CASTA PAINTINGS REVISITED: THE CASE FOR SINGLE-PANEL ANALYSIS AND ARTIST AGENCY

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my family. I am especially indebted to my grandparents for all that they have provided me and particularly grateful for my father as he has always been my greatest advocate. Thank you for all of your patience and support throughout my academic journey.

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by

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The objective of this thesis is to question the dominant theory that *casta* paintings depict a social hierarchy in which Spanish superiority is emphasized. Comparing the recent scholarship in the field to a single-panel *casta* painting by Ignacio María Barreda, I explore the possibility of communal unification rather than social degeneration of the *castas* class. Formal analysis of the visual elements in this single-panel *casta* painting suggests that previous scholarship has given inequitable weight to the labels of miscegenation, an analytical approach that has resulted in narrow interpretations of *casta* paintings. This investigation into *casta* paintings places priority on the visual aspects first, and explores the linguistic history of the associated text second. Why does negative and demeaning nomenclature in these paintings not correlate with the visuals? It is my contention that because the painters of this genre exercised artistic agency and because they were of Native and African ancestry themselves, it is unlikely that they would have intentionally portrayed a detrimental self-image of the *castas* class, as has been the prevailing theory.

This analysis further examines seventeenth century Dutch visual traditions to include genre paintings, prints and civic descriptions, cartography and costume illustration in relation to *casta* paintings; the former sources lend support to my thesis that *casta* paintings emphasize *casta* pride, a sense of community, and even humor, over Spanish superiority.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Known today as *casta* paintings these works are a unique genre that spanned the eighteenth century in Ibero-America. Although there are examples from Peru, Ecuador, and Boliva, the majority of the paintings were produced in the terrain of New Spain: in Mexico City and Puebla.[1] Most scholars point to a canvas dated 1711 that is signed with the name Arellano as the first known painting of its kind (Figure 1.1).[2] Moreover most agree that the production of these paintings ceased following the independence of Mexico in 1821.[3] It has also been suggested, however, that the style amalgamated into other styles such as *costumbrismo* and travel-reporter art.[4] Nonetheless, given the dates of the extant *casta* paintings, it is not disputed that this genre spanned over a century.[5] There are over one hundred sets of *casta* paintings

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[1] Deans-Smith, Susan, "Creating the Colonial Subject: Casta Paintings, Collectors, and Critics in Eighteenth-Century Mexico and Spain," *Colonial Latin American Review* 14, no. 2, (2005): 171. Deans-Smith points out that although most *casta* sets found today originate from Mexico City and Puebla, at least one is known to come from Peru. Scott, Nina M., "Measuring Ingredients: Food and Domesticity in Mexican Casta Paintings," *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture* 5, no. 1 (2005): 70. Nina Scott states that *casta* paintings have also been found in Ecuador and Bolivia.

[2] Sáiz, María Concepción García, "The Artistic Development of Casta Painting," In *New World Orders: Casta Painting and Colonial Latin America*, ed. Ilona Katzew (New York: Americas Society, 1996), 31.

[3] Estrada de Gerlero, Elena Isabel, "The Representation of 'Heathen Indians' in Mexican Casta Painting," In *New World Orders: Casta Painting and Colonial Latin America*, ed. Ilona Katzew (New York: Americas Society, 1996), 42.

[4] Carrera, Magali M., *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico: Mapping Practices of Nineteenth-Century Mexico: Mapping Practices of Nineteenth-Century Mexico* (London: Duke University Press, 2011), 60.

[5] Katzew, Ilona, *Casta Paintings: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 8.

documented to date;[6] as more scholarly attention is given to these paintings and their monetary and historical value increase, more paintings may surface.

Although many *casta* paintings show evidence of repetition and in some cases direct copying from one series to another, these works are far from formulaic. Each *casta* painting exhibits a wide range of variation and different presentation styles are employed. Some *casta* paintings consist of multi-canvas programs forming sets of sixteen or more; whereas others are in a grid format and are laid out within a single canvas. These single-canvas constructions also vary in format. Each contains a different number of narrative compartments; eight to seventeen vignettes can be found in a single piece.

Casta paintings vary in medium and format. The majority are oil on canvas, but some *casta* series are painted on copper plates, and others take the form of book illustrations.[7] *Casta* paintings also vary significantly in scale; for example, one canvas from a series *Spaniard and Indian Produce a Mestizo* painted by Juan Rodríguez Juárez, c.1715 is 104.1 x 147 centimeters (Figure 1.2). At over three by four feet, Rodríguez Juárez's work is considerably larger in scale than a *casta* painting boasting French fashions painted by Ramón Torres, *Mestiza and Spaniard Makes Castiza,* done in oil on copper at 32 x 42.5 cm (roughly 13 x 16 inches in size) (Figure 1.3).

The subject of most *casta* paintings consists of a single-family unit, a triad made of mother, father, and child; yet others display multi-figural and multi-familial groups and others utilize a bird's-eye perspective that was regularly applied in paintings of cityscapes during the

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[6] Katzew, *Casta Paintings*, 5.

[7] Katzew, *Casta Paintings,* 5.

period (Figure 1.4). Some paintings have simplified backgrounds allowing for the viewer's focus to be on the figure and their adorning costuming and props, whereas other paintings have exceptionally elaborate backgrounds, which consist of descriptive settings that include interior domestic spaces, country or city landscapes, and market stalls or shop interiors that often highlight a specific craft or trade.

A review of this genre proves that there are no absolute consistencies within it. However, one characteristic that links all *casta* paintings, and has become the point of contention among scholars, is the inclusion of the written word. Text within a painting is a common feature in artworks of the colonial era; however, *casta* paintings include a unique lexicon that sets them apart from all others. Text labels describe the mixture of each person's Spanish, African, and Indian heritage—the lexis of miscegenation in New Spain. The text is the only concrete connection and defining characteristic of the genre; nonetheless, there is no consistency within the nomenclature either.[8]

Although there has been a recent surge in scholarship, there is more research to be done. Significant unknowns include the following questions: What initiated the creation of these paintings? Why artists of mixed-race would choose to work in this vein? Who were the intended audiences? What reception did these works receive?[9] What were the motivations of the patrons

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[8] Sáiz, María Concepción García, *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), 24-29. See Sáiz's "Taxonomic Chart" demonstrating how many different racial combinations could have the same caste label.

[9] Smith, Susan Deans-Smith. "Creating the Colonial Subject: Casta Paintings, Collectors, and Critics in Eighteenth-Century Mexico and Spain." *Colonial Latin American Review* 14, no. 2, (2005). 190. Deans-Smith uncovered multiple colonial accounts for both personal dislike and approval of the genre.

for commissioning these works? And how were they displayed? Painters of many *casta* paintings remain unidentified and questions of patronage and purpose may never be answered. However, for some paintings there is a record of both patron and artist. These works require further research and hopefully further documentation will surface.

The general consensus within the academic community is that *casta* paintings are a visual depiction of colonial society's social hierarchy in which Spanish superiority was emphasized. Paintings that show darker skinned mixed-lineage persons in degenerate positioning, engaged in violent or "barbaric" actions such as physical struggle, or found in an inebriated state have been the focus of much analysis. Paintings with a violent sentiment have been the most widely reproduced.

Other scholarly examinations discuss how the *castas* were being represented in stark locations with bare feet and tattered clothing indicating the lower socio-economic status of the respective *casta*. Scholars have used clothing, actions, and western notions of physical beauty, along with reflections on bestiality, props of leisure, trade representations, and their related connotations to connect deteriorating moral behaviors to the *castas* class.[10] Scholars also suggest that the mere positioning of the *casta* figure within the canvas or within the series testifies to the

[10] Guzauskyte, Evelina, "Fragmented Boarders, Fallen Men, Bestial Women: Violence in the Casta Paintings of Eighteenth-century New Spain" *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, Volume LXXXVI , no. 2 (2009): 178. Regarding violent scenes in *casta* paintings Historian Evelina Guzauskyte states "space, bodily and facial features, occupational tools, clothing, animals and fruits are all used to represent degenerate characters within a chaotic environment."

inferior social status of that figure.[11] In other words, when the figure's placement in the canvas is low, or the number in the multi-canvas series is high, the low rank of that person's status in society is established in the painting.

Yet, for every declaratory statement that suggests an absolute order to the paintings or a system employed by them, there is a *casta* painting that is visually in opposition. Resistance to the idea that these paintings do not follow a racial social hierarchy with the Spanish male at the top, in fact, is to declare that the paintings do not reflect reality. The widely accepted notion is that the paintings represent a system, but in the instances where the paintings do not seem to adhere to the afore-mentioned system, it is held to be because they are a fictional representation of such systems. I find this to be a perplexing, all-encompassing evasion of the complexities of this genre.

Text labels were a popular design element during the colonial era and are commonly found in portraiture, but the labels within *casta* paintings use unique terminology that was created to describe the percentage of miscegenation for the *castas*. Other text found within the paintings identifies the different fruit, vegetables, flora and fauna of New Spain. These terms also have a fascinating linguistic link, such as the adoption of words from both the Spanish and

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[11] Katzew, Ilona. "Casta Painting, Identity and Social Stratification in Colonial Mexico." In *New World Orders: Casta Painting and Colonial Latin America, ed*. Ilona Katzew (New York: Americas Society, 1996), 26.

indigenous languages.[12] Nonetheless, the emphasis placed on these paintings has been on the nomenclature of miscegenation and has captured the academic spotlight to the exclusion of other interpretations. My aim is to delve into a visual analysis of *casta* painting, void of their lexicon. It is an experiment in ignoring the texts in an attempt to prove them as false clues or signifiers that have clouded deeper understandings of the genre.

It is suspect that the complex issues related to miscegenation, its raw and horrid histories, in addition to interwoven personal emotions, has led the way to an etic perspective on *casta* paintings. Scholars may have injected twenty-first century notions of "race" onto a genre of the eighteenth century, and in doing so clogged the pathway for further interpretations of *casta* paintings. A formal analysis of Barreda's painting will support a reading that the imagery steers towards a much different message.

Why put forth such a hypothesis? What can be gained from challenging the claim that these paintings visually depict a social hierarchy of male Spanish superiority? Exploring alternative theories for these paintings is essential to broadening our understanding of the genre. For example, what if *casta* painting was an artform that was created solely within the proto-academies of New Spain? These were groups of artists that were attempting to create an academy-level system prior to the establishment of the San Carlos Academy. The proto-academies never were successful in becoming officially recognized because the members of

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[12] Scott, Nina M., "Measuring Ingredients: Food and Domesticity in Mexican Casta Paintings," 77. Scott highlights a painting by Andrés de Islas that labels the produce that both originate from Mexico along with produce that was imported and the artist "uses predominantly indigenous names such as *xícama, chico-zapote, mameyes, tlacxiniquiles,* and *cacaguates*." She views this as possible "undermining of Spanish authority."

these painter societies were of mixed heritage; they were *castas*.[13] Miguel Cabrera and other *casta* painters were said to be part of such group.[14] All but one of the artists of the known *casta* paintings falls within the *castas* category.[15]

If the dominant theory—that *casta* paintings depict a social hierarchy in New Spain with a Spanish superiority—is discredited, another possible academic area of exploration could be to search for the "*tequitqui*" qualities in the paintings.[16] Knowing that this genre is the creation of a group of *mestizo,* mulato and other *casta* painters, are there subversive elements in the paintings that are inconspicuous to present-day viewers because the images are accepted as a creation made to please the Spanish consumers? If the truly intended audience of these artists consists of a population that was harmonious to themselves, could it be that these narratives promote a sort of social mobility? To ascend in eighteenth century New Spain would require acculturation but it would be an act of communal unity within the *castas* class if the paintings depicted Hispanicization as an avenue to better position themselves and their families.

Unification makes for a strong possible intention for such works. Take, for example, the other definitive element alongside the miscegenation labels that classifies a painting a *casta*

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[13] Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 9.
Katzew contributes the development of *casta* paintings to the transition of New Spain's artists working in a guild system to academies but with different accord.

[14] Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 17.

[15] Katzew, Casta Painting, 26.
Francisco Clapera is the only painter of the genre that was Spanish.

[16] Eckmann, Teresa. The University of New Mexico, Ph.D. qualifying exam May 2001, 6.
Eckmann states, "The possibility of a kind of 'tequitqui' presence among the casta painting that might subvert, disrupt, or transform a formulaic dominant ideology, would be an interesting subject of inquiry for future research." *Tequitqui* is the term used to describe the concept of Indian and Christian fusions within decorative architecture of the 16th century.

painting amidst many of more fluid attributes—the child. For instance, the mulato *casta* painting artist, Miguel Cabrera, in his painting *De Negro y de India: China cambuja,* demonstrates how tender some *casta* family units were depicted (Figure 1.5). Besides the gentle gaze of the figures, their embracing posture, and the overall suggested intimacy of this family unit, the child —as it does in every *casta* painting—is in itself an emblem of unity. As art historian Ray Hernández-Durán eloquently states:

> Although caste paintings, at first glance, seem to represent difference, based on their fragmented taxonomies, the presence of miscegenated offspring who are components of successive hybrid categories clearly implies a link between all of the artificial groups, illustrating not simply a concatenation of distinct types but a deeper ontological continuum.[17]

The act of procreation, whether by positive means or otherwise, connects these groups that would be declared by society as different. The by-product of such unions are the children.

None of these alternative explorations into the genre can be possible under the current confines of the dominant theory that *casta* paintings render a social stratification based on race. The goal of this thesis is to create reasonable doubt in that theory, to illustrate that the discourse of *casta* paintings can be opened for expansion into other inquiries. Hopefully the following pages will cast skepticism of the widely accepted theory.

The next chapter will briefly review the most recent scholarship put forth on the genre of *casta* paintings. The literature review will begin with the resurgence of interest in the genre originated by art historian María Concepción García Sáiz with her seminal exhibition in 1989.

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[17] Ray Hernández-Durán, "El Encuentro de Cortés y Moctezuma: The Betrothal of Two Worlds in Eighteenth-Century New Spain," In *Woman and Art in Early Modern Latin American* ed. Kellen Kee McIntyre and Richard E. Phillips (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill Academic Press, 2006), 196.

Chapter three will explore the formal construction of the paintings and touch upon issues of display regarding the multi-canvas *casta* painting series and the more rare single-panel constructions. This section will illustrate that perhaps looking at how the paintings may have been displayed weakens the probability that the painters of this genre intended to emphasize Spanish superiority. Chapter four will delve into a formal analysis of a single-panel *casta* by Ignacio Maria Barreda, painted in 1777 to highlight salient points in conducting a deeper investigation of a single piece.

Chapter five will explore some other possible inspirations of the genre, specifically looking at art from the Netherlands within Dutch and Flemish painting, printmaking, and mapmaking traditions. From this analysis the claims of degenerate behaviors and inferior positioning of the *castas* may be debunked and replaced with elements of humor and local promotion of place. Connections between the themes of the different genres will be used to illustrate an interest in rendering communal industry, local abundance, and social harmony and mobility. This examination will conclude with cartography and civic descriptions that greatly influenced the typology of people taxonomically represented within *casta* paintings.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Academic inquiry into the genre of *casta* paintings begins as early as the late nineteenth century if not earlier.[18] However, art historian María Concepción García Sáiz can be credited with inspiring a renewed interest in the study of these paintings and a reawakening of the scholarly discourse. In her bilingual exhibition catalog of 1989, *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano,* Sáiz put forth the first publication of its kind. It is unique to the study not only because the written content was translated into both English and Spanish, which opened up the subject to a larger readership, but it also compiled the largest number of *casta* painting reproductions within one comprehensive volume and exhibition. *Las castas mexicanas* traveled to three institutions: Museo de Monterrey in Mexico, the San Antonio Museum of Art in Texas, and Museo Franz Mayer in Mexico City.

Following Sáiz's lead, art historian Ilona Katzew also greatly contributed to the study of *casta* paintings with significant research of her own including her substantial dissertation from New York University, *Ordering the Colony: Casta Painting and the Imaging of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* from 2000, and her 1996 exhibition at the Americas Society Art Gallery in New York, *New World Orders: Casta Painting and Colonial Latin America*. Katzew invited a number of scholars to contribute to the accompanying bilingual catalog, including Sáiz

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[18] Ilona Katzew, *Casta Paintings: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 5-7.
In Katzew's Historiography she goes as far back as Ernest Theodore Hamy's study in 1884; The R. Blanchard's 1908 reference; The written works of Gregorio Torres Quintero and Teresa Castelló Yturbide; written record from 1929 of Francisco de las Barras de Aragón; and the study by Isidro Moreno Navarro in 1973.

and another important scholar Elena Isabel Estrada de Gerlero. After compiling a collection of expert writings on the subject, Katzew subsequently published an extensive explicatory piece that was also exhaustively partnered with reproductions of the genre as well. This second publication was released in 2004 in conjunction with an exhibition at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art: *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico,* expanding the distribution of the discourse further.

New interest in the paintings was generated thanks to the work of María Concepción García Sáiz and Ilona Katzew. Both art historians contributed greatly to the scholarship of *casta* paintings and provided researchers with a repository of images that are largely in private collections and unavailable to the general public. This increased awareness, sparked a new interest in the subject, and the popularity and the accessibility of the paintings grew due to these groundbreaking exhibitions. Both art historians also opened up the discourse to a wider audience with the bilingual presentations of their catalogs. This present study is greatly indebted to the pioneering efforts of these two *casta* painting scholars.

This chapter will briefly look at the work of eight scholars. These authors are highlighted for making the most substantial strides in the study of *casta* paintings in the past two decades. This is by no means an exhaustive account of the scholarship; rather, it is an attempt to review the most recent and relevant literature to this study. This section will include ideas from María Concepción García Sáiz, Ilona Katzew, Elena Isabel Estada de Gerlero, Elena María Martínez, Magali M. Carrera, Carlos López Beltrán, Evelina Guzauskyte, and Susan Deans-Smith.

Each of these aforementioned scholars has contributed a significant component to the interpretation of *casta* paintings; nonetheless, all of them also have a thread of general consensus

—they agree that the paintings depict a form of social and racial hierarchy that places the male Spaniard at the top of this matrix. Secondly, they all concur that the paintings' depictions are in fact disconnected from the reality of New Spain. The above scholars do not claim that these paintings hold documentary truth whereas some scholarship prior to Sáiz's work of 1989 accepted the nomenclature at face value and the paintings as having an utilitiarian function—as charts for ascribing caste.

This research focuses on connections of specific themes regarding *casta* paintings in comparison to Dutch Genre art and cartography, issues of display, and the disconnected elements within the theory of social hierarchy. This chapter will explore the art historical dialogue on these specific topics and it will also illuminate the major contributions of each scholar. The first element of interest for comparison of scholarly theory is the presumption that the genre represents a secular art form that represents the actions of everyday life.

Sáiz and Katzew are in disagreement on the importance of Dutch genre art for *casta* paintings. Where Sáiz sees direct links to *casta* paintings with the scientific philosophies from the Enlightenment era, as well as, the quotidian subjects of the Dutch genre paintings, Katzew does not. Although Katzew does see a relationship between the narratives of two *casta* paintings with Dutch genre scenes, she disagrees that the paintings can be viewed as "slices of life."[19] According to Katzew, comparing Dutch scenes of home and family to the *casta* paintings diminishes the complexity of these works. Furthermore, she sees these readings as bolstering the old misconceptions of *casta* paintings representing an element of colonial documentation.[20]

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[19] Katzew, *Casta Painting,* 8.

[20] Ibid.

Katzew also contends that Sáiz's focus on the Enlightenment, as well as her theories on patronage are inadequate. Katzew says that although the taxonomic nature of the genre may allude to common practices of classification during the Enlightenment era, *casta* paintings predate the theories of Carl Linnaeus by decades.[21] And Katzew posits that the fact that so many canvases never left the territory of New Spain discredits Sáiz's notion that the genre was initiated as tourist trinkets for the Spanish Administrators returning to Spain after their travels to the New World.[22]

Katzew's concepts of identity formation, as well as developing a historical chronology that places the production of *casta* paintings into two phases divided by the Bourbon reform era have been her major contributions to the study of these paintings.[23] Katzew puts forth that before 1760 *casta* paintings focus on Creole pride and abundance of New Spain, although Spanish superiority is still evident. And she states that after about 1760 the paintings reflect Bourbon interests such as decrees on dress and specific trades in the colony. [24] Katzew puts forth that the subject matter reflected in the paintings change focus to correlate with the new reforms of the era.

Sáiz's responds to Katzew's theory that the Bourbon reforms influenced the genre by acknowledging that the "emergence of *casta* painting is related to a change in dynasty: the rise of the Bourbons to the Spanish Crown in 1700 with the ascendancy of King Philip V, Duke of

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[21] Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 7.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Katzew, *Casta Painting,* 1.

[24] Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 111.

Anjou and grandson of the French sovereign, Louis XIV."[25] However, she adds that "the fact that Arellano's *casta* paintings were produced as early as 1711 makes it impossible to attribute the emergence of the genre to the influence of the Bourbon reforms implemented by Charles III (1759-1788), since by then it had already existed for over half a century."[26] Katzew argues that a stylistic shift occurs in the paintings around mid-century, not that the genre emerged from these factors. Subsequent scholars follow Katzew's lead with the division of the genre, finding Bourbon influence.[27]

Katzew states that *casta* paintings "created after 1760, in addition to emphasizing the colony's overall stratification, also stress specific themes that closely parallel issues raised by contemporary reformers."[28] Katzew provides many examples of elements in the genre that coincide with the reforms, such as dress, drinking, and the practice of employing wet nurses. In the case of dress, she points to the fact that some members of the elite class were unhappy that persons were seemingly not dressing according to their class rank in society.[29] Subsequently, in attempts to clear up the class confusion that dress caused, Bourbon orders mandated that members of the *casta* class could not wear fine fabrics or accouterments. Therefore, in Katzew's

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[25] María Concepción García Sáiz, "The Artistic Development of Casta Painting." In *New World Orders: Casta Painting and Colonial Latin America*, ed. Ilona Katzew, (New York: Americas Society, 1996), 30-31.

[26] Sáiz, *The Artistic Development,* 32.

[27]Katzew, *Casta Paintings,*1.
Ilona Katzew, *New World Order: Casta Painting and Colonial Latin America,* (New York: Americas Society Art Gallery, 1996), 20. In her earlier work, Katzew positions the divide at the year 1760, but in her 2004 publication she states the divide begins at roughly 1750.

[28] Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 111.

[29] Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 117.

opinion, *casta* paintings in the second half of the century start to use clothing as a greater indicator of socioeconomic status and class rank in response to the reforms. She states that *casta* paintings were a visual attempt "of creating order out of an increasingly confusing society" and that they "might have been intended as reminders to the Spanish Crown that Mexico was still a rigidly structured society."[30]

Images of carousing and gambling, a concern of the crown, were generally depicted in a civilized and controlled manner within the paintings of the second half of the century.[31] Katzew says that this is because "many of the concerns of the enlightened reformers and intellectuals of Bourbon Spain are addressed in *casta* painting by including scenes that refer to specific issues. These sets do not simply depict colonial life in an idealized fashion but present images that are ideologically loaded."[32] She further states that "they create a reality that reproduces the preoccupations of the time and, as such, they were intended to trigger specific associations in the viewer."[33]

Pulque, tobacco, and ice-cream are all examples of items that are featured in *casta* paintings that Katzew also correlates with the reforms. She states these items were "royal monopolies"[34] that were very lucrative items of sale in the colony; therefore, they were manufactured under strict restrictions and guidelines put in place by these reforms because of the

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[30] Katzew, *New World Order*,13.

[31] Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 120.

[32] Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 113-114.

[33] Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 134.

[34] Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 121.

fact that they provided the crown with great wealth.[35] And therefore, because these products were connected to revenue for the crown, they were also shown in a positive light.

The second major element that Katzew stresses is one of identity formation, and many other scholars echo this concept as well. Katzew says that *casta* paintings "should be analyzed in terms of how identity was formed within the colonial arena."[36] Art historian Magali M. Carrera agrees with Katzew's idea of the Bourbon divide and takes her identity hypothesis a step further by declaring that *casta* paintings were one visual component in a greater process of a national identity formation for Mexico.[37] However, Carrera says that while *casta* paintings reflect a discourse of the individual persona, the paintings become part of a visual culture that alters through the ages from traditions of New Spain into its transformation into Mexico.[38] *Casta* paintings, although imaginary, render a visual social hierarchy that clearly displays their social degeneration and their individual placement in society.[39]

Perhaps Carrera's greatest contribution to the study of *casta* paintings is her introduction of the concept of *calidad*.[40] She coined this Spanish term that translates into "quality" in English, as a word to describe an aggregate of valued elements and behaviors exhibited by the

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[35] Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 115.

[36] Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 1.

[37] Magali M. Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings, (*Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 32.

[38] Magali M. Carrera, "From Royal Subject to Citizen: The Territory of the Body in Eigtheenth- and Nineteenth-Century Mexican Visual Practices," In *Images of Power: Iconography, Culture and the State in Latin America*, ed. Jens Andermann and William Rowe, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), 23-24.

[39] Carrera, *From Royal Subject to Citizen,* 20.

[40] Carrera, *From Royal Subject to Citizen,* 28.

figures in the paintings. By using this term Carrera opens up the dialogue of race and ethnicity to include more than a strict interpretation of phenotype and bloodline. *Calidad* was used to refer to a person's marital status, occupation, appearance, temperament, and class. Because this term reflects more than race, *calidad* is a concept that better encapsulates the multifaceted complexities of the fluid society that was New Spain and elucidates the social mobility possibilities of the *castas*.[41]

Historian and philosopher Carlos López Beltrán's theories run somewhat parallel to Carrera's physiognomic view of *calidad*[42] but he adds the ancient Hippocratic-Galenic theories of the four humors that were developed by Hippocrates and his pupil Galen.[43] These theories state that environmental factors link personal habits and character traits to each individual by the balance of four fluids found within the body. In this theory these humors correlate with human physiology. The basis of the theory is that balance of these fluids is necessary to avoid any undesirable personality traits, physical features, and temperament. He links these ancient philosophical theories to the concept of lineage from *pureza de sangre,* otherwise known as *limpieza de sangre.*

Beltrán states that the theory of humans obtaining certain physical and temperamental traits through environmental factors is visibly represented in *casta* paintings. In fact, the

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[41] Carrera, *From Royal Subject to Citizen*, 29.

[42] Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain,* 102. She states,"the final quarter of the century casta imagery emphasized not casta taxonomy but a physiognomic view of colonial bodies marked by calidad, that is, the appearance, circumstances, and assumed inherent character of types of mixed-blooded persons."

[43] Carlos Lopez Beltran, "Hippocratic Bodies: Temperament and Castas in Spanish America, 1570-1820," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 8, no. 2 (2007), 253.

paintings render how bloodline could transport such characteristics throughout the generations.[44] In other words, Beltrán's theory uses a complex integration of the concept of "the stain" that historian Elena María Martínez discusses at length.

