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Imaging and Imagining:
Photographic Views of Mexico During the Second Mexican Empire (1864-67) and the Porfiriato (1884-1911)

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Art History

by

Athena Sesma

June 2024

Thesis Committee:
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The Thesis of Athena Sesma is approved:

Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

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Dedication

For my beloved grandparents who celebrate with our ancestors,

Artemisa Sesma and Luis Lopez

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Imaging and Imagining:
Photographic Views of Mexico During the Second Mexican Empire (1864-67) and the Porfiriato (1884-1911)

by

Athena Sesma

Master of Arts, Graduate Program in Art History
University of California, Riverside, June 2024
Dr. Aleca Le Blanc, Chairperson

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the leaders of Mexico's governmental and imperial regimes employed French photographers to produce official imagery for the country. François Aubert (1829-1906) created thousands of *cartes-de-visite* portraits for Maximilian I (1832-1867) within the Second Mexican Empire (1864-1867). Aubert also photographed ethnographic 'popular Mexican types' and upon Maximilian's execution in 1867 by firing squad, captured historical views of Maximilian post-mortem. In 1880-1910, left-wing dictator Porfirio Díaz (1830-1915) furthered Maximilian's tradition of state-sponsored photography and commissioned Alfred 'Abel' Briquet (1833-1936) to produce albumen prints of his regime's success; photographs of landscapes, ethnographic portraits, railroads, and Mexica sculpture within Porfirio's new Gallery of Monoliths epitomized the regimes slogan of 'order and progress'. The images created by Aubert and Briquet provided views of Mexico to a wide audience who would construct an imaginary image of Mexico that shaped the nation's reception and perception thereafter. Through historical and formal analysis and calling upon post-colonial methodologies, I critically engage with the works of François Aubert and Alfred ‘Abel’ Briquet as propagandistic productions of Mexican views during their respective historical moments. I argue that these photographs venerated imperial and governmental control over Indigenous Mexicans and Mesoamerican visual culture. Throughout this Master’s thesis, I work towards a connected art history by laying out multiple visual lineages centering around Aubert and Briquet’s imagined views of Mexico during the Second Mexican Empire and the Porfiriato to consider the relationship between their propagandistic photography and imperial power.

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Introduction

Leading scholars of Mexican photography understand the iconic *tilma* of Juan Diego imprinted in 1531 with the miraculous portrait of the Virgin of Guadalupe as the first photograph.[1] This infamous origin story of the *tilma* and the divine image (Fig 1.1) is the original colonial manipulation that intended to evangelize the Indigenous groups of the Valley of Mexico. The *tilma* of Juan Diego is nothing short of the first propagandistic image within the Americas. The famous portrait is the most recognizable and widely used icon associated with Mexico and has nevertheless been coopted as the image of pride, resilience, and *Mexicanidad*. Since the creation of Juan Diego's *tilma,* a large aspect of Mexico's visual culture has been defined by colonial exploitation and photography.

Throughout this thesis, I discuss Mexico and its cultural and visual relationship to manipulated images and photographs. I center Mexico's relationship with France, an underrepresented but nonetheless influential colonial force during the nineteenth century. Focusing on the photographers who produced official imagery during two different political periods after Mexico's independence from Spain, the Second Mexican Empire (1867-69) and the Porfiriato (1884-1911), I engage with previous scholarship that critically recognizes the active constructing of uniform histories and culture by government systems. [2] In the assertion of power and nationalistic ideals through visual means and despite radically divergent political styles and objectives, the leaders of each regime invited French photographers to document an ‘official’ record of Mexico during the time of their reign. Of course, these images did not simply document Mexico. The photographs produced by the photographers of Maximilian I and Porfirio Díaz were propagandistic and relied on imperial and ethnographic imagery to support the aims of their patrons.

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[1] John Mraz, *Looking for Mexico: Modern Visual Culture and National Identity* (Durham: Duke University press, 2009), 2.

[2] The 'French Intervention' has often been conflated with the Second Mexican Empire, but in fact this term includes the years of political and imperial scheming on behalf of Napoleon III from 1861 until Maximilian's execution. The three years before Maximilian

From 1864 to 1867, François Aubert (1829-1906) served as the imperial court photographer of the ‘Emperor of Mexico’, Maximilian I (1832-1867). Aubert produced thousands of official portraits of Maximilian, his court, and visiting delegations. Aubert also simultaneously created thousands of stylized ethnographic portraits, known as *tipos* or popular type images, that posed and characterized Indigenous Mexicans within his Mexico City studio. His most influential series was an untitled set of portraits of street vendors brought into his studio and posed with their various wares (Fig. 2.5). Upon the emperor’s execution on June 19th, 1867, Aubert secretly photographed indices of France’s imperial defeat of Maximilian’s executioners, the execution location, his bullet-ridden clothing, and most shockingly close-up photos of the emperor’s corpse (Fig.2.11). These images, though captured within imperial motives, were received as tokens of Maximilian I and the defeat of the Second Mexican Empire.

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was put into power in Mexico is not discussed in this project as I center the photographic collections taken from 1864-69 by Aubert who did not work until Maximilian was instated within Mexico City.

During the Porfiriato thirty years later, left-wing dictator Porfirio Díaz commissioned Alfred 'Abel' Briquet to produce '*vistas*' or views throughout the country.[3] Briquet composed photographs of changing Mexican landscapes, posed ethnographic portraits, and recently acquired Mexica sculpture within the Museum of Mexico, specifically the Coatlicue monument in his *Divinidad de La Muerte* images (Fig.3.5 and Fig 3.6). In working through Aubert and Briquet's photographs taken during these two distinct periods of Mexican history and illustrated or photographed counterexamples, I raise two questions. First, how do these networks of photographs control and exploit Indigenous Mexicans and Mesoamerican visual culture during times of imperial and regime control? And what kind of visual lineages are these photographs working from?

At its core, this thesis project is concerned with the fabrication of images and views of Mexico. I understand Aubert and Briquet's photographs as calculated propagandistic portraits of Mexico that catered to the upper class of both periods. These audiences benefited from and were entertained by photographs that othered Indigenous Mexicans and co-opted Mesoamerican imagery into a larger Mexican visual culture. In my discussion of Aubert's photographs, I argue that his posed alternative views of Mexico exalted the foreign European ruler, Maximilian I, and 'typed' his Indigenous sitters as 'other' within their own country. These imperial and ethnographic photographs were bought and held within private collections of individuals who purchased them throughout Mexico City. Aubert's importation of the medium of *cartes-de-visite* allowed for many prints to reach a large audience who treated the small portraits as collectible conversation pieces. Some collections of ethnographic portraits were held by Maximilian's court which outlived the deposed emperor.

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[3] The disparate years (1877-1880, 1884-1911) of Díaz's long presidency was first termed the 'Porfiriato' in, Daniel Cosío Villegas, *Historia Moderna de México*, Vol. VII (D.F: Hermes, 1965), 21.

Similarly, Briquet's albumen prints of the Mexica Coatlicue monument during the Porfiriato were bought and collected within the city itself but were most popular among tourists. As the *cartes-de-visite* operated within an imported European tradition, so too did the collection of albumen prints for tourist albums. In my second chapter, I argue that the manipulation of Mexico's ancient past, specifically within the albumen photographs of the Coatlicue produced by Briquet, is an assertion of governmental control of not only the monument but also of the historical narrative. These photos and Briquet's other series depicting Porfirian modernization projects are propagandistic as they were photographs manipulated and created to display an alternative reality of Porfirian-era Mexico as commissioned by Porfirio Díaz himself.

Photographic propaganda theory was put forth by Walter Benjamin in *Work of the Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility*, which has been expanded upon by scholars of photographic art history since.[4] Susan Sontag's theories on the camera and the photograph as a manipulative device that creates voyeuristic relationships between the audience and the subject are especially relevant. In my discussions of the commissioned photography of the Second Mexican Empire and the Porfiriato as propaganda, I align most with contemporary art historical discourses and understand ‘propaganda’ as describing relationships between art, politics, and power. Contemporary scholars like Tina Campt generate dialogue on power dynamics latent within a photograph; in the portion of my thesis where I take up ethnographic photography I rely on Campt’s theory of ‘oppositional’ or ‘interrogating’ gazes that undermine senses of intimacy, humility, and contextualization of the subject.[5] In a similar cultural context to this thesis, Historian Fatima Zohra Hamrat describes imperial photography taken in Egypt under Napoleon III during the late nineteenth century as “a means to justify colonial policy and a political device. First, to make imperial expansion a cultural and social phenomenon and second, to gain the support of public opinion.” [6] The photograph’s reception during this era as objective compounds with the imperial views that intended to make the colonial exploits within Egypt or Mexico a social and cultural endeavor. Europeans could also benefit directly from the exploitation and consumption of photographs of foreign countries and the people living within them in their collections.

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[4] Benjamin Walter, "Work of the Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility" in *Walter Benjamin: The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility and other Writings on Media*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 19-55.

During the Second Mexican Empire, Aubert’s imperial photographs of Maximilian and ethnographic *tipo* series offered two devised realities of the era: imperial portraits of Maximilian and ethnographic portraits of Mexico’s citizens. These photographs actively exalted the European monarch while classifying and ‘typing’ the

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[5] Tina Campt, *A Black Gaze: Artists Changing How We See* (Cambridge: MIT Press 2021), 28.

[6] Fatima Zohra Hamrat, “Photography and Imperial Propoganda: Egypt under Gaze” in *Cultural Intertexts* Vol. 11 (Cluj-Napoca, 2021), 90.

Indigenous subject at mass through their reproduction. In the years of the Porfiriato, Briquet engineered views of venerating the country's modernization and projected an image of desired national control of Mexico's Mesoamerican past. I provide evidence for this claim in my discussion of Briquet's purchasable prints made at the still-nascent Museum of Mexico. Throughout this thesis, I contend with the projection and creation of Mexico's national visual culture as Maximilian I and Porfirio Díaz commissioned Aubert and Briquet to simultaneously display nationalistic pride and emulate European conventions.

Historiography

The periods of the Second Mexican Empire and the Porfiriato are rich in historical research. Art historical studies, however, are few in comparison despite the consistent emphasis placed on the visual culture and print media produced during these eras. A few expansive survey texts on photography commit notable space to Aubert's portraits of Maximilian and his various ethnographic subjects specifically *Mexican Suite: A History of Photography in Mexico* and *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*.[7] Art historical studies and museum exhibitions including Aubert's photographs most commonly revolve around his work being the compositional inspiration for French impressionist Édouard Manet's famous Execution series (Fig. 2.4): *Manet and the Execution of Emperor Maximilian* and *Manet: The Execution of Maximilian, Painting,*

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[7] Oliver Debroise, *Mexican Suite: A History of Photography in Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas, 2001), John Hannavy, *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography* (Routledge: Taylor & Francis, 2007)

Politics and Censorship.[8] "Posed and Deposed: Propaganda and Resistance in Cartes-de-Visite Photographs of Maximilian Von Habsburg During Mexico's Second Empire (1864-1867)" presents thorough research on *cartes-de-visite* of Maximilian but does not bring into question Aubert's large number of ethnographic portraits being simultaneously produced and distributed.[9]

Studies surrounding the visual culture of the Porfiriato are slightly denser. For example, historian Christina Bueno references photography as supportive of Porfirian nationalistic displays and archeological programs in *The Pursuit of Ruins: Archeology, History and the Making of Modern Mexico* and *"Forjando Patrimonio*: The Making of Archeological Patrimony in Porfirian Mexico".[10] Photography's use in archeological and nationalistic projects within the Americas in the nineteenth century is centered in *Past Presented: Archeological Illustration and the Ancient Americas*, which does not specifically study the Porfiriato.[11] In some historical publications Porfirian-era photography is elaborated upon, *Looking for Mexico: Modern Visual Culture and National Identity* and *Photographing the Mexican Revolution.*[12] "Postcards in the Porfirian Imaginary" is a smaller-scale project surrounding photographs taken during the Porfiriato as propaganda but do not privilege Briquet's work.[13] Finally, Briquet's photographs have been published and situated within the Porfirian regime, and amongst his contemporaries such as Aubert, within the exhibition and the coinciding exhibition book, *Alfred Briquet (1833-1926)* which provide brief yet rare biographical information and insights.[14]

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[8] John Elderfield, *Manet and the Execution of Maximilian* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2006) Juliet Wilson-Bareau, *Manet: The Execution of Maximilian, Painting, Politics and Censorship* (London: National Gallery Publications, 1992)

[9] Eleanor Laughlin, "Posed and Deposed: Carte-de-visite Photographs of Maximilian von Habsburg during Mexico's Second Empire (1864-67)" (PhD. Dissertation, University of Florida, 2014)

[10] Christina Bueno, *The Pursuit of Ruins: Archeology, History and the Making of Modern Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2016), Christina Bueno, "*Forjando Patrimonio*: The Making of Archeological Patrimony in Porfirian Mexico" *Hispanic American Historical Review* 90 (2010) https://doi.org/10.1215/00182168-2009-133,

[11] Joanne Pillsbury, *Past Presented: Archeological Illustration and the Ancient Americas* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library Collection, 2012)

This thesis project is a natural next step to these studies, which newly considers how imperial and national photographs commissioned by the leaders of two distinct regimes reinforced or challenged power dynamics within late nineteenth-century Mexico. The photographs created within and commissioned for the Second Mexican Empire, the last tendril of colonial power within Mexico, are important in tracing the lineage of early photographic practice whose colonial roots interweave and inform how individuals characterize and imagine Mexico, its landscape, and its people thereafter. I interject these previous studies with a network of images centered around the two French-trained photographers and their patrons to contribute to a larger understanding of how visual lineages of power were asserted and how Mexico has been characterized by those in power utilizing photography.

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[12] John Mraz, *Looking for Mexico,* and John Mraz, *Photographing the Mexican Revolution* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012)

[13] Alejandra Osorio "Postcards in the Porfirian Imaginary" *Social Justice* 34, (2007) For a discussion of Porfirian-era exhibitions characterizing Mexico to an international audience see, Gene Yeager, "Porfirian Commercial Propaganda: Mexico in the World Industrial Exhibitions" *The Americas* 34, no.2 (1977) https://doi.org/10.2307/981355

[14] Grégory Leroy and Sharon Jazzán Dayán, *Alfred Briquet (1833-1926)* (D.F: Museo Nacional de Arte, 2017)

Historical Context

Photographic practice in Mexico has been defined by French technology and visual conventions since its arrival on December 3, 1839. Just a few months after Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre presented the first photographic process to the French Scientific Academy using a silver-plated sheet of copper and mercury vapor to capture an image. The French engraver Louis Prélier returned to the port of Veracruz, Mexico with two daguerreotype camera apparatuses he had purchased in Paris. Prélier, who lived in Mexico City since 1837 on 9 *Calle de Plateros*, immediately arranged for a public demonstration of the new technology within the port city. The resulting daguerreotype of the portside Convent of San Francisco is one of the earliest photographs taken of and within Mexico (Fig.1.1). On January 26 1840 in Mexico City, Prélier repeated his demonstration within the central plaza where "the cathedral [was] perfectly reproduced."[15]

While these demonstrations sparked public wonder and were reported on by the press, Prélier was initially unsuccessful in selling the cameras he derived from Paris. The Mexico-City-based newspaper, *El Cosmopolita*, raffled off one daguerreotype apparatus with 80 plates and other necessary utensils to its subscribers for eighty pesos as advertised until it was sold in August of 1840 for a mere four-peso entry ticket.[16] The Mexican public didn't take up photography due to a lack of a middle class which photographic business relied upon in Europe. In the years following Prélier's introduction of the camera to the city, photography within Mexico was a practice driven by foreign-born photographers within their studios who served elite clientele. A journalist soon after photography's introduction into the city wrote, "The art of photography has become so common in our times that families have their own photographer in the same way that they have their lawyer or doctor".[17] Often, these photographers were French, German, and American practitioners who set up shared photographic studios throughout the city.

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[15] *El Cosmopolita*, January 29, 1840.

It is unknown how further photographic practices such as the albumen print were imported to Mexico, but soon after its invention in 1850 by Frenchman Louis Blanquart-Evrard (1802-72), this method succeeded the daguerreotype. The silver albumen print was made distinct for clear-cut imagery which produced a level of detail unreached by previous technology. Known commonly as the albumen print, the camera apparatus could now produce a replicable photographic print on a paper base from a negative.[18] These prints became incredibly popular for portraiture, historical documentation, and tourist views. It has been estimated that 300 to 400 million prints were produced worldwide each year during the 1860s. In 1856, there were seven operating studios creating daguerreotype and albumen imagery within Mexico City, and by 1870, this grew to seventy-four operating studios.[19] This growth has been attributed to the imperial arrival of the French within the country during the 1860s.

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[16] Peter E Palmquist and Thomas R. Kailbourn, *Pioneer Photographers from the Mississippi to the Continental Divide: A Biographical Dictionary, 1839-1869* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005). 498. Also see, Manuel de Jesús Hernández, *Los Inicios de la Fotografía en México: 1839-1850* (México, D.F.: Editors Hersa,1989), 41.

[17] Armando B. Casaballe and Miguel Ángel Cuarterolo, *Imágenes del Rio de La Plata: Crónica de la fotografia rioplatense, 1840-1940.*

[18] The albumenized photos prevent lifting and peeling during the development process but more importantly, increases the density of a print. This would enable the collector to handle it or trade it without fear of damage. The albumen coating of egg whites is integral to this process and was a sought-after aspect of the photographs for its sheen and

In 1862, Napoleon III (1808-1873) invaded Mexico to expand the Second French Empire (1852-1870) in the name of President Benito Juárez's (1806-1872) unpaid governmental bonds.[20] France, at this time, held colonies throughout Europe including Crimea and Italy as well as North Africa and Southeast Asia. This invasion of Mexico fit in within France's larger colonial agenda as an opportune space to physically mine Mexico's silver and as a seat to establish a European monarchy within North America. Napoleon III appointed the archduke of Austria, Ferdinand Maximilian I Joseph Habsburg (1832-1867), and his wife Charlotte of Belgium (1840-1927) as emperor and

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definiton. See, Dusan C. Stulik, Art Kaplan, Albumen: The Atlas of Analytical Signatures of Photographic Processes, The Getty Conservation Institute: J. Paul Getty Trust (2013): 6, 29

[19] Randoll W. Hoit, an American, was the first to establish a photographic studio in Mexico City in 1842. See, Beth Gyunn, "Mexico". In John Hannavy, ed., *Encylopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography* (New York: Taylor and Francis Group, 2008), 922.

[20] Great Britain and Spain were also owed debts from Juárez. With France, the countries made made up the Tripartite Expedition, a coalition who sought debt collection. Upon French troops arriving in the port of Veracruz in 1861, Great Britain and Spain pulled their support and pardoned Mexico's debts as France's military invasion violated the recent Monroe Doctrine which prohibited European colonialism within the Americas.

empress of Mexico in 1864. Coronated in Paris on April 10, 1864, Maximilian arrived at the port of Veracruz on May 21 of the same year with mixed approval. Maximilian appointed moderate and liberal Mexican politicians to serve on his cabinet and passed numerous social reforms that angered many *imperalistas*, Mexicans who supported the empirical rule of the French. He has been historically characterized in many ways: as a true imperial ruler who exalted Mexico's international prestige by his occupation, an inconsequential liberal who attempted policy for Mexican approval (which was immediately and consistently denied), or simply as a doomed puppet of Napoleon III. The reception and legacy of Maximilian have been discussed in recent historical scholarship as complex and most productive in a study seeking to understand the relationships between Maximilian, the Mexican public, and his lasting image.[21]

During Maximilian's rule, Napoleon III back in Paris created the *Commission Scientifique du Mexique* (Scientific Commission of Mexico) to survey and create visual representations of the territory's plunderable goods, antiquities, and natural landscapes.[22] The *Commission Scientifique du Mexique* was born from a larger 'civilizing' process by

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[21] Erika Pani, *Para mexicanizar el Segundo Imperio: El imaginario político de los imperialistas* (D.F: El Colegio De México, 2001)

[22] "*Es claro que la Intervención Francesa en México implica sin lugar a dudas una empresa colonialista. Luego de la consolidación del Segundo Imperio, Napoleón III se aboca a la pretensión de tomar el control de un país con características estratégicas que facilitarían la conversión de Francia en una gran potencia, de ahí que llamemos a este proceso 'una aventura colonialista', la cual no llegó a consolidarse debido a la resistencia del gobierno de Juárez y la diferencia de perspectivas con el imperio de Maximiliano.*" See, Rosaura Ramírez Sevilla and Ismael Ledesma-Mateos, "La Commission Scientifique du Mexique: una aventura colonialista trunca," *Relaciones Estudios de Historia y Sociedad* 34, no. 134 (2013): 307-308

French imperial forces and often employed photographers to join in colonial expeditions. In 1864, French photographer Claude-Joseph-Désiré Charnay (1828-1915) traveled alongside the company of Napoleon III's troops to photograph people, landscapes, and archeological sites.[23] These images would be shipped back to France as part of documenting the ongoing expeditions and were made available for commercial purchase. This allowed civilians, specifically a European middle class, to follow, collect, and treasure the effigies of France's continual colonial exploits.

After Maximilian's execution, President Benito Juárez was reinstated and launched a multi-decade modernization process throughout Mexico. General turned left-wing dictator Porfirio Díaz inherited and furthered the modernization projects during his long presidency. Porfirio's ambitious transportation and communication programs illustrated Mexico's capacity for international authority, but large-scale industrial projects that connected rural and urban areas required significant funding. Porfirio commissioned photographic portraits and views of Mexico's landscapes, archeological sites and artifacts, natural resources, people, and previous engineering feats to attract potential foreign investors. International agreements ended with the eviction of millions of Mexicans from their ancestral lands and voices of dissent against the regime were repressed.[24] Mexico's simultaneous participation in World's Fairs aimed to rally international funding and acceptance as they peddled Mesoamerican objects dug from the lands, natural resources, and fantastical visions of an ‘Ancient Aztec’ past. The regime’s motto of “order and progress” was by any means necessary, as it removed the nation’s lower class from their lands and relied on their labor to financially and politically support Mexico’s elite. In the final years of the Porfiriato, Mexico’s visual, cultural, and physical landscape had radically changed. While railroads, museums, and plazas welcomed new avenues of experiencing the city, the tyranny of authoritarian Porfirio’s regime roused the Mexican Revolution (1910~1917) which brought an end to his dictatorship. On May 25th, 1911, Porfirio Díaz was exiled from Mexico. He fled to Europe, and he died four years later in Paris, France.

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[23] Bueno,.29.

[24] Specifically, the displacement of the native Yaquis of Sonora has been understood as one of the largest offenses in Díaz' regime. For a critical overview of this historical event see, Evelyn Hu-Dehart, "Development and Rural Rebellion: Pacification of the Yaquis in

Methodology

Rather than expanding upon one artist or series, my work was propelled by several thematic consistencies that I found within photographs taken in Mexico during the Second Mexican Empire and the Porfiriato. Some of these themes are central to art historical studies of Latin America, especially during the late nineteenth century; colonial and imperial rule in between independence movements, the creation of a national visual culture, modernization projects that relied on museum complexes, archeological projects, and displacement and plundering of indigenous lands, and the connection between national pride and European emulation. These themes compounded into a network of photographs I found from the two eras, linked in their cooptation of indigenous and

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the Late Porfiriato” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 54 (1974), https://doi.org/10.2307/2512840

Mesoamerican visuals to prop up a modernizing or culturally evolving version of Mexico.

In my research, I found many examples of photographs produced by Aubert and Briquet, who are frequently coupled in the literature and were the first names in discussions of early Mexican photography.[25] The French photographers eclipsed native Mexican modes, which are understood as mostly a private family practice. Foreign photographers' creation of implanted and official views of the country has solidified them within the canon of early Mexican photography. A project that centers on Mexican-born photographers and their practices during these eras would be a natural next step for this project. It would be fruitful to explore whether Mexican photographers also participated in ethnographic and *tipo* photographs and whether the formal elements of the genre changed according to the photographer's gaze and intents. Oliver Debroise, a forerunner of early Mexican photographic study in *Mexican* Suite, references the existence of native Mexican photographers alongside the better-known foreign practitioners. The earliest named photographer was Jalisco born José María Lupericos (also a bullfighter, aviator, and painter) who successfully created a series of "popular types" into the early twentieth century.[26] This is a testament to the long-standing legacy and marketability of the genre.

My choice to center Aubert and Briquet's work remains in the availability of the photographs they produced and my interest in their official work as commissioned for their patrons. Where possible and relevant I have brought in the known biographical information of these photographers, their peers, and their subjects. Due to the slim historical record of these individuals, there are limitations and gaps, in Briquet's case especially. In my discussion of his work I instead center his subject, the Coatlicue monument to narrate the history of control being asserted over it to place his photographs within this visual legacy. This has allowed me to explore the questions I raise which center on the imagery they created and their place within a larger nineteenth-century Mexican visual culture.

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[25] Hannavy, *Encylopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography* (2008), 922.

[26] Debroise, *Mexican Suite,* 125-126.

