

Independence and its Heroes

THE SUCCESS of the Independence movements in the Spanish colonies of America gave birth to new countries, new political orders and to lasting debates about national identity, but not immediately to any flowering of the arts. Material existence, both during and after the wars against the Spanish colonizing powers, was too precarious, the general state of affairs too unstable, for the formation of artistic communities. No claims were made for any 'movement' in the arts that might have embodied the political ideals of Independence, in the way that neo-classicism in the hands of David had for the French Revolution. Although neo-classicism, whose influence was felt in the Academy in Mexico by the end of the eighteenth century, was associated with the reforming currents of thought in intellectual circles, there was little opportunity for its development. 'Twenty years of civil war and insurrection', the English traveller and collector William Bullock wrote in 1823, 'have produced a deplorable change in the Arts . . . today, there is not a single pupil in the Academy . . .'.¹

'By 1830, nearly every part of the sub-continent presented a spectacle of civil war, violence or dictatorship; the few writers and intellectuals were either tossed to one side or forced into battle.'² The situation, however, was a little less dire in the visual arts, in that official and popular demand for portraits ensured some livelihood for painters. If there was not a flowering, there was at least some response in the visual arts to the drama, turbulence and excitement of political life in Latin America in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In fact, the visual art that was produced at the time of Independence has taken on an almost disproportionate importance subsequently, not only as 'authentic' historical document, which is the way it is usually presented in Latin America now, but also as witness to and assistant in the process of construction of a national identity. For Independence, whatever succeeded it in terms of discord and strife, and however far its ideals became distanced from political reality, remained by far the most important moment for the new nations that emerged; representations of its heroes and martyrs have become talismans or icons signifying those beliefs, and reinterpreted with reverence, or with irony, by artists in the twentieth century for whom national or Latin American identity in cultural and political terms remains an unresolved and therefore potent issue. The contemporary imagery of Independence: portraits of its heroes, leaders and martyrs [Pls 1.2,3,4,5,6,9,10], pic-

1.1 Detail of Pl. 1.7.

1.2 Antonio Salas (attributed), *Portrait of Simón Bolívar*, 1829, oil on canvas, 59×47 cm., Collection Oswaldo Viteri.



1.3 Anonymous, *Policarpa Salavarrieta Goes to Her Execution*, 19th century, oil on canvas, 76×95 cm., Museo Nacional, Colombia.

1.4 Epifanio Garay Caicedo (attributed), *Portrait of Policarpa Salavarrieta*, 19th century, oil on canvas, 138.5×91.9 cm., Museo Nacional, Colombia.



1.6 Anonymous, *Execution of the Heroine Rosa Zarate and of Nicolas de la Peña (in Tumaco)*, 1812, oil on canvas, 101.3×142.6 cm., Museo de Arte Moderno, Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, Quito.

1.5 Anonymous, *Portrait of General Otamendi*, 19th century, oil on tin, 35.5×25 cm., Musco Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, Quito.



