An Unframeable Icon:

Coyote, *Casta* and the *Mestizaje* in Colonial New Spanish Art

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses the significance of the *casta* naming process depicted in *pinturas de casta* or *casta* paintings created in eighteenth-century colonial New Spain. These paintings depicted family units, each member named by a racial label designated by the *sistema de castas*, the Imperial Spanish code of law associated with these paintings. In the genre, the labeled subjects were hierarchically ordered by racial lineage with pure Spanish genealogies ranked highest and all other racial categories following on a sliding scale of racial subjectivity. This study focuses on *casta* paintings' label *coyote*, which referred to colonial subjects of mestizo and indigenous heritage. Policies of the *casta* system, when matched with *casta* paintings' animal label created a framing of indigenous colonial subjectivity; those labeled *coyote* were visually positioned as one of the lowest members of the *casta* and of questionable quality as humans, given their comparison to wild canines. Beyond the general discussion of racial hegemony at work in these paintings this thesis exploration individually questions the meaning of the *casta* label *coyote* by analyzing how the colonial namer and the named colonial subject related to this word and title. Deep-seated beliefs about the undomesticated canine were at work in the imaginations of both the Imperial Spanish namer and the named colonial subject, evidenced in European/Spanish renderings of wolves and indigenous art depicting coyotes in Mesoamerica. To uncover the imaginations that informed the creation and reception of the *coyote* label this study examines the visual development of wolf as a symbol of wildness, evil, and racial impurity used to hail the human Other in both peninsular and New Spanish colonial arts. Additionally, images of coyotes will be considered from the position of the colonial named, vis à vis indigenous arts and beliefs

that coyote acted as a sacred symbol of power through centuries of human development in the Mesoamerican world. Varied understandings of coyote were at work in the New Spanish colony, evidenced in eighteenth-century paintings of mestizo artist Miguel Cabrera. Analysis of his paintings of the *La Divina Pastora* and of his *casta* painting *De mestizo y india nace coyote* reveal the instability of coyote as symbol and human label amid the *mestizaje* mechanisms of New Spain.

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INTRODUCTION

In 2004 curator Ilona Katzew, one of the foremost scholars of the *casta* genre, presented the exhibit *Inventing Race: Casta Painting and Eighteenth-Century Mexico* at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. The exhibit contained over one hundred *casta* paintings gathered from private and public collections, some of which had never been on public display. The formation of the exhibit and publication of Katzew's seminal text of the same title was the first in-depth investigation of the genre. Katzew's text remains the touchstone scholarly work on *casta* painting, situating the genre as a valued entry point for understanding the New Spanish colonial milieu. Katzew's text and exhibit set the stage for a growing number of scholarly treatments that continue to push her historical approach toward numerous theoretical examinations of colonial subjectivity evidenced in the *casta* paintings.[1]

Ten years since the LACMA exhibition, scholarly treatments on *casta* paintings have steadily probed questions about how *casta* images functioned within the frame of colonial subjectivity in New Spain. One important angle of these studies has been the investigation *casta* labels; these labels were painted within the picture space of each *casta* painting, alongside the images of colonial subjects. *Casta* labels were created by New Spanish bureaucrats to organize the colonial population and were purposefully included on each visual rendering of the *castas* as an attempt to visually and verbally order the differing racial blends of the Spanish, native and African populous. The words chosen for these labels have a meaning that is specific to the *casta* and therefore particular to the

[1] Magali Marie Carrera's text, *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings,* was published in 2003. Carrera's text is one of the first substantive discussions of the *casta* genre (broaching the topics colonial subjectivity from critical viewpoints) but does not offer the breadth of information on the genre that is put forth in Katzew's work.