Further research that leans into social historical methods might explore nineteenth-century Mexican political propaganda on print media that a larger public would be engaging with daily such as stamps, banknotes, and postcards. In an early version of this project, I considered these materials and their social engagement within and throughout Mexico City in print shops, letters, and banks. I understood this fascinating topic as meriting more time and archival research and thus refocused on expanding upon the photographs of Aubert and Briquet. Still, in my discussion of the travel albums utilized by European tourists, I engage with the networks of business and tourism that have shaped this practice. In discussing the Kikapú delegation's visit to Maximilian's court, I call upon primary written sources from Maximilian and his court gardener to narrate the episode that was photographed by Aubert; in working through Maximilian's reference to American literature in describing the Kikapú delegation I connect the social realities and pastimes of the era to ethnographic photography and realities within Mexico.

I couple post-colonial theoretical frameworks with formal analysis throughout the project to answer how the networks of photographs I propose control and exploit Indigenous Mexicans and Mesoamerican visual culture during times of imperial and regime control.[27] I consider the racial and socioeconomic contexts in which Aubert and Briquet produced photographs for Maximilian I and Porfirio Díaz. In both instances, the colonial history of Mexico's origin merits critical engagement with post-colonial conventions that consistently defined and influenced politics and life within Mexico thereafter. I build on post-colonial literature by describing the power dynamics made visual within the photographs of imperial and ethnographic portraits as well as Mesoamerican sculpture.

I consider the advantageous usage of Indigenous Mexican visages and histories as inherently important in my discussion of the photographs I present. The individuals photographed within the *tipo* images were often selected by photographers during their time working, as they were seen as most representative of their trade, race, and ethnic group.[28] The photos were not titled, and the sitters' identities were not recorded on the printed photographs. I was unable to identify the subjects or further research to determine if they were contracted, paid, or otherwise compensated, although it is possible that this information was initially recorded and was otherwise lost or not archived.[29] The practice of de-individualizing the people within the portraits and to type them as part of a homogenous indigenous laboring class effectively changed my work. Despite the sitters' once-known biographical information, the *tipo* photographs demonstrate the impulse to document, capture, and typify Indigenous individuals as part of a larger and identifiable group. The photograph's commercial success and reproducibility confirm their market within European society as 'othering' ethnographic markers.

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[27] I consider the idea of the photographing an Indigenous 'other' as discussed by Amy Cox Hall in "Picturing the Miserable Indian for Science" in *Framing a Lost City: Science, Photography, and the Making of Machu Picchu*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017), 114-134. In my discussion of visual power and the Coatlicue monolith, I consider Tina Campt, Claudia Brittenham, and Susan Sontag to describe how a sculpture could be captured within a photograph and what is lost within that process. I call upon their theoretical frameworks and discussions of gaze, power, and photography as a means to display these means. My foundational academic practices build upon Carolyn Dean, "The Trouble with (The Term) Art," *Art Journal* 65, no. 2 (2006): 24–32, https://doi.org/10.2307/20068464 and Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang in, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor." Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, & Society 1, no.1 (2012): 1-40. Though I found an inclusion of these texts as incongruent with the text proper, my approach to my work, aims, and language have been influenced by these studies.

I hope that in the future, it is possible to name and identify the individuals who posed for Aubert and Briquet. Names have power; they tell of familial and cultural histories and inform worldviews. For Mexico specifically, language and names are central to their colonial and pre-colonial histories. Historically, the names of indigenous Nahuas were changed upon their evangelization and completion of baptism. The violent and evangelical stripping of the Indigenous names and placenames is colonial; recent movements to recall and acknowledge the land, individuality, and futurity of these individuals and communities have allowed for greater Indigenous visibility and agency.[30] Identifying the sitters, not only might lead to a better understanding of the photographic practice that formed around their visages, but also allow for their re-individualization.

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[28] Debroise, *Mexican Suite: A History of Photography in Mexico* (2008) 120. As well as,

[29] François Aubert and Alfred Briquet do not have any extant personal archives or digitized personal records available to the public. The closest study I have seen in relationship to archival practice is to their photographs; See, Franz Thiel, "Abel Briquet's Photograph Collection" in *Exploring the Archive: Historical Photography from Latin America and the Collection of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin,* (Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, Köln Weimar Wien, 2008), 360-365.

The formal analysis of Aubert and Briquet's photographs is essential in connecting the network of photographs I center, which includes a discussion of costume, pose, and framing to describe the manipulated photographs. I integrate alternative methods where appropriate and sparingly for the sake of simplicity, such as my discussion of the medium-specificity of *cartes-de-visite* and where albumen prints were collected within travel albums. Overall, the focus is consistently on how these photographs visually interplay, overlap, and reinforce or challenge power dynamics within the two time periods.

Chapter Descriptions

Each chapter is dedicated to a photographer—Aubert and Briquet—wherein I consider a selection of works produced for their respective patrons, emperor Maximilian I and dictator Porfirio Díaz. Chronological in sequence, these chapters are connected temporally, conceptually, and formally. The two periods of time, the Second Mexican Empire (1861-67) and the Porfiriato (1884-1911) encompass the network of images I present. Mexico from 1861-1911 can be understood as the long nineteenth century, a tumultuous period before the Mexican Revolution characterized by nation-building, regime and imperial control, and general social strife across the country. In these conditions, the early photography of Mexico reflected and refracted imperial and regime control which did not cease until after the Mexican Revolution of 1911. The French colonial power of the Second Mexican Empire inspired Porfirio, a known Francophile, to create his regime based on French traditions of culture. He and many others understood France, specifically Paris, as the cultural forerunner of the world. I formally analyze three to four central photographs of Aubert and Briquet in each chapter. I carefully analyze their photographs as productions of their respective eras, and I bring in other historical illustrations where relevant.

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[30] See, Rebekah Sinclair, "Righting Names: The Importance of Native American Philosophies of Naming for Environmental Justice." *Environment and Society*, vol. 9, no. 1 (2018). 91. For an art historical discussion of pre-colonial Mexican placenames see, Barbara E. Mundy; Place-Names in Mexico-Tenochtitlan. *Ethnohistory* 1 (2014), 329 355. doi: https://doi.org/10.1215/00141801-2414190

The initial chapter revolves around imperial and ethnographic *cartes-de-visite* produced by François Aubert and commissioned by Maximilian I during the Second Mexican Empire (1864-1867). However, the chapter opens with an analysis of an early photomontage by Adrian Cordiglia reimagining the execution of Maximilian I. This photomontage was made almost entirely from photographs that I have identified as Aubert's mass-produced *cartes-de-visite* of Maximilian's execution. In this case study, I introduce themes of photography being used to reiterate and reframe views of Mexico and its history. The more famous work of Aubert and his time within Mexico is introduced in relationship to other produced images of Maximilian's execution including Manet's famous painting. Aubert's *cartes-de-visite* of Maximilian in his life and death and their political and personal uses have been discussed as propaganda, but I take this further relating them to Aubert's *tipo* images, racial portraits that established categorizations through costume. I discuss images of Maximilian as a '*charro*' figure as complicating and displaying the acknowledgment of racial and class markers by Maximilian's imperial rule, primarily through costume, in comparison to Aubert's series of street vendors. Aubert's ethnographic images of the 1865 visit of the Kikapú delegation to Maximilian's court, and his reflection on the visit, further elucidate the role that Indigenous Mexicans played within Maximilian's regime. Finally, I analyze Aubert's photographs of Maximilian's corpse after his execution, where Aubert is no longer required to reproduce an imperially charged image.

The second chapter focuses on Alfred 'Abel' Briquet's images taken of the Coatlicue monument within the Museum of Mexico. I introduce the two primary albumen photographs after discussing the historical and social context of the Coatlicue sculpture. In considering the very first illustration and exhibition of the Coatlicue and Briquet's images, I lay out a long lineage of visual control over the monolith. I discuss how Briquet's images would have been handled, reproduced, collected, and bound in an example of a travel album from Mexico. I analyze the formal compositions of Briquet's image, and its possible reproductions thereafter. Finally, I compare the travel album from Mexico and Briquet's albumen prints of the Mexica sculpture of Coatlicue to a travel album from Rome from the same era. This comparison provides insights into the lineage Briquet works from to carry out Porfirio's vision to display Mexico's Mesoamerican heritage which I argue was devised, manipulated, and an exercise to control the country's indigenous past and present.

Figures

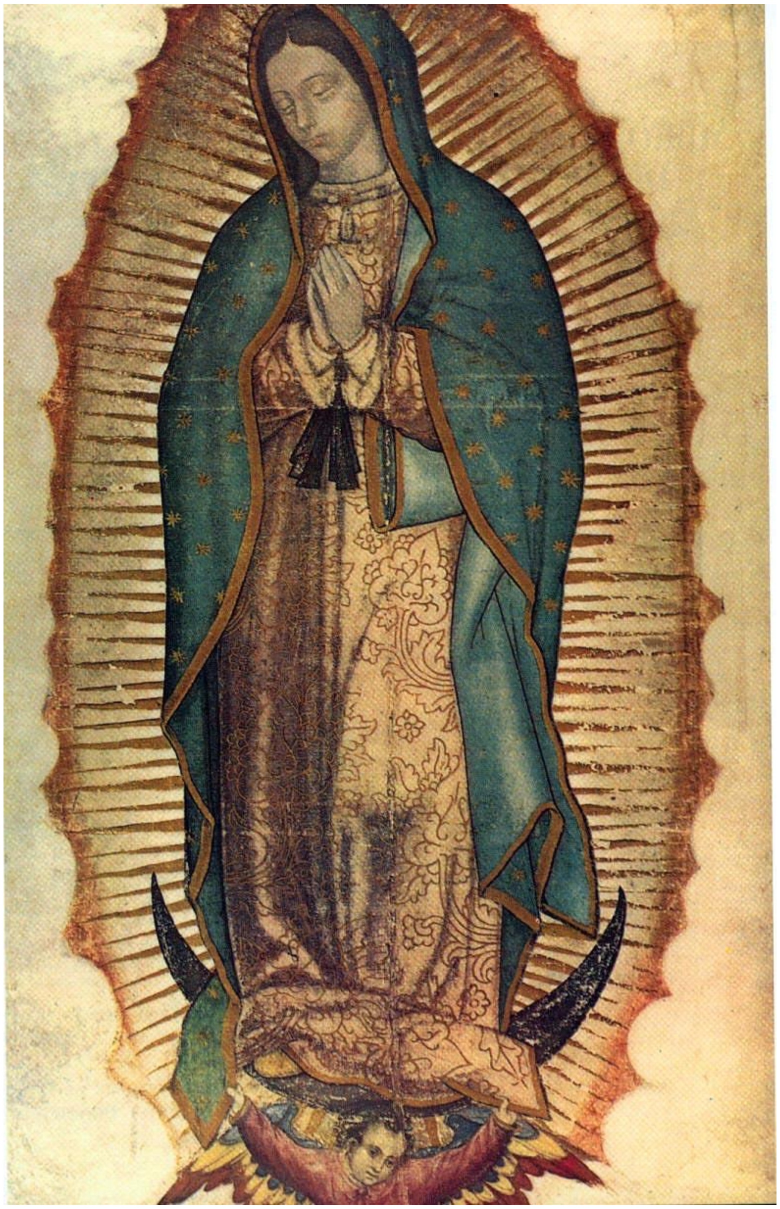

Fig. 1.1. Anonymous. Virgin of Guadalupe: *tilma* image. Early 16th century. Oil and tempura on cloth. 172 x 109 cm.

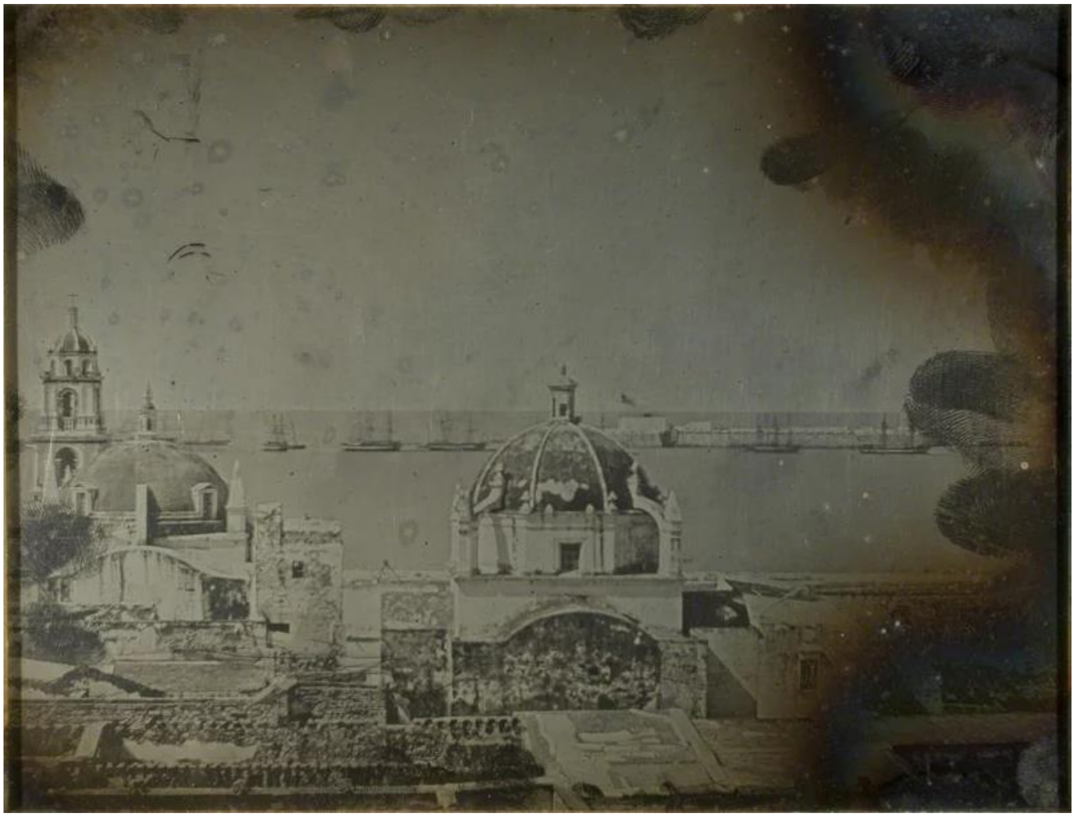

Figure 1.2. Louis Prélier. Untitled Photograph of Veracruz port and Convent of San Francisco.1839. Daguerreotype. Dimensions unknown.

Chapter 1: François Aubert's Imperial and Ethnographic *Cartes-de-Visite*

Introduction

On June 19th, 1867, Maximilian I (1832-67), the crowned Emperor of Mexico, was executed by firing squad. This historic moment was indirectly documented through purchasable photographic prints by François Aubert (1829-1906).[31] Aubert, the official court photographer of Maximilian during the Second Mexican Empire, after his patron's death photographed Maximilian's corpse, his bullet-ridden clothing, the executioners, and the location. These small-scale *cartes-de-visite* were sold by Aubert and circulated widely throughout Mexico and France. An early photomontage reimagines the final moments of the Emperor of Mexico almost entirely from Aubert's photographic indices of the event. The devised composition of Maximilian's execution reveals how imperial power during the Second Mexican Empire can be displayed and manipulated within a photograph.

Commemorative picture of Execution of the Emperor of Maximilian (Fig 2.1) attributed to Adrien Cordiglia is an early photomontage from 1867.[32] I have identified the photomontage as made from composite parts cut from two of Aubert's mass-produced *cartes-de-visite.* Namely, Maximilian's executioners were lifted from *Emperor*

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[31] The act of Maximilian I's execution could not be pictured likely due to logistical constraints as the photographic apparatus Aubert utilized, which was not equipped to capture rapid movement. Further logistics of the photographs taken in Querétaro in June of 1867 are discussed later in this chapter.

[32] Cordiglia also created the similar photomontage *The Execution of Maximilian, Mejía and* Miramón from 1867. Both of these photomontages have been discussed as inspiration for Eduard Manet's Execution of Maximilian series. Cordiglia, his biographic information and his role within Mexico during the Second Mexican Empire especially in terms of photomontage would be a fruitful avenue for further research.

Maximilian's Firing Squad (Fig 2.2) and the background of the scene is Aubert's *Adobe Wall on the Hill of the Bells* (Fig.2.3). Each aspect of the photomontage is manipulated and contributes to the creation of a fully imagined view of Maximilian's death composed from Aubert's imagery. The montage pictures the Emperor of Mexico standing on a hill in front of a decrepit brick wall and vague graves marked by makeshift crosses. Cordiglia utilizes Aubert's image of Querétaro from *Adobe Wall* as the background of his imagined scene. The profile view of Maximilian standing is arranged slightly off-center but is the focus of the scene as his body is slightly larger and clearer than the peripheral figures. The original photo of Maximilian superimposed into this image is unknown.

He stands with one arm in the air, in the act of delivering his last words which are written below his feet: '*Ultimas Palabras de Maximiliano, 'Mexicanos que mi sangre sea la ultima que se derrame y que el la regenere este desgraciado payo'.* Translated this reads, "Last words of Maximilian, 'Mexicans, may my blood be the last to be spilled and may this unfortunate fool regenerate it.'"[33] It is unclear if this is a colloquial interpretation of Maximilian's words or if they are otherwise truthful. The figure of Maximilian is shown as authoritative in stance and his speaking role within the scene, despite his dire and vulnerable position and his inserted self-deprecating words.

In the imagined image, Maximilian's executioners (seven of Juarez's anti-imperial soldiers) are not privileged with text and instead appear to be the inactive addressees of Maximilian's words. The seven men standing with large guns and in illfitting military regalia were cut from Aubert's *carte-de*-visite (Fig. 2.2) and split into two groups. Four men are on Maximilian's right-hand side and three are on the left and are all relegated to the very fringes of the photograph. Aubert's original *carte-de-visite* arranged the group in front of a bare wall in an enclosed room, uniformly shifting the focus from their blurred faces to their firearms and military costume. In contrast, Cordiglia's photomontage gives the firing squad historical and physical context in the setting yet strips away their agency as Maximilian's executioners within the scene as they heed the emperor's words. Buffering Maximilian from the four executioners on his right are the generals of the Second Mexican Empire, Miguel Miramón (1831-1867) and Tomas Mejía (1820-1867) who were executed alongside the emperor. The portraits were lifted and cut from unknown photographs, but are similar in size, coloring, and pose to the central Maximilian. Miramón and Mejía stand facing the camera, they shift their weight into their arms crossed that cover their torsos- unaffected by their fate and the executioners' proximity.

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[33] Translated by author. *Payo* here was translated as fool as a possible abbreviation and colloquial form of *payaso* translating clown or fool. It has been also translated as peasant.

During the nineteenth century, photography was considered effective when offering an objective representation of a pictured scene. Early photomontage such as Cordiglia's on the other hand, 'recorded' historical events within one manipulated image made from other photographs. Generally, photomontage's popularity suffered due to a "reduced claim to objectivity".[34] However, this image was circulated widely through Europe and Mexico and went on to inspire public imagination of the event. In using Aubert's photographs as a base for an imagined scene, Cordiglia reimaged an essential episode of Mexico's history. Photographic encapsulation of Mexico from Maximilian's reign in 1861 to his death in 1867 is the focus of this chapter. In considering François Aubert's propagandistic portraits of Maximilian in complex positions of power alongside his thousands of ethnographic studio portraits that systematically characterized indigenous Mexican individuals, I argue that Aubert posed alternative photographic views of Mexico during the Second Mexican Empire that exalted the foreign European ruler and 'typed' the indigenous citizen as 'other' within their own country.

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[34] Debroise, 234.

François Aubert and his Visual Legacies

During the Second Mexican Empire, François Aubert's photography offered two manipulated photographic views of Mexico: imperial portraiture and ethnographic studio *tipos*. Despite the large number of ethnographic portraits Aubert created during his time in Mexico City, he is best known for his work produced within Maximilian's court. Aubert, a Frenchman born in Lyon in 1829, originally studied as a painter at *École des Beaux-Arts de Lyon* before he was accepted into a Paris salon in 1851. After a trip to Central America in 1854, Aubert moved to Mexico City in 1864 around the same time as Maximilian I and Carlota. It is unknown if this was by chance or if he was initially hired in France and then accompanied the court to Mexico. Despite any proposed motivations for his venture to Mexico, Aubert was an essential contributor to imperial photography within Maximilian's small system of official photographers. He soon learned photography from a Jules Amiel before purchasing Amiel's gallery at *7 Segunda Calle de*

San Francisco.[35] This studio was shared with another official photographer of Maximilian's court, Julio María y Campos. Aubert is attributed to importing the medium of *cartes-de-visite* from Paris to Mexico, and images of Maximilian and his court were produced within this studio in this form thereafter. His work as a foreign photographer within Mexico has been characterized as, "[an] interesting example of the kind of opportunism so typical of the profession in its early years."[36]

Aubert produced many imperial images during Maximilian's short reign. These included posed portraits of the Emperor and Empress Carlota at play and within Chapultepec Castle, but his most known were taken after Maximilian's death. The *cartes-de-visite* produced in June of 1867 in Querétaro are thought to have been taken in secret. The original photographs taken of the execution location, firing squad, Maximilian's bloody clothing, and his corpse were given to an anonymous reporter in September of 1867 by the doctor who embalmed the emperor and confirmed their production as off the record. [37] The images began to be distributed commercially in the following months, and Aubert himself advertised the sale of the 'historical views' in pre-paid subscriptions. These *cartes-de-visite* proliferated in Europe, many remain today and appear to be under the imprinted of B.K Liebert, Disderdi, Neurdien, and Weurden in Paris and with signatures from Cruces and Campa and Auguste Péraire.[38] This has caused complications with attributions of original and printed photographs, with these discussions in mind I progress in attributing the *cartes* from Maximilian's execution to Aubert. To continue, the visual legacy of Aubert's images from this era demonstrates the cultural significance of his execution *cartes-de-visite.*

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[35] Palmquist and Kailbourn, *Pioneer Photographers*, 79.

[36] Debroise., 168.

[37] Ibid., 169. See also, Claudia Canales, "*A propósito de una investigación sobre la historia de la fotografía en México*," in *Antropologia e Historia, Boletín del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, 33 (1978), 67.

François Aubert has occupied space in art historical discussions of the Second Mexican Empire, largely because his best-known photographs of Maximilian's execution have been attributed to inspiring the vastly more famous *Execution* series by impressionist Édouard Manet (1832-1883). Manet created numerous pieces revolving around the execution of Maximilian; between 1867 and 1869 he composed three paintings, an oil study, and a lithograph of the scene. The most famous 1867-69 painting *The Execution of Emperor Maximilian* (Fig 2.4) arranges Maximilian, General Miramón, and General Mejía huddled together on the left as the large firing squad actively shoots from the right. The background anchoring the figures is a tall grey wall where onlookers in various states of distress watch General Mejía being executed.

Manet throughout his renditions of this scene in the series imagined the figures in different styles of dress according to Aubert's various *cartes-de-visite* of the execution. In an earlier version of the painting, the executioners wear wide-brimmed hats and clothing recalling a *charro* costume- the outerwear was then most associated with President Benito Juarez's resistance fighters. In the 1867-69 version, Maximilian instead dons a *charro*-styled hat while the firing squad are outfitted in the uniform of the Mexican

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[38] Ibid.

Republican Army which closely resembles European military regalia. Manet compulsively altered and repainted his works of Maximilian's execution as he received more visual and written information about the event.[39] [40] His final painting from 1867-69 (Fig 2.4) has been understood as building upon Aubert's imagery the most, however, it was withdrawn from a Paris exposition due to political reasons.

Ultimately, Manet was able to construct an image of Maximilian's 1867 execution within Querétaro, without ever having to step foot in Mexico. Just as Cordiglia's photomontage, Manet's alternative version of the historical event was composed almost entirely from Aubert's far-reaching *cartes-de-visite.* Interestingly, the wide circulation of Aubert's work did not amount to fame. After an unsuccessful search for a new photographic studio within Mexico City after Maximilian's termination, he left the country and photography behind and returned to Paris. Aubert's legacy, in the few art historical studies that center his work, usually centers on his photographs of Maximilian and the influence of these images upon Manet's *Execution* series. Little to no attention has been raised to the photographer's successful implantation of the *carte-de-visite* and the ethnographic *tipos* during his time in Mexico City. Aubert's *cartes-de*-visite, as shown in Manet's painting and Cordiglia's photomontage of Maximilian's execution, proliferated internationally. I understand this medium as essential in imposing alternative and imagined views of Mexico.

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[39] Ibid., 170.

[40] Laughlin, “Posed and Deposed”, 232.

Cartes-de-Visite and Ethnographic *Tipos*

Cartes-de-visite are small 2 x 4-inch photographs mounted on card stock. Patented in 1862 by André Disdéri, the new process was able to produce multiple photographs at once with a special lens.[41] The original photographs were turned into positive paper prints which were then able to be mounted, labeled, or copied further. This method was vastly more affordable than former photographic processes, namely the daguerreotype, and as a result, reached a greater audience. Socioeconomic class was instrumental in the medium's success, use, and reception. The personalized portraits were tremendously popular amongst the large middle classes of Europe. 'Cartomania' ensued; in England, from 1861-67 hundreds of millions of small photographic portraits of celebrities, strangers, and political figures were sold each year.[42] The medium effectively democratized portraiture, which had historically been a privilege for the wealthy within Europe and overseas.