Many scholars mention the notion of a visual representation of a heritage "stain" on the persons of the *castas* class who are of African lineage; scholars say that the "stain" is evident in *casta* paintings. Katzew touches upon the concept of *limpieza de sangre,*[45] while Martínez goes into great detail, intertwining the concepts of *limpieza de sangre* with the African stain supposedly represented within the genre of *casta* paintings. The term translates to "purity of blood," and was used to designate persons with "Old Christian" ancestry; this was a concept that was developed from the ideals of the Inquisition era.[46] In Spain the phrase meant an absence of Jewish and Muslim ancestry; a person who was considered to be of pure blood was a person who was a Christian and had no doubt in their true faith of Christianity. Doubt was cast on the faith of persons with a history of religious conversion in their ancestry, even if the conversion occurred generations back.[47] Martínez says that the concept of *limpieza de sangre* was transported from the Iberian peninsular to New Spain and transformed into the *sistema de castas* and was

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[44] Carlos Lopez Beltran, *Hippocratic Bodies,* 272.

[45] Katzew, *Casta Painting: Identity and Social Stratification in Colonial Mexico*, 9.

[46] María Elena Martínez, "The Black Blood of New Spain: Limpieza de Sangre, Racial Violence, and Gendered Power in Early Colonial Mexico." *William and Mary Quarterly* 61, no. 3, (2004), 483.

[47] Martínez, *The Black Blood of New Spain*, 485.

subsequently visually rendered within *casta* paintings.[48] She concludes that a similar societal concern resonates within both *limpieza de sangre* and the *sistema de castas*.

Although Katzew finds no connections with *casta* paintings and the Catholic Church,[49] Martínez states that *casta* paintings have multiple religious links. Nonetheless, both Katzew and Martínez explain that the disdain for African lineage emerged in part from the myth of "the curse of Ham."[50] The curse of Ham was a biblical passage that tells the story of Noah damning his youngest son for misbehaving that some people interpreted as slavely corresponding with dark skin.[51] Martínez finds the story to be a particularly important factor, due to its increasing popularity and associations with "black skin color and ancestral sin" that projects transatlantic anxieties into the *sistema de castas* and onto the artist's canvas.[52]

She further puts forth that illegitimacy, which was an abhorred by the church, became increasingly linked to the *castas* class. Martínez also posits that the family unit typical of *casta* paintings echoes the religious family trinity. Furthermore, the "degeneration narrative" she states, "can be read as a kind of fall from grace, one that always begins with the sexual act."[53] To Martínez *casta* paintings symbolically connect to the biblical story of Adam and Eve by employing their own reference to forbidden procreation.

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[48] María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico, (*California: Stanford University Press, 2008), 228.

[49] Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 7.

[50] Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions,* 267.

[51] Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 46.

[52] Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 267.

[53] Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 235.

In Martínez's opinion, *casta* paintings visually describe society's preference for the Spanish lineage and place an emphasis on a lighter phenotype as the ideal for the society of New Spain. She states that the paintings are full of nostalgic feeling for a more orderly past, as well as dire warnings to avoid mixing with African heritage.[54] The overall message of the paintings in Martínez's view is that the Spanish lineage corresponds to the desired pure lineage from the religious ideals of *Limpieza de Sangre*. She says that white skin became the visual vehicle in *casta* paintings for displaying pure lineage. Like Katzew, Carrera, Beltrán, and Sáiz, Martínez believes that *casta* paintings show social degeneration as the *castas* mix with African lineage. She argues that the visual representation of this process serves as a way to discourage miscegenation, or rather to promote proper mixing and illuminate an avenue to "return to purity," something that is not possible once the "stain" is present in the genealogy from African lineage.[55]

The issue of the representation of the "heathen Indians" is another topic that has arisen repeatedly in *casta* painting scholarship. Elena Isabel Estrada de Gerlero's monologue delves specifically into this realm. Carrera, Katzew, and Sáiz all discuss a connection between the depictions of natives in *casta* paintings and the allegorical figures of the continents. Gerlero's work on the "heathen Indian" concurs with the other scholars' notions that native representations have a generic and exoticized element to them, but also that they are not bound solely to this concept.[56]

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[54] Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 235.

[55] Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 235.

[56] Elena Isabel Estrada de Gerlero, "The Representation of 'Heathen Indians' in Mexican Casta Painting." In *New World Orders: Casta Painting and Colonial Latin America,* ed. Ilona Katzew, (New York: Americas Society, 1996), 54.

Generally described as a "noble savage," native "others" are depicted in a generic and imaginary costumes of feather headdress with accompanying bow and arrow.[57] Gerlero says that *casta* painting's depictions are akin to the visual traditions of the allegorical figures and in contrast to the written accord of the dangers of the uncivilized natives, *casta* paintings in fact, do not render a violent and hostile looking native group. Much of the imagery is in great contrast to some written accounts and shows rather a docile and unthreatening group.[58]

Perhaps most relevant to this study is Gerlero's comparisons of the native figures in the allegorical representations and *casta* paintings to the work of the Dutch cartographer Joris van Spilbergen (1568- 1620). She traces a trajectory of these stylized images of natives into *casta* paintings' often-repeated formula of a "human couple, sometimes accompanied by their offspring and frequently associated with harvest crops."[59]

In addition, Gerlero states that these figures represented the sector of society that was outside of Spanish Colonial culture, therefore, signifying the unfinished business of Spanish Catholic evangelization.[60] Later scholars have echoed this sentiment and stated that paintings such as Ignacio María Barreda's piece, which will be examined further in this thesis, attempts to homogenize the native population into a visual fable using false notions of the population.[61]

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[57] Gerlero, *The Representation of 'Heathen Indians'*, 54.

[58] Gerlero, *The Representation of 'Heathen Indians,'* 45.

[59] Gerlero, *The Representation of 'Heathen Indians,'* 52.

[60] Gerlero, *The Representation of 'Heathen Indians,'* 54.

[61] Susan Deans-Smith, "Creating the Colonial Subject: Casta Paintings, Collectors, and Critics in Eighteenth-Century Mexico and Spain." *Colonial Latin American Review* 14, no. 2, (2005), 173.

Estrada de Gerlero contributes an additional theme of relevance to this study by her connections made to the *Relaciones geográficas* (geographical accounts). These were the official questionnaires sent to New Spain to gather information about the colonies that included information about the *castas.* She states,

> As early as the sixteenth century, the Council of the Indies drafted elaborate questionnaires that requested detailed information about various aspects of colonial life. These questionnaires were to be answered by colonial functionaries, church officials, missionaries, and others with access to such information. Manuscripts with the responses were prepared in duplicate and triplicate copies. Occasionally, the geographical, ethnographical, and botanical descriptions in these manuscripts were supplemented with drawings.[62]

The questions from the *Relaciones geográficas* included information regarding "clothes, occupations, customs, habits, devotions, foods, and the products they obtained from the earth"[63] —all items of interest, which appear as integral elements within the *casta* painting genre.

Perhaps it is because Estrada de Gerlero does not provide any definitive visual links from these illustrations to *casta* paintings that Katzew discredits the connection. Katzew states, "there is no evidence that the large corpus of casta paintings remotely responded to the requests of the *Relaciones geográficas*, the desire to link the paintings with a specific body of documentation represents another forced attempt to establish a function for these works."[64] Interestingly, Martínez points out that the *Relaciones geográficas* were also accompanied with maps.[65]

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[62] Gerlero, *The Representation of 'Heathen Indians,'43.*

[63] Gerlero, *The Representation of 'Heathen Indians,'* 45.

[64] Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 8.

[65] Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 325.

The author that makes the most direct connection from *casta* paintings to cartography is the Spanish Colonial scholar, Evelina Guzauskyte. She observed that maps denoted, "conceptual borders separating human types from those regarded as monstrous races had characterized the cartography from which *casta* paintings drew some of their features."[66] Guzauskyte provides an example of a Dutch connection to *casta* paintings with, *Orbis Terrarum Typus de Integro Multis in Locis Emendatus* done in 1594[67] (Figure 2.1).

Within this map, representatives from the six known continents were rendered as specific human types. Guzauskyte explains, "drawn by Petro Plancio for Linschoten's *Voyages*, four women labeled as 'Mexicana' , 'Africana', 'Europa' and 'Asia' appear in the four corners of the map, and two smaller figures 'Peruana' and 'Magallanica', are depicted standing inside the bottom border."[68] Guzauskyte points out the similarities of these allegorical figures to the figures represented within *casta* paintings explaining that they both represent human types by incorporating particular dress and props.[69] However, unlike other scholars who conclude the comparisons of *casta* paintings at the allegory of the continents, Guzauskyte delves deeper into the art of cartography.

Guzauskyte characterizes maps as static forms of information, to describing the topography, location, and details of the inhabitants; whereas *casta* paintings were more fluid and

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[66] Evelina Guzauskyte, "Fragmented Borders, Fallen Men, Bestial Women: Violence in Casta Paintings of Eighteenth-century New Spain." *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* LXXXVI, no. 2, (2009), 185.

[67] Guzauskyte, Fragmented Borders, 185.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

"documented the continuously changing present of racially diverse New Spain."[70] She believes that maps drew clear lines and separated the representations of people within borders, whereas "casta paintings showed how these borders between races were breaking down."[71]

If *casta* paintings were created to show Spanish superiority within the social hierarchy of the colony, one would think the representation of deteriorating racial divisions would not be accepted because a visual representation of Spanish loss of control and purity would presumably not be preferred. However, if *casta* paintings were a *mestizo* art form in which the artists wished to exemplify unification through miscegenation, and the possibility of achieving a higher *calidad* status through upward social mobility, then Guzauskyte's statement that the paintings show that the "borders between races were breaking down" would make more sense. Echoing Carrera's national identity sentiments, she claims that *casta* paintings show the birth of a new people—Mexicans.[72]

Carrera has written extensively on cartography and its link to the progressions within Mexican visual identity in her publication *Traveling From New Spain to Mexico: Mapping Practices of Nineteenth-Century Mexico*. By looking at the traditions of allegorical figures within frontispieces and among other images from maps, she traces the visual identity formation up though the twenty-first century. Although her study on cartography touches upon earlier map paradigms, she focuses her latest publication on a Mexican cartographer of the nineteenth-century, Antonio García Cubas, who was working a century later than *casta* painting artists.

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[70] Guzauskyte, *Fragmented Borders*, 186.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid.

Antonio García Cubas' work presents a tenuous connection for *casta* paintings because Carrera suggests that *casta* paintings were a predecessor for the cartographic images of people types, rather than the other way around.

Carrera uses the term "bricolage," to explain the art of cartography.[73] She states that "maps may be understood as assemblages, collages, and montages of fragments of earlier maps; debris from previous misrepresentation of spaces and shards of current and past visual images. Simultaneously, bricolage erases the traces of its amalgamation practice."[74] Furthermore, Carrera connects *casta* paintings as a visual representation of place.[75] Pulling together many different elements such as dress, food, customs, and landscapes, *casta* painting in Carrera's opinion "represent a form of eyewitness accounts that stage a display of imagined geography of New Spain."[76] To use Carrera's adopted term, *casta* paintings capture a bricolage of place-making elements.

Historian Susan Deans-Smith's study has many parallels to earlier investigations into the genre. In a manner similar to the connections that Sáiz makes between *casta* paintings and to the enlightenment, Deans-Smith relates the paintings to the early development of natural history museums and the history of the cabinets of curiosities that were increasing in popularity during

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[73] Magali M. Carrera, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico: Mapping Practices of Nineteenth-Century Mexico: Mapping Practices of Nineteenth-Century Mexico*, (London: Duke University Press, 2011), 8.

[74] Carrera, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico*, 8.

[75] Carrera, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico, 56.*

[76] Carrera, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico, 59.*

the eighteenth-century. And like Elena Isabel Estrada de Gerlero, Deans-Smith also proposes *casta* paintings connections with the *Relaciones Geográficas*.

Deans-Smith's contribution to the study includes her particular focus on the patrons, audience, display, and market for *casta* paintings. In her opinion, the genre may represent a desire, from the patron's perspective, for positive images of the empire. She believes patrons would have preferred to view the positive aspects, subjects who are productive, both biologically and economically. Patrons would have been "sensitive to Spain's weakened position as a European power and the need for reform."[77] Her argument echoes that of Katzew's; she states,

> for some patrons, representations of the local in the casta paintings may also be read as 'proud renditions' of empire, which convey as much about Spain's colonial resources as they do about race: the colonial subject as a racially mixed but productive cog in Spain's imperial machine as it sought to reclaim its former position of power and glory.[78]

Deans-Smith puts forth two important observations for this study: the questions she poses on how the paintings may have been displayed, and her research into who bought these paintings. Deans-Smith notes that while Sáiz limited commissions of the paintings to the Spanish of "high-ranking bureaucrats (viceroys, audiencia ministers, military) and clergy (archbishops and bishops)," Katzew believed that the patron base also included "the middling ranks of the colonial bureaucracy."[79] Deans-Smith puts forth that known collectors of the genre were colonial bureaucrats and clergy members, many of whom also collected natural history

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[77] Deans-Smith, *Creating the Colonial Subject, 170.*

[78] Ibid.

[79] Deans-Smith, *Creating the Colonial Subject*, 182.

materials, books, and maps. However, within her deeper analyses of four specific patrons, she reveals that one of them was a member of the merchant class.[80]

She also demonstrates that the prices for the works could greatly vary, and the particular piece owned by the merchant patron was a less expensive work. She explains that the value of the paintings show that "their purchase was not restricted to only the very wealthy."[81] In fact, the records reveal that the prices varied no matter the format. For example, "two appraisals of single canvases valued one at 2 reales (1797) and the other at 35 pesos (1752)."[82] Furthermore she found that "appraisals of the value of multiple casta series range from 16 pesos (16 canvases—1779), 72 pesos (six canvases—1779), 70 pesos (14 canvases—1780), and 20 pesos (10 canvases—1798)."[83] She demonstrates that these paintings varied in value, a possible indicator of both quality and demand; further, she provides evidence that a consistency in the patron base cannot be concluded—and that any notion that these paintings were solely purchased by high-ranking officials is a misconception—the question remains as to whether or not the merchant who purchased the painting was a member of the *casta* class.

As art historian Thomas Cummins points out in a review of both Carrera's and Katzew's research, viewers today do not have a "phenomenological understanding of these paintings as

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[80] Deans-Smith, *Creating the Colonial Subject*, 186.

[81] Deans-Smith, *Creating the Colonial Subject*, 182.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

objects within the world…one wonders how a series was displayed."[84] Deans-Smith addresses this issue and states that "evidence about the display of casta series in Mexico is very thin but what we have suggests that some remained in the private homes of owners."[85] Some paintings were inventoried as stored canvases that were rolled, indicating that they were prepared for transport. These rolled canvases may have been in a temporary storage position, but it is unknown if they were ever displayed.[86] Other paintings in Spain, as well as in the homes of New Spain, are traced with little definitive description about their display.

With what little is known about the *casta* paintings that were in the public realm, nothing more is gained on the subject of display. For example, Deans-Smith states, "we know that the six 'casta de indios' canvases owned by Bucareli were displayed in the viceregal palace, but where, precisely, is unclear."[87] In Spain at least one *casta* set was displayed at the *Geografía y Gabinete de Historia Natural*.[88] All that is known about the display of this series is that it was alongside a set of paintings "from Quito by Vicente Albán that represented individual types of Indians and creole women, and flora and fauna."[89] Although Deans-Smith's study focuses on the topic of ownership and display, more extensively than other scholars, further documentation is

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[84] Thomas B. F. Cummins, review of *Casta Paintings: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico,* by Ilona Katzew (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004) and *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings*, by Magali M. Carrera (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003) The Art Bulletin, Vol. 88, No. 1 (March 2006), 186.

[85] Deans-Smith, *Creating the Colonial Subject*, 189.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Deans-Smith, *Creating the Colonial Subject*, 190.

[89] Ibid.

necessary to fulfill Cummins' desire for a complete understanding of how these paintings interacted within their exhibition space in relation to the viewer; obtaining such information would surely provide greater insight into *casta* paintings. Understanding how these paintings were experienced would provide a greater perspective to their historical relevance and popularity.

There is a plethora of thematic threads to follow within this complex and perplexing genre of *casta* paintings. A wealth of exciting and insightful scholarship interweaves, intersects and accompanies these themes. Consensus as well as disagreement can be found within the large corpus of writing. For example, one interesting aspect of *casta* paintings is that the narratives seem to place a great emphasis on trades and occupations; this thematic repetition has a kaleidoscope of viewpoints that scholars have attached to it. As Martínez links many other narratives throughout her study to the religious connections of *limpieza de sangre*, she also positions the repeated appearance of occupations in *casta* paintings to religion as well. Martínez says that just as in Spain some occupations would have been linked to Jewishness and ranked as "vile trades,"[90] certain occupations in New Spain were also thought of as lowly and linked to the *castas* class.[91] On the other hand, Deans-Smith, who agrees with Katzew's concepts of creole pride, links the images of trades and work to the desire of the creoles to show Old Spain that New Spain was a productive place.[92] Katzew takes this sentiment further and states that the products and trades emphasized in *casta* paintings made after 1760 boast of the lucrative

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[90] Martínez, Genealogical Fictions, 64.

[91] Martínez, Genealogical Fictions, 269.

[92] Deans-Smith, *Creating the Colonial Subject*, 170.

productions of interest that coincided with the Bourbon reforms,[93] whereas Sáiz posits that the abundance of trade and market scenes within *casta* paintings provides further evidence of the paintings' connections with Dutch genre art.[94]

The many contrasting ideas within current scholarship belie the fact that there is also a consensus among these same researchers as well. This includes the depiction of a social hierarchy that holds to a Spanish superiority and downgrades the qualities of the persons found within the *castas* class. Katzew notes that by 1810, the year of Mexico's War of Independence, *casta* paintings were no longer being produced.[95] She believes that this was because "the social hierarchy purveyed by *casta* painting, which highlighted Spanish rule and superiority, was no longer an accepted form of discourse."[96] The following pages will give evidence to counter this notion.

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[93] Katzew, *Casta Painting, 111.*

[94] Sáiz, María Concepción García. "The Contribution of Colonial Painting to the Spread of the Image of America" *America Bride of the Sun: 500 years Latin America and the Low Countries*. (Belgium: Royal Museum of Fine Arts Antwerp, 1992), 171.

[95] Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 203.

[96] Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 204. My emphasis.

CHAPTER THREE: DISPLAY AND THE SINGLE-PANEL PAINTING

Based on the physical form of *casta* paintings, the genre can be divided into two basic categories. One category encompasses the multi-canvas construction. With this design the artist generally depicted sixteen or more different scenes on separate panels creating a series of paintings that are not physically conjoined.[97] All of the other *casta* paintings fit into the second category, the single-panel construction. In this latter format, all sixteen scenes are placed within the same picture plane and are orderly divided into separate vignettes or compartments. In several examples, the single-panel constructions contain additional elements such as a landscape scene or some other form of decoration;[98] a supplemental compartment of this type is found in the lower register of the single-panel painting by Ignacio María Barreda.

Single-canvas constructions are a rarity compared to the number of known multi-canvas pieces, and they vary in format. Each contains a different number of narrative compartments from eight to sixteen vignettes within the piece. Six single-panel works are reproduced in the catalogs put forth by both Katzew and Sáiz.[99] This chapter will explore the formal construction of the paintings and touch upon issues of display regarding the multi-canvas *casta* painting series and the single-panel constructions. Highlighting the topic of display in relation to these

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[97] Since the pattern of sixteen scenes is not a definite, it is not suspected that the number sixteen holds significance for interpretation, because many of the series depart from this count.

[98] Another single panel *casta* painting by Luis de Mena, ca. 1750, also includes a landscape scene with the Virgin of Guadalupe superimposed over it.

[99] There are nine compartmentalized *casta* paintings if counting the paintings with multiple compartments that are split between two canvases.

paintings may demonstrate the likelihood that Spanish superiority was not, in fact, emphasized within the genre.

It is best to examine the single-panel constructions to understand the genre as a whole because of their consistent nature. The single-panel *casta* paintings, unlike the multi-canvas constructions, have the separate scenes conjoined physically. The single-panel *casta* painting provides a researcher with a controlled study that contains the total of the visual elements in what we can suppose is its "original" unadulterated form. This is in contrast with the multi-canvas constructions that cause an array of difficulties for comprehension of the genre. The problems with interpretation arise primarily due to the paintings' size, inconsistent numbering, and state of detachment. The physical design of multi-canvas *casta* paintings results in incomplete sets as over time some components are lost or canvases are damaged within a series.

The size of the individual paintings within these multi-canvas series brings forth some perplexing questions of how and where these works would have been exhibited. For example, a single canvas in these sets can range from 62 x 83 centimeters by an unknown artist, to 115 x 141 centimeters in a set by José Joaquín Magón. Even those of smaller scale, such as the set done by Ramón Torres at 32 x 42.5 centimeters (that is roughly only 12 x 16 inches) takes on much larger proportions in exhibition space collectively when considering that the set contains sixteen canvases. If these artworks were displayed, in their entirety, they would require a large venue, even when all sixteen panels were hung salon style. Hanging all of a series in one room may not have even been possible in most spaces.

This might suggest that these sets were created for the architecture of the public sphere that contained more exhibition space, rather than for private residences. Nonetheless, there has

not been any documentation uncovered to date describing how the multi-canvas *casta* paintings would have been arranged for presentation. Although Deans-Smith states that at least one *casta* painting was displayed at the *Geografía y Gabinete de Historia Natural*, and another was on view at the Viceregal palace, unfortunately, it is still unknown how or where within the palace the paintings were displayed.[100] She reveals that some were displayed in private residences; she says, "evidence about the display of *casta* series in Mexico is very thin but what we have suggests that some remained in the private homes of owners such as Blas Clavijero and Domingo Arangoiti."[101]

If the purpose of the *casta* paintings was to display a social hierarchy based on miscegenation, it would seem the pieces of the multi-canvas sets would be positioned spatially to mimic this hierarchy in order to convey this message of proper lineage to the viewer. If the format of the paintings were intended as a vehicle to further the promotion of the white Spanish man and the degradation of the *casta* class, would the power of this message be diminished if the paintings were not displayed in the proper hierarchical order? Would each canvas need to be placed in the order within this social system or were these works perhaps never meant to display such hierarchy?

Many observers may point to the fact that some of the multi-canvas paintings are numbered. Therefore sequential order of the paintings may be the logical positioning; if the paintings were to show the social hierarchy of persons, presumably number one would present

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[100] Susan Deans-Smith, "Creating the Colonial Subject: Casta Paintings, Collectors, and Critics in Eighteenth-Century Mexico and Spain." *Colonial Latin American Review* 14, no. 2, (2005), 189.

[101] Ibid.

the person of the highest status, and the last number would position the lowest *casta* in the hierarchical system. The man of pure Spanish lineage never appears at the bottom of the single-panel painting, or at the highest numbered canvas of the multi-canvas programs, but the Spaniard does not always appear as the first person in the series either.

Many Spanish prints from the eighteenth century had numbered images that were also not meant to be sequential.[102] Humorous popular prints, such as *El mundo al revés*, use this popular format of numbered vignettes (Figure 3.1). As the title suggests, the images are meant to show the world in reverse: the fish is depicted fishing for the humans, just as the human is chasing the personification of death with a scythe. The upside down representation of the world was a theme that was popular during both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Germany and the Netherlands.[103]

Compartmentalized layouts are also found in the single-panel *casta* paintings and can point to print inspiration, but printmakers were not the only artists to utilize the design. For example, one eighteenth-century painting from New Spain, not only utilizes the compartmental layout to divide the classification of nuns, just as the *casta* paintings divide types in New Spain, but this canvas also ties in elements of humor as well (Figure 3.2). All of the nuns are posing in

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[102] Marion Oettinger, Jr, Curator of Latin American Art, San Antonio Museum of Art, Texas, "Imagenes del Pueblo: Spanish Popular Graphics from the Permanent Collection," Lecture at Post-Independence Latin American Art Symposium, The University of Texas at San Antonio, 17 February 2012.

[103] Vicente Ribes Iborra, "La estampa popular: reflejo de la sociedad," In *El alma del Pueblo: arte popular español y sus transformaciones en las americas*. ed. Mervyn Samuel (San Antonio Museum of Art, 1997), 48.

the typical dress and labeled according to their order, and the last vignette holds an expressive duo of nuns labeled *locas*—the crazy nuns.

Perhaps the most direct link in discrediting the numbers as representing a hierarchical system is the fact that the numbers do not coincide with the terminology, nor do they have any consistency between the different series. Many paintings depict the first canvas (sometimes numbered one) containing a scene labeled Spaniard and an Indian producing a *Mestizo*, however, the system tends to depart from uniformity by canvas number two.

Some paintings do not even begin with a Spanish man in the first compartment. For example, a single-panel with fifteen vignettes by an unknown artist begins with members of the *casta* class in the first compartment (Figure 3.3) In this painting, the Spanish man does not appear until the second vignette (Figure 3.4) Notably, this scene closely resembles the Spanish and Native compartment from at least two other series also painted by unknown artists (Figures 3.5 and 3.6) These works are from multi-canvas series that are unnumbered and unfortunately not dated. Since all three images are modeled in a similar fashion, and this is the second compartment within the single-panel, could this image have been second in the order of the multi-canvas series? Presumably, this is possible and it could change assumptions about how these paintings were arranged and the symbolic power such arrangement would deliver.

This single-panel has additional unique attributes. The skin coloration of the figures is noticeably darker throughout this painting in comparison with other series. And the Native compartment is prominantly located near the center of the canvas; furthermore, the native figures are in the largest sized vignette. Especially if the artist was a member of the *casta* class himself,

could these artistic choices symbolize an attempt to challenge the social hierarchy? Since this artist is unknown this question cannot yet be answered.

It would seem the single-panel constructions might have been created as the answer to the spatial exhibition constraints found in private domiciles. Katzew suggests that the single-panel paintings may have been used as templates or guides for the artists to create the larger multi-canvas series.[104] However, many of the known single-panel paintings are dated within the second half of the century, whereas many multi-panel paintings were produced earlier within the first half.[105] Whatever the artist's reasons for choosing to paint all sixteen scenes within the confines of one canvas instead of multiple canvases cannot be definitely determined at this time; however, we can only assume that by studying a single-panel, we will get the best idea of what the whole collective was meant to signify. By analyzing the single-panel construction, we are guaranteed to be looking at each separate entity in the order that the artist (or patron) intended them to be viewed; moreover, the viewer can judge the most probable deliberate interrelationships between the separate compartments.

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[104] Katzew, *Casta Paintings,* 15.

[105] For example, a single-panel painting containing fifteen vignettes by an Unknown artist that is now housed in the Banco Nacional de México is dated ca. 1770-80; another single-panel with sixteen vignettes and a lower register of text that was made in Puebla by an unknown artist and today housed in a private collection is dated ca. 1750; the single panel by Ignacio María Barreda is dated 1777; the single panel piece by Luis de Mena that includes the Virgin of Guadalupe in the top register and only 8 compartments is dated ca. 1750; The numbered and compartmentalized single-panel painting by an unknown artist that is now located in the Museo del Virreinato in Mexico is dated in the last quarter of the century by Sáiz; another undated single-panel by an unknown artist containing twelve vignettes encased by rococo frames is dated ca. 1780's by Sáiz.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE SINGLE-PANEL CASTA PAINTING BY YGNACIO MARÍA BARREDA Y ORDOÑES

This chapter will delve into a formal analysis of this single-panel *casta* painting by Ignacio María Barreda, painted in 1777 (Figure 4.1). This exercise highlights salient visual elements, as well as a focused investigation of *casta* paintings as characterized by the single-panel work. This analysis will read the painting from the right side to the left, examining each vignette. For clarity, each compartment is labeled alphabetically (Figure 4.2). With this formal analysis of Barreda's piece, I hope to cast doubt on the dominant theory that *casta* paintings depict a social hierarchy of Spanish superiority, and suggest other influences on this art form's significance.