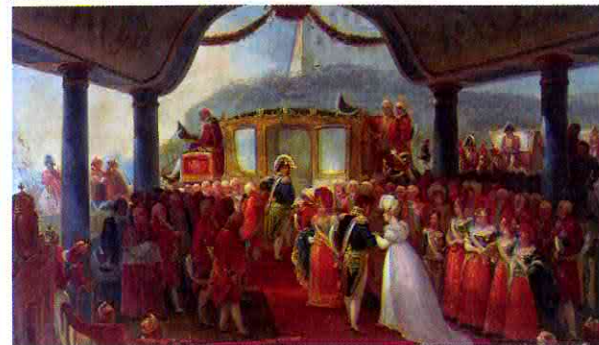


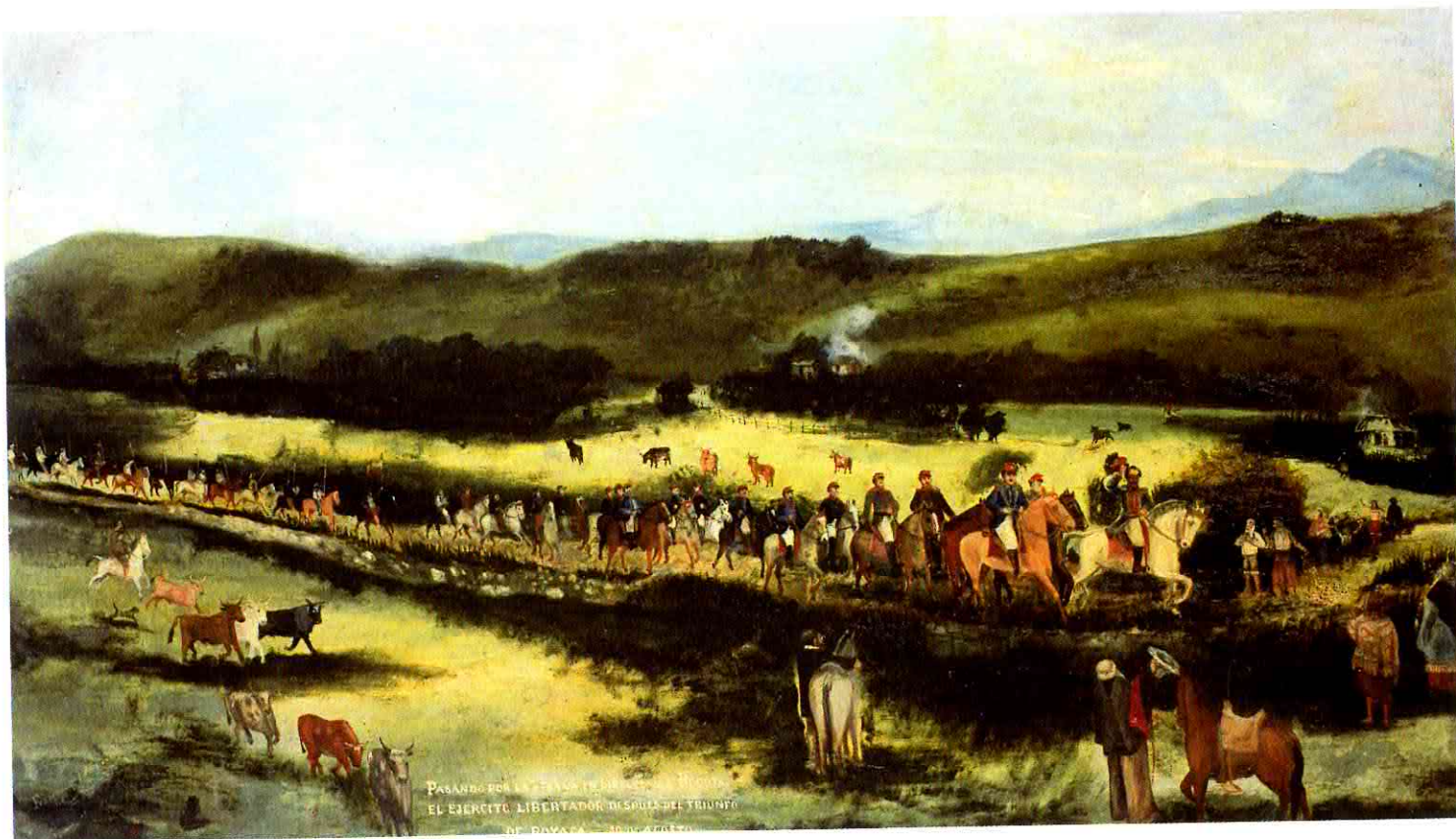
tures of recent historical events and victories against the Spanish army, allegorical scenes and personifications of America or of individual republics [Pls 1.7,8], was produced in a variety of styles, ranging from the neo-classical to the naïve. These works involve both a continuation and a rejection of traditions established during the colonial epoch.

For three hundred years, since the Spanish invasions of the early sixteenth century, Spain (or in the case of Brazil, whose history took a different turn in the nineteenth century, Portugal) had ruled from Europe, through a succession of viceroys, the different provinces into which Spanish America was divided; high official positions were reserved exclusively for Spaniards from Spain, although creole (*criollo*) society (that is, Spaniards born in the New World) settled in those provinces and became rich. It was members of this class who were largely instrumental in achieving Independence. The majority of the population, at least in the Andean countries and

1.7 Anonymous, *Allegory of the Departure of Dom Pedro I for Europe after the Declaration of the Republic*, 1890, oil on canvas, 82×103 cm., Fundação Maria Luísa e Oscar Americano, São Paulo.

1.8 Jean-Baptiste Debret, *Landing of Doña Leopoldina, First Empress of Brazil* (study), n.d., oil on canvas, 44.5×69.5 cm., Museu Nacional de Belas Artes, Rio de Janeiro.

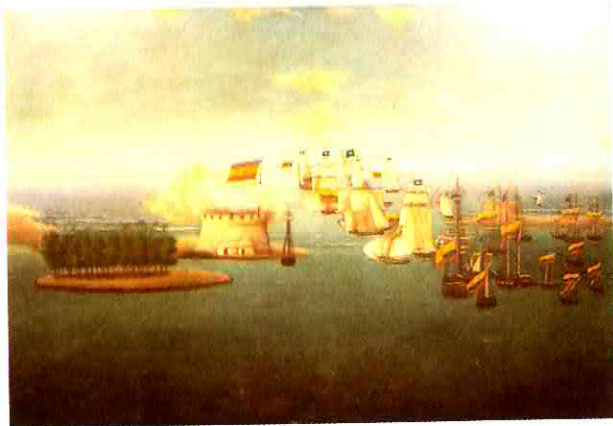




1.9 Francisco de Paula Alvarez, *Riding to Bogotá with the Liberation Army*, 19th century, oil on canvas, 65.5×116 cm., Museo Nacional, Colombia.

1.11 (facing page) Circle of the Master of Calamarca, Lake Titicaca School, *Archangel with Gun*, late 17th century, oil on cotton, 47×31 cm., New Orleans Museum of Art.