François Aubert is likely to have imported the medium from France to Mexico in 1864, the same year Maximilian I arrived to take his place as emperor. [43] In Mexico, the small print photographs were often referred to as *tarjetas Imperiales* (imperial cards).[44] Maximilian's regime, following the European craze, would commission Aubert to produce thousands of *cartes-de-visite* with his portrait. In select photographs, Maximilian is posed in complex variations of authority primarily through costume. During the same years that he photographed Maximilian, Aubert created multiple series of ethnographic *cartes-de-visite* with impersonal images of Indigenous Mexicans in positions of disempowerment called *tipos* or popular Mexican types.

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[41] Debroise, *Mexican Suite*, 249.

[42] Rachel Teukolsky, "Cartomania: Sensation, Celebrity, and the Democratized Portrait" in *Victorian Studies* 57 (Spring 2015), 463.

[43] Debroise, *Mexican Suite*, 168. There is no primary source or leading authority on the exact mode or date of the *cartes-de-visite'*s arrival in Mexico. Despite various hypotheses, it is generally accepted that they came to Mexico in relation to Aubert and the French Intervention (1861-67) and understood as proliferated during the Second Mexican Empire (1864-67).

Early *tipos* or popular types were portrait photographs, often of Indigenous people, that posed individuals who were meant to represent a type of trade, race, ethnic group, or community within a generally abstracted scene. [45] Aubert and his 1866 series of popular types are understood as pivotal examples of this practice where European conventions of portrait photography and genre painting converged to characterize and distinguish various trades in Mexico's rural and urban areas. Often, Indigenous Mexicans thought to be good 'examples' of these popular types were taken from street to studio to pose as photographic subjects. The willingness of the potential subjects to be photographed in this manner is remarked upon in an article by Eugene Witmore:

> The Indians, in most cases, will hide their faces if you point a camera in their direction. They are quick as lightning and

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[44] For clarity, I refer to these as *cartes-de-visite* rather than *tarjetas Imperiales* throughout this thesis as it is the term most recognized throughout the small number of studies on the medium.

[45] Debroise, *Mexican Suite*, 116-117.

> seem able to smell a camera a block away. In some cases, a few centavos or a swig of pulque will dispel their timidity.[46]

In another excerpt from the same article, Witmore warns his intended audience of European tourists and amateur photographers of the consequences of disrespect:

> A final word of advice: don't make little jokes in English mocking an ancient structure or elderly Indian carrying a load on his back while you are taking a photograph. You are generally never out of earshot of someone who understands and speaks English. More than a few tourists have lost their cameras, not because of the way they use them, but for what they said while they were using them."[47]

It is largely unknown how or if any of the ethnographic subjects were financially compensated for their participation in the creation of these photographs despite their popularity as *cartes-de-visite*. From Witmore's account, it is clear that those who posed for photographs weren't likely able to be forced into photographers' studios but most likely were swayed by compensation of some sort. It is unlikely that they were compensated with the profits from the images, however, as they were taken from street to studio. There is no evidence of individuals routinely posing for Aubert's *tipo* portraits who would have been able to be routinely paid out for their visage.

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[46] Eugene Witmore, "*Fotografía en Mexico,*" *Helios 6*, (1935). "*Los indios, generalmente, esconderán la cara si se apunta una cámara hacia ellos. Son listos como relámpago y parece que huelen una cámara a una cuadra de distancia. En algunos de ellos, unos cuantos centavos o un trago de pulque desvancecerá toda su timidez*." 39. Translated by author.

[47] Ibid., 40. "*Un aviso final: no digáis ningún chistecito en inglés en tanto que tomáis una fotografia, particularmente si os burláis de un edificio antiguo o de un viejo indo con su carga en la espalda. Generelmente nunca estáis fuera de oído de alguien que entiende y habla inglés. No pocos turistas han peridido sus cámaras no por causa de la forma en que la usaron, sino de lo que dijeron mientras la usaban*." 40. Translated by author.

The photographs and their subsequent popularity perpetuated stereotypes of indigenous Mexicans in the emphasis placed on their labor and costume. The picking of individuals that non-Mexican photographers saw as representative ‘types’ relied on the clothing that they were wearing as well as their features. The images of these individuals were controlled, posed, and circulated by the foreign photographers who settled in Mexico City. Ethnographic visual conventions created in Europe to scientifically categorize Indigenous ‘Others’ are latent in the Second Mexican Empire’s popular type imagery.[48] While it is implied that the subjects within Aubert’s series consented to their reproduction in his *cartes-de-visite*, the decontextualization and framing of his *tipo* photographs imagined an indigenous Mexican subjugation to Maximilian’s imperial rule.

Aubert’s *Tipos* and Maximilian as a *Charro*

The use of ethnographic portraiture within Mexico has been described as, “affirming the bourgeoisie who enunciated the difference between their privileged position within a European-influenced modern state and ‘underdeveloped indigenous realities”.[49] Aubert’s series of studio portraits of street vendors has been discussed as the penultimate example of the ethnographic *tipos mexicanos* (Mexican types) produced within Mexico City during the nineteenth century. His untitled series consisted of multiple images that posed indigenous vendors with their wares (chickens, reeds, fruit, and vegetables) within his studio on *Calle San Francisco*. The creation of this series of cartes is particularly enlightening when considering Aubert was simultaneously employed as Maximilian's imperial court photographer. In selling and affirming an 'underdeveloped Indigenous reality' via ethnographic *tipos* in direct contrast to imperial portraits of Maximilian as a European ruler, Aubert illustrated power dynamics within the Second Mexican Empire. However, these images also complicate these dynamics.

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[48] For a cogent discussion on anthropometric images and the visual conventions of ethnographic photography during the nineteenth and early twentieth century see, Amy Cox Hall, “Picturing the Miserable Indian for Science” in *Framing a Lost City: Science, Photography, and the Making of Machu Picchu*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017), 114-134.

[49] Osorio, “Postcards in the Porfirian Imaginary”, 141–54.

In Aubert's ethnographic series the subjects' ages, clothing, and props range. In one carte, a young boy no older than eleven stands barefoot within the studio set up, at his feet bundles of bulbs, baskets, and bowls had been laid out, replicating an outdoor market scene in which he would work (Fig.2.5). Costume is a central aspect of both Aubert's imperial and ethnographic portraiture. The boy at first glance is dressed like an adult man. He wears a wide-brimmed hat and a plain *rebozo* hung over his chest and back, both items typically worn by Mexican men within the countryside.[50] But just under the thick *rebozo* a collar and tie around his neck is noticeable, suggesting that he is wearing a small suit under the *capa*. Yet peaking from his rolled-up suit pants is another layer-this time looking like stark white cotton pants.

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[50] Though I discuss *rebozos* and their use by men, the garment was also worn, made, decorated, and utilized by women throughout history. Women's use of *rebozos*, both present and past, are complex and intersect uniquely with social castes, gender expression and economic agency. For a discussion of contemporary use of the *rebozo* by Chicana women See, Gabriella Gutiérrez y Muhs. "Rebozos, Our Cultural Blankets." *Voces: A Journal of Chicana/Latina Studies* 3, (2001), 134–49. For an art historical discussion of eighteenth-century Mexican women's use of the garment see, Eleanor Laughlin, "The Intercontinental Reflections of an Eighteenth-Century Mexican Rebozo." *Crosscurrents: Land, Labor and the Port. Textile Society of America's 15th Biennial Symposium* (2016) https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2024&context=tsaconf

The boy is dressed in three distinct layers that speak to the main three social and racial strata within Mexico during the era. The innermost cotton layer recalls the two-piece cotton garments often worn by indigenous men in Mexico after the sixteenth century; the white pants and shirt specifically were worn by young Nahua boys or men engaged in religious ceremonies.[51] The wide-brimmed hat and *rebozo* were largely worn by Mexicans with mixed Indigenous and Spanish ancestry into the eighteenth century and were primarily utilized as an additional layer between the individual and their immediate environment. The *rebozo* has historically evaded identification as originally of indigenous or Spanish origin- it is common to understand the garment as similar to other convergences of culture after colonization as manifestations of complex exchanges between cultural power, needs, and conventions.[52] The suit and starched collar also fashions the young boy as an elite, these were often worn by foreigners or by the wealthier citizens of Mexico City. The boy's *rebozo* shields the boy's upper body successfully making the suit barely identifiable from our view, but the cotton underlayer betrays his performance as an adult man and affirms his adolescence.

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[51] For a brief history and discussion of the lineages of cotton and Nahua garments see, Frances F. Berdan, "Cotton in Aztec Mexico: Production, Distribution and Uses." *Mexican Studies:Estudios Mexicanos* 3, (1987): 235–62.

[52] The other convergences I mention is referencing the larger post-colonial scholarship within Latin American art histories that seek to discuss cultural contacts during the colonial era. I specifically am engaging with, Carolyn Dean, and Dana Leibsohn. "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America*." *Colonial Latin American Review* 12 (2003), 5–35. doi:10.1080/10609160302341.

It is unclear if the boy pictured was asked to wear the suit over his clothing during the photograph staging or if he was wearing the clothes previously. It is easy to imagine the boy layering his clothing during his work within the marketplace or the city to better appeal to the different social groups as he moved through stalls. Aubert's ethnographic *tipo* series does not offer any information on the subjects he photographed, nor does he date or entitle them. This might seem to be at odds with the commercial nature of these prints, but in abstracting the identity and humanity of his subjects, Aubert successfully produced imagery that poses an authentic individual as a representative of their trade and nation.

Ethnographic *tipo* portraits were consumed and kept by individuals of Mexico City's upper class and tourists. The visual tropes characterized within the portraits fascinated and entertained the elite socio-economic groups that benefitted from their production through the visual 'othering' of the indigenous Mexican population. These types of images were circulated, collected, and purchased as a means of enunciating racial and social hierarchies where they reigned supreme. It is no surprise, then, that popular type photographs were collected and popular within Maximilian's court as they occupied Chapultepec Castle. The very photograph of the young street vendor I have presented is part of a collection thought to have been brought back to Europe by exempress Carlotta after her husband's execution.[53] The empresses' patronage of Aubert's series within her occupation in Mexico City points to the utility of ethnographic popular type portraits as a fashionable and important visual marker between indigenous Mexican realities and imperial European occupation. The impulse to upkeep a culturally and racially superior image is immortalized through the court's private collections of Aubert's photographs.

However, these racial and cultural dynamics were manipulated by Maximilian I to assert a level of class consciousness to the Mexican public. In photographs staged similarly to the *tipo* ethnographic cartes and types, Maximilian poses as a Mexican *charro* figure, a popular type figure that accentuated and blurred visual conventions of race, class, and labor. *General Tomas Mejía, Emperor Maximilian, General Misamón* is a photograph attributed to François Aubert (Fig. 2.6) that contains three *cartes-de-visite* photographs on one 7 x 8-inch mount; the oval *cartes-de-visite* of Mejía post-mortem (left) and a portrait of Miramón (right) flank the larger image of Maximilian in the center. This full-body portrait is an image of Maximilian staged and costumed as a *charro* figure while simultaneously donning symbols of European elite dress. The visual trope of the *charro* was common within *cartes-de-visite* and employed traditionally masculine Mexican dress like the wide-brimmed hat and spurs. These *tipos* evoked associations with Indigenous ranch workers (*rancheros*) and also Benito Juarez's guerilla fighters. Maximilian's fashioning in his *charro* portrait shows a complex relationship between

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[53] Ibid., Carlota's collection is currently housed in the Musée Royal des Armées in Brussels but is not on display in tandem with the court's clothing, armor, weaponry, and other imperial memorabilia.

Mexican national, social, and racial identities that were being actively built, reimagined, and challenged during his short reign.

In the central *carte-de-visite*, Maximilian holds multiple indications of European authority while playing upon traditional Mexican fashion and photographic tropes. A telescope is gently held to his body by the proper left arm, his hand gently tucked within his black European frock coat. His left shoulder is ornamented with an arrangement of medals, hypothesized to be in recognition of his service to the Austrian Navy.[54] His weight is placed upon a thin walking stick supporting his slight lean back. The telescope, war medals, and walking stick were used within military European portraits to pronounce symbols of martial authority. This photograph has been described as conveying a "hybrid persona of an emperor who sought to integrate liberals, moderates, and conservative politicians from both European and Mexican backgrounds into his cabinet…"[55] However, it's likely that the image doesn't just recall Maximilian's political ambitions but also plays upon existing tropes most popular within ethnographic photography that his court photographer Aubert proliferated.

Upon his head is a light-colored wide-brimmed hat, the most identifiable marker of the *charro* type. The origins of the *charro* type are colonial. The Spanish during the seventeenth century distinguished Indigenous workers who, because of their labor on Spanish-owned ranches, were allowed to ride horses which was otherwise illegal. The allotted uniform consistently involved a wide-brimmed hat and a dark-colored suit with distinguishable and ornamental embroidery on the pants and arms. Generally, it referenced a Mexican horseman and recalled the politics of land and labor that differentiated indigenous individuals by sumptuary laws. Maximilian's black riding shoes are accentuated by spurs and the use of the *charro* hat is intriguing. In this official portrait he is not fashioning himself as an imperial ruler exactly, but as a representation of an alternative Mexico. The precocious balance of the *charro* hat, perhaps the most utilitarian of the *charro* costume, set between the trappings of European military, intellectual, and elite signals Maximilian's role within the larger 'civilization' project of Mexico during French intervention. He does not embrace the *charro* costume fully, as he does not labor as an indigenous Mexican *charro* might but appropriates the aspect of the costume to project an image of acknowledgment and mastery of Mexican identity. The emperor's costuming and pose draw multiple connections to Aubert's series of ethnographic *tipo* images.

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[54] Laughlin, "Posed and Deposed", 111.

[55] Ibid., 112.

In comparison to the photograph of the young fruit vendor from Aubert's ethnographic series, Maximilian performance as *charro* juxtaposes Mexican and European costumes while the young fruit vendor's costume syncretically blends race and class in the photograph. The young fruit vendor is physically layered fully in different costuming I see as reminiscent of Mexico's main racial and socioeconomic stratas. In the *charro* image, Maximilian dons smaller accessories, a hat, and spurs in between his European military garb. His European military regalia, just as the young fruit vendor's clothing and props signals gender, age, class, and occupation. In Aubert's image, Maximilian I plays with his role as the appointed emperor of Mexico and instead presents a European intellectual and a Mexican *charro* figure. The props of the telescope and a walking stick with the wide-brimmed hat and spurs might have been intentionally displaying a mixing of these fashions to display Maximilian's role as Emperor- as intellectual as a European gentleman and as engaged as a Mexican *charro*. Maximilian intentionally dressed and posed as an accomplished European man and appropriates aspects of traditional Mexican costume within an interior salon in his court. The young street vendor, in contrast, was taken into Aubert's studio because of his appearance and was thereafter posed as he was found to be a good visual representative of a larger group of individuals. Maximilian's attempt to recall the ethnographic type photographs shows a level of fascination with Mexican costume, but also a recognition and desire to mirror what he most likely understood as truly Mexican. *Tipo* photographs characterized and documented various people of Mexico and spread their imagery as representative of a whole. Maximilian's echoing of these photographs ultimately alludes to a conscious relationship made between European rule, indigenous labor, and the power of the photograph in displaying and dynamic.

Ethnographic Views from Maximilian's Court

Oliver Debroise, one of the most accomplished scholars of the history of early photography in Mexico, describes the country's nineteenth-century culture as, "A society that was fascinated by the external forms of things and that attributing defining values to them would naturally find in photography the ideal instrument to capture these 'significant appearances'."[56] Aubert's visualizations of the 'defining values' within his other various ethnographic series were informed by early manifestations of the new discipline of ethnology which grappled with racial classifications. In 1865, he created a series consisting of multiple ethnographic portraits of the Kikapú court during a diplomatic visit to Maximilian's court to discuss land rights. This photographic series and historical episode fascinated Mexico City as their visit challenged existing dynamics between European rule and indigenous subjugation.

Retrato de la vista de la delegación de indígenas kikapú a la corte de Maximiliano (*Portrait of the Visit of the Kikapú indigenous delegation to the Court of Maximilian*) is a series of seven albumen prints of the Kikapú delegation taken by Aubert during their visit to Mexico City in 1865. The Kikapú are an Algonquian-speaking Native American and Indigenous Mexican tribe originating from the Great Lakes region.[57] Known as Kickapoo or Kiikaapoa in English spellings, I opt for the Spanish 'Kikapú' as this is most appropriate in describing the individuals I discuss pictured in Aubert's images who are Mexican Kikapús. The visiting group was made up of the then Chief, four women and four men, and three emancipated African American men from Texas. These men translated the Kikapú's petitions into English as they traveled to meet

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[56] Ibid., 117.

[57] By the nineteenth century and because of the American Civil War, the tribe was largely displaced from Missouri and divided into smaller groups from Kansas, Oklahoma, and bordering Texas and Mexico.

Maximilian to discuss territorial matters, land rights, and protection against attacks from neighboring tribes and American soldiers.[58]

In one photo, the Kikapú Chief is posed against a white wall in direct sunlight (Fig.2.7). A slight wind moves the older man's hair which contrasts with his otherwise unyielding facial expression and body language. His eyes are obscured from our view. A wide feather headdress with geometric patterns accentuated with thin upright feathers shades the top half of his face from the sun. Against common practice, the headdress was not removed for the photograph by the subject or photographer to avoid this shadowy effect. The inability to see his eyes sets the tone for the photograph; it emphasizes the clothing and accessories on his body as more important than his visage, or any connection he might make with a potential audience. In ideal European portraiture, the parts of the body depicted operated within physiognomic realism, and the eyes were the focal point in producing life within an image. An 1824 article *On the Apparent Direction of Eyes in a Portrait* describes the main objective in rendering eyes as to create an effect that makes them appear to follow the viewer.[59] In this image, the viewer is denied a central aspect of the portrait, and the Chief is displayed as secondary to his costume.

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[58] Wilhelm Knechtel, Amparo Gómez Tepexicuapan, and Susanne Igler, "*Las Memorias Del Jardinero De Maximiliano: Apuntes Manuscritos De Mis Impresiones Y Experiencias Personales en México Entre 1864 y 1867*" (Mexico, D.F: Instituto Nacional de Antropología E Historia, INAH, 2012), 112. The group was able to communicate with Maximilian with the aid of three emancipated men from Texas, who worked as translators between them.

[59] William Hyde Wollaston, "On the Apparent Direction of Eyes in a Portrait." *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* 114 (1824), 250.

The Chief holds a large draping fabric, similar to a *rebozo,* held close to his body one hand underneath, in his other hand he holds a white scroll, likely representative of the political agreements made between Maximilian and himself. A large medal hangs around his neck and marks the center of his torso, the washed-out white of its material stark against the shadowed drapery on his body. During the delegation's visit, these aspects of dress were noted by a gardener of the grounds during Maximilian's regency in Mexico City whose testimony inspired the public's imagination of the Chief and his party. He notes, "They were wrapped in red and blue serapes, fantastic head ornaments of feathers, leather, ribbons and glass…The chief was an old man. From his neck hung a symbol of his authority: a great silver medallion with an engraving of a jaguar and a commemorative coin of Louis XV of France…"[60] Aubert's choice to get a photograph of the Chief might have been prompted by the scroll and medal which attempts to signal the political nature of the visit by traditionally European diplomatic props. Yet, these items do not seem to impress the individual awarded them.

In Aubert's photograph, the Chief is posed with the props of agreement alone against a white wall. The objects meant to indicate political convenings are heavily rooted in conventions of European political agreements and seem to hold very little weight in his own cultural context. The scroll and medal's details are unclear within the image- both are washed out by the direct sunlight in stark white. The lack of intelligible iconography makes the props appear even more useless to the viewer and the Chief. This photograph does not actively signal an agreement that has been made between his delegation and the Emperor of Mexico but highlights the lack of cultural comprehension that Maximilian's efforts have been largely characterized by.

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[60] Knechtel, Amparo Gómez and Igler, *Las Memorias Del Jardinero De Maximiliano,* 113.

This level of Maximilian's understanding is clear in his description of the delegation in a letter to his brother in Vienna, which includes insightful commentary on existing racial stereotypes:

> Last week we received at the palace a deputation of real, heathen indians from the northern frontier, regular Fenimore Cooper figures in the true sense of the word. They had dinner here yesterday in Montezuma's cypress grove, on the very place where the Indian emperor used to hold his great banquets.[61]

Maximilian connects the visiting delegation to the Native-American characters of nineteenth-century American novelist James Fenimore Cooper effortlessly. Cooper's 1826 novel, *The Last of the Mohicans: A Narrative of 1757,* captured the imagination of the West with tales of rangers, 'Indians', and damsels in distress. *The Last of the Mohicans* and its key characters, a resourceful white pioneer Natty Bumppo or 'Hawkeye' and stoic Native sidekick Chigachgook, have stayed culturally significant since its debut through numerous reprints, dramatizations, and subsequent narratives inspired by these types.[62] Despite scholarship being generally mild on Cooper's degree of racial characterizations, it is clear that his generalizations fall into 'typed' figures circulating within the century similar to those I have raised.[63] Maximilian's calling on Cooper's figures so intentionally speaks to a lack of deep cultural awareness and reliance on cultural stereotyping that proliferated in the literature of the era. The emphasis placed on this concept of the visiting delegations as 'figures' signals that Maximilian recognizes the depth in which he characterizes them.

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[61] M. M. McAllen, "*Maximilian and Carlota: Europe's Last Empire in Mexico*" San Antonio: Trinity University Press, (2014): 169. Maximilian's reference to the land is fascinating. In referencing Moctezuma II's grove within the area of Chapultepec Park, he demonstrates an understanding of the lands' Indigenous history and ownership. Yet, he characterizes the Mexica history of the land as relegated to the far past. Juárez, years later, would additionally characterize Mexico City as sitting directly above a sacred land of the conquered 'Ancient Aztecs' to rally a uniform and historical claim to power.

Aubert's photos taken of the Kikapú delegation could be characterized as impromptu *tipo* images, most likely taken opportunistically as they were not composed in his studio like his vendor series. Instead, the delegation is all posed in front of an ambiguous white wall individually and in group photos.[64] The use of bare backgrounds is a pervasive trope in ethnographic photography where the absence of a scene leaves room for imagination by the viewer. Ethnographic photographic practice that utilizes this trope has been referred to as a construction of an imaginary image.[65] The white background may have operated similarly in this way, a clear space to prod a subject's appearance and allow a viewer to place them in any scene they wish.

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[62] For an in-depth discussion of Cooper's characterizations in the age of Andrew Jackson's violently anti-Indigenous America see, Forrest G. Robinson, "Uncertain Borders: Race, Sex, and Civilization in The Last of the Mohicans," *Arizona Quarterly: A Journal of American Literature, Culture, and Theory* 47 (1991),1–28.

[63] It was not until 1994 where Cooper's work had been challenged as propelling racist stereotypes and characters in academic publications; before Thomas S. Gladsky's article, Cooper's novels were discussed as as representing the diversity of an eighteenth-century American landscape. These early discussions lacked engaged theory that centered race and racial characterizations and instead centered on Cooper's personal 'championing' of oppressed peoples as proof of his intent. For more see, Thomas S. Gladsky, "James Fenimore Cooper and American Nativism." *Studies in the American Renaissance*, 1994, 43–53.

[64] This chapter includes the Chief's image, but photographs of the full delegation are just as engaging. They are posed in groups according to race and gender for some but come together in one photo (Fig. 2.7.1). This photograph follows the same composition and it likely taken within the same date, location and time of day.

Ethnographic imagery utilizing two-dimensional backgrounds in their composition traces back to sixteenth-century manuscript costume illustrations of indigenous Mexicans. Art Historian Elizabeth H. Boone positions the images within the Codex Ixtlilxochitl specifically as direct responses to the popularity of European costume images and ethnographic forms. [66] The late-sixteenth-century manuscript was collected and bound by Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl and has been named the Codex Ixtlilxochtil; within it are paintings of lords of Texcoco rendered three-dimensionally but decontextualized from any specific scene. In one particular post-humous portrait of the lord *Netzahualcoyotl* (Fig. 2.8), he is pictured dressed in detailed feathered military attire with his body swinging in motion between a feathered shield and weapon. Around him is not battle but an 'undefined surface'.[67] Boone traces and compares Codex Ixtlilxochitl imagery to early ethnographic accounts drawn by German medalist Christoph Weiditz' of indigenous captives held by the Spanish court (Fig. 2.8.1). The subjects in comparison are described as, " hold[ing] stereotypical objects, like props, that pertain more to the European imagination than to Mesoamerican realities." [68] The audience of such costume studies imagery is like that of *tipos*. Images like Weiditz' appeared in early colonial encyclopedias after the Spanish conquest and were specifically catered and manufactured for a distinctly European audience.

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[65] Margarita Alvarado et all, "*Fotografia Mapuche, Construcción y Montage de un Imaginari*o" Santiago, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, (2001), 32.

[66] Elizabeth Hill Boone, "Who they are and what they wear" in *Anthropology and Aesthetics 67* (2016/2017). 316-334. 329.

[67] Ibid.