Ygnacio María Barreda was a colonial painter of religious works, portraiture, and *casta* painting.[106] Much is still unknown about this painter today; he was first featured in an article titled "Unknown Aspects of Mexican Painting" in 1944.[107] This particular painting is used for this study because it is both a single-panel construction, making it a stable controlled analysis, and it is in excellent condition. Although it is not unique, it is rather rare because in addition to the typical sixteen scenes, Barreda includes a lower register displaying topography over which is

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[106] One source states that Ygnacio María Barreda had a degree in philosophy, and he was a religious man who was working in the seminary of San Camilo during the Mexican Inquisition. María Luisa Sabau García, *Mexico en el mundo de las colecciones de arte nuevaespaña*, Vol. 1. (México : Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1994), 194.

[107] Walter Pach, "Unknown Aspects of Mexican Painting," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* October (1944): 213.

superimposed a central vignette of a group of native Indians. Furthermore, the text-panel at the lower border states the early provenance of the work.

The text-panel reads: *"Estas Castas de nueba Espanã pinto (a instancias del Theniente Coronel de Exercito, Don Antonio Rafael de Aguilera y Orense) Su dignissimo Amigo, y apasionado a este arte, Don Ygnacio María Barreda y Ordoñes B^r^ [Bachiller] en Fphia {Filosofía], en México a 18 de Febrero del Año de 1777*," which translates as "These castes of New Spain were painted (upon the request of Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Rafael de Aguilera y Orense) by his great friend and art enthusiast Ygnacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, Ph. B., In Mexico on February 18, 1777."[108]

Text included within a painting is a characteristic of early colonial art works. The use of text becomes less and less frequent in time with the advancement of artistic styles and with the creation of the academy.[109] Although the texts found in the *casta* paintings can be insightful, such as the provenance record noted in Barreda's piece, the question arises as to whether scholars have placed too much weight on the terminology presented within the caption text of the *casta* paintings. Have scholars put greater emphasis on the written language over the pictorial one? In

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[108] María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), 140. Inscription Translation is by Sáiz.

[109] Dawn Ades, *Art in Latin America.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.) Dawn Ades points to the fact that with the creation of the academy text use is less frequent in paintings. See also, Roberto Moreno de los Arcos, "The Enlightenment in Mexico." In *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano.* By María Concepción García Sáiz (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), 16. Roberto Moreno de los Arcos –Director of the Institute of Historical Research, National Autonomous University of Mexico, points to the use of text in *casta* paintings as the enlightened desire to label everything. He says, "This explosion of eighteenth-century science led to a generalized reclassification under a new taxonomic nomenclature; the cat became *felis cato*, the rose was now *lippia callicarpaefolia*, and the air was oxygen."

other words, have the art historians stressed the miscegenation labels that accompany the figures, over the formal qualities and iconography of the paintings—after all, the primary communication of an artist is the visual language.

Indisputably, these paintings are embedded within colonial ideas of racial categorizations and the text labels delineate the variability of miscegenation; however, is it possible that in digesting these complex images in the twenty-first-century scholars have been led astray by the text, resulting in greater emphasis than necessary being placed on the racial component?[110] This analysis aims to look at the imagery first and the text labels second. The formal analysis notes that the figure's *calidad* takes precedence over their racial heredity and that *calidad* was subjective.

Calidad, a Spanish term coined by Carrera for the use of *casta* paintings connotes a person's "social and moral quality."[111] Although Carrera employs the term especially within a context of physiognomics arguing that one's appearance is telling as to the quality of the person's character,[112] in this examination it is put forth as a term to express a multitude of elements

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[110] Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain*, xvii. Carrera suggests similar persuasions and credits the complexities initiated by the visuals rather than the text. She states, "Identifying these images as illustrations of 'race' is a static, twenty-first-century reading of the imagery, and it may actually obscure more complex, subtle, and comprehensive readings of the panels, especially in light of the eighteenth-century superceding notions of hybridity as formulated in the concepts of raza and calidad."

[111] Carrera's study describes in depth the concept of *calidad* as a term that envelops lineage and applies it and the term's complex associations to the visual practices of eighteenth-century New Spain. Magali M. Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings,* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 14-15. She describes *calidad* as "social and moral quality" and applies the term to describe both positive and negative qualities, from the perceived "social degeneration" of the castas to the "genteel." Carrera, Magali M. "From Royal Subject to Citizen," 28.

[112] Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain, 9.*

comprising a person's nature. Viewing Barreda's canvas compartment by compartment may illuminate the emphasis the visual representation of the *casta* paintings place on *calidad* rather than on "race."

This concept of *calidad* or quality in the eighteenth century would have equated *casta*, or lineage with many people; nonetheless, it is possibly a more fitting term to use for the description of *casta* paintings. The paintings are a lens through which the viewer can see the visual description of people's *calidad,* which can be defined as "quality, condition, character, kind nature; nobility, rank; requisite…[and] personal qualifications."[113] Whereas, the word *casta* is defined as "caste, clan, particular breed, lineage; race, generation; kindred, offspring…"[114] As visible throughout the vignettes of this single-panel painting done by Barreda, each persona exemplifies their *calidad* by their occupation, costuming, props, setting, and personal interactions depicted. In fact, some paintings use the term *calidad* in their descriptive text to describe the narratives within the canvas, such as a single-panel painting from Puebla by an unknown artist (Figure 4.3).

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[113]Edgar Allison Peers, José V. Barragán, Francesco A. Vinyals, and Jorge Arturo Mora, ed. *Funk & Wagnalls Cassell's Spanish Dictionary*, (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1959), 164. "**Calidad**, n.f. quality, condition, character, kind, nature; nobility, rank; reuisite; (fig.) importance, seriousness; (med.) fever, heat; stipulation.—pl. conditions, rules (in card games); personal qualifications, gifts, parts; a *calidad de que*, on condition that; en *calidad de*, as, in the capacity of."
See Also: Edwin B. Williams, *Webster's Spanish-English Dictionary* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1968), 53. "**Calidad** *f* quality; condition, term; rank, nobility; importance; a *calidad de que* provided that; *calidad de vida* quality of life; *en calidad de* in the capacity of."

[114] Peers, Barragán, Vinyals, and Mora. *Funk & Wagnalls Cassell's…* "**casta,** *n.f.* caste, clan, particular breed, lineage; race, generation; kindred, offspring; (fig.) kind or quality of a thing; *cruzar las castas,* to cross breeds; *hacer casta*, to get a particular breed of some animal."
See Also: Williams, *Webster's Spanish-English…62.* "**casta** *f* caste; kind, quality; breed, race."

Like Carrera's use of the term *calidad* to illustrate the multifaceted and complicated society of the Spanish Colonial era, Ruth Hill, an expert on colonial and nineteenth-century Latin American history, literature, and specialist in critical race studies, explains that many studies on the history, literature, and art—including *casta* paintings—have been over simplified by modern and postmodern thought.[115] Hill points out that *race* as we know it today, after all is an "invention of [the] nineteenth-century."[116]

Hill believes that "most historians, sociologists, and literary historians have assumed that *castas* in Spanish America were legal racial categories of persons or even mixed-race persons ("half-breeds" or "mixed blood") without examining its meaning or its usage in Spain or Spanish America."[117] Hill says that the term casta was "beyond biology" and that it may have been applied to every group and rank.[118] Hill states "a conceptual analysis of hierarchy in viceregal Spanish America reveals that casta was not biology; it was a cluster of somatic, economic, linguistic, geographical, and other circumstances that varied from parish to parish, from town to town, and from person to person."[119]

Hill's position on the terminology used within the society of New Spain would explain two things in *casta* paintings that are elements of confusion when considered under other scholarship: the inconsistency of the terminology within *casta* paintings may have been

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[115] Ruth Hill, *Hierarchy, Commerce, and Fraud in Bourbon Spanish America: A Postal Inspector's Exposé*, (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2005), 4.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Hill, *Hierarchy, Commerce, and Fraud in Bourbon Spanish America, 198.*

[118] Hill, *Hierarchy, Commerce, and Fraud in Bourbon Spanish America, 204.*

[119] Hill, *Hierarchy, Commerce, and Fraud in Bourbon Spanish America, 200.*

determined as narrowly as a local parish or even an individual artist; and Hill also offers an explanation as to why a Native, African, or Spaniard would be included in paintings of supposedly mixed persons if *castas* only refer to persons of mixed heritage. Perhaps what both Hill and Carrera illuminate best by analyzing and adopting these terms into the discourse of *casta* paintings is that the cultural fabric of New Spain and the linguistic links to the terminology emanating from the genre are complex and multifaceted; this is because *casta* paintings were not made by a homogeneous group of artists.

Narratives Within the Painting by Ygnacio María Barreda y Ordoñes

The first scene in the upper left corner of the painting, image *A*, displays a text label that reads *From Spaniard and Indian, Mestizo or Cholo* (Figure 4.4). María Concepción García Sáiz states that the term *Cholo* comes "from Náhuatl Chololán, today Cholula a town in South Mexico." The term means "civilized Indian." [120] Furthermore, Cholula is a town where many elite Aztecs resided.[121] Sáiz says the term was used to denote children of Spaniard and Indian, or Indian and *Mestizo* relations.[122]

The artist placed this first couple in an interior space. There are planks on the floor, a window, and a dark-wood dining table. The silver bowls and utensils resting on the table reveal the upper-economic status of the couple. The husband is labeled as *de Español*, meaning he is Spanish. A person from Spain at this time was frequently referred to as a *peninsulare*

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[120] Sáiz, *Las castas mexicana,* 26.

[121] Elizabeth D. Olton, Phd, "Painting: Portraits, Luxury goods, and the Creation of Identity," lecture at The University of Texas at San Antonio, 28 March 2011.

[122] Sáiz, *Las castas mexicana*, 26.

(Peninsular);[123] whereas, a person born in New Spain of purely Spanish decent was called a *Criollo* (Creole). We can presume that this man is a *peninsulare* because in the third vignette we will find a *Criollo*.

The body language of the family within compartment *A* suggests a glimpse into the daily life of a highly sophisticated family, in a tender and loving domestic scene. The Spanish man or the father figure in the image best exemplifies the family's civilized state. He is seated in a well-appointed chair and his gracefully pointed foot extends like a dancer's. French stockings reinforce his refined appearance. This is also echoed with his well-shined, buckled shoes. As if glancing in from a window, the viewer ascertains from this tender scene that this is the first encounter between father and newborn. With a face of contentment, he stretches out his arms eager to embrace his child. He appears to be a proud father, not ashamed of his child's mixed heritage.

The opulent nature of the family's clothing depicted in *A*, also serves as an indicator of their social-economic status. The man's jacket is presumably a fine fabric embellished with embroidered designs. While the material of the woman's dress is plainer and limited in embellishment, the peachy colored portion of the cloth matches that of the child's and the slight ribbon detail along the bottom has a glistening golden hue that gives the impression that it is made from a fine fabric. She wears jewelry and displays a mark on her temple. This mark was popular in the eighteenth century and Carrera states that, "the black *chiquedoras*, or beauty

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[123] Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art of Colonial Latin America*, (London: Phaidon Press, 2005), 66. This description was to differentiate persons of Spanish descent born in Spain, or the Iberian Peninsula, as oppose to persons of Spanish descent born in the new world, known as *criollos* or Creoles.

marks, on her face are fashionable references to her prestige." [124] Although her label is that of Indian, she bears this prestigious "beauty" mark of a well-to-do woman in society. Although the text label, and its association with the ancient location Chololán, may allude to her status as an elite Aztec, and her over-garment is shaped like a *rebozo* or a modified *huipil,* none of her attire contains indigenous designs or patterns. Furthermore, her demeanor and costume contrast greatly with the natives represented in the lower register of the painting.

In the next vignette to the right, compartment *B*, the label reads *From Spaniard and Mestizo, Castizo or Quadroon* (Figure 4.5). This scene takes the offspring from the previous family, the *Mestizo,* and creates a new category from it with the addition of another pureblood Spaniard. Sáiz states that the origins of *Castizo* are uncertain; however, it derived from the word *casta.* Sáiz says that throughout the genre, *Castizo* children are consistently the product of Spanish and *Mestizo* parents.[125]

The woman in *B* appears similar to the first female in compartment *A* in poise, phenotype, and facial structure; she also bears the same *chiquedoras* mark. It is difficult to distinguish the space that they occupy; however, it is likely they are outside, perhaps in front of their residence. There is a stark form of architecture behind them. The family in this image is also dressed in fine attire. The mother wears a necklace and earrings. She is wearing more elaborately designed fabrics compared to the first mother; perhaps the striped scarf element is a *rebozo*, and her skirt has a pattern as well. The child has the shoes, stockings, and similar cross-legged and prancing stance of the man from the first vignette. The father, who is shown as a Spaniard, stands stiffly

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[124] Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain,* 24.

[125] Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas,* 24.

with one hand in his breast coat pocket. He is wearing highly ordered attire that is perhaps a military uniform.

And although the family occupies a close space, the figures do not interact with each other. This may be because Barreda lacks a degree of technical skill compared to some other *casta* painters such as Juan Rodríguez Juárez who render convincing, loving and tender bonds between family members, or more likely it is due to the confined space the single-panel construction presents to the artist. Nonetheless, it may be presumed by the child's graceful stance and the father's Napoleonic pose that the body language of this family is also meant to convey their refined state.

In the next image, within segment *C*, the text reads *From Castizo and Spanish woman, Creole Spaniard* (Figure 4.6). At this point the genetic equation of the text labels can be restated as such: from a Spaniard and a ½ Spaniard ½ Indian = a *Castizo*. Hence, a *Castizo* is a person of ¾ Spanish ancestry. Consequently, this vignette dictates that when a man of ¾ percent Spanish descent enters a union with a Spanish woman, a *Creole* Spaniard is born. Interestingly, *Creole* is the term used for a person of 100% Spanish ancestry born in the New World.[126] Therefore, the ¼ percent Indian ancestry passed on by one parent is void and the child is considered Spaniard once again. Or rather, the text labels of miscegenation are already discredited within the top row of the painting.

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[126] Katzew, Ilona and Susan Deans-Smith "The Alchemy of Race in Mexican America" Katzew, Ilona and Susan Deans-Smith, ed. In the *Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America,* (California: Stanford University Press, 2009), 7. Katzew and Deans-Smith however, point out that "American –born descendants or Creoles acquired a distinct status of being-the-same-but-not-quite as their peninsular progenitors based on European beliefs that to be born in America resulted in inferior capabilities and qualities."

The man, within section *C*, is dressed in a multilayered costume. It is unclear if this is an elite style of costuming or not; it seems to be a mismatch of styles his upper garment may be torn at the armpit. If his clothing is represented this way—so that it is viewed as ragged and poor quality—it is interesting to note that this man appears on the top tier of the social hierarchy. And if *casta* paintings were created initially to promote Creole pride as put forth by Katzew, it would be perplexing that the Creole's father is depicted in such a state, or moreover that the Creole is born from a family with ¼ Native ancestry.

The mother is rendered in an elegant, tender, and attractive manner; she bows her head down at the child reminiscent of Madonna and child images. She too has the *chiquedoras,* birthmark, like the previous women, along with fancy dress and fine jewelry. At first glance it appears that the family is not interacting with each other; however, the husband's outstretched hand and the mother's gaze fixed on the child suggests to the viewer that the artist was attempting to express a loving sentiment between them. These tender family scenes do not give the impression that they were designed to warn against mixed unions. As with the man in compartment *A*, why would the father be so eager to embrace the child if these visuals were made to condemn the unions or show a preference for pure Spanish lineage?

In the next vignette, image *D*, the text label states *From Black and Spanish woman, Mulatto* (Figure 4.7). This compartment causes a break in the composition's pattern; this is the first family that is not started with the offspring from the previous vignette. A full-blooded Spaniard has appeared once again; interestingly, it is a woman rather than a man, who represents the Spaniard.

Some scholars note that any amount of African heritage can leave a "stain" on a person's lineage.[127] That is why this compartment was the inspiration for this inquiry into Barreda's painting. Much of the literature poses that *casta* paintings contain with a racial social hierarchy; how then on the top tier of this painting can a full-blooded African man appear in such a well-to-do position as is apparent in his fine clothing, and partnered with a full-blooded Spanish woman at that? Magali Carrera illustrates this quandary in her discussion on another painting by Andrés de Islas depicting the mixing of an Albino with a Spaniard, which produces an offspring referred to as "*Torna-atrás"* (Figure 4.8). Carrera says,

> Curiously, this concluding panel of the Spaniard-Black African series places the lineage in a neutral, almost positive light: not as cultured as the concluding panel of the Spaniard-Indian lineage, but by appearance and circumstances, quite socially acceptable. Islas seems to display ambivalence about the nature of the third generation of the Spaniard-Black African lineage.[128]

In arriving at this notion—that the artist was apparently uncertain in his description of the racial social hierarchy—Carrera follows the approach of previous scholars who give an inequitable weight to the text labels over the visuals. In this particular piece by Islas, she is referencing the term *Torna-atrás,* which translates into turning back. María Elena Martínez informs that this label could be seen as having negative connotations about persons of African ancestry. This notion possibly stems from the idea of the "stain" caused by African blood in the

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[127]Carlos Lopez Beltran, "Hippocratic Bodies: Temperament and Castas in Spanish America, 1570-1820," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 8, no. 2, (2007), 258.

[128] Carrera, *Imagining Identity*, 91-92.

lineage.[129] This "stain" concept, derived from Spain's notions of *limpieza de sangre*, in New Spain suggests that African mixing will be revealed in your family even generations later. Here two people of the lightest possible phenotype—the mother is Albino after all—give birth to a dark skinned African child.

In Barreda's painting, the text label may also have negative connotations that conflict with the visuals. Sáiz says that the term mulatto comes form the Latin term "*mulus,*" or mule.[130] The labels of miscegenation reference both human coupling and animal mating; in this example there is a direct comparison to the crossbreeding of a horse and a donkey, paralleling these animals with the results of a Spanish and an African mixture. The term *casta* in some contexts can also imply the crossbreeding of animals.[131]

However, art historian and theologian Jaime Lara illustrates how fluid terminology from the era could be. He traces the lineage of terms used in architectural terminology such as, "the walled-in area in front of the friars' church and convent [that] is called a patio or corral" is a term today used to indicate an animal holding pen.[132] He illustrates how the term could be used historically in a number of ways and it could also reference Christians as the Lord's flock of

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[129] María Elena Martínez, "The Black Blood of New Spain: Limpieza de Sangre, Racial Violence, and Gendered Power in Early Colonial Mexico." *William and Mary Quarterly* 61, no. 3, (2004). 486.

[130] Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas,* 24.

[131] Peers, Barragán, Vinyals, and Mora. *Funk & Wagnalls Cassell's…* "**casta,** *n.f.* caste, clan, particular breed, lineage; race, generation; kindred, offspring; (fig.) kind or quality of a thing; *cruzar las castas,* to cross breeds; *hacer casta*, to get a particular breed of some animal."

[132] Jaime Lara*, City Temple Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theories in New Spain* (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 18.

sheep.[133] Perhaps, the terminology in question connoted different meanings within the eighteenth-century environment of New Spain. Or perhaps the language was meant to be degrading; nonetheless, the visual image from compartment *D* of Barreda's painting does not seem to render an undignified family, quite the opposite.

The station and dress of the family from image *D* seems to visually attest to their well-to-do status. They are positioned in an outdoor setting in front of architecture with landscaping visible.[134] They are arguably the finest dressed people within the whole panel. The African man wears some kind of military uniform, with the same dainty stockings and shoes on his person as the man in compartment A. Sáiz had mentioned that per census records many African men held the position of coachman; this uniform could represent such an occupation.[135] All members of this family unit stand in refined poses, adorned in fine attire, and proper pose. The woman is wearing jewelry, and the clothing of the boy and man are adorned with elegant buttons.

This image does not appear to warn about mixing with African heritage. The family depicted in compartment *D* are not engaged in a cooperative activity, but rather they look straight out of the picture plane as if they are posing for a family portrait. Holding hands unites all three family members and the body of the woman and the man turn slightly inward towards the

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[133] Ibid.

[134] Carrera, *Imagining Identity,*101. This is in contrast with the scholars who believe that only the lower classes are depicted in outdoors settings within *casta* paintings. As illustrated in Carrera's statement, "Domestic privacy is a Spanish prerogative; a public situation is a condition of lower *calidad*."

[135] Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas*, 38. *Casta* images many times were copied images. This may be the attire of a coachman. Sáiz points out that according to the 1753 census, the occupation of coachman in Mexico City was filled mostly by Africans and Mulattoes.

centrally placed child. One would assume by the gestures of the family that the unit is closely and warmly united.

The first image compartment within the second row, vignette *E* states *From Mulatto and Spanish woman, Morisco*[136] (Figure 4.9). Depicted in an outdoor setting, this image again connects to the offspring of the previous vignette, and it also includes a Spanish woman. This family, like those before, is represented as an intimate group with elegant posture in lavish attire. The parental figures are engaged with the child's enjoyment in playing the guitar. The man leans in towards the female to pass a handkerchief; this may be the beginning of a dance. Just like all of the ladies that come before her she has the prestigious *chiquedoras* mark. She is also wearing another unique and refined dress complete with matching accessories.

The child is enjoying the leisurely and learned activity of playing an instrument. Many scholars have concurred that the use of instruments in *casta* paintings attests to the figure's higher social status; these persons are able to engage in a leisure activity because of their higher economic status.[137] This family in compartment *E* of Barreda's painting agrees with such a notion. However, surveying the genre of *casta* paintings as a whole, many paintings reveal a person of much lower status, according to the social hierarchy put forth, also engaged in dancing and playing instruments. For example, in a set attributed to Ignacio de Castro, From *Barcino and*

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[136] Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas*, 24.
Sáiz states that the origins of the word *Morisco* come "from Spanish *moro*. 'Moor'Latin *maurus:* 'inhabitant of North-West Africa' (with the meaning of 'dark colour.' 12th and 13th centuries." Sáiz also states that the term Morisco is consistently used solely to represent the offspring of one Spanish parent and a Mulatto.

[137] Ilona Katzew, "Casta Painting, Identity and Social Stratification in Colonial Mexico," In *New World Orders: Casta Painting and Colonial Latin America*, ed. Ilona Katzew, (New York: Americas Society, 1996), 22.

Mulatto woman, Coyote, the *Barcino* father is doing just that (Figure 4.10). It is interesting to note that the person with a classification label also seemingly deriving from a wild animal is engaged with such a civilized activity. The previous scholarship and the text label do not appear to coincide with the image.

The vignette to the right of that, compartment *F* reads, *From Morisco and Spanish woman, Albina*[138] (Figure 4.11). Again, another clear relationship is made to the previous scene by using the persona that exemplifies the title of their offspring. Again we see a tender, docile, pleasant family, and all the members are finely dressed. Clearly costuming is important to the painter or patron because every compartment consists of unique and distinctive dress. The father is holding a platter of food, perhaps tamales; whereas, the woman and daughter are found seated with the daughter embracing the mother. The family is ready to enjoy a picnic outside.

Mathematically the equation of miscegenation found within this compartment is an interesting one. Stated is that a Mulatto, shown in the previous compartment, (which was a person supposedly made up from ½ African and a ½ Spaniard ancestry) when procreating with a Spanish woman, creates a person called a *Morisco*. Here within compartment F, a *Morisco* and a Spanish woman created an *Albina* child. Therefore, by this equation a person with ¼ African ancestry creates an ultra white child, an *Albina*. Nonetheless, this fictitious equation of ancestry, which should be interpreted to be a negative union because of the African heritage, is represented as a peaceful family unit enjoying a picnic.

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[138] Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas,* 24.
Sáiz states that the term Albino stems from the latin term "*albus*: white", meaning "total or partial absence of pigmentation." Sáiz also states that *Albinas* are consistently the product of a *Morisco* and a Spaniard.

Within compartment *G* of the third row we find, *From Spaniard and Albino woman, Black Torna-atrás*[139] (Figure 4.12). This is the compartment that could allude to the concept of the African stain a person would be unable to hide from their lineage, because although both parents are of light phenotype, their offspring has a dark African complexion. *Torna-atrás,* as stated previously, can be loosely translated as "return" or "regress." It is interesting that a connection to a person of abnormally white skin tone was linked to African heritage. Nonetheless, this family is just as finely dressed, decorated, and adorned as the previous image. They are also an attractive group that displays a tender manner despite this unlikely African connection because of which, according to some scholars, they should be portrayed as beastly and uncivilized. Why would the female in this vignette be adorned with the prestigious *chiquedoras* mark, and embrace her dark skinned child if this image were to warn of the dangers of African bloodlines? Or perhaps this narrative testifies that the artist put no such intention forth.

Lastly in the second row, compartment *H* reads, *From Torna- atrás and Indian woman, Lobo or Zambo* (Figure 4.13). With this vignette, pictorially and linguistically the tone in this scene has drastically changed from the previous ones. *Lobo* is a zoological term that traces in its Latin roots to wolf, and *zambo* is a derogatory term for "bowlegged."[140] Every member of the

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[139] Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas,* 29.
Sáiz states that *torna-atrás* can be created by three different combinations within the casta painting genre: "Spaniard and Albino women, Lobo and Indian woman, [and] *No te entiendo* and Indian woman."

[140] Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas,* 24-28. Sáiz states that the origin of Lobo stems "from Latin lupus: "wolf," and the origin of *Zambo* stems "from Latin *strambus:* "bowlegged." Or "He who has knock-knees and the legs sticking out"(1611).

family is barefoot signifying their lower economic status. Their costuming is also a dramatic turn from the dress of the other families. The man has his shirt off and his pants are torn. He carries a stick over his shoulder with unidentifiable objects dangling from each end; these items possibly are raw meat, an indication of his trade as a transporter.

The image appears to stress the difference of the family's economic status rather than a racial hierarchy. Unlike the depictions of the families in the top tier of the painting, this family is dressed in ragged clothing; their attire may imply working class activities instead of leisure ones. Although they are shown in an outdoor setting, it lacks visible natural landscaping and alludes to city surroundings; whereas, the previous families that were depicted outdoors appeared to be in a landscaped area pertaining to a private residence.

