ARTIFICIAL ENCOUNTERS WITH MEXICO:

THE LITHOGRAPHS OF CLAUDIO LINATI

by

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The Lithographs of Claudio Linati and the Construction of Mexican Identity

Thesis directed by Assistant Professor James Córdova

Abstract:

Recent scholarship on Latin American costumbrista literature has primarily focused on the genre's relationship with its European predecessors. Although this has provided a rich genealogical analysis of the genre's development in Latin America, it does not take into account the relationship between costumbrista literature, casta paintings and travel accounts. This thesis explores the previously overlooked comparative relationship between these genres in order to explore the construction of identities through protoethnographic and autoethnographic works in Mexico, specifically focusing on a selection of eighteenth-century casta paintings, the 1828 travel account, *Costumes civils, militaires et religieux,* produced by Italian lithographer, Claudio Linati, and the 1853 costumbrista book, *Los mexicanos pintados por sí mismos,* produced by a collection of Mexican artists and authors.

For my parents, who instilled in me a love of art, history and language, and for Bianca, my

other half. Despite the miles between us, we are always together.

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Introduction

Recent scholarship on Latin American *costumbrista* literature has primarily focused on the genre's relationship with its European predecessors. Although this has provided a rich genealogical analysis of the genre's development in Latin America, it does not take into account the relationship between *costumbrista* literature, *casta* paintings and travel accounts. This thesis explores the previously overlooked comparative relationship between these genres in order to explore the construction of identities through protoethnographic and autoethnographic works in Mexico. I will specifically focus on a selection of eighteenth-century *casta* paintings, the 1828 travel account, *Costumes civils, militaires et religieux,* produced by Italian lithographer, Claudio Linati, and the 1853 costumbrista book, *Los mexicanos pintados por sí mismos*, produced by a collection of Mexican artists and authors. Although published more than two decades apart, the latter two works both belong to the transitional period following Independence, when the Spanish viceroyalty of New Spain transformed into the Republic of Mexico.

The formative years of the mid-nineteenth century were crucial for the newly established nation. Liberated from the dominion of the Spanish crown, the Mexican state and its people sought to create an independent national identity. While a myriad of factors contributed to the construction of that identity, this thesis will focus on the circulation of printed materials, which played a critical role in the way Europeans perceived Mexico and its inhabitants. In his influential work, *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson argues that print-capitalism "made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways."[1] Print-

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[1] Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities* (London and New York, 1991), 36.

capitalism, in the form of travel books and/or costume books, was a major component in the process of conceptualizing the identities of other nations, as it allowed representations of peoples and their cultures to traverse great distances. A more democratic medium than painting, prints were inexpensive to produce and inexpensive to acquire. Consequently, with the explosion of print-capitalism, images and ideas could be circulated to a larger audience than through more expensive mediums, such as oil painting.

Claudio Linati's work became one of the first publications to introduce European readers to post-Independence Mexico. Having largely disregarded such sources, scholars have instead tended to focus on subsequent *costumbrista* works, despite Linati's influential role as the first lithographer in Mexico. Several notable publications, however, have recognized Linati's work and discussed it within the context of Mexican art history. Manuel Toussaint's 1934 publication, *La Litografía en México en el Siglo XIX* established Linati as the first lithographer in Mexico, although he is only mentioned briefly. However, two decades later, Toussaint joined forces with Justino Fernández to translate Linati's work into Spanish at the *Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*. The final product was published in 1956 and included a foreword by Toussaint and an introduction by Fernández. These essays positioned Linati as an objective observer who captured the lived reality of post-Independence Mexico. Toussaint and Fernández reclaimed the work of Linati as part of Mexico's art historical patrimony, by reframing *Costumes civils* as an impartial depiction of Mexico's social history, free from the confines of a national agenda.[2] Several years later, Jean Charlot included Claudio Linati in his history of the Mexican Academy. He argued that as the first lithographer in Mexico, Linati catalyzed the importance of printmaking at the

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[2] Fernández, Justino and Manuel Toussaint, "Prologo" and "Introduccion" in *Trajes civiles: militares y religiosos de México (1828) (*Mexico: Impr. Universitaria, 1956), 7-9 and 15-23.

Academy in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Another publication of Linati's work was published in 1993, including a prologue by José Iturriage de la Fuente. In the prologue, Linati is described as an impressive political figure who romantically represented the people of Mexico. In the aforementioned works, Linati is placed within the historiography of Mexico's art and he is regarded as a major contributor. His work is viewed without a critical lens and instead, is championed as idealized visual representations of nineteenth-century Mexico and its people.

However, in 2005, María Esther Pérez Salas published *Costumbrismo y litografía en México: un Nuevo modo de ver,* a work that explores the *costumbrista* genre and the prominence of lithography in Mexico. Salas discusses Linati's work in a critical fashion, exploring the reception of *Costumes civils* abroad. Salas argues that Linati and later Mexican artists used printmaking to visually conceptualize a Mexican national identity for foreign audiences. Six years later in 2011, Magali Carrera published *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico*. With this work, Carrera focuses on the use of mapping as a way to establish national identity during Mexico's transitional period. In it, she briefly discusses Linati's *Costumes civils* as one of the first publications to use visual rhetoric to construct a notion of Mexican identity. She focuses on Linati's use of sensualization to represent the indigenous populations. Finally, in 2013, Mey-Yen Moriuchi's article, "From 'Les types populaires' to 'Los tipos populares': Nineteenth-Century Mexican Costumbrismo", locates Linati in relation to *costumbrista* literature's European origins and the adoption of the genre by Mexican artists and authors. This scholarship has provided a rich foundation for discussing Linati's work through a critical lens and for considering the political implications of his visual and textual choices in *Costumes civils.*

In choosing to focus on the work of Linati, I consider the perspective of an outsider –
one deeply ideologically embedded in the revolutionary activity taking place in Europe
during this period. Additionally, in examining *Los mexicanos*, I consider the perspective of
Mexicans who hoped to self-fashion a national identity that would be seen as acceptable
and coeval to their intended European readership. In executing a comparative analysis
between these two works, I endeavor to reveal the construction of discourse and the
dynamic identities embedded in the text and images. As a visitor who traveled the country
over the course of several years, Linati relied on exoticization and differentiation to present
the Mexican people as novel and fascinating subjects of contemplation. On the other hand,
the artists and authors of *Los mexicanos* emphasized the homogeneity of the Mexican
population in order to create subjects that were representative of the ideal citizen. Overall,
I argue that printed materials were deliberately used to communicate and construct an
understanding of Mexican national identity for a European audience. Through them, the
authors' and artists' sociopolitical biases informed the stylistic choices and rhetorical
strategies that contributed to European perceptions of Mexico in the nineteenth century.

I consider these primary sources, *Los mexicanos* and *Costumes civils,* as objects of
visual culture, thus necessitating an interdisciplinary approach that broadly examines the
construction of visual culture during this period and the social and political climate that
contextualizes it. These objects of study functioned as cultural components that existed
outside the realm of "fine art."[3] Consequently, in order to best understand their creation,
function and reception, it is necessary to consider political, historical and anthropological
aspects when examining these works.

[3] At this time, fine art was primarily confined to the practice of painting and sculpture.

My methodology engages with contemporary theoretical frameworks, such as Mary Louise Pratt's concept of "contact zones."[4] Pratt defines this concept as "the space and time where subjects previously separated by geography and history are co-present, the point at which their trajectories now intersect."[5] In coining this term, Pratt hoped to emphasize the interaction between groups often categorized as 'travelers' or 'travelees', and move away from a narrative centered on the European colonizer perspective. As a reaction to Pratt, I establish the concept of "pseudo-contact zones". The act of reading a travel account may have been perceived as an engagement and an interaction with the subjects of the book; the pages of the travel account being considered a contact zone of sorts. However, despite the guise of acting as a contact zone, objects such as travel accounts only provided a false sense of genuine interaction with the subject. Thus, a travel account should be considered a pseudo-contact zone - a mediated experience where, in this case, a European group feels that they are encountering a non-European group first-hand, despite merely encountering an imagined and mediated subject, represented by a third-party author and/or artist. With the implementation of this concept, I employ a methodological framework that considers these books as dynamic objects that contributed to the construction of historical understandings of identity, as opposed to mere reflections of historical realities.

In chapter one, I explore the relationship between Linati's personal identity and the work he produced in *Costumes civils.* How did his political ideologies and military experiences affect the way that he chose to depict the people he observed in Mexico? I propose that as a foreigner, Linati projected his ideological views onto the nascent republic.

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[4] Pratt, Mary Louise, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation (*Routledge, 2007), 7.

[5] Ibid., 9.

Instead of capturing lived realities, he constructed an image of the country rooted in his belief that with the success of the revolution in 1821, Mexico's trajectory could be viewed as an exemplary archetype of the revolutionary establishment of a liberal government. Linati also hoped to provide his European viewers with an entertaining depiction that emphasized the unusual and the exotic customs and peoples he found in Mexico in order to pique the curiosity of his potential readership. The painterly rendering of his prints appealed to an educated audience, and with certain stylistic choices, Linati framed the violence and barbarity he depicted in a frivolous manner - ensuring the images could be viewed as forms of entertainment, as opposed to serious critiques of human behavior.

In chapter two, I relate Linati's *Costumes civils* to modern European travel accounts and eighteenth-century Mexican *casta* paintings in order to contextualize his printed imagery within European and Mexican pictorial genre traditions. I argue that the mass publication of the work, with its combination of the textual and visual, contributed to the construction of European perceptions of Mexico, based in the tradition of European proto-ethnographic imagery. Furthermore, I suggest that many of Linati's images are direct references to *casta* paintings, in the way that they depict individuals categorized in lower *castas* as more violent and effectively, less civilized than their Creole compatriots. In doing so, Linati appropriates popular Mexican imagery, with its own complex history, to convey his sociopolitical predilections.

Lastly, chapter three addresses the comparative connections between *Los mexicanos* and *Costumes civils*. These works present dichotomous views of Mexico during the nineteenth century, one of outsider and one of insider. I examine how later Mexican artists and authors represented the typological figures portrayed in Linati's work. And, perhaps

more importantly, I ask who is excluded from this dichotomous understanding of *costumbrista* literature in Mexico. I argue that Amerindians, *mestizos*, Afro-Mexicans, and otherwise non-Creole individuals are rendered invisible in *Los mexicanos* and by contrast, are used as propagandistic objects in *Costumes civils* to further Linati's sociopolitical beliefs.

Chapter 1
Claudio Linati: An Italian in Mexico

> Where is the real New Spain/Mexico to be found? In fact, there was no real Mexico, only a fabricated, in-between place situated in this circulating inventory of images consumed by historically located observers. This is to say, in the nineteenth century, seeing Mexico was not a neutral phenomenon. Rather, Mexico was located historically, ideologically, and culturally through travel texts and associated images.[6]

The early nineteenth century saw political upheaval in Europe and Latin America. Groups in several countries attempted to change the social and political landscape through revolutionary action, but not all were successful. However, unlike the failed attempts at revolution in Spain and Italy, insurgents successfully waged a war in New Spain that led to the colony's independence in 1821 and secured Mexico's place as an independent nation. Free from the Spanish Crown, elites of the fledgling country sought to establish a developed, civilized and autonomous society.

During this period of tumultuous change, the Italian artist, Claudio Linati, travelled to Mexico and witnessed the construction of the Mexican nation firsthand. However, Linati did not solely act as an observer; instead, he became involved with local politics through the establishment of a literary periodical, *El Iris*. Maurizio Isabella notes that printed materials allowed for the exchange of political ideas between Italians and Latin Americans. Through the establishment of these periodicals, Italians attempted to "educate a new republican public opinion and to influence contemporary political debates."[7] Linati used

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[6] Carrera, Magali M., *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico: Mapping Practices of Nineteenth-Century Mexico (*Duke University Press, 2011), 108.

[7] Maurizio Isabella, "Entangled Patriotisms: Italian Liberals and Spanish America in the 1820s," in *Connections after Colonialism: Europe and Latin America in the* 1820's, Edited by Matthew Brown and Gabriel Paquette (University Alabama Press, 2013), 91.

printed materials to communicate European political ideas to a Mexican audience. Additionally, as Mexico's first lithographer, Linati produced prints that depicted Mexican "types" – individual subjects that represented a social category through physical appearance, costume and occupation. Upon returning to Europe, he published a book containing prints and textual descriptions of 48 Mexican types, which was intended for European consumption.

In this chapter, I address Claudio Linati's political and artistic background, including the series of unique events that directly led to the production and publication of *Costumes civils, militaires et réligieux du Mexique (Trajes civiles, militares y religiosos de México)* in 1828, which allowed Europeans to "encounter" Mexico's diverse population, albeit secondhand. I argue that Linati's travel account contributed to the construction of a European perception of Mexico. Through the presentation of typological categories, Linati depicted Mexico's population as an amalgamation of one-dimensional identities, primarily based on occupations and social roles. These rhetorical and visual strategies encouraged European readers to conceive of Mexico's national identity as being defined by fixed types of people.