The intended European audiences then consumed these costume studies and *tipos* photographs, and in their authority, they categorized the individuals within the ethnographic photo and expanded manipulated attributes to the larger ethnographic group. Aubert's photographs of the Kikapú Chief and Weiditz's illustrations of 'Indian men' both rely on clothing and props within a blank space to visualize the posed subject who becomes representative of their racial and social communities. Emperor Maximilian had experienced the Kikapú delegation's visit through a fantastical colonial lens, curated by multiple generalizations and representations of Indigenous people through imagery in *tipos* and literature as 'figures'. The *tipo* photographs relay the racialized and interrogative views to a European audience and physically arm a collector with an imagined vision of an Indigenous community, nation, or delegation. Aubert's use of photography to animate, re-image, and reimagine history continues in his cartes of Maximilian in death at the end of the French Intervention.

Aubert's Post-Mortem *Cartes-De-Visite*

Emperor Maximilian's Vest and Coat After his Execution are two small *carte-de-visite* mounted on cardboard (Fig. 2.9). They have been attributed to Aubert in June of

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[68] Ibid.

1867, days following the appointed Emperor's death.[69] The prints feature the frock coat and vest worn by Maximilian in his execution. The garments are hung with small nearly invisible nails at the shoulders on an indistinguishable white background, almost floating. They look unnatural, the coat ripples backward and the vest's neck opens long and jutting like a wound. The perforations from the bullet holes that killed Maximilian become secondary to the odd way it was photographed. Their floating quality is accentuated by the washed-out background and hazy quality of the *carte*. Like the way blank backgrounds operated in Aubert's ethnographic scenes, a viewer could easily imagine the trajectory of the bullets and conjure up a scene of the violent death in its decontextualization. The bullets ripped through the vest straight through the emperor's ribs and stomach, some lodging themselves there in his body, others finding their way out creating the peppered holes in the back of the coat which stand clear against the white background.[70]

Aubert indexically documented Maximilian's execution in multiple ways; the location and firing squad as discussed prior, his mangled clothing, and full-bodied views of his embalmed corpse before it was sent back to Austria.[71] *Maximilian muerto* is one of the five prints from the very popular purchasable set of cartes that feature Maximilian's final visage (Fig. 2.10). An open casket is set up vertically atop a brick floor also placed in front of a bare wall. It is unclear if this was taken indoors or out. The casket's two doors are swung open like a cabinet and additional wooden support beams have been nailed and fit into the frame as they secure the torso and legs of the corpse. The stuffed body is dressed in military regalia with long leather boots that wrinkle oddly from the lack of flesh within them. His boots and limp military frock coat are haunting echoes of *Maximiliano (charro*). Where he was once posed in action as a man managing and acting within European and Mexican culture, in *Maximiliano muerto* he is deposed in France's defeat.

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[69] Debroise, *Mexican Suite,*169. There is opportunity for further research beyond the scope of this project on whether Aubert had collaborated with local photographers for these photographs.

[70] Konrad Ratz, *Querétaro: Fin del Segundo Imperio Mexicano* Mexico City (2005): 252. According to Dr.Reyes, the Mexican physician who observed the execution, Maximilian gave a gold coin each to his executioners, also photographed by Aubert, in exchange for shots straight to the chest and heart to spare his face in death. The amount of bullets in his clothing might provide evidence of this testament.

To reidentify and reindividualize the mangled corpse, Maximilian's characteristic mustache and beard are carefully combed as it was in life. The two tresses of his beard usually thick and lively in portraits appear stringy and thin. Through this chapter, we have seen a network of ethnographic and imperial portraits that have devalued and asserted individuality. This post-mortem carte highlights the complicated aspects of how Aubert fails or successfully humanizes his subject. This is captured best in his treatment of Maximilian's face. The facial reconstruction of his corpse has been well explained by scholars.[72] The doctor in charge of embalming Maximilian inserted two false brown eyes from a statue of the Virgen of Los Remedios in his eye sockets, as they were unable to procure a pair of blue eyes.[73] In a close-up *carte-de-visite* taken within the same session (Fig. 2.11), the oversized glass eyeballs bulge in opposite directions with a downturned shape, producing an overall uncanny effect. An essential rule of portraiture is broken in Aubert's image. As discussed in Aubert's photograph of the Kikapú Chief, the denial of the subject's eyes breaks a large sense of connection with the viewer; ultimately this dehumanizes the subject in the photographic frame. It is unclear if this might have been an act of resistance on behalf of the embalmer- to mangle the late emperor's face, or if the desired effect was unsuccessful.

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[71] For a discussion of Manet and the Execution series see, John Elderfield. *Manet and the Execution of Maximilian*. The Museum of Modern Art, 2006. For a discussion of representation of the war, death, and shock in Manet's Execution series concerning Aubert's photography see Frank Möller, *Visual Peace : Images, Spectatorship, and the Politics of Violence*, Rethinking Peace and Conflict Studies. (2013)

Previous scholarship on Aubert's cartes within the *Execution series* has addressed them in terms of their documentarian utility or as inspiring sympathy in terms of post-mortem portraiture. I assert that the nineteenth-century viewer would receive these images as historical souvenirs that heavily recall ethnographic cartes an elite audience was already familiar with. Aubert's morbid photographs of Maximilian were banned in Europe, but they continued to circulate in Mexico.[74] On September 4th, 1867, mere months after the emperor's death, Aubert listed an advertisement in *El Siglo Dies y Nueve* selling sets of *Maximiliano muerto*.[75] Originally appointed as a part of Maximilian's court, Aubert swiftly aligned with the larger nineteenth-century impulse to capture their subjects, often morbid, fascinating, or both. The *cartes* were offered by prepaid subscription as full-size prints or in sets and were not accompanied by narration or titles.[76] Despite this, they were received popularly in Mexico and the image of Maximilian's corpse became emblematic of the victorious Mexican state winning against colonial powers. The number of extinct Maximilian's execution cartes still outnumbers those of President Juárez despite the distribution of 20,000 memorial photos of Juárez created and sold.[77] This signals a preference for the public to collect sensational imagery of France's defeat rather than Mexico's success.

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[72] Samuel Basch "*Recollections of Mexico: The Last Ten Months of Maximilian's Empire*" (2003),172-173.

[73] See Debroise, *Mexican Suite,*169, 67.

[74] Beth Gyunn. "Mexico*"*. In Hannavy, ed., *Nineteenth-Century Photography*, 922.

Aubert's simple framing and blank background in *Maximilian muerto* derive from his work with ethnographic photography. Yet, the focus on his face despite the poor embalming indicates an attempt to render Maximilian as an individualized subject. Aubert's use of both imperial and ethnographic conventions converges in Maximilian's post-mortem *cartes*. These unique images capture Maximilian within a single moment and in a decontextualized scene that turns his corpse into something representative of a larger historical narrative within a *carte* that can be possessed, prodded, and collected;

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[75] Justino Fernandez, *"El arte del siglo XIX en México"* Mexico City: Imprenta Universitaria, UNAM, Institutio de Ivestigaciones Estéticas (1967), 79-80.

[76] Hannavy (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Photography*, 934. The prints are entitled on the mount as 'Propriete Exclusive de La Mon Aug. Klein'. These reproductions were sold and produced by August Klein and some originals are still sold by auction houses today.

[77] John Mraz, "*Modern Visual Culture and National Identity*" Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press (20090, 22.

this engagement is like that of Aubert's ethnographic series. The photograph of the former Emperor of Mexico becomes a symbol and relic of a historical past, a representative corpse within a simple frame.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I situate François Aubert's imperial photographs of Maximilian I and his simultaneous ethnographic series as devised views of Mexico during the Second Mexican Empire (1864-69). The *cartes-de-visite* uniquely implanted arranged views of Maximilian in various states of power. In his life, Maximilian was costumed as both a European and as a *charro* figure. In his death, his corpse and clothing were arranged and sold as representative of the historical moment in which he reigned. In Aubert's early series of *tipos mexicanos* from 1867, he captures a young boy layered in adult clothing representing three distinct racial and social classes operating within Mexico City during the time. European and Mexican audiences consumed these images widely.

Aubert's opportunistic 1865 *tipo* photographs of the visiting Kikapú delegation within Maximilian's court also tell of the relationship between imperial and ethnographic photography. I comparatively examine how imperial power was visually produced and how indigenous Mexicans were characterized. Maximilian's direct equation of the party to American novelist James F. Cooper's imagined stock characters is tells of the extent they were characterized at the time. The use of costume, pose and props within Aubert's *cartes-de-visite* was essential in conjuring a controlled image of social and racial groups for European audiences. Aubert inspired painters and photographers alike to reimagine and reconstruct a view of the Second Mexican Empire, entirely from his far-reaching portraits of Maximilian in his life and death. Ultimately, Aubert's imperial and ethnographic *cartes-de-visite* had a symbiotic relationship and contributed to the exaltation of the European ruler and the othering of the indigenous Mexican subject.

Figures

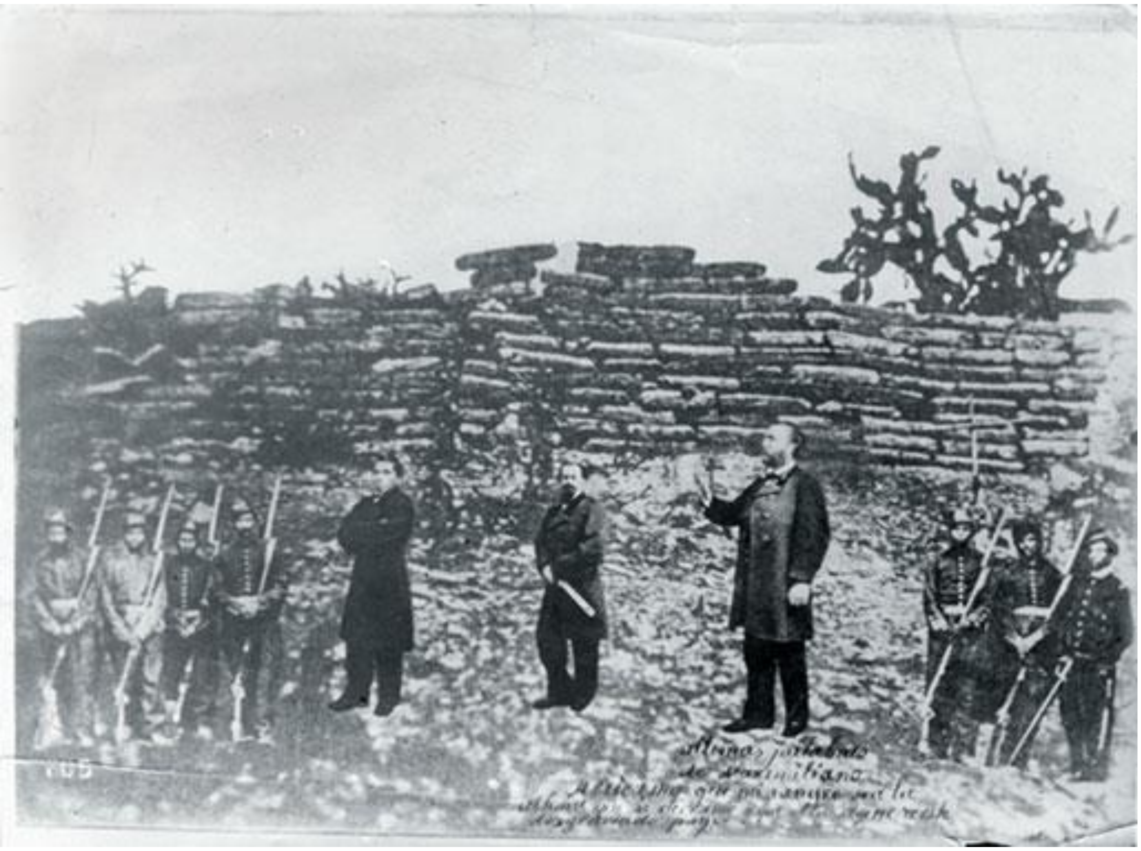

Figure 2.1. Adrian Cordiglia (attributed). *Commemorative picture of the Execution of the Emperor Maximilian.* 1867. Glass plate negative 3 ⅜ x 4 ¾ (8.5 x 12 cm).

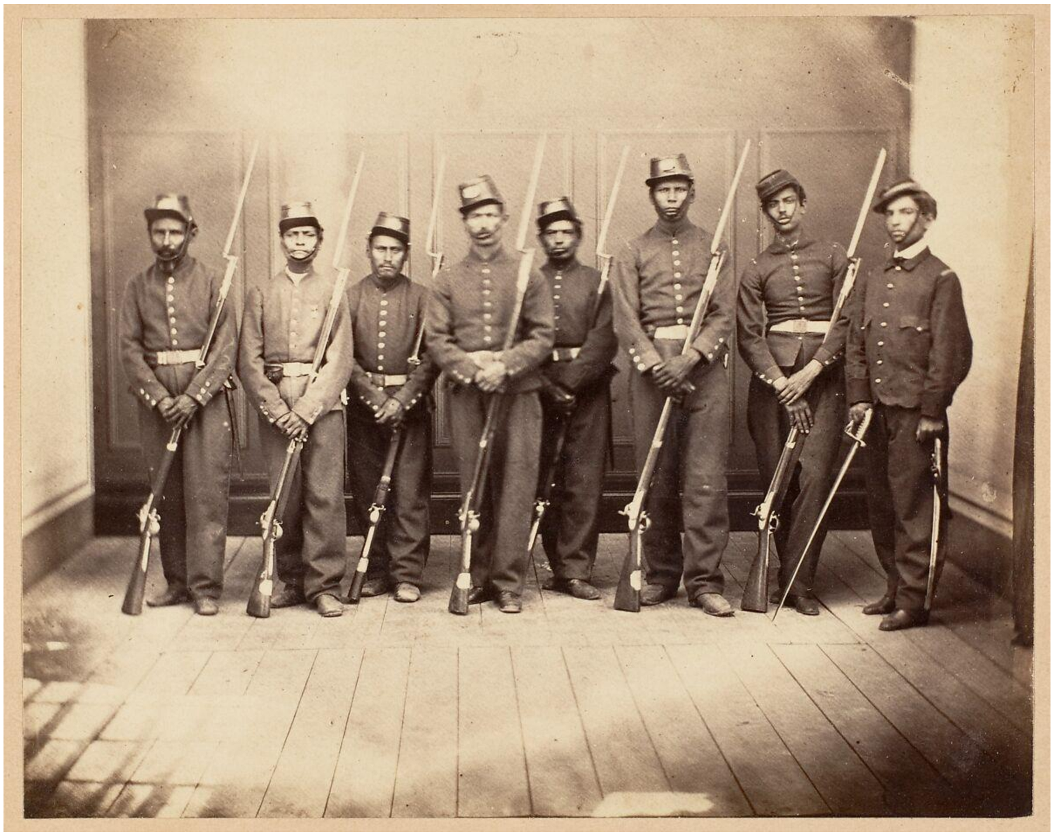

Figure 2.2. François Aubert. *Emperor Maximilian's Firing Squad*. June of 1867. Albumen silver print from glass negative. 4 7/16 x 5 9/16 in (11.4 x 14.2 cm).

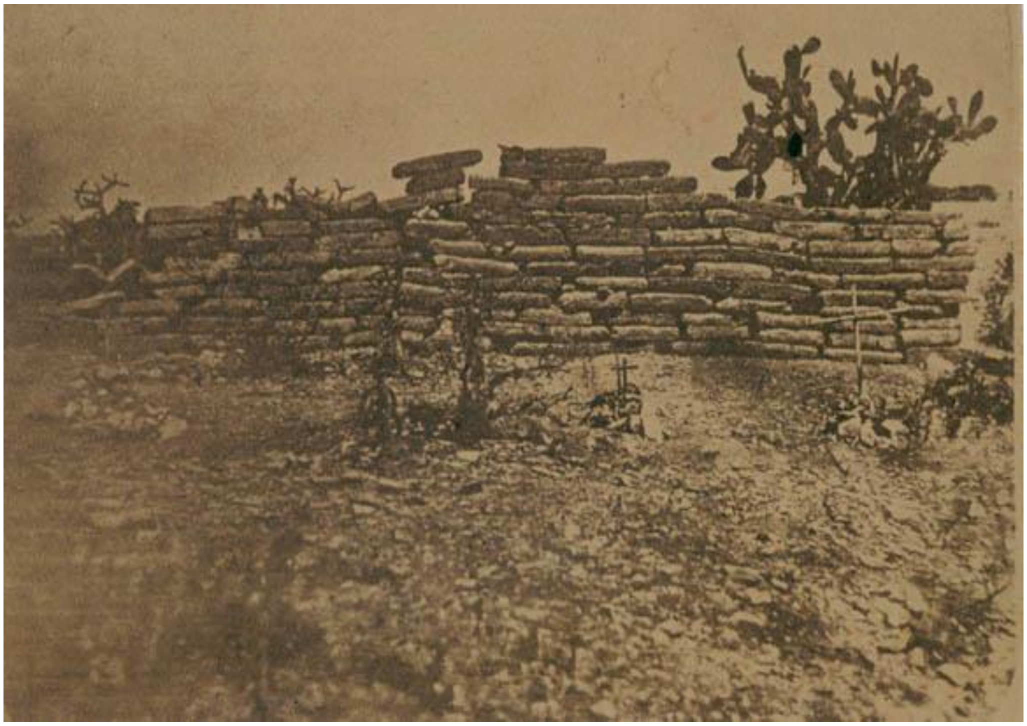

Figure 2.3. François Aubert. *Adobe Wall on the Hill of the Bells*. June of 1867. Albumen Silver Print. 2 3/16 x 3 ¼ inch, (5.5 x 8.2 cm). Research Library, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (2001. R.8)

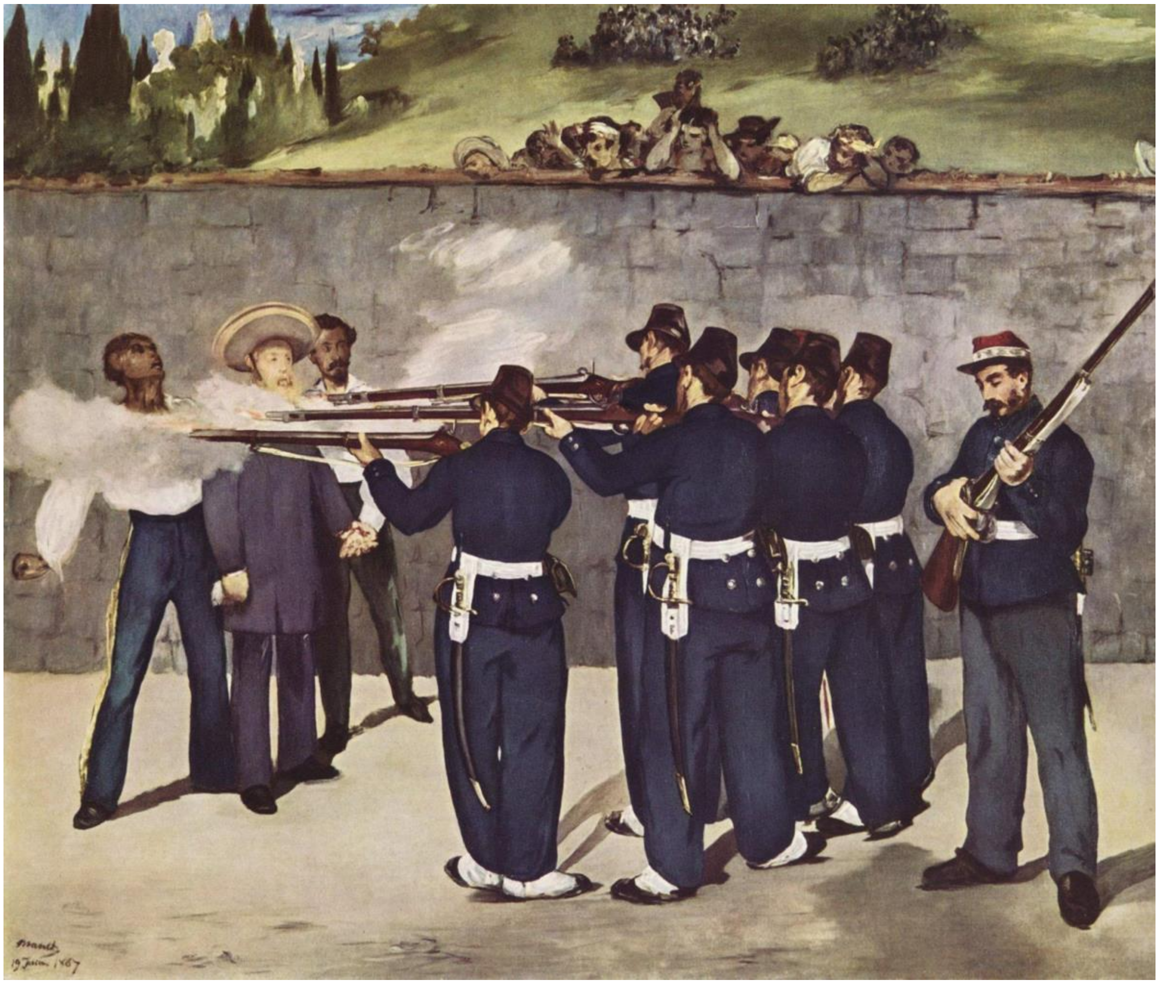
Manet
19 Juin 1867

Figure 2.4. Edouard Manet. *The Execution of Emperor Maximilian*. 1868-69. Oil on canvas. 8.26 ft x 10 ft, (252 x 305 cm)

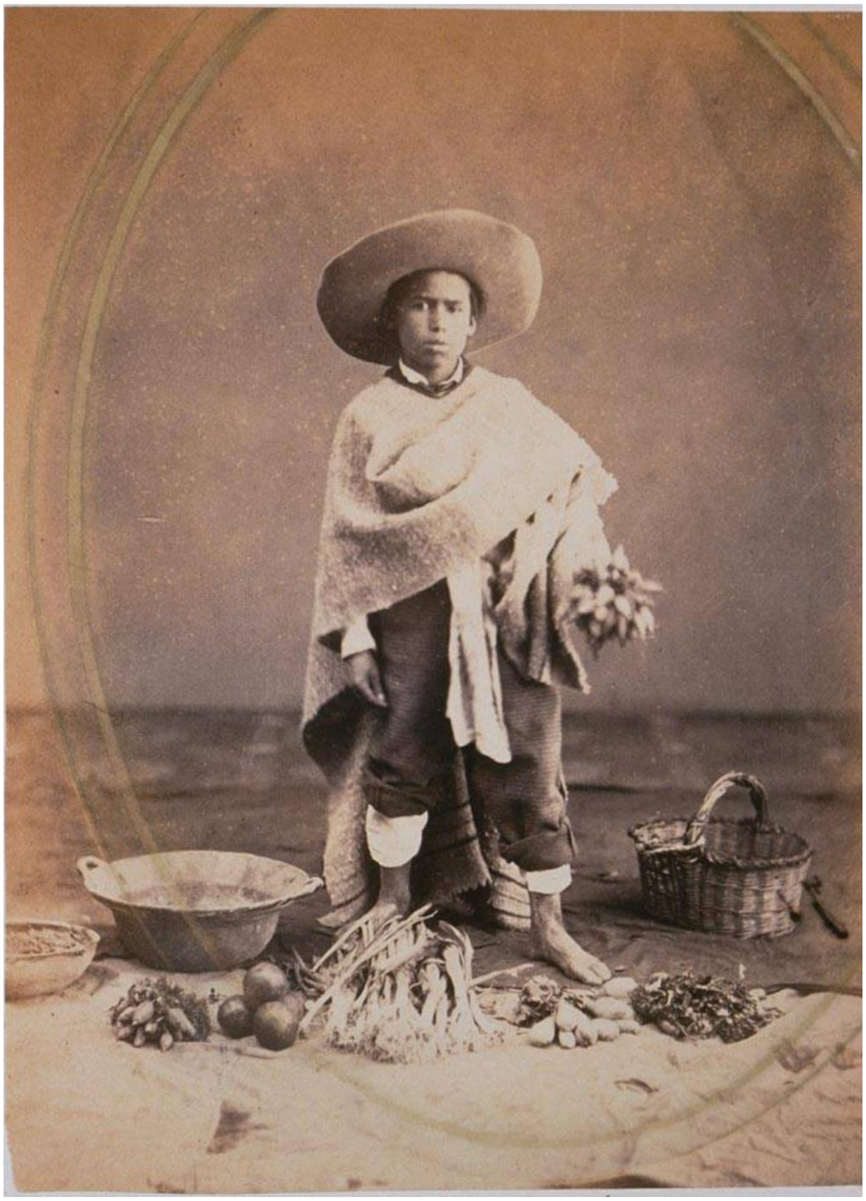

Figure 2.5. François Aubert. *Joven vendedor das verduras [Studio portrait of a young vegetable seller]*. 1865-1867. Albumen *carte-de-visite*. 7.04 x 5.11 in (17.9 x 13 cm).