Despite the family's considerably lower economic status and the possibly negative linguistic connotations of their labels, the family's facial features are still pleasant and the members are seen interacting with each other. The father is approaching the mother, but looks outward to the viewer. The child looks as if to plea for attention from his mother and the woman looks tenderly at her husband. The child is dressed in peasant attire. And the mother is clearly not in the elaborate decorative or fancy fabric that the other women wear, but she is in a crisp clean white that is without stains or tears. Interestingly the folded white garment on top of her head is "a colonial-period fashion among elite indigenous women."[141] This element conflicts with the family's otherwise presumably lower economic status; the union of these persons does not read as a negative one. In fact, the child resembles the Christ child in one of Barreda's

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[141] Eduardo de Jesús Douglas "Our Fathers, our Mothers: Painting an Indian Genealogy in New Spain," In *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World*, ed. Ilona Katzew (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 129.

religious paintings, *La sagrada familia* (Figure 4.14).[142] Both children have the same upward, angelic gaze worn by a fleshy face of innocence. Perhaps, it is not a coincidence that the mother and child here are also dressed in the color of purity, white. It could not be the intention of the artist to render the child in compartment *H* as a lowly figure when he modeled the child in the same fashion as the Christ child.

Next to the first vignette of the third row, compartment *I* reads, *From Indian and Lobo woman, Chino* (Figure 4.15). Sáiz says the origin of the word Chino is "from *Quechua china*: servant girl of Indian or *Mestizo* blood." This term stems from the concept of an "Indian or *Mestizo* employed to perform domestic duties, [a] plebeian."[143] The son mimics his father in dress and in activity. Perhaps it is a uniform for a specific trade because both figures are engaged in some kind of laborious duty and have large items strapped to their backs: this may be building material, reeds, or it could be mats, which would have indigenous connotations. Even though they are depicted as working, the child seems to have a contented face and he looks happy to be following in his father's footsteps.

The woman appears to be drinking a white substance from a bowl. This has been identified in other *casta* paintings as *pulque*.[144] The *pulque* beverage could be seen as an ethnic status marker because of its indigenous origins and carry negative connotations such as slothfulness and intoxication; however, in this vignette, the drink is not shown in a negative

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[142] The painting, *La sagrada familia,* was within Sotheby's *Latin American Art* Action in New York on May 26, 2001: Session Two, Lot 71.

[143] Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas*, 26. Sáiz states that the term *chino* can also be applied to people with "kinky hair."

[144] Katzew, *Casta Paintings,* 115-116.

context. The woman is in a seated position, majestically holding the bowl while the man and his son are hard at work.

The woman is not dressed in anything elaborate and presumably the fabric is not of fine material; nevertheless, she is also rendered as tender and pleasant. She also has her hair in a tied back fashion without a headpiece. She has earrings on and a blushing complexion. The barefoot father and his mimicking son may be carrying materials for the building that is in a framework state in the background. Presumably they are constructing a private residence of their own. Nonetheless, the image of the man and the child is reminiscent of early Dutch cartography and the civic descriptions with illustrations that were meant to highlight communal industry, local abundance, and social harmony. These connections will be explored further in the following chapters.

The next vignette, in compartment *J*, reads, *From Chino and Indian women, Zambaiga* (Figure 4.16). This term Sáiz says stems from "son of a *Zambo*."[145] Again another unfinished looking structure is behind them, but it is more likely that this structure is a temporary vendor stand. The man displays his occupation of a water carrier by his *chochocol*, or the large clay jar, that he bears.[146] The woman may be a vendor at the market and this can explain the makeshift shelter behind her and the abundance of produce in front of her. Although the woman and the child appear to be nicely dressed, the man is depicted as barefoot, and in identical pants as the

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[145] Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas*, 28.
Sáiz says that a *Zambaiga* can be a creation of 7 different racial combinations.

[146] Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas,* 42.

Castizo man in compartment *C*. With the inclusion of the vendor stand and the *chochocol*s, it is apparent that the working class status of this family is emphasized.

They are not depicted as an unruly group; they are inwardly positioned and gesture toward each other suggesting that they are just as lovingly connected as a family group as the other figures in the painting. The woman is wearing a crisp and clean white garment that could symbolize her purity and she too wears the prestigious *chiquedoras* mark. She holds her child in her arms; this image clearly does depict a morality lesson discouraging inter-mingling. Furthermore, this image closely resembles a woman from a portrait painting Barreda produced of Maria Ysabel Antonia Galves y Estrada in 1792 (Figure 4.17).[147] Both the woman in this vignette and in the elite portrait share similar facial structures, hair, and jewelry.

Vendor scenes are popular both in Dutch genre and casta paintings, depicting the regular populace engaged within their daily activities. Previous art historians, including Sáiz and Katzew, have made connections between the genres, and many have concluded that Dutch genre was an inspiration for the casta paintings. This will also be covered in more detail in the following chapter.

Next to the third vignette in the third row, in compartment *K* the text reads, *From Chino and Zambaigo woman, Cambujo* [148] (Figure 4.18). Some scholars say that this was an especially

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[147] Retrato de Maria Ysabel Antonia Galves y Estrada, Christie's East, *The Latin American Sale,* Auction Tuesday 23 November 1999. Lot 33.

[148] Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas*, 26.
Sáiz states that the origins of the word Cambujo's stems "from Celto-Latin *camba: corv,* back of the knee curb" and the meaning of this term was "reddish-black stallion or mare applied to any dark-skinned person."

despised racial mixing and that these *castas* were typically retailers of a very low social status.[149] The activity that this family is engaged in is unclear; however, by the hanging clothing surrounding them, it appears that they are standing in a wardrobe. The woman appears to be carrying bundles of fabrics. They are perhaps in a vendor stall of second hand clothing. Historian R. Douglas Cope points out that second hand clothing retailers were an economic necessity for the people of New Spain. He calls such marketplaces the "*plaza del volador,* home of the *baratillo,* or 'thieves' market."[150] Whereas Cope states, that "elite Spaniards had little sympathy for, or understanding of, the social benefits of such marketplaces,"[151] this image renders empathy for this type of vendor.

The mother appears to be dressed well in contrast to the man and the boy. She is depicted wearing earrings, shoes, and dressed in a plain but pristine dress. The man is shown only half dressed with a large hat on, (or perhaps a stack of hats), and their son is in peasant type clothing. Both the man and the boy are barefoot and dressed in cutoff pants. Nonetheless, they are not shown engaging in any type of conflict, and their actions are more playful than negative. For example, it is almost as if the man is trying new attire on for size.

Many scholars discuss attire and accessories as a significant element in the genre. Katzew suggested that the dress in *casta* paintings is related to King Philip V's ordinances (who was king

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[149] Manuel Alvar, "Las castas colonials en un cuadro de la Real Academia Española," *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, LXXVIIL, Septiembre-Diciembre 1998, 317.

[150] R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City 1660-1720,* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 37.

[151] Ibid.

early in the seventeen-hundreds) that required persons to dress within their societal ranks.[152] These decrees were issued because of the elite class's frustration with the blurring of the *castas* in society of New Spain caused by attire and accouterments.[153] Historian William B. Taylor elaborates on the confusion dress caused. He states that within a few generations Indians were not acting like the Aztecs that were conquered and "slave women dressed like Spanish aristocrats."[154]

The last vignette in the third row contains compartment *L*. This scene reads, *From Chino and Cambujo woman, Genízara* (Figure 4.19). In this scene the family bears great similarities to the family in compartment *I*. They are in clothing of similar patterns, without shoes, and also laboring with heavy loads on their backs. The man is carrying a dead bird; perhaps dinner, or perhaps he is going to sell it at the market.[155] His face is slightly obscured but he appears pleasant, calm, and secure. The mother and daughter are calm and content. Again both of the females are wearing jewelry. The mother gently and lovingly holds the daughter's hand while the husband looks at something; perhaps he is navigating a map.

This image mimics scenes from *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572) that will be covered in detail in the following chapter. However, the correlation is striking enough to warrant a

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[152] Ilona Katzew, "Identity and Social Stratification in Colonial Mexico," In *New World Orders: Casta Painting and Colonial Latin America*, ed. Ilona Katzew (New York: Americas Society, 1996), 20.

[153] Carrera, *Imagining Identity*, 119.

[154] William B. Taylor. Introduction *to Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America,* ed. Katzew, Ilona and Susan Deans-Smith, (California: Stanford University Press, 2009), xii.

[155] Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas*, 42. Sáiz states that, "the sale of home-raised fowl is also important in the realm of commercial activity."

comparison now to the engraving of the "City of Huy" (Figure 4.20). Images such as these within the context of *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* were to emphasize the pride in local trade and highlight what was unique to the location and the people that resided there. The image of the City of Huy highlights the local people and customs of Huy. This is very similar to Katzew's notion that the *casta* paintings emphasized the local, but she says this was a form of Creole pride; whereas the visuals as exemplified in Barreda's painting promote the *castas* class alongside the Creole and the Spanish.

Within the first vignette in the last row, compartment *M*, the temperament of the family drastically differs from the previous images. The text here reads, *From Chino and Genízara woman, Albarazado* [156] (Figure 4.21). This miscegenation equation is complicated. Many scholars agree that these complex classifications were never officially utilized. Within colonial documents only a handful of the terms are actually ever used. It is suggested that some terms are localisms.[157]

Although this woman is wearing earrings like the previous women, this is the only element of luxury she displays. The whole family is dressed in torn and tattered clothing, of which the man's attire may also have spills or stains on it. Furthermore, the couple is pulling on each other's hair. The man has a rock in his other hand—we presume he is going to hit her over the head with it. The child peeps his head up and looks distraught at these actions. Sáiz says that

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[156] Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas*, 24.
Sáiz states the word Albarazado stems from "white leprosy", literally "white-spotted."

[157] María Luisa Sabau García, *Mexico en el mundo de las colecciones de arte nuevaespaña*, Vol. 1. (México: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1994), 194.

the acts of aggression and poor dress are employed to show that the unions of these particular couples are not accepted by society.[158] Many scholars agree with this interpretation, and state that the iconography found in this vignette with its turbulent union and darker skinned, barefoot family, testifies to the negative social condition of this pairing.[159] However, this concept seems flawed when recalling that the dress of the man in compartment *C* was torn and mismatched; that vignette displayed the union of a *Castizo* and a Spanish woman, which would have been an ideal match if the preference was to preserve the whiteness of the colony.

Casta painting artists' employment of figures wearing torn and tattered clothing and who act disorderly may be compared with Dutch genre art of the seventeenth century. Explored in detail in the next chapter, a popular theme common to both genres is the rowdy plebeian, many times accompanied by their distraught child. Some Dutch painters applied this narrative to add an element of humor. Some painters were making derogatory statements about the plebeian class, illustrating morality lessons, or mocking them; however, Dutch painters were using an economic stratification to separate the classes, not a racial one.

Previous scholars have noted that the further the couples mix with African heritage the more degenerate in behavior and dress the people displayed in the *casta* paintings become. Historian Dedra McDonald goes as far as to say that *casta* paintings are a visual record of the Spaniard's strategies of their "divide and conquer" policies. She says that the patrons and artists of these works "associate[d] danger and violence" with African and Indian persons and

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[158] Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas,* 38.

[159] Manuel Alvar, "Las castas colonials en un cuadro de la Real Academia Española," *Boletín de la Real Academia Española,* (LXXVIIL, Septiembre-Diciembre 1998), 313-314.

discouraged unions between these groups to deter union and uprising.[160] Compartment *M* is the most violent of all of the scenes depicted within Barreda's painting. Interestingly, the African heritage is many generations back for this couple (Figure 4.22).

Due to the fact that this couple is rendered in the most impoverished clothing, the emphasis may be on low economic status rather than undesirable racial lineage. By the eighteenth century, money could purchase a new racial identity.[161] The receipt of this economic transaction was in the form of official certifications called "*gracias al sacar*" (thanks for getting out). Persons of mixed heritage, including African heritage could purchase these documents to legally be identified as white.[162] Historian R. Douglas Cope has written extensively about the mechanisms employed by ascending members of the *casta* class. He states, "Hispanic society, however hierarchical, lineage obsessed, and hostile to social climbers, was not completely closed. There were upwardly mobile *castas*."[163] Some compartments in this painting seemingly illustrate social mobility.

The second image on the last row, in compartment *N* is labeled *From Albarazado and Black woman, Calpamula*[164] (Figure 4.23). It is unclear if the woman or child is wearing shoes or not, but the woman is again wearing earrings. It is also unclear if the child has a spot or a tear on

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[160] Dedra S McDonald, "Intimacy and empire Indian-African Interactions in Spanish Colonial New Mexico 1500-1800," *American Indian Quarterly* 22, no. 1/2 (1998), 136.

[161] Katzew, *Casta Painting,* 56.

[162] Ibid.

[163] R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City 1660-1720*. (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 107.

[164] Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas,* 26. Sáiz says the *Calpamula* is a "Mexican localism" and by her chart, a *Calpamulo* or *Calpamulato* can be produced by seven different mixes.

his shirt, but the husband seems to be washing his shirt, and is barefoot. The family is again docile looking, and interacting as a family unit. Yet again, this visual image does not run parallel to the scholarship that claims that the more mixed a person's heritage, the more degenerate and ugly they were depicted in the paintings. Evelina Guzauskyte further states that the figures took on beast-like qualities.[165] This is clearly not displayed in this vignette.

This interpretation is disproved even further in the next compartment, *Ñ*. The text reads, *From Albarazado and Calpamula, Jíbaro* (Figure 4.24). This vignette presents one of the most mixed families, yet the visual narrative counters the prevailing opinion of many scholars who pose that the more mixed a person's heritage with African and Indian blood, the more ugly and violent they are depicted in a *casta* painting. This image does not exemplify the former. In fact, this family has many similarities to the family in compartment *A*. How could the family in compartment *Ñ* mimic the family in the first vignette if the painting depicts a social hierarchy of Spanish superiority? The linguistics of the text label are also off since *Jíbaro* tends to refer to a farmer. It is clear that farming is not visually represented in this vignette.[166] Furthermore, *Albarazado* is a term derived from "white leprosy" in Arabic;[167] this term also does not coincide with the visual in this vignette.

The family personifies the economic rank of a family in which each member can afford to wear shoes and reside within their own residence. The man is sitting in the chair in the original

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[165]Evelina Guzauskyte, "Fragmented Borders, Fallen Men, Bestial Women: Violence in Casta Paintings of Eighteenth-century New Spain." *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* LXXXVI, no. 2, (2009), 181.

[166] Manuel Alvar, "Las castas colonials en un cuadro de la Real Academia Española," *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, LXXVIIL, Septiembre-Diciembre 1998, 323.

[167] Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas*, 24.

stance as the Spaniard depicted the first scene and wears similar French stockings and shoes. The wife is wearing fine clothing and matching adornments. Her dress has a satin sheen midsection and an eyelet-trimmed hem. In fact, her dress appears to be a white, simplified version of a dress worn by a Spanish woman in Barreda's portrait, *Doña Juana María Romero* (Figure 4.25). Therefore, Barreda appears to render these figures in the *casta* paintings at the same level, or near the same level, as the elite persons painted in portrait commissions at the time.

Although, this scene may depict the family in an active task, it could also be a leisured activity. Or perhaps each member of the family is tinkering with some kind of craft or working on some kind of project together, or cooking dinner. They could be calm servants, but if so, it seems unlikely that they would be so nicely dressed. Manuel Alvar states that they are engaged in separate activities. He notes that the girl has a ball of yarn in her hands, the woman is cooking, and that the man is presumably a shoemaker.[168]

If this painting displayed the families in the order of the proposed racial social hierarchy, which presumably would be the purpose of the single-panel layout, why would this family appear to have a higher social economic status than the families that surround them? Their dress, shoes, better etiquette and composure, the man's poise, and general calm and contented nature of each family member would presumably rank this triad much higher in status than the seven preceding vignettes. This family is depicted of a higher status than those found in the adjacent compartments to the left and right. If they were calm servants would they not rank at least higher than the fighting *castas* in patchwork clothing? This vignette visually challenges the scholarship

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[168] Manuel Alvar, "Las castas colonials en un cuadro de la Real Academia Española," *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, LXXVIIL, Septiembre-Diciembre 1998, 323.

purporting that *casta* paintings show such racial social hierarchy that places the persons with the most mixed lineage, especially with inclusion of African ancestry, at the bottom of such order. Although all of the family members in compartment *Ñ* display considerably darker skin tone compared to most of the other families in the painting, they are displayed in fine dress and a refined state, challenging the previous scholarship.

The last vignette of compartment *O* reads *From Gíbaro and Albarazada, Tente en el aire* (Figure 4.26). "*Tente en el aire"* is a peculiar label that translates to "hold-yourself-in-midair."[169] Is the meaning of this phrase lost today? Did the painter not know how to depict this category? Perhaps he did not even understand it. Or maybe the artist was intentionally ridiculing the label and being humorous by placing the man literally in midair by means of a rafter. Even though the child coincides with the label *Tente en el aire* it is the man who is elevated by the rafter. The Director of the Institute of Historical Research at National Autonomous University of Mexico, Roberto Moreno de los Arcos had attributed the "wide discrepancy among painters on naming of the racial groups" to the fact that, "such a complex and detailed social classification had never existed previously, neither in theory, nor in practice."[170]

The family unit in this vignette does not have patchwork or torn fabric associated with their clothing, but the man is barefoot and displayed performing physical labor. He could be a stonemason or a painter. The mother appears to look up lovingly at the man, and her child

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[169] Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas*, 28. Sáiz simply states that *tente en el aire* was a "Mexican Localism;" however, she also states that within the whole genre *tente en el aire* is associated with to six different parental combinations.

[170] Roberto Moreno de los Arcos, "The Enlightenment in Mexico" in *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, ed. María Concepción García Sáiz (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), 17.

tenderly rests beside her. As with the other narratives within the compartments, the family is depicted in a positive light.

An atypical feature of Barreda's painting is that it includes an extra scene depicting a group of people in a frame separated from the usual sixteen triadic family portraits. This vignette is composed of Barreda's interpretation of Native Americans whom are presented in a seemingly "untamed" landscape (Figure 4.27). This compartment depicts native people in a stereotypical manner for the time. These figures are dressed in popular costumes that were common of imagery exported to Europe. Sáiz states that natives found in *casta* paintings are taken from the allegorical figures that were commonplace, in which the native was depicted half-naked, dressed in feathers, and holding a bow and arrow.[171]

The text label for the native scene reinforces these stereotypes and reads, *"Mecos y Mecas, cuias Castas, aunque muchas, todas son semejantes."* Sáiz translates this phrase to, "*Mecos*, whose numerous castes are all alike."[172] Elena Isabel Estrada de Gerlero explains that allegorical representations of America were used to describe *Mecos*, a term which refered to highly diverse groups of non-evangelized natives.[173] Furthermore, Estrada states that the Mexica people used the term *meco* as a derivative term for *Chichimeca*. This word designated native Indians whom were nomadic and were never conquered by the Spanish.[174]

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[171] María Concepción García Sáiz, "La imagen del mestizaje," in *Mestizaje Americano*, (Madrid: Museo de América, October-December 1985), 45.

[172] Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas*…140.

[173] Elena Isabel Estrada de Gerlero, "The Representation of "Heathen Indians" Mexican Casta Paintings," In *New World Orders: Casta Painting and Colonial Latin America*, ed. Ilona Katzew, (New York: Americas Society, 1996), 51.

[174] Gerlero, *The Representation of "Heathen Indians,"*42.

To understand the connotations of this term it is instructive to compare Barreda's natives to another illustration of un-Christianized and potentially volatile people. The *Chichimecs* can also be found as the central focus of a mural program in the Church of San Miguel Arcangel at Ixmiquilpan. The imagery of these murals tells the story of a turbulent battle between Christians and natives in a colonial outpost. The settlers along with the converted natives were under constant attack from the unconquered, "barbaric" *Chichimec* tribes.[175] The contrast between these images further demonstrates that the label in Barreda's painting does not accurately match the image; his native figures are a docile group. The only figure with a weapon in this scene is pointing it lightheartedly to the sky, making it an unusual group to be identified as being from the *Chichimec* tribe.

Nine figures are tightly interwoven in this small compartment engaged in numerous activities like fish in a fishbowl. As Sáiz and Estrada both point out, the natives in this scene echo the popular allegorical figures of the continents. Although all of the natives in this additional visual narrative are depicted in the same fictional dress, their poise and postures differ greatly. One woman is caring for the children, while one seems to be engaged in a ritual chant, two others are hunting birds, and another lounges in the grass. They are each engaged in a different activity from one another.

The natives are shown in poses and dress that emphasize European notions of the exotic, but this must not lead to the conclusion that the artist was aiming to depict the figures with this European bias, rather it may be a mere byproduct of his artistic training. Just as the artists of the

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[175] Dr. Elizabeth Olton, The University of Texas at San Antonio, lecture on Church of San Miguel Arcangel at Ixmiquilpan, 13 April 2011.

mural program within the Church of San Miguel Arcangel at Ixmiquilpan were native artists learning European painting techniques by referencing prints imported from Spain, the *mestizo* and mulatto artists of the eighteenth century were still utilizing European prints for their artistic training. Furthermore by this time, even the persons in the *castas* class with a large portion of native ancestry would have been just as far removed from this nomadic, and un-Christianized group of people as the Spanish.

The phrase in the native compartment, *"Mecos y Mecas, cuias Castas, aunque muchas, todas son semejantes,"* in proclaiming the uniformity of native groups, underscores the diversity of the society depicted within the sixteen compartments above. This statement may be implemented to contrast the natives, whom according to this line are all similar, to the variety found within the mixed *castas* class. How are the natives all the same? They are the ones not evolved in the miscegenation displayed above; they are only procreating with their own. These *Mecos* are not participating in the trade and craft that is foreign to them. These natives do not experiment with different kinds of costuming or accessories. Rather, they are the un-colonized ones; they are living outside the new civilization known as New Spain. They are outside of the system.[176] The *Mecos* are not Christian and do not obey the king's laws. All other persons

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[176] Elena Isabel Estrada de Gerlero, "The Representation of 'Heathen Indians' in Mexican Casta Paintings." In *New World Orders: Casta Painting and Colonial Latin America*, ed. Ilona Katzew. (New York: Americas Society, 1996), 42.

depicted above, no matter race or class, are operating within the Spanish colonial society and they are presumably Christian.[177]

Three locations are mentioned within the lower register of the painting: *Tzapultepec, Jamaica,* and *Ystacalco*.[178] Katzew interprets the latter to represent the *Paseo de Ixtacalco;* this location is also included in another single-panel *casta* painting by Luis de Mena in 1750[179] (Figure 4.28). Katzew states that the *Paseo de Ixtacalco* was compared to Venice in contemporary commentary because of its canals and "charm."[180] Because a religious sanctuary is featured within Mena's piece alongside the paseo,[181] Barreda may have painted a similar theme. He was affiliated with the seminary of San Camilo; therefore the architectural structures in his painting may also be related to the church.[182]

Not only was this area known as a quaint location of leisure, but it was also an important commercial avenue, and a fertile spot of agriculture built on ancient Mesoamerican lands.[183] Katzew believes that the inclusion of images with a reference to the precolonial past was a way

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[177] Kelly Donahue-Wallace, *Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America, 1521-1821*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 49-50.
Donahue-Wallace, in her discussion of the murals at Ixmiquilpan interprets them as displaying the *Chichimecs* as uncivilized and outside of the theology of Christianity.

[178] Estrada de Gerlero, "*The Representation of 'Heathen Indians",* 47.

[179] Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 180.

[180] Ibid.

[181] Katzew, *Casta Painting,* 194.

[182] María Luisa Sabau García, *Mexico en el mundo de las colecciones de arte nuevaespaña*, vol. 2. (México : Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1994), 194.

[183] Sabau García, *Mexico en el mundo,*18.

to connect the ancient histories to colonial rule—as a means for Creoles to assert the legitimacy and uniqueness of the colony before the motherland.[184] Many times the Creole elite would utilize the native history of the territory in order to "give Mexico a classical pedigree comparable with that of the Greeks and Romans in Europe."[185] However, perhaps these locations were used to express the uniqueness of place as was done in Dutch paintings. For example, since *Ixtacalco* has ties to lucrative commercial activities and rich agricultural importance, the incorporation of these images may stem from the Dutch tradition that renders local abundance and stresses the localized characteristics of a town.

Since the territories mentioned in the paintings have native connections they may be utilized to justify miscegenation. These locations grew from native beginnings, and they were later transformed into charming leisure locales. The inclusion of these *paseos* could be seen as promoting the positive view of indigenous origins, rather than a glorification of a native past as a link to ancient heritage similar to Europe with their foundations in Greek and Roman histories.[186] However, historian Ruth Hill informs that the *paseos* were a place of "dissolution, fights and disturbances" at nightfall.[187] Crowded with the bustling footstalls during the daytime, in the evening the *Paseo de Jamaica* and *Ixtacalco* would have gatherings and musical performances attended by the *casta* class.[188]

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[184] Katzew, *Casta Painting,* 194.

[185] Katzew, *Casta Painting,* 69.

[186] Jacques Lafaye, "Mexican Castas Painting" *Artes de mexico nueva epoca,* numero 8, Verano 1990, 81.

[187] Hill, *Hierarchy, Commerce, and Fraud in Bourbon Spanish America,* 55.

[188] Ibid.

Chapter Conclusion

This in depth examination of the single-panel painting by Ignacio María Barreda makes evident that neither do the negative connotations of the painting's text labels correlate with the imagery put forth, nor is there a sequential order presented. This painting does not visually define a social hierarchy establishing Spanish superiority, nor does it support the theory that these paintings depict the social degeneration of the *castas*. The convoluted linguistics make evident that the text labels of miscegenation are false clues to linking the narratives. If the focus of these paintings was racially based, why would the paintings place such emphasis on occupation, dress, temperament, and economic status— on the *calidad* of each of the figures.

Overall the families depicted in this painting are pleasant, intimate, and productive.[189] Many of the families are shown embracing their children. The iconography of this painting suggests: 1. A positive view towards the Christianization of Colonial Spain and the separation of the unconverted native people from the *casta* classes; 2. Social mobility depicted by the emphasis placed on dress, occupation, and economic status; 3.Unification of society through pairings with their offspring displaying tender family bonds. None of these above mentioned thematic elements would interest the Spaniards or the Creoles of the era. These groups may have purchased the paintings for their amusing components put forth in the fighting narratives, and as documents of their travels. Whatever the reasons were that these paintings appealed to the elite class, socially rising members of the *casta* classes were the ones to produce them. From

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[189] William B. Taylor. Introduction *to Race and Classification...*ed. Katzew and Deans-Smith, x. Taylor points out that typically persons within the *casta* paintings are shown as pleasant and productive people.

whose perspective are scholars interpreting these paintings, the Creole, the Spaniard, or the artist? Would a member of the *casta* class wish to depict a visual system that deters miscegenation and highlights the superiority of the Spanish, while downgrading persons from mixed unions? Judging from close inspection of this painting, the answer is no; the artist did not wish to portray a derogatory notion of himself.

CHAPTER FIVE: DUTCH AND FLEMISH TRADITIONS IN MAPS, PAINTING, AND PRINTS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE CASTA GENRE

Chapter Introduction

Tracing the connections of *casta* paintings to art from the Netherlands establishing visual relationships to printmaking, painting, and mapmaking traditions of the region may be the best way to illustrate that *casta* paintings do not portray a social hierarchy based on a Spanish superiority as put forth in scholarship. The comparison of Dutch art forms to *casta* paintings places emphasis on communal industry, local abundance, and social mobility that are the prominent themes within the genre of *casta* paintings.