1.10 José María Espinosa, *Battle of Maracaibo Castle*, 1878, oil on canvas, 90×127 cm., Museo Nacional, Colombia.



in Mexico and Central America, was 'Indian' – a term we have perforce to use, since there is no other single term to describe the original peoples of the continent, but one which imposes a spurious unity only demanded by the colonizing process itself.³ With the exception of those people who remained physically and geographically out of reach, the populations became Catholic, although beliefs were frequently syncretic, involving elements of the old religions mingled with the new and with significant local variations. Out of this *mestizo*, or mixed, culture sprang a flourishing popular art, with paintings (on cloth, wood, tin, skin, paper and canvas) and carvings in wood and wax, alabaster and stone. At the levels of both popular and official art, the Church was the dominant factor, and with the exception of society and campaign portraits, which became extremely popular in the eighteenth century, the visual arts were almost exclusively at the service of the Catholic religion. Occasionally a strikingly original talent arose, like Diego Quispe in seventeenth-century Cuzco, or wonderful transformations of Christian iconography occurred, as in the motif of the Angel with a Gun, again in the Cuzco school. Usually anonymous, these paintings depict divine figures like the archangels Michael or Barachiel (Uriel), dressed in the flamboyant secular attire of the seventeenth-century dignitary – or perhaps the viceroy himself – carrying, prominently, a musket, their poses based on military handbooks of the period [Pl. 1.11]. Other Cuzco school paintings depict saints or angels in more baroque military garb.⁴



salamiel Parcedel



1.12 Anonymous, *Virgin of the Hill*, before 1720, oil on canvas, Casa Nacional de Moneda, Potosí.

Paintings of the Virgin in Peru and Bolivia, which often include a portrait of the donor, share with these a remarkable elaboration of decorative detail, especially in the clothes, often embroidered in fine gilt. It is a decorativeness that has little to do with the sinuous rococo of eighteenth-century Europe, favouring rather a symmetrical and hieratic stiffness. Possibly the labour spent on painting the cloth carries some of the dignity textiles possessed in the Inca and pre-Incaic cultures (Paracas and Nazca, for instance), whereby the new religion is endowed with some of the values of the previous cultures. One of the most significant images is that of the *Virgin of the Hill* of Potosí, whose skirts spread to become the hill of the silver mines, thereby taking on the identity of Pachamama, the Andean earth and creation goddess [Pl. 1.12].

With Independence, the Church's role as patron of the visual arts lessened, although the battle between civil and ecclesiastical authorities, sparked by Independence, continued. But portraits of the leaders and heroes of Independence sometimes take on the aspect of a votive image, now in the service of a secular idealism.

The ideology of Independence was fundamentally that of the Enlightenment: 'The revolutionary message came from France and North America under the priest's cassock, and in the minds of the cosmopolitan statesmen to sharpen the discontent of the educated and well-bred Creoles, governed from across the seas by the law of tribute and the gallows,'⁵ wrote José Martí, the Cuban writer and revolutionary who died in action on the eve of Cuban independence in 1895.

Simón Bolívar, from a wealthy creole family long established in Caracas, spent periods of his youth in Europe, where he witnessed Napoleon's coronation. He was thoroughly educated in Enlightenment thought, familiar with Rousseau, Mirabeau and Voltaire (his favourite author), in common with other American revolutionary thinkers of the time, including Hidalgo, whose abortive insurrection of 1810 is taken as the start of the Mexican struggle for independence. Bolívar was in turn immensely admired by liberal Europe. Byron named his schooner *Bolívar*, and hesitated between joining the struggle for independence in South America or in Greece. Bolívar was the subject of numerous sympathetic caricatures, as well as often being compared with Napoleon. Such comparisons frequently find their way into the Bolivarian iconography, as in the 1857 portrait by the Chilean artist Arayo Gómez, which places Bolívar on a white horse, rearing against a background of the Andes rather than the Alps, in direct reference to David's portrait of *Napoleon Crossing the Alps*. The earliest such use of David's dramatic equestrian portrait was probably an 1824 engraving by S. W. Reynolds, which adds the names 'Bolívar' and 'O'Higgins' to the 'Bonaparte' inscribed in the Alpine rock. Bolívar rejected such comparisons, however, saying, 'I am not Napoleon, nor do I wish to be him; neither do I wish to imitate Caesar. . . . the title of Liberator is superior to the many I could have received.'⁶ (He had been honoured with the title 'Libertador' in Mérida, Venezuela, in June

1813.) Bolívar's terms of reference were strikingly and persistently European, borrowing especially from the Enlightenment the language of classical republican ideals. He described himself, for instance, as having to play the role of Brutus to save his country, but being unwilling to play that of Sulla.