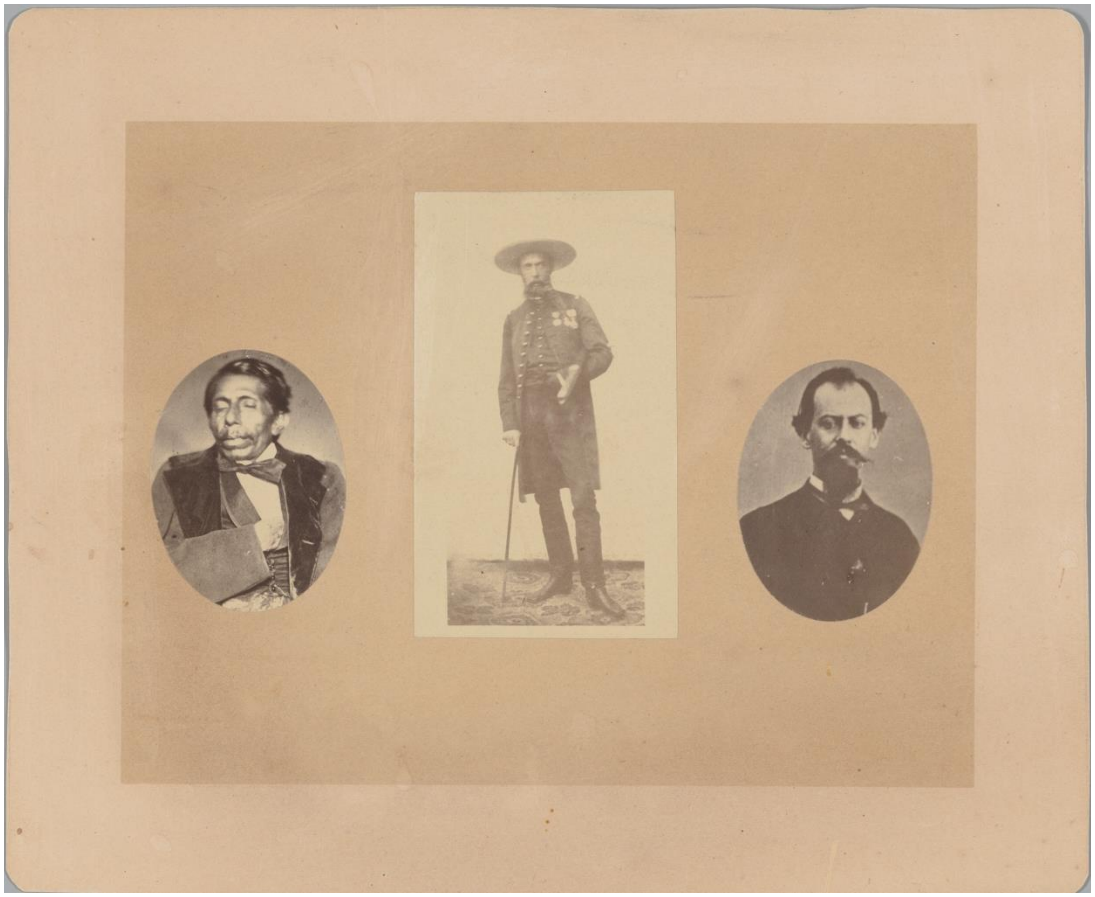

Figure 2.6. François Aubert (attributed). *General Tomas Mejía, Emperor Maximilian, General Misamón*. 1867. Albumen silver prints from glass negatives, *cartes-de-visite* on mount. Left image: 2 1/8 x 1 9/16 in. (5.4 x 4 cm), Center image: 3 5/8 x 2 1/8 in. (9.2 x 5.4 cm), Right image: 7 3/16 x 8 ¾ in. (5.3 x 4 cm), Mount: 7 3/16 x 8 ¾ in. (18.2 x 22.2 cm).

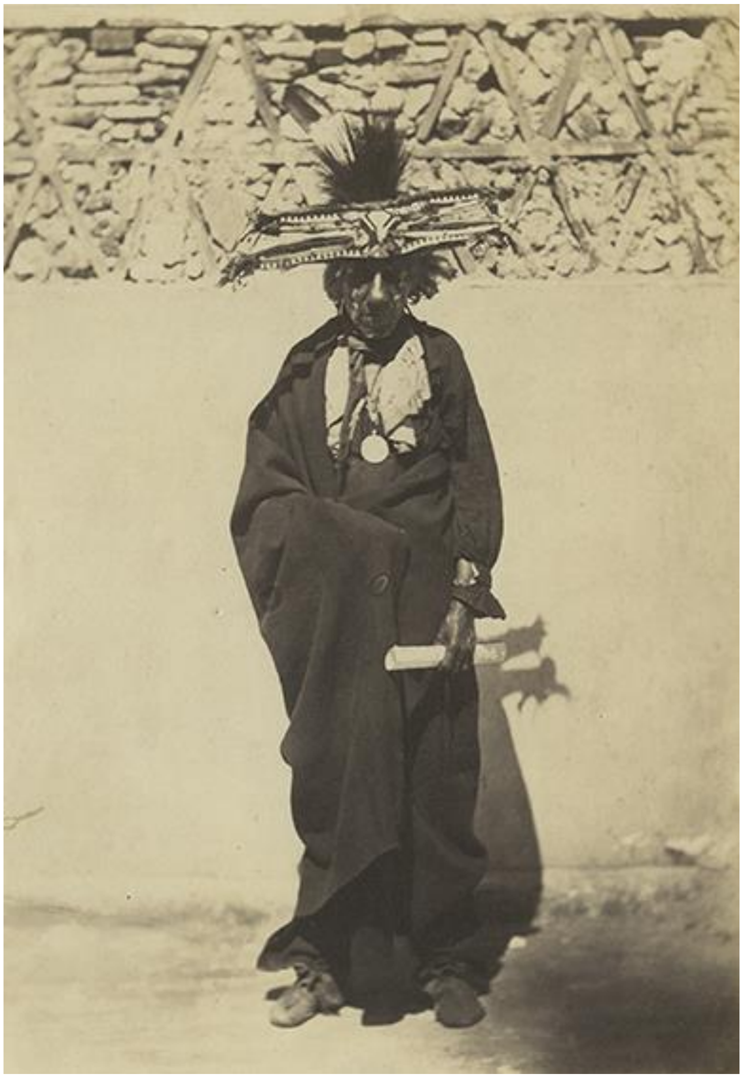

Figure 2.7. François Aubert. *Retrato de la visita de la delegación de indígenas kikapú a la corte de Maximiliano [Portait of the Visit of the Kikapu indigenous delegation to the Court of Maximilian].* 1865. Albumen *carte-de-visite*. Dimensions unknown.

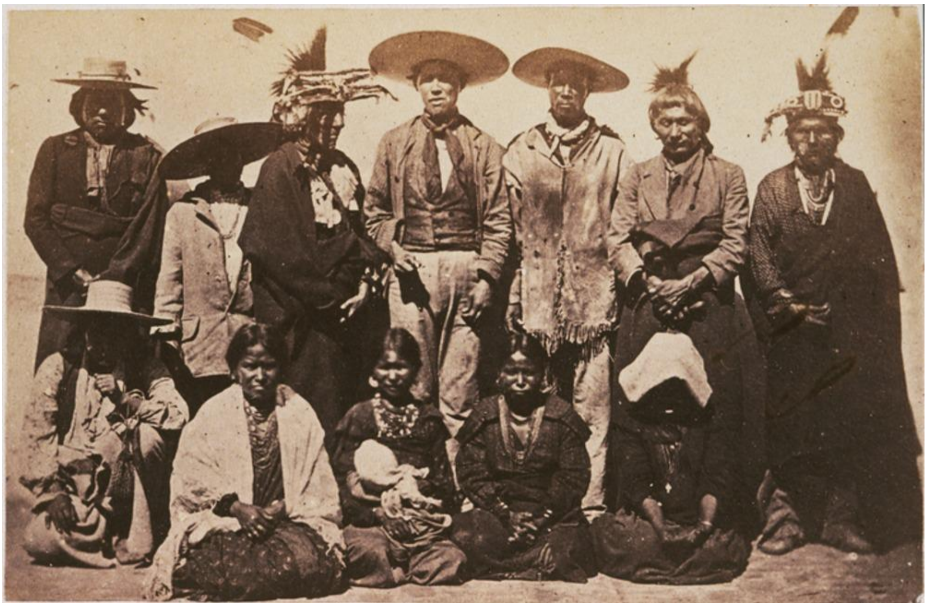

Figure 2.7.1. François Aubert. *Indios Kikapos [between 1865 and 1867]*. 1865-1867. Albumen *carte-de-visite* on cardboard. 2.2 x 3.4 inch (5.8 x 8.7 cm).

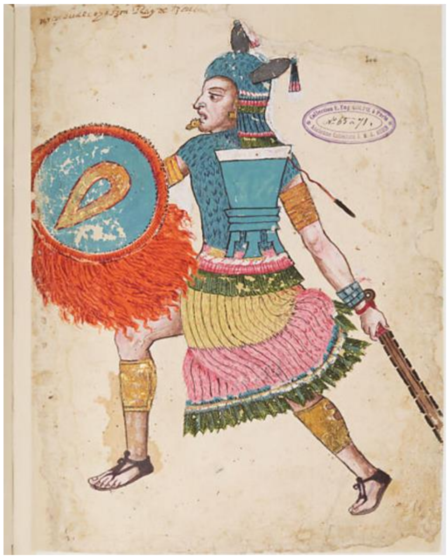

Figure 2.8. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl. Codex Ixtlilxochitl, Folios 105 (verso) and 106 (recto). 1582. Paper and pigment. H 12 3/16 x 8 ¼ inch (31 x 21 cm).

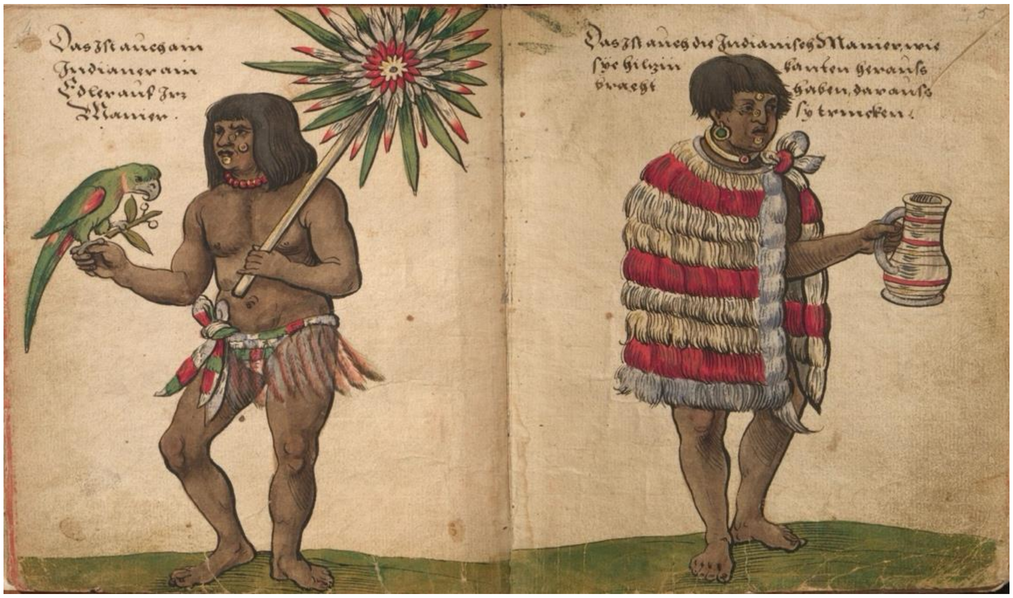

Figure 2.8.1. Christoph Weiditz. *Indian Men* from *Trachtenbuch*. 1530-40. Dimensions unknown.

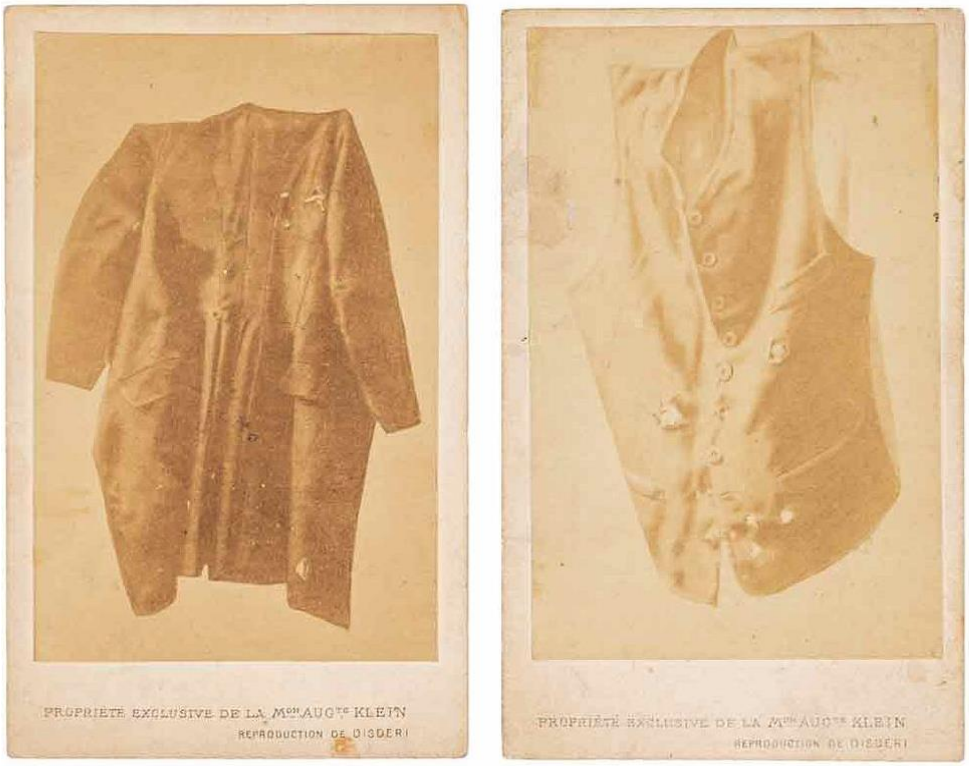
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Figure 2.9. François Aubert [attributed]. *Emperor Maximilian's Vest and Coat After his Execution*. June 1867. Albumen *carte-de-visite*. Reprinted by Auguste Klein. Dimensions unknown.

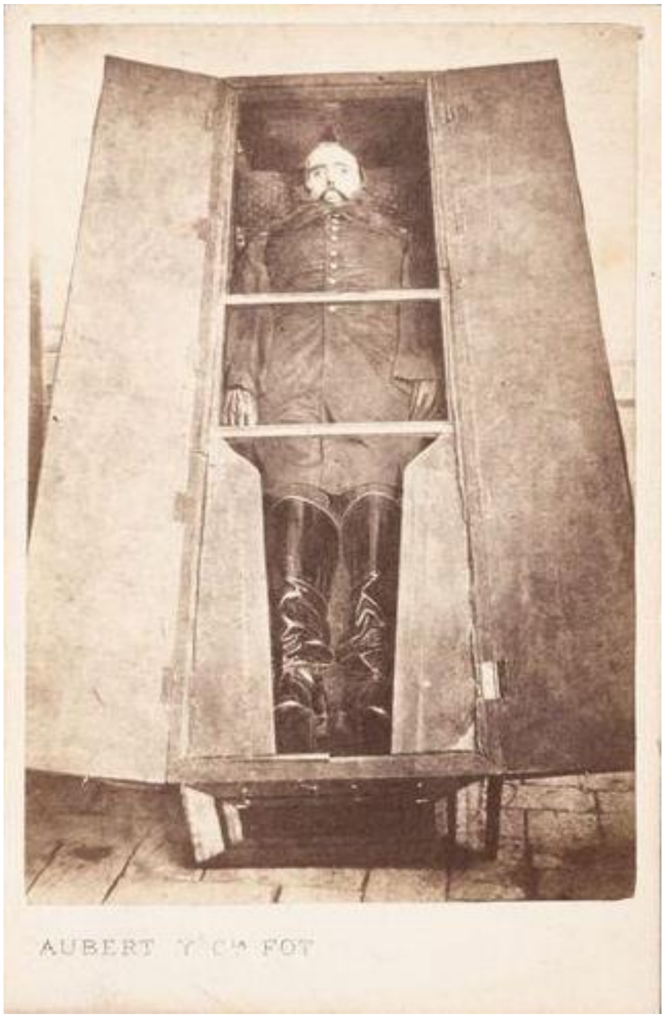
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Figure 2.10. François Aubert [attributed]. *Maximiliano muerto.* June 1867. Albumen *carte-de-visite.* Dimensions unknown.

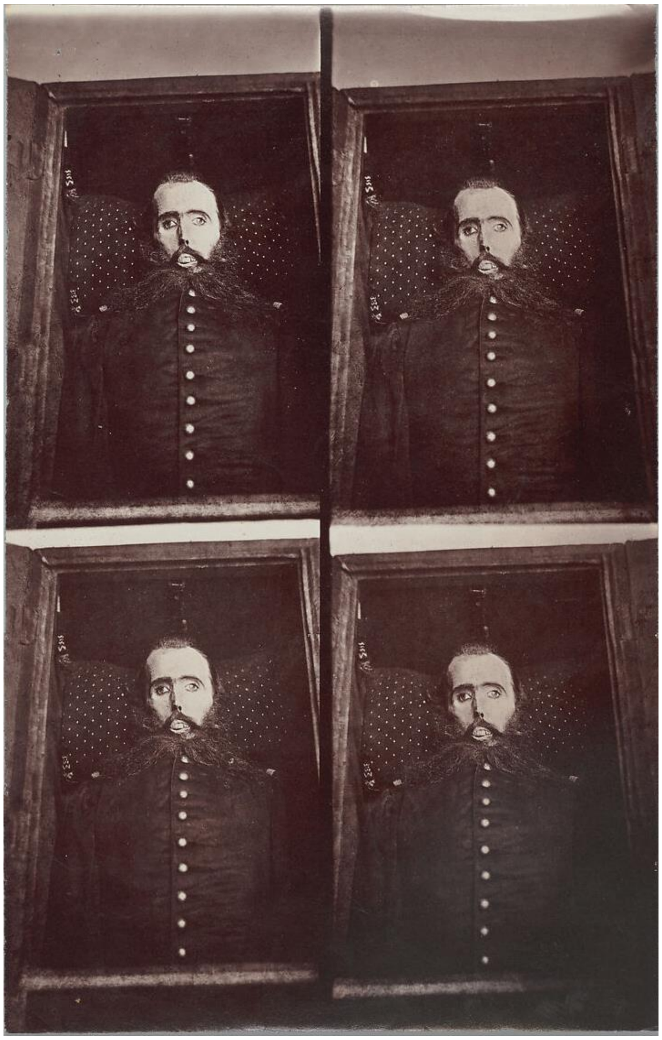

Figure 2.11. François Aubert. *Emperor Maximilian I in His Coffin*. 1867. Albumen *carte-de-visite* without mount. 8 13/16 x 5 11/16 inch (22.4 x 14.4 cm).

Chapter 2: The Capturing of Coatlicue

Introduction

During his years in power, Porfirio Díaz (1830-1915) built upon the photographic vestiges of Maximilian I's imperial rule to bolster his regime. The general, himself an Indigenous man from Oaxaca, infamously oppressed and displaced Indigenous Mexicans while simultaneously appropriating Mesoamerican visual culture within his new institutional complexes, and advocating for foreign tourism. The remnants of French colonial power within Mexico inspired Díaz to exalt Mexico's legitimacy in an emulation of France, what he and many other Mexican elites saw as the cultural authority of the world. Relying on the most current French-invented photographic processes of the albumen print, Díaz commissioned images of Mexico to boast its rapid remodeling processes that were able to be purchased, reprinted, and kept within personal travel albums.

Photography during the Second Mexican Empire had been previously utilized by Maximilian and his official photographer, François Aubert, to create imagery that centered around portraits. Díaz, almost in answer to Maximilian's photographic use, employed French photographer Alfred 'Abel' Briquet between 1883~1910 to photograph the left-wing regimes' industrial development. His large body of photographic work commissioned by the Porfirian government has earned him recognition as the first commercial photographer of Mexico.[78] His photographs reached wide audiences and displayed Mexico as actively modernizing rural and urban areas and institutionalizing Mesoamerican sculpture within new museum complexes.

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[78] Ibid.

Despite this title, Alfred Briquet's life as referenced by the leading publication on his work, "… is still practically an enigma".[79] We know that he had previously taught at St. Cyr French military academy and owned a photography studio in Paris before he arrived in Mexico for the first time in 1883. The French shipping firm, *Compagnie Maritime Transatlantique,* commissioned him to photograph port cities within Mexico. In 1885 he opened a studio on 17 *Calle Tacuba,* and soon thereafter produced a great number of cityscapes, landscapes, and recently acquired Mesoamerican monoliths in the Museum of Mexico under Díaz's patronage.[80]

In comparison to the proliferation of the *cartes-de-visite* amongst the general public due to their low cost, albumen prints of Mexican views were constructed and marketed for an elite international audience. Briquet's photographic views of Mexico were peddled within the capitol of Mexico City, primarily to foreign tourists. European elite tourists who had the means (and intellectual interest) to collect numerous photographs did so and commissioned them to be bound within a personalized travel album. These were usually by firms working in the United States where they would be embossed and then shipped back to the collector.

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[79] Grégory Leroy and Sharon Jazzán Dayán, *Alfred Briquet (1833-1926).* (D.F: Museo Nacional de Arte, 2017). 77.

[80] Debroise, *Mexican Suite*, 79.

Catering to European audiences was consistent in Porfirio's Mexico; foreign investors were privately toured through the country and shown the land's exploitable resources to fund Díaz' railroads and bridges that aimed to connect rural and urban areas. These modernization programs transformed the visual and physical landscape of Mexico by physically cutting through lands stewarded for generations of indigenous Mexican communities in favor of European conventions of civilization. In the years between Maximilian's execution and Díaz's regime, Mexico's disposition towards French influence culture had shifted from betrayal from their imperial intervention to envy of the large-scale construction projects in Paris.[81] The process of 'Franco-iza-tion' was seen as an avenue of pursuing Mexico's right to recognition, wealth, and power on an international stage.[82] Indeed, Díaz enthusiastically enrolled in Mexico's participation in the 1889 World's Fair in Paris to do just this. The Mexico Pavilion within the fair, designed and executed by a team working with Porfirian officials, was committed to displaying a dazzling view of Mexico and relied on Mesoamerican architecture, artifacts, and a generalized visual culture to narrate a fantastical history of the country.[83]

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[81] Leroy and Dayán, *Alfred Briquet,* 77.

[82] Ibid.

[83] See, Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs*: *Crafting a Modern Nation*. (University of California Press: 1996). Tenerio-Trillo's remarkable publication is the leading study on Mexico's involvement in the World's Fairs from 1889 to 1929. Within it is an abundant bibliography on related works and comprehensive studies of Porfirian era visual conceptions of nationhood, science and archeology and the appropriation of Mesoamerican imagery.

Critically, Porfirian Mexico relied on European technologies, academic training, and empirical conventions while attempting to recuperate and exploit the nation's Mesoamerican past visually. The Porfirian regime marshaled Mesoamerican archeological objects and presided over them within state collections.[84] In 1885, the first piece of legislation allowed for the protection and seizing of Mesoamerican objects found within the soil of archeological sites.[85] By 1897, Diaz had established more federal institutions that aggressively attempted to secure visual evidences of Mexico's pre-colonial heritages. That year, Díaz put forth the Law of Monuments which explicitly declared all found objects within archeological dig sites as "property of the nation".[86] Although this may seem antithetical to the modernizing image Díaz intended to display, I argue that the manipulation of Mexico's ancient past, specifically within the photographs produced by Díaz's official photographer, is an assertion of governmental control of not only the monuments themselves but on the official history that they are narrating with them.

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[84] Christina Bueno, *The Pursuit of Ruins: Archeology, History and the Making of Modern Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2016), 2.

[85] Ibid. This law created the General Inspectorate of Archeological Monuments of the Republic, the first governmental group to provide physical and legal protection to archeological sites in Mexico.

[86] Ibid., 80-83, 193. Bueno's historical study does not delve into the visual lineages of such regulations but provides an invaluable historical study on the Law of Monuments. The law is discussed in terms of the reconstruction of physical archeological sites such as Teotihuacan.

Picturing a Modernizing Mexico

Porfirio Díaz opened the Gallery of Monoliths on the anniversary of the country's independence in 1887.[87] In an amazing photograph Briquet pictures the large exhibition hall housed in the Museum of Mexico (Fig. 3.1). Within the hall and photograph, there are two essential Mexica monuments featured, the Calendar Stone and the Coatlicue. In this photograph and within the hall itself, these famous monuments act as centerpieces of Mexican patrimony for the Porfirian regime. Briquet took the photograph of the long rectangular hall from the right-hand side of its open entrance, which you can identify from the large frame on the left-hand side of the photograph by the swathe of sunlight entering the room. On the opposite side of the main entrance, the Calendar stone is positioned centrally, visitors would see this upon their entrance from the museum's archeology department. Closest to the camera are three carved stone hoops from the Mesoamerican ball game (*ollamaliztli*) positioned on the floor.[88] Beyond the hoops, the

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[87] It is to be noted that the Gallery of Monoliths was opened ten years before the Law of Monuments was decreed. Before their display within the Gallery, the Coatlicue and the Calendar Stone had been displayed publicly within Mexico City at the University and attached to an exterior wall of the Metropolitan Cathedral, respectively. Porfirio, before the Law of Monuments, had been meticulously maneuvering around legislation for future acquirements and it is assumed they were already considered objects of the nation in their initial display.