Foreigner Within: An Italian in Exile

Although large waves of Italian immigrants left their homeland during the nineteenth century, the Italian diaspora in Mexico was small, and Italian immigrants entered the country one by one. Mexico's unfavorable economic situation and lack of a consistent immigration policy made the country an unusual destination for Italian

immigrants.[8] For those that did immigrate, their decision to do so was based on unique circumstances and personal motivations. The impetus for Claudio Linati's travels to Mexico was rooted in his political actions in Europe and the connections he made while living in Spain. In his prologue to a collection of Linati's watercolors and lithographs, José Iturriaga de la Fuente suggests that Linati's past provided the conditions that facilitated his travels to Mexico and the subsequent artistic explorations that took place during his stay:

> In all the faces of the polyhedral Linati, we find a man of his time, the social fighter. The revolutionary not only in word, but that wields weapons and, finally, the artist with the Classicist pencil that romantically addresses typically folkloric matters… All this baggage he carried on his back when circumstances led to his trip to Mexico.[9]

Linati's artistic training, political views, revolutionary actions and foreign connections catalyzed his travels to Mexico and colored the way he viewed the country and its people while he was there. Therefore, in order to analyze the way Linati depicted Mexicans, it is necessary to discuss the historical events that led to his journey.

Claudio Linati was born in Parma, Italy and early in life began practicing engraving. His early foray into artistic practices led to his acceptance into Jacques Louis David's studio at the age of nineteen.[10] Under the tutelage of David, Linati learned the art of lithography and developed a Neo-Classical style that would ultimately inform the way he depicted the Mexican people in his prints two decades later. However, in France, Linati not only

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[8] Bohme, Frederick G., "The Italians in Mexico: A Minority's Contribution." *The Pacific Historical Review* (1959): 1.

[9] Iturriage de la Fuente, José, "Prologo" in *Claudio Linati: Acuarelas y Litografias* (Inversora Bursátil S.A. de C.V., 1993), 7. The original Spanish text reads, "*En todas las caras del poliédrico Linati encontramos a un hombre de su tiempo el luchador social. El revolucionario no solo de palabra, sino que empuña las armas y, finalmente, el artista con lápiz clasicista que aborda románticamente asuntos típicamente folklóricos… Todo este bagaje traía a cuestas el italiano cuando las circunstancias propiciaron su viaje a México.*"

[10] Ibid., 8.

developed as an artist, but also as a political intellectual. As Mey-Yen Moriuchi suggests, in David's studio, Linati "was exposed to revolutionary politics as well as academic drawing and neoclassicist representation."[11] After joining Napoleon's army in 1810, Linati travelled to Spain, becoming involved with liberal revolutionaries that sought to overthrow the monarchical government and instate a parliamentary government in its place. After an attempt to organize a failed revolt, Linati was imprisoned in 1824.[12]

Having been banned from his home country due to the failed revolts of 1821, the opportunity arose to leave Spain, and Linati fled to Belgium. During this time, he made connections with Mexican officials who guaranteed his entry into Mexico and secured permission for him to open a lithographic press in Mexico City.[13] By the age of thirty-five, he had "fought in the Napoleonic Wars, acted as a secret agent, and armed and organized a band of guerrillas in the Spanish Revolt of 1821."[14] Paired with his experiences as an engraver in Parma and as an artist in Jacques Louis David's studio, Linati experienced a cornucopia of political and artistic events that constructed his complex and unique worldview.

Once in Mexico, Linati joined forces with Florencio Galli and José María Heredia and began publishing Mexico's first literary newspaper, *El Iris*, a literary journal aimed at a female readership. Like Linati, Galli and Heredia were also exiles from their respective

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[11] Moriuchi, Mey-Yen, *Notions of Universality and Difference: Nineteenth-Century Mexican Costumbrismo* (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 2012), 21.

[12] Palencia, Ceferino, "Biografía de Claudio Linati" in *Trajes Civiles, Militares y Religiosos de Mexico* (Editorial Innovación, 1978), 2.

[13] Ibid., 2.

[14] Bohme, 6.

countries. When Galli first arrived in Mexico, he became involved in the silver mines in Tlalpujahua but was forced to leave due to ideological differences with the company's director.[15] Heredia, a Cuban poet and lawyer, fled to Mexico to escape the Spanish Crown, which viewed his liberal political views as a danger to the monarchy's rule over the colony.[16]

El Iris began as a weekly periodical and later became a biweekly. The first publication ran on February 4, 1826 and lasted for forty issues – until August 2, 1826. [17] While El Iris experienced a short print run, its impact on Mexico was significant. Often the periodical contained a collection of poetry, sheet music, essays on theatre and literature, and lithographic prints depicting women's fashions of the day.[18] However, also included were historical anecdotes, political cartoons and opinionated editorials that conveyed not-so-subtle political ideologies to readers. Jean Charlot explains that Linati's return to Europe was connected to the termination of El Iris' publication: "That same year [1826] Linati left the country, probably under political pressure. He had advocated in El Iris an independent general staff for the army as a check to attempted dictatorships, a suggestion which must have proved unpopular with the many would-be dictators."[19] It is evident that, although it appeared to be a benign cultural publication on the surface, El Iris was far more politically

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[15] del Carmen Ruiz Castañeda, María, "Introducción" in *El Iris:Periódico Crítico y Literario (*UNAM Instituto de Investigaciones Bibliográficas: 1988), XIII.

[16] Ibid., XIV.

[17] Charlot, Jean, *Mexican art and the Academy of San Carlos, 1785-1915 (*University of Texas Press, 1962) 74.

[18] See Fig. 1 for an example of a lithographic print found in El Iris.

[19] Charlot, 74.

subversive in its content. This tactic allowed Linati and his colleagues to quietly distribute political propaganda and communicate their ideological positions to the readership of *El Iris*.

Through the circulation of printed materials, Italians sought to position themselves as viable forces in the nation building process that Mexico was experiencing. Bohme states, "The few [Italians] who did come to Mexico and remained were no ordinary people. Fired with sufficient ambition to leave their war-ravaged and depression-ridden homeland, they came to a strange land... They became, to all intents and purposes, Mexicans." [20] However, despite participation in local politics and engagement with Mexican art and culture, Linati and his colleagues remained outsiders. Their views on political debates were deeply influenced by the events that they experienced and which continued to take place across the Atlantic. In his essay on Italian patriots in Mexico, Isabella explains that despite the great distance, Italians were able to keep up on European news through trans-Atlantic media. The boom of print-capitalism allowed European ex-patriots to remain well informed about the events happening in Europe through the circulation of European printed materials. Italians also became well-versed in the debates taking place between Latin American liberals about the state of the new republics.[21] These discussions, on both sides of the Atlantic, related closely to events taking place in Mexico. Therefore, when we consider Linati's images of Mexican people, they must be viewed through a lens that acknowledges his role as a foreigner living in a young republic that, at least on the surface, appeared to

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[20] Bohme, 18.

[21] Isabella, 91.

champion his liberal ideals.

Claudio Linati's *Costumes Civils, Militaires et Religieux*

In 1827 Linati travelled to Brussels to publish a book that included forty-eight

lithograph prints, which were similar to the images in *El Iris*, but specifically geared

towards a European viewer. The publication of *Costumes Civils, Militaires et Religieux*

allowed Linati to depict and describe the various Mexican people he had encountered

during his stay. Unlike the prints found in *El Iris*, Linati moved beyond the scope of

women's fashion and attempted to capture a wide array of typologized groups, including

Indians, Afromexicans and Creoles. In his description, Linati provided firsthand

observations from his own travels. Thus, *Costumes civils* was not merely a book on dress

and customs, but retained the dual function of a travel account.

In addition to the generic social "types," Linati also included several historical

figures in his book; its frontispiece depicts a portrait of Moctezuma (Fig. 2). Isabella

suggests that the inclusion of such figures conveys Linati's interest in Mexican patriotism

and Creole culture. Indeed, the placement of Moctezuma's image at the beginning of the

book "implicitly hint[s] at the existence of a Mexico before the conquest."[22] Furthermore,

this plate is the sole image that depicts the subject from the torso up – a style that

resembles the classical busts of antiquity. In beginning his book with this frontispiece,

Linati immediately differentiates Mexico from other nations, by acknowledging and

celebrating its indigenous past, and equating that past with the classical civilizations of

Europe. The other forty-seven plates depict "figures float[ing] on white backgrounds, much

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[22] Isabella, 99.

like the specimens of popular botanical prints" and the images strategies found in *casta* paintings.[23]

Each figure is generalized and pictured with nondescript facial features in order to represent common social "types" rather than actual individuals. More detailed attention appears given to the figures' clothing and occupational props. Even the backgrounds appear unremarkable, often only showing a blue sky and the intermittent allusion to architectural structures or exotic fauna. The only exceptions to these figural prints are two landscape scenes (plates 41 and 43), which show travelers on the road, and two scenes (plates 47 and 48), which depict cockfighting and an indigenous pole dance (or as Linati writes, "*Enjambée des Géans*/Stride of Giants") respectively.

While it is evident that Linati was aware of physiognomic differences between Mexico's ethnic groups, more attention is paid to dress, customs and occupation. Unlike the *casta* paintings of the eighteenth century, Linati does not present his figures in taxonomical order. Instead, as Carrera suggests, "no apparent system of classification seems to have been utilized and which may have reflected the way one encountered these different types in the streets of nineteenth-century Mexico."[24] In doing so, Linati allows his intended audience, European readers, to imagine the experience of travelling through Mexico and the overwhelming diversity of people they would encounter during their journey. While the reader could not physically travel to Mexico, they could vicariously experience the landscape and its peoples through Linati's account. In fact, this was how *Costumes civils* was received by its European audience; readers believed that Linati allowed them to experience

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[23] Carrera, 87.

[24] Moriuichi, 25.

the peoples of Mexico from the comfort of their homes. In a letter to the Belgian periodical, *La Gazette des Pays Bas*, one author wrote, "Through this work, Linati had played an important service by familiarizing Europeans with Mexicans."[25] In effect, its second edition was published in London in 1830, albeit with twelve less lithographic plates.

Linati's pictorial representations were not neutral. Instead, they were riddled with political biases. For Linati, Mexico's successful fight for independence and its establishment of a democratically-elected government were the markers of a republic that extended its civilizing progress to all. His depictions of social types from all economic classes conveyed to the European reader that Mexico was able to incorporate a wide range of peoples into its new national identity. Yet, while Linati acknowledges the presence of indigenous and Afromexican populations, these types were depicted less favorably than others. As Isabella explains, "Linati praised the ethnic variety of the country but warned that the *Indios* would have to abandon some of their customs and their language to become citizens and be educated toward citizenship through schools and military service under the supervision of Creole elites."[26] While he did not communicate social hierarchy through a taxonomic order, as in casta paintings, he rendered these individuals as overtly sexual and less civilized than their Creole compatriots.

In the image titled, *Dispute de deux Indiennes* (Argument between Two Indians), Linati depicts two indigenous women engaged in a quarrel (Fig. 3). Strapped to each woman's back is a small child, wrapped in a cloth. The woman facing the viewer holds a

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[25] Pérez Salas, María Esther, "Genealogía de los Mexicanos pintados por sí mismos." *Historia Mexicana* 48:2 (1998), 146.

[26] Isabella, 99.

rock above her head, while the woman with her back to the viewer grasps her arm with one hand and her hair with the other. The children appear to yell and one even grabs his own mother's hair. Meanwhile, in the background three onlookers stand in front of a *Pulque Aguardiente* store. These three are depicted with lighter skin. The female onlooker wears a fashionable headscarf, while the men on either side of her don capes and hats. As one figure gestures towards the quarrel, the other two smile. Based on their dress, these figure appear to be upper class Mexicans, watching the fight for its entertainment value. With this image, Linati contrasts these two social groups, effectively marking the Indian women as violent and wild, their muscular bodies suggesting a beastlike appearance.

The inclusion of the *Pulque Aguardiente* store suggests that alcohol played a role in this dispute. However, a French reader would not necessarily understand such an implication on the pictorial level. Thus, Linati uses the text to plainly describe these women as drunkards, explaining that their simplicity and innocence is spoiled by their taste for alcohol. "In the heat of the argument, they sometimes forget that they gave life to the burden they carry on their shoulders, we see these poor creatures tossed in all directions."[27] In the text, Linati positions the women as simple, innocent creatures corrupted by a lust for alcohol, willing to spend every dime that is earned at market on *pulque.* Much like the Creoles, it seems that Linati does not consider these indigenous women to be civilized members of society. He goes on to explain the onlookers: "The Spaniards who consider the Indians an inferior human species, believe in fanning the

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[27] Linati, Claudio, *Costumes civils, militaires et réligieux du Mexique: dessinés d'après nature (*C. Sattanino; imprimés à la Lithographie royale de Jobard, 1828), 151. The original French text reads, "Dans la chaleur de leur dispute, oubliant quelquefois qu'elles ont donné la vie au fardeau qu'elles portent sur les épaules, on voit ces pauvres creatures ballotées en tous sens…"

excitement something similar to dogs or roosters that also like fighting passionately."[28] Linati equates the onlookers' behavior with the behavior he saw at dog and cock fights. Although he states that it is the Creoles who viewed the indigenous populations as an inferior race, it is evident in the combination of text and imagery that Linati also presents these native women as savage, violent people.