Disagreement about the form new governments were to take, and deeper conflicts that had been both masked and unleashed by Independence, led to continuing violence. 'It is easier for men to die with honour than to think with order. It was discovered that it is simpler to govern when sentiments are exalted and united, than in the wake of battle when divisive, arrogant, exotic and ambitious ideas emerge,'⁷ wrote Martí. Thereafter, for the next half-century, 'An extraordinary procession of eccentric despots, mad tyrants and half-civilized "men on horseback" sweeps across the historical scene'.⁸

Bolívar was faced with the collapse of his dream of a peaceful and united federation of Gran Colombia; the Republic he managed to create, out of the former viceroyalty of New Granada and part of the viceroyalty of Peru (now the nations of Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador and Panama), was disintegrating amid conspiracies, rebellions and campaigns to discredit Bolívar. He resigned as President in 1830, and later that year died at Santa Marta on his way into voluntary exile, aged forty-seven. He had written to his closest companion at arms, General Sucre, 'It will be said that I have liberated the New World, but it will not be said that I perfected the stability and happiness of any of the nations that compass it.'⁹

Martí blamed Bolívar for attempting to impose foreign notions on an alien reality:

America began to suffer, and still suffers, from the effort of trying to find an adjustment between the discordant and hostile elements it inherited from a despotic and perverse colonizer, and the imported ideas and forms which have retarded the logical government because of their lack of local reality. The continent, disjointed by three centuries of a rule that denied men the right to use their reason, embarked on a form of government based on reason, without thought or reflection on the unlettered hordes which had helped in its redemption. . . .¹⁰

Indeed, as this last passage hints, the problem of the type of government to be adopted conceals a more radical problem: that of a basic alternative between the Indianization or the Westernization of America. The very term 'New World' belongs irrevocably to the latter, as does the term 'American Spain', a concept accepted by Bolívar and other revolutionary thinkers, which immediately alerts us to the presence of a Western discourse.

Very few of the innumerable tracts printed during the Independence struggles were addressed to the Indian inhabitants, let alone written in a native language. One of the few exceptions was, significantly, addressed to the indigenous people of a neighbouring

country, for transparent political reasons: Bernardo O'Higgins, the 'Supreme Director of the State of Chile', as he titled himself, addressed the 'Natives of Peru' in Quechua, exhorting them to invite him and his army of liberation in, to help their own fight for independence.¹¹

On the whole it was in those countries where the original inhabitants had possessed a civilization that was recognizably advanced according to European standards, with writing, stone architecture, painting and sculpture, elaborate tax and tribute systems and clearly defined social and ritual hierarchies, that there had been continuing resistance to Spanish colonial rule. Active struggles for independence in colonial America cannot be subsumed automatically into the successful movement against Spain of the early nineteenth century, but they provided important precursors for it. The most famous of the native insurrections that preceded Independence was that of Tupac Amaru. A descendant of the Incas, Tupac Amaru had a grand political vision of government by the Indians and the restoration of their lands. His campaign of 1781, which had much popular support, ended in his capture and death, and only two portraits of him have survived: one by the Indian Simón Oblitas, from Cuzco. These were probably painted from life, and intended, as were so many such portraits of revolutionary leaders, to spread Tupac Amaru's image among the people and keep his memory alive. It is not surprising that so few have survived, given that such portraits were 'considered punishable and witnesses of subversive activity'.¹²

There were, however, conflicting ideas and interests among indigenous restoration movements. Pumacahua, also of Inca blood, was Tupac Amaru's bitter enemy, and helped defeat him at the battle of Tinta. He espoused a conservative ideology, and, although calling himself Inca, was at the same time sufficiently valued by the Spanish authorities to be named by the Viceroy in 1807 'Presidente Interno de la Real Audiencia de Cuzco', the highest position an indigene reached under viceregal government. In 1814 Pumacahua joined what was the most formidable uprising against the Spanish in Peru until San Martín, being finally defeated by General Ramírez on the heights of Umachiri.

Between 1781 and 1814 ideas of establishing an Inca monarchy remained very much alive; there was in 1805, for instance, a plan to restore the Inca socio-political structure, the Tahuantinsuyu, and to crown an Inca. The influence of these ideas was still felt when later debates concerning the form of government turned to the possibility of monarchy. At the Congress of Tucumán in Buenos Aires in 1816, Belgrano promoted the idea that a new government should be inspired by the Inca empire, an idea bitterly opposed by others who mocked 'la monarquía de las ojotas' (the monarchy of sandals).¹³

Teresa Gisbert examines the iconography associated with ideas of the restoration of the Inca dynasty in the context of Independence, and reveals the odd legitimization it offers to Independence heroes, eventually fading into nostalgia [Pl.1.13]. San Martín, who



1.13 Anonymous, Allegorical shield in honour of Bolívar, 1825, 108x102 cm., Instituto Nacional de Cultura-Cusco; Museo Histórico Regional.



1.14 Anonymous, Allegorical Theme: *Homage to Bolívar*; 'Viva Bolívar; Viva Bolívar', 19th century, engraving, Fundación John Boulton, Caracas.