[88] It is to be noted that these hoops in sport would be placed high up on stone walls and not on ground level.The Mesoamerican ball game or *ollamaliztli* is a general term for the genre of sport played with balls of rubber within pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica. The game was 'won' by hitting the rubber ball through the stone hoops by a player's hip or by wooden paddles. For a general art historical discussion of Mesoamerican ballgame see, Caitlin C. Early "The Mesoamerican Ballgame." In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History.* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000). http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/mball/hd_mball.htm

Coatlicue monument is positioned to the right of the Calendar Stone, and at the end of the hall under a large skylight. There are two figures also pictured within the hall; on the right closest to the entrance is a man dressed in light-colored clothing and a wide-brimmed hat signaling *charro* style in a relaxed stance. He does not interact with any figures in the hall and appears slightly awkward or uncomfortable within the space. On the left side is a taller man dressed in a dark European frock coat, he appears to be familiar with the camera. He has removed his hat and poses with one hand in his jacket, a common stance and practice within elite European portraiture. Strikingly, he leans on the stone pedestal holding up Calendar Stone; in the slightly conceited pose, he asserts a level of ownership or over-familiarity with the Mexica monolith. Briquet's photograph illustrates a view, however posed, of how these monoliths were being uniquely experienced within Porfirio's Gallery and underscores the tensions between class, race, and national identity during the Porfiriato.

This chapter revolves around these tensions and centers on two of Briquet's albumen photographs of the Coatlicue monolith organized within his *Antiguedades Mexicanas* series. The photos depict one of the most eminent Mexica monoliths to date, the eight-foot andesite idol that has since been identified as the matriarch of the Mexica pantheon, Coatlicue. I discuss their significance as national images commissioned by Díaz within the budding Museum of Mexico. I argue that Briquet's two photos from 1883~1887, *Divinidad de La Muerte, Espalda* and *Divinidad de La Muerte, Frente,* are manipulated and imagined images of Mexico's control over their Mesoamerican past. The Coatlicue has a long history of being controlled in its display in print, photographs, and in exhibition spaces that I foreground. The continual interest in exalting visual control over the eight-foot idol ultimately is a testament to its significance and ability to represent multiple realities of Mexican history.

The Visual Legacies of Coatlicue

The Coatlicue monument (Fig. 3.2) is an eight-foot two-ton sculpture carved out of andesite within the Mexica *altepetl* (city-state) of Tenochtitlan (1445~1506), presently Mexico City.[89] [90] The date of its creation (either 1439 or 1491) has been debated, but it is understood that the sculpture stood atop the Templo Mayor within the sacred precinct of Tenochtitlan until it was buried in 1521 by the Mexica during the Spaniard's systematic razing of the *altepetl*.[91] The monolith has been identified as matriarch of the Mexica pantheon, Coatlicue, by the striking and complex iconography within the figure's humanoid body that is fully carved including under her large talons.

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[89] An *altepetl* is a city-state that is ethnically Nahua, and here is translated similarly. A more direct Nahua to English translation is water-hill. For an in-depth study of pre-Hispanic and colonial Nahua society see James Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford; Stanford University Press 1992).14-58.

[90] Andesite is a porous volcanic rock harvested within the Valley of Mexico, the center of the Trans-Mexican Volcanic Belt. The material is abundant within the area and was used for large scale projects such as the Templo Mayor within the sacred precinct of Tenochtitlan. For a study concerning the weathering of the material versus other stone within Mexico City see, Wanja Wedekind, Joerg Ruedrich, and Siegfried Siegesmund, "Natural building stones of Mexico-Tenochtitlán: their use, weathering and rock properties at the Templo Mayor, Palace Heras Soto and the Metropolitan Cathedral" in *Environmental Earth Sciences*. 63 (May 2011), 1787-1798. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12665-011-1075-z.

[91] Elizabeth Hill Boone, "THE "COATLICUES" AT THE TEMPLO MAYOR", in *Ancient Mesoamerica*. 10 (1999),191. doi:10.1017/S0956536199102098. This date has been gathered by a framed date of 12 Reed on the upper back of the sculpture itself, a common feature for Mexica sculptures. This date, according to Boone, has no significant cosmological significance for the Mexica but points to 12 Reed (either 1439 or 1491) as the date of the sculpture's completion.

The head of the goddess is made up of two snake heads facing each other that connect in one twin-tipped tongue from the serpentine jaw lined with curved fangs. A thin band of circles abstractly slits her neck. Below, partially covering her hanging breasts is a necklace of sacrificed human hands and hearts that culminate in a large human skull. Her bent arms are raised at the elbow, marked with fangs and visages of the female earth monster Tlaltecuhtli.[92] In the place of hands, two more snakeheads protrude towards the viewer gazing up at her. Her feet are large flat bird talons, marked at the ankles with acorn-shaped bells.[93] Her iconic skirt is woven of snakes, their heads hanging towards the hemline as their rattles punctuate in-between their intertwined bodies.[94]

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[92] Tlatlecuhtli (Earth Lord or Mistress) is often thought of as an Earth monster represented with splayed limbs like a frog and unhinged jaws to devour the earth that they give birth to each morning. On the note of Tlatlecuhtli's 'problematic' gender, 'It is possible, if not likely, that the earth, like most Mesoamerican supernaturals was conceived as having both male and female aspect…Although the word *tecuhtli*, "lord" is normally reserved for men, it is genderless and therefore appropriate to a being of either sex'. See, Cecelia F. Klein, "The Devil and The Skirt: An Iconographic Inquiry into the Pre-Hispanic Nature of the Tzitzimime," in *Ancient Mesoamerica 11* 1 (2000), 1–26.

[93] The stone oblong bells are carved with overlapping and intertwining bands representing the lost wax casting resulting in fine and intricate gold filigree. Though they look like a minor detail in the photographs, in person, the bells and carved individual feathers articulate the undersides of the snake skirt and are stunning. The bells and feathers together convey a sense of godly effervescence, or *tonalli.* See also, Timothy B. King, "The Case for the Aztec Goldsmith," in *Ancient Mesoamerica 26* (2015), 313–27. See also, Joanne Pillsbury, Timothy Potts, Kim N. Richter, *Golden Kingdoms: Luxury Arts in the Ancient Americas*, (Getty Publications: Los Angeles, 2017).

[94] Cecelia F. Klein, "A New Interpretation of the Aztec Statue Called Coatlicue, 'Snakes-Her-Skirt,'" in *Ethnohistory 55* (April 1, 2008), 229–50.

The monument is currently understood as a part of a set of statues of powerful female celestial demons (*tzitzimimes*) placed around the temple dedicated to Huitzilopochtli, Tenochtitlan's patron deity of warfare and the sun.[95] However, upon its rediscovery in 1790 by workers constructing an underground aqueduct for the palace of the Viceroy Revillagigedo within the Zócalo, the Coatlicue's function within the Templo Mayor complex was secondary to its fearsome appearance.[96] It was immediately recognized as a unique masterpiece of 'Aztec' craftsmanship and was transferred to the University to be studied and dissected visually. Two years later in 1792, Mexican scholar Antonio León y Gama published his prominent *Descripción histórica e cronológica de las dos piedras.*[97]

This publication provided the sole images of the Coatlicue, as well as the Calendar Stone discovered during the same incident, to those who could not see it in person within the University patio and reached a largely academic and elite audience.

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https://doi.org/10.1215/00141801-2007-062. Skirts within Mexica visual culture act as an integral identifier of a responsibility or an aspect of the goddess wearing it. Nahuatl names logically spell this out, for example, *Citlalinicue* (*Citlalin*; star, i + *cue(itl);* skirt) is identified by a long starry skirt in the Codex Barbonicus.

[95] Ibid., 204.

[96] Salvador Higuera Mateos, "*Herencia aquelogía de Mexico-Tenochtitlan*" in *Trabajos arquelógicos en el Centro de la Ciudad de México,* eds. Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, (D.F: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1979), 228-229.

[97] Antonio León y Gama, *Descripcion histórica e cronológica de las dos piedras que con occasion del nuevo empredrado que se está formando en la plaza principal de México*, *se hallaron en ella el año de 1790.* (Historical and Chronological Description of the Two Stones, that on the Occasion of the New Paving that is Being Formed in the Main Square of Mexico, They Were Found in the Year 1790). Printed by Don Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, Mexico City, 1792.

León y Gama's drawings of the Coatlicue clearly render four perspectives of the humanoid sculpture, three sides, and the carving beneath her talons (Fig. 3.3). The frontal view, labeled as Fig. 1 by León y Gama, details the dual snake-headed goddess with taloned feet, a woven rattle-snake skirt, and a necklace of human hands and hearts. The side view, labeled as Fig. 2, exposes the depth of the figure and captures the slight lean of the free-standing sculpture. The rear view, León y Gama's Fig. 3, presents the back of the figure, including the knotted details of her necklace and the large skull holding the back of her skirt in a two-tiered apron of feathers. Beneath these three primary views is a drawing of the underside of the sculpture of Tlaltecuhtli in the squatting position.

León y Gama's illustration of the Coatlicue in multiple viewpoints was the only access point the public had to the monolith as it alternated in and out of public view in state-controlled relocations. In 1805, the University buried the monolith beneath the patio in an order from Bishop Moxó y Fernandez out of fear of rising indigenous organizations inspired by the presence of the sculpture within the college. In a letter he writes, "For some unknown reason foreseen by no one, the Indians, who looked at European monuments with such stupid indifference, came to contemplate the famous statue with anxious curiosity."[98] With the monolith buried, specifically to bar any indigenous engagement or contemplation of the sculpture, León y Gama's *Descripción* images proliferated. In fact, when German humanist Alexander Von Humboldt (1769-1859) published his popular *Vues de corrillérs et monuments des peoples indigenes de l'amérique,* in 1810, he included copies of León y Gama's Coatlicue illustration to accompany his writings on Aztec monuments, cities, and codices.[99] Within *Vues de corrillérs* he interprets the iconography utilizing León y Gama's illustration of the sculpture:

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[98] Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, *Life and Death in the Templo Mayor*, translated by Bernard R. Ortiz de Montellano and Thelma Ortiz de Montellano. (Boulder: University Press of Colorado 1995), 212.

> Death is represented everywhere under the most horrific symbols: it is engraved on every stone, it is found on every page of their books; Its religious monuments have no other purpose than to reproduce terror and fright… possibly these monstrous figures do not represent anything other than masks, since among Mexicans it is customary to mask idols… Mr.Gama… has established as a fairly probable thing that this idol represents the god of war, Huitzilopochtli… and his wife, called Teoyamiqi (from miqui, to die and teoyao, divine war). [100]

Humboldt's reading of the Coatlicue as excessively representing death, and his expansion of this 'horrifying' sentiment is largely representative of the reception of the Coatlicue during this period of archeological study which interpreted Mexica iconography through European conventions.

León y Gama's well-received illustration of Coatlicue could be considered the first mass-produced image of the monument. The illustration made especially popular due to Humboldt of the already famous Coatlicue monolith (then identified as ‘Teoyamiqi’) primed the public’s impression of Mexica visual culture as a long-gone civilization to be quantified within an academic framework. The visual conventions set forth by León y Gama were eventually picked up by Alfred Briquet in his work photographing the sculpture within Porfirio’s Gallery of Monoliths. León y Gama’s clear rendering of the sculpture in multiple comprehensible views is manipulated within Briquet’s photographs destined to be reproduced, as will be discussed later. The mass consumption of León y Gama’s imagery continued within Mexico and attracted attention amongst European audiences. In 1823, a caste of the monolith was taken and shipped to a British naturalist putting on an exhibition that arranged the Coatlicue monolith within a vision of a fantastical and imagined Mexico. This exhibition influenced how the monolith was engaged with, displayed, and pictured thereafter.

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[99] Ann De León. "Coatlicue or How to Write the Dismembered Body." In *MLN* 125 (2010), 264.

[100] "*La muerta se representa por todas partes bajo tes bajo los símbolos más horrorosos: está grabada en cada piedra, se la encuentra en cada página de sus libros; sus monumentos religiosos no tienen otro objeto que reproducir el terror y el espanto . . . Posiblemente estas figuras monstruosas no representan otra cosa que máscaras, pues entre los mexicanos se acostumbraba enmascarar a los ídolos ... El señor Gama ... ha establecido como una cosa bastante probable, que este ídolo representa al dios de la guerra, Huitzilopochtli ... y a su mujer, llamada Teoyamiqui (de miqui, morir y teoyao, guerra divina*)." Ibid., 225-26. Translation by author.

Ancient and Modern Mexico in London

On April 8th, 1824, William Bullock (1813-1867) opened ‘Ancient and Modern Mexico’ in London. The exhibition was staged in two large galleries at the Egyptian Hall and boasted large collections of Mexican products including fruits and vegetables, stuffed birds, minerals recently mined within the countryside, fully dressed wax models of indigenous men (*charro* figures once again), and castes of Mesoamerican sculpture. On the far side of the hall, José Cayetano Ponce de Leon, an indigenous Mexican man, oversaw the gallery from a straw hut where he was relegated. It is unclear to what degree Ponce de Leon was quartered within the exhibition hall as a live accessory. The exploitation of Indigenous people within human exhibits within World's Fairs, which aimed to display a country's colonial exploit, would not appear for at least fifty years after Bullock's show in London. Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, the leading authority on Mexico's participation in World's Fairs, references Bullock's harboring of Ponce de Leon and the exhibition itself as an early conceptual iteration of the international multi-year international fair complex.[101] Interestingly, Ponce de Leon's apprehension within the gallery was regrettable even before the official introduction of human zoos and exhibits in Europe. As a correspondent for *The Times* in April 1824 challenged, "Is he to be a fixture, like the stuffed birds and fishes?"[102] To be sure, Ponce de Leon's arrangement within the gallery, between a large mural of the Valley of Mexico and the full-sized caste of Coatlicue, attempted to fully reimage a fantastical Mexico with live and static props. This is not to say it convinced every visitor, as the same reporter from *The Times* remarked, "The collection …. lacked items sufficient to illustrate the civil and religious customs of this singular people."[103]

Overall, the exhibition was successful. By 1825, nearly 50,000 people were reported to have visited Bullock's Ancient and Modern Mexico.[104] The commercial success was aided by its admission cost of one shilling and the descriptive catalog at two shillings and sixpence. The thirty-two-page catalog included an illustration and 103 descriptions of the artifacts and objects curated by Bullock. The descriptive illustration included in the purchasable catalog particularly illustrates the placement and reception of the caste of Coatlicue (Fig. 3.4) I. Baker, the credited artist, draws the gallery hall and objects within it as physically towering over the eleven visitors within the scene. The Coatlicue's size is dramatized largely, it looks at least twice the height and width of the original monolith. A woman dressed in the trappings of high European society is drawn in front of the Coatlicue, gazing up at it. She is shown absentmindedly chastising the small child next to her with one arm up in the air, but her gaze and body remain completely facing the monolith before her. Yet, the ferocity and complexity of Coatlicue's features seem toned down by Baker; the scale-like pattern of the two snake heads are reduced to small etch lines, the geometric motif of her snake skirt is jumbled and irregular, and the hangings of her necklace oscillate between naturalistic hands to inflated and uncarved hearts.

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[101] Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs, 43.* 278.

[102] *The Times*, April 8, 1824.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Michael P. Costeloe, "William Bullock and the Mexican Connection", in *Mexican Studies* 22 (2006), 278. https://doi.org/10.1525/msem.2006.22.2.275. Costeloe concludes that the display of Mexico's natural resources was so successful that it inspired the British government to invest in numerous shares of British companies already capitalizing off the country.

Descriptions within the catalog fluctuate from scientific to sensational. The caste of Coatlicue's lengthy entry, number sixty-five, acquaints the reader with the monolith by scientific hypothesis and excitable interpretation.

> This Idol was sculptured on every side, even beneath where was Represented Mictlanteuchtli, the Lord of the place of the dead; …[the Idol] was supported in the air by means of Two columns, on which rested the arms… so that the priests dragging Their unfortunate victims to the altar, made them

> pass under the Figure of Mictlanteuchtli.[105]

Bullock's description relies on the sacrificial hypotheses surrounding the sculpture put forth by Humboldt and offers a visceral description of sacrificial rites performed with and in honor of the monolith. The sculpture being a caste of the original is not mentioned. However, Bullock's careful description of the carved whole, his use of Nahuatl in describing the snake-skirt as *cohuatlicuye,* and his inclusion of the Mictantlanteuchtli (now identified as Tlatlecuhtli) all points to a larger attempt to represent the most up to date information on the objects he had accrued for his elite audience.

The caste of Coatlicue within Baker's illustration and the monolith proper in Briquet's albumen photographs similarly inform an elite audience of the sculpture's visual form and reinforce the model for European-based empirical knowledge in their mediums. The catalog is authoritative in its descriptions and leaves little room for further interpretation. Baker's sole illustration of the exhibition is a memorable viewpoint into the visitor's experience. The Coatlicue caste, the cacti and trees over the fenced-in straw hut, José Ponse de Leon's inhabitation and availability within the gallery, and the visitors, are all pictured neatly within the one image. This is comparable to Briquet's albumen prints of the Coatlicue proper in his *Antiguedades Mexicanas* series. The print within the purchasable series was similarly distributed to an elite audience and captured the complex and three-dimensional sculpture within one frame.

Ancient and Modern Mexico was intended to be a miniature of the country. In the reiteration and dissemination of Mexico via the popular catalog, the public imagination reinforced an image of Mexico as exotic and primal. Prickly fruit, an indigenous man speaking Nahuatl and Spanish to the guests, wax figures riding unsaddled horses, and a huge bloodthirsty stone goddess were curated objects within the exhibition that not only illustrated the foreign country across the Atlantic but proved its inferiority. The distinct otherness being put on display, as discussed, is an early precursor to Mexico's pavilions within World's Fairs during the nineteenth century, which appealed to their elite European audiences by relying on racist or eugenicist ideologies.[106] During the years of the Porfiriato, this sentiment continued, but instead of Mexico being represented by a foreigner, Mexico's history and visual culture were being asserted by the Mexican government. Porfirio's placement of the Coatlicue monument within his Gallery of Monoliths (Fig. 3.1), as pictured by Alfred Briquet, is stunningly akin to Bullock's arrangement of the monolith, as punctuating the farthest side of the exhibition hall and peripheral to the larger Calendar Stone. Briquet's photographs would be akin to the catalog illustration, as views of these invented spaces of Mexico within exhibitions.

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[105] William Bullock, *A descriptive catalogue of the exhibition, entitled Ancient and Modern Mexico: containing a panoramic view of the present city, specimens of the natural history of New Spain… at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly*. (1824). 25.

The Coatlicue as Photographed by Briquet

In the decades that followed Bullock's exhibition, the original Coatlicue monolith was publicly displayed with more frequency in Mexico City. On September 16, 1887, Porfirio Díaz inaugurated the opening of the Gallery of Monoliths as a permanent exhibition within the Museum of Mexico. Photographs of essential Mexica monuments, like the Coatlicue and the Calendar stone, became a beneficial avenue in additionally displaying the newly nationalized plunders in an empirical and controlled environment. It was in this context that Alfred Briquet photographed the Coatlicue monolith. The formal aspects of the albumen prints affirm Porfirio's aim of curating control of Mexico's Mesoamerican past. In an era where Porfirio Díaz and his regime were consciously rebuilding Mexico with the inspiration of European institutions and pre-Hispanic visual culture, Briquet's images acted as a devised extension that brought these two desires together in one frame.

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[106] Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs, 43*. 260-61.

Divinidad de La Muerte, Frente (Fig.3.5) and *Divinidad de La Muerte, Espalda* (Fig.3.6) are two albumen prints taken by Briquet that contain one subject, the Coatlicue monolith. *Frente* shows a frontal view of the sculpture on top of a squared brick pedestal. *Divinidad de La Muerte, Espalda* captures the naturalistic back view continuing the frontal program, including the knotted detail of the necklace of hearts and hands. In the photographs taken by Alfred Briquet, underside or peripheral views of the Coatlicue sculpture are not documented in favor of the strict two perspectives of the monument. Similarly to León y Gama's popularized print illustration of the sculpture, Briquet's images are direct so that the iconography within the deity's body can be observed clearly.

Frente documents the Coatlicue at a slight angle with no peripheral sculptures or figures. The impossibly simple white background was accomplished by 'silhouetting', a method of painting over the photographic print with an incredibly fine brush to achieve a 'blank' backdrop. There are tiny inconsistencies at the very edge of the stone pedestal near where the photograph meets the mount (Figure 3.5.1). This method was often used on photographs of sculptures or architecture, as they were able to forefront the stone subject and decrease the visual business of the photo. In meticulously outlining the Coatlicue sculpture, Briquet attempted to emulate a non-photographic image of the Mexica monolith such as León y Gama's illustrations of it. The amount of labor and time required to paint every minute contour of the stone surface is a testament to the importance of decontextualizing the monument to Briquet.

The camera apparatus was set up to document the monolith at level with the skull central on Coatlicue's necklace to support the straight frontal view. In reality, the stone body leans slightly forward at an angle, so a viewer seeing the eight-foot sculpture from below would be met with the fanged-lined jaws of the serpents opening above them. *Frente* does not remedy these views but attempts to flatten them and dismiss their existence altogether by offering a linear and de-contextualized view. Briquet's cropping out the base of the pedestal and the ground on the wall behind it, or the painted-in backdrop is an intentional manipulation that allows the photograph to feature the monument alone. In this way, the Coatlicue was set up to be legible for the viewer, supported by the white painted background, and mass-produced in the albumen print.[107]

León y Gama's illustration in *Descripción hístorica* in comparison to Briquet's photographs offers a more cohesive imaging of the sculpture in the round. As mentioned, three full-bodied views of the Coatlicue are captured in detail, including the side view capturing the slight lean of the sculpture's body. Most notably, the details and textures of the stone are emphasized with darker shading and simplification of the skirt and snakehead patterns. These allow a viewer to see the iconographic program of the Coatlicue's abstracted body, the feathers, and the braided patterns of the back portion of the snake skirt easily, without having to face the nuances carved into the stone at all. The underside carving of Tlatlecuhtli is made visible in the same print, surpassing what the camera can capture a hundred years later. In the illustration, it is possible to exhibit the monolith from a vantage point even sharper than reality and the albumen print. Briquet in configuring *Espalda* tries to offer a more angled view of the sculptural whole closer to that of León y Gama's illustration, but ultimately packages the Coatlicue in two digestible views.

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[107] The aims of the museum space and the photograph capturing the subject within this space are unique and should not be conflated. The museum space might want to display and present all the artifacts and objects in one space, to show off the 'ancient' society they lay claim to as well as their material abundance and control over it. The photograph, however, is a multilayered and multistep process disseminating a preestablished view of a subject in a set space in time. For an in-depth conceptual discussion of this sentiment see, Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, (New York: Straus and Giroux 1977): 177.

Art Historian Claudia Brittenham describes the challenging nature of visuality in two-dimensional framing as, "Neither a sculpture in the round nor a work of architecture in any tradition can be seen all at once: both exist in the world but also in the mind of the beholder, who must move, seaming together disparate parts and disparate visions, to create a mental image of a cohesive totality." [108] The Coatlicue in Briquet's photograph doubly requires an active 'seaming together' by a viewer; first to understand the iconographic elements of Coatlicue's abstractly carved body and to conjure up a fully rendered image of the sculpture without the side and underside views. In *Frente* and *Espalda*, we can see how Briquet plans how a viewer might cohesively see the sculpture by his pencil markings along the subject's body. These markings demonstrate Briquet's impulse to control and frame a 'foreign' subject empirically and allude to the photographs' further use by the museum complex.

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[108] Claudia Brittenham, *Unseen Art: Making, Vision, and Power in Ancient Mesoamerica*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2023), 24-25. Brittenham is also referencing how an individual might walk around a statue in a museum space, how they might bring together and imagine the object they are observing in as a multidimensional whole outside the restrictions of display.

In *Espalda,* a dark pencil mark perpendicularly fences the Coatlicue on the right, it intercepts with a horizontal line a centimeter above the head that measures the width of the sculpture. These lines are reminiscent of common markings that indicate future 'cut lines' for cropping by additional printing or reproductions of the photograph. If that is indeed what Briquet is marking, it seems like the ultimate desired effect would be to further cut the background and center the monument more strongly. In *Frente,* a thin line runs parallel to the sculpture's body, another across the width of it opening on the left side, and another cut horizontally from the damaged pedestal guiding our eyes to the right to balance the subject who is slightly off-center. The graphite lines lilt up and down at the edges balancing out the sculpture within these drawn-in perimeters. It is unclear if reprints based on these markings were ever made or executed as both *Espalda* and *Frente* are not cut or altered further, nor have I found other reproductions of them in consequent museum catalogs, postcards, or books. Within these unique prints, the marks physically capture the Coatlicue within the frame and effectively orchestrate the gaze of a viewer to Briquet's will.