Linati not only depicted indigenous women as violent and savage, he also included explicitly sensual images that suggested indigenous women possessed an inherently overt sexuality. An example of this can be seen in plate 5, titled, *Tortilleras* (Fig. 4). Linati depicts two indigenous women kneeling on the ground in a nondescript exterior setting, with the exception of a lean-to shelter. The woman on the left bends forward as she presses her rolling pin over the corn kernels, turning it into paste. As she does this, the top of her dress slips down, revealing her breasts. The woman on the right then shapes the paste into tortillas, as two cook in an iron pan over the fire. In his description, Linati outlines the process of creating tortillas, step by step. He makes no comment on the women themselves – their character, their dress – instead focusing on the act of tortilla making. Thus, the text allows him to position himself as an objective observer, simply relaying the arduous process of making tortillas.

However, the sexual implications are undeniably present in the print itself. Having positioned himself as an observer, Linati also allows his reader to take on the same role. The viewer is an outsider peering into a foreign world, where these two women are unaware of the viewer's presence. The woman on the left is unaware that her top has fallen

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[28] Ibid., 151. The original French text reads, "… des Espangols qui considéraient les Indiens comme une race inférieure à l'espèce humaine, croient en les attisant exciter quelque chose d'analogue aux chiens or aux coqs don't on aime aussi passionnément les combats."

down or that her breasts are exposed. These visual choices position the women as objects of voyeurism. They are unwittingly subjected to the European male gaze, inherently placing the reader in a position of power. It is evident that although Linati's political beliefs considered a democratic republic to be an ideal society, his ideological leanings did not prevent him from regarding Mexico's native population as socially and morally inferior. The women in *Tortilleras* and *Dispute des Deux Indiennes* demonstrate these views.

His perception that some social factions of society needed to be civilized in order to become equal members of the republic is especially palpable in the entry titled *Negre étendu dans son Hamac* (Negro laying in his Hammock) (Fig. 5). In the image, a black man lounges in a hammock, strung across the picture plane. He wears a white shirt while holding a cigarette in his left hand and a whip in his right. Crouching below him is his wife, as the title indicates, a black woman in a white skirt with blue stripes, cleaning a vase with a white cloth. She looks up at her husband as he whips her across her back. The subtitle of the image includes the phrase "making his wife work".[29] Thus, it is clear that the man is able to lounge freely, using corporeal punishment in order to make his wife finish the chores. In choosing to depict the husband beating the wife, Linati does not necessarily speak to the violence of the situation, but to the laziness of the man. While he smokes and relaxes, his wife is forced to work. This is reinforced by the textual description that accompanies the image, in which Linati explains that husbands beat their wives all over the world, and while not all Afromexicans partake in this practice, it is necessary to include this

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[29] Linati, 183. The original French text reads, "*Faisant travailler sa femme.*"

depiction in order to truly describe the region.[30] Linati momentarily stops his description

to proclaim that the abolishment of slavery is a triumph: "Nothing gives more honor to the

current epoch than the almost complete triumph that it has made for human rights

previously insulted by the infamous trafficking of negros."[31] Linati's liberal ideologies could

not defend the institution of slavery, as it unequivocally contradicted the notion of human

rights that had characterized much of the revolutionary activity in Europe.

Declaring the triumph of slavery's legal abolishment, he then goes on to question

whether Afromexicans deserved the freedom their emancipation provided. "Generally the

negros do not show themselves to be deserving of the noble equality to which they have

been elevated. Their laziness, their uncultivated lands, their misery."[32] It is clear that Linati

views the Afromexican population as an inferior race that does not deserve the legal rights

awarded to them after the abolishment of slavery. He goes on to question why these

"differences" between the black and non-black populations exist. He suggests that,

"perhaps there exist in the human species certain forms that are incapable of elevating

themselves to the level of civilization, destined to reside in the sphere of mediocrity and for

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[30] Linati, 183. The original French text reads, *"Ce n'est pas seulement en Eruope qu'il y a des maris qui batten leurs femmes; il y en a partout; ce n'est pas un trait caractéristique d'aucune nation ... Il est vrai que tous les nègres n'en agissent pas ainsi, mais un ou deux qu'on en ait remarqués donnent le droit à un observateur d'en tirer des consequences importantes et de les consigner dans la description d'une contrée."*

[31] Ibid., 183. The original French text reads, *"Rien ne fait plus d'honneur à l'epoque actuelle que le triomphe Presque complet qu'elle vient d'obtenir pour les droits de l'humanité outrage dans l'infâme traffic des nègres."*

[32] Ibid., 183. The original French text reads, *"les nègres généralement ne se montrent pas trop dignes de la noble égalité à laquelle on les élève. Leur paresse, leurs champs incultes, leur misère…"*

whom tutelage and dependence are a necessity?"[33] It is evident that Linati did not believe

all members of society were equal. The combination of the text and image presents the

European viewer with an image of the Afromexican population that is steeped in historical

prejudice. While Linati admits that not all Afromexicans beat their wives at the beginning of

the passage, by the end of the passage, Linati makes generalizations about the entire race.

In doing so, he constructs an image that broadly contradicts nineteenth-century liberal

concepts of universal civil liberties.

During the 1820s, the emerging Mexican Empire was striving to create a national

identity, one that would establish its equality on the global stage. After arriving in Mexico,

Linati experienced a democratic republic through the lens of his liberal ideologies. Nancy

Vogeley argues that, "The modern state (the *patria*), Linati thought, in conferring

citizenship on all members of society and instituting representative government, had

opened up civilization to all."[34] However, Linati's perpetuation of typology based on

occupation and social status appears similar to the colonial social hierarchy depicted in

casta imagery, before the establishment of Mexican independence.

While Linati does not employ a taxonomical hierarchy, it is evident through his

visual and textual narratives that he considered the indigenous and Afromexican

populations as less developed and less civilized than their Creole compatriots. Yet, I suggest

that Linati continued to include these members of the nation in his book in order to

emphasize the progressive stance the Mexican government took by granting citizenship to

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[33] Ibid., 183. The original French text reads, "*Bien exist-t-il dans l'espèce humaine des conformations incapables de s'élever au sommet de la civilization, destinées à ramper dans la sphere de la médiocrité, et pour qui la tutelle et la dependence soient des nécessités?*"
[34] Vogeley, Nancy, "Turks and Indians: Orientalist discourse in postcolonial Mexico." *Diacritics* 25, no. 1 (1995):12.

all people and in overthrowing monarchical rule. Although he believed in civil liberties and democratic values, his stylistic choices and textual descriptions are indicative of an attitude that did not believe in universal human equality. Linati's contradictory beliefs constructed a complex perspective on Mexican society that was riddled with political and artistic biases based on his life experiences.

While it is not possible to quantify the broad impact that *Costumes civils* had on European understandings of Mexico, I argue that this account constructed a perception of Mexico that simultaneously idealized the liberal policies of the government while depicting the nation's people as one-dimensional types without any nuanced or individual qualities. The lithographs found in *Costumes civils* transformed actual encounters between Claudio Linati and the people of Mexico into the reception of reductive typological figures experienced by European viewers. Consequently, Europeans who were unable to travel abroad encountered Mexico and the typological categories of its peoples in pseudo contact-zones through the consumption of printed materials and were encouraged to believe that these social categories were indicative of Mexico's national character.

Chapter 2:
Artificial Encounters with Mexico

During the Enlightenment the natural environment became a locus of exponential

discovery through which one could produce knowledge about its human inhabitants, flora,

fauna and topography. This kind of information was recorded in written accounts,

illustrative imagery and collected specimens that often accounted for the world beyond the

boundaries of one's home. Beginning with the earliest exploration of the Americas in the

fifteenth century, travellers often recorded their experiences and observations in order to

share them with a European audience.[35] These tales of unknown peoples and lands piqued

European imaginations and demonstrated that the Americas were rife with untapped

knowledge, waiting to be realized.

The accounts functioned as sources of entertainment, tools of commerce and

documents of early scientific thought. In her essay, Caitlin Stanton explains the role of

exploration in the development of travel accounts:

> It was only with the discovery of the unfamiliar beyond European
> experience, and with the harder necessity of accepting the existence and
> legitimacy of that experience, that both art and science came to interest
> themselves in questions of identity, in nature as well as in human beings,
> and that the descriptive function of art, tied to science as an aid to
> perception of the visible world and thus also to the understanding of
> nature, began gradually to emerge. [36]

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[35] Some of the first written records of the Americas can be found in Christopher Columbus' logbooks. See *The Four Voyages of Christopher Columbus,* Edited by J.M. Cohen (London, England: Penguin Books, 1969).

[36] Stanton, Catlin L., "Traveller-Reporter Artists and the Empirical Tradition in Post-Independence Latin American Art" in *Arts of Latin America: The Modern Era, 1820-1980* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 43.

Incorporating foreign peoples and places into the European conception of the world

accompanied the "discovery of the unfamiliar." Since most Europeans were unable to travel

abroad themselves, they relied on descriptive accounts and images to help form their

conceptions. Due to the varied nature of machine printed material in the early modern era,

documentations of firsthand observations were extensively disseminated, allowing many

Europeans to encounter the Americas from a distance.

In this chapter, I discuss the discursive nature of travel writing in order to establish

a framework with which to analyze the stylistic choices found in Claudio Linati's *Costumes*

Civils, Militaires et Religieux. I also explore the intended reception of the work by its

European readership. As Stanton explains, "the different habitats and endless variety in

tribal groups and mestizo peasant types, as well as forms of natural life" were striking to

"the cultivated European eye as novel or characteristic of the freshness and mystery of the

rediscovered Ibero-American world."[37] Linati's *costumbrista* book attempted to capture the

social milieu of Mexican life. Moreover, his inclusion of historical military figures presented

a romanticized version of Mexico's fight for independence. Finally, I propose a visual

framework with which to better understand the printed imagery produced in Linati's

publication. Upon first viewing, it appears that Linati merely perpetuates the colonial

typology codified in the *sistema de castas* and depicted in *casta* paintings. However, my

analysis positions Linati's work as a departure from the eighteenth century images of race

that are rooted in early conceptions of taxonomic classification, seen in *casta* imagery,

despite the many visual similarities. Instead, Linati's categorical classifications are

organized in a more arbitrary manner, allowing the reader to encounter each subject

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[37] Stanton, 47.

randomly and thus, more organically – the same way Linati encountered his subjects as he travelled through Mexico.

The Discourse of Travel Writing

Upon discovering new lands and their inhabitants, travelers in the Americas related their observations to previous experiences and assimilated new knowledge into pre-existing conceptions of the world. This process not only allowed individuals to incorporate new information into manageable and controllable categories, but also, as Roy Bridges explains, brought "the non-European world into a position where it could be influenced, exploited or, in some cases, directly controlled."[38] Travel accounts facilitated the establishment of colonies, the spread of missionization and the proliferation of scientific expeditions. The exploration of geographic territories and their inhabitants positioned Europeans as observers and non-Europeans as objects of study.

These accounts held manifold functions in European societies, used as both objects of information and delight.[39] While they contained knowledge of the world beyond the European experience, they simultaneously offered a form of entertainment. Readers found themselves regaled with stories of adventure, exotic places and savage peoples. The stranger the stories, the more curious readers became. As with contemporary publishing firms, the publishing houses of the Early Modern period sought to sell and market books to a general public, not merely humanists and intellectuals interested in esoteric knowledge.

[38] Bridges, Roy, "Exploration and Travel Outside Europe (1720-1914)" in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing (*Cambridge University Press, 2002), 53.

[39] Sutton, Elizabeth, "To Inform and Delight: The Commodification of Travel Images in Amsterdam." *Mediaevalia* 1, no. 1 (2011): 328.

Therefore, it is necessary to consider the intended audience of travel accounts, as authors and artists tailored the publications to appeal to the readers' tastes.

The accounts were also used as tools of commerce. In the fifteenth century, detailed documentation was crucial for Columbus' success as an explorer; it allowed him to return to Spain with reports of valuable discoveries. His descriptions of natural resources (i.e. people, gold, land) enticed the Spanish monarchy to continue sponsoring Columbus, enabling him to lead more voyages to the New World. It is with these accounts that explorers received funding to continue their expeditions and subsequently attracted settlers to help establish colonies.[40] Moreover, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, travel accounts provided merchants with valuable knowledge regarding cultural practices and norms.[41] Using travel accounts as guidebooks, merchants could confidently navigate the "uncivilized" interior of the Americas and subsequently harvest natural resources and barter with indigenous groups in order to achieve financial success.

Once colonies were established in the Americas, governments turned to scientists and humanists to help collect and classify information regarding their burgeoning empires. The creation of written travel accounts and illustrations, paired with the collection of specimens, allowed for the visualization of the unknown world abroad, which had become an intangible extension of European countries or empires. In her book, *Visible Empires*, Daniela Bleichmar explains that such projects allowed nature to "become moveable, knowable and – ideally – governable."[42] Thus, through visualization, government officials,

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[40] Hulme, Peter, "Introduction" in *The Cambridge companion to travel writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 3.

[42] Bleichmar, Daniela, *Visible Empire : Botanical Expeditions and Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 7.

intellectuals and others with an interest in travel could view and control their colonies from afar. A crucial aspect of scientific expeditions was the desire to classify flora, fauna and peoples into taxonomic categories. In doing so, governments were able to better enact a means of control, by constructing order through such typologies.