1.15 A. Leclerc, *Simón Bolívar*, 1819, lithograph, Bogotá.

was, it seems, not averse to accepting a crown, is depicted in one *biombo* (screen) at the end of a sequence of Inca kings; Bolívar, who was averse to it, is also shown in a *lienzo* (canvas), his head painted over that of Carlos III, in a sequence of monarchs beginning with the Inca rulers, and with fellow Independence leaders, including Paez and Sucre, superimposed over other Spanish kings. Sahuaraura's *Recuerdos de la Monarquía Peruana o Bosquejo de la Historia de los Inca* (1836–8, published Paris 1850) portrays the genealogy of the Inca, in the tradition that extends back to Guaman Poma de Ayala's *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* of the early seventeenth century, to demonstrate the author's royal blood. But, like the engraved copies of the Inca dynasty made for European travellers in the nineteenth century, Sahuaraura's images lack the polemical and revolutionary import they would have had at the time of Tupac Amaru, having even in a sense become safely picturesque. As Gisbert writes:

The characteristics of autochthonous art of the colonial era bear witness to the existence of an Indian nation within the viceregal structure, fighting to maintain its identity and to remain in evidence. In the eighteenth century the natives channelled their aspirations into politics, only to see them wrecked by the collapse of the rebellion of 1781; from that date what had been combative and committed art (paintings, architectural façades, etc.) turns to nostalgic reminiscence, even though the creole patriots did not identify themselves with Indian ideology and employed these values – which they knew by the light of encyclopedists more than through their own experience – within a somewhat lyrical setting.¹⁴

By the time the creole patriots had driven out the Spanish, it was possible to invoke the figure of the Inca as part of a symbolic or allegorical system indicating national unity. A silver candlestick struck in Britain to commemorate British support for Independence unites the three figures of Bolívar, Britannia and an Inca. An engraving in the Boulton Foundation in Caracas shows a ring of figures including Indians, mestizos and creoles dancing round a bust of Bolívar [Pl. 1.14]. Other engravings show the Indians, significantly, in the background. One by Dubois, intended for popular distribution in America, depicts a possibly mulatto father holding up a framed engraving of Bolívar for his family's admiration, while in the distance a troop of Indians in single file, with the characteristic erect and squared-off feather head-dress with which they were usually represented at the time, emerging from behind a church carrying a flag, presumably symbolic of national unity. Underneath is the inscription 'Aquí está su Libertador' (Here is your Liberator) [Pl. 1.16]. The engraving of Bolívar is clearly based on the earlier widely disseminated engraved portraits by Bate, or Leclerc [Pl. 1.15], where he has curly hair growing over his forehead and a moustache.¹⁵

Representations of America have from the colonial period on taken the form of an indigenous woman.¹⁶ An interesting variation

on this occurs in the canvas painted by the Bogotá artist Pedro José Figuerola, *Simón Bolívar, Liberator and Father of the Nation* [Pl. 1.17], to celebrate the final independence of New Granada following the battle of Boyacá on 7 August 1819. The picture was presented to Bolívar in the main square of Bogotá during the victory fiesta on 18 September. The young Republic is shown as an Indian woman wearing the upright feather head-dress already noted, carrying bows and arrows and seated on the head of a mythical cayman. She stands in relation to Bolívar as daughter (he is named Father of the Patria).¹⁷ However, she also – unlike many personifications of America which show her as naked or lightly draped – is dressed as and wears the pearls and jewels of a European, and her features are at most mestizo; her gesture is clearly derived from Christian iconography, and she presents something of the aspect of a virgin or saint.

The most familiar images of Bolívar, and those which cast their influence over many descriptions of him, such as Martí's ('that man of high forehead above a face devoured by eyes indifferent to steel or tempest . . .'), are those painted by Gil de Castro and by José María Espinosa. Espinosa painted Bolívar from 1828, while he was in Bogotá, and made pencil sketches from life, including one just before he died, showing him worn and prematurely aged [Pl. 1.22]. He continued to make numerous portraits of Bolívar after his death, for foreigners and his countrymen, the grandest of which is the 1864 portrait (*Bolívar: Portrait of the Liberator*) [Pl. 1.18], with its insistent echoes of Napoleon, with arms crossed and an elaborate sofa behind. This large painting now hangs in solitary pride of place in the central Cabinet room of the Government Palace in Caracas.

By contrast with this, Gil de Castro's portrait of Bolívar, and that of Olaya, the martyr of Peruvian independence [Pl. 1.20], still hark back to a colonial tradition, with a lengthy inscription carefully lettered on to a framed plaque, although the red banner above the subject's head clearly at the same time announces him as a modern revolutionary. The attributes are carefully arranged in each: the globe and writing material on the desk in the portrait of Bolívar [Pl. 1.19] refer to the extraordinary geographical scope of his achievement, and, having ridden with his army across a continent, his extraordinary energy in writing tracts and issuing edicts to the liberated countries. Gil de Castro, a mulatto who had painted society portraits before the Independence movement, joined the struggle enthusiastically, and entered Santiago with the liberating army. Thence he came with San Martín's army to Lima, where he became 'Primer Pintor del Gobierno del Perú', and designed the army's uniforms. He painted most of the heroes of Independence, and reserved for them, and for heads of state, the full-length portrait, which in his hands takes on something of a votive image. The faintly primitive, chiselled neo-classicism of his portraits of Bolívar maintains a delicate and appropriate balance between the local and the European: it is a 'provincial and festive version of neo-classi-



1.16 Dubois, *Here is Your Liberator*, 19th century, hand-coloured engraving, Collection Bosque García, Caracas.



1.17 Pedro José Figuerola, *Simón Bolívar, Liberator and Father of the Nation*, 1819, oil on canvas, Quinta de Bolívar, Colombia.