Described by theorists like Tina Campt as 'oppositional' or 'interrogating' gazes, colonial power dynamics latent within a photograph undermine the contextualization of a subject.[109] Briquet's gaze is interrogative; it purposefully frames and prods the subject to evoke a type of personal connection with the subject. The Coatlicue is thereby captured by pencil marks, a meticulously painted white background, and a simple frame, leading the viewer's gaze to prod the subject for emotional or historical resonance.

Collecting Monuments at the Personal and National Scale

As aforementioned, the travel album was the space where photographic albumen prints lived and were experienced. The album was a vehicle for collecting and displaying photographic tourist views, a practice that originated and flourished within Europe before its production in Mexico. After the invention of the albumen print by Louis Blanquart-Evrard in 1850, the larger print photographs were popular for capturing tourist hotspots and art objects within Europe, particularly Rome. An early photographic travel album from 1850~1860 entitled, *Roba di Roma*, illustrates the existing European tradition that Briquet's photographs would continue in Mexico two decades later.

Roba di Roma is a leather-bound album that contains over 31 albumen photographs of Rome's architecture, landscapes, and large-scale Roman sculpture. Most of the photographs have been attributed to James Anderson, an English photographer based in Rome. Albumen prints sold and produced by the photographer, in this case, Anderson, would be bought and then compiled by a traveling individual and then sent to be leather bound in a decorated album by an exterior firm. This album's title, *Roba di Roma*, is finely embossed on the leather cover (Figure 3.9). The phrase can be roughly translated as 'stuff of Rome', but is also a saying denoting quality Roman goods, wares, or property.[110] Intricate gold leafed filagree lined with blue ink frames the larger title.

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[109] Tina Campt, *A Black Gaze: Artists Changing How We See* (Cambridge: MIT Press 2021), 28.

Within the Roman travel album is an albumen print of the sculpture *Athena Giustiani*, a Roman copy of a late 5th-century Greek original. The sculpture of Athena stands in strong contrapposto, one hand grasps her draping robe over her chest plate, and the other hand lightly holds a large spear. The photograph pictures the sculpture of the goddess Athena incredibly akin to Briquet's Coatlicue; the photograph includes a small portion of the pedestal the sculpture of the female deity is upon, a central and frontal view of the sculpture, and a painted background to further centralize the subject. Here, Athena's background is painted black instead of Coatlicue's white. The shadows within the black and white-toned photograph highlight the many folds of the drapery of the goddess's clothing just as Briquet's photograph captures the intricate scales and details of Coatlicue's serpentine skirt. The serpent beneath Athena's feet serendipitously recalls the dual-snaked heads of Coatlicue.

The photograph of the Athena sculpture has been identified as taken within the Vatican.[111] The use of silhouetting to black out the background and location of the sculpture is consistent throughout *Roba di Roma*'s six other photographs of Roman sculpture. The photograph of the Athena sculpture, however, is the most comparable to Briquet's image of the Coatlicue. The two sculptures of female divinities have been photographed, captured within their framing, and made representative of the culture and the location in which they were photographed, and made to be placed within a travel album. The Porfirian government's utilization of the Coatlicue monument within the Gallery of Monoliths, as well as the placement of the Athena sculpture within the Vatican, position religiously charged stone sculpture as part of a national visual culture. Briquet's albumen prints of the Coatlicue build upon this tradition of capturing historical views as positioned initially by albums like *Roba di Roma*. The albumen prints of Coatlicue within the Museum of Mexico further this tradition as being governmentally commissioned, Briquet's prints both operate in a European travel album practice but also within a larger practice of decontextualizing Mesoamerican visual culture and attributing it to Mexico at large.

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[110] This phrase was made popular during the nineteenth century by William Wetmore in his volumes recounting the city in tourist documentations. See, William Wetmore Story, *Roba Di Roma, Vols. 1-2.* (Brigham Young University, 1819-1895) https://jstor.org/stable/community.35237824.

[111] Amazingly accomplished by those at the Visual Resource Center within the Department of Art History at University of California, Riverside. The incredible collection of albumen prints in *Roba di Roma* has been digitized and is available for view

While *Roba di Roma* and other albums like it contained images of architecture, sculpture, and parks that represented culture, art, and leisure, Mexican travel albums from the same era contained landscapes, ethnographic portraiture, and some images of sculptural views such as the Coatlicue image. Mexican travel albums and their contents enunciated, to the tourist collector, an 'underdeveloped' culture and labor in the images of the Mexican countryside, and portraits of indigenous people living within it. In an 1890 album entitled

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here:https://universalviewer.io/examples/#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&manifest=https%3A%2F%2FVRCUCR.github.io%2Frobadiroma%2Fmanifests%2Frobadiroma.json&xywh=0%2C-1377%2C3725%2C5345.

‘Mexico’, a Briquet albumen print depicting an ethnographic countryside scene is featured. The album was produced by the American S.C Toof & Company, Printers, Lithographers, and Binders for American scholar-tourist William H. Bates (1841-1918) (Fig.3.7).[112] The album’s leather cover and back are elaborately gilt with gold, blue, and red foils. A large floral typeface spells ‘Mexico’ on the largest part of the inlaid design, across from it ‘Mr & Mrs. W. H. Bates.’ is embossed. Below, the dates of the couple's presumed time spent in the country are additionally gilded, ‘March 11 to 28, 1890’. Inside this album is a print from Briquet’s *Vistas, Mexicanas* series, a scene of the outskirts of a small village with the famous *Popocatepetl* volcano within view (Fig.3.8). The photo primarily includes six men at different points in the outdoor setting. On the left, three men closest to the camera look towards the lens and pose lightly while the rightmost figures, farther from the propped-up camera apparatus, do not observe their participation in the photograph. The photo is an attractive find for a scholar-tourist's collection, as it offers a posed and slightly spontaneous view into the lives of the Mexican countryside.

This spontaneity is charmingly challenged in the right-most part of the photo above the brush where ‘A. Briquet’ is printed in white. Five people, who huddle close together, peer over a short stone wall and curiously look at the camera. It is unknown if they were aware that they were visible within Briquet’s frame, but the signature printed near the foliage they look out from does not shy away from their existence. Briquet’s other ethnographic portraits taken within the countryside are similar to the *El Popocatepetl* photograph, as people are usually a mix of posed and unarranged within an exterior scene that shows some sort of residential building and the larger landscape. This allowed Briquet to capture an ideal, legible 'view' of the Mexican countryside and the people who resided there.

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[112] The album is currently housed by the private Swann Gallery within New York and is listed as Sale 2564- Lot 381.

Foreigners in their collecting, controlling, and purchasing of Briquet's often ethnographic and archeological views of Mexico mimed the larger empirical projects being instated by the Mexican government itself. As Briquet's photographs of the Mexica Coatlicue sculpture made their way into personally curated tourist albums, the sculptures proper were displayed in Díaz's Gallery of Monoliths. In this way, the Porfiriato successfully implanted views within a single frame, a miniature version of a nation or subject was represented, experienced, or built within the public's imagination. In an albumen print within the travel album, an individual gains access to their own Coatlicue and constructs a deliberated image of an Ancient Aztec past. Alongside ethnographic photographs similar to Briquet's *El Popocatepetl* which provide an image of indigenous Mexican people within an exterior scene, a collecting individual would be able to personally curate an image of the nation within their album.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I introduced two albumen photographs of the Mexica sculpture of Coatlicue produced by Alfred Briquet within the Porfiriato and compare them with previous renditions of the famous sculpture to understand how Díaz' regime asserted control over Mexico's Mesoamerican history. Briquet's propagandistic photographs under dictator Díaz's patronage reiterated and disseminated viewpoints for individuals to experience the monolith without being in its physical presence within the Gallery of Monoliths in Mexico City. Susan Stewart, in her astute analysis of the transition from collecting paintings to postcards and other memorabilia, describes an appropriation of the monumental and the loss of an expansive or true view as supplemented by a miniature consumable version of the public icon- the photograph or the postcard.[113] The smaller print consumable images produced by Alfred Briquet aided in a public imagining of an 'Ancient Aztec' past by mass-producing images of captured Mexica monoliths. Archeological albumen photographs and their collection by individuals within their travel albums echoed the regime's capturing and collecting of the Mexica monuments at the national level. The similarities between the Coatlicue from the Gallery of Monoliths and the earlier images of Athena within the Vatican demonstrate the photographic and tourism-informed visual language Briquet worked from.

Briquet's depiction of the Coatlicue is unique compared to the catalog illustration from Bullock's exhibition or León y Gama's popular drawing within *Descripción histórica,* as it is the only image of the three to be commissioned by the Mexican government explicitly. Briquet's photographs ultimately build upon the lineages of displaying the Coatlicue within a museum space, as done by Bullock in his Ancient and Modern Mexico exhibition while offering an empirical view of the sculpture inspired by archeological conventions, as put forth by León y Gama in 1792.

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[113] Susan Stewart. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993). 26.

Mexico City during the Porfiriato has been characterized as following French fashions both large and small. In the large-scale modernization projects of city planning and urban development programs, and in the commissioning of French photographer Alfred 'Abel' Briquet to supply international tourists with photographic views of Mexico, Díaz fundamentally was concerned with control over Mexico's visual patrimony and exerted it in emulating European conventions of power. Briquet's *Divinidad de La Muerte, Frente,* and *Divinidad de La Muerte, Espalda* ultimately offers an imagined view of Mexico perfectly reflecting Porfirian value systems of 'order and progress'. At once, Briquet's photographs exalt and capture the Coatlicue monolith as representative of Mexico's ancient past

Figures

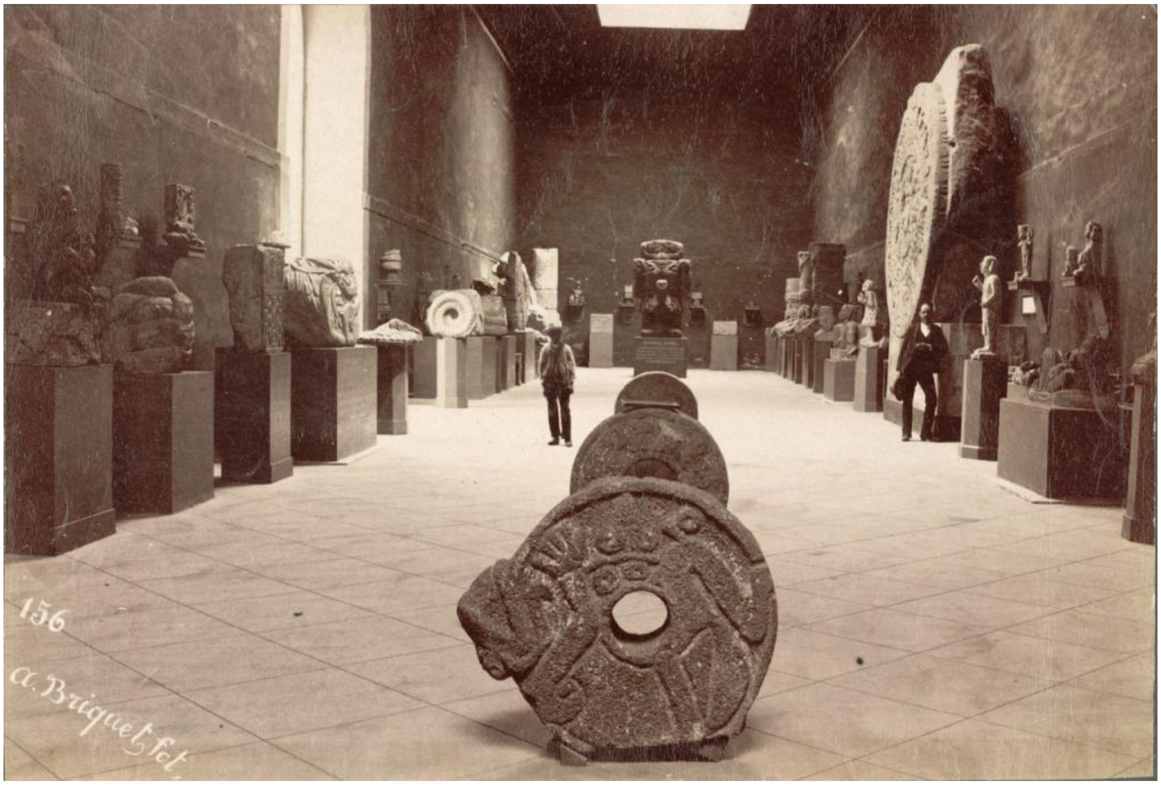
156
A. Briquet, Fot.

Figure 3.1. Alfred 'Abel' Briquet. *Archeological Museum, Mexico City.* 1885. Albumen print. 4.87 x 7.5 inch (12.38 x 19.05 cm).

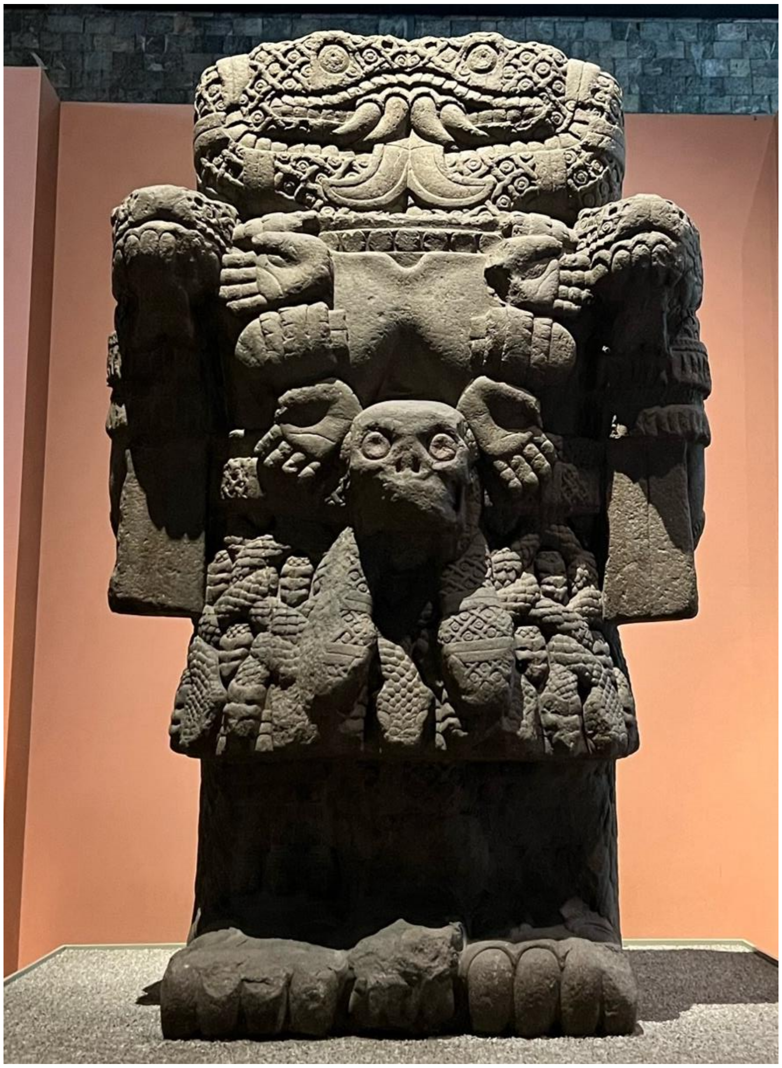

Figure 3.2. The Coatlicue Monolith in frontal view. Photo by Athena Sesma.

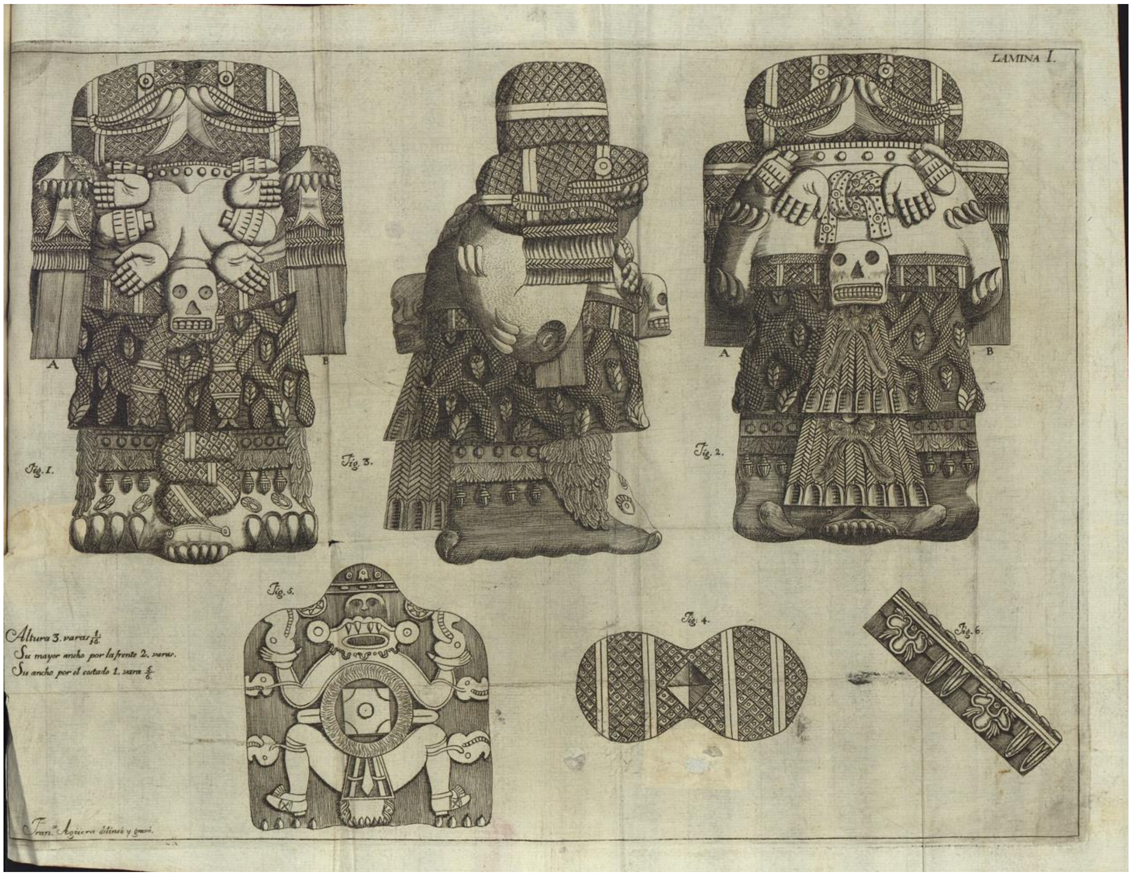
LAMINA I.
A
B
Fig. 1.
Fig. 3.
A
B
Fig. 2.
Fig. 5.
Fig. 4.
Fig. 6.
Altura 3. varas 1/16.
Su mayor ancho por la frente 2. varas.
Su ancho por el costado 1. vara 5/6.
Fran.co Agüera dibuxó y gravó.

Figure 3.3. Antonio León y Gama. *Descripción histórica y cronológica de las dos piedras que con ocasión del nuevo empedrado que se está formando en la plaza principal de México, se hallaron en ella el año de 1790. Explícase el sistema de los calendarios de los Indios ... Noticia ... á que se añaden otras curiosas ... sobre la mitología de los Mexicanos, sobre su astronimía, y sobre los ritos y ceremonias ... en tiempo de su gentilidad* ... (Historical and chronological description of the two stones that, on the occasion of the new paving that is being formed in the main square of Mexico, were found there in the year 1790. The calendar system of the Indians is explained... News... to which are added other curious things... about the mythology of the Mexicans, about their astronymy, and about the rites and ceremonies... in the time of their gentility...). 1792. Drawing on paper. 7.4 inch (19 cm) further dimensions unknown.

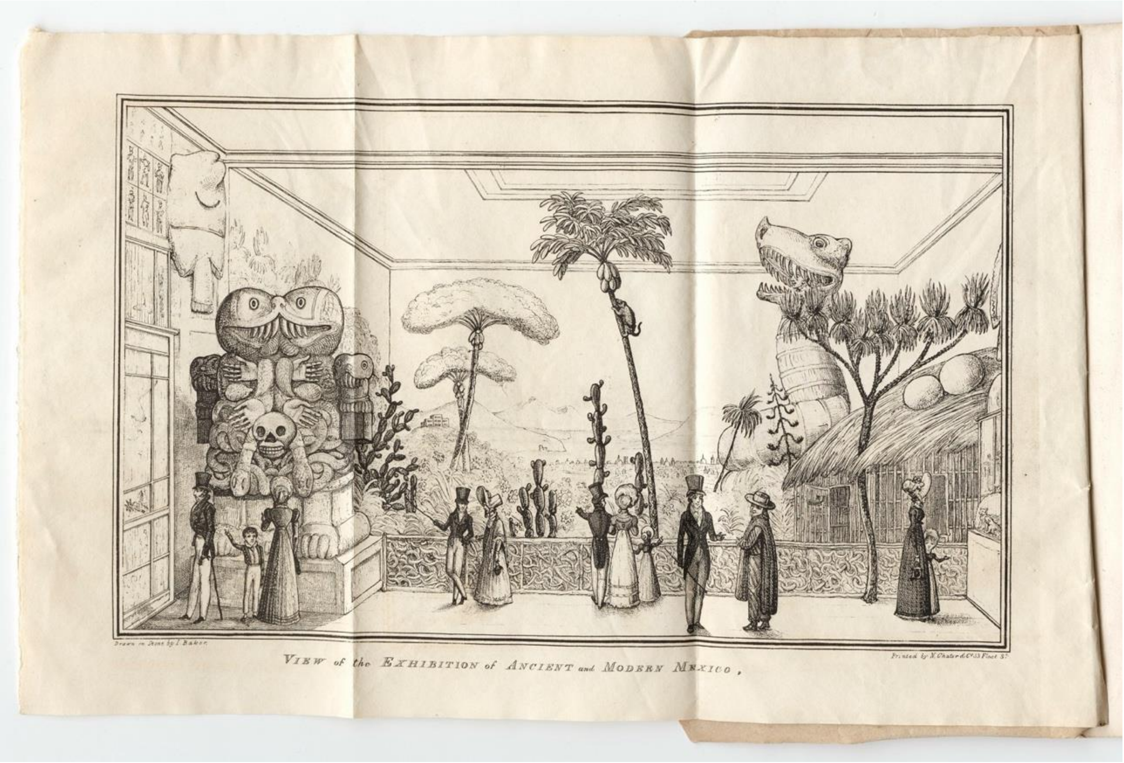
Drawn on Stone by I. Baker.
VIEW of the EXHIBITION of ANCIENT and MODERN MEXICO,
Printed by N. Chater & Co. 33 Fleet St.

Figure 3.4. I. Baker. *View of the Exhibition of Ancient and Modern Mexico*. Drawn on Stone. Printed by N. Chater & Co. Dimensions unknown.

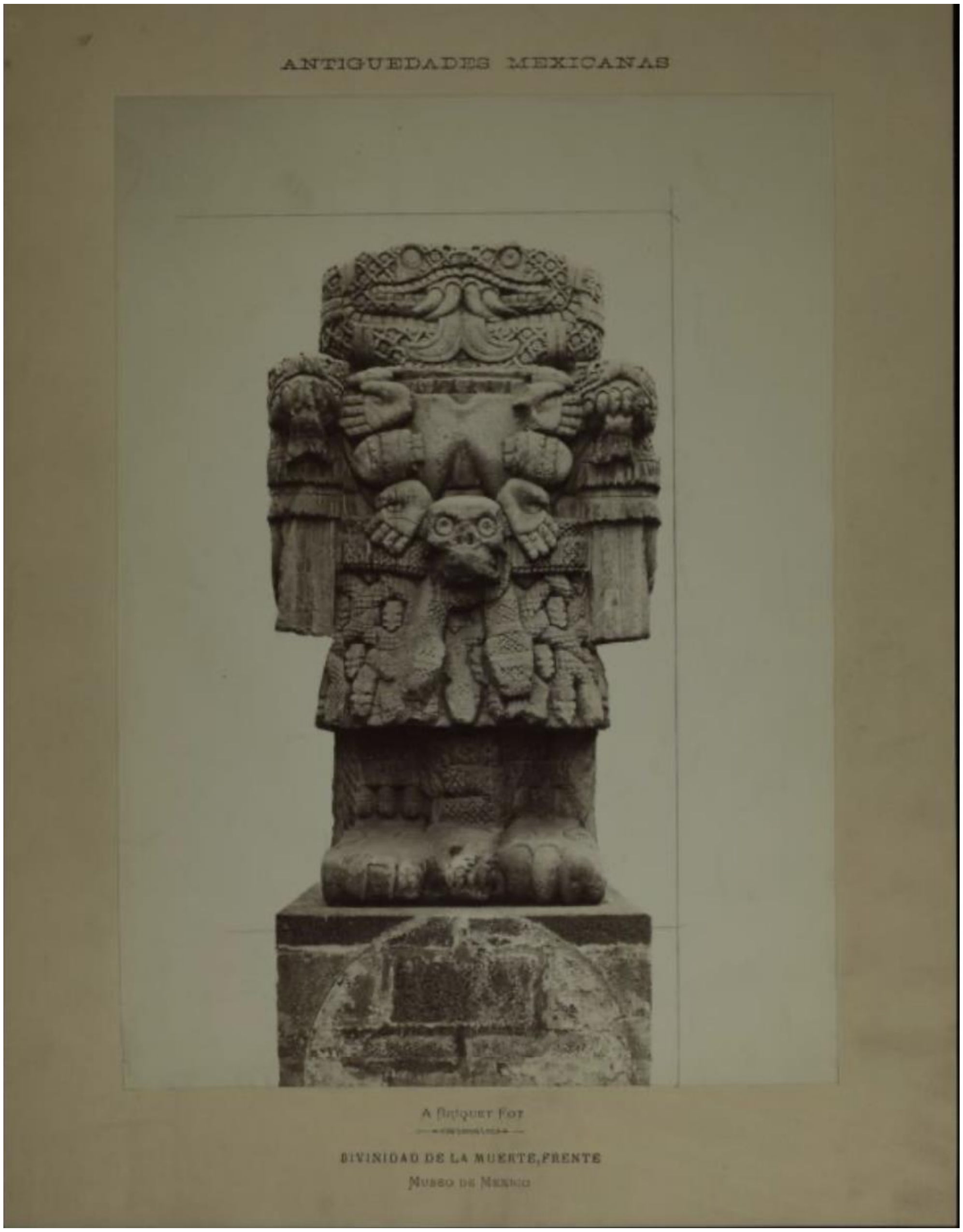
ANTIGUEDADES MEXICANAS
A Briquet Fot
DIVINIDAD DE LA MUERTE, FRENTE
Museo de Mexico

Figure 3.5. Alfred ‘Abel’ Briquet. *Divinidad de la Muerte, Frente* in Antigüedades *Mexicanas*. 1880. Albumen Print on mount. Dimensions unknown.

