

MA DISSERTATION

Countercultures: Alternative Art in Eastern Europe and Latin America 1959-1989

Dr Klara Kemp-Welch

Francisco Toledo: Painting and Mexicanidad

Javier Mondragón Sánchez



Words: 10, 466

3/07/2020

Abstract

The purpose of this dissertation is to analyse the paintings of Francisco Toledo within the concept of Mexicanidad (Mexicanness). Mexican identity is linked with the idea of mestizaje, the union of the indigenous and Spanish race and culture. Indigenous culture has an ambiguous role in Mexico, it is often rejected and when embraced it is placed in the distant past. Toledo's work is in the middle of this issue as an indigenous artist, painting what appears to be archaic and primordial subjects with an indigenous influence. Alongside Rufino Tamayo, Toledo developed a different proposition for Mexican identity from that put forward by the Muralists, by focusing on indigenous forms and subjects, dealing with them through introspection, resisting explicit political imagery or agendas, and instead focusing on providing a rich formalistic proposition. Deeper analysis shows that the natural world he depicted alludes to a mythic approach to the world, which is as current as ever. A closer look at history, shows how racial cataloguing and racism formed a very important part of colonial Mexico, the way it influenced culture and its current effects. Decolonial theory serves as a framework to identify prejudice in culture. However, a focus on the individual will permit us to see the multi-cultural influences that Toledo had, and the many outcomes it produced. Ultimately, this dissertation will show a multi-layered artist with a great capacity for transformation and whose work is informed by his identity but refuses to be reduced to it.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr Klara Kemp-Welch for everything she has taught me this year, and for helping me investigate and understand a topic that is academically and personally very close to me. I want to thank Dr Malgorzata Misniakiewicz and Dr Sofia Gotti for all the teaching and advice they gave me during the first term. Of course, I'm thankful to my family, who has supported me in every possible way throughout my life, and career in the arts. I also want to thank my girlfriend and friends for always being there for me. Finally, I want to thank Alastair Mackinven, who showed me the value of looking deeper.

Table of Contents

Abstract

Acknowledgements

Introduction.....1

Chapter One: Toledo in Context.....6

Chapter Two: Crafting the Natural World.....19

Chapter Three: The Challenge of Mestizaje.....27

Conclusion.....37

Bibliography.....41

List of Illustrations.....58

Illustrations.....61

Introduction

The aim of this dissertation is to explore the paintings of Francisco Toledo (1940 – 2019) within the concept of Mexicanidad (Mexicanness). Toledo is one of the best-known artists in Mexico, and his life and work had a considerable impact in the cultural life of the country. However, despite some exhibitions in Frankfurt, Paris, and London Toledo is relatively unknown in Europe.¹ The works selected for discussion reflect important aspects of the work of Toledo. Amongst those are his relationship with the natural world, his quest for identity, the promotion of indigenous heritage, and his visually engaging paintings. Scholarship on Toledo is not extensive and information regarding him, comes mainly from articles. The most comprehensive examination of Toledo, in both breadth and depth is offered in the catalogue for the exhibition at the Whitechapel Gallery in London by Catherine Lampert and Dawn Ades *Francisco Toledo* (2000).² This work will be complemented by Dore Ashton's 'Francisco Toledo' who helps establish some of Toledo's influences, and claims that there is risk that Toledo is labelled as an archaist or a folklorist, rather than as an important twentieth century artist.³ Carlos A. Molina focuses

All translations are my own unless stated otherwise

¹ Dawn Ades, "Toledo" in *Francisco Toledo*, edited by Francisco Toledo, Catherine Lampert, Whitechapel Art Gallery, Museo Nacional Centro De Arte Reina Sofía, and Spain, and Ministerio de Cultura (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 2000), 28

² Dawn Ades and Catherine Lampert, *Francisco Toledo*, edited by Francisco Toledo, Catherine Lampert, Whitechapel Art Gallery, Museo Nacional Centro De Arte Reina Sofía, and Ministerio de Cultura (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 2000)

³ Dore Ashton, 'Francisco Toledo', *Latin American Masters* <https://www.latinamericanmasters.com/press/francisco-toledo2>, (Accessed 27/03/2020), n.p

on the beginning of Toledo's career in 'Francisco Toledo, sus inicios' (2017).⁴ Alejandra Ortiz Castañares' 'Francisco Toledo, Artista de Tierra' (2016), brings important insights from Toledo's life, but nonetheless places too much emphasis on his indigenous identity.⁵ Toledo is regularly compared to the artist Rufino Tamayo (1899 – 1991). This is due to their formalistic similarities, as well, as their similar heritage and personal relationship. E. Carmen Ramos, offers very useful analysis of Tamayo's work in *Tamayo* (2017).⁶ The topic of Mexicanidad, has traditionally been dealt with around the theme of *mestizaje* (miscegenation) and *indigenismo* (indigeneity) and the remnants of the theories of José Vasconcelos. Such approaches have been taken in *Latin American Art of the 20th Century* (2004) by Edward Lucie-Smith, *Contemporary Mexican Painting in a Time of Change* (1995) by Shifra M. Goldman, *Twentieth-century Art of Latin America* (2001) by Jacqueline Barnitz and Patrick Frank, *Modern Mexican Painters* (1974) by Mackinley Helm, and *Latin American Art in the Twentieth Century* (1996) by Edward J. Sullivan, which are useful in establishing the art historical context from which Toledo emerged but do not sufficiently deal with the problematic history of the mestizo identity.⁷ This is why

⁴ Carlos A. Molina P., 'Francisco Toledo, *sus inicios*,' *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, Vol. XXXIX, Núm. III, 2017
<http://dx.doi.org/10.22201/iiie.18703062e,2017.111.2610> (Accessed: 20/03/2020)

⁵ Alejandra Ortiz Castañares, 'Francisco Toledo, Artista De Tierra,' *Confluenze: Rivista Di Studi Iberoamericani* 8, no. 2 (2016): 8-22. (Accessed: 19/03/2020)

⁶ E. Carmen Ramos, *Tamayo: the New York years*, edited by E. Carmen Ramos, 1 – 75, with contributions by Beth Shook. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian American Art Museum; London: Giles, 2017)

⁷ Edward Lucie-Smith, and Peter Kershaw. *Latin American Art of the 20th Century*. 2nd ed., (Thames & Hudson, 2004); Shifra M. Goldman, *Contemporary Mexican Painting in a Time of Change*, foreword by Raquel Tibol (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Jacqueline Barnitz and Patrick Frank. *Twentieth-century Art of Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001); MacKinley Helm. *Modern Mexican Painters* (New York: Dover Publications, 1974); Edward J Sullivan, *Latin American Art in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Phaidon Press, 1996)

it is valuable incorporating the work of Ilona Katzew, Susan Deans-Smith and Alexandra Minna Stern in *Casta Painting* (2004) and *Race and Classification* (2009) as it deals with the racial history of Mexico and provides a better insight into how it affected cultural production and reception.⁸ Christina A. Sue's *Land of the Cosmic Race* (2013) also deals with the history of mestizaje, but focuses more on the impact it has now which is very useful.⁹ Likewise, myths are often used when examining the work of Toledo but this dissertation will propose that rather than thinking of myths as outdated ways of knowing and engaging with the world, they are complex traditions developed over millennia, which incorporate meaning into the analysis of the world as put forward by Jordan Peterson in *Maps of Meaning* (1999).¹⁰

When dealing with ways on how to engage with the idea of Mexicanidad and Toledo's work now, I will use decolonial theory to identify how prejudice affects culture primarily as exposed by Juan G. Ramos in *Sensing Decolonial Aesthetics in Latin American Art* (2018), as well as essays on postmodernism by Craig Owens and others in *The Anti-Aesthetic* (1998).¹¹ However, in order to avoid reverting to identity politics I will use the work of Walter Scheidel in *The Great Leveler* (2017) to argue that violence

⁸ Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004; Ilona Katzew and Susan Deans-Smith, *Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America*, edited by Ilona Katzew and Susan Deans-Smith; with a preface by William B. Taylor (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009)

⁹ Christina A. Sue, *Land of the Cosmic Race: Race Mixture, Racism, and Blackness in Mexico* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

¹⁰ Jordan B. Peterson, *Maps of Meaning: The Architecture of Belief* (New York: Routledge, 1999)

¹¹ Juan G. Ramos, *Sensing Decolonial Aesthetics in Latin American Arts* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2018); Hal Foster et. al, *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, edited by Hal Foster (New York: New Press, 1998)

and inequality have been present throughout history, including pre-Columbian Mexico.¹² This will be strengthened by the fact that indigenous support was one of the key contributors of the Spanish defeat of the Aztecs as laid out by Pedro Carrasco and Bernardo García Martínez in *Historia general de México* (2000).¹³ Therefore, I will make the case that Toledo's work and Mexicanidad should be approached through liberalism and an emphasis on the individual. Larry Sidentop's *Inventing the Individual* (2014) offers a study on Western Liberalism's Christian foundation, which is compatible with a mostly catholic country like Mexico.¹⁴ Finally, I will use Steven Pinker's work in *Enlightenment Now* (2018) and *The Blank Slate* (2003;2016), to analyse culture as technological and social developments which serve as tools to engage with the world, that can be used by everyone regardless of their place of origin.¹⁵

When engaging with painting theory I will primarily use Isabelle Graw. She is one of the leading scholars on contemporary painting, however, the focus will be partly away from one of her main theories around labour, and instead the focus will be on indexicality and historical formation. I will analyse several of her works including *The Love of Painting* (2018) *Painting Beyond Itself* (2016) for which David Joselit also

¹² Walter Scheidel, *The Great Leveler: Violence and the History of Inequality from the Stone Age to the Twenty-first Century* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2017)

¹³ Pedro Carrasco, "Cultural y Sociedad en México Antiguo," in *Historia general de México*, Versión 2000, edited by El Colegio de México (Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2009); Bernardo García Martínez, "La Creación de Nueva España" in *Historia general de México*, Versión 2000, edited by El Colegio de México (Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2009)

¹⁴ Larry Sidentop, *Inventing the Individual: The Origins of Western Liberalism* (London: Allen Lane, 2014)

¹⁵ Steven Pinker, *Enlightenment Now: The Case for Reason, Science, Humanism, and Progress* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2018); Steven Pinker, *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature* (Penguin Press Science, 2003; London: Penguin Press Science, 2016)

contributed valuable insights, *Thinking through Painting* (2012) and *The Return of the Human Figure* (2011).¹⁶ Similarly, John Kelsey offers valuable contributions in *Rich Texts* (2010).¹⁷ For a more general theory of art I will engage with Peter Osborne's *The Postconceptual Condition* (2018).¹⁸

Therefore, my contribution to the scholarship is to offer more in-depth research and analysis of the works I selected; to discuss Toledo's work within the theme of Mexicanidad; make greater emphasis on the problematic history of mestizo identity and its consequences; establish how Toledo's paintings fit within contemporary art and painting theory; and how better understanding of his work simultaneously provides better understanding for the idea of Mexicanidad and vice versa.