1.18 José Mariá Espinosa, *Bolívar: Portrait of the Liberator*, 1864, Palace of Miraflores, Caracas.



1.19 José Gil de Castro, *Portrait of Bolívar in Bogotá*, 1830 s., oil on canvas.

cism'.¹⁸ His *Portrait of Simón Bolívar in Lima*, of 1825, was sent to Bolívar's sister in Caracas; its relative simplicity and directness pleased Bolívar [Pl. 1.21].

The production of the images relating to Independence could never be a neutral or objective matter, particularly in the climate of violence and discord that followed it:

... the interpretation of recent history was repeatedly a 'mirror of discords'. Faced with each version of the facts as it arose ... the artists were called on to illustrate the thought of the historian or the political group to which they adhered. Thus the foregoing serves us as a basis for understanding the circumstances and the

1.20 José Gil de Castro, *The Martyr Olaya*, 1823, oil on canvas, 204×134 cm., Museo Nacional de Historia, Lima.



El patriota D. José Olaya sirvió con gloria ala
PATRIA y honró el lugar de su nacimiento.

Don José Olaya
Padre de la Patria
Callao

D. José Olaya
nació en el pueblo de Cho-
trillos el año de 1782 fue muy
distinguido p. su singular pa-
trioismo; fue tan constante en él,
q' envidio el año de 1822 p. las auto-
ridades q' se hallaban en el Callao
con correspondencias a esta Cap-
ital, q' ocupaban los Españoles pre-
firió el martirio y sufrió mil
pechos y la muerte, antes q'
declarar las personas q'
quiere aminorar
originales.

La Lima Do. José Olaya en el 26 de Mayo de 1822



conjuncture in which the portraits of leading figures and the commemorative works bore witness to the various projects of nationhood. Linked with the emergence of conflicting political proposals (basically between a central and a federal system), the images not only took note of short-term changes in the political or military scene (memory), but also, through the recovery of certain antagonistic figures (Hidalgo v. Iturbide), traced the different ideological courses which the country was later to follow (the sense of history). Undoubtedly the decisive weight of the past, containing the genesis of the idea of nationhood, gave sanction to the deeds of the present and launched the ideals of the future.¹⁹

The antagonism between different interests and ideals, between different models of the projected 'new nation' to follow Independence, represented in the passage quoted above by the phrase 'Hidalgo v. Iturbide', leads on to some of the issues raised earlier but now in the specific context of Mexico, and in particular the question, whose Independence was it?

Don Miguel Hidalgo, parish priest of Dolores, initiated the uprising against Spain on 16 September 1810, with the famous 'grito de Dolores': 'My children, will you be free? Will you make the effort to recover from the hated Spaniards the lands stolen from your forefathers three hundred years ago?'²⁰ His revolutionary programme had three main points: the abolition of slavery, the suppression of 'el pago de tributo', and the restoration of land to the Indians. He gathered massive popular support among the Indians and the rural poor, and shortly led an army of 100,000 men, with 95 cannon, and in addition controlled one of the few printing presses in Mexico. He issued two decrees from Guadalajara, on 5 and 6 December 1810, the first ordering the devolution of lands to the indigenous people, the second the abolition of slavery, payment of tribute and the 'papel sellado', signing himself 'Generalísimo de América'.²¹ But almost none of the liberal creoles joined him; he was defeated, formally stripped of his priestly powers, and shot on 1 August 1811, although his movement was continued by supporters like Morelos.

When Independence came, it took a very different form, bringing neither the liberty nor the equality Hidalgo had fought for, and leaving the issue of land to explode again a hundred years later in the Mexican Revolution of 1910. It was finally achieved through an unlikely alliance of liberals and Freemasons, and conservative creoles appalled by the threat of reforms introduced by the new Spanish government in 1820, after the tyrannical Ferdinand VII had been forced to abdicate, 'to save traditional New Spain from radical Spain'. The creole Agustín de Iturbide entered Mexico City in triumph at the head of the army of the 'three guarantees' (union, religion, independence) in September 1821 [Pl. 1.23], and finally succeeded in being crowned emperor, having first appealed to Ferdinand VII to accept the crown. Although Iturbide's 'Plan de Iguala',