This chapter will trace the influence Dutch prints had on the art production of New Spain. It will touch upon the hidden symbolism of landscape imagery in paintings and prints, and investigate the amusing qualities of the every day scenes captured in genre paintings. The objective of this chapter is to demonstrate that *casta* paintings may not have functioned as a form of Creole pride, but rather as an emblem of pride in the local culture, and unification for the *castas* class.

The second half of the chapter will delve into the influence of civic descriptions such as the traditions set forth in the massive volume of *Civitates Orbis Terrarum, Cities of the World* first published in 1572. Furthermore, the analysis in this chapter will connect how all of the above artistic expressions blended into the elaborate compositions that embellished the art of cartography from the region exemplified by the Dutch Master Cartographer, Claes Jansz. All of these elements will be drawn forth for comparison with *casta* paintings to illustrate more

plausible readings of the genre, rather than the insular conclusion that these paintings represented strictly a type of social hierarchy of Spaniard superiority.

Cartography, its decorative embellishments, and the popular accompanying civic descriptive texts, in turn influenced the art of representing people as personifications and types that expressed explicit local traditions and trades in painting and prints—the core essence of *casta* paintings. The artists of New Spain flourished in this theme. These artists thrived in producing images distinctly local by adding representative elements that could visually describe the different types of persons found in the lands of New Spain and their respective *calidad* (or qualities). This is an artistic tradition that was carried on throughout Mexican art forms to include the traditional *calaveras* images put forth by the print makers of the twentieth century.[190]

Prints & Paintings

Artists from New Spain have long been overlooked and at times missed attention rightfully due them within art historical discourses. Many scholars have dismissed Spanish Colonial art as being purely derivative. More recent scholarship challenges these notions of mere imitation with compelling force; and some scholars are even proving the influence the artists of New Spain had on their European counterparts.

Misconceptions that art from the Spanish Colonial era was of inferior quality, mimicking styles from Europe, grew largely out of the tradition of replicating prints; this is because in some instances whole compositions from European prints were copied in their entirety. From a

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[190] Alana Coates, "*Una Calavera Chusca*: Mexican Visual Identity from *Castas* to *Calaveras*." I have examined this direction in another paper.

contemporary Eurocentric mindset, these seemingly pirated images, executed by an artist newly trained in the methods of European aesthetics would appear to be of an inferior quality.

However, the system of copying from prints was not an original concept created in New Spain, but rather it was a customary system of practice that was implemented from Spain that was common all over Europe.[191] Copying prints enabled artists to study different techniques. Prints were also used to guide artists in producing religious and other imagery with some consistency. Art historian Kelly Donahue-Wallace points out in her investigation of printed artworks found in *casta* paintings that prints have been proven to be the inspiration for much of colonial art, from small canvases to large murals, because prints were so "portable and affordable."[192] The practice of copying prints was used early on in New Spain by the friars to instruct the natives, and it has been carried on as a common practice throughout the ages.

Many themes and stylistic elements found in *casta* paintings can be linked to Dutch and Flemish visual traditions that originated in printmaking. The influence of artistic traditions from the Netherlands on New Spain can be found in two forms: it stemmed from Spain, and it was also directly transferred.[193] The transported print was the main facilitator of styles. The number of prints from Flanders and Spain imported to America were said to number in the "thousands

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[191] Jonathan Brown, "Spanish Painting and New Spanish Painting, 1550-1700" in *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life 1521-1821,* ed Donna Pierce, Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, Clara Bargellini (Denver : Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art, Denver Art Museum, 2004), 18.

[192] Kelly Donahue-Wallace,"Picturing Prints in Early Modern New Spain, *The Americas* 64, no. 3, 2008, 329.

[193] Brown, "Spanish Painting and New Spanish Painting,"18.

per year."[194] Historian Jonathan Brown states that early trade shipments to both Spain and to America included "large shipments of inexpensive paintings and prints that arrived constantly from Antwerp, where the export of the pictorial arts—paintings, prints, and tapestries—had become big business."[195]

The northern European region has proven to have had much influence on the artistic styles of New Spain. Perhaps this was inevitable due to their strong surge in artistic creation, thriving art markets, and the sheer quantity of artistic output from the region, so they were bound to influence other regions of the world. The creative abundance was also concurrent with their successful leadership as sea faring traders. This latter factor was the major impetus for their wide-ranging influence on cartography; the Dutch had influenced many countries in their design of maps. Maybe the artists of New Spain, soon to become Mexican, held a fervent interest in Dutch artwork because the Dutch had won their independence from Spain themselves.

The Parallels of Dutch Genre Paintings and the *Casta* Paintings of New Spain

Major correlations between the Dutch and Flemish styles and the *casta* painting series can be established. One of the best links between the two art forms can be made through the analysis of genre painting. The French invented the term "genre" in the eighteenth century. It was defined as "genus, kind, or style," but it became widely used to express the scenes of "daily life."[196] Many of the early painters of this style had crafted images of "merriment" with intent to

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[194] Brown, "Spanish Painting and New Spanish Painting," 19.

[195] Brown, "Spanish Painting and New Spanish Painting,"18.

[196] Jeroen Giltaij, *Senses and Sins: Dutch Painters of Daily Life in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Jeroen Giltaij (Ostfildern-Ruit : Hatje Cantz, 2004), 12.

be "witty" and "entertaining."[197] Some art historians have called the style "a democratic alternative to the art of church and state, with burghers [i.e. merchants] and peasants in the leading roles."[198] The images do not engage in a strict realism, rather the painter's subjective attempt to capture the ordinary, and many images have been found to have underlying meanings and metaphors to decode. These coded images would have been much more obvious to contemporary viewers, than to audiences today.[199]

Sáiz identifies *casta* paintings as "the American version" of Dutch and Flemish genre-paintings.[200] Her statement is valid in that both art forms depict the regular populace engaged in their daily activities. Each depict "attitudes of daily life: enjoying a walk, carrying out jobs, in scenes of family life and even in bitter dispute with their partners."[201] Sáiz finds that the only major differences are the ethnic divisions of the paintings by the use of taxonomic labels.[202]

Katzew disagrees with her predecessor's sentiment, maintaining that Sáiz's statements of comparison between Dutch genre and *casta* paintings suggest that the *casta* paintings show a

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[197] Jeroen Giltaij, *Senses and Sins,* 14.

[198] Peter Hecht, "There's No Problem Enjoying It, But the Meaning Is Tricky," in *Senses and Sins: Dutch Painters of Daily Life in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Jeroen Giltaij (Ostfildern-Ruit, Hatje Cantz, 2004), 20.

[199] Peter Hecht, "There's No Problem Enjoying It," 21.

[200] María Concepción García Sáiz, "The Contribution of Colonial Painting to the Spread of the Image of America" *America Bride of the Sun: 500 years Latin America and the Low Countries,* (Belgium: Royal Museum of Fine Arts Antwerp, 1992), 171.

[201] Sáiz, "The Contribution of Colonial Painting,"171.

[202] Sáiz, "The Contribution of Colonial Painting,"171.

form of "realism."[203] Many scholars prior to Sáiz's seminal work did mistake the images and the nomenclature of *casta* paintings as representing reality. Early authors assumed that the terminology utilized was functional during the colonial era, and that the images unveiled snapshots of the society, when in reality the paintings proved to be neither. Regardless, early scholars mistook *casta* paintings as a form of colonial documentation.[204] Katzew believes that viewing *casta* paintings as "slices of colonial life" would be as erroneous as mistaking Dutch genre paintings for direct realism absent of any symbolism to decode, when in fact, the opposite is true.[205] Katzew's statement is valid. Dutch genre works have long been confirmed to be a complex area of inquiry, as experts in the field have illustrated.

Dutch genre specialist, Wayne Franits elegantly describes the image's discretions as the "ostensible capacity to proffer unmediated access to the past, is paradoxically the most deceptive."[206] Franits is referencing the augmented aspects of the painting's supposed visual truths, such as incongruous costume details, disproved by their historical inaccuracy.[207] Franits illustrates other illusions of the genre paintings by highlighting their limited thematic range. He states, "Dutch genre paintings do indeed present a wide variety of subject matter but the scope of what was portrayed compared with what potentially could be portrayed is quite limited."[208] His

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[203] Ilona Katzew, *Casta Paintings: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004),8.

[204] Katzew, *Casta Paintings*, 8.

[205] Katzew, *Casta Paintings,* 8.

[206] Wayne Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 1.

[207] Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century,* 1

[208]Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century,* 1.

example of this is the lack of maritime workers depicted in genre paintings and prints when the nation was a major maritime authority.[209] Dutch genre did not simply mirror reality.

Irrespective of her disagreement with Sáiz, Katzew offers her own comparison with genre paintings. She highlights specific *casta* paintings by Juan Patricio Morlete Ruiz and Miguel Cabrera that depict images of parents picking at their children's heads (Figures 5.1 & 5.2). Katzew posits, "both artists demonstrate their knowledge of seventeenth century Dutch and Flemish genre paintings," where the mother grooming her children in such a manner "symbolized the virtue of cleanliness"[210] (Figure 5.3). (This is a doubly interesting statement by Katzew because many other authors have written on this action as the proof of the *casta's* lowly status. Here she states it exemplified an interest in cleanliness for the Dutch). In *casta* paintings, perhaps this act was a moralizing element or a depiction of good grooming actions as key to social mobility.

A second Dutch connection made by Katzew is with a specific *casta* painting by an unknown artist of a *casta* family shown in an artist's studio (Figure 5.4). Katzew says the painting may be modeled after a Dutch painting, but it also could "be referring to the Royal Academy of San Carlos."[211] This is a unique *casta* painting in that it is the only one known to represent an artist's studio. Sculptural busts, paintings and prints adorn the walls as a female sitter poses for her portrait. Interestingly, two of the hanging paintings in the background resemble Dutch landscapes.

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[209] Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century,* 1.

[210] Katzew, *Casta Paintings,* 95.

[211] Katzew, *Casta Paintings,* 136.

Donahue-Wallace has analyzed a number of *casta* paintings that depict artworks on display in the family setting and has written specifically on the appearance of prints in *casta* paintings. Contrary to previous scholarship, Donahue-Wallace's research shows that the inclusion of a print in a *casta* painting does not necessarily indicate that the family unit is of lower economic status.[212] Because of the apparent social economic range in which prints appear with *casta* families, she concludes that it only confirms the desire to mimic higher-class customs of collecting and furnishing one's home with artworks. Only the wealthier families would have had paintings among their possessions, but a more affordable print medium enabled many homesteads of less means to imitate the wealthier practice of decorating their residences with art.[213] For those members of society wishing to elevate their status, mimicking the customs *de buena calidad* (of good quality) was a good place to start.

Although Sáiz and Katzew make connections from the Dutch artistic traditions to *casta* paintings, Donahue-Wallace provides the most concrete and striking link. In a painting by Miguel Cabrera, titled, *De castizo y Mestiza, chamizo* a family dressed in tattered clothing is featured rolling cigarettes with a print displayed hanging on the wall in the background (Figure 5.5). Donahue-Wallace identifies this print as possibly "a painted depiction of an engraving after Dutch artist Adriaen Brouwer, [b.1605-d.1638] [that] features a figure urinating on the ground."[214] Donahue-Wallace establishes a definite link between *casta* paintings and Dutch genre art. This link proves that *casta* painting artists, or at least one of them—specifically Miguel

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[212] Donahue-Wallace, "Picturing Prints," 326.

[213] Donahue-Wallace, "Picturing Prints,"346.

[214] Donahue-Wallace, "Picturing Prints," 325.

Cabrera, who was an influential leader in a circle of painters[215]—had access to and interest in the Dutch genre art works. The subject of this *casta* painting, which depicts a worker in tattered clothing and reprents a trade, the lucrative production of cigarettes, is common to Dutch genre works.

Comparisons of Adriaen Brouwer's Themes and Subject Matter to *Casta* Paintings

The art of the Dutch artist Adriaen Brouwer (1605-1638), whose work was copied frequently in prints, [216] provides an excellent example of the visual bridging of *casta* paintings and Dutch and Flemish genre art. Similarities with *casta* paintings evident in Adriaen Brouwer's work include: 1. A strong attention to details of costume; 2. Depiction of aspects of craft, trade, leisure activities, and domestic tasks; 3. And popular images of commoners drinking and fighting.

Art historian and expert on Adriaen Brouwer, Gerard Knuttel, states that there was an "enormous demand on the part of the Dutch of that day for humorous pictures."[217] Could *casta* paintings also be a market driven product for the demand of amusing renderings? Perhaps this element was what attracted Spanish patrons to the genre. Scholars have written extensively about the depictions of domestic violence and degenerate behaviors within *casta* paintings. These scholars say that such violent scenes are symbolic of the deteriorating character and mores of individuals born into families who practiced miscegenation for generations. Could it be that

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[215] Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 17. Miguel Cabrera initiated a proto academy.

[216] Gerard Knuttel, *Adriaen Brouwer: The Master and His Work* (Boekhandel, Netherlands: L. J. C. Boucher, 1962), 28.

[217] Knuttel, *Adriaen Brouwer,* 36.

these depictions were not meant to have such horrifying and demeaning connotations, but rather, that they are meant to be humorous and to, in effect, increase sales of the paintings?

Brouwer's artwork runs parallel to *casta* paintings by using similar subjects and themes. For example, the dentist is a topic that appears in both genres. This can be seen in multi-figural *casta* painting by an unknown artist titled *De español y morisca, nace albina* (From Spaniard and Morisca, an Albino is Born) (Figure 5.6). On the right side of the painting a man, with the assistance of a young boy, performs the bloodletting process on a woman and her child, who looks on. On the left side of the canvas, figures gather around a dentist pulling someone's tooth. (Both are common occurrences at the barbershop and such medical rituals are similarly found within Brouwer's oeuvre) (Figures 5.7 & 5.8).

Card players are another common theme between the genres. There are many differences with the persons playing cards, but it is a recurring and overlapping theme nonetheless. *Casta* paintings show both elite families enjoying the game, as well as the dark and dingy home of the less economically fortunate who are playing a hand of cards to pass the time (Figures 5.9 & 5.10). The theme of card players is quite popular in Adriaen Brouwer's oeuvre as well (Figure 5.11).

Musical activities are common to both genres, and scholars have demonstrated contradictions in describing the topic. Many authors have stated that the musical instruments are symbols of leisure activity and therefore testaments to the high social status of the persons in the *casta* paintings. However, examples can be found within both Brouwer's work and *casta* paintings that depict "lower class" persons enjoying musical leisure activities as well (Figures

5.12 & 4.10). Other *casta* paintings exhibit working class people enjoying a variety of leisure activities.

As stated earlier, another commonality between *casta* paintings and Dutch genre paintings is the use of tobacco. However, the particular works by Brouwer focus more on the dazed affect of the smokers, whereas in *casta* paintings, the emphasis is placed on the making of the tobacco. In *The Moerdijk Peasants,* a gentleman rolls a cigarette, while two men enjoying smoking (Figure 5.13). Rolling tobacco is a repeated theme in *casta* paintings, and sometimes the figures are smoking. Of particular note is Cabrera's *casta* painting of the cigarette roller that contains the Brouwer print in the background.

Exemplifying a bit of dark humor is the link in both genres with the distraught child. Many times the parents in the fighting *castas* leave the child in a perplexed, unattended state and this is again also a common theme in Brouwer's work. In two particular paintings by Brouwer: *Peasants' Feast* and *Peasants Guzzling* the viewer is aware of the child's distress caused by their parents' actions (Figures 5.14 & 5.15). In the *Peasants' Feast* the hungry child watches the dish and all its contents topple over as the parents are preoccupied and literally entangled in their own concerns. In *Peasants Guzzling* the child's wailing cries go unnoticed by the mother who passes out, presumably from drinking. The children in both works are distraught as a result of their parents' actions and neglect.

In *casta* paintings, many times the child is positioned in the center of their parents' arguments, as if in attempt to end the quarrel; but perhaps the best example of the parents' neglect is exemplified by *coyote mestizo and mulatta woman, ahi te estas* (Figure 5.16). In this painting the female figure grabs the hair of the head of the half-dressed male figure. While the

mother is in a violent rage with the father, the baby falls out of her *rebozo* shawl unnoticed. The child's arms wave while his tilted position suggests that he will soon be following his father's already airborne hat.

Nonetheless, the children of the *casta* paintings are not just the innocent bystanders and victims of parental neglect. Plenty of paintings show the child as the unruly participant who acts out against their parent's wishes. Many children are depicted pulling and tugging, jumping up at their parents trying to get attention like many small children often do (Figures 5.17, 5.18, 5.19).

Distraught and unruly children are not the only aspects of dark humor within these paintings. The deranged peasant figure is quite common in both art forms as well. Brouwer's *Fight Over Cards* is an example of this (Figure 5.20). The man with the knife is perhaps a sore loser, or he has uncovered a cheater at the table and seeks revenge. The woman attempts to restrain this violent ruffian. This theme is also a common occurrence in *casta* paintings; the man running rampant with a dagger and his wife trying to stop him is repeated in many series. The repetition may be due to the *casta* painting artists' common modeling on earlier *casta* paintings, or perhaps it is an indication of the popularity of the subject. In some paintings the child joins in the resistance efforts, while at other times the contrary is assumed. For example, in a *casta* painting that Sáiz attributes to José Joaquín Magón we see the daughter seemingly protecting her father from the mother's interference (Figure 5.21).

The peasants' brawl and the overindulged drinker with exaggerated facial expressions are all a specialty of Adriaen Brouwer's oeuvre. In *Fight Over Cards* Brouwer has cast the action into a dynamic triangle of fighting commoners (Figure 5.22). This kind of commotion is echoed in a *casta* painting by an unknown artist *From Lobo and Indian Woman, Zambaigo* (Figure 5.23).

Such disorder in this *casta* painting seems complementary to Brouwer's style. The action filled triangle composition is repeated again with the theme of knocking a person in the head with a blunt object. Brouwer's *Fight Scene* captures the figures just before the fatal blow (Figure 5.24). An unknown *casta* artist captures the same actions in a full length figure dynamic in *De indio y coyota, chamiso;* however, the viewer gets the impression by the man's hunched over position that he has been subjected to at least one hit already (Figure 5.25).

Passed out, passing out, spread out-cold on the ground, and sitting up though unconscious, were favorite subjects for Brouwer. The *casta* painting that best complements this type of element from Brouwer's style is found in Francisco Clapera's series: *De genízaro y mulata, gíbaro* (Figure 5.26). This painting features a half naked, intoxicated man lying unconscious in the middle of an alleyway. The narrative of this *casta* painting seems much in Brouwer's taste, as his wife and child attempt to wake the drunk to transport him to safety.

Although none of these examples exactly mimic one another, the overall mood is similar between the paintings. There proves to be a vast array of subjects and themes for comparison between the two genres. Distraught children, children misbehaving, persons passed out, the lower economic classes fighting by fist, knife, and hair pulling all prove to be popular subjects by their recurrence. *Casta* scholars have used these scenes of disturbances to attest to the unruly behaviors of the *castas.* However, Knuttel states that these instances in Brouwer's work are not always meant to cast a negative perception on the peasant class. He says that Brouwer's work is "in sharp contrast to the conception of the peasant as an object of light mockery and curiosity prevalent among the painters of peasant-life in his day."[218] At other times he does seem to join

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[218] Knuttel, *Adriaen Brouwer,* 65.

his contemporaries and enjoy deliberate mockery for amusement.[219] Sometimes he adds a moralizing element through his sick and the unconscious characters who "suffer the consequences" of their actions.[220]

Mapmaking Precursors

A precursor and sometimes accompaniment to cartography is descriptive civic texts. Historian Catherine Levesque says that the love of descriptive topography and exemplifying local mores comes from the early "descriptive geography of Pausanius,"[221] a Greek geographer who created a multi-volume document describing a number of Greek cities. This tradition was long continued in the Netherlands where long descriptions of people and places were fully explored and recorded.[222] The information that was compiled is similar to that of the *Relaciones geográficas,* the Spanish questionnaires that collected information about the lands of New Spain that *casta* scholar Elena Isabel Estrada de Gerlero writes extensively about in relation to *casta* paintings.

The Dutch recorded similar information much earlier, as it was inspired by Pausanius's writings on the Greek cities. Views were drawn from "local conditions, history, and lore."[223] The figures in these Dutch works sometimes represent characters from local tales. The regional

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[219] Knuttel, *Adriaen Brouwer,* 70.

[220] Knuttel, *Adriaen Brouwer,* 82.

[221] Catherine Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 7.

[222] Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape,* 7.

[223] Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape,* 36.

descriptions included "discussion of location, trade, foodstuffs, literacy, the language, trade, and arts—even the state of housekeeping."[224] Basically these included all of the elements found in *casta* paintings with the exception of miscegenation. An example of early civic descriptions can be found in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum.*

Civitates orbis terrarum: Industry as a Civic Identity

Civitates Orbis Terrarum, or the Cities of the World, was a massive and influential publication undertaken by Georg Braun and his Dutch partner, Franz Hogenberg to describe and illustrate all of the known cities of the world. It was first printed in 1572 and was accompanied with 363 engravings. Due to its wide popularity, it was printed numerous times in the following years, in multiple languages.[225] The earliest editions were translated into Latin, German, and French and this aided in its dissemination throughout Europe.[226] Some scholars believe it to be "a 'sister' publication to the *Orelius atlas,* the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, published in Antwerp."[227] The *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* and its ambitious undertaking grew from a long line of humanist thought engaged in documenting the world and its known civilizations.[228] The

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[224] Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape,* 46.

[225] Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum: Cities of the World: 363 Engravings Revolutionize the View of the World Complete Edition of the Colour Plates of 1572-1617* ed. Stephan Füssel, (Cologne: Taschen, 2008), 8.

[226] Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 8.

[227] Ashley and Miles Baynton-Williams, *New Worlds: Maps from the Age of Discovery* (Burslem, U.K: Smith Davis Publishing, 2006), 33.

[228] Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 8.

publication contained civic descriptions, bird's-eye-views of different towns, and renditions of the local attire and trades.

Historian of Dutch visual identity Catherine Levesque has observed that *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* is a good example of the "emphasis on the social characterization of places."[229] The illustrations begin to move away from the traditional allegorical figures progressing to "more naturalistic and active representations." [230] Some illustrations have the figures placed in the foreground reminiscent of Dutch landscape paintings where the topography took precedence over the figure. A good example of this may be the engraving for the city of Huy (Figure 4.20). The figures in the foreground on the right side can also be reminiscent of family units from *casta* paintings. A good comparison is a piece attributed to José de Ibarra *Indios otomites* where the father figure is engaged in a similar laborious activity (Figures 5.27 and 4.19).

However this more natural representation of figures that Levesque mentions was truly a progression within the publication. Some engravings have a more static representation of the inhabitants that include the *cartes á figures* set within borders of the frame; other images include linear groups that appear to convey a social placement in society with detailed costume descriptions.

Both the text and the illustration placed a focus on describing each local territory with emphasis on its pride for the specific social characteristics. The topography, local dress, food, trades, arts, culture—what made the particular city unique from all others—is what was described by both image and word. All of these elements can also be found in *casta* paintings;

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[229] Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape,* 3.

[230] Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape,* 4.

but these early European civic works are of course void of the concept of racial miscegenation, the phenomenon known for the first time on a large scale in the New World. Some engravings centered on a city's major civic construction such as a palace or a cathedral. For example, in the image for Kempten in Allgäu the cathedral is a predominantly visible element of the cityscape (Figure 5.28). These additions would not only be identifying architectural pieces for the location, but also emblems of pride for the city's inhabitants as well.

This pride in civic engineering and public place can be found in some *casta* paintings too. A *casta* painting by an unknown artist "*De albina y español,* produce negro *torna atrás"* is a good example (Figure 1.4). This unique *casta* painting illustrates a bird's-eye-view of Alameda Park in Mexico City. Katzew comments "the site was often singled out for its splendor by European travelers and creole patriots."[231] A public space of its reputation would be an identifiable emblem of its location and a symbol of pride for the locals. Other *casta* series, including the single-panel paintings by Ignacio María Barreda and Luis de Mena highlight charming *paseos* that would have had similar connotations.[232] In addition to the *paseos*, Barreda also prominently features an aqueduct on the left side of the lower register.

Many times the accompanying text clues us in that civic pride is at the core of all of the elements represented. With the representation of Kempten in Allgäu, for example, the city view was combined with text that describes the area: "Kempten is a very old town […] that was created an imperial city, it is very well protected and fortified and has courageous soldiers, very good knives are also made there and much white and blue linen." This short description

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[231] Katzew, *Casta Paintings,* 180.

[232] Katzew, *Casta Paintings,* 180.

indicates that production was strongly linked to the identity of the city. This may explain why such emphasis was placed on showing the occupations of the inhabitants. This is also a common occurrence in *casta* paintings as well.

Costume illustrations many times accompanied these types of publications that highlighted civic descriptions and engravings of topography scenes. It is also evident in these images that costume and social station were important to the figurative additions of some of these cityscapes. For example *Regional Costumes from Dithmarschen* is void of topography completely and emphasizes the dress from the area of Dithmarschen (Figure 5.29). This can be seen as a precursor to the "people types" represented in *casta* paintings. One of the interesting elements in this layout of the costumed figures is the inclusion of family units among the single persons. In the center register two sets of families consisting of man, woman, and child are depicted (Figure 5.30). It is in these details of the family triad that a close resemblance to *casta* paintings can be found.

The illustration of *Rostock* highlights both a major architectural identifier along with the attire of the city's inhabitants in a lower register containing figures (Figure 5.31). This image is divided into two registers with the top focusing on this royal palace in England and the lower register depicting the uniqueness of its subjects. The text identifies that "the lower illustration shows costumed figures from the English nobility and peasantry (from left to right): English maiden/Merchant's wives/ English noblewomen/ Noble lady-in-waiting/ English peasant woman/ The bass that are sold by the English / Water-carrier."[233] At first glance it seems that the arrangement of persons is a linear social stratification from highest on the left hand side to lowest

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[233] Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 367.

rank on the right, however, a merchant's wife was placed before that of an English noblewoman. This placement discredits a clearly defined and orderly hierarchy. This order is due to the fact that the merchants could process great wealth; nonetheless, the dress of each station warranted illustration for this image.

A similar diverse range of persons is depicted by the illustration for *Nonsuch Palace* (Figure 5.32). The persons in the foreground represent local customs as well and include: "peasants and councilors from Rostock/ burgher/ married woman/ unmarried woman/ maid."[234] The associated text, again as in the text for Kempten in Allgäu, boasts of the city's industries: "export grain, flour and beer…butter, sheep, dried fish, wood, iron and tin…Rostock beer, of which 25,000 barrels are produced each year by 50 brewers, is better than all other Norwegian beers for its quality and taste."[235] The city of Rostock, its industries, and the mores of its inhabitants are therefore clearly identified in addition to the topography of the city. The civic spaces, the wealth produced by the successful industries, and the diversity of the costume of the town's occupants all served as descriptors of the uniqueness that is found at this location.