Through the aforementioned uses of travel accounts, it is evident that "armchair travel" was not merely a practice of amateur humanists, looking for entertainment and hoping to consume information. In addition to entertainment, travel accounts acted as evidence of successful expeditions for explorers looking for sponsorship, as guidebooks for merchants traveling in the unknown, as visualization projects for governments and finally, as catalogues of early scientific thought through their use of classifications. This diversity in function demonstrates the complex roles these objects played in constructing European understandings of the Americas. Thus, considering the descriptive text and illustrative imagery of nineteenth-century travel accounts provides a dynamic understanding of how identities were constructed in the modern world. Furthermore, this process is deeply rooted in the various encounters that were recorded from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century.

Travel writers sought to verify the legitimacy of their accounts because, unlike the general cosmographies of antiquity, the veracity of these accounts was consequential in their reception, and the establishment of veracity primarily relied on the credibility of the authors. In *Wonders and the Order of Nature,* Lorraine Datson and Katharine Park explain how the transition from cosmographies to travel accounts engendered the inclusion of illustrations to verify the author's experiences:

> They told specific stories, set in a particular time and place, rather than laying out a general cosmographical structure freighted with moral and theological meaning.

> Furthermore, because the appeal of such stories lay largely in the novelty and implausibility of their material, truth to fact was of greater concern… For travel writers, unlike encyclopedists and cosmographers, the margins of the world were topologically continuous with the European center; their own experience and credibility were at stake, and they needed to present their narratives as both literally and morally true.[43]

Consequently, authors sought to include visual representations of their experiences in hopes that "new information [would be] legitimated by printed illustrations."[44] The desire to commission or create visual depictions of empirical observations highlights the Early Modern notion that illustrations could present the reader with an unmediated representation of autoptic experiences. Nonetheless, the artists responsible for producing illustrations did not execute these representations free from external forces. The printmakers in question often employed artistic agency and despite relying on textual accounts or firsthand observations, visualizations of the textual descriptions were unbiased reflections of reality. As human-made constructions, images were laden with intentions and consequences.

While a documentary element is evident, travel illustrations were not demonstrative of universally held truths; instead they embodied contemporaneous debates – made to facilitate and display arguments, as opposed to simply recording observation. Thus, it is clear that we should consider prints, not only as vessels of knowledge, but also as generators of knowledge. Even though there was a new interest in empirical observation in the Early Modern period, intellectual understandings of analogy were still pervasive. Observations of the non-European world were based in difference; the illustrations and

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[43] Daston, Lorraine and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, (New York: Zone Books, 2001), 62-63.

[44] Sutton, Elizabeth A., *Early Modern Dutch Prints of Africa (*Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 328.

written accounts emphasized the dissimilarity between the author and the subjects. Travel

writers recorded their experiences in this way in order to best reach their intended

audience. Moreover, travel writers who were sponsored by humanists, scientists and

government officials were instructed to record their experiences in this way as well.

Ultimately, this form of documentation ran "unbroken into the early twentieth century."[45]

Travel accounts were part scholarly pursuit and part merchant guide. However,

these two functions alone were not enough to drive the abundant production of travel

books. A major part of the intended audience was individuals who considered themselves

amateur humanists. With the construction of categorical types often found in travel

accounts, Europeans formulated perceptions of the Americas rooted in the first-hand

experiences of other individuals. These categorical types were perpetuated through the

repetition of visual motifs in prints and the circulation of these images that often resulted

in the creation of composite prints. As Peter Burke states in *Translating Knowledge,*

Translating Cultures, "Ideas, information, artifacts and practices are not simply adopted but

on the contrary, they are adapted to their new cultural environment. They are first

decontextualized and then recontextualized, domesticated, or 'localized'… they are

'translated'."[46] Each iteration of a pictorial image bears the imprint of the individual that

made it, for example, through stylistic alterations, changes in descriptive texts or the

addition of other figures or objects. The circulation of these images facilitated the creation

of composite images, resulting in translations of the original. Through repetition and

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[45] Hulme, 4.

[46] Peter Burke, 'Translating Knowledge, Translating Cultures', in Michael North (ed.), Kultureller Austausch in *der Frühen Neuzeit* (Köln-Weimar-Wien, 2009), 69.

dissemination, these prints constructed a vision of the Americas that was limited in its scope and diversity - a vision that only existed through a Eurocentric lens. This lens propagated European excellence and the expansion of Western civilization.

In her book, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Mary Louise Pratt discusses the concept of writing in "contact zones." She describes these as "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination – such as colonialism and slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today."[47] She goes on to say that she uses this term "to refer to the space of imperial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict."[48] I suggest that the pages of travel accounts acted as a type of contact zone, albeit a pseudo-contact zone where the European reader "encountered" American peoples by proxy via the author's documented experience. While Pratt's concept of the contact zone entails the meeting of two distinct groups (the colonizer and colonized), the concept of pseudo-contact zone entails European groups "meeting" non-European groups on the page. In a pseudo-contact zone, the depicted subject of a book has no tangible contact with its readers.

The encounters that occurred in these pseudo-contact zones can be described as simulated at best. While readers felt they were experiencing the realities of regions like Mexico, in fact, authors portrayed peoples and customs through a framework based on

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[47] Pratt, 7.

[48] Ibid., 8.

personal biases, political beliefs and a desire to appeal to a European readership. Elizabeth

Sutton suggests that "the Other often collapses into the notion of the exotic, a concept that

is especially significant when considering images consumed in a capitalist market that

required demand for salability. Curiosity, wonder, and the exotic created a market for

objects that represented those qualities."[49] Thus, when discussing the work of Claudio

Linati, it is necessary to acknowledge that he exercised artistic agency when creating

descriptions and images of Mexico's peoples. His choices in style, content and composition

deliberately frame the subject as an exotic Other, meant to entice and intrigue European

readers. His focus on the diversity of Mexico's peoples is evident in his inclusion of Creole,

indigenous and Afromexican individuals. Moreover, it is necessary to consider Linati's

political beliefs and activities, as his inclusion of military and political leaders are "chosen

out of a clear commitment to Mexican ideals of independence and reform."[50]

The dissemination of *Costumes civils* contributed to the construction of European

perceptions of Mexico, as readers felt they were encountering Mexico secondhand through

the activity of reading travel books. The tradition of recording empirical observations and

the inclusion of illustrations to further legitimize the author's claims carried over from the

Early Modern period into the nineteenth century. The imagery found in *Costumes civils*

resembles the proto-ethnographic prints found in the travel accounts and map insets of

previous decades. However, Linati's predecessors often depicted their subjects against

minimal backgrounds and used visual strategies such as utilizing poses found in anatomical

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[49] Sutton, 10.

[50] Stanton, 74.

prints.[51] Linati departs from these stylistic choices and instead depicts vignettes that

portray more than his subject's physical appearance. He includes detailed costumes and

objects that are emblematic of the subject's occupation. Therefore, I suggest that while

Linati's prints resemble the illustrations found in past travel accounts, they more closely

resemble the prints found in the genre of *costumbrista* literature that originated in Spain in

the mid-nineteenth century and then afterward, flourished in Mexico in the late nineteenth

century. The *costumbrista* genre focuses more on depicting the social milieu of a society,

through a country's inhabitants and their daily lives, than travel accounts of the past.[52] I

argue that Linati's *Costumes civils* qualifies as a *costumbrista* book, aimed at depicting the

social types found in post-Independence Mexico. However, as an outsider looking in,

Linati's unique views contain elements employed by the travel writers of the past.

Casta Paintings: Images of Classification

Upon first inspection, it appears that Claudio Linati's lithographs share many

similarities with the *casta* painting genre popularized in New Spain in the eighteenth

century. It seems that Linati employs the typological structure that defined *casta* imagery.

Although the taxonomy of the *sistema de castas* may appear pigmentocratic on the surface,

the socialization of the colonial body is based on factors beyond phenotype. Solely

considering skin color as a determinant of an individual's status does not take into account

the religious and social contexts that constructed identity in eighteenth century New Spain.

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[51] Traub, Valerie, "The Nature of Norms in Early Modern England: Anatomy, Cartography, King Lear." *South Central Review* 26, no. 1 (2009): 57.

[52] Moriuichi, Mey-Yen, "From "Les types populaires" to "Los tipos populares": Nineteenth-Century Mexican Costumbrismo." *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 12 (2013), 1.

As discussed by Magali Carrera in *Imagining Identity in New Spain*, racial discourse during the colonial period differs greatly from our present-day notions of race. The concepts of *calidad* and *raza* best serve to provide the framework with which we can discuss the construction of *castas*, that is people of mixed ethnic backgrounds. During the eighteenth century, the concept of lineage was referred to as *raza* and it was used to establish an individual's status in society, which was referred to as *calidad.* The discourse surrounding the construction of identity contained notions of religious purity. The term *limpieza de sangre* was used throughout New Spain to refer to individuals who could claim religious purity, or "pure blood". The concept dates back to fifteenth century Spain but when used in the context of the Iberian Peninsula it assumed Biblical connotations. After the Reconquista*, limpieza de sangre* was used to differentiate between "Old Christians" and "New Christians".[53] The latter referred to individuals of Jewish or Muslim descent who had converted to Christianity during the Reconquista.

The concept of *limpieza de sangre* took on new meaning when used by the viceregal government of New Spain. Adopting this concept for the colonial situation, Spaniards and Creoles utilized *limpieza de sangre* to discriminate against those of native and African descent by placing them in the category of "New Christians". Those without proof of *limpieza de sangre* were prevented from holding high government and ecclesiastical positions. Thus, the importance of *limpieza de sangre, raza* and *calidad* in determining an individual's social position and power resulted in a society that was obsessed with genealogy.

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[53] Martínez, María Elena, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza De Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico (*Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 28.

New Spain's socioreligious climate facilitated the creation of the *sistema de castas* to construct a sense of social organization. In the eighteenth century, the term *casta* was used to denote any individual of mixed-race and held negative undertones. Magali Carrera explains, "inherent qualities and attributes of *casta* personages were illegitimacy, impure blood, debasement, criminality, poverty, plebian status and manual labor." [54] An individual's *calidad* was then a reflection of her or his natural disposition, causing lineage to become a corporeal embodiment. To legally enforce these differences in *calidad*, the government instituted the *sistema de castas*, which outlined the various combinations of peoples and their offspring as a result of racial mixing. The system had three main roots – Indian, African and Spaniard. It was believed that individuals could trace their lineage through genealogical bloodlines and then, their identity was legally documented as one of sixteen *castas*. Genealogy's crucial role in determining an individual's identity reveals that the socially constructed hierarchies were a result of an inherent natural order.

Through the establishment of the *sistema de castas,* the legal codification of the social hierarchy was inextricably connected to an individual's heritage with preference given to those with Spanish blood. During the eighteenth century, New Spanish artists began creating *casta* paintings, which depicted the wide-range of *castas*. Scholars such as Ilona Katzew have attributed this fascination with classification to Creole patriotism as it is evident that many of these paintings were created as export art, intended for a Peninsular audience interested in visualizing the *naturalia* abroad.[55] Daniela Bleichmar suggests that the taxonomy presented is different from the Linnaean taxonomy used in scientific

[54] Carrera, Magli, *Imagining Identity in New Spain (*Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 37.

[55] Katzew, Ilona, *Casta Painting (*New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 201-202.

illustrations, such as botanical prints.

> *Casta* paintings ordered nature and society into an idealized taxonomy,
> attempting to minimize one of the great social fears of the higher
> classes in Viceregal societies by suggesting that ethnicity was not
> uncertain, fluid, and hard to pin down but rather mathematically fixed,
> rigid, and readily identified through visual inspection.[56]

Most *casta* paintings produced in the eighteenth century share similar formal qualities with

each other. Often, the subjects are a man, a woman and their offspring, surrounded by

objects specific to a local setting. Moreover, the paintings included labels that described the

individuals presented (for example, see Figs. 6 and 7).

When considering the tradition of *casta* paintings, the lithographs of Claudio Linati

seems to have many similarities regarding style, composition and content. Like the *casta*

paintings, Linati's work shares a fascination with types and classification. Each image

includes an individual, dressed in local costume and often performing tasks related to their

profession. Furthermore, in the *casta* genre, there are many paintings that depict images of

violence. Notably, almost all of these images are of non-Creole individuals. These paintings

become images of difference, emphasizing the behaviors and dispositions of people often

considered less civilized by members of the upper echelons of society. I suggest that during

his time in Mexico, Linati may have come into contact with *casta* paintings, or at the very

least, was familiar with the visual tropes found in these scenes of violence.

One such visual trope appears in *De coyote mestizo, y mulata, ahí te estás,* attributed

to Ignacio de Castro, a mother beats her partner while her baby is strapped to her back

(Fig. 6). The three figures fill the majority of the picture plane, with a minimal background

featuring only a wooden structure. The woman is wearing a simple dress and the man is

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[56] Bleichmar, 169.

shirtless, wearing only a pair of plain pants. This choice of clothing acts as a social and

economic marker, allowing the viewer to infer that these are members of a low class.