relationship between New Spanish colonizers and their painted subjects. The labels *coyote* (the offspring of mestizo and native) and *lobo* (the offspring of native and African) are two such labels that directed viewers to read images of these particular race blends as canine in nature. The significance of *casta* labels with animal antecedents has been acknowledged by a number of scholars. Katzew (2004) discusses the presence of zoologically inspired labels in *casta* paintings including details regarding their origins and literal meanings.[2] Ruth Hill (2007) offers close readings of animal nomenclature in *casta* poetry and drama and to reveal how these linguistic choices were indicative of the specificity of New Spanish colonialism. Hill emphasizes that the examination of the *casta's* linguistic play with animal metaphors as a necessary contribution to the study of race theory in the colonial Americas. Evelina Guzauskyte (2009) cites that *casta* labels render the figures in *casta* paintings members of a human bestiary given the similarities between *casta* painting and New Spanish scientific texts.[3] Above all, scholars agree that the naming of colonial subjects as animals was a slur or epithet intent on connecting labeled subjects of the colonial population with animal (versus human) characteristics.

Although a product of a bureaucratic control mechanism, the *casta coyote* label offers alternative meanings within the seemingly totalized hegemonic supremacy of Spanish culture over that of the indigenous colonial subject. *Casta* paintings reflected the imperial Spanish desire to control mixed-race members of the colonial population by animalizing the *castas* and positioning them at the lower registers of the *casta* hierarchy, which worked in tandem with denials of rights and forced tribute, practices that

[2] Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 44.
[3] Evelina Guzauskyte, "Fragmented Borders, Fallen Men, Bestial Women: Violence in the *Casta* Paintings of Eighteenth-century New Spain," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* LXXXVI:2 (2009): 186.

positioned racially mixed colonial subjects as politically weak, social outcasts.[4] Although the creation of the *coyote* label was an attempt at isolation of the colonial subject as animal Other, the fact remained that Spanish colonial leadership did not understand the importance of coyote in the cosmology of indigenous populations before the Spanish Conquest. Although systematic attempts were made at diminishing inclusion of the indigenous Other, the *casta* and its *coyote* label breathed life into coyote symbolism and the coyote's connection to indigenous identities. From this perspective, the *coyote* label and named human subject in *casta* paintings reveal the indigenous identities and beliefs active in the cultural development of New Spain, despite the denial of these identities by Spanish authorities.

The Spanish utilized the term and painted word *coyote* as a tool for hailing[5] the uncivilized Other. This did not account for the reception of the coyote label by the colonial population, an example of the complex nature of *mestizaje* or racial blending that was at work in the arts and culture of New Spanish colony in the eighteenth century. The term *mestizaje* is used to address the cultural process that involved the blending of races and identities amid unstable and unbalanced policies of Spanish colonial rule. *Mestizaje* is also used to describe the asymmetrical process of identity formation within control systems, like that of the Spanish *casta*, wherein identities were formed through

[4] Spanish authorities demanded labor and tribute payment from the *castas* of indigenous African and lineage. These *castas* were restricted from land ownership, ecclesiastic office and other rights available to *castas* that claimed Spanish lineage. See MacLachlan and Rodriguez, *The Forging of the Cosmic Race: A Reinterpretation of Colonial Mexico* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990),199.

[5] The use of the term "hailing" in this study refers to Louis Althusser's rhetorical theory on interpellation wherein State apparatuses create discourses that position individuals as subjects of the authoritative State mechanisms. See: James Jasinski, *Sourcebook on Rhetoric* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2001),320, 321.

subversive pushback against the hegemonic power of the colonial regime.[6] This thesis argues that paintings by New Spanish artist Miguel Cabrera (1695-1768), portrayed the complex push and pull of *mestizaje* identity formation amid colonial processes. Cabrera incorporated symbols indicative of indigenous memory in paintings, specifically the image of *coyote* in his *casta* series. Analysis of Cabrera's paintings reveal that coyote, as a cultural symbol, operated outside of totalized hegemonic control of colonialism. Coyote as a cultural figure was misunderstood by Europeans intent on animalizing the native Other. For this reason, coyote represented a complex symbol of indigenous entity formation from the Mesoamerican past that continued to operate in belief systems of the native population of colonial New Spain.