Is it a coincidence that all of these elements also exist within *casta* paintings? Perhaps the message of the *casta* paintings was to inform the viewer by describing a regional territory and to advertise the area's trade, customs, and monuments as a form of civic pride as was the aim in the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum.* This would not be a form of Creole pride, as Katzew puts forth, but a *mestizo / casta* pride, because the focus of the paintings are the *castas* class.

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[234] Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 402.

[235] Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 402.

Another example from *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* that includes the *cartes á figures* is the quartered piece representing views of York, Shrewsbury, Lancaster, and Richmond Place (Figure 5.33). The couples along the right side depict "the king and queen, English nobles, English burghers, [merchants] and English peasants."[236] This image appears to have a more top down representation of society positioned by economic class, but nonetheless it does not make a derogatory allusion to any group. All groups are equally dignified. Perhaps the images are meant to be purely informational; the creators may have intended to persuade the viewer of the greatness of the British territories, and perhaps did not have an interest in promoting separations of class.

In *casta* paintings, there is the presence of the same universal divide. Take for instance, the single-panel *casta* paintings. Each family triad is contained by the same size compartments.[237] And also in a single-canvas *casta* paintings, such as in Barreda's painting, a well dressed and distinguished looking family can many times be found within the bottom row that mimics the posture and dress of a family unit on the top row—discrediting a hierarchy conveyed by top to bottom placement.

The Irish program in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* is in the similar style as the quartered English version but it reverts back to single person representations rather than using couples (Figure 5.34). "The plate is framed by six figures: Irish noble/ Irish burgher/ Irish peasant; Irish

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[236] Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 442.

[237] The equally divided castas in the single panel casta paintings have two exceptions to the rule: In the painting by Ignacio Maria Barreda and an Unknown painter listed in *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano* on page 68, both provide a larger vignette for the Native Indians.

noblewoman/ Irish burger woman/ Irish peasant woman."[238] The maps in the center separate the couples placed in the borders. The persons here seem to rank top down social order once again. However, the accompanying text description for the city of Cork "CORCKE" reads as follows:

> is not very big and basically consists of only one long, broad street, but nevertheless it is densely populated and prosperous. Such rebellious people live in the surrounding areas that the citizens have no dealings with them and above all may not intermarry with them. This is why there is not one citizen who is not related to the others by blood or by marriage. This has such a good effect on diligence, peace and friendship that the whole city is like one big household.[239]

A contemporary reader will find the praise of intermarrying among blood relatives as the formula for peace and prosperity within a city amusing; most interesting is the strong disconnect between text and image. It is likely that the peasant appears to be represented as equal to the noble, because in this case they are related. Or possibly the positive text is indication that the image was not meant to have a negative connotation.

Multi-figural Compositions

The Dutch and Flemish artists were masters of multi-figural compositions. They produced such arrangements with both commoners and dignitaries alike (Figure 5.35). Identification of each person's role within society was commonly indicated by the use of clothing and other symbolic adornments.

Art historian Wayne Franits illustrates such implicit social identifications in his analysis of *A Court Dance* and *A Peasant Dance* (Figures 5.36). Freanits explains how "dress,

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[238] Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 443.

[239] Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 443.

demeanor, and posture spoke volumes about one's station in life."[240] He says "these prints feature suave, courtly dancers and their polar opposites: caricatured peasants who cavort frenetically, stooping their bodies in the most unbecoming positions."[241]

Posture and stance can be used in *casta* paintings to bear evidence disproving the scholarship that claims the more mixed the person's lineage in the painting, the more disorderly and unkempt the figure. An example that disproves this notion is seen in Barreda's *casta* painting where a Spaniard who appears in an elegant seated position in vignette A is almost repeated by the *albarazado* figure in vignette Ñ (Figure 5.37). (A *chino* and *genizaro* produce an *albarazado* in this painting. This formula is for a person who is already mixed with both African and Indian heritage). According to previous scholarship, this figure should be depicted in a negative light. A *casta* figure this immersed in generations of miscegenation with African lineage should be, according to *casta* experts, hunched over, maybe shown intoxicated, and surely in ragged clothing; this figure is not depicted in any such way. One would assume that if *casta* paintings showed degeneration coupled with miscegenation, the *albarazado* man in Barreda's piece would not hold himself in such similar posture, or be accessorized as the Spaniard.

If the relationship between such a print as the *A Court Dance* and *A Peasant Dance* to the single-panel *casta* painting by Ignacio Maria Barreda seems like a distant one, the elongated works done by an unknown artist offer the best multi-figural comparison between *casta* paintings

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[240] Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century,* 59.

[241] Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century,* 59.

to Dutch artworks (Figure 5.38). This painting also visually echoes to the costume images found in these books of civic descriptions.

The Significance of Dress and Costume Books to *Casta* Paintings

The tradition of costume book illustrations has an embedded link with some of the multi-figural imagery and traditions illustrated in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* as already demonstrated. Not surprisingly the desire to depict localized dress to signify place, and to characterize the use of attire and props to form a system of people typology is also found in *casta* paintings. These styles and techniques may be bridged by the art of cartography.

Art historian Kristen Ina Grimes examines the relationship between the art of cartography and early costume book illustrations. She dates costume books as beginning heavy production during the sixteenth century.[242] Costume books showed a localized form of attire and were many times accompanied with descriptive text containing facts about the region. Similarly many early maps were outfitted with figures in the borders who were dressed in the typical costumes of that region.[243] Both visual elements "employ clothing and geography as devices to organize and analyze the world."[244] Both media served the viewer as an "aid in the visualization of the territories" that the observer may never visit first hand.[245]

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[242] Kristen Ina Grimes, "Dressing the World: Costume Books and Ornamental Cartography in the Age of Exploration," in *A Well-Fashioned Image: Clothing and Costume in European Art, 1500-1850*, ed. Elizabeth Rodini and Elissa B. Weaver (Chicago: The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, 2002), 14.

[243] Ina Grimes, "Dressing the World," 13.

[244] Ina Grimes, "Dressing the World," 13-14.

[245] Ina Grimes, "Dressing the World," 14.

Similar to the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* publication, but with even more detailed descriptions of local dress, costume books were used as a way to tour the world from the comforts of an armchair by providing a city-by-city description of the lands—this included "naming nearby mountains and rivers and detailing how the city is laid out."[246] These books showed a great shared interest in the topographical details of the location and the superficial particulars of its inhabitants.

Grimes further demonstrates that "to some extent the connection between the two genres is chronological: decorative map making reached its heyday in Amsterdam in the seventeenth century and may owe a debt to the costume books of the preceding century. It seems, for example, that some of the figures on the borders of maps, *cartes á figures,* were copied directly from costume books."[247] The "city views and costumed figures are standard components of illustrated seventeenth century Dutch maps, providing a more intimate, colorful view of the territory they represent."[248] The figures from both maps and costume books furthermore relate to the images of *casta* paintings in both form and function by representing location through detailed characteristics of persons.

The Art of Cartography

The Dutch had a sophisticated society that embraced both the practical and a high appreciation for the cultured. The center of mapmaking production was the Netherlands. Dutch

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[246] Ina Grimes, "Dressing the World," 16.

[247] Ina Grimes, "Dressing the World," 17-18.

[248] Ina Grimes, "Dressing the World," 18.

maps dominated the market with the influence of the Flemish cartographers.[249] They had the most current printing systems and were fierce seamen. The Dutch were the most advanced at sea route trade and travel, and this enabled them to perfect their cartography skills.[250] Furthermore, they were also a unique society in that an "unusually large number of people owned works of art" and had a thriving art market that long existed.[251] Both the Dutch art and cartography markets prospered and sometimes contained similar decorative elements that blended the two artistic expressions.[252]

Dutch maps were not only popular but also they were very accessible. Whereas the multi-folio atlases may have been limited only to an elite portion of society because of their great expense and low print run, single-sheet maps were available on more mass scale because of greater quantity and lower cost.[253] As such these works could be easily distributed to the public.

It was common for people who collected pieces of traditional fine art media to also collect maps. Katzew gives the example that this was normal "among royal functionaries," many of whom had maps as well as *casta* paintings in their personal inventories.[254] Susan Deans-

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[249] Valerie Traub, "Mapping the Global Body" in *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England*, ed. Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 49.

[250] Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," 48.

[251] Michael North, *Art and Commerce in the Dutch Golden Age*, trans. Catherine Hill (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 1.

[252] Baynton-Williams, *New Worlds,* 6.

[253] Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," 72.

[254] Katzew, *Casta Painting,* 148.

Smith reinforces these findings by exploring the estate inventories of collectors who owned *casta* paintings and noted that maps were also among their possessions.[255]

Throughout the history of map collecting, patrons often liked to purchase lavishly decorated maps. The more elaborate the maps were, the greater an emblem of status they were for the patron.[256] The ornate nature of maps ironically was a strategy to compensate for the lack of surveying knowledge, and illustrations were many times added to maps at great expense to accuracy. The process of charting territories with up-to-date technologies and equipment was extremely costly, and it could be dangerous for the cartographer.

Because of the great expense and risks involved, many engravers "recycled" imagery from previous maps. Sometimes the engravers obtained permission to copy but many times they did not.[257] Cartography engravers borrowed from those who had explored and charted the lands previously and in doing so were relying on their accuracy. This duplication was not without an element of originality—they added their illustrated embellishments. Artists would at times be quite liberal with these additions and sometimes "at the expense of the cartographic element."[258]

It was with these highly appraised decorative elements that the demand increased for these collectible maps, and cartography became a profitable business as their popularity grew. Copying previous maps became more attractive to engravers as the business became more

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[255] Smith, Susan Deans-Smith, "Creating the Colonial Subject: Casta Paintings, Collectors, and Critics in Eighteenth-Century Mexico and Spain," *Colonial Latin American Review* 14, no. 2, (2005): 185-186.

[256] Baynton-Williams, *New Worlds, 6.*

[257] Baynton-Williams, *New Worlds, 6.*

[258] Baynton-Williams, *New Worlds, 6.*

lucrative. With the growing market of consumers a competition of sorts between cartographers arose to make maps that were "not only more accurate and up-to-date, but more elaborate and more aesthetically appealing."[259]

Some decorative elements became quite standard to the industry. For example, commonly included in map embellishments are the faces of the four winds blowing toward the globe.[260] Another typical insertion was illustrations of the mysterious sea creatures and monsters. These were placed in the deep-sea regions of the much less traveled territories. Early map making is notorious for the inclusion of horrifying sea creatures because so much was still literally unchartered waters; the fear of the unknown was visually rampant. A *casta* series by an unknown artist is a good example of such decorative elements transferred from cartography to *casta* paintings (Figure 5.39). This ostentatiously rococo *casta* painting boasts mystical sea creatures quite similar to ones found in examples from popular maps.

Although some of the inspiration for map illustrations grew out of the desire to cover up the uncertain or the pirated aspects of the map, another reason for the embellishments came from the desire to inform. These decorations contain "exquisite miniature town plans and views, to enhance the geographical representation."[261] Perhaps some engravers included persons with a strong emphasis on regional dress and props in attempts to prove that the cartographer had first hand knowledge of the region and was not just copying another cartographer.

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[259] Baynton-Williams, *New Worlds, 53.*

[260] Baynton-Williams, *New Worlds, 7.*

[261] Baynton-Williams, *New Worlds, 7.*

The popular decorative borders of persons accompanying the maps were a Dutch contribution to mapmaking.[262] This style of placing figures in the map's margins is called *cartes á figures*.[263] Scholar, Valerie Traub, describes the popular formula of *cartes á figures* as depicting "pairs of men and women, often captured in static poses that emphasize both their domesticity and representativeness."[264] Traub believes that the first printing of *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* in 1572 was the inspiration of the *cartes á figures*.[265]

Map decorations along with the *cartes á figures* became quite complex. An example of just how elaborate these maps had become is Pieter van den Keere's map of the world made in 1611 (Figure 5.40). This map shows topographical scenes, as well as *cartes á figures*, and interior cartouches within the mapped territory itself. This map would be a good example of the embellishments and figures taking precedent over accuracy and the coordinates.

Kristen Ina Grimes further links costume book images to cartography found in the *cartes á figures* with a map by a Dutch cartographer Jan Jansson, *Nova totius terrarum orbis geographica ac hydrographica tabula* (Figure 5.41). Each top border vignette holds a depiction of a different county's dignitary.[266] Like the allegory of the continents, a single person is held to represent an entire region, here each country. The bottom border of vignettes possess sets of couples that also represent each country, many of whom are holding props such as musical instruments and tools, and are adorned with dress representing the typical dress of their

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[262] Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," 46.

[263] Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," 50.

[264] Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," 50.

[265] Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," 75.

[266] Kristen Ina Grimes, "Dressing the World," 19.

countries. On the right and left sides of the map the decorative vignette borders contain aerial views of specific cities. This map displays both dress and geography and visually bridges *casta* paintings. The emphasis on clothing type and skin color along with the fact that these couples were meant to represent a culture group from a specific region links the genres.[267]

Traub states that the use of the couple was a chronological progression; initially regions were represented as single individuals but as time progressed it became more commonplace to use a pair.[268] Another example is the map of the world by Jodocus Hondius after Willem Blaeu done in 1624 (Figure 5.42). Traub states that representing the male and female pairs is a link to the story of renewal after the flood where paired animals of each species traveled abroad Noah's ark.[269] Traub feels that once the decorative figures move from the map's peripherals and are superimposed over geographic territory they represent a new importance and meaning.[270] Traub posits that since cartographers began to master the technologies and created new scientific tools to perfect their exploration of unknown territories in both land and sea, perhaps this represents that the "bodies themselves may be terrain to be charted."[271] However, could this detailed charting be a more intricate and complex notion of culture and civilization? Perhaps this is an inspiration of Humanism but the embellishments of cartography seem to chart culture rather than superficial bodies. Interestingly Traub states

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[267] Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," 49.

[268] Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," 70.

[269] Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," 83.

[270] Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," 49.

[271] Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," 46.

> for the strategies of space of cartography did not focus only on the body of the other; no matter their status, gender, or race, *every* individual was submitted to the logic of the grid. No simple dichotomy—religious/irreligious, civil/uncivil, black/white, self/other—provides a master key for unlocking the grid's terms of intelligibility.[272]

Traub's statement that "*every* individual was submitted to the logic of the grid," also holds true for *casta* paintings. The Spaniard, the Native, and the African, and all variations in between are compartmentalized in a grid format. This grid design appears to emit an aura of equalizing, an element that alludes to unification. When analyzing single-panel paintings in particular this analogous aspect is apparent. Not only are all *castas* put into the same grid, but also the grid is typically of equal parts. In Barreda's painting, the artist does not give the Spanish couple a physically larger vignette, nor is the "lowest" ranking *casta* figure placed at the bottom of the canvas.

In Traub's interpretation the figures are objectified in the framework of their static poses when placed within the margins. She believes that when the figures are shown in a "lived context—fishing, cooking, eating, praying—[they] incur less of a systematizing effect than those that extricate the body from a detailed landscape and submit it to an anterior and posterior gaze."[273] Traub explains that the figures in their static poses with unidentified backgrounds seem more in line with representing a people type or ethnographic sample.[274] Whereas, placing the figure in occupations, and domestic situations humanizes the figures.

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[272] Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," 85.

[273] Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," 61.

[274] Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," 63-64.

This humanizing act that Traub explains as rendering the figures in a state of action becomes a progression in both maps and *casta* paintings. The figures begin to appear in more specific scenes in gestures of different activities and occupations—with merchants being highly popular.[275] Perhaps reference to specific occupations in the *casta* paintings is less indebted to the Bourbon reform policies created to control the colonies as scholars have put forth, but rather depicting the figures in daily activities and occupations to humanize them and boast of localized pride in industry similar to traditions in cartography.

Claes Jansz: Civic and Inhabitant Identities in Full Tuition

In bringing this chapter to a close it seems most appropriate to mention a Dutch artist, Claes Jansz. His elaborately designed maps merge all of the elements discussed above: the symbolic storytelling from the genre paintings, pride in the local culture and topography found in landscape art works, the descriptive qualities found in publications such as *Civitates Orbis Terrarum,* and regional and cultural emphases included in costume books. His works represent the fusion of elements discussed in this analysis of the relationship between Dutch visual traditions and *casta* paintings of New Spain. Two works that best exemplify this blending of these traditions are: *Land Caerte ende Water Caerte van Noordt Hollandt ende West Vrieslandt met de aenliggende lande* 1608, and *Claes Jansz commitatus Hollandiae* 1610 (Figures 5.43 & 5.44).

Within Claes Jansz *Land Caerte ende Water Caerte van Noordt Hollandt ende West Vrieslandt met de aenliggende lande* 1608, the link to the previous descriptive writings is

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[275] Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," 74.

evident. Embellished with "scenes from daily life and labor into a praise of Holland,"[276] the illustrations depict the land as it was "transformed by the increased economic activity."[277] And some of the text describes the economic activity as well.[278]

Commitatus Hollandiae of 1610 combines a number of the visual elements from the past. Some of the most important cities are highlighted in separate framed vignettes, and the lower register is designed to be "scenes from daily life, history, and legend."[279] The occupations and the "productivity of the land and the industry of its inhabitants" are once again stressed.[280] On the top register, "representative members of society stand in clusters: burghers, farmers of North Holland, farmers and fisherfolk of South Holland, and nobles, together with scenes representing respectively the abundance of the sea and land."[281] The multiple images of the piece together overall convey to the viewer that Amsterdam and the other cities depicted are of "complex, cultural, economic, and political position."[282] It seems within the cartography of Claes Jansz centuries of artistic trends merge and perhaps shed light onto the *casta* paintings in New Spain.

Conclusion

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[276] Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape, 38.*

[277] Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape, 38.*

[278] Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape, 39.*

[279] Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape, 39.*

[280] Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape, 39.*

[281] Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape, 39.*

[282] Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape, 39.*

These connections to the art forms produced by Dutch artists throughout the centuries run parallel to Katzew's claim that *casta* paintings emerged from *Criollismo*.[283] The landscapes, costume images, and maps boast of the healthy prosperity of the lands and emphasize the inhabitant's pride in their location. What the Dutch paintings highlight that scholars have ignored in *casta* paintings is the community aspect of expressing pride in the local. Since the Dutch works are void of the labels of miscegenation, it is easier to note that a diverse range of persons is depicted, but none is given prominence over the others. The range of people illustrated bridges all economic class brackets, and many images communicate morale and social harmony. Prominence is put on the wealth and trades of a location to highlight peace and prosperity. Emphasis is added to the differences in order to highlight what is unique about the regions. If the texts were removed from *casta* paintings would the genre's temperament be understood differently? I contend that indeed it would.

[283] Katzew, *Casta Painting,* 2.

CONCLUSION

The variety of arrangements contained in the single-panel *casta* paintings—the format within the large corpus of *casta* paintings that is the most stable for analysis—may attest to the genre not having any set system, or single message to convey. It is clear that the artists of *casta* paintings were not following an established format as illustrated by the diversity of compositions and the inconsistency of the placement, numbering systems, and nomenclature of the narratives, as well as the varied iconography presented.

Casta paintings appear to be peppered with all that the scholars have put forth: characteristics of the Enlightenment era, links to the allegorical figures of the continents, plebian merriment from Dutch genre paintings, direct correlations to the *cartes à figures* and other embellished elements of cartography, pride in the local, a sense of identity formation and the development of people types; however, they do not visually purvey a social hierarchy with Spanish superiority.

A large percentage of the paintings show loving and tender unions. Many of the family units are presented in affectionate scenes, embracing one another, gazing lovingly at each other, holding hands, with parents taking delight in their children. The children represent the unification of these mixed marriages, and most of the images in these paintings display a strong family bond. The disgrace of these children or visual warnings against these unions is not present.

As the formal analysis of the Ignacio María Barreda single-panel painting demonstrates, a person's *calidad* is emphasized by each figure in the *casta* paintings. These elements are not based solely on ancestry and phenotype, but on temperament, economic status, activities and

trades, outward appearances such as dress and accoutrements, and family interactions are all included.

The alternative readings of *casta* paintings, as exemplified by Barreda's canvas, could include the illustration of: proper Hispanicization, which would emphasize Christianization of the colony, aspects of a fluid society that enabled social mobility, and improving one's *calidad* through marriage, occupation, and outer appearance. Occasionally *casta* paintings depict the opposite: the consequent impediment to such upward mobility of intoxication and slothfulness as a moralistic warning and the aspect of humor—a thematic element we may see, along with people types and vender stalls being continued far into the twentieth century.

The text label at times can aid in better understanding of the painting (such as the provenance panel on the lower register of Barreda's piece), but the miscegenation labels appear to have diffused research. The terminology presented in *casta* paintings is inconsistent, not utilized in daily accord or legal documents, contains numerous connotations and convoluted linguistic histories, and scholars agree that many terms appear to be localisms.

Text, after all, was a common element in artworks of the era, and coupled with enlightenment thought, "the cat became felis cato,[and] the rose was now lippia callicarpaefolia"; these ideas transformed the diversity of persons from the society of New Spain into a genre of art with unique labels of their own.[284] However, this lexicon was disconnected from the visual elements in many ways. Saiz's revelations regarding José Joaquín Magón's series declare the negative descriptions to be additive notes not contrived by the artist's hand. Her findings point

[284] Moreno de los Arcos, *The Enlightenment in Mexico*, 16.

to just how unreliable the text is for revealing the artist's intent. [285] The Magón series is a reminder that the formal qualities should be explored first and foremost, when looking to understand the message the artist was aiming to convey.

The painting that this thesis began with, *Rendition of a Mulatta* by Arellano (Figure 1.1), attributed as the earliest known *casta* painting, is a stunning portrait to explore. This piece contains a female figure that dominates a bare backdrop, who gazes outward over her right shoulder with poise. (Perhaps her sight is fixed on the man and child within the lost accompanying canvas). Arellano clearly held a high degree of technical skill as exemplified by the textural details found in her costume, jewelry, flesh, and skin tones. This angelic figure occupies three-fourths of the surface; her left hand bends towards her back and is lost to visibility by flowing fabric; she looks frozen in a courtly dance. Among her embellishments is a ribbon of golden trimmings that drapes, folds, and entwines her figure. Her eyelet head-garment delicately gathers her tight curls crowning her head, which echo her ruffles and carry the same sheen as the pearls. The artist has rendered her in the same high-esteem or *estado* (state) as one can find in a formal portrait of a *Doña*. With close inspection of this, and many paintings of the genre, a tenderness is uncovered; the warmth of some images that cannot be diluted, just as the element of humor is strongly evident in others. The study of the nomenclature found within *casta* paintings has not attended to either of these sentiments. When superfluous emphasis is placed on the text labels, the artist's contributions become veiled.

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[285] Sáiz, María Concepción García. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano.* Mexico: Oliveti, 1989, 102.

Since these artists had Native and African heritage themselves, it seems logical that they would not wish to promote demotion of persons with such lineage. Within the confines of the dominant scholarship up to the present, the artworks are deprived of their aesthetic attributes and left without the opportunity for exploration into the artistic contributions made. With all of the elements seemingly strung from art historical traditions of the past, the paintings are unique in presentation and concept. The emphasis placed on pride in the local separates the works immensely from European influences by displaying customs, costumes, foodstuffs, and activities within a fusion of this diverse, major metropolitan that was New Spain. *Casta* paintings fascinate because they provide a glimpse into the making of a new populace on the verge of fighting for a new nation. There is much further research to be done on *casta* paintings.

Figure 1.1. Manuel Arellano, *Rendition of a Mulatta*, 1711. Oil on Canvas, 101.6 x 74.3 cm. Collection of Jan and Frederick Mayer, Denver. ARTstor, http://www.artstor.org (accessed April 11, 2012)

Figure 1.2. Attributed to Juan Rodríguez Juárez, *De español y de india, produce mestizo* (Spaniard and Indian Produce a Mestizo), ca. 1715, Oil on Canvas, 104.1 x147 cm. Private Collection. In Ilona Katzew, *Casta Paintings: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), plate 77.

Figure 1.3. Ramón Torres, *De mestiza y español, sale castiza* (Mestiza and Spaniard Makes Castiza), ca. 1770-80, Oil on Copper, 32 x 42.5 cm. Private Collection. In Ilona Katzew, *Casta Paintings: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), plate 149.

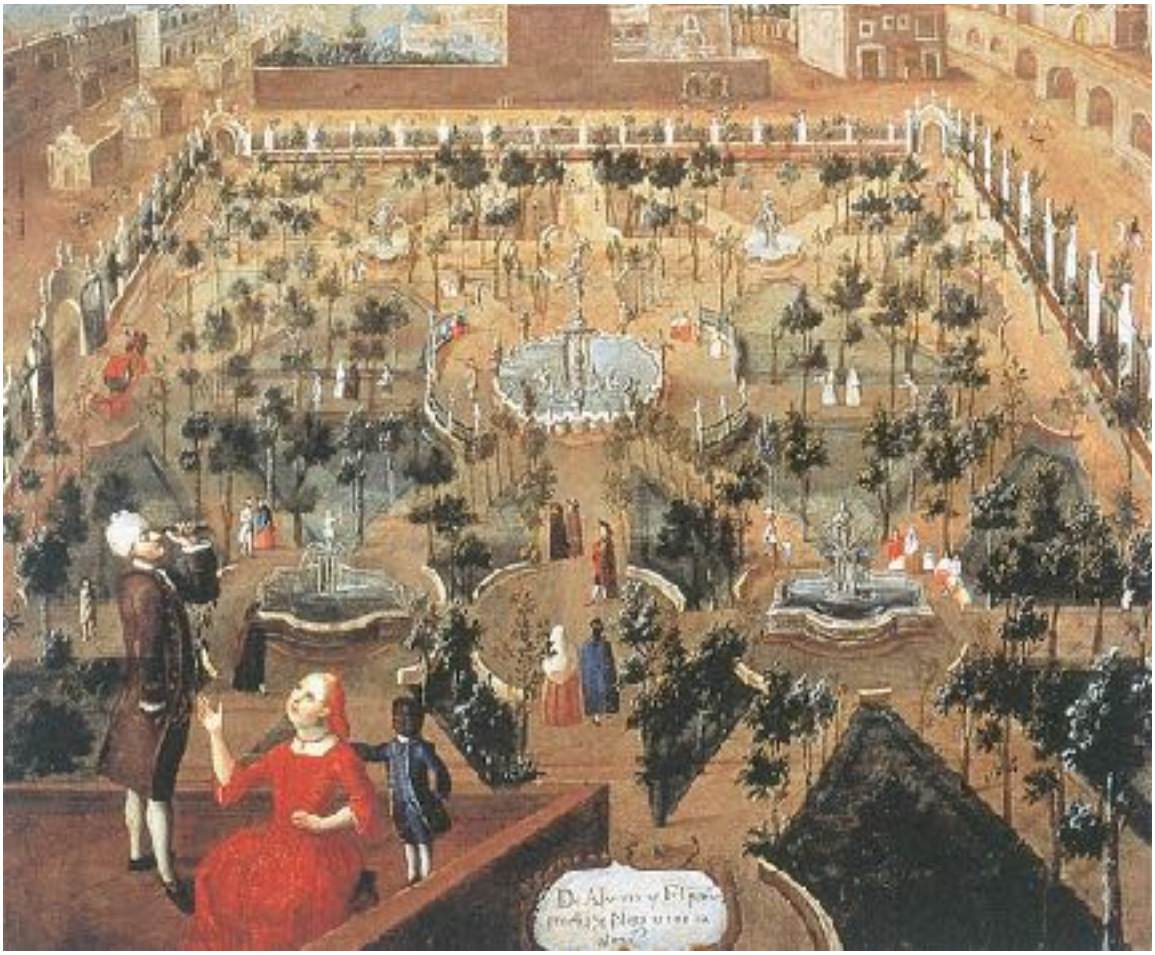


Figure 1.4. Unknown artist, *De albina y español, produce negro torna atrás (Albina and Spaniard Produce a Black Return-Backwards)*, ca. 1770-80, Oil on Copper, 46 x 55 cm. Banco Nacional de México, Mexico City. ARTstor, http://www.artstor.org (accessed April 11, 2012).