Moreover, in the title of the painting, the individuals' *castas* are identified as mixed race. In

the scene, the woman's face appears contorted with anger while her gaze is entirely

focused on the man. She grasps his hair with her left hand and raises her right hand

overhead, preparing to strike him with a bowl. The man doubles over, his face hidden by

his right arm as he grabs her wrist and uses his other arm to push her away. A hat appears

mid-air, falling to the ground as a result of the altercation. This adds movement and a sense

of urgency to the image, which conveys to the viewer that this is a candid moment. As the

mother leans forward, the child falls backward with its arms flailing, but the mother is too

preoccupied with the fight and does not notice.

Similarly, in Linati's *Dispute de deux Indiennes,* two indigenous women engage in

fisticuffs while the children on their backs are jostled about (Fig. 3). Both scenes use this

motif to suggest to the viewer that the women pictured are so barbaric and animalistic in

their actions that they forget their maternal responsibilities. Nevertheless, there remain

clear differences in the stylistic and compositional choices that affect the reception of the

works. The fact that the figures in the *casta* painting constitute most of the picture plane

allows the viewer to feel closer to the action. The viewer is invited to watch this marital

dispute but remains an outsider, peering into an intimate familial moment. On the other

hand, Linati includes a crowd in his scene, who voyeuristically look on from the side. The

viewer is able to take on the perspective of a member of the crowd. Thus, the fight is not

presented as an egregious act of violence but as an act of entertainment, intended to be

enjoyed by the viewer.

Another popular motif appears in José de Alcíbar's *Negro y de India Sale Lovo,* dated 1760-1770 (Fig. 7)*.* In this scenario, an African man is perpetrating the violence against his partner. The child appears in the middle crying and trying to hide under the mother's *rebozo*, or shawl. The father raises a twig overhead, preparing to use it as a switch. In retaliation, the mother yanks on his neckerchief and pushes against his forehead, arm extended. Similar to Castro's *casta* painting, Alcíbar chooses to arrange the composition so the figures are only shown from the waist up, causing the viewer to feel as though they are spying on the intimate affairs of the family and thus, enhancing the tension in the scene. Due to the composition, the garments of the mother and child are hardly visible; only the mother's large white sleeves, the tassels of her *rebozo* and the child's white shirt is visible to the viewer*.* The right hand side of the painting contains a variety of objects, clearly conveying the setting as a kitchen interior. In the upper right hand corner, Alcíbar depicts a set of shelves, displaying fine ceramic good such as vases, bowls and plates. The orderliness of the ceramics contrasts sharply with the jumbled objects below. On the bottom shelf appears a pile of various meat including a chicken and sausages. This juxtaposition emphasizes the chaos and violence occurring between the subjects of the *casta* painting. Further down, more foodstuffs are depicted on top of a wooden table. A bowl of porridge in a ceramic bowl teeters on the edge, about to fall to the floor as a result of the struggle. There also appears a large mixing bowl with a spoon sticking straight up in it, suggesting that the father entered the kitchen as the mother was in the midst of preparing food. Again, the artist presents the viewer with overt violence.

In Linati's print, *Négre d'Alvarado étendu* (Fig. 5), an African man beats his partner as she cleans a vase. The two figures fill the picture plane, but unlike Alcíbar's painting, we

see the full figures. The woman, crouched below, exchanges furtive glances with her husband as he lounges in a hammock. The hammock stretches horizontally across the top half of the picture plane, placing the man in a position of power over his wife. His body appears relaxed as he lackadaisically cracks the whip above her head. The curved line of the whip traces the outline of the woman's figure – an example of Linati's interest in the formal design of the scene. With the placement of the whip, there is an implied motion that suggests he will strike his wife. However, the viewer does not see the moment of contact between the whip and the woman's back. This allows the viewer to imagine the violent act that will follow without Linati depicting it. The composition is filled with other details including small wooden table in the lower left corner of the picture plane. On the table rests a white large brimmed hat and a machete leans against the edge of the tabletop. These details help emphasize the leisurely nature of the scene; these items remain static and unaffected by the violent actions taking place in the foreground. In the lower right corner of the picture plane, a small figure sits on the edge of the water, holding a fishing pole. The inclusion of this third figure suggests that the depicted interaction is not part of a private moment. Instead, these individuals are acting in the public eye and the viewer is able to watch freely. While Alcíbar presents the viewer with a visceral act of violence, perpetrated in the privacy of the home, Linati presents the viewer with a commonplace act that is enacted in public. The image's banal content is overshadowed by the painterly quality and Linati's emphasis on compositional design. I suggest that these visual strategies allowed European readers to enjoy Linati's work as images of delight and entertainment. However, these images of observation and entertainment acted as vessels, delivering Linati's political proclivities to unsuspecting readers through his subtle visual rhetoric.

While there are unequivocal similarities between Linati's prints and *casta* paintings, distinct elements demonstrate that Linati's images do not merely perpetuate colonial typology. Magali Carrera suggests that Claudio Linati's prints are implicitly different than *casta* paintings.

> [The] illustrations and narratives do not delineate taxonomy as seen in *casta* paintings, but identify types of people who mark the assumed inherent character and traits of nation, not miscegenation. In this way, travel illustrations and writings further erase the identity of New Spanish people based on affiliation to Spanish blood as established in *casta* paintings, and begin to fabricate Mexicans – that is, categories of people who are affiliated through inherent characteristics, traditional customs and common activities.[57]

I suggest, as Carrera does, that in some ways, Claudio Linati's work should be seen as a departure from *casta* paintings, despite sharing similar typological categories. He does not merely perpetuate colonial notions of identity but defines identity in a post-Independence context. The combination of Linati's life experiences, political views and status as an outsider acted as an impetus for the creation of *Costumes civils*. For Linati, the figures in his work were not solely intended for the entertainment of a European readership or as a scientific document of social classification, but as a mechanism to communicate his personal political ideologies. Through *Costumes civils*, Linati introduces a European readership to the members of the newly formed Republic of Mexico – a nation that Linati admired for its act of endowing civil liberties to all people.

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[57] Carrera, Magali, "Fabricating Specimen Citizens." in *The politics of dress in Asia and the Americas (*Sussex Academic Press, 2007), 225.

Chapter 3
The Construction of National Identity through Autoethnography

The rise of *costumbrismo* and the production of "type" collections during the nineteenth century allowed artists and authors to capture the everyday customs and practices of their native countries. Through depictions of social milieus and the countries' different inhabitants, authors constructed a vision of their nation based on a diversity of cultural practices, occupations and peoples. Categorical "types" were visualized through illustrations and descriptive texts, ostensibly allowing the reader to become acquainted with the various constituents of the region in question. With the rise of print-capitalism and the growing literacy rate across Europe, the production and dissemination of these books allowed, first and foremost, middle and upper class populations of the region under discussion to engage in self-reflection, and secondly, offered outsiders a deftly constructed view of another place and culture. However, these broadly stated effects of *costumbrista* texts become more complex and nuanced when considered within the context of the specific sociopolitical climate in which they were produced.

The origins of Latin American *costumbrista* literary texts can be directly traced to Spanish *costumbrista* literary texts, which in turn are successors to French and British collections of types produced in the mid-nineteenth century.[58] Published in 1840 in Britain, *Heads of the People* is often considered one of the first collections of types. When published in French the same year, the publishers changed the title to *Les anglais peints par eux-mêmes* (The English paint themselves). Subsequently, this title became the denomination of

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[58] Pérez Salas, 169.

similarly styled collections of types and costumbrista texts.[59] Europe then saw the publication of *Les francais peints par eux-mêmes* in 1841 and *Los españoles pintados por sí mismos* in 1843. In the following decade, the *costumbrista* tradition travelled across the Atlantic to Latin America. In 1852, *Los cubanos pintados por sí mismos* was published in Cuba and in 1853, *Los mexicanos pintados por sí mismos: Tipos y costumbres nacionales* was published in Mexico.

In this chapter I will explore how Mexican authors and artists reshaped this tradition and utilized it in constructing Mexican national identity by comparing *Los mexicanos* with Claudio Linati's *Costumes civils*. In using this comparative framework, I will emphasize the similarities and differences between the ethnographic images and texts found in Linati's travel account and the autoethnographic images and texts found in *Los Mexicanos* in order to reveal the processes of constructing national identities through printed materials*.*

Although the term "ethnography" was not coined until the 1830s, in this chapter, I position Linati's work as ethnography *avant la lettre* due to his systematic documentation of cultural practices and foreign peoples. Contrarily, I position *Los mexicanos* as autoethnography, employing Mary Louise Pratt's understanding of the term, which she defines as "texts the Others construct in response to or in dialogue with those metropolitan representations [produced by Europeans]."[60] While a dichotomous framework of ethnography and autoethnography risks oversimplification of the works under consideration, these categories provide a space that promotes comparative analyses

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[59] Ibid., 174.

[60] Pratt, Louise, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transcluturation* (Routledge, 2008), 9.

between seemingly disparate concepts and subjects. However, this also necessitates an examination of who, exactly, is considered "Mexican" when Mexicans are "painting themselves." Thus, in this chapter, I question how identity is constructed and negotiated in relation to concepts of nationality.

Despite the anthropological connotation inherent in ethnographic terminology, the texts and images produced in *Costumes civils* and *Los mexicanos* are imbued with the authors' and artists' sociopolitical biases, rendering the works as subjective depictions of Mexican identity and, on occasion, propagandistic depictions of the character of the nation-state.[61] In her book, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico*, Magali Carrera argues, "The power of display inherent in these technologies located objects, sites, and people within an emerging historical-geographical discourse about the nation-state, allowing individuals to be situated, as well as to situate themselves, in time and space."[62] Thus, this chapter explore's how Linati locates the Mexican people within a nation-state discourse in comparison with how Mexican authors and artists locate themselves (and their compatriots) within the same socio-political context. While Linati creates images and textual descriptions that render the Mexican people as exotic objects of awe and wonder, the Mexican authors and artists present the Mexican people as hard working, virtuous exemplars.

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[61] Moriuchi, Mey-Yen, "From "'Les types populaires' to 'Los tipos populares': Nineteenth-Century Mexican Costumbrismo." *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 12, 1 (2013): 1.

[62] Carrera, 141.

"Mexicans Painting Themselves"

As discussed in chapters 1 and 2, from the founding of New Spain in the sixteenth century to its formation as the Republic of Mexico in the nineteenth century, travel account and costume book authors represented the Mexican people in an exotic context that emphasized the peculiar characteristics separating Latin America from Europe. In doing so, the subjects were rendered as Others, susceptible to the European gaze, and thus the ability to self-fashion their identity was diminished. However, in *Los mexicanos* Mexican artists and authors depicted themselves and their people in the same tradition that European artists and authors had depicted themselves in the decades before. Consequently, these authors and artists put forth images and text that demonstrated "Mexico's distinctiveness while not deviating too far from European norms."[63] Created during a transitional period in Mexico's history, this autoethnographic endeavor aimed to establish the characteristics that constituted Mexican national identity and sought to establish Mexican society as unique but equivalent to European societies.[64]

The desire to establish Mexico as coeval to European nations during the nineteenth century paralleled earlier Spanish Colonial conceptions of Creole patriotism.[65] During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Creole elites strived to create a cultural identity that was distinct from, but similar to that of the Spanish aristocracy. While their ethnicity, language and religion connected them to the "motherland", their cultural practices and lived daily experiences proved to be unique, eliciting a need to develop a separate identity

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[63] Moriuchi, 2.

[65] Creole refers to individuals born in New Spain who were primarily of Spanish descent.

based on regional associations.[66] Thus, Creoles began to identify themselves as *los Americanos*, in an effort to position themselves as members of the Spanish crown, while maintaining their distinct cultural identity as citizens of New Spain. In addition to cultural differences, the motivation to establish a unique cultural identity stemmed from an interest in holding office and gaining political control within the colony. As D.A. Brading explains, the rhetoric of creole patriotism was deeply rooted in the expression of "grievance of a colonial elite denied their birthright, the governance of their country and the enjoyment of the privileges and profit derived from political dominion."[67] Accordingly, through the establishment of Creole identity and the discourse that surrounded said identity, these individuals hoped to gain access to political and religious offices, previously reserved for Spaniards and to obtain control and wealth they felt they rightfully deserved.[68] This narrative continued until the end of the colonial period, and with the success of independence, the Creole elite continued to forge a national identity connected to the history and cultural practices of Mexico, while fighting the notion that Mexico and its people was in any way inferior to its former ruler, Spain.

As Erica Segre suggests in *Intersected Identities*, it is evident that one way the elite class of Mexico attempted to define its national character was through printed materials. She explains, "*costumbrista* articles and illustrations played a central role in the nation-

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[66] McFarlane, Anthony, "Identity, Enlightenment and political dissent in late colonial Spanish America." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (Sixth Series)* 8 (1998): 322.

[67] Brading, David Anthony, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State 1492-1866* (Cambridge University Press, 1993) 293.