¹⁶ Isabelle Graw, *The Love of Painting: Genealogy of a Success Medium*, translated by Brian Hanrahan, and Gerrit Jackson, edited by Niamh Dunphy (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2018); Isabelle Graw et. al, *Painting beyond Itself: The Medium in the Post-medium Condition*, edited by Isabelle Graw and Ewa Lajer-Burcharth (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2016); Isabelle Graw et. al, *Thinking through Painting: Reflexivity and Agency beyond the Canvas*, edited by Institut Für Kunstkritik Frankfurt Am Main, Isabelle Graw, Daniel Birnbaum, Nikolaus Hirsch (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2012); Isabelle Graw et. al, *Art and Subjecthood: The Return of the Human Figure in Semiocapitalism*, edited by Isabelle Graw, Daniel Birnbaum, Nickolaus Hirsch, and Städelschule Frankfurt Am Main, Institut Für Kunstkritik (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2011)

¹⁷ John Kelsey, Daniel Birnbaum, and Isabelle Graw. *Rich Texts: Selected Writings for Art*, edited by John Kelsey, Daniel Birnbaum, and Isabelle Graw (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2010)

¹⁸ Peter Osborne, *The Postconceptual Condition: Critical Essays* (London: Verso Books, 2018)

Chapter One: Toledo in Context

The art historian Shifra M. Goldman presents three main stages in the development of nationalism in Mexico. The first one occurs before the Mexican Revolution in the *Porfiriato* (Porfirian era). Under the government of Porfirio Díaz (1830-1915), through a combination of the economic and political influence of the upper classes Mexico looked to Europe for guidance in setting up its cultural norms. The second stage is after the Mexican Revolution, between the 1920s and the 1940s, with the main exponents being José Clemente Orozco (1883-1949), Diego Rivera (1886-1957) and David Alfaro Siqueiros (1896-1974). This phase presents an affirmation of Mexican culture, which is sought in nativist work, creating a pre-Columbian ideal. Finally, the last stage, is the present, where artists ‘who wish to create authentic works of art realize that the truths about their nation are invested in its present realities.’¹⁹ The work of Toledo can be said to occupy the last stage, according to the given timeframe. However, it also interacts with that of the Muralists, as did the work of Rufino Tamayo. Various art historians and critics have compared the work of Toledo and Tamayo, on grounds of their formalistic approach, a relatively apolitical nature in their art, and a similar interest in pre-Columbian knowledge and aesthetic history. Toledo met Tamayo in Paris, on the recommendation of his gallerist Antonio Souza. Tamayo welcomed and mentored Toledo, especially once he knew that Toledo also came from Oaxaca. Toledo himself recognized the influence that Tamayo had on his work, when he was questioned about it, he answered: “Of course I see Tamayo in my work, as well as many other artists from

¹⁹ Goldman, *Contemporary Mexican Painting in a Time of Change*, 9

places as far away as Africa, Australia or primitive art. All art is a legacy, and Tamayo himself has his own inheritance. With Tamayo, though, I have the affinity of being born in the same place, with the same racial and cultural antecedents.”²⁰ This statement is useful because it brings to light two issues about the way Toledo approaches his work. The first one is that while he recognizes that he was influenced by Tamayo, he also asserts that his influences were varied, and not only varied with regards to specific artists, but varied geographically pinpointing different traditions and time periods. He then states that “All art is a legacy”, which implies at least a certain historical understanding of art, as well as an implication that what came before is of service to future generations, and it also implies a certain universal availability of sources for anyone to use. However, he highlights the similar cultural and racial background that he shares with Tamayo, in a way that suggests that he believes that while art history is universal, race and culture can provide ‘affinity.’

Firstly, we can analyse the aspects of Toledo’s work that can be said to not explicitly come from Mexican sources. We know that Toledo was in Paris by 1960, and would remain there for the following five years. The academic Carlos A. Molina recognises two European artists that would have had an influence in Toledo’s work. The first one is Jean Dubuffet (1901-1985), according to Molina, Dubuffet was interesting to Toledo because he introduced him to the ideas of the surrealists, where automatism presented interesting avenues to explore, Dubuffet’s work presented an alternative to separate oneself from the artistic paradigms. Dubuffet’s work also opened up the

²⁰ Ades, “Toledo”, 33

possibilities that printmaking offered.²¹ Toledo furthered this interest in printmaking by working in the shop of the British artist Stanley William Hayter (1901-1988), who had a great interest in revitalising the arts of etching and engraving. While working with Hayter, Toledo began to appreciate more the technical nuances of printmaking. This included the texture of the different papers and the subtlety of marks that could be transferred onto the paper, which made him value the swiftness of the line. The effects of Hayter's influence was reflected in Toledo's greater appreciation for the methods of printmaking and etching, which he would continue to work on throughout his life, as well as incorporating this newly acquired knowledge into his paintings.²² This influence is pointed out by Ashton rather than Molina. The other artist that Molina mentions is Paul Klee (1879-1940), because Klee presents an 'innocent' appearance, reminiscent of the work of a child and places an emphasis in introspection. The late surrealists were a group that became interested in the work of Toledo. The French poet André Pieyre de Mandiargues was a major advocate for Toledo, he introduced Toledo into his literary circle, which would lend the latter both prestige and credibility. Pieyre de Mandiargues, had a specific image in his mind of what Toledo's work was about. He believed that it had almost mystical properties in its ability to portray the mysteries and forces of nature and the supernatural. Pieyre de Mandiargues as well as the artist and art historian Juan Crespo de la Serna encouraged Toledo to use his experiences in Mexico and all his memories of the region of Tehuantepec to inform his work.²³ Toledo incorporated this label of the *indio zapoteco* (Zapotec Indian) to his identity, he adopted it in his

²¹ Molina, *Francisco Toledo, sus inicios*, 33

²² Ashton, *Francisco Toledo*, n.p.

²³ Ortiz, "Francisco Toledo, Artista De Tierra," 15

personality and in the way that he would dress and present himself. Therefore, his time abroad, in a way served to further instil in him a perceived identity of an indigenous Mexican. This of course can be viewed as Toledo owning with pride an indigenous identity that would not be perceived with great status in Mexico, or it could be seen as a manipulation, and a performance for the European public. It is more likely that it was the former, however, the performative aspects of his identity would have been in part a commentary on what the European public thought of Mexico.

In order to discuss the Mexican aspects of his work we can start by thinking about the identity of Francisco Toledo, or at least where he situated it. Toledo always identified himself to the town of Juchitán de Zaragoza. He was born on the 17th of July 1940 in Mexico City, to a family of Zapotec origin but it was only in an interview with the journalist Angelica Abelleira in 1999 that Toledo admitted that he was born in Mexico City and not Juchitán.²⁴ Toledo moved a lot throughout his life; during childhood, his family lived in various towns in the Istmo de Tehuantepec in the southern region of Mexico; he also lived in Minatitlan Veracruz and Mexico City. Toledo felt that his links to the state of Oaxaca were very important. Both of his parents were born in Juchitán, and both were bilingual, speaking Zapotec as well as Spanish.²⁵ The region of Juchitán, and Zapotec culture, are of great historical significance in Mexico and Toledo was interested in regaining the link to it. The central Valley of Oaxaca has a tradition that traces back at least two thousand years to Monte Alban. The Zapotec people were engaged in conflict for centuries. They expanded throughout the Tehuantepec region, conflicted with the

²⁴ Abelleira, Angélica, “Yo soy los demás”, *La Jornada Semanal*, 31 October 1999, 12-13

²⁵ Ades, “Toledo”, 36

Mixtecs and resisted the expansion of the Aztec empire in the 15th century. Throughout the period of colonisation by the Spanish, the region remained defiant, and even after the Mexican independence, Juchitán would push against attempts by the central government to control their political affairs and local economy. One notable instance is that of Benito Juárez, one of Mexico's most prominent historical figures. Born in 1806 in San Pablo Guelatao, Oaxaca, in 1861 he became the first indigenous president of Mexico, given that his parents were both Zapotec. During his time as governor of Oaxaca between 1856-1857, he conducted legislative and executive campaigns in the estate of Oaxaca of which around 88% of the population identified itself as indigenous, to maximise the utility of human and natural resources found in the region.²⁶ These was to be achieved with better routes through the region connecting it to the rest of the country, an expansive educational programme that would include the indigenous towns and rural regions, poll taxation, and the implementation of the *Ley de Lerdo* (Law of Lerdo) in 1956, that would confiscate the land held by religious and civil corporations, the latter being indigenous communities that held property as a corporation, and sell it to private individuals.²⁷ These led to legal and violent conflict between the liberal federal government, which wanted to consolidate power centrally, and the towns of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and the town of Juchitán amongst others, which at some point even had a separatist agenda. After his tenure as governor, Benito Juárez never went back to Oaxaca. This history is made even more personal by the fact that Toledo's father's great-uncle, the revolutionary Licenciado

²⁶ Carlos Sánchez Silva, "Juárez, Gobernador De Oaxaca, y La Administración Política De Los Pueblos De Indios, 1847-1857," in *Juárez: Historia Y Mito*, edited by Vázquez Josefina Zoraida, Mexico City.: El Colegio De Mexico, 2010 doi:10.2307/j.ctvhn0d9b.23 (Accessed: 08/05/2020), 416-7

²⁷ Sánchez-Silva, "Juárez, Gobernador De Oaxaca, y La Administración Política De Los Pueblos De Indios, 1847-1857.", 431

Che Gomez, died whilst leading a separatist revolt in 1911, against the government forces that were commanded by Benito Juárez Maza (1852-1912), the son of Benito Juárez (1806-1872). Even to this day, the figure of Benito Juárez is controversial in Juchitán. In *Benito Juárez flechador* (Benito Juárez archer) (1985) (Fig. 1) we see on the bottom centre left the superimposed image of Benito Juárez, obviously collaged, placed on top of a painted body that is in the action of firing arrows at a very large rabbit, which has an open mouth, and paw approaching to cover it, almost in disbelief of the attack. The arrows from Juárez's bow are surrounded by blue and white which appears to be wind that signals motion, and after a short distance spread into impossible angles which should land on almost every part of the body of the victim. Above these figures, there is what appears to be an aerial view of a crocodile, were it not for its double or mirrored tail, above it there is two smaller crocodiles facing each other with open mouths and coloured with the more traditional earthy green. The rest of the space apart from the figures is painted with an uneven terracotta that seems to be layered on top of an ochre yellow. Juárez is the only human in the piece, and acts in a more predatory fashion than the crocodiles. Juárez who not only is seen as a national hero but whose cultural and racial identity matched that of the region, is portrayed by Toledo as a dangerous threat.²⁸

As previously stated, Toledo shared a similar background and characteristics of his work with his friend Rufino Tamayo. Some of those characteristics, both formalistic

²⁸ This resembles the attack that the press would direct at Benito Juárez who would inexactly caricature him as the Aztec god of war and sacrifice, Huitzilopochtli, for further information see Esther Acevedo, Jaime Cuadrilleo and Fausto Ramirez, *Los pinceles de la historia: De la patria criolla a la nación mexicana, 1750 – 1860*. Mexico City: MNA, 2000, quoted in Erica Segre. *Intersected Identities: Strategies of Visualization in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Mexican Culture*. (Oxford: Berghan Books. 2007), 74

and subject matter, could be said to be 'Mexican'. Tamayo believed that it was inappropriate for Mexican art students to use Greek sculpture as a model for the human form given that Mexican people had different proportions, with larger heads and smaller bodies.²⁹ The American writer and collector Mackinley Helm even questions the accuracy of those models. He states that Michelangelo discovered that Greek proportion was not artistically accurate, and El Greco distorted anatomical forms for the purpose of emotional effect. Instead, he points to Mexican archeology, with the Mayas as proponents of psychological as well as scientific truth.³⁰ Therefore, form and proportion are aspects in their work that can be said to have a Mexican identity. Another aspect is colour. Toledo's choice of colour served to turn the canvas paintings from an inanimate fabric into an animate hide or skin. The material therefore gives the presence a corporeal presence, and by providing that kind of materiality offers the viewer a sensual relationship. This aliveness is conveyed either in the glowing colours of his earlier works, or in the earthy materials of his later paintings. The textures and colours give the works earthly properties in the sense that such properties are coming from the earth. His paintings would have sand mixed with oil; he would make clay sculptures; and use animal objects like tortoise shells, plants and seeds.³¹ The texture would also be found in the pulpous fabric of the paper or canvas, the resistance that it would have to the brush and the way that it would absorb the medium. This texture and the existence of certain painting techniques such as heavy impasto and glossy oil paint leads to a desire to touch

²⁹ Ades, "Toledo," 29

³⁰ Helm, *Modern Mexican Painters*, 140

³¹ Adrian S. Gimata-Welsh H., 'Francisco Toledo: Creator and re-creator of a New Cosmogony', *Semiotics Bridging Nature and Culture*, (Accessed: 19/04/2020)

the canvas which the artist Merlin Carpenter named “haptic events”.³² Toledo’s work presents us with a dichotomy, on the one hand there is an animistic element to his paintings, that presents them as living beings, and questions the location of the soul and whether that soul can be found in animals, the earth and/or the painting, which offers the paintings an ethereal property, which is in line with the *experientia numinosa* (numinous experience) that Eduardo Subiratas ascribes to Toledo’s work.³³ This ambivalence of the painting’s aliveness or factual lifelessness fits with Graw’s theory that painting techniques such as visible brushstrokes or imperfections conjure the impression of the absent author’s presence through the indexical effects on the canvas.³⁴ This ‘specific indexicality makes it seem saturated with the painter’s individuality – which is to say, the uniqueness of the painted picture fosters the notion that its singular author is somewhat contained within it.’³⁵ According to this, a painting would therefore offer us a chance to have an interaction with the painter’s lived reality. There is the possibility of further analysis of the idea of the material in Toledo’s work. Material can be thought of as the physical and tactile properties of the works, but it can also be traced back, as the academic Carlos A. Molina does, to the Latin word *mater* (mother), which seeks to find the origin of things, what’s natural, and the most primary of sensations and experiences.³⁶ Both descriptions occur simultaneously on the works. Earth is not only the source of life, but it can be imbued with life by the labour involved with it. Tamayo was influenced by

³² Graw, *The Love of Painting*, 20

³³ Eduardo Subiratas, ‘La resistencia estética,’ *Arquitextos* 5, num. 123, year 11, 8 of August 2010, edited by Brasil Guerra, www.vitruvius.com.br/revistas/read/arquitextos/11.123/3503 (Accessed 15/04/2020)

³⁴ Graw, *The Love of Painting*, 128

³⁵ *Ibid*

³⁶ Molina, ‘Francisco Toledo, sus inicios,’ 30

baked clay, terra cotta shades and Tarascan pottery.³⁷ Helm makes the argument that the restricted palette of Tamayo's paintings can be thought about in regards to what colours are considered Mexican. He says that while American tourists would be drawn to the vibrant colours of the South, especially those of the natural and planted landscape, Tamayo, instead, focuses on the restricted palette of some of the clothes that indigenous men and women choose to wear, and the colours of the houses. In small towns, several of the houses are either unpainted adobe or a plain whitewashed surface. In larger towns the range extends to light blue and pale pink.