This thesis develops in four chapters. Chapter 1 discusses the idealized function of the *casta* and how notions of Spanish supremacy were expressed visually in *casta* paintings. Fearing loss of control of the vast and culturally varied colony, the *casta* prized Spanish bloodlines, which were placed at the top of the hierarchy while those farthest from Spanish lineage were systematically denied rights and freedoms. *Casta* paintings and their labels were a visual brand (an actual word emblazoned in paint that acted as a hegemonic searing of flesh), an identifying marker for individuals of mixed race in the colony .[7] *Casta* paintings contained a mother, father, and their offspring, each of which was labeled by a name created by their Imperial masters. This chapter argues that as a State apparatus, wild canid labels utilized in *casta* paintings functioned as a hegemonic

[6] Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, John M. Nieto-Phillips, eds. *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press:2005), 7-8.
[7] *Casta* "labels" refer to the physical label, acting as the title of individual *casta* paintings (used to identify those depicted in the paintings) but the term "label" also refers to socio-political category utilized outside of *casta* picture space, in the colony at large. This concept will be addressed in detail in Chapter 1.

control mechanism, hailing the wild animality of the colonial subject as a means of control of Spanish superiority and supremacy in New Spain.

Chapter 2 explores the Spanish imaginary and its impact on the *casta* development, particularly of the naming of cultural Other by the label of wild canid. Early Christian theologians positioned the wolf as a threat that haunted the imaginaries of Europeans. This belief was communicated from the Early Christian period, evident in the frequently intertwined secular and Christian visual culture in Spain. Spanish attachments to pastoral lifestyles had an impact on the development of wolf imagery; wolves were believed to be a force of evil that stalked the Spanish human population and its valued sheep. The anxiety of the wolf physical presence in Europe is evident in visual documents and confirmed by policies that positioned the wolf outside the boundaries of morality and civility. European vilification of the wolf informed the Spanish collusion of animal with human Others that were a perceived threat to Spanish Christians, namely the Moors and the Jews, a label of Otherness that was also applied to the human subjects of the *casta* in New Spain.

Chapter 3 reveals the significance of the wild canid for generations of indigenous populations in Mesoamerica. Images of coyotes in the visual arts of the cultures in the Central Valley of Mexico and the surrounding region will be analyzed in this chapter, limited to evidence that dates from the Classic Teotihuacan (300-900AD), Early (900-1250 AD) and Late (1250-1521AD) Post Classic periods of central Mexico, namely the Toltec and Mexica civilizations. Examination of these cultures and their relationship to the coyote reveals the potent cultural and religious importance of coyotes, beliefs disseminated over time in the Mesoamerican geographical region. This viewpoint

becomes key when considering the power of indigenous memory that was at work in culturally blended expressions of coyote imagery in New Spain.

Informed by the differing perspectives about wild canids explored in Chapters 2 and 3, Chapter 4 examines how the culturally blended imaginaries of coyote developed in the arts of colonial New Spain. The side-by-side examination of differing viewpoints regarding the image of coyote reveals that despite the political power of imperial Spanish dominion, the pre-Conquest history of *coyotl* [8] (the indigenous Nahua people's term for coyote) continued to have an influence on the colonial population. This influence, evidenced in the native arts of New Spain, pushed the *casta coyote* label to an ambiguous space that operated outside of the full grasp of Spanish hegemony. The creation of *coyotl* imagery in the New Spanish arts revealed that Spanish ignorance or misunderstanding about the image of *coyotl* allowed for inroads for inclusion of indigenous identity amid the Spanish fantasy of totalized cultural and political control.