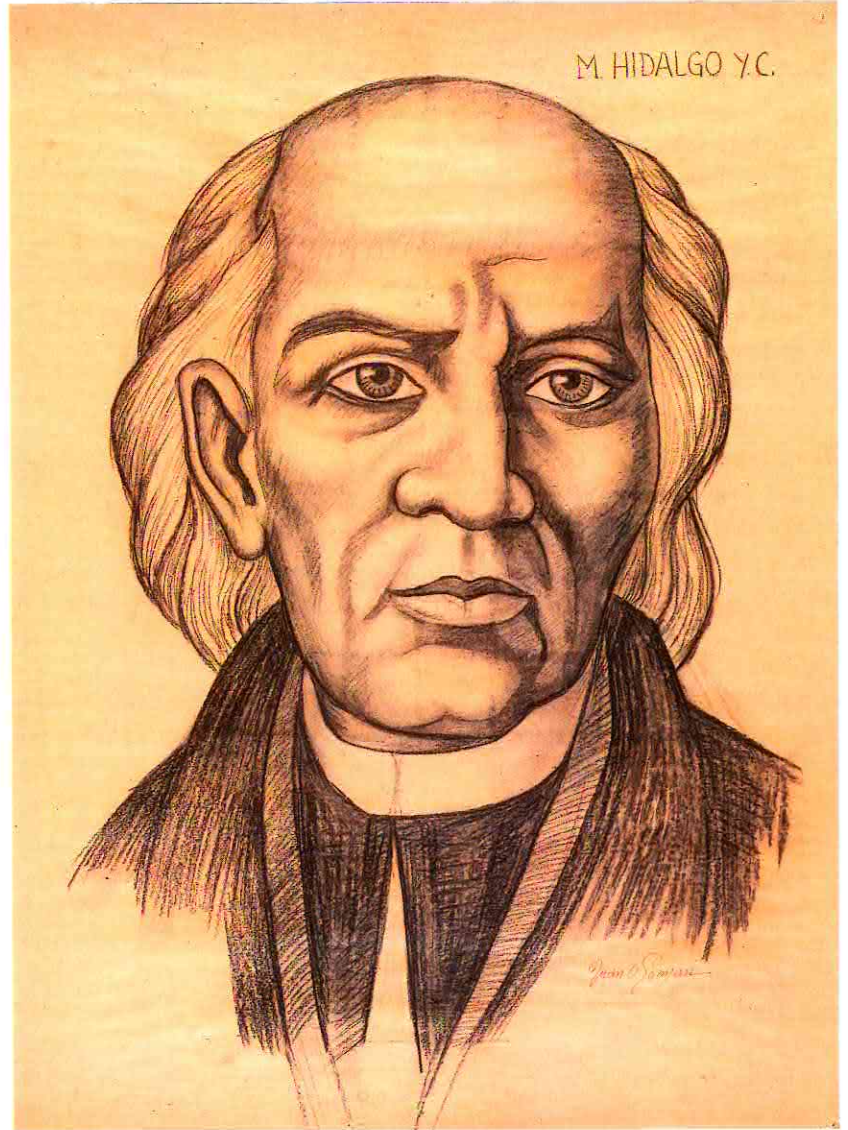
1.22 José María Espinosa, *Portrait of Bolívar*, pencil drawing from life, Collection Alfredo Boulton, Caracas.

1.21 José Gil de Castro, *Portrait of Simón Bolívar in Lima*, 1825, oil on canvas, 210×130 cm., Salón Elíptico del Congreso Nacional, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Venezuela.

1.23 Anonymous, *Agustín de Iturbide proclaimed Emperor of Mexico on the morning of 19 May 1822*, 1822, watercolour on silk, 46×60 cm., Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City (INAH).



1.24 Juan O'Gorman, *Portrait of Miguel Hidalgo* (study for the mural in Chapultepec Castle), n.d., charcoal on paper, 99×73 cm., Collection Kristina and Ernst Schennen, Bad Homburg.



one of the most important statements of Mexican independence, proclaimed the ideal of equality of all 'ciudadanos idóneos' (suitable citizens), it was also traditionalist and reactionary, praising the achievements of the Spanish in America, condemning Hidalgo's disorderly insurrection and ignoring the pre-Spanish indigenous civilizations which were later to form such an important aspect of the ideology of Independence.

Iturbide (Agustín I) was celebrated during his reign in a series of anonymous, popular rather than academic scenes, and also in more academic portraits by José María Vázquez and José María Uriarte, which emphasize an imperial splendour. An interesting exception is the anonymous *Portrait of the Liberator Agustín de Iturbide* (1822) [Pl. 1.25], where he is dressed as a civilian citizen-liberator, with conflicting imperial connotations in the elaborate throne and draped column behind him. But Iturbide, executed in 1824, enjoyed little after-life in images, unlike Hidalgo. Of the priest Hidalgo, under-



1.25 Anonymous, *Portrait of the Liberator Agustín de Iturbide*, 1822, oil on canvas, 198×125 cm., Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City (INBA).