In order to further analyse how these characteristics fit into the debate concerning Mexicanidad, we have to state that Tamayo and Toledo were in part reacting to the Muralists' attempts to create a sense of Mexican identity. The work of Toledo and Tamayo differed from that of the muralists mainly because ideas around art had changed. After World War II several Mexican artists like Frida Kahlo (1907-1954) and Manuel Rodríguez Lozano (1896-1971), diverted from objective activism into inspection of the internal world of the artist, and tapping the subconscious for subject matter. Rather than conceptualizing human suffering as collective oppression and exploitation as it would have happened with the Marxist narrative of the muralists, the focus was on the individual facing solitude in an indifferent universe.³⁸ This also happened outside of the visual arts, the writer Octavio Paz in his *El laberinto de la soledad* (The Labyrinth of Solitude) (1950), influenced by Sartrean existentialism located and distilled the human

³⁷ José Gómez Sicre, *4 artists of the Americas: Roberto Burle-Marx, Alexander Calder, Amelia Peláez, Rufino Tamayo*. (Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, 1957), 78

³⁸ Edward J. Sullivan expands that to say that 'at the beginning of the 1930s it was almost obligatory for painters to belong to the Communist Party if they wished to receive mural commissions or participate in important exhibition,' for further information see Sullivan, *Latin American Art in the Twentieth Century*, 22

condition, as the human desire to conquer the isolation of the individual within itself by seeking out another.³⁹ This subjective introspection was to be known as *ensimismamiento* (self-absorption). This subjective tendency was considered more universal and therefore to an extent was less concerned with nationalism and indigenism. These conception helps us understand Toledo's and especially Tamayo's partial rejection of Muralism. Art was no longer considered to have such an overriding social function, Tamayo and Toledo did not believe that art and politics should mix. After World War II, with the changing economic conditions and the rise of the middle class, there was a greater number of people that could purchase paintings and therefore act as patrons. Goldman also makes the argument that the imagery depicted in Tamayo's canvas offered the bourgeois clients an opportunity to be patrons of a nationalistic art, without presenting controversial social themes.⁴⁰ Therefore, the lack of explicit political imagery in most of Toledo's and Tamayo's work, was appealing to collectors.⁴¹ The muralists had been part of a wider prerogative which is relevant to understanding Toledo's work and Mexican identity. In 1920 the Mexican president Alvaro Obregón (1880-1928), appointed the rector of the University of Mexico, José Vasconcelos (1882-1959) as Secretary of Culture, in an attempt to strengthen the cultural standing of Mexico. This was to be done by accentuating the pre-Hispanic heritage and furthering the decorative arts, public festivals

³⁹ Octavio Paz, *El laberinto de la soledad*. Mexico D.F: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992 quoted in Alejandra Ortiz Castañares 'Francisco Toledo, Artista De Tierra.' *Confluente: Rivista Di Studi Iberoamericani* 8, no. 2 (2016): 8-22. (Accessed: 19/03/2020), 14-5

⁴⁰ Goldman, *Contemporary Mexican Painting in a Time of Change*, 19

⁴¹ Most of Toledo's works are in private homes, for further information see Catherine Lampert, and José Guirao, "Foreword" to *Francisco Toledo*, edited by Francisco Toledo, Catherine. Lampert, Whitechapel Art Gallery, Museo Nacional Centro De Arte Reina Sofía, and Ministerio de Cultura. (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 2000), 7

and artistic education of programs of the 1920s, such as the establishment of rural open-air schools, so that the natural talent of the Mexican race would become manifest, Mexico would draw its cultural strength from within its borders and would no longer feel beholden to European sources; it would integrate the indigenous groups into a single Mexican nation; and would find an ancestral root for national distinction.

Tamayo believed that the emphasis on revolution that the muralists offered was only surface level, and that true Mexican culture could only be obtained by going back to the roots but not merely as images but to analyse in depth the rich plastic tradition. Both, Toledo and Tamayo, located this tradition in the contemporary popular art, and hence shifted the narrative from anecdotal to current. An example that the curator E. Carmen Ramos points out is that of the *Mujer con canasta de frutas* (Woman with Fruit Basket) alternatively titled *India frutera* (Indian that Deals Fruit) (Fig. 2), where instead of addressing the indigeneity of the subject, which is already present in the title, through the context he directly addresses the figure paying close attention to the dark colour of its skin and its facial features such as its almond shaped eyes, which approximate it more to the pre-Columbian masks and sculptures that Tamayo studied.⁴² Their affinity towards the aesthetic aspects of their work and the emphasis on individual expression and a certain purity of art draws comparisons with the European and American modernism, which are not unfounded considering both Tamayo and Toledo spent time in Paris and New York. Tamayo was akin to artists like Adolph Gottlieb, Mark Rothko, and Jackson Pollock because of his interest in indigenous art, but mostly because of his desire to

⁴² E. Carmen Ramos, "Tamayo: The New York Years," in *Tamayo: the New York years*; edited by E. Carmen Ramos, with contributions by Beth Shook. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian American Art Museum; London: Giles, 2017), 11

portray experience in a personal and non-narrative way.⁴³ Tamayo differed from them because he rejected complete abstraction, and instead offered simplified forms. This was partly because Tamayo was very interested in the human figure, and also because in his estimation the works of artists like Jackson Pollock required a critical middle-man that would hamper a direct communication with his audience.⁴⁴ This was the balance he struck between the muralists and the abstract expressionists, his paintings were not to be impossible to discern to the public, but also not pre-digested as he believed the Muralists' paintings were. This is why Ramos compares Tamayo's work more with the work of a maturing Picasso.⁴⁵ Tamayo offered the viewer the space to make their own interpretation. Alejandra Ortíz Castañares makes the argument that Toledo approaches indigenous culture not as an interpreter or an outsider, but rather as an indigenous maker himself. Toledo is expounding his position as a proud representative of indigenous culture in order to highlight its equivalent importance. "The dominant culture accepts Indians as a subject for research, but does not recognise them as subjects of history; Indians have folklore, not culture; they practice superstitions, not religions; they speak dialects, not languages; they make crafts, not art."⁴⁶ Toledo creates with his paintings a

⁴³ This rejection of the narrative was present in the work of post-war modernists, as the art critic Hal Foster says, partly to escape the trauma of the war and Holocaust, and recover primordial constructs from the Nazis, and present work that acknowledged the historical reality but in an abstract de-historicized way, for further information see Hal Foster, Rosalind Krauss, Yves Alain Bois, Benjamin H.D Buchloh, David Joselit, *Art since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism*, Third ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 2016), 378

⁴⁴ Emily Genauer, *Rufino Tamayo*. New York: Abrams, 1974, quoted in E. Carmen Ramos, "Tamayo: The New York Years" Ramos, E. Carmen *Tamayo: the New York years*; edited by E. Carmen Ramos with contributions by Beth Shook. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian American Art Museum; London: Giles, 2017), 66

⁴⁵ Ramos, "Tamayo: The New York Years," 63

⁴⁶ Ades, "Toledo", 19

natural history, a world where the mineral, vegetal, animal and human realm intertwine. The emphasis on the word 'creates' is important, because Toledo does more than simply depict scenes in a realist fashion, rather his talent is that through a microcosmic emphasis on matters of colour and texture, he is able to comment on the macrocosmic interactions of the natural world. This provides a much deeper foundation and origin to the Mexican identity that goes beyond a nationalist narrative into a transcendental history. These helps us understand why Toledo consistently painted animals. This, again, was not dissimilar to Tamayo. In Tamayo's painting *El perro loco* (The Mad Dog) (1943) (Fig. 3) we see a female dog placed at the centre of the canvas, constructed with geometric shapes. The figure looks squalid and hunched, with the ribs protruding in the mid-section, and the tongue desperately licking the ground. It is an image of exertion, desperation and deprivation. The earth is barren, except for the nopal cactus located behind the dog, which almost appears to be part of the background. The cactus is a very important image of Mexico, linked to the myth that led the Aztecs to what was to be the place where they would build Tenochtitlán. Though nopal cacti are edible, rich in water, and indeed, widely consumed in Mexico, they are covered in spines, which make it inaccessible to the lone figure. The red in the background matches the tongue of the dog and the fruit of the cactus, the paint of the background was applied as to almost negate depth beyond the dog. This image therefore transcends a unidimensional depiction of a dog.

Chapter Two: Crafting the Natural World

In the painting *Tamazul* (1982) (Fig. 4) we see the image of a toad. The toad is situated almost exactly in the middle of the canvas. The size of the amphibian is exacerbated by the space that it takes of the canvas, with the figure covering the majority of the space. The texture of the painting is grainy, reminiscent of sand. This graininess presents a certain dryness that is more pronounced than what would be found in the skin of the amphibian. That texture is present in the background and in the figure. Therefore it makes the toad merge with the environment in which it is presented, almost as a method of camouflage. Since the toad is more comfortable in land than the frog, when in the ground, it can drop its body temperature and would seamlessly merge with the earth and the leaves. In this painting, however, the camouflage does not extend to the colour. Aside from the legs and the paws, which are similar in colour with the background, the rest of the figure predominantly has a vibrant red and blue. The red is mainly in the head, extending to the upper part of the torso. Practically everything in the head is red, the tongue, the mouth, even the pupils of the eyes are red. Lower down the torso, the red and yellow texture is crackled, to reveal underneath a vibrant blue. It is almost as if the blue was at the core of the toad and was exuding energy in order to come to the forefront. This is reminiscent of the toxicity found in the skin of certain frogs, where the brighter and more coloured the skin, the more potent the poison will be. The toad is in a crouching position, almost as if it was ready to jump, the eyes appear to be looking slightly sideways from the viewer, the paws are raised, and the long and thin tongue is out. It appears as if the toad had located a prey in the close vicinity, and was ready to lounge for

the attack. However, the toad could also be doing something entirely different, the sticky pads on the surface of its paws serve to brace itself to the female in the act of mating. The art historian Dawn Ades mentions how Toledo recalled the symphonic noise that the toads would make as they mated during the rainy season.⁴⁷ The toad has a variety of metaphorical meanings. Some of those can be found in the sacred book of the Quiché Mayas, the *Popol Vuh* (1554-1558).⁴⁸ *Tamazul*, the title of his painting, appears in the *Popol Vuh* as the name of the toad that the lords of the underworld use, it is derived from the Nahuatl *tamsoli* (toad), which is indicative that the *Popol Vuh* might have had a partly Aztec origin.⁴⁹ In Aztec mythology, there is a toad goddess named Tlatecuhtli, which would swallow the sun, and in its womb the cyclical process of destruction and rebirth would take place.⁵⁰ The toad therefore portrays the image of the devourer, which is emphasized in the painting with the loose and ready tongue. In nature, the larger species

⁴⁷ Ades, "Toledo" 48

⁴⁸ Once the Spanish conquered the Maya region in the 16th century, they engaged in a purge of Mayan religious texts, one of the few to survive was the *Popol Vuh*. Members of the Quiché-Maya aristocracy managed to transcribe some of their books in order to preserve a record of their history and culture. The *Popol Vuh* was hidden for centuries in the town of Chichicastenango in Guatemala, and only became known when it was borrowed by the monk Francisco Ximénez to make a copy in the 1700s, the original book has not been seen since then. For the Maya, reading or speaking aloud the words in the text is thought to be life-giving, and would allow the reader to envision the thoughts and actions of the gods and sacred ancestors from the beginning of time into the future, for further information see *Allen J. Christenson, "Translator's Preface" in Popol Vuh: Sacred Book of the Quiché Maya People*. Electronic version of *Popol Vuh: The Sacred Book of the Maya* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2003). Mesoweb: www.mesoweb.com/publications/Christenson/PopolVuh.pdf, 11

⁴⁹ *Popol Vuh: Sacred Book of the Quiché Maya People*. Electronic version of *Popol Vuh: The Sacred Book of the Maya* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2003). Mesoweb: www.mesoweb.com/publications/Christenson/PopolVuh.pdf, 142

⁵⁰ Ami Ronnberg, Kathleen Martin, and Archive for Research in Archetypal Symbolism. *The Book of Symbols: Reflections on Archetypal Images*, edited by Ami Ronnberg, Kathleen Martin, and Archive for Research in Archetypal Symbolism. Köln; (London: Taschen, 2010), 188

of toads have a diet that ranges from insects like beetles to rodents and small birds. This swallowing, that due to its hunting habits occurs mostly at night, and the light toxicity of their skin make a link between the toad and mortality, darkness and occlusion.