The image of coyote becomes an access point to view the blurred definitions of *mestizaje*, racial identities. New Spanish artists utilized the image of coyote/*coyotl* to create icons that were a reflection of their socially ambiguous milieu. Colonial New Spain was a culturally blended space that allowed for artistic *interpolation*, defined by post-colonial scholar Bill Ashcraft as "the appropriation of dominant forms of representation for their use against their culture of origin and to control self-representation."[9] Utilizing European models as a model, artists of native and mixed-race

[8] The Nahuatl (Mexica language and predominant language of the Valley of Mexico at the time of the Conquest, disseminated to Europeans) word for coyote, *coyotl,* will be used in this thesis for the purpose of differentiating the Mesoamerican concept of coyote from the Western conception of coyote.
[9] Bill Ashcroft. *On Post-Colonial Futures: Transformations of a Colonial Culture* (London: Continuum, 2001), 116.

descent injected native symbolism into the visual landscape of New Spain's churches and religious themed art. This blending of Christian theme and native symbol, wherein the figure of coyote plays a significant role, is evident in sixteenth-century mural projects painted in monastic churches (discussed in Chapter 4).

Subtle inclusion of indigenous icons amid Christian motifs became a vehicle that allowed for a more nuanced inclusion of indigenous identity in later periods of New Spanish colonial art. In eighteenth-century New Spain, celebrated artist Miguel Cabrera was commissioned to paint for the New Spanish authorities. Cabrera became one of the most revered painters of the period noted for his skill and vast oeuvre of Christian-themed art and *casta* paintings. The Conclusion of this thesis discusses the conscious changes that Cabrera made to the eighteenth-century peninsular Spanish icon, The *Divina Pastora*, or Divine Shepherdess. Eurocentric belief systems about purity of race were communicated through the image of the *Divina Pastora*. I suggest that Cabrera's subtle alternations made in Cabrera's version of the Shepherdess communicated messages of racial inclusion versus isolation and denial of non-Spanish identities. Later, I turn to a discussion of Cabrera's *casta* painting, *De mestizo y india nace coyote* [*From mestizo and indigenous female coyote is born*]. Analysis of this image reveals that Cabrera's depiction of the *casta* coyotes in this painting, like his treatment of the *Divina Pastora*, contained ambiguous inclusions and elements of native memory, which blurred the *casta* genre's intention of hegemonic control. Cabrera's work, like that of the native murals, revealed the complexity at work in expressions of non-Spanish identity in the New Spanish colony. The image of *coyotl*, representative of indigenous identity and power, worked in the margins alongside the politically dominant discourse of Spanish racial purity to reveal

the presence of indigenous identity amid the destabilizing force of hegemonic practices of the political authority in Imperial New Spain.

CHAPTER 1

THE CASTA, FORM AND FUCNTION: *COYOTE* AND *THE SISTEMA DE CASTAS*

The Imperial Spanish *sistema de castas* was a system of racial stratification implemented in colonial New Spain from the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries that was built upon the concept of *limpieza de sangre* ("purity of blood") developed in medieval Spanish Iberia;[1] this concept was later transferred to Spanish America and applied to the colonial hierarchy via the *casta* system. Hierarchies of blood purity were originally based upon purity of Christian bloodlines on the Iberian Peninsula wherein the religious Other, namely Jews and Moors, were isolated as threat, due to Jews' and Moors' undefined ties to Christian lineages. The array of ethnicity and religious difference that existed beyond Iberian shores was a much larger project which required domination of different races, ethnicities and a system for managing the blending of these races with Spanish blood. The sheer magnitude of the colonial population and the quality of the difference, races never before encountered or blended with Spanish blood, required that racial purity along with Christian purity become an equally important factor in determining a colonial subject's social privileges and freedoms.[2]

Hegemonic control of the New Spanish colony via the *casta* system was bolstered by the belief that the *casta's* racially fixed order was based on laws of nature. Spanish elites believed that the *casta* had a three-fold purpose:

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[1] Katzew's work suggests that although some of the *casta* labels wereused in marriage documents in areas of the colony by the 1630s the *sistema de castas* had not been institutionalized until approximately 1660. See, Katzew, 43.

[2] María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico*(Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 2.