[68] Lafaye, Jacques, *Quetzalcoatl and Guadalupe: the formation of Mexican national consciousness, 1531-1813* (University of Chicago Press, 1987), 9.

building strategy of the cultural press."[69] The liberal artists and authors responsible for

producing *Los mexicanos* and similar *costumbrista* works attempted to use these printed

materials as vehicles for promulgating their sociopolitical ideologies surrounding

nationalism. Through the dissemination of these collections, readers were encouraged to

presume that the categorical types that were presented were denotative of Mexico's

national identity. William Beezley posits that the recognition of socioeconomic diversity in

costumbrista literature fostered the genesis of nationalism: "These illustrators and writers

showed their fellow men and women as familiar, if little-known members of their national

community. This liberalism that recognized the diversity of ethnic, social, and economic

groups created a frame in which popular nationalism emerged."[70]

     Los mexicanos includes thirty-five lithographic plates that depict a wide-range of

socioeconomic types, created by Andrés Campillo and Hesiquio Iriarte and printed by

Manuel Murguía in Mexico City. Accompanying the lithographic plates are anecdotal essays:

"Three of the essays are signed by Juan de Dios Arias; one, by Feva Irisarri; sixteen are

unsigned; and thirteen bear only a single initial, which in no case is identified in the various

works on Mexican pseudonyms."[71] Not only are there thirteen fewer plates in *Los*

mexicanos than in Linati's *Costumes civils,* there are limited figures that appear in both

works. While the authors of *Los mexicanos* solely depict occupational types, Linati

incorporates occupational types, regional types, historical figures and scenes depicting

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[69] Segre, Erica, *Intersected Identities: Strategies of Visualisation in Nineteenth-and Twentieth-Century Mexican Culture (*Place of publication: Berghahn Books, 2007), 41.

[70] Beezley, William H., *Mexican NationalIidentity: Memory, Innuendo, and Popular Culture (*University of Arizona Press, 2008), 149.

[71] Spell, Jefferson Rea, "The *costumbrista* movement in Mexico." Publications of the Modern Language Association of America (1935): 302-303.

Mexican customs. Consequently, for the purposes of this chapter, I will focus on the figures that appear in both works, figures that are emblematic of the underlying messages in *Los mexicanos* and figures that are decidedly absent from *Los mexicanos* but appear in Linati's *Costumes civils.*

Similar to the lithographic prints found in Claudio Linati's *Costumes civils*, each plate in *Los mexicanos* shows a singular full-figure engaged in an occupational activity; emphasis is placed on dress and objects associated with occupation. Each figure is representative of a social role, thus facial and bodily features appear idealized. On the one hand, Linati depicted his subjects on minimalistic backgrounds, in effect reducing the significance of specific setting. On the other hand, Hesiquio Iriarte and Andrés Campillo employ detailed renderings of the backgrounds, including both interior and exterior settings that are always emblematic of the subject's occupation. This echoes the stylistic shift seen in casta paintings over the course of the eighteenth century. While early casta imagery presented viewers with figures appearing with little to no background, by the end of the century, in the face of the Bourbon reforms, artists began to include more detailed background that portrayed specific settings. As the reforms resulted in an increase in urbanization throughout the colony, artists sought to visualize their subjects within the changing city surroundings. [72] Furthermore, with the incorporation of these detailed settings, artists established the legitimacy of their observations by employing a panoptic gaze that seems unbiased and surveillant.[73] Thus, while the demographic of the colony changed and the visibility of one's *calidad* became increasingly indistinguishable, artists

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[72] Katzew, 114.

[73] Carrera, 83.

ensured the subjects depicted in their *casta* imagery remained authentic representations of

New Spain's population. Hence, when the artists of *Los Mexicanos* include detailed lived

environments for their settings, the artists do not merely suggest that one's social role is

inextricably linked to one's physical location within a society; with this stylistic choice, they

also legitimize and authenticate their representations of the Mexican people. Unlike Linati,

the artists of *Los Mexicanos* literally locate social types within the physical landscape of

Mexican society.

A figure that appears in both *Costumes civils* and *Los mexicanos* is *El Aguador* or the

Water Porter (Figs. 8 & 9). In Linati's depiction (Fig. 8), a barefoot man in profile appears in

the center of the foreground toting two vessels, presumably holding water, with their

attached straps crossed over his head. The smaller of the two vessels hangs in front while

the larger vessel rests against his back. Emphasizing his strenuous work, the water porter

leans forward and flexes his arms as he grasps the straps of the front vessel. He wears a

simple white shirt, with rolled-up sleeves and his pants, cut off below the knee, have a

tattered hem and two mismatched patches. In his description of the water porter, Linati

writes "the Mexican water porter is one of the things that is most striking to the eyes of

foreigners."[74] He goes on to discuss how difficult the work is, yet how little the water porter

is paid. The combination of image and text conveys to the viewer that this is a lower class

individual, who endures herculean labor but does not reap any real monetary benefit.

In *Los mexicanos,* Hesiquio Iriarte also depicts the full figure of the water porter in

profile (Fig. 9). Like Linati's water porter, he appears with his sleeves rolled up and his

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[74] Linati, 138. The original French text reads, "*Le porteur d'eau du Mexique est un des objets qui frappent le plus les yeux de l'étranger*" Águila

muscles flexed as he holds the front water vessel. However, unlike Linati's image, he wears

leather shoes, neat-looking trousers with buttons up the sides, and a vest with an emblem

on the front. In further contrast to Linati, he stands upright, seemingly uninhibited by the

weight of the water vessels. In sum, Linati focuses on the low economic status of the man

and the challenge of carrying water, while Iriarte depicts the man as cleanly dressed and

unencumbered by his laborious task.

As the opening essay in *Los mexicanos,* the description of *El Aguador* by author José

Maria Rivera includes comments that point to the authors' and artists' ambitions in

publishing the book. Instead of merely describing the *aguador*, Rivera recalls a

conversation where he asks an *aguador* to describe his life. When the *aguador* declines,

explaining that his life is not worth knowing, Rivera responds, "Imagine, son, today the

Mexicans have come to paint ourselves: understand?"[75] Thus, through the telling of this

fictive exchange, Rivera constructs a narrative in which he ensures the reader that in this

work, the Mexican people are describing themselves, not merely being described by

outsiders. As Mey-Yen Moiruchi explains, this imbues the text with credibility by offering

"the reader with the more 'truthful' representation."[76] In many of the Mexican essays, the

authors insert the subject's voice into the narrative by including dialogue. On the other

hand, in *Costumes civils*, the credibility of Linati's observations is authenticated by his mere

presence.

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[75] Rivera, Jose Maria, "El Aguador" in *Los mexicanos pintados por sí mismos: tipos y costumbres nacionales (*M. Murguia y Comp., Portal del Águila de Oro, 1854), 2.
 The original Spanish text reads, "*Calcula, hijo, que hoy los mexicanos hemos dado en pintarnos á nosotros mismos: ¿comprendes?*"

[76] Moriuchi, 3.

Another type that appears in both works is the butcher. In *Costumes civils*, Linati depicts the *Boucher Mexicain* in profile, precariously riding a mule, and accompanied by a scruffy looking dog. (Fig. 10) He wears a cloth wrapped around his head and a bloodstained shroud that obscures his entire body, with the exception of his lower legs and feet, while a cigarette hangs loosely from his mouth. Meanwhile, a pig's carcass hangs from hooks attached to the saddle. Linati begins his description by stating that, "If we wanted to personify laziness and filth, we could not choose a better model than the Mexican butcher boy."[77] Linati's use of the indefinite pronoun to state his claim encourages the reader to consider himself or herself in the position of the narrator. Moreover, he immediately makes it clear that he views this Mexican type as morally inferior.

Linati goes on to refer to the butcher as a "Lepéro", meaning a person of the lowest class. He is "wrapped in a dirty blanket, sometimes in a blood stained shroud, he walks the streets of Mexico and with cigar smoke coming out of his mouth, could raise an exalted image of a vampire who feeds on corpses and whose burning breath spreads in the air."[78] Linati may have been shocked and repulsed to see a butcher parade his meat through the streets on the back of a mule. Moreover, he ensured that his intended European readership would share his sentiment. Linati moved to Paris around the time that Napoleon established the first abattoirs in the city, decidedly removing the act of butchering from

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[77] Linati, 162. The original French text reads, "*Si on voulait personnifier la paresse et la saleté, on ne pourrait choisir de meilleur modèle qu'un garcon boucher de Mexico.*"

[78] Ibid., 162. The original French text reads, "*…enveloppé dans une sale couverture, quelquefois dans un linceul tout taché de sang, il se promène dans les rues de Mexico, et la fumée du cigare qui sort de sa bouche pourrait le faire prendre à quelque imagination exaltée pour un vampire qui se repaît de cadavres, et dont l'haleine embrasée se répand dans les airs*"

market stalls and into the enclosed spaces of the slaughterhouses.[79] Thus, for Linati and his

readers, the Mexican butcher freely wandering the streets with his blood stained clothes

and his meat would defy coeval French delineations of social spaces and public hygiene. He

ends by stating that the food in Mexico is bland and not nearly as succulent and nourishing

as the food found in Europe.

In *Los mexicanos,* the butcher is referred to as *El Tocinero*. Attributed to Manuel

Murguía , this print depicts a young man, wearing only a pair of tattered shorts and a

rosary across his chest like a sash (Fig. 11). He carries a large bowl of pork fat over his

head as he walks down the street. It is evident in the accompanying essay that the author,

Juan de Dios Arias, does not view the butcher in the same way as Linati. Instead, de Dios

Arias emphasizes the butcher's important role in society, as one who provides sustenance

to the people. At the end of the essays he states, "Now, in agreeing that fat is the most

substantial substance for society, we must also agree that it is not improper to call the one

that provides it, a man of substance."[80] According to de Dios Arias, despite his lowly

economic position, the butcher's ability to provide sustenance elevates his social role. In

fact, he portrays the butcher as integral to human survival. Moreover, he emphasizes that

butchers choose their profession because they have a passion for meat: "All of this reveals

an instinct of the love of liberty, that cannot be reconciled with slavery in work, and yet, the

butcher becomes the slave to the butcher shop, perhaps because it is the world in which he

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[79] Pugin, G., *Paris and its Environs (*Jeumings and Chaplin, 1831), 3.

[80] de Dios Arias, "El Tocinero" in *Los mexicanos pintados por sí mismos: tipos y costumbres nacionales (*M. Murguia y Comp., Portal del Águila de Oro, 1854), 285. The original Spanish text reads, "*Ahora bien, conviniendo en que la manteca es la sustancia mas sustanciosa para la sociedad, debemos convenir igualmente en que no es impropio llamar al que la proporciona, hombre de sustancia."*

breathes more deliciously."[81] His diction lends a romantic vision of the butcher as a man who champions liberty, but chooses to be "enslaved" by his profession because his life is better that way.

The example of the butcher is demonstrative of the differing rhetorical and visual strategies employed in *Los mexicanos* and *Costumes civils*. As an outsider, Linati views the butcher through an ethnocentric lens by which he compares this figure's behavior and dirty clothes to those of a vampire. Through his image and the accompanying description, Linati focuses on the peculiar characteristics that differentiate Mexican butchers from European butchers. Meanwhile, Manuel Murguía and José de Dios Arias present a romanticized view of the butcher, portraying him as a provider of sustenance. They claim his actions and his attitudes are indicative of his passion for liberty, but his dedication to his occupation "enslaves" him to his work. Their rhetorical strategies convey to the reader how the butcher's virtuous characteristics can positively contribute his society at large. This contrasts greatly with the description given by Linati; he attributes a detrimental laziness to the butcher. In doing so, Linati presents the reader a set of immoral characteristics and vices inherent to the Mexican people, further suggesting that lower class individuals do not necessarily contribute to society.

Murguía's and Arias's rhetorical strategy can also be seen in the essay on the seamstress, or *la costurera*, written by Hilarion Frias y Soto and illustrated by Iriarte. In the print, Iriarte depicts a woman sitting on a wooden chair in an interior room (Fig. 12). Her gaze is steadied on the textile in her hand, as she is mid-stitch. This scene shows the reader

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[81] Ibid., 282. The original Spanish text reads, "*Todo esto revela un instinto de amor á la libertad, que no puede conciliarse con la esclavitud en el trabajo, y no obstante, el tocinero se hace esclavo de la tocinería, quizá porque es el mundo en donde respira mas sabrosamente.*"

that the seamstress is focused and determined. The rest of the room is barren, with the

exception of a small table, on top of which appear a woven basket, a spool of thread and a

pair of scissors. When considered in juxtaposition with the other detailed scenes in *Los*

mexicanos, the viewer is given the sense that the individual pictured owns few possessions,

in effect emphasizing the significance of her work and her lowly status within society.

Despite this, in his description, Frias y Soto focuses on the seamstress' strong work ethic

and constructs a narrative where the seamstress is considered a *heroína* (heroine). She

must endure laborious tasks all day long and face, what he describes as, a miserable life.