In *Bat and Germinacion* (2002) (Fig. 5) we can analyse two further aspects of Toledo's work when it comes to animals. One of them is the tendency to anthropomorphise some of the animals. In the image we see a bat, with the wings spread wide open, the head tilted to one side. The work was made on board, with a mixture of oil and pencil. The use of pencil allows the wings of the bat to possess a lighter texture and structure, which is more akin to the membranous tissue of its wings, the marks are often lightly placed, and not completely together, which makes them somewhat more translucent, and the airiness aids the illusion that the bat has been caught mid flight. The colour scheme is a mixture of greys and ochres. Darker shades are mostly used for delineating the structure of the body, where bones and muscles would be located, and the stems of the plants. A standout feature of the work is that the bat's frontal and open positioning permit us to see its penis. The penis is distinct for a couple of reasons, its shape and its size. The shape is very similar to that of a human penis and the size represents practically a third of its torso. The positioning, shape and size therefore make it a distinctive feature of the painting. I noticed prominent erect penises can also be found in the bat sculptures of Copan (Fig. 6) and some Maya vessels. The buds of the plants and the title of the painting, which includes the words *Germinación* (germination) coupled with the known role that bats play in nature as pollinators of plants make this a painting about reproduction and the erotic. The Mayans actually identified the bat with another prolific pollinator, the hummingbird. It is likely that the sight of hummingbirds and bats

sucking the nectar from the same flower species led them to believe that the bat was the nocturnal version of the hummingbird.⁵¹ The idea of the erotic was something that greatly interested Toledo. The erotic is something that can be repressed in the depths of the psyche. The psyche can be compared to the cave of the bat, profound, dark and full of fluttering entities that occupy it without any obvious guidance or purpose. The sexuality found in animals, can also speak of a union between animal and man in a quasi-totemic fashion. This anthropomorphising speaks not only to our desire to make the animals seem like us, but of people's desire to transform themselves into animals and acquire the traits that they perceive in them. This of course is part of the zoomorphic tradition that many Indigenous cultures adopted by wearing masks in order to personify various animals. Therefore, Toledo's paintings also deal with the theme of metamorphosis. The royal line of the Kaqchikel in the Mayan region was called *zotziláha*, which means the House of the Bat. The king of the Kaqchikel was called *Ahpop-Zotzil*, which meant Lord Bat, and it is likely that they lived in caves.⁵² The idea of transformation can also include magic. The shaman would use magic to transform man into animal. Therefore, the person would not only metaphorically possess the abilities of the animal, but it would do so in actuality. This suggests a free movement, of spirits, from body to body, and into different realms. Realms that could include a voyage into the underworld. In Mayan culture the shaman would normally transform into a jaguar, but Toledo expands that to include the bat, in this case, and various other animals like the iguana, the cayman and the grasshopper. Transformation and creation also links with eroticism, because in reproduction, often two

⁵¹ James E. Brady, and Jeremy D. Coltman, "Bats And The Camazotz: Correcting A Century Of Mistaken Identity," *Latin American Antiquity* 27, no. 2 (2016) www.jstor.org/stable/26337239 (Accessed: 07/04/ 2020), 233

⁵² Brady and Coltman. "Bats and The Camazotz," 230

beings come together to create something of their own, the mixture of them will produce another being with its own characteristics. By analysing the sexuality of animals, and not only including it, but merging it with that of people, Toledo aims to form a world where various beings come together. The art historian Alejandra Ortíz Castañares points out that Toledo does this in an effort to draw from the pre-Hispanic tradition that hailed fertility, although he complements the sacred element with humour.⁵³ After all, sex, is one of the most intimate and profound experiences for people, and the continuation of the specie. Of course this merging of beings had a negative side. Amongst the bats that were native to Central and South America, there were blood-sucking bats, which fed the local as well as the European imagination with a crossing of human and bat that would lead to the legend of the vampire that would feed on the blood of the living. The threat was not only located in the immediate act of biting, but also in the diseases that it would spread through its bite that would contribute to its connotation with death and evil.

Ades points out that the grasshopper represented for Toledo an interesting morphology, the long legs that protrude resemble people in coitus, and the erotic metaphor extends to the phallic shape of the grasshopper.⁵⁴ *Muerte Grillo* (1990) (Fig. 7) is a mixed media work on wood. It depicts a skeleton riding on the back of what appears to be a cricket. Both figures are painted with strong contrasts of darkness and light. The cricket is facing forward, intent on resuming its march. The head is more reminiscent of that of a human skull; it has the respective orifices for the eyes, nose and ears, and a gaping open mouth. From the top of the head protrude two antennae, which are barely distinguishable in the background. The head is connected to the body by a neck, this neck

⁵³ Ortiz, "Francisco Toledo, Artista De Tierra.", 11

⁵⁴ Ades, "Toledo", 45

continues to join with the rest of the torso in what appears to be something close to a spine. From each side of the spine various sets of ribs appear to form, to give the torso a strong build. The angle, however, is something worth noting. It appears to be tilted towards the viewer so that the frontal part of the body which would have been hidden due to the position of the cricket is instead revealed. There also appears to be disparity from where the legs come out. Three of them seem to be gathered on the lower right side, all three of similar size. The other two legs are larger, and each appear to be joined from a different side and length of the body. They have a similar structure to human bones, and there is emphasis on their capacity to move and rotate by the joints. On top of the cricket, the human figure sits facing the viewer, it is considerably smaller, both in length and width, and also general mass, which is perfect for its capacity to ride on top of it, suggesting a relatively light load. The background is of a yellow ochre that sometimes bleeds into the figures, it is very earth-like and sometimes it is hard to tell whether it belongs to a space, or rather it is a surface, in which an indexical image of the two figures was deposited. This could potentially be linked to the fact that Toledo found interesting how insects' lightness would make them more able to inhabit different spaces given that gravity would constrain them less. A different conception of space, or where the figure fits in the space can be destabilizing in a literal sense, up and down, close and far, can lose their meaning; in a metaphorical understanding, the boundaries of superiority and inferiority or rationality and irrationality can also lose their importance, or their standing can be flipped, questioning the current values and hierarchies. For Salvador Dalí, the grasshopper intrigued him because it mimicked death in its absolute stillness, but it could

jump into action at any point.⁵⁵ It is also relevant to the land which Toledo inhabited. The *chapulín* (grasshopper) is the symbol of the Valley of Oaxaca.

The interpretation of the work of Francisco Toledo through the lens of myth is necessary. The academic Adrian S. Gimata-Welsh stresses the importance of myths in Toledo's work.⁵⁶ Myths represent an alternative method of thinking about the world, through a metaphorical lens. Gimata-Welsh doesn't consider this to be at odds with rational thinking, but rather they are complementary to each other. The clinical psychologist and academic Jordan B. Peterson actually emphasises the important dichotomy between science and mythology as systems for knowing the world. On the one hand, science offers a 'description of the world with regard to those aspects that are consensually apprehensible' or 'specification of the most effective mode of reaching an end.'⁵⁷ On the other hand, myths offer a description of the world as it concerns action. Myths serve to describe things in terms of 'their unique or shared affective valence, their value, their motivational significance.'⁵⁸ Therefore once science has determined the nature of the apprehensible world myths serve as a process of verification in the moral domain which helps us to decide how to act in relation to the future that we want to construct and the consequences of that future. This process cannot be avoided as action already implies the conscious or unconscious choice of one set of possibilities over another. Peterson describes myth as a multigenerational process, where we become ever better able to conceptualize and understand our patterns of behaviour, originally led by

⁵⁵ Ades, "Toledo", 26

⁵⁶ Welsh, 'Francisco Toledo,' 5

⁵⁷ Peterson, *Maps of Meaning*, 109

⁵⁸ *Ibid*

instinct, in relation to the goals we desire.⁵⁹ Our evolved brain is designed to produce adaptation in response to the changing natural and social environment.⁶⁰ Rituals in the form of images and stories are represented patterns of action as we become capable to map the world with higher degrees of abstraction, consciousness and explicitness. This understanding of myth makes Toledo's use of myths relevant to the present. Toledo's paintings of animals and metamorphoses of humans and animals are not outdated because they are found in Monte Alban. Not only does Toledo transform them through his European formalistic influence, but by emphasizing nature as part of man's being, Toledo's work lifts the natural world, such as animals, into an equal standing with man.⁶¹ It would also establish a link between the two, and delineate a shared destiny where the actions of humans affect animals and vice versa, a destiny that is as current now as it ever was.⁶²

⁵⁹ Peterson, *Maps of Meaning*, 180

⁶⁰ Peterson, *Maps of Meaning*, 302

⁶¹ Ashton, 'Francisco Toledo,' n.p.

⁶² Toledo's fondness for animals was a part of his life, his father used to jokingly call him Rey Iguana (iguana king), for further information see Ades, "Toledo," 43

Chapter 3: The Challenge of Mestizaje

Alejandra Ortíz Castañares makes the statement that the work of Toledo just like Mexico, is mestizo.⁶³ This is a common and interesting statement when referring to Mexican art. It does a couple of things. On the one hand, it makes a comparison, and draws a strong link between the ontological nature of the artwork and the identity of the Mexican people. On the other hand, it suggests a mixture and communal Mexican identity that is generally in line with the theories of José Vasconcelos. As previously mentioned, Vasconcelos was tasked with promoting Mexican culture. He conceptualised Mexico as a homogenously mestizo (indigenous-european) nation, which in their mixture had created a Cosmic Race, the fifth great race of humanity that formed a universal synthesis that would be imbued with special capacities especially in the spiritual realm making it the superior race. Trying to understand the concept of mestizaje is necessary in order to understand the concept of Mexicanidad as well as the work of Toledo, or at least the interpretation that has been given of his work. The idea of mestizaje was a concept that was present in Mexico almost since the conquest. The curator Ilona Katzew provides a broad and in-depth analysis. She argues that the Spaniards adapted their social schema to the New World. Amongst the concepts that they incorporated was the relationship between Church and State, the hierarchical organization of society making the distinction between nobles and plebeians, and also the idea of *limpieza de sangre* (the purity of blood). The families that were considered to have pure blood were those that could trace their untarnished descent for several generations, and would therefore be known as ‘Old

⁶³ Ortíz, ‘Francisco Toledo, Artista De Tierra,’ 10

Christians’; ‘New Christians’ were those families that included Muslim and Jewish converts. This concept expanded and transformed during the fifteenth and sixteenth century to emphasize distinction between European, African or Amerindian heritage.⁶⁴ The structuration of the colony was therefore based on those three principles of nobility, church and heritage. Since each group of people had a certain set of rights and obligations, the work of correctly identifying the identity of individuals became necessary, and extremely rigorous.⁶⁵ Demonstrating lineage required an extensive body of evidence known as *probanza* (probation), and led to an obsession with genealogy and family history.⁶⁶ The Inquisition considered Indians neophytes and thus pure, and therefore would not be subject to the same judicial proceedings as Spaniards or mixed-raced individuals. Nonetheless, the consensus was that ultimately the Indians would become New Christians and therefore were under the protection of the Spanish Crown, under the category of wards of the crown and minors. Indians were largely associated with agriculture and unskilled labour. Spaniards would be known as *gente de razón* (people who reason) and *gente decente* (respectable people). The racially-mixed people were collectively known as castas, and even though, technically, the term *casta* designated all members of society, it was used by the Spaniards and Criollos (those born