1.26 Claudio Linati, 'Manuel Hidalgo', from *Costumes civils, militaires et religieux du Mexique* (Brussels, 1828), The Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

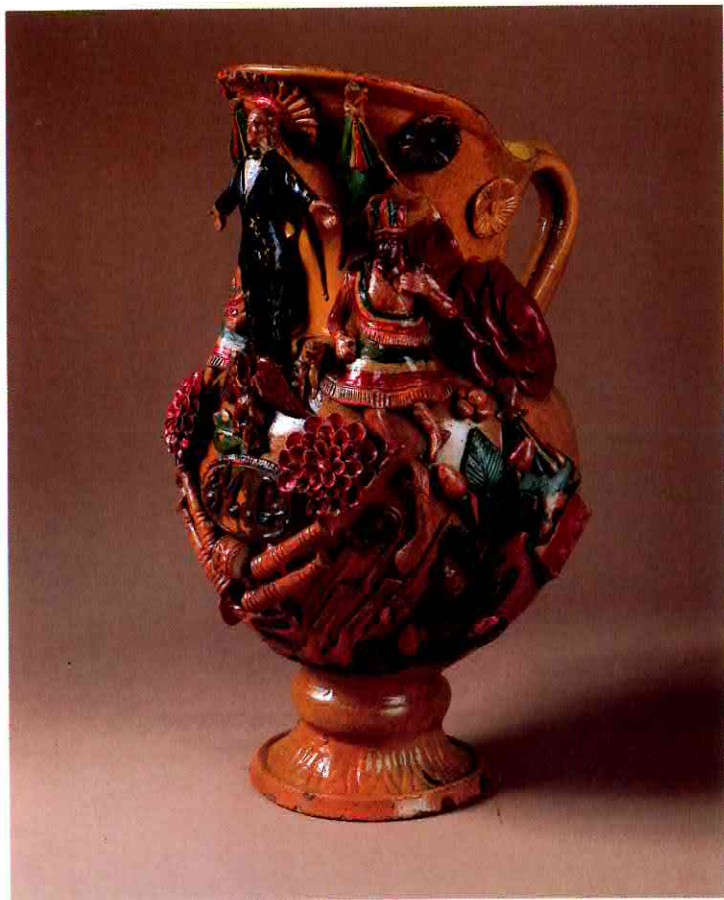
PL. 16.

XIX^e Siècle.



Hidalgo.

*Ciré des Dofores. Dans son costume de guerre, proclamant l'indépendance du Mexique (fusillé le 7^e avril 1811.)
d'après un tableau original.*



1.27 Anonymous, Pair of vases portraying Hidalgo and the Virgin of Guadalupe, n.d., glazed pottery, 40×27 cm. and 37.5×27 cm., Private Collection.



1.28 Anonymous, *Don José María Morelos*, n.d., figurine in wax, Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City (INAH).

standably few contemporary celebratory images survive; among them are a small wooden sculpture by Clemente Terrazas with inscriptions in Nahuatl, Latin and Spanish, showing a benevolent figure holding a decree, and a wax portrait of a type similar to this of Morelos [Pl. 1.28] made from life, probably by an Indian, on which the first popular image of him was based. This was the engraving by the Italian artist Claudio Linati. Linati, who visited Mexico after the fall of Iturbide, included a number of the early heroes of Independence in his *Costumes civils, militaires et religieux du Mexique* (1828) [Pl. 1.26], and also, significantly, the Aztec emperor Moctezuma.

Linati shows Hidalgo as a vigorous, ruddy-faced, middle-aged man, a warrior-priest with a cross in one hand, staff in the other, sword in his belt, red sash, black cloak, scarf knotted round his neck and a jaunty hat with a feather. Quite different from this swash-buckling image was one produced later in the century by Santiago Rebull, the unfortunate Emperor Maximilian's court painter. Maximilian, unlike Iturbide, had liberal sympathies and admired Hidalgo, but had him depicted as a mild and venerable padre, and the white-haired, black-clad priest has dominated subsequent portrayals, including what is probably the most famous of all, by the muralist José Clemente Orozco [Pl. 1.29]. Orozco, who refused the black and white, good v. evil, version of Mexican history favoured

by Rivera, represents Hidalgo as a dynamic but troubled priest, fighting the oppression of the people, but at the same time tragically contributing to it.

The introduction to the *Historia Documental de México II* (1964) comments on the optimism of the creoles contrasted with the pessimism of the Indians, poor and oppressed, their own culture destroyed by the Conquest, yet not assimilated to 'Mexico'. The radical language of reformers such as Morelos and others, with its refusal of racial difference, which echoed through the century, did not in the end help the Indians. 'In the middle of the nineteenth century, the territorial diminution of the country produced by the defeat of '47 and the political chaos were accompanied by the extremely violent manifestation of the evils stemming from the co-existence of two nations occupying a single territory: the mestizo and the creole on one side and the indigenous mosaic on the other.'²² Indigenous attempts to regain a degree of control were manifested in Mexico in three movements that shook the country during the dictatorship of Santa Anna: the Maya rebellion of the Caste War in Yucatán which began in 1847, the revolt of the Sierra Gorda, and the invasions of the so-called 'Indios bárbaros' in the north. The Maya almost succeeded in regaining control of Yucatán, and the extent to which they retained a native structure of organization parallel to the colonial, and subsequently Mexican, central governments is clear from the *Book of Tizimin*, which contains an unbroken written history of the Itzá from the seventh century AD well into the nineteenth century. Both culturally and economically, Independence was for the creoles, not the Indians.



1.29 José Clemente Orozco, *Manuel Hidalgo*, 1937, fresco, Palacio de Gobierno, Guadalajara, Jalisco.