However, he explains that her character and strength are evident in her attitude:

"Foundering in her degradation and her misery, she conserves that beauty of heart, that

philanthropy of affection and that exaltation of kindness that distinguishes the daughters of

Mexico. Because of that, the seamstress is purely Mexican.[82]

Although the seamstress must engage in drudgework, she maintains an

inextinguishable positivity and continues to labor hard throughout her life. In presenting

her in this way, Frias y Soto implies that with her attitude and her hard work, the

seamstress is an exemplary citizen. She provides a critical service to the people, and

despite performing strenuous tasks through all hours of the day, she preserves an inner

happiness that Frias y Soto suggests is emblematic of Mexican national character, thus

making her "purely Mexican". Unlike the previously discussed *tortilleras* depicted in

Linati's *Costumes civils*, the seamstress in *Los mexicanos* is not presented as a voyeuristic

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[82] Frias y Soto, Hilarion, "La costurera" in *Los mexicanos pintados por sí mismos: tipos y costumbres nacionales (*M. Murguia y Comp., Portal del Águila de Oro, 1854), 7. The original Spanish text reads, "*Zozobrando así en su degradación y su miseria, conserva esa belleza de corazón, esa filantropía de afectos y esa exaltación de cariño que distingue á las hijas de México. Porque eso sí, la costurera es mexicana neta…*"

object for the reader's consumption. Instead, the author and artists focus on her usefulness to society, depicting her as a hardworking and diligent woman.

Similar language is used in other essays such as *La recamarera* (The Maid) in which a maid is illustrated by an unknown artist (Fig. 13). She appears against a minimal background, with a feather duster under her arm. She uses her apron to polish a fine wooden chair. Donning peasant attire, her facial features are nondescript and she wears her hair in two long braids. Again, the viewer is presented with an image that solely emphasizes the labor associated with the subject's occupation. The lack of background forces the viewer to focus on the woman and the work in which she is engaged. The author of the essay, Pantaleon Tovar, provides an anecdotal story - a maid helps a suitor win the affection of her mistress. In the essay, Tovar explains that he is divinely inspired to write about the maid and describes her hard work ethic and strength of character. He exclaims, "you that practices the very noble, national, and distinguished profession of a maid!"[83] In the same way that Frias y Soto depicts the seamstress as a pillar of national identity, Tovar presents the occupation of the maid as a noble and distinguished profession.

In this autoethnographic work, the creators take individuals from the lowest echelons of Mexican society and elevate them to crucial positions. In doing so, they engage in a self-fashioning technique that obfuscates any negative aspects of Mexican society. Thus, they describe all types of peoples represented in their book as contributing members to Mexican society. The figures represented in *Los mexicanos* are depicted as embodiments

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[83] Tovar, Pantaleon, "La recamarera" in *Los mexicanos pintados por sí mismos: tipos y costumbres nacionales (*M. Murguia y Comp., Portal del Águila de Oro, 1854), 100. The original Spanish text reads, "*ejerces la muy noble, nacional y distinguida profesión recamarera!*"

of morality and virtue, encouraging the reader to conceptualize these individual characteristics as emblematic of Mexican national identity as a whole.

Invisible Mexicans

While *Los mexicanos* includes members of the lower classes, such as the *aguador* and the *tocinero,* there are many other types represented, such as the lawyer, the seamstress, the evangelist, the rancher and many others. Although is a diversity of occupations represented, I argue that there is a deliberate homogeneity when it comes to the figures' physiognomic appearance.[84] Each figure is portrayed with light skin and few physical features that would allude to the individual's ancestry. Consequently, the figures appear ethnoracially ambiguous, which leads one to ask: in *Los mexicanos*, which Mexicans are painting themselves? As Moriuchi suggests, *Los mexicanos* shows "how Mexico's literary elite wished to present their newly formed nation."[85] However, why did they choose to construct this particular view of the nascent Republic of Mexico? And who is excluded from this representation?

During the inception of the Independence movement, "Mexico" was personified as a couple: an indigenous woman and a Spanish man wearing European clothing. This couple was often depicted in objects, such as coats-of-arms.[86] The indigenous woman is Malintzin, Hernán Cortés' indigenous advisor and interpreter during the conquest of the Aztecs. The Spanish man is Hernán Cortés. Together they gave birth to a son who is considered to be the first mestizo and the first Mexican. This personification is indicative of the

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[85] Moriuchi, 4.

[86] Charlot, 15.

inextricability of *mestizaje* from Mexican national identity. With the election of Benito

Juárez to the presidency in 1867, the emblematic relationship between Spaniards and

indigenous peoples played out again. While Juárez was the first full-blooded indigenous

leader, his wife, Margarita de la Maza was a woman of European descent. Stacie Widdifield

explains, "This couple embodies after all, the civilization of the barbarian and the promise

of reproduction of legally conceived citizens of the new liberal state."[87] Juárez and de la

Maza, and Cortés and Malintzin were emblematic of *mestizaje* and demonstrate the society-

wide notion that New Spain and consequently, Mexico was founded on Spanish and

indigenous relations.

     The constant reiteration of the Spaniard/native dichotomy was articulated through

nationalistic rhetoric. John Leddy Phelan suggests that in search of a national identity, the

Creole population (individuals of Spanish descent born in New Spain/Mexico) turned to the

Mesoamerican past and positioned it as an American "classical antiquity" in order to

solidify an ancestral tradition, albeit a fictive one. Through this positioning, the Creole

population was able to distance itself from the former rule of the Spanish Crown, while

establishing Mexico's nation-state on equal terms with its European counterparts.[88] The

celebration of the indigenous past allowed Mexico to recognize itself as a *mestizo* society

that existed as a result of the mixing of Spanish culture and indigenous culture. But as Rick

López explains in *Crafting Mexico,* "even as these late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-

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[87] Widdifield, Stacie G., *The Embodiment of the National in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexican Painting (*Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), 11.

[88] Phelan, John Leddy, "Neo-Aztecism in the Eighteenth Century and the Genesis of Mexican Nationalism." *Culture in History* (1960): 760-63.

century Creoles esteemed and lay claim to Mexico's Aztec archaeological past, their interest did not extend to living indigenous groups."[89] Despite the fact that Mexican liberals lauded the nation's indigenous roots, actual government legislation did not benefit indigenous populations. López explains that, "[Indigenous] 'alternative' liberalism clashed with the 'official' liberal ideas of the predominantly Creole elite" [90] and that the Creoles "saw them [natives] as subjects who, under the best of circumstances, might become civilized enough to embrace elitist notions of civilization, not as agents entitled to demand an expansion or revision of the national identity."[91] Therefore, it is not a surprise that indigenous individuals are not represented in *Los mexicanos*. If we are to believe that *Los mexicanos* is an autoethnographic work in which Mexican artists and authors offer their readers a "truthful" representation of Mexico's peoples, then we must also believe that by 1853, "indigenous groups [sic] disappeared from Mexico."[92] While the production of *Los mexicanos* allowed Mexican artists and authors to engage in autoethnographic activity and facilitated the act of self-fashioning, the national narrative constructed is one created from a Creole perspective. These individuals "generally envisioned the nation as confined to themselves and their acculturated *mestizo* brethren."[93]

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[89] López, 2.

[90] Ibid., 3.

[91] Ibid., 2.

[92] Carrera, Magali M., *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico: Mapping Practices of Nineteenth-Century Mexico (*Duke University Press, 2011), 136.

[93] López, 3.

The perpetuation of a *mestizo* national narrative had other consequences. In establishing a native/Spaniard model, the "Third Root" of Mexico's history is erased.[94] The "Third Root" refers to the hundreds of thousands of African slaves that were brought to New Spain during the colonial period and their descendants that continued to live in Mexico after its Independence. In her article, "Racial ideologies, racial-group boundaries, and racial identity in Veracruz, Mexico", Christina Sue explains how despite the inherent heterogeneity in this political rhetoric, it still problematically homogenized aspects of Mexico's national identity.

> This ideology promoted the mixed-race individual (*mestizo*) as the quintessential Mexican. In doing so, however, it not only glorified the *mestizo*, but sought to assimilate the Indigenous and African components of Mexico's population through integration. The erasure of the African element in Mexico continued in the following decades through the Eurocentric re-interpretation of particular aspects of Mexican culture.[95]

The political ideology that sought to revive a native past essentially rendered Afromexican and indigenous population as invisible.

Returning to the work of Claudio Linati, *Costumes civils* provided its European reader with a more ethnoracially complex view of Mexico than *Los mexicanos*. While Linati's images and text are undoubtedly inflected with his personal political ideologies and, at times, extreme and derogatory opinions on the people of Mexico, he acknowledges the existence of indigenous populations and Afromexicans. Besides the examples mentioned in Chapter 2, Linati also includes lithographic plates that depict an Afromexican from Veracruz. Although he compares the subject's appearance to a Vaudeville Harlequin—

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[94] Mexican Fine Arts Museum, *The African Presence in Mexico: From Yanga to the Present (*2006), 3.

[95] Sue, Christina A., "Racial ideologies, racial-group boundaries, and racial identity in Veracruz, Mexico." *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 5, no. 3 (2010): 275.

which inherently places the subject in a position of buffoonery—he differentiates between

the Afromexicans living in Veracruz and the Afromexicans living in the interior of the

country (such as the types depicted in Fig. 5 and discussed in Chapter 2). Linati also

differentiates between various indigenous groups. Although he homogenizes the

indigenous populations living in the interior of Mexico, he mentions the Apache natives

living in Northern Mexico (present-day California).

Linati's inclusion of racially diverse figures does not prevent his work from placing

the Mexican people in discrete categories that perpetuated a simplistic view of Mexico.

Moreover, as discussed in chapter 2, Linati's depictions were heavily biased as a result of

his political beliefs and life experiences. *Costumes civils* is not "*el testimonio de un

observador de los hechos que describe* (the testimony of an observer of facts)" as Manuel

Toussaint claims.[96] However, as an outsider, Linati was less affected by the desire to

construct a *mestizo* national narrative and was more concerned with displaying the

socioeconomic diversity of Mexico. In doing so, Linati conveyed his optimism regarding the

formation of the Mexican nation-state.

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[96] Toussaint, 8.

Conclusion

This thesis examines artist intention, national discourse and the invisibility of Afromexican and indigenous populations in *Los mexicanos* and *Costumes civils*. As such it moves beyond a genealogical understanding of the development of *costumbrista* literature in Latin America. Although *Los mexicanos and Cosumes civils* allowed various groups to develop understandings of one another, they did not directly reflect social realities. In fact, these works are imbued with sociopolitical ambitions rooted in the desire to construct a national identity. For example, as I have shown, *Los mexicanos* erased Amerindians and Afromexicans from its national narrative.

After Mexico won its independence in 1821, the Creole population of Mexico found itself free from Spanish control and consequently acted as the new postcolonial elite.[97] When faced with the freedom to self-fashion their identity and define the new Republic, the artists and authors of *Los mexicanos* represented a population that consisted of virtuous, hard-working individuals. By depicting individuals from a wide-range of social classes and occupations, the artists and authors ensured that viewers would see each type of person as a worthwhile and contributing member of society. Moreover, these typological figures took on allegorical meanings when assigned moral attributes, and were emblematic of national values defined by the artists and authors of the project. However, Erica Segre suggests that the work's "concern to reclaim local culture from the perceived condescension of foreign commentaries is not blind to the distorting lens of patriotic ambition."[98] While European

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[97] Mignolo, Walter D. , *The Idea of Latin America (*Place of publication: John Wiley & Sons, 2009), 67.

[98] Segre, 39.

readers may have perceived the book as reflective of social realities, the contributors made deliberate visual and rhetorical choices, in order to highlight the nationalistic undertones of their discourse.

When contrasted with Claudio Linati's *Costumes civils*, the differences in visual and rhetorical strategy are unmistakable. Although Linati hoped to present Mexico as a successful model of liberal policies and the implementation of a democratic Republic, his ethnocentric perspective facilitated an emphasis of difference, by exaggerating the exoticism and unusual habits of the Mexican people. He maintained his position as an outside observer, and is not overly concerned with presenting an ostensibly objective view of Mexican society. However, in emphasizing difference, Linati constructs a narrative composed of the various diverse cultures that constituted Mexico at the time. Consequently, when compared with *Los mexicanos*, contemporary readers are able to plainly see the erasure of non-Creole citizens from the national narrative. The racial categories found in *casta* imagery in the colonial period were included in Linati's work but are completely missing from *Los mexicanos*, "essentially disappearing the black and indigenous presence from visual narratives."[99]

More work remains to be done on nineteenth-century *constumbrismo* literature.. For example, Linati's images were copied and used in many other works after the initial publication of *Costumes civils.* In 1829 British explorer Robert William Hale Hardy included Linati's lithographs in the publication of his account, *Travels of the Interior of Mexico*. An examination on how Linati's visual strategies were transformed by the reprinting of his

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[99] Moriuchi, 2.

images with a different author's text remains to be done. Furthermore, Linati's work was not translated into Spanish and published in Mexico until 1956 when Manuel Toussaint and Justino Fernández released their edition to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the *Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* in Mexico City. In a related work, Fernández provided a commentary that positions Linati as an objective observer who captured the lived reality of post-Independence Mexico. Toussaint's and Fernández's work on Linati has yet to be framed in a critical historiography. A last suggestion for further study would be the creation of composite images based on Linati's lithographs. In 1993, Mexican writer, Enrique González Pedrero, published *País de un solo hombre: El México de Santa Anna,* a book that discusses the historical characters and events that surrounded the life of the nineteenth-century Mexican politician and general, Antonio López de Santa Anna. The illustrations that accompanied this book are composite images created using the lithographs found in *Costumes civils*. With these few examples, it is evident that despite the little scholarly attention he has received, the work of Claudio Linati continued to play an active role in the construction of national identity well into the twentieth century.