⁶⁴ Ilona Katzew, Susan Deans-Smith, “Introduction: The Alchemy of Race in Mexican America” in *Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America*, edited by Ilona Katzew and Susan Deans-Smith; with a preface by William B. Taylor. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 8-9

⁶⁵ At the beginning, this was not only on the side of the Spanish, but also with the Indians as there were distinctions between nobles and commoners. Those who descended from pre-Hispanic nobility obtained the title of caciques, and were conferred *privilegios de honra* (privileges of honour), which included the right to carry arms, and to use formal designations of Don and Doña, for further information see Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 2004, 43

⁶⁶ Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 43

in the New World) to distinguish themselves from the racially mixed people. This allowed the development of a pictorial genre known as *Casta* painting, which offered a visual representation of the process of race mixing between the three main groups in the Spanish colony: Spanish, Indians and Africans. Most sets consisted of 16 scenes constructed as a progression of images recording the process of *mestizaje*, this is clear in the example selected (Fig. 8). Each image portrays a man and a woman of different races with their child or children, and accompanied with an inscription identifying and detailing their racial mix, as well as samplings of local objects, flora and fauna of the Americas. Africans were an important part of this social landscape, they were brought to New Spain as slaves, and worked as domestic servants for the Spaniards as well as in plantations and mines. Approximately 200,000 African slaves are thought to have been taken to Mexico, however the number is likely to be higher as many of them were brought illegally.⁶⁷ The city of Veracruz was the port of entry, from where they would migrate throughout the country.⁶⁸ Since they were seen as material possessions, owning African slaves was seen as a marker of superior status. According to the historian Robert McCaa, even though someone's reputation was expressed in racial terms, someone's standing was much better understood with the term *calidad* (quality), which included race, economic, social and cultural factors.⁶⁹ Therefore since someone's phenotype was not the most comprehensive indicator of someone's identity, people would try to

⁶⁷ Spaniards would already have a harsh views of Africans partly because of their possible Muslim background and also because of the belief that the black race descended from Ham, the cursed child of Noah, whose hubristic act of exposing his father's nakedness to his brothers was punished by changing the complexion of Ham's son, Canaan and his descendants, from white to black and condemning them to perpetual servitude, for further information see Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 46

⁶⁸ Sue, *Land of the Cosmic Race*, 11

⁶⁹ Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 45

maximize their whiteness by asserting a whiter socio-racial ancestry with varying degrees of success. This was motivated by a desire to obtain a greater social prestige, access to ecclesiastical and secular offices and escape the heavy tribute that Indians, Africans and mulattos had to pay. After Mexico's war of Independence from Spain in 1810, the abolition of slavery in 1829 and end of the legal forms of racial discrimination, Mexican liberals carried an effort to secularize, modernize and unify Mexico. This was done by going after the Catholic Church, the institutions that promoted the colonial hierarchy and autonomous indigenous communities. In 1822 there was a decree banning Mexicans to be classified in official documents by racial origin.⁷⁰ These were espoused with the European theories that a country's capacity for growth and civilization depended on the country's racial make-up. These led to the recruitment of European immigrants to Mexico in 'hope of whitening (and thus modernizing) the country.'⁷¹ However, after the war of independence, the interest in Casta painting declined due to the official rejection of a hierarchically structured society of castas, the abolition of the guild system that protected it, and the embrace of the Royal Academy of San Carlos which led interest away from the colonial baroque and costumbrismo, the latter being the recording of local customs, towards neo-classicism. Previous to that, Europe was where artists would go to study, and it was European artists that travelled to Latin America to teach.⁷² Neoclassicism was identified with Napoleon and the French Revolution, and provided a model for the artists to depict their own revolutions. Not all visualisations of the pre-Columbian past were negative. Since the Peninsulares (those born in Spain) would look

⁷⁰ Katzew, Deans-Smith, "Introduction," 11-12

⁷¹ Sue, *Land of the Cosmic Race*, 13

⁷² Barnitz, *Twentieth-century Art of Latin America*, 2

down on the Criollos, even though they might have the same racial heritage, the latter would seek superior distinguishing traits. The Criollos would depict in art and description a glorious pre-Hispanic past, which meant they were supplanting an already lavish and powerful empire, as was the one of the Aztecs, that would increase the status of their homeland. New Spain also attempted to place itself at the core of Christian religion with local devotions reputed to produce miracles, and the fame of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Finally, the material wealth and natural abundance of the colony would be exacerbated and would allow the elite to lead a luscious life of ornate residences, sumptuous churches and many outward symbols of extravagance. Even before muralism, artists like José María Obregón made paintings like *El Descubrimiento del Pulque* (The Discovery of Pulque) (1869) (Fig. 9). It was inspired by a legend of a beautiful young woman named Xóchitl, who is offering the King of Tula a gourd filled with pulque that she had recently discovered. The King, struck by her beauty is said to have married her afterwards. Even though, Obregón used a misreading of the legend, and it wasn't pulque what was in the gourd, since pulque was a drink present in Mesoamerica for 2500 years, the striking thing about the painting is the depiction of a grand palace with Toltec features, and proud people wearing luxurious garments.⁷³ This brief history of mestizaje demonstrates three things which helps us to understand the work of Toledo. As Debroye says, these conception of mestizo national identity erases the many differences between the ethnic groups, including foreign immigrants, it fails to include the African history and racial presence in Mexico as a key component, and does not emphasize that different

⁷³ Fausto Ramírez, 'El descubrimiento del pulque', *Museo Nacional de Arte*, 2003 <http://musal.emuseum.com/objects/665/el-descubrimiento-del-pulque?ctx=1d4f4176-22d9-40fe-95ce-b223b4877432&idx=4>. (Accessed: 15/04/2020)

individuals associate with their racial identity differently.⁷⁴ In 1930, all racial categories in the Mexican census were abolished as it was believed to be impossible to accurately determine one's racial origin. The questions about racial background, were changed to those about culture and language.⁷⁵ Furthermore, the history presented above shows that racial mixture was, and as will be demonstrated subsequently, is mostly sought after when it is to whiten the race. It also shows, particularly through Casta painting, that racial identity was clearly linked to art. Finally, as Rolando Romero argues, that when Latin-Americans recall the illustrious pre-Columbian past of the great empires, they do so at a distance. Firstly, distancing their own racial heritage from it, and secondly, distancing themselves through time to ensure they are not associated with the current realities of the indigenous people in the present.⁷⁶

Toledo's painting *Autorretrato* (1975) (Fig. 10) shows a man centred on a mostly blue background. The man is facing the viewer directly. His hands meet in the middle to handle a small dog. He appears to be holding its frontal legs, almost as if he was controlling them. This painting brings various elements that are prevalent in Toledo's work. It shows an animal, and it hints at the subject of sexuality as the dog's penis is noticeable in the painting. It also highlights in a more explicit manner the interaction of humans to nature. However, Toledo did not often depict people. This figure has several distinct elements but the most noticeable is the face. The face has an interesting set of

⁷⁴ Oliver Debroise, "Mexican Art on Display," translated by James Oles in *The Effects of the Nation: Mexican Art in an Age of Globalization*, edited by Carl Good, and John V. Waldron, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 21

⁷⁵ Katzew, Deans-Smith, "Introduction", 17

⁷⁶ Rolando Romero, "The Postmodern Hybrid: Do Aliens Dream" in *The Effects of the Nation: Mexican Art in an Age of Globalization*, edited by Carl Good and John V. Waldron (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 14

colours and shapes, the eyes are very distinct, they are orange, stuck to the side of the head and appears as if there was nothing but eyelids. This contrasts with the more realistically shaped nose. The eyes and the nose are surrounded by black, as well as two squares of black below the mouth, which in relation to the rest of the face, appears to be like a vacuum, although that would mean that it somehow goes deeper than the blue background behind the figure. There is also blue that seeps from the background. In terms of shape the face is masklike but not animalistic. This is exacerbated by how the outer parts of it are of an ochre shade, with a granular surface, which is both similar to the surface that it is painted on, masonite, but also adobe. Adobe is a material used widely across Oaxaca, Mexico and across the world, it is made from dried mud, which makes it very economical since the two key ingredients, mud and sunlight, are widely available at virtually no cost. Depending on the region, the mud can also contain clay, sand, and small gravel. It also appears somehow flesh-like, at least in terms of colour, not too far from bronze. It appears constructed, built and worn and therefore draws parallels with the idea of Mexicans as *la raza de bronce* (the bronze race). The idea that all Mexicans are of the same race, which is still present to this day. In 2010 with the celebration of the bicentennial celebration of Mexico's independence, the government sent to every household a state-approved book on Mexican history titled *Viaje por la Historia de México* (2010) by Luis Gonzalez y Gonzalez, with a passage that described the offspring of indigenous-Spanish mixture as 'a new racial group generically known as mestizos, that was not Spanish or indigenous, but Mexican.'⁷⁷ Colour becomes the marker to a particular racial pole because racial ancestry is presumed to be relatively constant

⁷⁷ Sue, *Land of the Cosmic Race*, 190

amongst Mestizos.⁷⁸ The “bettering the race” argument justifies the search for lighter partners because it appears in favour of interracial relationships, and denies it has racist connotations because the choice is framed as a concern for the appearance of the potential children.⁷⁹ Sue describes that the situation in Mexico is not an example of an elite imposing an ideology on the rest of the population, or even deceiving them into embracing it, but rather, the elites, as much as the non-elites, creatively defend the racial common sense.⁸⁰ Simultaneously they reject the idea that it is racism by comparing it to different eras and countries.⁸¹ In 2004, after being reprimanded in the UN, Mexico finally accepted in a report that ‘Mexico acknowledges that racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance continue to exist at all levels of Mexican society.’⁸²

As previously demonstrated, in Mexico, race and colour also permeate culture both in its making and its reception, this includes Toledo’s work. With this in mind, the approach to his work can be twofold. On the one hand, decolonial theories serve to identify and acknowledge the colonial and racial history of Mexico. Aníbal Quijano and particularly Juan G. Ramos emphasise how the racial and national divisions of power have historically privileged the race and culture of Europeans over that of Indigenous, mestizo or black people. This was done through mechanisms of colonial subjugation, which they claim were transferred after to the mestizo elites of the new Latin American republics.⁸³ According to Ramos these hierarchical relationships of power also determine the producers and consumers of cultural artefacts. Ramos’s solution is to acknowledge

⁷⁸ Sue, *Land of the Cosmic Race*, 7

⁷⁹ Sue, *Land of the Cosmic Race*, 77

⁸⁰ Sue, *Land of the Cosmic Race*, 182

⁸¹ Sue, *Land of the Cosmic Race*, 156

⁸² Sue, *Land of the Cosmic Race*, 190

⁸³ Ramos, *Sensing Decolonial Aesthetics in Latin American Arts*, 200

that Latin America has not yet freed itself from colonial forces and mechanisms of oppression, and therefore an undoing of the Eurocentric hierarchy and knowledge is required to pave the way for African and indigenous perspectives.⁸⁴ This idea of cultural hegemony as presented by Antonio Gramsci is useful to identify that the culture in power can heavily influence what people think.⁸⁵ Craig Owens also identifies the capacity of the systems of power to authorize or prohibit certain representations.⁸⁶ This helps explain the rejection of indigenous art in the colonial and post-colonial Mexico. Nonetheless, Walter Mignolo warns that the suggestion that an epistemic project represents every member of a particular group identity, in this case race or skin colour, is a problem because such ‘totalizing identity politics belongs to the paradigm that uses identities to hierarchize and exclude.’⁸⁷ Furthermore, many social evils were already present before the arrival of the Spanish. The Aztec empire, for example, had extractive and coercive institutions that included slavery, serfdom and land grants to elites.⁸⁸ This was part of the reason why the Tlaxcalteca lordships, offered the Spaniards extensive military support, which decisively aided the defeat of the Aztec empire.⁸⁹ Hence, the theories of Western liberalism as presented by the historian Larry Sidentop are more appealing. They originated in Christianity and developed over two thousand years, in order to create and protect a