Figure 1.5. Miguel Cabrera, *De negro, y de india; china cambuja*, 1763, Oil on Canvas, 132x 101 cm. Museo de América, Madrid, Spain. In María Concepción García Sáiz, *Las Castas Mexicanas: Un Género Pictórico Americano, (*Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate g.

Figure 2.1. Petrus Plancius: *Orbis Terrarum Typus De Integro Multis In Locis Emendatus auctore Petro Plancio* 1594. http://www.raremaps.com/gallery/archivedetail/5635/Orbis_Terrarum_Typus_De_Integro_Multis_In_Locis_Emendatus_auctore_Petro/Plancius.html (accessed April 29, 2012).

Figure 3.1. Unknown artist, El mundo al revés, 44 x 32 cm. San Antonio Museum of Art. In Mervyn Samuel, *El alma del pueblo: el arte popular de España y las Américas,* (San Antonio, Texas: San Antonio Museum of Art 1997).

Figure 3.2. Unknown Artist, *Indumentaria de las monjas novohispanas*, eighteenth century, oil on canvas, Nacional del Virreinato, Conacultainah, Tepozotlán, Mexico. In Marion Oettinger Jr., *Retratos: 2,000 Years of Latin American Portraits* (Seattle: Marquand Books, Inc, 2005), figure 2.

Figure 3.3. Unknown artist, Untitled *Casta* Painting, c.1750, Oil on Canvas, 175x 115 cm. Private collection, Mexico. In María Concepción García Sáiz, *Las Castas Mexicanas: Un Género Pictórico Americano, (*Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate IV.

Figure 3.4. Detail of Unknown artist, Untitled *Casta* Painting, c.1750, Oil on Canvas, 175x 115 cm. Private collection, Mexico. In María Concepción García Sáiz, *Las Castas Mexicanas: Un Género Pictórico Americano, (*Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate IV.

Compartment B: “De Español y Mestiso, Castizo”

Figure 3.5. Unknown Artist, Untitled, c.1750, Oil on Canvas, 81x 109 cm. Private collection, Mexico. In María Concepción García Sáiz, *Las Castas Mexicanas: Un Género Pictórico Americano, (*Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate II.

Figure 3.6. Unknown Artist, Untitled, c.1725, Oil on Canvas. Private collection, Breamore House, London, England. In María Concepción García Sáiz, *Las Castas Mexicanas: Un Género Pictórico Americano, (*Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate I.

Figure 4.1. Ignacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, *Estas Castas de Nueba Espanã,* 1777. Oil on Canvas, Real Academia Española de la engua, Madrid España. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las Castas Mexicanas: Un Género Pictórico Americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XVIII.

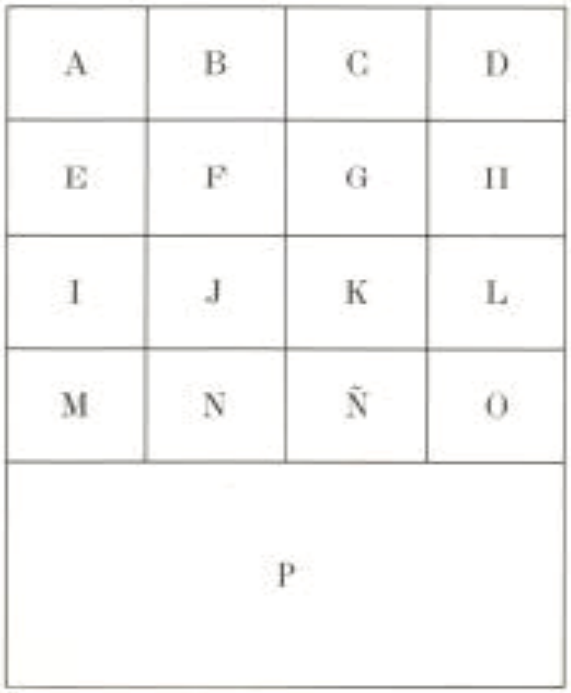


Figure 4.2. Diagram of Ignacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, *Estas Castas de Nueba Espanã,* 1777. Oil on Canvas, Real Academia Española de la engua, Madrid España. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XVIII.

Figure 4.3. Unknown Artist, Untitled *Casta* Painting, c.1750. Artstor, Http://www.artstor.org (accessed April 1, 2012).

Figure 4.4. Detail of Ignacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, Estas castas de nueba espanã, 1777. Oil on Canvas, Real Academia Española de la Lengua, Madrid España. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XVIII.

Compartment A: *"De español, y indio , mestizo o cholo"*

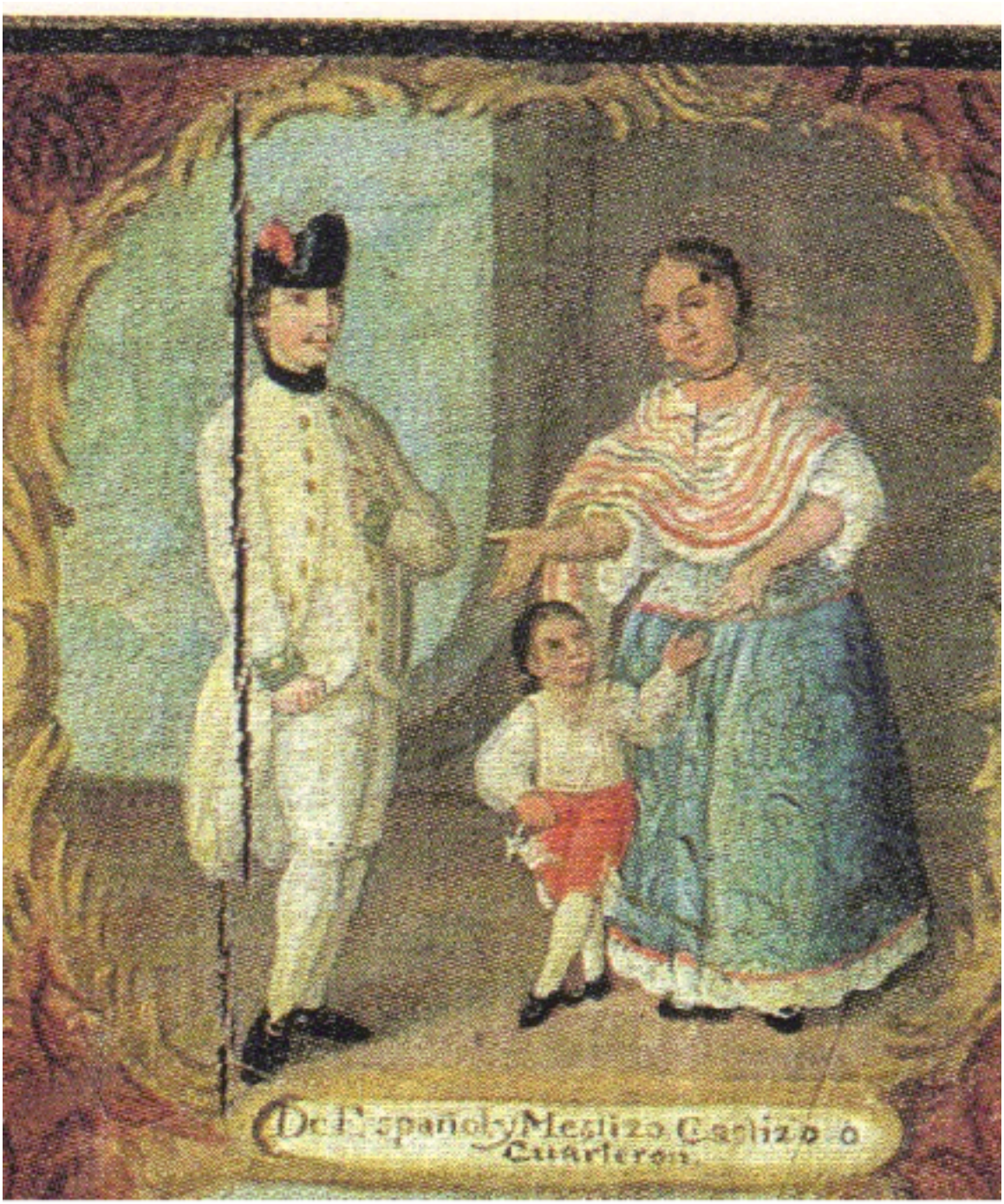


Figure 4.5. Detail of Ignacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, Estas castas de nueba espanã, 1777. Oil on Canvas, Real Academia Española de la Lengua, Madrid, España. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XVIII.

Compartment B: *"De español y mestiza, castizo o cuarteron"*

Figure 4.6. Detail of Ignacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, Estas castas de nueba espanã, 1777. Oil on Canvas, Real Academia Española de la Lengua, Madrid, España. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XVIII.

Compartment C: *"castizo, española, español criollo"*

Figure 4.7. Detail of Ignacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, Estas castas de nueba espanã, 1777. Oil on Canvas, Real Academia Española de la Lengua, Madrid, España. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XVIII.

Compartment D: *"De negro y española, mulato"*

Figure 4.8. Andrés de Islas. *N. 7 De español, y alvina, nace; torna-atrás,* 1774, Oil on Canvas, 75 x 54 cm. Museo de América, Madrid. In Magali M. Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), plate 3.33.

Figure 4.9 Detail of Ignacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, Estas castas de nueba espanã, 1777. Oil on Canvas, Real Academia Española de la Lengua, Madrid, España. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XVIII.

Compartment E: *"De mulato y española, morisco"*

Figure 4.10. Attributed to Ignacio de Castro, *De barcino y mulata, coyote,* ca. eighteenth century, Museo Nacional, México, In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate k.

Figure 4.11. Detail of Ignacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, Estas castas de nueba espanã, 1777. Oil on Canvas, Real Academia Española de la Lengua, Madrid, España. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las astas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XVIII.

Compartment F: *"De morisco y española, albina"*

Figure 4.12. Detail of Ignacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, Estas castas de nueba espanã, 1777. Oil on Canvas, Real Academia Española de la Lengua, Madrid, España. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XVIII.

Compartment G: *"De española y albina, tornatras negro"*

Figure 4.13. Detail of Ignacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, Estas castas de nueba espanã, 1777. Oil on Canvas, Real Academia Española de la Lengua, Madrid, España. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XVIII.

Compartment H: *"De tornatras y india, lobo o zambo"*

Figure 4.14. Ignacio María Barreda, *La sagrada familia,* 1734. Oil on Canvas, 23 x 20 in. In *Sotheby's Latin American Art* Action (New York on May 26, 2001) Session Two, Lot 71.

Figure 4.15. Detail of Ignacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, Estas castas de nueba espanã, 1777. Oil on Canvas, Real Academia Española de la Lengua, Madrid, España. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XVIII.

Compartment I: *"De india y lobo, chino"*

Figure 4.16. Detail of Ignacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, Estas castas de nueba espanã, 1777. Oil on Canvas, Real Academia Española de la Lengua, Madrid, España. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XVIII.

Compartment J: *"De chino y india, zambaiga"*

Figure 4.17. Ignacio María Barreda, *Retrato de Maria Ysabel Antonia Galves y Estrada,* 1792. 53 x40.6 cm. In *Christie's East, The Latin American Sale,* (New York: Tuesday 23 November 1999) Lot 33.

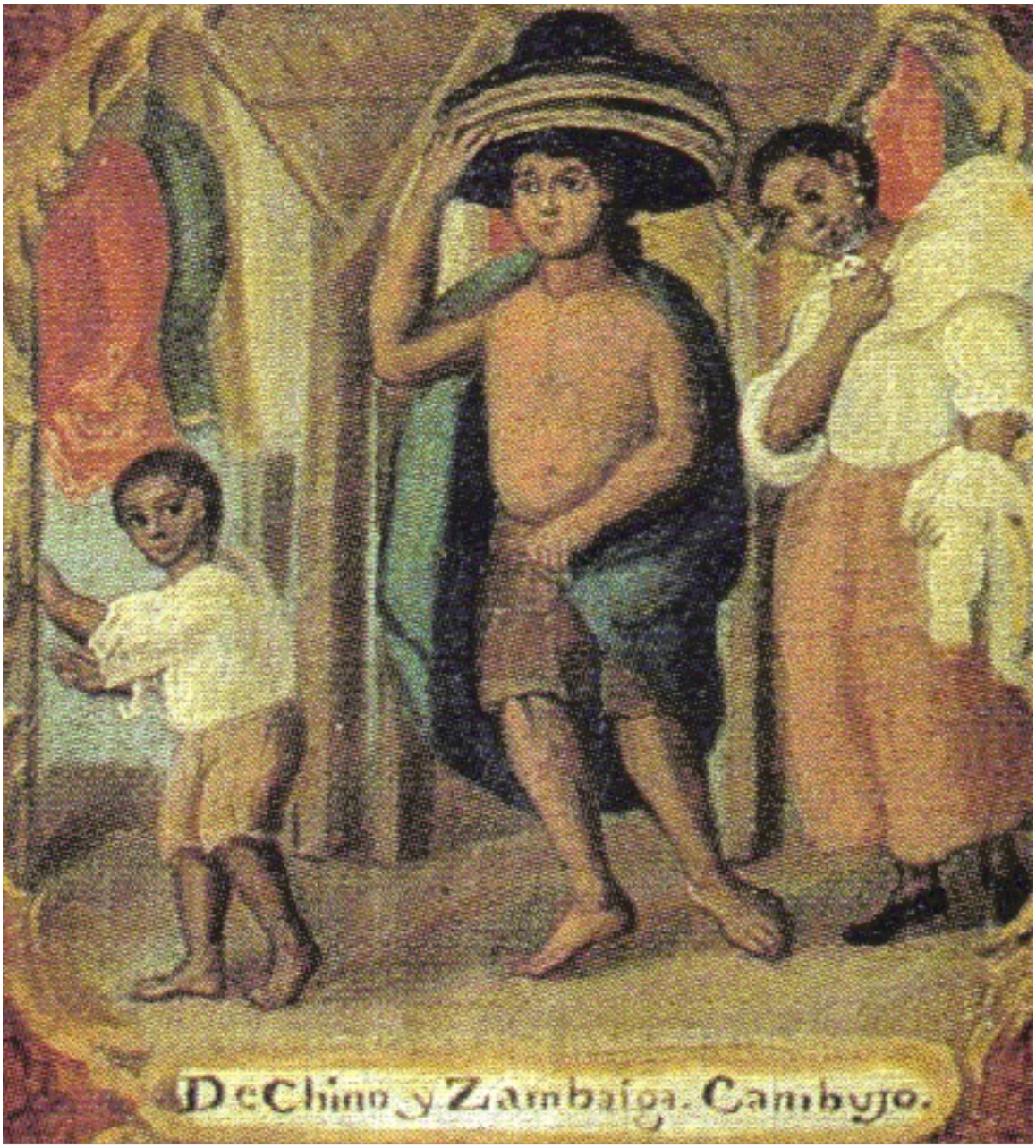


Figure 4.18. Detail of Ignacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, Estas castas de nueba espanã, 1777. Oil on Canvas, Real Academia Española de la Lengua, Madrid, España. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XVIII.

Compartment K: *"De chino y zambaiga, cambujo"*

Figure 4.19. Detail of Ignacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, Estas castas de nueba espanã, 1777. Oil on Canvas, Real Academia Española de la Lengua, Madrid, España. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XVIII.

Compartment L: *"De chino y cambuja, genízara"*

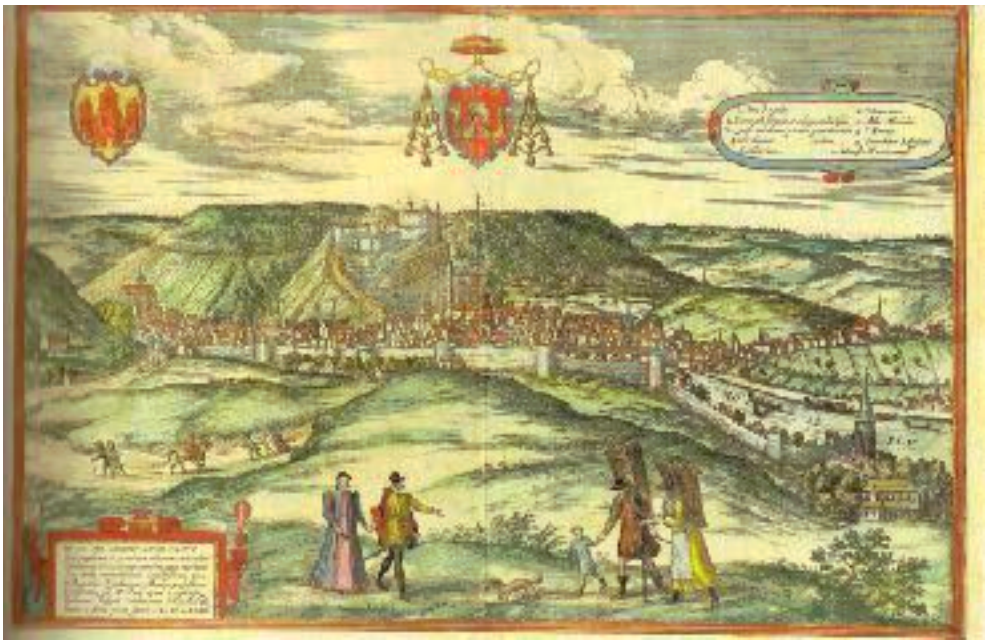
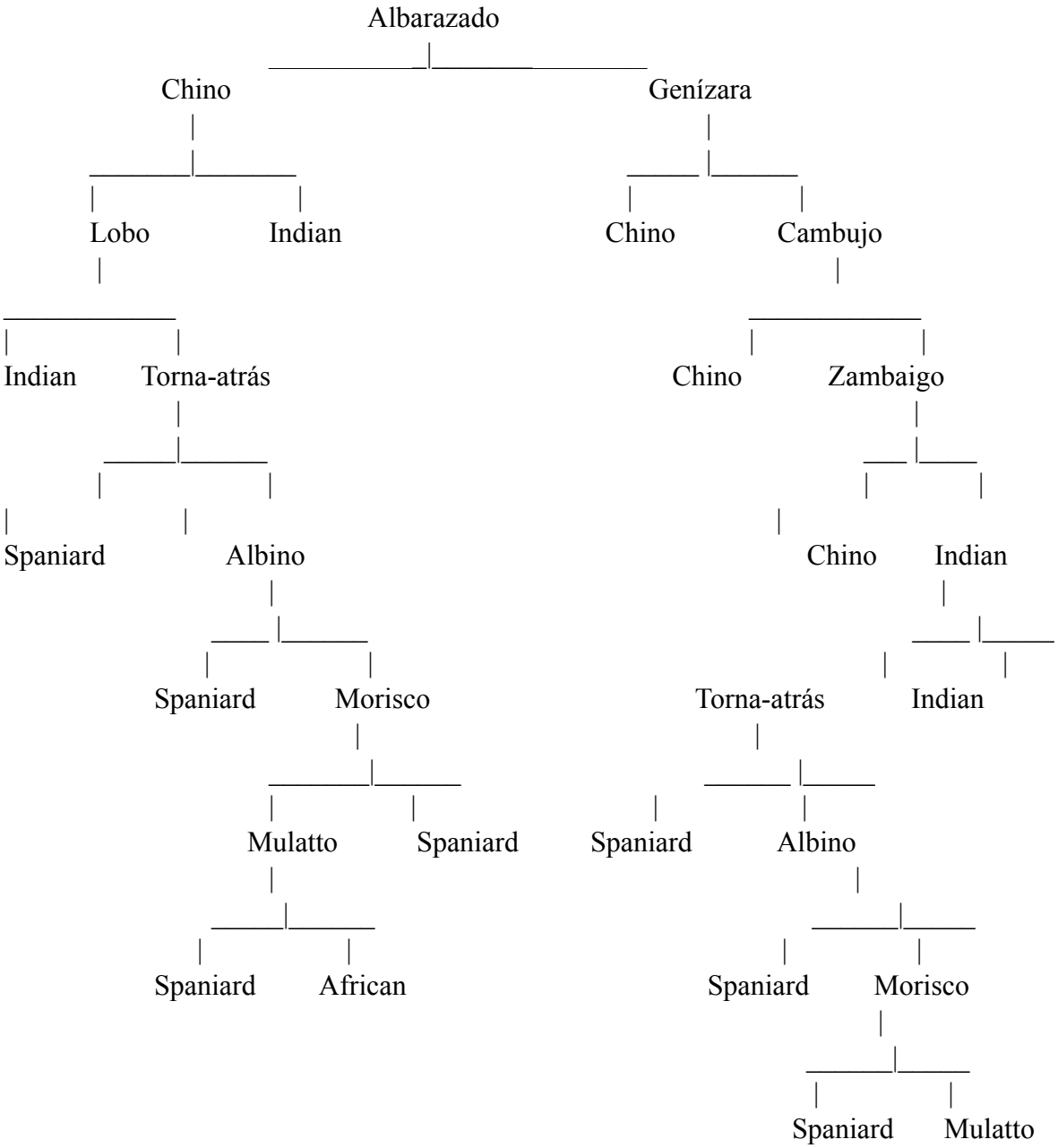


Figure 4.20. R. D. Remaclus of Limbourg, *Huy,* Engraving. In Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum: Cities of the World: 363 Engravings Revolutionize the View of the World Complete Edition of the Colour Plates of 1572-1617*, ed. Stephan Füssel, (Cologne: Taschen, 2008), 147.

Figure 4.21. Detail of Ignacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, Estas castas de nueba espanã, 1777. Oil on Canvas, Real Academia Española de la Lengua, Madrid, España. In María Concepción García

Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XVIII.

Compartment M: *"De Chino y Genízara, Albarazado"*



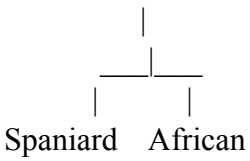


Figure 4.22. Compartment M: *"De Chino y Genízara, Albarazado"*

Figure 4.23. Detail of Ignacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, Estas castas de nueba espanã, 1777. Oil on Canvas, Real Academia Española de la Lengua, Madrid, España. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XVIII.

Compartment N: *"De albarazado y negra, calpamula"*

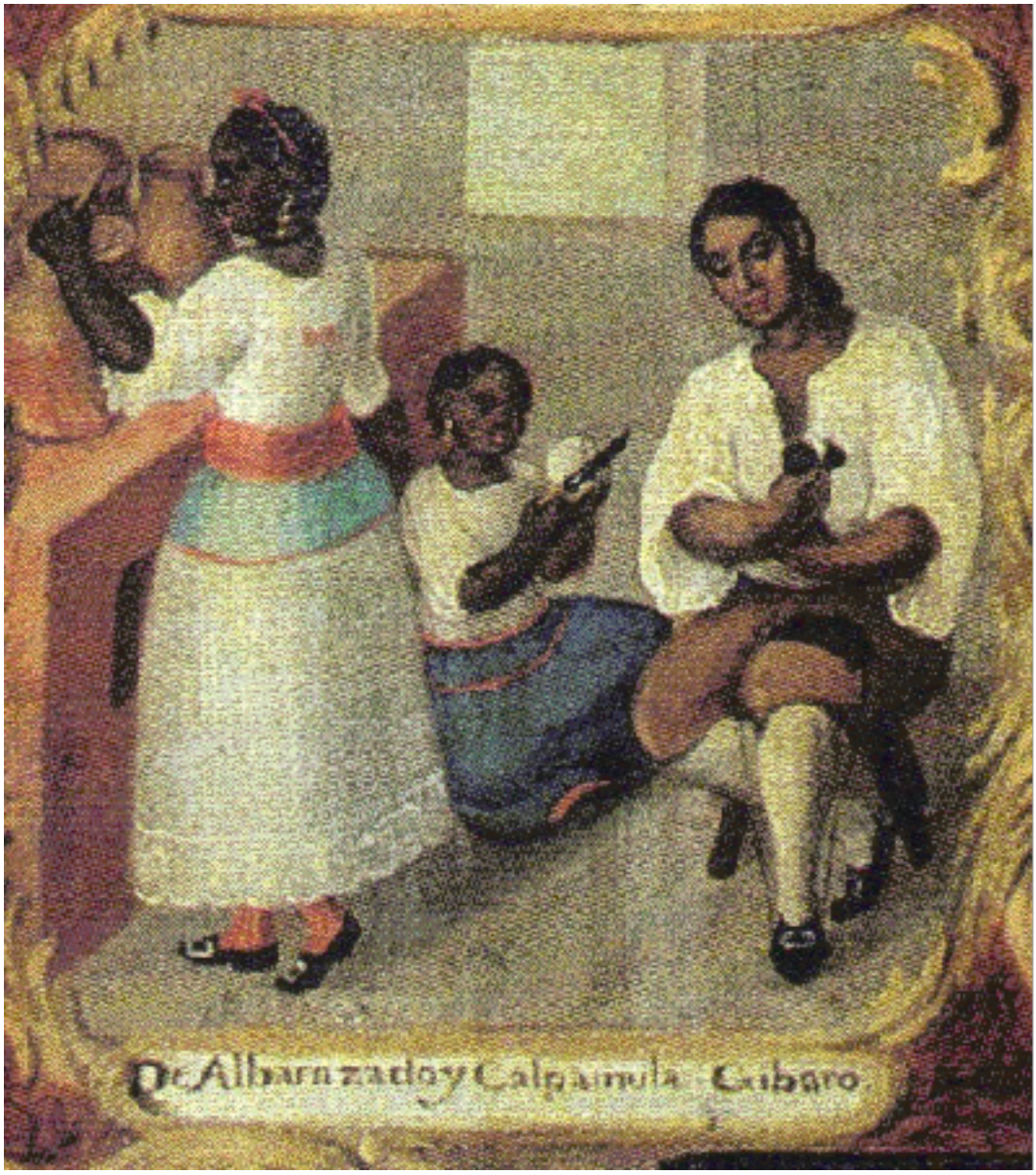


Figure 4.24. Detail of Ignacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, Estas castas de nueba espanã, 1777. Oil on Canvas, Real Academia Española de la Lengua, Madrid, España. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XVIII.