FIGURES

Fig. 1
Claudio Linati. *Untitled.* 1826. Lithograph print. *El Iris: Periodico Critico-Literario*, Number 1, February 4, 1826. Mexico City, Mexico.

Fig. 2

Claudio Linati. Frontpiece: *Moctetzouma Xocotzin.* 1828. Lithograph print. *Costumes civils, militaires et réligieux du Mexique: dessinés d'après nature.* Belgium.
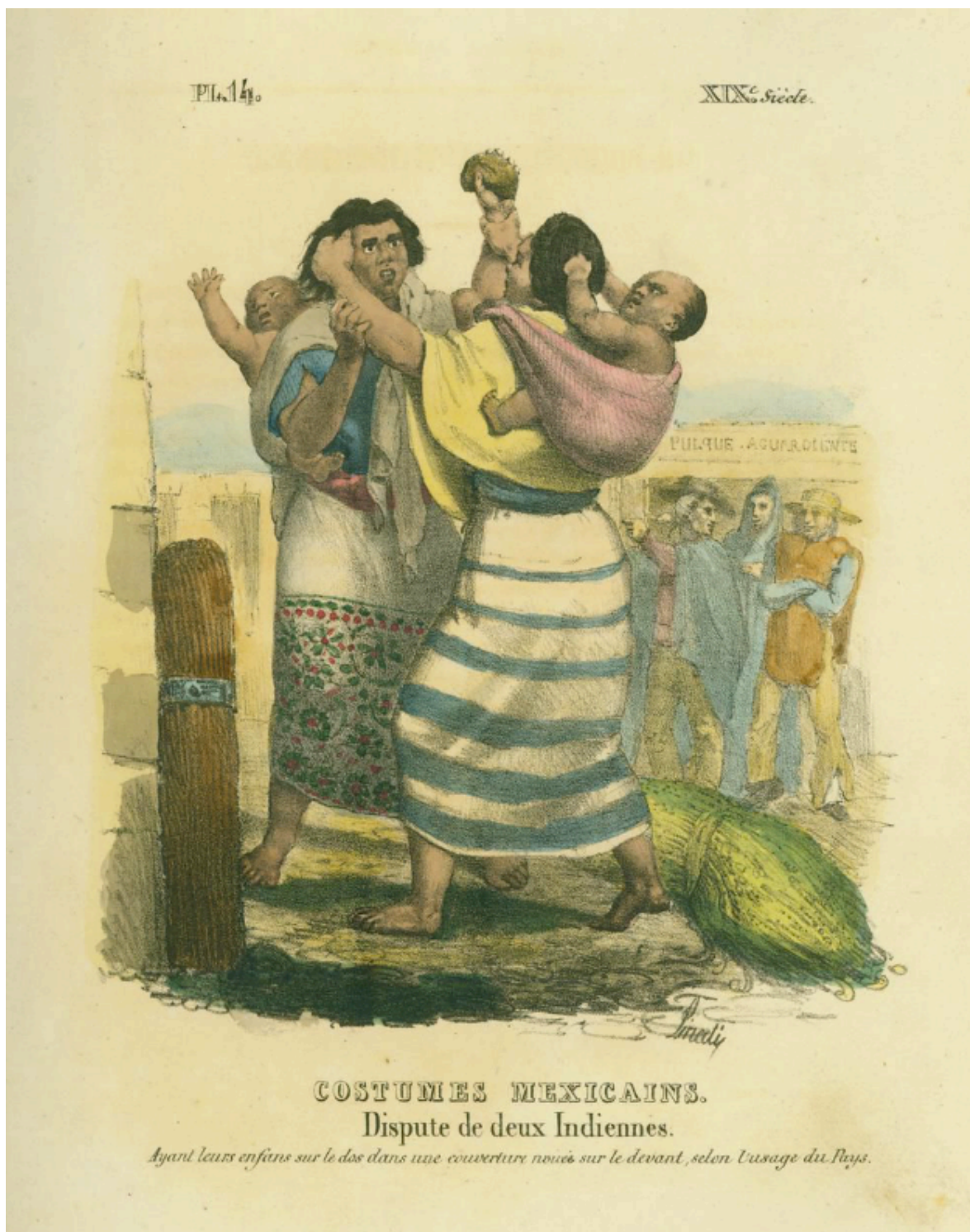
Fig. 3
Claudio Linati. Pl. 14 *Dispute de deux Indiennes.* 1828. Lithograph print. *Costumes civils, militaires et réligieux du Mexique: dessinés d'après nature.* Belgium.

Fig. 4
Claudio Linati. Pl. 5 *Tortilleras.* 1828. Lithograph print. *Costumes civils, militaires et réligieux du Mexique: dessinés d'après nature.* Belgium.

Fig. 5
Claudio Linati. Pl. 30 *Négre d'Alvarado étendu dans son hamac, faisant travailler sa femme.*
1828. Lithograph print. *Costumes civils, militaires et réligieux du Mexique: dessinés d'après nature.* Belgium.

Fig. 6
Attr: Ignacio de Castro by R. Blanchard. *De coyote mestizo, y mulata, ahí te estás.* Late 1700's. Oil painting. Museo Nacional de Historia. Mexico City, Mexico.

Fig. 7
José de Alcíbar. *Negro y de India Sale Lovo.* 1760-70. Oil painting. Denver Art Museum, Collection of Jan and Frederick Mayer. Denver, Colorado, US.
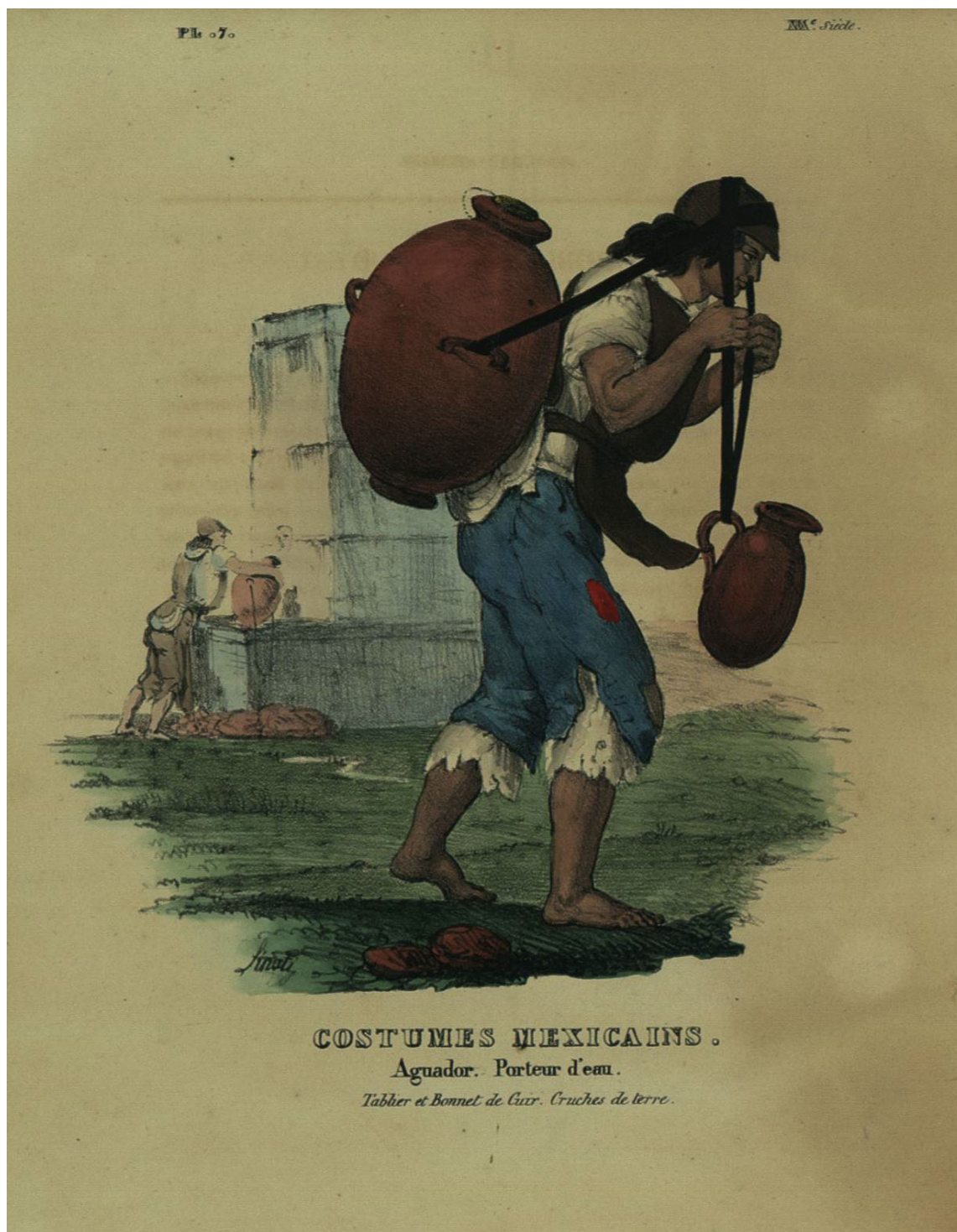
Fig. 8
Claudio Linati. Pl. 7 *Aguador. Prteur d'eau.* 1828. Lithograph print. *Costumes civils, militaires et réligieux du Mexique: dessinés d'après nature.* Belgium.

Fig. 9
Hesquio Iriarte and Manuel Murguía. *El Aguador.* Lithograph print. 1854. *Los mexicanos pintados por sí mismos: tipos y costumbres nacionales.* Portal del Águila de Oro.

Fig. 10
Claudio Linati. Pl. 19 *Boucher ambulant dans Mexico.* 1828. Lithograph print. *Costumes civils, militaires et réligieux du Mexique: dessinés d'après nature.* Belgium.
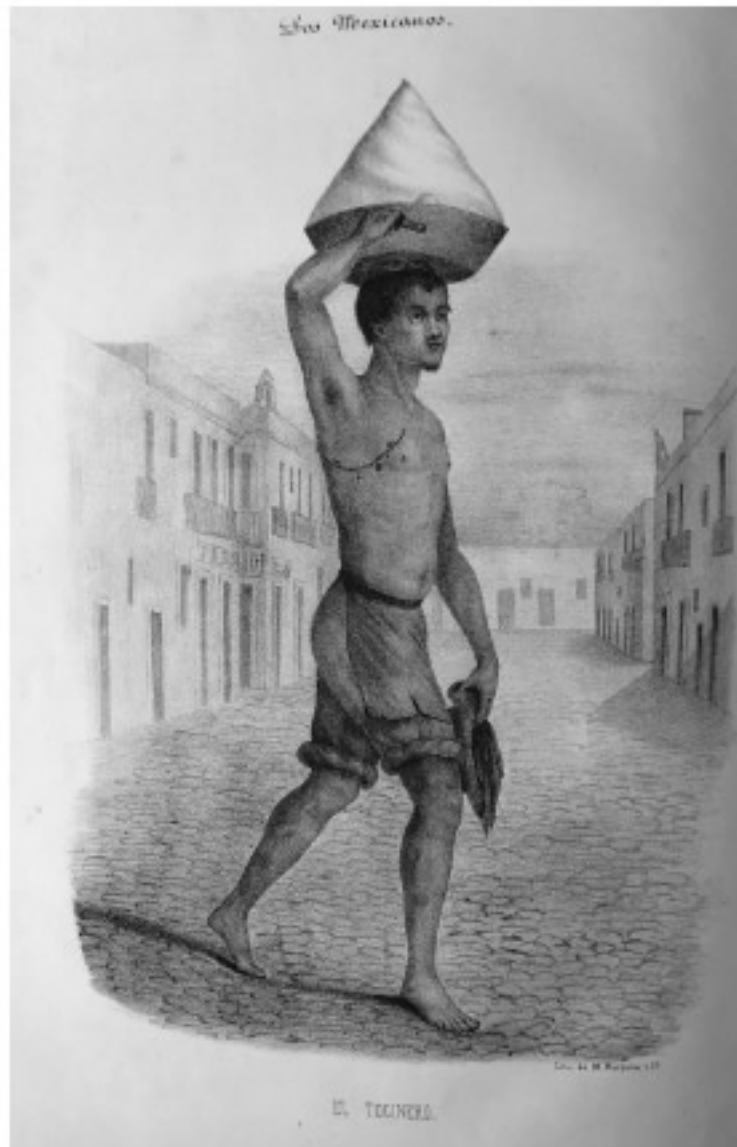
Fig. 11
Hesquio Iriarte and Manuel Murguía. *El Tocinero.* Lithograph print. 1854. *Los mexicanos pintados por sí mismos: tipos y costumbres nacionales.* Portal del Águila de Oro.

Fig. 12
Hesquio Iriarte and Manuel Murguía. *La Costurera.* Lithograph print. 1854. *Los mexicanos pintados por sí mismos: tipos y costumbres nacionales.* Portal del Águila de Oro.

Fig. 13
Hesquio Iriarte and Manuel Murguía. *La Recamerera.* Lithograph print. 1854. *Los mexicanos pintados por sí mismos: tipos y costumbres nacionales.* Portal del Águila de Oro.

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