⁸⁴ Ramos, *Sensing Decolonial Aesthetics in Latin American Arts*, 209

⁸⁵ Stephen Duncombe, "Cultural Hegemony" in *Beautiful Trouble: A Toolbox for Revolution*, edited by Andrew Boyd and Dave Oswald Mitchell, New York; London: OR Books, 2012. www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1bkm5nd.94. (Accessed: 17/06/2020)

⁸⁶ Craig Owens, "The Discourse of Others: Feminists and Postmodernism" in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, edited by Hal Foster. New York: New Press, 1998, 68

⁸⁷ Walter Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America*. Blackwell Manifestos. Malden, Mass (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 141

⁸⁸ Scheidel, *The Great Leveler*, 82

⁸⁹ Martínez, "La Creación de Nueva España," 241

public role for conscience.⁹⁰ This moral equality of humans implies that there is a sphere of conscience and free action and therefore people are seen as individuals with free choice and with responsibility for their actions.⁹¹ The experimental cognitive psychologist and linguist Steven Pinker argues that culture can better be defined by people pooling their abilities and knowledge in order to coordinate their labours and solve their problems.⁹² A lot of the technological and social developments which occurred in Europe and the United States of America can be used by anyone and have been articulated by non-Western civilizations.⁹³ If knowledge and culture are seen as tools to interpret the world, then a greater depth of knowledge of indigenous and African descent and culture is a benefit to the whole of humanity because it expands the repertoire of strategies for engaging with the world, which have not been explored due to past and present prejudice. This is completely in line with Toledo's thinking because as much as he would have been influenced by Zapotec culture and pre-Columbian culture, he should not be limited to that, he absorbed and understood a variety of cultures. Such examples range from artisanal forms practiced presently in Mexico, to Spanish baroque, to the Parisian Surrealists, to Ottonian Germany, to the poetry of William Blake. 'All of the memory traces of other cultures, and even his own, are not, still, what makes Toledo's work arresting. Rather, it is his way of making them answer to the demands of nature.'⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Larry Siedentop, *Inventing the Individual*, 355

⁹¹ Siedentop, *Inventing the Individual*, 361

⁹² Pinker, *The Blank Slate*, 60

⁹³ Pinker, *Enlightenment Now*, 29

⁹⁴ Ashton, 'Francisco Toledo,' n.p.

Conclusion

Ultimately, Toledo's work can be seen through the lens of transformation, not only through his capacity to adapt historical and mythological forms to fit in the present, to demonstrate the porous links between animals, humans and the rest of the natural world, and blend the figures into others and the rest of their background and environment through luscious colours and expert brushstrokes, but also because it is a compelling argument for painting and art in general. Several thinkers support the theory of art as transformation. Graw frames painting with the idea of a historical formation, which enables painting to conceive of changes, boundary shifts and the characteristics that persist over time.⁹⁵ Similarly, the critic Barry Schwabsky analyses painting through the idea of a project. Since a project is always in development, it is constantly unfolding and therefore subject to revision, consequently you never get 'to look at it straight on. Rather, it's something you can only catch glimpses of, something you decri by way of its various manifestations.'⁹⁶ Peter Osborne's is perhaps the most comprehensive exposition of this theory of art as transformation in his theory of the postconceptual condition. Following on Adorno's thinking that art's 'law of movement is its law of form.'⁹⁷ Art is constructed by an ongoing retrospective and reflective totalization from the standpoint of the present,

⁹⁵ Graw, *The Love of Painting*, 14

⁹⁶ Barry Schwabsky, "Object or Project? A Critic's Reflections on the Otology of Painting," in *Contemporary Painting in Context*, edited by Anne Ring Petersen, Mikkel Bogh, Hans Dam Christensen, and Peter Nørgaard Larsen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2010), 178

⁹⁷ Adorno, Theodor W. *Aesthetic Theory*, trans. Robert Hullot Kentor, Anthlo Press, London, 1997, pp. 2-3, *Ästhetische Theorie, Gesammelte Schriften 7*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 1996, pp. 11-12, quoted in Peter Osborne, *The Postconceptual Condition: Critical Essays*, (London: Verso Books. 2018), 22

with each individual work giving the idea of art, but no individual work being by itself adequate to that idea. Therefore, since art is not only what it was, but also what it became and can become, the concept also refers to what it does not contain.⁹⁸ This is certainly true of Toledo's work particularly in the difference yet retained cohesiveness of his various works. Toledo had the capacity to tackle complex ideas through his intuition, extensive cultural knowledge and dexterity with materials. This capacity in artists is a visual intelligence, which some people possess and that can be developed with knowledge into a kind of instinct.⁹⁹ The value of painting, like that of Toledo, can be found beyond its content, in its endless possibility of staging meanings and actions.¹⁰⁰ This is in line with what John Kelsey says, that the contemporary artist is not limited to produce and present objects and images but rather 'produces production itself, presentation itself.'¹⁰¹

Part of the reason Toledo's work or Mexican identity have not been dealt with appropriately is due to the degrees of resolution with which they were assessed. Forming stereotypes is part of the knowledge formation processes in the brain, to put things together that share properties so that we are not stunned by every new thing we encounter.¹⁰² However, that is not where knowledge has to end. No category will do absolute justice to every one of its members, and we can override the group categorization by focusing on the characteristics of an individual work or artist. Similarly

⁹⁸ Osborne, *The Postconceptual Condition*, 194-5

⁹⁹ Graw, *The Love of Painting*, 127

¹⁰⁰ David Joselit, "Marking, Scoring, Storing and Speculating (on Time)" in *Painting beyond Itself: The Medium in the Post-medium Condition*, edited by Isabelle Graw, and Ewa Lajer-Burcharth (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2016), 11

¹⁰¹ Kelsey, *Rich Texts*, 68

¹⁰² Pinker, *The Blank Slate*, 203

occurs with the term Mestizo. As previously stated, the term was positively reconceptualized 100 years ago making the argument that it would appeal to a proud ancient indigenous past, draw parallels between indigenous oppression by the Spanish and the oppression that Mexico suffered at the hands of other nations, unite diverse groups under the same national identity and rally everyone into a single cause.¹⁰³ Even then, it was done under the belief that race was the national and universal basis of human flourishing.¹⁰⁴ Now, it is no longer a useful term. It is both inaccurate, because while a considerable part of the population might come from a mixed indigenous and European descent, it homogenises the indigenous heritage and neglects the African influence. Most importantly, it neglects the deep-rooted racist history of the term and of Mexico. In the 21st century, it should only be used as a very low-resolution proposition instead of the essential identity of Mexicans. Paintings, especially like those of Toledo, actually provide a useful analogy to these problems of stereotypes and low-resolution terms. The multi-layer construction and unfolding of a painting, offers the viewer depth beyond perspective, especially with the presence of pentimento. It rewards further inspection and time spent looking, and questions the totality of the first glance. It encourages us to dig deeper and realize the complexity of the artistic proposition. By providing us with such vibrant and visually arresting imagery, Toledo encourages us to look and once we do, he rewards us with a plethora of visual and informational stimuli. Beyond his influences, it is what he did with them, his capacity to coherently present to the viewer complex debates such as form and content, fantasy and reality, surface and subject, high art and

¹⁰³ Erica Segre, *Intersected Identities: Strategies of Visualization in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Mexican Culture*, (Oxford: Berghan Books, 2007), 15

¹⁰⁴ José Vasconcelos, *La Raza Cómica: Misión de la raza iberoamericana*, (Biblioteca Virtual Universal, 2003), 20

folklore, humorous political commentary and a rejection of politics. The very tension between figuration and abstraction that is so current in painting today. While Toledo generally distanced himself from politics throughout his life, he acted to further the cultural capital of people in Mexico, and particularly in Oaxaca, which is part of the reason he is respected and admired.¹⁰⁵ In 1972, he founded alongside Víctor de la Cruz La Casa de la Cultura del Istmo (The House of Culture of the Istmo), financed by Toledo, who also donated an extensive library and collection of graphic works, and where workshops and courses were imparted, some of them in Zapotec, and he translated antique texts in order to bring culture and art to the Zapotec people.¹⁰⁶ In 1992 he collaborated in the creation of the Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Oaxaca (Museum of Contemporary Art of Oaxaca) and received the National Prize from President Zedillo in 1998.¹⁰⁷ Nonetheless he often rejected accolades, and would fail to show up to collect prizes. He refused to be a member of El Colegio Nacional, an honorary academic institution, and in 2010 he demonstrated his derision towards politics by the claim that “Voy a morir sin haber votado” (he would die without having ever voted).¹⁰⁸ So, Toledo’s identity was important, but for who is willing to look, there’s so much more.

¹⁰⁵ Three of his children pursued the arts, one of them, his son Jerónimo López Ramírez, Dr. Lakra, is a well-known artist who has exhibited internationally in places like Tate Modern, London, for further information see Dolores Garnica, ‘Francisco Toledo: El mono, el pulpo y el chapulín’, in *Magis*, Agosto-Septiembre 2015/447, magis.iteso.mx (Accessed: 26/03/2020), 33

¹⁰⁶ Ortíz, "Francisco Toledo, Artista De Tierra," 19

¹⁰⁷ Ades, Dawn et al. *Francisco Toledo*, edited by Francisco Toledo, Catherine. Lampert, Whitechapel Art Gallery, Museo Nacional Centro De Arte Reina Sofía, and Spain, and Ministerio de Cultura, 18-49. London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 2000, 148-51

¹⁰⁸ Garnica, ‘Francisco Toledo: El mono, el pulpo y el chapulín,’ in *magis*, Agosto-Septiembre 2015/447, magis.iteso.mx, 35

Bibliography

Abelleyra, Angélica. “Yo soy los demás.” *La Jornada Semanal*, 31 October 1999.

Acevedo, Esther, Jaime Cuadrilleo and Fausto Ramirez. *Los pinceles de la historia: De la patria criolla a la nación mexicana, 1750 – 1860*. Mexico City: MNA, 2000. Quoted in Erica Segre. *Intersected Identities: Strategies of Visualization in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Mexican Culture*. Oxford: Berghan Books. 2007.

Ades, Dawn. “Toledo.” In *Francisco Toledo*. Edited by Francisco Toledo, Catherine Lampert, Whitechapel Art Gallery, Museo Nacional Centro De Arte Reina Sofía, and Ministerio de Cultura, 18 – 49. London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 2000.

Adorno, Theodor W. *Aesthetic Theory*, trans. Robert Hullot Kentor, Anthlo Press, London, 1997. 2-3, Ästhetische Theorie, Gesammelte Schriften 7, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 1996, 11-12. In Peter Osborne. *The Postconceptual Condition: Critical Essays*. London: Verso Books. 2018.

Ashton, Dore, ‘Francisco Toledo’, *Latin American Masters*

<https://www.latinamericanmasters.com/press/francisco-toledo2>, (Accessed 27/03/2020).

Bagú, Sergio, and Humberto Gussoni. *El desarrollo cultural en la liberación de América Latina*. Biblioteca de la Cultura Universitaria, 1967. In Juan G. Ramos, *Sensing Decolonial Aesthetics in Latin American Arts*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2018.

Barnitz, Jacqueline and Patrick Frank. *Twentieth-century Art of Latin America*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001.

Blanco, Alberto, and Antonieta Cruz. "Arte De Oaxaca." *Artes De México, Nueva Época*, no. 21 (1998): 68-83. www.jstor.org/stable/24327024. (Accessed: 20/03/2020).

Blom, Ina. "Media Animism: Rachel Harrison's Living Images." In *Art and Subjecthood: The Return of the Human Figure in Semicapitalism*. Edited by Isabelle Graw, Daniel Birnbaum, Nickolaus Hirsch, and Städelschule Frankfurt Am Main, Institut Für Kunstkritik, 65 – 75. Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2011.

Brady, James E., and Jeremy D. Coltman. "Bats and The Camazotz: Correcting a Century of Mistaken Identity." *Latin American Antiquity* 27, no. 2 (2016): 227 – 237. www.jstor.org/stable/26337239. (Accessed: 07/04/ 2020)

Carrasco, Pedro. "Cultural y Sociedad en México Antiguo." In *Historia general de México*. Versión 2000. Edited by El Colegio de México, 155 – 233. Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2009.

Christenson, Allen J. "Translator's Preface." In *Popol Vuh: Sacred Book of the Quiché Maya People*. Translated by Allen J. Christenson. Electronic version of Popol Vuh: The Sacred Book of the Maya (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2003). Mesoweb: www.mesoweb.com/publications/Christenson/PopolVuh.pdf.