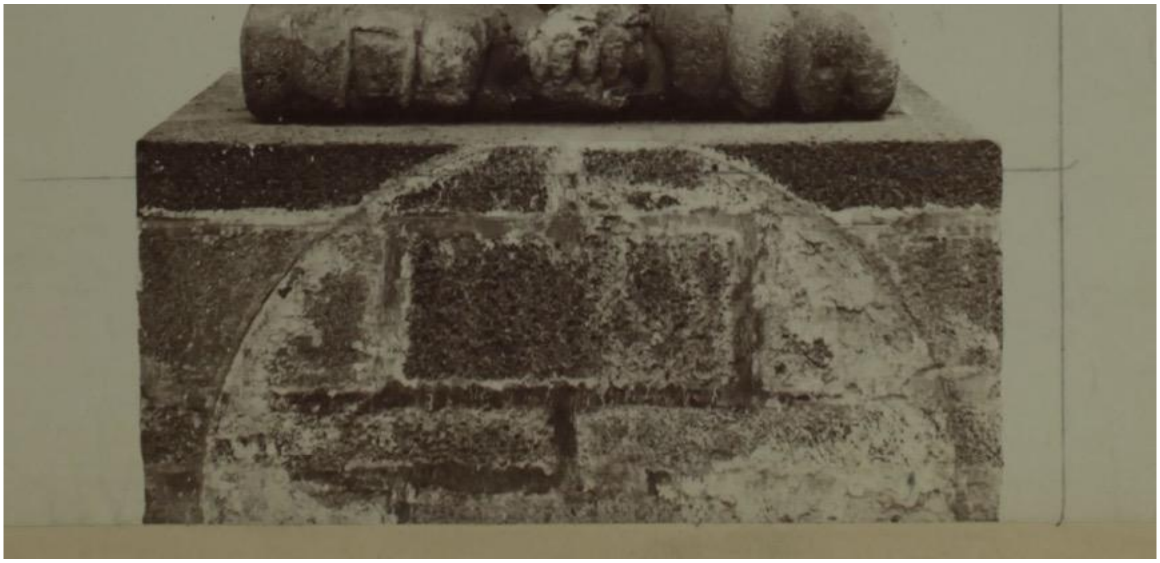

Figure 3.5.1. Alfred ‘Abel’ Briquet. [Detail of inconsistencies of silhouetting technique on stone pedestal]. *Divinidad de La Muerte, Frente* in Antigüedades *Mexicanas*. 1880. Albumen Print on mount. Dimensions unknown.

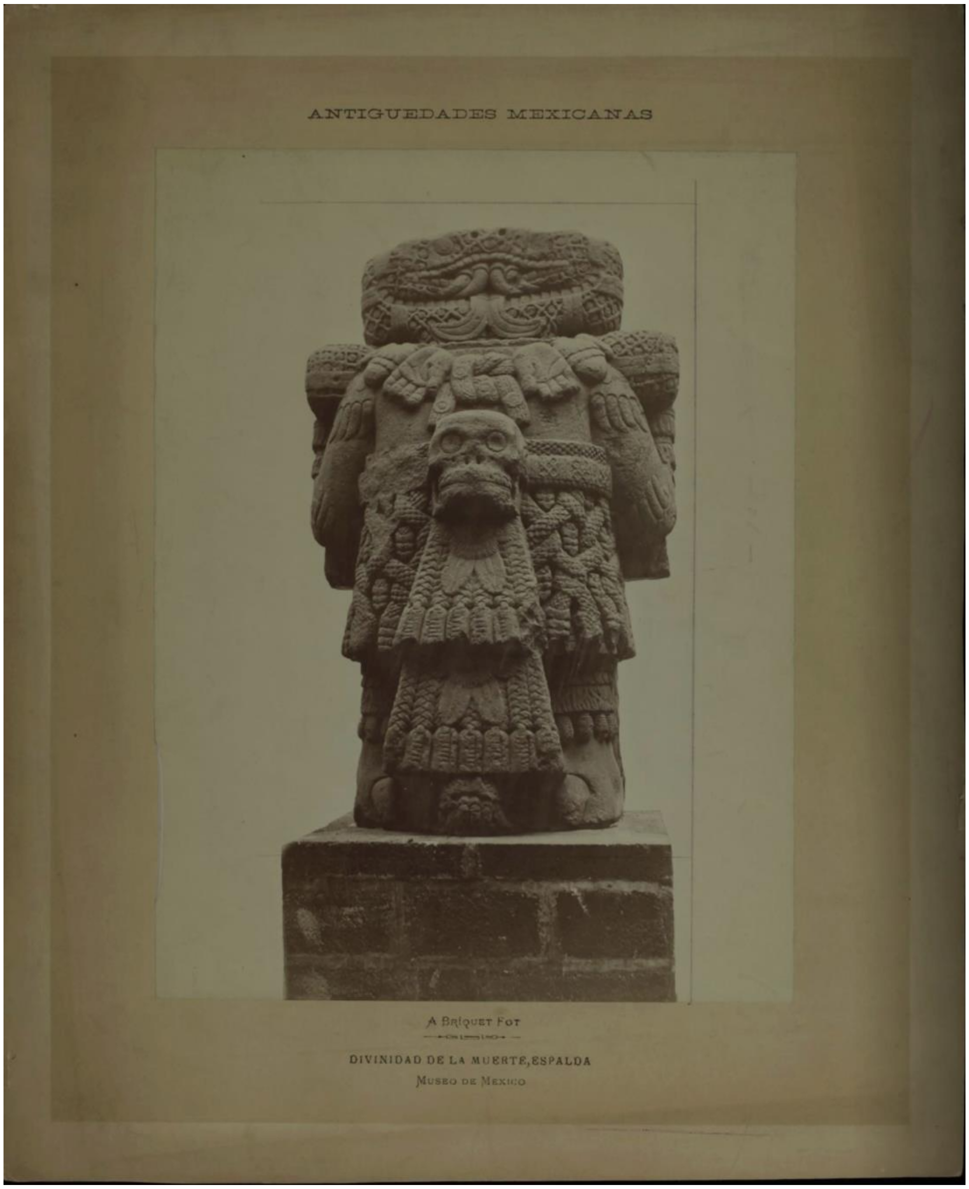
ANTIGUEDADES MEXICANAS
A BRIQUET FOT
DIVINIDAD DE LA MUERTE, ESPALDA
MUSEO DE MEXICO

Figure 3.6 Alfred ‘Abel’ Briquet. *Divinidad de la Muerte, Espalda* in Antigüedades *Mexicanas*. 1880. Albumen Print on mount. Dimensions unknown

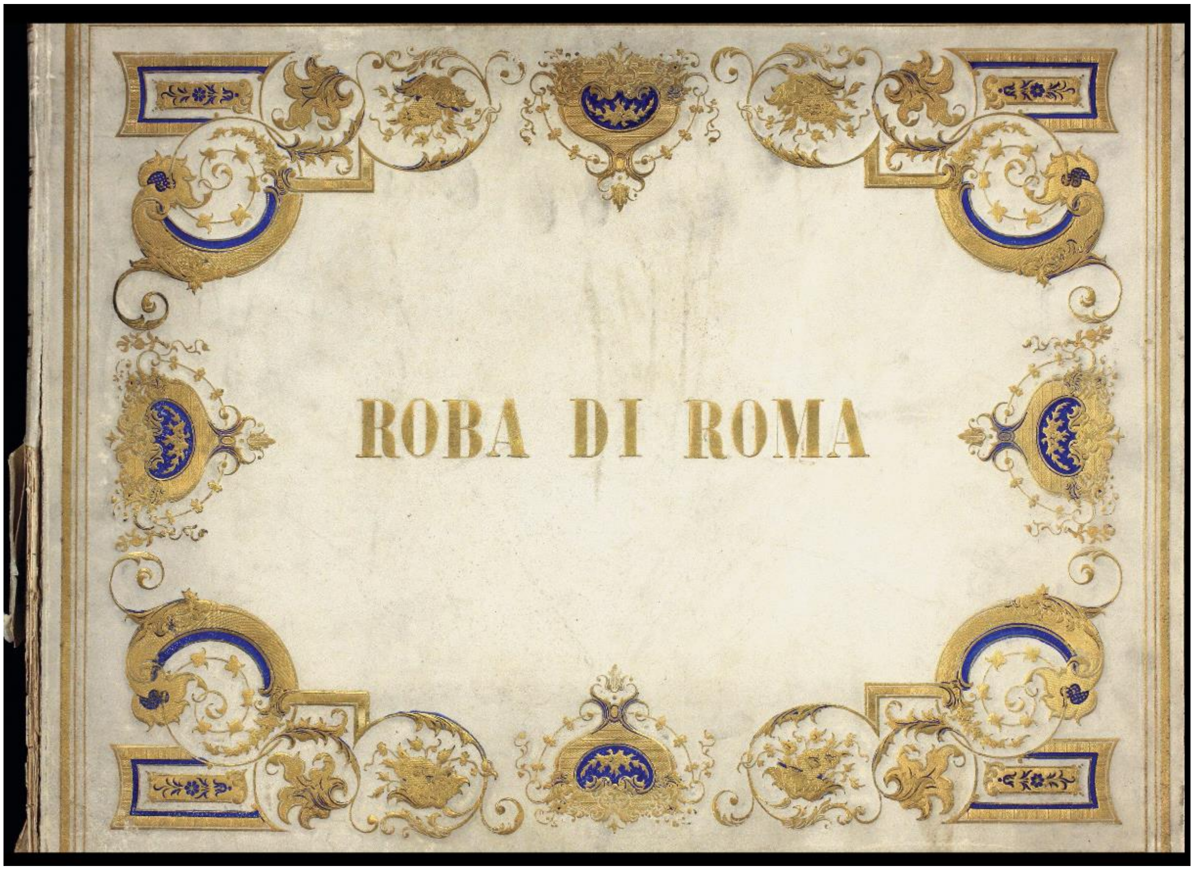

Figure 3.7. James Anderson (1813-1877). *Roma di Roma* [album]. Late 1850s~1860s. Leather-bound album with 34 albumen prints and 1 salted paper print. 39.7 x 31.5 cm.

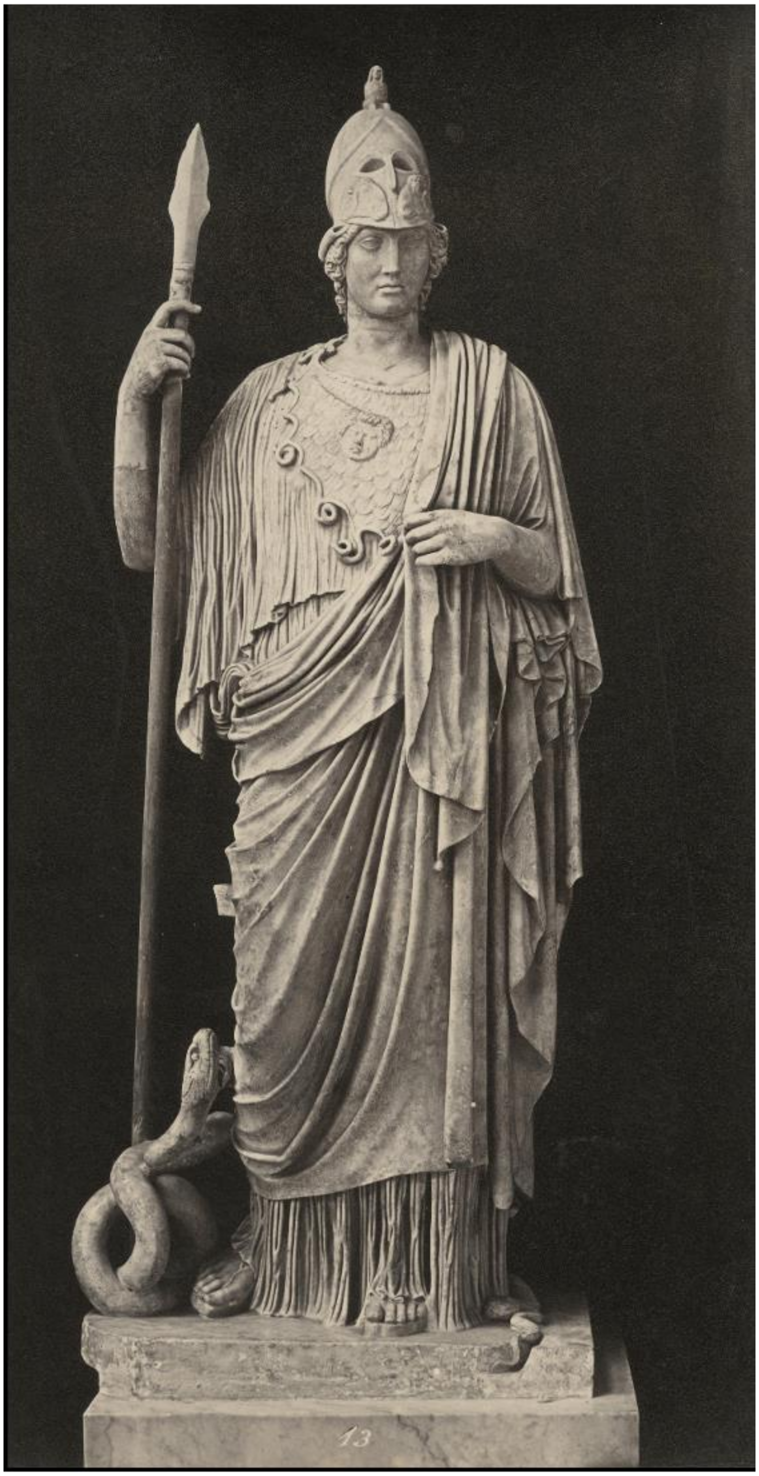

Figure 3.8. Figure 3.10. Unidentified photographer (Likely James Anderson). *Athena Giustiniani.* 1860. Albumen print laid onto original publisher’s thin card mount. Image: 24.7 x 13 cm, Mount: 38.7 x 30.5 cm.

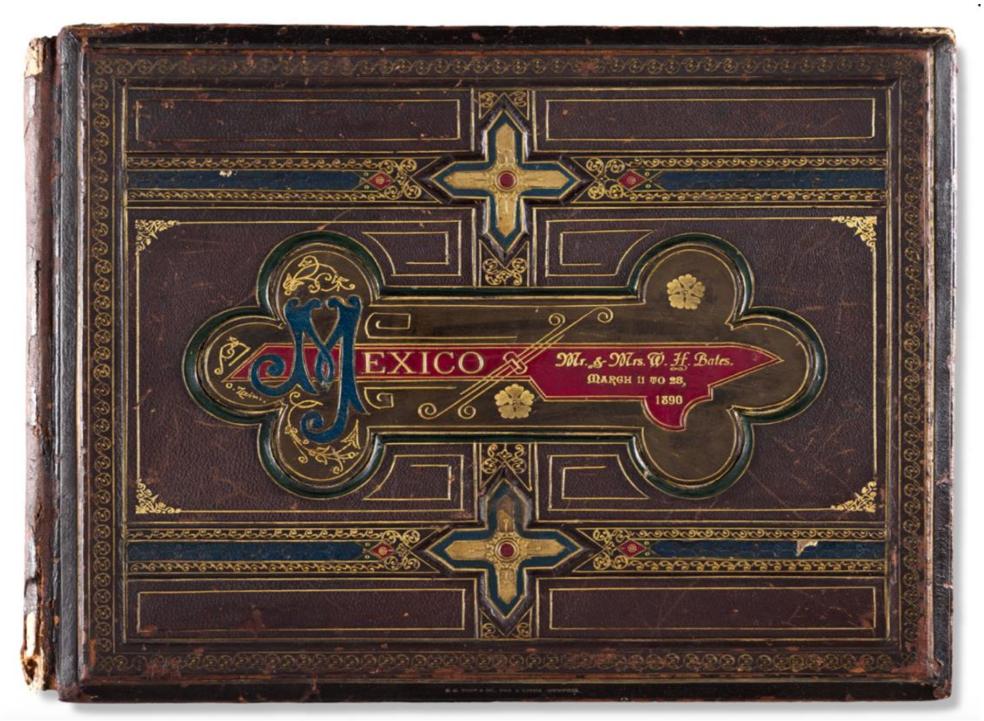
MEXICO
Mr. & Mrs. W. H. Bates.
MARCH 11 TO 28,
1890

Figure 3.9. "*Mexico, Mr. & Mrs. W. H Bates, March 11 to 28, 1890"*. 1890. Decoratively gilt travel album of albumen print photographs. Dimensions unknown.

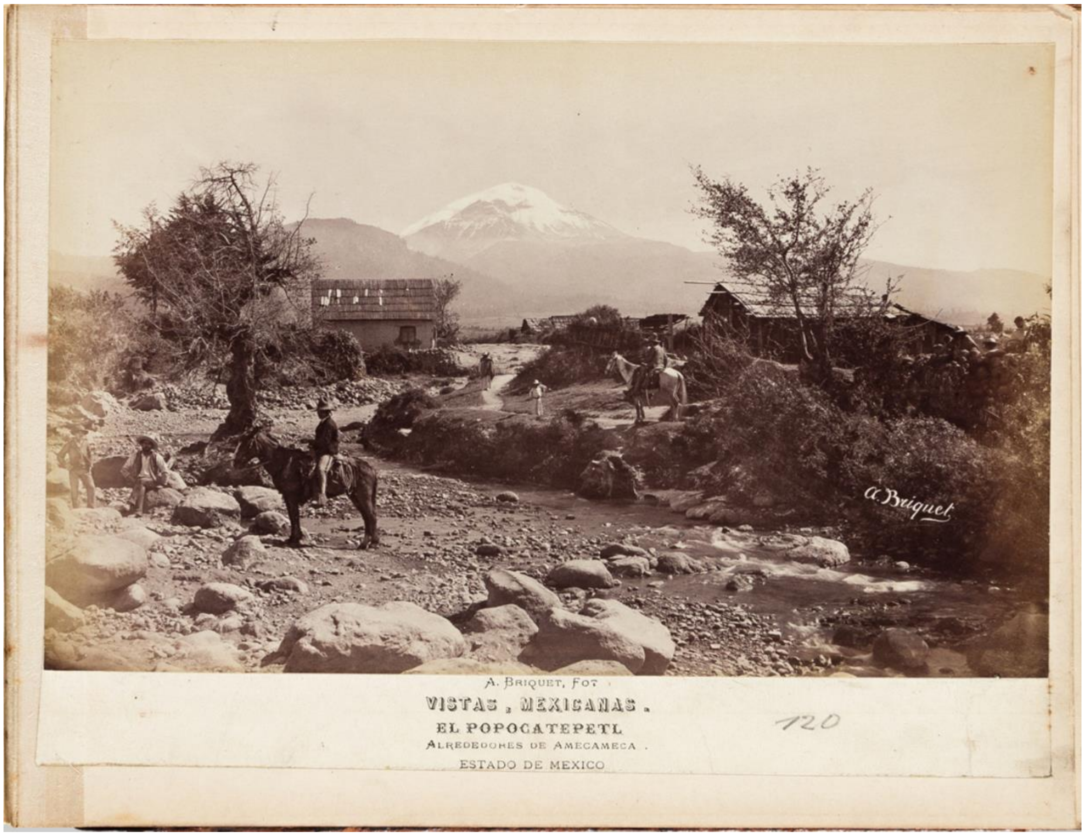
A. Briquet
A. BRIQUET, FOT
VISTAS, MEXICANAS.
EL POPOCATEPETL
ALREDEDORES DE AMECAMECA.
ESTADO DE MEXICO
120

Figure 3.10. Alfred ‘Abel’ Briquet. *El Popocatepetl* in *Vistas, Mexicanas*. 1880~1889. Albumen print. 5 x 7 inches [approximate dimensions].

Conclusion

Addressing a Monolithic Public Reception

Through this project, I have engaged with *cartes-de-visite* and albumen prints as photographic prints for purchase. Though the novel mediums were able to reach unprecedented amounts of viewers, their availability was not ubiquitous, and they were not likely valued as necessities during times of economic hardship. After the Second Mexican Empire's defeat in 1867, Mexican citizens were earning wages less than half of the average wages earned within France.[114] By the final years of the Porfiriato, not coincidentally rising with countries' radical economic growth, this increased by one hundred and fifty percent.[115] Although this growth occurred, the photographs produced by Aubert and Briquet during the Second Mexican Empire and the Porfiriato respectively, simply did not reach or even interest every citizen. Rather, the images were conceived as 'public-facing' rather than as actually for the larger Mexican or European public.

Aubert and Briquet's propagandistic images largely catered to either elite European audiences overseas unfamiliar with the scenes and views of Mexico or tourists within Mexico looking to fill their travel album. After all, the audience that was able to acquire Aubert and Briquet's photographs would have to first value the medium of photography, the ethnographic, geographic, or archeological subjects they featured, and be able to successfully navigate the financial and social sphere they inhabited. For example, the initial iteration of the Museum of Mexico was only semi-accessible to the public as it was housed within the University and required an appointment booked through an organization or government with a museum official directly. A general 'public' would not be able to experience the early museum geographically or educationally, if they had the interest to. Rather, the true 'public' that was admitted into the museum was a smaller pool of individuals who held a certain amount of socioeconomic power as they were able to navigate the various social and academic structures barring the museum from a true 'public' view. This audience was literate, often a European man of high income within academia, or as we have seen, a foreign tourist.

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[114] Javier L. Arnaut, *Mexican Real Wages Before the Revolution: A Reappraisal*, in *Iberoamericana* 47 (Stockholm University Press: 2018). 45-62. DOI: 10.16993/iberoamericana.421.

[115] Ibid.

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Throughout this thesis, I have been concerned with imposed photographic views that were intended to, in one way or another, be representative of Mexico. My interest in collaging a visual landscape of nineteenth-century photographic portrayals of Mexico was initially inspired by Alfred Briquet's albumen photographs of the Mexica monolith of Coatlicue. Indeed, I find myself in the good company of many art historians and scholars of Mesoamerican and Latin American visual culture who have traced their interest back to the monolith. Upon researching these photographs further, I found that most of my conceptual interests compounded within the images produced within the Second Mexican Empire and the Porfiriato; the appropriation of Mesoamerican imagery to produce a monolithic vision of Mexico's visual patrimony, exchanges of imperial and colonial power between Europe and Mexico, the problematics of early ethnographic photography, and the role of the museum in creating history.

Within the two-year master's program, I was able to successfully explore these conceptual frameworks in ways that challenged and propelled my research process. Within the crucial time I spent at the National Museum of Anthropology and its historical archives, I studied the Coatlicue monolith and its placement within the larger museum complex in comparison to Briquet's photographs firsthand. I quickly realized that most discussions of his life and work were minute, especially within art historical research, and turned to the historical context to understand his images within Porfirian Mexico. Chapter two has developed from this study, where I argue that the appropriation and control exerted over the Coatlicue sculpture within Briquet's frame was additionally asserted in the setting it's pictured in - Porfirio's Gallery of Monoliths. The first chapter of this project was born from François Aubert's fascinating *cartes-de-visite* of Maximilian's execution. During my research of Aubert's work, I found many similarities and differences between the use of photography during the Second Mexican Empire and the Porfiriato. In commissioning French photographers to create official imperial or national imagery, Maximilian I and Porfirio relied on French conventions based on European genre systems to establish and reaffirm visual power. This thesis project works toward a connected art history that engages with the photography produced during the Second Mexican Empire and the Porfiriato as critical images that illustrate how concepts of race, history, modernity, and national identity were imaged and imagined within Mexico.

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