Compartment Ñ: *"De albarazadoy, calpamula, gíbaro"*

Figure 4.25. Ignacio María Barreda, *Portrait of Doña Juana María Romero,* 1794. Museum of Chapultepec, Mexico City. In Walter Pach, "Unknown Aspects of Mexican Painting", *Gazette des beaux-arts,* 1943. plate 4.

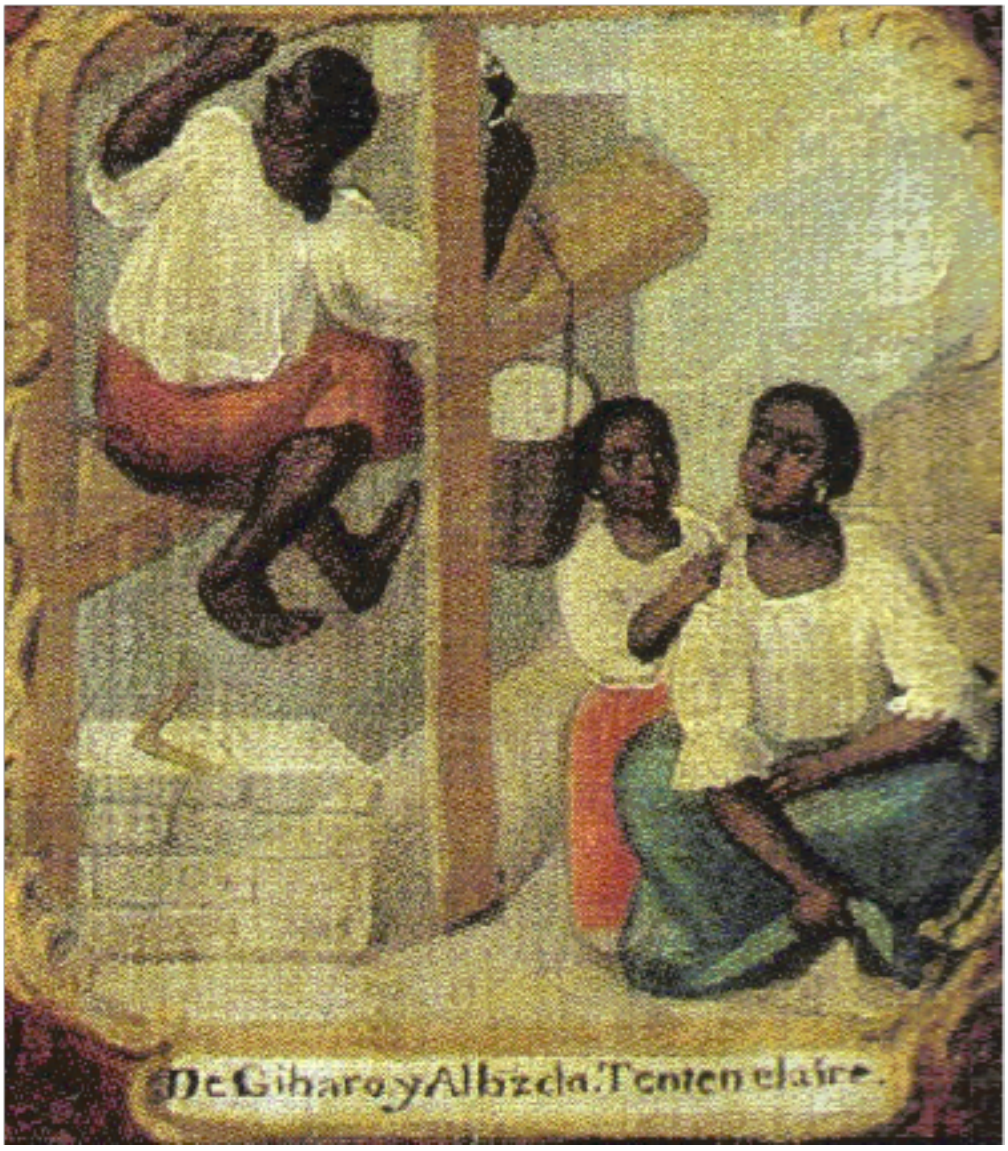


Figure 4.26. Detail of Ignacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, Estas castas de nueba espanã, 1777. Oil on Canvas, Real Academia Española de la Lengua, Madrid, España. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XVIII.

Compartment O: *"De gíbaro y albarazada, tente en el aire"*

Figure 4.27. Detail of Ignacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, Estas castas de nueba espanã, 1777. Oil on Canvas, Real Academia Española de la Lengua, Madrid, España. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XVIII.

Compartment P: *"Mecos y mecas, cuias castas, aunque muchas, todas son semejantes"*

Figure 4.28. Luis de Mena, Untitled Casta Painting, c.1750 oil on canvas, 120 x104 cm. Museo de América, Madrid, Spain. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate III.

Figure 5.1. Miguel Cabrera, *From Albarazado and Mestiza, Barcino/De albarasado y mestisa, barcino*, 1763, Oil on Canvas, 135.5 x 103.5cm, Museo de America, Ciudad Universitaria, Madrid. ARTstor, http:www.artstor.org (accessed April 9, 2012.)

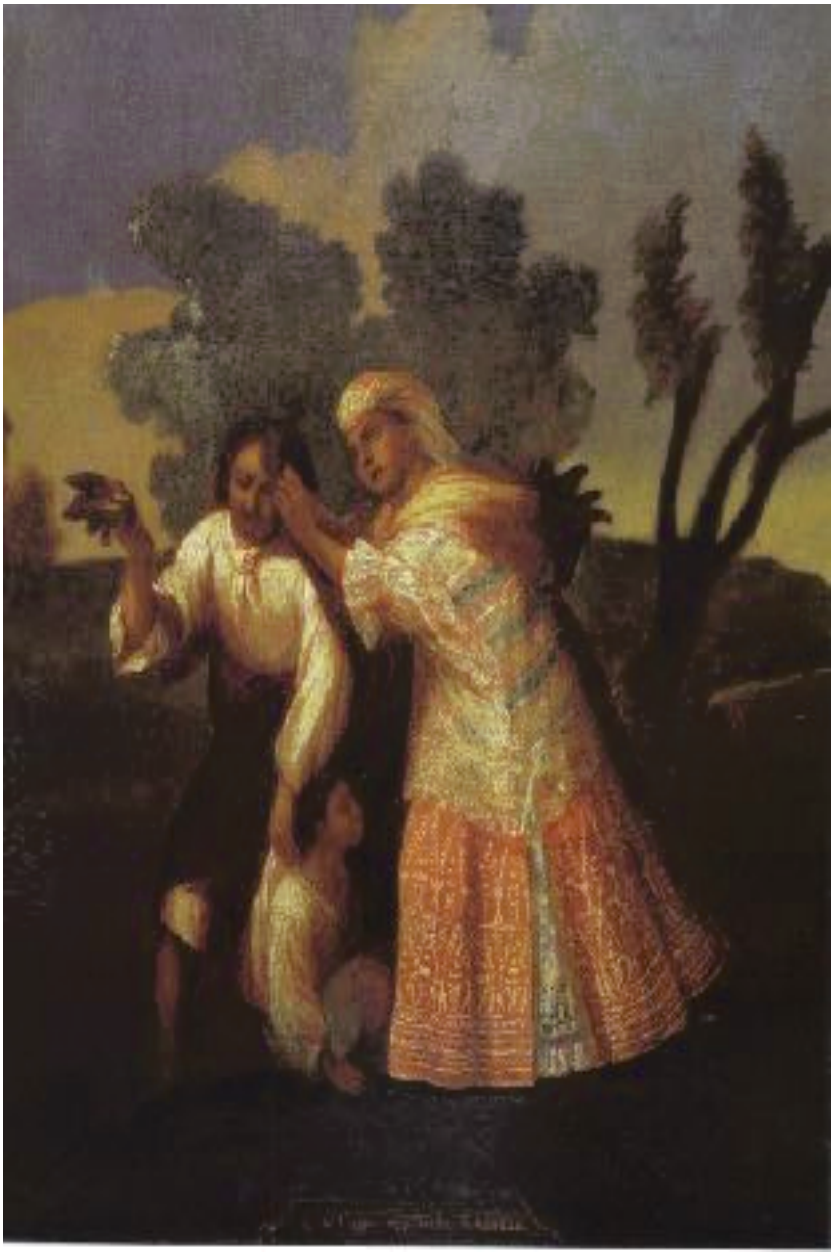


Figure 5.2. Juan Patricio Morlete Ruiz, *De coyote e india, chamizo (From Coyote and Indian, Chamizo),* 1761, oil on canvas, 80 x 101 cm. Private Collection. In Ilona Katzew, *Casta Paintings: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), plate 109.

Figure 5.3. Jean Baptist de Wael, *Woman Grooming Her Child,* seventeenth century woodcut, 85 x 130 mm, Private collection. In Ilona Katzew, *Casta Paintings: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), plate 105.

Figure 5.4. Unknown artist, *De albina y español, nace torna atrás (From Albino and Spaniard, a Return-Backwards is Born),* ca 1785-90, Oil on Canvas, 62.6 x 83.2 cm. Private Collection. In Ilona Katzew, *Casta Paintings: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), plate 184.

Figure 5.5. Miguel Cabrera, *From Castizo and Mestizo woman, Chamiso*, 1763, Oil on Canvas, 132 x 101 cm, Museo de América Madrid, Spain. In María Concepción García Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano, (*Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate l.

Figure 5.6. Unknown artist, *De español y morisca, nace albina (From Spaniard and Morisca, an Albino is Born),* ca. 1785-90, Oil on Canvas, 62.6 x 83.2 cm. Private collection. In Ilona Katzew, *Casta Paintings: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), plate 183.

Figure 5.7. Adriaen Brouwer, *Tooth Puller,* 13 x 18 cm. Collection Liechtenstein, Vaduz. In Gerard Knuttel, *Adriaen Brouwer: The Master and His Work*, (Boekhandel, Netherlands: L. J. C. Boucher, 1962), plate 105.

Figure 5.8. Adriaen Brouwer, *Touch,* 23 x 20 cm. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, In Gerard Knuttel, *Adriaen Brouwer: The Master and His Work*, (Boekhandel, Netherlands: L. J. C. Boucher, 1962), plate 87.

Figure 5.9. Unknown artist, *De mulato y española, sale morisco, (Mulatto and Spaniard Makes Morisco),* ca. 1780, Oil on Canvas, 38 x 52 cm. Collection of Malú and Alejandra Escandón, Mexico City, In Ilona Katzew, *Casta Paintings: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), plate 162.

Figure 5.10. Jph. Joachin Magón, *Mulato, e yndia, engendran calpamulato (From Mulatto and Indian woman, Calpamulato),* 115 x 141 cm. Museo Nacional de Etnología, Madrid, Spain. In María Concepción García Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano, (*Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate h.

Figure 5.11. Adriaen Brouwer, *Peasants and Soldiers Playing Cards*, 33 x 43 cm. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, In Gerard Knuttel, *Adriaen Brouwer: The Master and His Work*, (Boekhandel, Netherlands: L. J. C. Boucher, 1962), plate 78.

Figure 5.12. Adriaen Brouwer, *Lute Player*, 36.2 x 28.7 cm, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Munich, In Gerard Knuttel, *Adriaen Brouwer: The Master and His Work*, (Boekhandel, Netherlands: L. J. C. Boucher, 1962), plate 77.

Figure 5.13. Adriaen Brouwer, *The Moerdijk Peasants*, Markus Collection, Scarsdale, New York. In Gerard Knuttel, *Adriaen Brouwer: The Master and His Work*, (Boekhandel, Netherlands: L. J. C. Boucher, 1962), plate IV.

Figure 5.14. Adriaen Brouwer, *Peasants' Feast* (Detail), 35 x 53 cm. Ruzicka Stiftung, Kunsthaus, Zürich. In Gerard Knuttel, *Adriaen Brouwer: The Master and His Work*, (Boekhandel, Netherlands: L. J. C. Boucher, 1962), plate 36.

Figure 5.15. Adriaen Brouwer, *Peasants Guzzling*, 19.5 x 26.5 cm, Mauritshuis, The Hague. In Gerard Knuttel, *Adriaen Brouwer: The Master and His Work*, (Boekhandel, Netherlands: L. J. C. Boucher, 1962), plate III.

Figure 5.16. Attributed to Ignacio de Castro, *De coyote mestizo, y mulata, ahí te estás (From Coyote Mestizo and Mulatto woman, Ahí te estás*), 50 x 40.5 cm. Museo Nacional, Mexico. In María Concepción García Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano, (*Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate l.

Figure 5.17. Francisco Clapera, *De español e india, mestiza (From Spaniard and Indian, Mestiza),* ca. 1785, Oil on Canvas, 54 x 40.5cm. Denver Art Museum, Collection of Jan and Frederick Mayer. In Ilona Katzew, *Casta Paintings: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), plate 46.

Figure 5.18. Francisco Clapera, *De español y negra, mulato (From Spaniard and Black, Mulatto),* ca. 1785 , Oil on Canvas, 54 x 40.5 cm. Denver Art Museum, Collection of Jan and Frederick Mayer. In Ilona Katzew, *Casta Paintings: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), plate 47.

Figure 5.19. Francisco Clapera, *De mulato y española, morisco (From Mulatto and Spaniard, Morisco),* ca. 1785, Oil on Canvas, 54 x 40.5 cm. Denver Art Museum, Collection of Jan and Frederick Mayer. In Ilona Katzew, *Casta Paintings: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), plate 48.

Figure 5.20. Adriaen Brouwer, *Fight Over Cards*, 25.5 x 34 cm. Mauritshuis, The Hague. In Gerard Knuttel, *Adriaen Brouwer: The Master and His Work*, (Boekhandel, Netherlands: L. J. C. Boucher, 1962), plate 40.

Figure 5.21. José Joaquín Magón. *Cuarteron, y mestiza, siempre peleando engendran al collote fuerte, y osado (The quarrelling Quadroon and Mestizo wife beget the strong, bold Coyote*)* 102 x 126 cm. Private Collection, Mexico. In María Concepción García Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano, (*Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XIV.

* Sáiz states that the caption was a later addition to the painting and that it was likely not added by the artist, 102.

Figure 5.22. Adriaen Brouwer, *Fight Over Cards*, 33x 49 cm. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich. In Gerard Knuttel, *Adriaen Brouwer: The Master and His Work*, (Boekhandel, Netherlands: L. J. C. Boucher, 1962), plate VIII.

Figure 5.23. Unknown Artist, *De lovo, y de yndia sanbaigo (From Lobo and Indian woman, Zambaigo),* 24 x 39.5 cm. Private Collection, Mexico. In María Concepción García Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano, (*Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate d.

Figure 5.24. Adriaen Brouwer, *Fight Scene*, 22.5 x 17cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. In Gerard Knuttel, *Adriaen Brouwer: The Master and His Work*, (Boekhandel, Netherlands: L. J. C. Boucher, 1962), plate 94.

Figure 5.25. Unknown Artist, *De indio, y coyota, chamiso (From Indian and Coyota woman, Chamiso),* 30 x 39 cm. Private Collection, Mexico. In María Concepción García Sáiz, *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano, (*Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XXXIV.

Figure 5.26. Francisco Clapera, *De genízaro y mulata, gíbaro, (From Genizaro and Mulatta, Gíbaro)* ca. 1785, Oil on Canvas, 54x 40.5 cm. Denver Art Museum, Collection of Jan and Frederick Mayer. In Ilona Katzew, *Casta Paintings: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), plate 51.

Figure 5.27. Attributed to José de Ibarra, *Indios otomites (Otomí Indians),* ca. 1725, Oil on Canvas, 164 x 91 cm. Private Collection, Spain. In Ilona Katzew, *Casta Paintings: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), plate 92.

Figure 5.28. Hans Abelin and Hans Rogel, *Kempten in Allgäu,* woodcut broadsheet, 1569. In Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum: Cities of the World: 363 Engravings Revolutionize the View of the World Complete Edition of the Colour Plates of 1572-1617*, ed. Stephan Füssel, (Cologne: Taschen, 2008), 174.

Figure 5.29. *Regional Costumes from Dithmarschen,* Engraving. In Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum: Cities of the World: 363 Engravings Revolutionize the View of the World Complete Edition of the Colour Plates of 1572-1617*, ed. Stephan Füssel, (Cologne: Taschen, 2008), 420.

Figure 5.30. Detail of *Regional Costumes from Dithmarschen,* Engraving. In Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum: Cities of the World: 363 Engravings Revolutionize the View of the World Complete Edition of the Colour Plates of 1572-1617*, ed. Stephan Füssel, (Cologne: Taschen, 2008), 420.

Figure 5.31. Drawing made by an unknown artist, Woodcut by Hans Weigel the Elder, c1550/1560. *Rostock.* In Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum: Cities of the World: 363 Engravings Revolutionize the View of the World Complete Edition of the Colour Plates of 1572-1617*, ed. Stephan Füssel, (Cologne: Taschen, 2008), 402.

Figure 5.32. Georg Hoefnagel, *Nonsuch Palace*, 1582. In Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum: Cities of the World: 363 Engravings Revolutionize the View of the World Complete Edition of the Colour Plates of 1572-1617*, ed. Stephan Füssel, (Cologne: Taschen, 2008), 367.

Figure 5.33. *York, Shrewsbury, Lancaster, Richmond Palace*. In Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum: Cities of the World: 363 Engravings Revolutionize the View of the World Complete Edition of the Colour Plates of 1572-1617*, ed. Stephan Füssel, (Cologne: Taschen, 2008), 442.

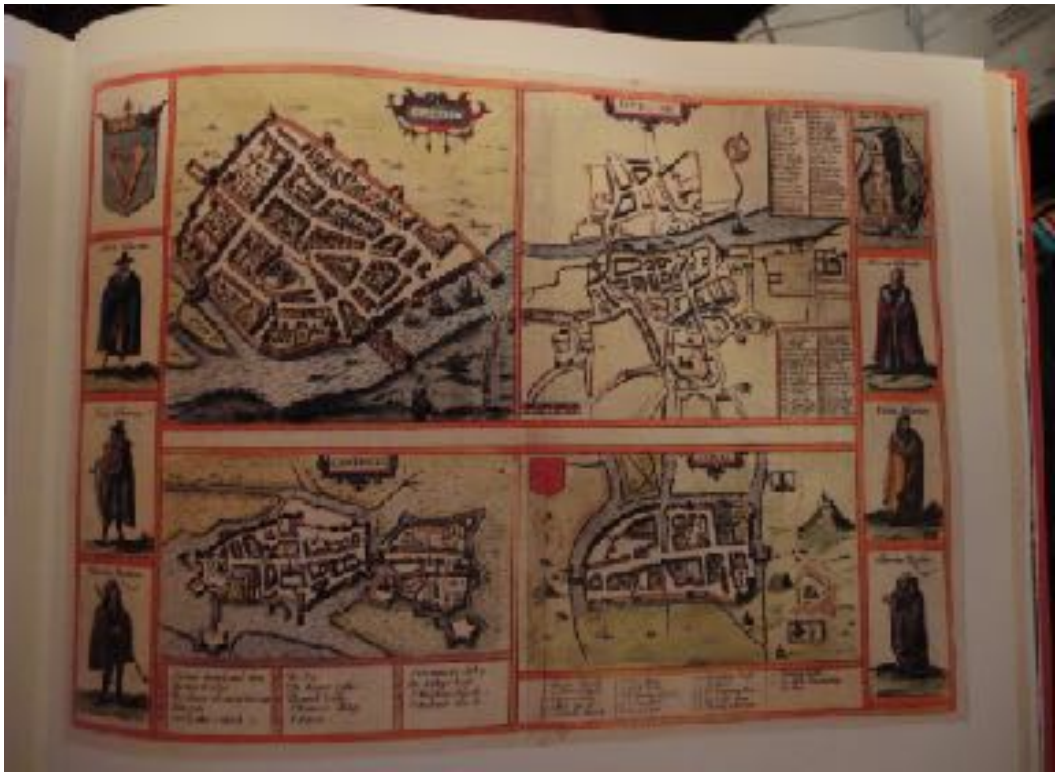


Figure 5.34. *Galway, Dublin, Limerick, Cork*. In Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum: Cities of the World: 363 Engravings Revolutionize the View of the World Complete Edition of the Colour Plates of 1572-1617*, ed. Stephan Füssel, (Cologne: Taschen, 2008), 443.

Figure 5.35. Jan van de Velde, *Village Festival*, In Catherine Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), plate 140.

Figure 5.36. Attributed to Jan Theodor de Bry, *A Peasant Dance,* Engraving, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet. In Wayne Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), plate 53.

Figure 5.37. Detail of Ignacio María Barreda y Ordoñes, Estas castas de nueba espanã, 1777. Oil on Canvas, Real Academia Española de la Lengua, Madrid, España. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XVIII.

Compartments A & Ñ.

Figure 5.38. Unknown Artist attributed to Andean painter, Untitled Casta Painting, c 18th century, 104 x 245 cm. Private collection and Banco Nacional de México, Mexico. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XXXV.

Figure 5.39. Baltasar de Echave, Casta Painting: Agua, 52.3 x 83 cm. Private Collection Mexico. In María Concepción García Sáiz. *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, (Mexico: Oliveti, 1989), plate XXXIII.

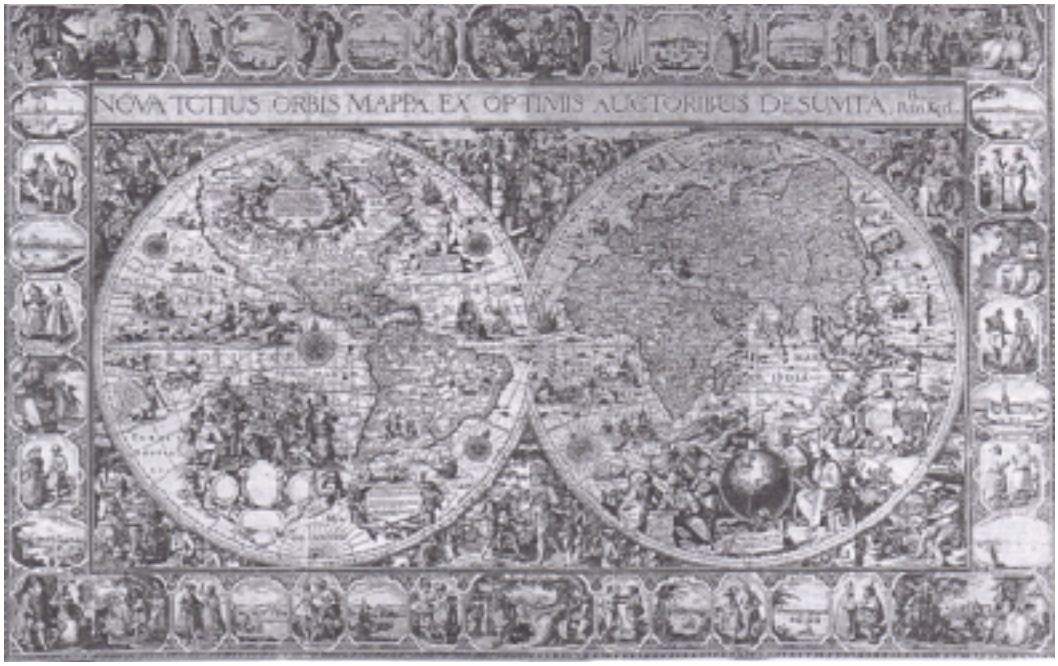


Figure 5.40. Pieter Van Den Keere, *Nova Totius Orbis Mappa Ex Optimis Auctoribus Desumta*, 1611. Sutro Library (California State Library), San Francisco. In *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England,* ed. Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.

Figure 5.41. Jan Jansson, *Nova totius terrarum orbis geographica ac hydrographica tabula*, 1632. In Elizabeth Rodini and Elissa B. Weaver, *A Well-Fashioned Image: Clothing and Costume in European Art, 1500-1850* (Chicago: The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, 2002), plate 16.

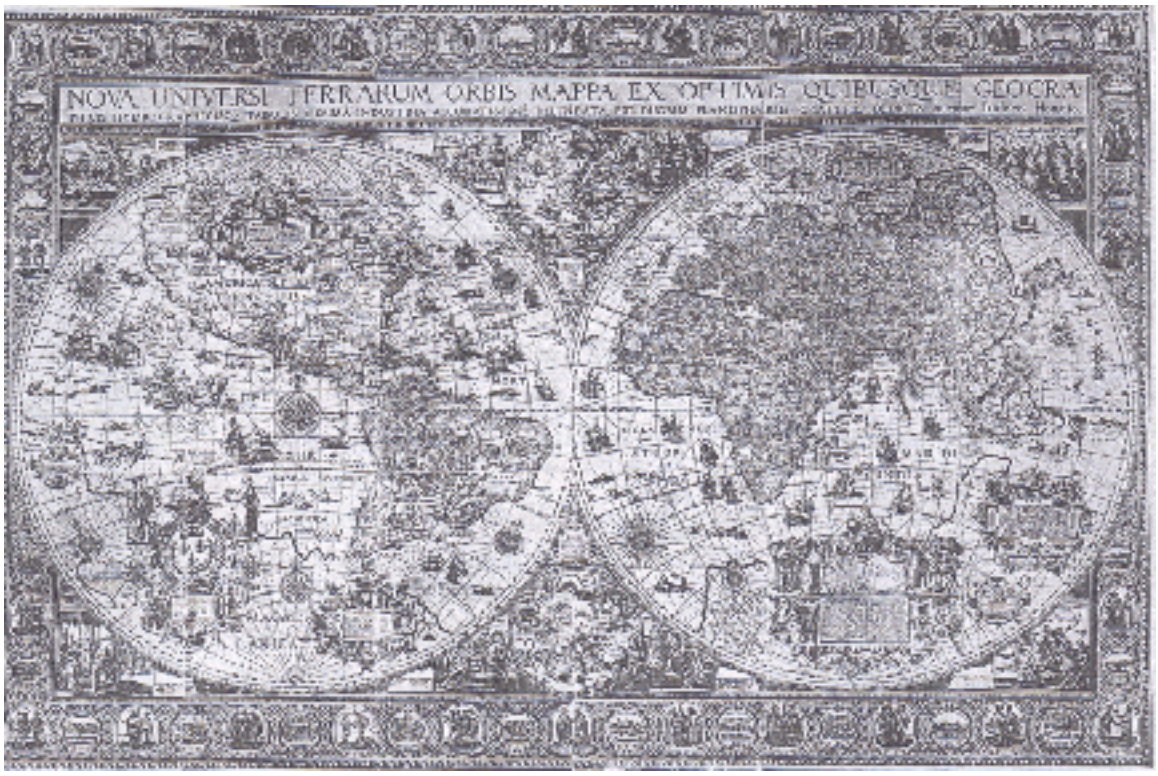


Figure 5.42. Jodocus Hondius after Willem Blaeu. Wall map of world. Clements Library, University of Michigan. In Valerie Traub, *Mapping The Global Body,* Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England, ed. Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.

Figure 5.43. Claes Jansz, *Land Caerte ende Water Caerte van Noordt Hollandt ende West Vrieslandt met de aenliggende lande,* 1608. In Catherine Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland.* Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994.

Figure 5.44. Claes Jansz, *Commitatus Hollandiae,*1610. In Catherine Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland.* Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994.

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