Cordero Reiman, Karen. "Corporeal Identities in Mexican Art: Modern and Postmodern Strategies." In *The Effects of the Nation: Mexican Art in an Age of Globalization*. Edited by Carl Good, and John V. Waldron, 53 – 71. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001.

Crimp, Douglas. "On the Museum's Ruins." In *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*. Edited by Hal Foster, 49 – 64. New York: New Press, 1998.

Debroise, Oliver "Mexican Art on Display." Translated by James Oles. In *The Effects of the Nation: Mexican Art in an Age of Globalization*. Edited by Carl Good, and John V. Waldron, 20 – 36. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001.

Del Conde, Teresa. "Notes on Rufino Tamayo's Lithographs." In *Rufino Tamayo: Catalogue Raisonné: Prints 1925-1991*. Edited by Juan Carlos Pereda, 303-312. Fundación Olga y Rufino Tamayo: Conaculta-Inba; Turner, 2004.

Duncombe, Stephen. "Cultural Hegemony." In *Beautiful Trouble: A Toolbox for Revolution*. Edited by Andrew Boyd, and Dave Oswald Mitchell, 222 – 225. New York; London: OR Books, 2012. www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1bkm5nd.94. (Accessed: 17/06/2020)

Foster, Hal. "Introduction." In *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*. Edited by Hal Foster, ix - xvii. New York: New Press, 1998.

Foster, Hal, Krauss, Rosalind, Bois, Yves Alain, Buchloh, Benjamin H.D., Joselit, David. *Art since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism*. Third ed. London: Thames and Hudson, 2016.

Galí Boadella, Montserrat. "René Derouin: Dialogues with Mexico." In *The Effects of the Nation: Mexican Art in an Age of Globalization*. Edited by Carl Good, and John V. Waldron, 160 – 177. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001.

García Martínez, Bernardo. "La Creación de Nueva España" in *Historia general de México*. Versión 2000. Edited by El Colegio de México, 237 – 306. Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2009.

Garnica, Dolores. 'Francisco Toledo: El mono, el pulpo y el chapulín', in *Magis*, Agosto-Septiembre 2015/447, magis.iteso.mx (Accessed: 26/03/2020)

Geimer, Peter. "Questions for Isabelle Graw." In *Thinking through Painting: Reflexivity and Agency beyond the Canvas*. Edited by Institut Für Kunstkritik Frankfurt Am Main, Isabelle Graw, Daniel Birnbaum, and Nikolaus Hirsch, 59 – 60. Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2012.

Geimer, Peter. "Response to Isabelle Graw" in *Thinking through Painting: Reflexivity and Agency beyond the Canvas*. Edited by Institut Für Kunstkritik Frankfurt Am Main, Isabelle Graw, Daniel Birnbaum, and Nikolaus Hirsch 39 – 42. Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2012.

Genauer, Emily. *Rufino Tamayo*. New York: Abrams, 1974. Quoted in E. Carmen Ramos, "Tamayo: The New York Years" Ramos, E. Carmen *Tamayo: the New York years*. Edited by E. Carmen Ramos. With contributions by Beth Shook. Washington, DC: Smithsonian American Art Museum; London: Giles, 2017.

Gimate-Welsh H, Adrian S. 'Francisco Toledo: Creator and re-creator of a New Cosmogony.' *Semiotics Bridging Nature and Culture*. (Accessed: 19/04/2020)

Goldman, Shifra M. *Contemporary Mexican Painting in a Time of Change*. Foreword by Raquel Tibol. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995.

Gómez Sicre, José. *4 artists of the Americas: Roberto Burle-Marx, Alexander Calder, Amelia Peláez, Rufino Tamayo*. Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, 1957.

Good, Carl “Introduction: Ungoverned Specificities.” In *The Effects of the Nation: Mexican Art in an Age of Globalization*. Edited by Carl Good, and John V. Waldron, 1 – 19. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001.

Graw, Isabelle. *The Love of Painting: Genealogy of a Success Medium*. Translated by Brían Hanrahan, and Gerrit Jackson. Edited by Niamh Dunphy. Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2018.

Graw, Isabelle. “The Value of Liveliness: Painting as an Index of Agency in the New Economy.” In *Painting beyond Itself: The Medium in the Post-medium Condition*. Edited by Isabelle Graw, and Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, 79 – 101. Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2016.

Graw, Isabelle. “The Value of Painting: Notes on Unspecificity, Indexicality, and Highly Valuable Quasi-Persons.” In *Thinking through Painting: Reflexivity and Agency beyond the Canvas*. Edited by Institut Für Kunstkritik Frankfurt Am Main, Isabelle Graw, Daniel Birnbaum, and Nikolaus Hirsch, 47 – 57. Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2012.

Graw, Isabelle. “Introduction: When Objecthood Turns into Subjecthood.” In *Art and Subjecthood: The Return of the Human Figure in Semiocapitalism*. Edited by Isabelle Graw, Daniel Birnbaum, Nickolaus Hirsc, Städelschule Frankfurt Am Main, and Institut Für Kunstkritik, 11 – 18. Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2011.

Greet, Michele. *Beyond National Identity: Pictorial Indigenism as a Modernist Strategy in Andean Art, 1920-1960*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009.

Habermas, Jürgen. “Modernity – An Incomplete Project.” In *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*. Edited by Hal Foster, 1 – 15. New York: New Press, 1998.

Harris, Jonathan. “Contemporary, ‘Common’, ‘Context’, ‘Criticism’: Painting after the End of Postmodernism.” In *Contemporary Painting in Context*. Edited by Anne Ring Petersen, with Mikkel Bogh, Hans Dam Christensen and Peter Nørgaard Larsen, 25 – 41. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2010.

Hedrick, Tace. *Mestizo Modernism: Race, Nation, and Identity in Latin American Culture, 1900-1940*. New Brunswick, N.J.; London: Rutgers University Press, 2003.

Helm, MacKinley. *Modern Mexican Painters*. New York: Dover Publications, 1974.

Jameson, Frederic. “Postmodernism and Consumer Society.” In *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*. Edited by Hal Foster, 127 – 144. New York: New Press, 1998.

Joselit, David. “Marking, Scoring, Storing and Speculating (on Time),” In *Painting beyond Itself: The Medium in the Post-medium Condition*, edited by Isabelle Graw, and Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, 11 – 20. Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2016.

Kahneman, Daniel. *Thinking, Fast and Slow*. London: Allen Lane, 2011.

Katzew, Ilona. *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Katzew, Ilona, Susan Deans-Smith. "Introduction: The Alchemy of Race in Mexican America" *Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America*. Edited by Ilona Katzew, and Susan Deans-Smith, 1 – 24. With a Preface by William B. Taylor. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.

Kelsey, John. Daniel Birnbaum, and Isabelle Graw. *Rich Texts: Selected Writings for Art*. Edited by John Kelsey, Daniel Birnbaum, and Isabelle Graw. Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2010.

Lampert, Catherine. "Lachi Xopa, El Pochote and the Marketplace." In *Francisco Toledo*. Edited by Francisco Toledo, Catherine. Lampert, Whitechapel Art Gallery, Museo Nacional Centro De Arte Reina Sofía, and Ministerio de Cultura, 7 – 10. London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 2000.

Lampert, Catherine and Guirao, José, "Foreword." In *Francisco Toledo*. Edited by Francisco Toledo, Catherine. Lampert, Whitechapel Art Gallery, Museo Nacional Centro

De Arte Reina Sofía, and Ministerio de Cultura, 11 – 17. London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 2000.

Lucie-Smith, Edward, and Peter Kershaw. *Latin American Art of the 20th Century*. 2nd ed., Thames & Hudson, 2004.

Manrique, Jorge Alberto. “El proceso de las artes.” In *Historia general de México*. Versión 2000. Edited by El Colegio de México, 947 – 956. Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2009.

Melville, Stephen. “Painting: Ontology and Experience.” In *Contemporary Painting in Context*. Edited by Anne Ring Petersen, Mikkel Bogh, Hans Dam Christensen, and Peter Nørgaard Larsen, 81 – 92. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2010.

Mignolo, Walter. *The Idea of Latin America*. Blackwell Manifestos. Malden, Mass. Oxford: Blackwell, 2005.

Minna Stern, Alexandra. “Eugenics and Racial Classification in Modern Mexican America.” In *Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America*. Edited by Ilona Katzew, and Susan Deans-Smith, 151 – 173. With a Preface by William B. Taylor. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.

Molina P., Carlos A. ‘Francisco Toledo, sus inicios’, *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, Vol. XXXIX, Núm. III, 2017
<http://dx.doi.org/10.22201/iie.18703062e,2017.111.2610> (Accessed: 20/03/2020)

Monsiváis, Carlos. “Notas sobre la cultura mexicana en el siglo XX.” In *Historia general de México*. Versión 2000. Edited by El Colegio de México, 956 – 1076. Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2009.

Monsiváis, Carlos. “Off with Toledo’s head, said the gut-slashed iguana.” In *Francisco Toledo*. Edited by Francisco Toledo, Catherine. Lampert, Whitechapel Art Gallery, Museo Nacional Centro De Arte Reina Sofia, and Spain, and Ministerio de Cultura, 75 – 145. London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 2000.

Montgomery, Scott L. and Daniel Chirot. *The Shape of the New: Four Big Ideas and How They Made the World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015. Quoted in Steven Pinker, *Enlightenment Now: The Case for Reason, Science, Humanism and Progress*. New York: Viking Penguin, 2018.

Morales, Mariana. “Mixografía” in *Rufino Tamayo: Catalogue Raisonné: Prints 1925-1991*. Edited by Juan Carlos Pereda, 313 – 320. Fundación Olga y Rufino Tamayo: Conaculta-Inba; Turner, 2004.

Navarrete, Federico. *Mexico racista: Una denuncia*. Mexico City: Penguin Random House Grupo Editorial, 2016.

Navarrete Bouzard, Silvia. “Breaking Free: Outside Artists of the Mexican School.” In *México, 1900-1950: Diego Rivera, Frida Kahlo, José Clemente Orozco, and the Avant-Garde*. Edited by Agustín Arteaga. With essays by Agustín Arteaga, Juan Manuel Bonet, and Paulina Bravo, 213 – 223. Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 2017.

Ørskou, Gitte. “The Longing for Order: Painting as the Gatekeeper of Harmony.” In *Contemporary Painting in Context*. Edited by Anne Ring Petersen, Mikkel Bogh, Hans Dam Christensen, and Peter Nørgaard Larsen, 179 – 195. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2010.

Ortiz Castañares, Alejandra. ‘Francisco Toledo, Artista De Tierra.’ *Confluenze: Rivista Di Studi Iberoamericani* 8, no. 2 (2016): 8 – 22. (Accessed: 19/03/2020)

Osborne, Peter. *The Postconceptual Condition: Critical Essays*. London: Verso Books. 2018.

Owens, Craig. “The Discourse of Others: Feminists and Postmodernism.” In *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*. Edited by Hal Foster, 65 – 92. New York: New Press, 1998.

Paz, Octavio. *El laberinto de la soledad*. Mexico D.F: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992. In Alejandra Ortiz Castañares. 'Francisco Toledo, Artista De Tierra.' *Confluenze: Rivista Di Studi Iberoamericani* 8, no. 2 (2016): 8-22. (Accessed: 19/03/2020)

Pereda, Juan Carlos. "Rufino Tamayo's Contributions to Silkscreening" in *Rufino Tamayo: Catalogue Raisonné: Prints 1925-1991*. Edited by Juan Carlos Pereda, 321 – 324. Fundación Olga y Rufino Tamayo: Conaculta-Inba; Turner, 2004.

Pereda, Juan Carlos. "Tamayo, the Graphic Artist" in *Rufino Tamayo: Catalogue Raisonné: Prints 1925-1991*. Edited by Juan Carlos Pereda, 25 – 40. Fundación Olga y Rufino Tamayo: Conaculta-Inba; Turner, 2004.

Peterson, Jordan B. *Maps of Meaning: The Architecture of Belief*. New York: Routledge, 1999.

Pinker, Steven. *Enlightenment Now: The Case for Reason, Science, Humanism, and Progress*. New York: Viking Penguin, 2018.

Pinker, Steven. *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature*. London: Penguin Press Science, 2003; London: Penguin Press Science, 2016.

