By alluding to both mythologies Bustamante employs the satirical strategy of inversion, turning the original message of the allegory of death upside down. Death is no longer seen as triumphant over life, but as an integral part of life.

Another notable element of this engraving is its adherence to originality of thought, a rarity in colonial printmaking. Technical perfection, as exhibited in Bustamante’s engravings of Aztec stone carvings for *Descripción histórica y cronológica de las dos piedras*, was regarded as the ultimate artistic achievement; it was thus encouraged by the Academia de San Carlos and desired by patrons and/or potential buyers.³⁶ The rejection of academic standards, however, was made manifest in the pre-revolutionary period, coinciding with the proliferation of illustrated periodicals.³⁷ Like Posada and his contemporaries, Bustamante had not trained at the academy. While he was technically proficient, his lack of training perhaps permitted him a greater freedom to explore his imagination. In “Motherland and Parents of Death,” Bustamante’s illustration of Adam and Eve follows a conventional representation; however, “Death in her crib” is not only an unusual image by itself, but the added element of the skull and crossbones at the head post and the slightly askew angle of the crib to suggest a rocking motion are pure invention.

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Almost all eighteen illustrations are imbued with such inventiveness. “Death Lays Siege on an American Woman, an Assault by which he Wins the Fortification of Her Heart,” for instance, could almost be mistaken for an early nineteenth-century cartoon (Plate 6). Death accompanied by his companions to the far left of the frame is depicted operating a cannon that is aimed with fatal intention at a young maiden who peers out from a second-floor balcony. With her head slightly tilted and her fan coyly open, she seems to be completely unaware of the cannonball and billowing smoke coming toward her. Rather, she appears to be flirting with Death. The Latin inscription just below the engraving reads, “Ascendit mors per fenestras nostras” (Receive death by our window). Bustamante’s illustration is an almost-literal representation, yet humorous in its absurdity.

From this point, Bustamante’s illustrations of Death’s life continue up to Death’s own demise (Plate 7). With her scythe mounted to the wall, rather than in hand, Death lies in a coffin. Through the adjacent window above, a trumpet, signaling Judgment Day, sounds and the sand in the hourglass on the floor indicates the nearing passage of time and the brevity of life. Even Death can not escape God’s verdict.

Similar to the political cartons that pervaded nineteenth-century newspapers and broadsides, Bustamante’s engravings employ the satirical strategies of inversion, lampoon, and humor to ridicule societal mores. Through his use of satire, Bustamante’s engravings reveal another artistic strategy in printmaking from which to undermine authority. Further study of Bustamante’s iconography, a subject too extensive for this essay, would elucidate how the “Dance of Death” was interpreted in colonial society and follow its transformation into what is now commonly referred to as *Las Calaveras*, a political tool of Mexican graphic work of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

ELIZABETH DEROSE is a Ph.D. candidate at the Graduate Center, The City University of New York where she is working under the guidance of Katherine Manthorne and concentrating on modern and contemporary Latin American Art.

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NOTES:

¹ John Ittmann, ed., *Mexico and Modern Printmaking: A Revolution in the Graphic Arts, 1920 to 1950* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art in association with Yale University Press, 2006). This exhibition catalog is the most current account of the modern printmaking tradition in Mexico.

² Joyce Waddell Bailey, "The Penny Press," in *Posada's Mexico*, ed. Ron Tyler, (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress in cooperation with the Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, Fort Worth, Texas, 1979), 85.

³ French caricature by Honoré Daumier and Paul Gavarni, among others, circulated in Mexico at this time and is believed to have had the greatest influence on Posada and his contemporaries. Lyle W. Williams, "Evolution of a Revolutions: A Brief History of Printmaking in Mexico," in Ittmann, 4; Bailey in Tyler, 92.

⁴ This is the sixteenth century vision embodied in Francisco Cervantes de Salazar's chronicle of a city "beautiful and distinguished on all sides." Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, "The Interior of the City of Mexico," in *Life in the Imperial and Loyal City of Mexico in New Spain*, trans. Minni Lee Barrett Sheppard (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1953), 51.

⁵ Joaquín Bolaños, *La portentosa vida de La Muerte* (México, D.F.: Joseph de Jauregui, 1792). *La portentosa vida de La Muerte* was censored by José Antonio Alzate Ramírez in 1793. His censoring publication, "Sancta Sancte Sunt Tractanda," which first appeared in *La Gaceta de Literatura de México*, is reproduced in the appendix of the 1983 reprint of the book. See Joaquín Bolaños, *La portentosa vida de La Muerte* (México, D. F.: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes; Tlhuapán, Puebla: Premiá Editora, 1983), 347-365.

⁶ Juan Pedro Viqueira, "El sentimiento de la muerte en el México ilustrado del siglo XVIII a través de dos textos de la época," *Relaciones* 2, no. 5 (1981): 27-62.

⁷ Linda Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City: Performing Power and Identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004); Julie Greer Johnson, *Satire in Colonial Spanish America: Turning the New World Upside Down* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993).

⁸ *Ibid.*, 121-22.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 134.

¹⁰ Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, quoted in Johnson, 83.

¹¹ Bolaños quoted in Claudio Lomnitz, *Death and the Idea of Mexico* (New York: Zone Books, 2005), 288.

¹² Colonial satire circulated principally in manuscript form during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By the eighteenth century, typographic and image-based printing presses were more numerous.

¹³ Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, ed., *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art in association with Yale University Press, 2006).

¹⁴ See Kelly Donahue-Wallace, "Publishing Prints in Eighteenth-Century Mexico City," *Print Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (2006): 145.