Popol Vuh: Sacred Book of the Quiché Maya People. Translated by Allen J. Christenson. Electronic version of Popol Vuh: The Sacred Book of the Maya (University of Oklahoma

Press, Norman, 2003). Mesoweb: www.mesoweb.com/publications/Christenson/PopolVuh.pdf. (Accessed: 06/04/2020)

Ramírez, Fausto. “México a través de los siglos (1881-1910): La pintura de historia durante el Porfiriato.” In *Los pinceles de la historia: La fabricación del estado 1864-1910*, edited by Esther Acevedo and Fausto Ramírez, 110-149. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 2003.

Ramírez, Fausto. ‘El descubrimiento del pulque’, *Museo Nacional de Arte*, 2003
<http://munal.emuseum.com/objects/665/el-descubrimiento-del-pulque?ctx=1d4f4176-22d9-40fe-95ce-b223b4877432&idx=4>. (Accessed: 15/04/2020)

Ramos, E. Carmen “Tamayo: The New York Years.” In *Tamayo: the New York years*. Edited by E. Carmen Ramos, 1 – 75. With contributions by Beth Shook. Washington, DC: Smithsonian American Art Museum; London: Giles, 2017.

Ramos, Juan G. *Sensing Decolonial Aesthetics in Latin American Arts*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2018.

Rico, Nuria. “From the Text to the Image: Books Illustrated by Tamayo.” In *Rufino Tamayo: Catalogue Raisonné: Prints 1925-1991*. Edited by Juan Carlos Pereda, 325 – 334. Fundación Olga y Rufino Tamayo: Conaculta-Inba; Turner, 2004.

Romero, Rolando. "The Postmodern Hybrid: Do Aliens Dream." In *The Effects of the Nation: Mexican Art in an Age of Globalization*. Edited by Carl Good, and John V. Waldron, 196 – 211. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001.

Ronnberg, Ami., Kathleen Martin, and Archive for Research in Archetypal Symbolism. *The Book of Symbols: Reflections on Archetypal Images*. Edited by Ami Ronnberg, Kathleen Martin, and Archive for Research in Archetypal Symbolism. Köln; London: Taschen, 2010.

Said, Edward W. "Opponents, Audiences, Constituencies and Community." In *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*. Edited by Hal Foster, 155 – 183. New York: New Press, 1998.

Sánchez Silva, Carlos. "Juárez, Gobernador De Oaxaca, y La Administración Política De Los Pueblos De Indios, 1847-1857." In *Juárez: Historia Y Mito*. Edited by Vázquez Josefina Zoraida, 415 – 434. México, D.F.: El Colegio De Mexico, 2010.
doi:10.2307/j.ctvhn0d9b.23. (Accessed: 08/05/2020)

Scheidel, Walter. *The Great Leveler: Violence and the History of Inequality from the Stone Age to the Twenty-first Century*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2017.

Schwabsky, Barry. "Object or Project? A Critic's Reflections on the Ontology of Painting." In *Contemporary Painting in Context*. Edited by Anne Ring Petersen, Mikkel Bogh, Hans Dam Christensen and Peter Nørgaard Larsen, 69 – 80. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2010.

Segre, Erica. "Introduction: La negrura-oscuridad y su imagen: Rethinking the Poetics of Darkness and Noir Materials in Contemporary Writing and Visual Culture in Mexico." In *México Noir: Rethinking the Dark in Contemporary Writing and Visual Culture*. Edited by Erica Segre, 15 – 70. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2019.

Segre, Erica. *Intersected Identities: Strategies of Visualization in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Mexican Culture*. Oxford: Berghan Books, 2007.

Siedentop, Larry. *Inventing the Individual: The Origins of Western Liberalism*. London: Allen Lane, 2014.

Stebich, Stephanie. "Director's Foreword" to *Tamayo: the New York years*. Edited by E. Carmen Ramos, xvii – xix. With contributions by Beth Shook. Washington, DC: Smithsonian American Art Museum; London: Giles, 2017.

Subirats, Eduardo. "La resistencia estética", *Arquitextos* 5, num. 123, year 11, 8 of August 2010. Edited by Brasil Guerra, www.vitruvius.com.br/revistas/read/arquitextos/11.123/3503 (Accessed 15/04/2020)

Sue, Christina A. *Land of the Cosmic Race: Race Mixture, Racism, and Blackness in Mexico*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Sullivan, Edward J. *Latin American Art in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Phaidon Press, 1996.

Wadley, Nicolas. "Introduction." In Tamayo. *Rufino Tamayo: Recent Paintings*, edited by Marlborough Gallery, 2 – 3. London: Marlborough Fine Art Ltd.; New York: Marlborough Gallery Inc., 1979.

Theroux, Paul, What Makes Francisco Toledo 'El Maestro', *Smithsonian Magazine*, June 2019. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/what-makes-francisco-toledo-180972172/> (Accessed: 23/3/20)

Tibol, Raquel. "Introduction" in *Rufino Tamayo: Catalogue Raisonné: Prints 1925-1991*. Edited by Juan Carlos Pereda, 19 – 22. Fundación Olga y Rufino Tamayo: Conaculta-Inba; Turner, 2004.

Vasconcelos, José. *La Raza Cósmica: Misión de la raza iberoamericana*. Biblioteca Virtual Universal. 2003.

Wortham, Erica Cusi. *Indigenous Media in Mexico: Culture, Community, and the State*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2013.

Zavala, Adriana. *Becoming Modern, Becoming Tradition: Women, Gender, and Representation in Mexican Art*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.

List of Illustrations

Figure 1. Francisco Toledo, *Benito Juárez flechador* (Benito Juárez Archer), 1985
gouache and sand with Mexican peso collage on paper, 50.8 x 55.9 cm, (Photo:
<https://www.phillips.com/detail/francisco-toledo/NY010515/38>)

Figure 2. Rufino Tamayo, *Mujer con canasta de frutas* (Woman with Fruit Basket) /
India Frutera (Indian Fruit Dealer), 1926, oil on canvas, 88.3 x 67.9 cm, The Bernard
and Edith Lewin Collection of Mexican Art (Photo:
<https://collections.lacma.org/node/193764>)

Figure 3. Rufino Tamayo, *El Perro Loco* (The Mad Dog), 1943, oil on canvas, 81.3 x
109.2 cm, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia (Photo:
[https://artondemand.philamuseum.org/detail/461071/tamayo-the-mad-dog-
1943%20%20%20%20https://collections.lacma.org/node/193764](https://artondemand.philamuseum.org/detail/461071/tamayo-the-mad-dog-1943%20%20%20%20https://collections.lacma.org/node/193764))

Figure 4. Francisco Toledo, *Tamazul*, 1982, oil on canvas, 54 x 60cm, Private Collection
(Photo: <http://www.franciscotoledo.net/tamazul/>)

Figure 5. Francisco Toledo, *Bat and Germinación*, 2002, oil and pencil on board, 45.5
x 61 cm (Photo: <http://www.franciscotoledo.net/bat-and-germinacion/>)

Figure 6. Unknown, Sculptured Bat with Extended Wings, Found in the Acropolis Temple 20 in Copan, Honduras. After repair, photographed as it is placed in the Copan Museum – Image black and white photograph, Carnegie Institution of Washington Collection of Maya Archaeological Photographs, ID number: 58 – 34 – 20/035561

(Photo:

<https://www.jstor.org/action/doImageSearch?pagemark=cGFnZU1hcms9NQ%3D%3D&Query=copan&refreqid=search%3A90d5a03572790a2be4d72c3ae833e4ab>)

Figure 7. Francisco Toledo, Muerte Grillo (Death Cricket), 1990, mixed media on wood, 61 x 80cm, Private Collection Mexico City (Photo:

<http://www.franciscotoledo.net/muerte-grillo/>)

Figure 8. Unknown artist, casta painting, ca. 1750, oil on canvas, 67 x 56.2 cm, Private Collection (Photo: <https://johnbuaas.files.wordpress.com/2015/05/casta-painting-ca-1750.jpg>)

Figure 9. José María Obregón, *El Descubrimiento del Pulque* (The Discovery of Pulque) 1869, oil on canvas, 230 x 189 cm, Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico (Photo:

<https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/the-discovery-of-pulque/7AEzapnyhiE-AQ?hl=en>)

Figure 10. Francisco Toledo, *Autorretrato* (Self Portrait), 1975, mixed media on Masonite, 76 x 55.8cm, (Photo: <http://www.franciscotoledo.net/autorretrato/>)

Illustrations

Figure 1. Francisco Toledo, *Benito Juárez flechador* (Benito Juárez Archer), 1985

gouache and sand with Mexican peso collage on paper, 50.8 x 55.9 cm



Figure 2. Rufino Tamayo, *Mujer con canasta de frutas* (Woman with Fruit Basket) / *India Frutera* (Indian Fruit Dealer), 1926, oil on canvas, 88.3 x 67.9 cm, The Bernard and Edith Lewin Collection of Mexican Art



Figure 3. Rufino Tamayo, *El Perro Loco* (The Mad Dog), 1943, oil on canvas, 81.3 x 109.2 cm, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia



Figure 4. Francisco Toledo, *Tamazul*, 1982, oil on canvas, 54 x 60cm, Private Collection



Figure 5. Francisco Toledo, *Bat and Germinación*, 2002, oil and pencil on board, 45.5

x 61 cm



Figure 6. Unknown, Sculptured Bat with Extended Wings, Found in the Acropolis Temple 20 in Copan, Honduras. After repair, photographed as it is placed in the Copan Museum – Image black and white photograph, Carnegie Institution of Washington Collection of Maya Archaeological Photographs, ID number: 58 – 34 – 20/035561



Figure 7. Francisco Toledo, *Muerte Grillo* (Death Cricket), 1990, mixed media on wood, 61 x 80cm, Private Collection Mexico City

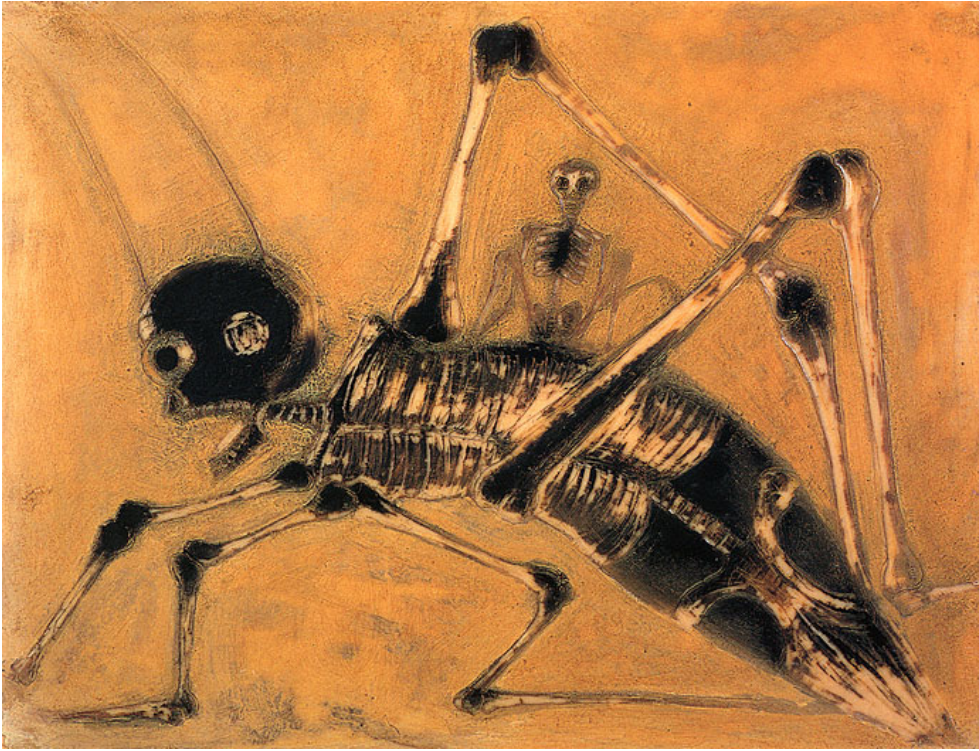


Figure 8. Unknown artist, casta painting, ca. 1750, oil on canvas, 67 x 56.2 cm, Private Collection



Figure 9. José María Obregón, *El Descubrimiento del Pulque* (The Discovery of Pulque)

1869, oil on canvas, 230 x 189 cm, Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico



Figure 10. Francisco Toledo, *Autorretrato* (Self Portrait), 1975, mixed media on Masonite, 76 x 55.8cm