¹⁵ One Inquisition case that Donahue-Wallace examines is the 1767 investigation of Manuela de Candia, who commissioned a seemingly seditious engraving of Saint Josephat. See Kelly Donahue-Wallace, "La casada imperfecta: A Woman, A Print, and the Inquisition," *Mexican Studies / Estudios Mexicanos* 18, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 231-

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250. Critical of the Jesuit expulsion from Spain and its territories that same year, Candia requested that the image bear the following inscription: "Saint Josephat Archbishop of Polotsk, Martyr, by obedience to the Pope, said that the enemies of the Jesuits were his as well. He held them as suspects in their Catholicism and looked upon them as reprobates." Ibid., 232. Candia's written criticism of the Bourbon authorities brought her print to the scrutiny of the Inquisition. Her coupling of seditious language with a known image was a strategy used to confuse "true" images with "faulty" ones. Ibid., 240. This strategy, as will be discussed later, was similarly employed by Bustamante through his appropriation of allegorical images of death.

¹⁶ Ibid., 153.

¹⁷ Donahue-Wallace, "Publishing Prints in Eighteenth-Century Mexico City," 153.

¹⁸ In the introduction to *La Portentosa* the editor suggests that the book avoided initial censorship because it was dedicated to fray Manuel María Trujillo, who held the title of "calificador del consejo de la Inquisición y comisario general, visitador y reformador apostólico de todas las provincias y colegios de Indias." Given that the text is satirical, it is plausible that Bolaños's dedication was an ironic gesture. The delay in censoring the book, then, was due to the jurisdiction of the Inquisition over already published books.

The print run for *La Portentosa* is currently unknown, although three rare book collections in the United States have first edition copies: The New York Public Library Rare Book Collection, the Yale University Sterling Memorial Library, and The Cushing Memorial Library at Texas A&M University. This indicates that the book circulated before censorship and possibly even following the mandate.

¹⁹ Serge Gruzinski suggests that the perceived failure of devotional images to bring desired results provoked iconoclastic response against them. "The image was insulted, whipped, scratched, burned with candles, broken, torn, trampled, stabbed, pierced, and shredded with scissors, tied to a horse's tail, covered in red paint or human excrements, and used to wipe oneself." Serge Gruzinski, *Images at War: Mexico from Columbus to Blade Runner (1492 – 2019)* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 167.

²⁰ In a deck from 1583, the woodcut images depict European and pre-Hispanic motifs, including representations of Motecuhzoma, Cuautemoc, and Quetzalcoatl. Crisobal Bermudez Plata, "Contrato sobre fabricacion de naipes en Nueva España," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 2 (1945), 720.

²¹ Donahue-Wallace, "Publishing Prints in Eighteenth-Century Mexico City," 151.

²² Kelly Donahue-Wallace, *Prints and Printmakers in Viceregal Mexico City, 1600-1800*, PhD Diss. (University of New Mexico, 2000), 329.

²³ James M. Clark, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Glasgow: Jackson, Son & Company, 1950), 42.

²⁴ Hans Holbein, the Younger, *The Dance of Death*, intro. Werner L.Gundersheimer (New York: Dover Publications, 1971).

²⁵ Eddy de Jongh and Ger Luijten, *Mirror of Everyday Life: Genreprints in the Netherlands, 1550-1700*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1997), 291.

²⁶ Ibid., 291.

²⁷ Stanley Brandes, *Skulls to the Living, Bread to the Dead: The Day of the Dead in Mexico and Beyond* (Boston: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 56.

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²⁸ Kelly Donahue-Wallace, "Bajo los tormentos del tórculo: Printed Portraits of Male and Female Clergy in Eighteenth-Century New Spain," *Colonial Latin American Review* 14, no. 1 (June 2005): 114.

²⁹ John Carter Brown Library, Archive of Early American Images, http://www.brown.edu/Facilities/John_Carter_Brown_Library/pages/ea_hmpg.html (accessed April 12, 2008).

³⁰ "La Portentosa vida de La Muerte, emperatriz de los sepulcros, vengadora de los agravios del altissimo, y muy señora de la humana naturaleza, cuy célebre historia encomienda á los hombres de buen gusto Fray Joaquín Bolaños...", Bolaños, unpaginated.

³¹ Donahue-Wallace, *Prints and Printmakers in Viceroyal Mexico City, 1600-1800*, 114.

³² Lomnitz, 278.

³³ "La Muerte es hija legítima del pecado de Adán, la culpa de Eva podemos decir que fue su Madre..." Bolaños, 4.

³⁴ Brandes, 56.

³⁵ John Bierhorst, *Four Masterworks of American Indian Literature: Quetzalcoatl/The ritual of condolence/Cuceb/The night chant* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1974), 17-21. See also Gregory Lee Cuellar, *Passages in the New World: Books & Manuscripts from Colonial Mexico, 1556-1820* (College Station: Cushing Memorial Library and Archives, Texas A & M University, 2006), 44. The author is the first to note that in *La portentosa vida de la Muerte* Bolaños describes places similar to Mictlan, the Aztec underworld.

³⁶ Antonio de León y Gama, *Descripcion histórica y cronológica de las dos piedras, que con ocasion del nuevo empedrado que se esta formando en la plaza principal de Mexico*. (México, D. F. Don Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1792), Fold.-out plates, I, II, and III.

³⁷ Sarah Hamill, "Pre-Revolutionary Printmaking in Mexico: The Narrative Tradition," in *Grabados Mexicanos: An Historical Exhibition of Mexican Graphics, 1839-1974*, ed. Joyce W. Bailey (South Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1974), 11-17.