> [to] guarantee that each race occupy a social niche assigned by nature; second to offer the possibility of improving one's blood through the right pattern of mixing; third to inhibit the mixture of Indians and blacks, which was deemed the more dangerous to the Spanish social order.[3]

The Spanish authorities put forth the ideology that it was natural for certain races to be ranked below others in terms of their threat to New Spanish society. Spanish supremacy in the *casta* hierarchy was further aided by the indication that colonial subjects could ascend in the hierarchy and, in turn, be elevated in cultural privilege by procreating with those of Spanish blood through a process called blood mending. Although a suggested tactic for social mobility, the fact remained that movement from lower *castas* toward Spanish purity was rarely accessible to the colonial population at large. Various marriage laws enacted throughout the colonial period impeded the intermarriage of Spaniards and those of mixed race.[4] The value that existed in the functioning *casta* system was the balance of racial haves and have nots; the appearance of a predetermined nature of natural servitude of mixed-race members of the New Spanish colony was required for the Spanish ideological domination of the region.

Fixed positioning of those with and without mobility in the colony was integral to the success of the Spanish Empire. Implemented a century after the colonial process was already in motion, the *casta system* acted as an assurance that the colony was effectively producing export for the Spanish Crown.[5] Control of commodity production was established through legal limitations of the *castas,* specifically those of indigenous and African decent. A servile and laboring population was necessary in order to maintain

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[3] Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 51.
[4] Magali Marie Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings*(Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003),118.
[5] Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 205.

needed manpower and the *casta's* pre-determined hierarchies provided this workforce. Occupational choices in New Spain were limited by an individual's racial lineage. Spanish colonists maintained a monopoly on merchant, landholding and skilled labor positions while lower *castas* were grounded in positions of unskilled labor and servitude.[6] The *casta* essentially locked access to forward mobility, forcing lower *castas* to reside in lives of poverty, marked as social pariahs. The *casta* system's emphasis on the natural state of racial division offered a sense of inevitability regarding the colonial subject's ability to improve his or her position in the terms of socio-economic opportunity in the colony.

The racially stratified colony was catalogued visually in *casta* paintings. Some *casta* paintings were organized as one visual unit with all the *castas* painted on one surface while others have been discovered as individual portraits in a series. All of the images are documented as individual numbered categories and for this reason take on the appearance of taxonomic charts (Fig.1). The repeated image of two adults and one child in this series, created by an unknown artist in the early eighteenth century, reveals only subtle alteration to each *castas* composition, which draws attention to differences in skin tone and clothing of the subjects. The grid-like structure of the painting emphasizes the compartmentalized social reality of each *casta* category. The categorization in *casta* paintings satisfied a need for surveillance of the colony, which was in keeping with Spanish imperial interests in visually accounting for the subjects of Spanish rule for

[6] Jesús De La Teja, *Choice, Persuasion, and Coercion: Social Control on Spain's North American Frontiers*(Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 219.

review of the Crown and the peninsular Spanish elite.[7] Spanish purity and supremacy, when documented visually and taxonomically, served not only to appear as scientifically derived but also allowed for the assumption of a naturalized role of surveying gaze of the Crown as elite patrons could view a clean and simplified version of the colony in miniature.[8]

The *sistema de castas,* which inspired the hierarchical structure of *casta* paintings appeared ordained by nature and "as a mechanism of social control on the part of the colonial elite at large…in part through the use of distinguishing racial labels."[9] The fact that labels in these paintings marked colonial subjects was of vast importance to the hegemonic purpose of the *casta*. The individuals depicted in these paintings were physically tagged, on display, as if property of the Crown itself. Scholars argue that the taxonomic nature of *casta* images and the labels on these paintings were a product of Enlightenment interests in "the scientific enterprise of ordering the natural world."[10] Perhaps the visual/verbal labels were created in the name of science or intellectual curiosity but they also satisfied the Imperial Spanish desire for clear identification and categorization of difference that had ramifications beyond "scientific enterprise" to include the Spanish fantasy of control of race within the colony.[11] These painted labels,

[7] Susan Deans-Smith, "Creating the Colonial Subject: Casta Paintings, Collectors, and Critics in Eighteenth-Century Mexico and Spain," *Colonial Latin American Review* 14:2 (2005):176, 177.
[8] I use the term gaze throughout my thesis to refer to the post-colonial studies and psychological theory regarding the panoptics of imperial power utilized to view the colonial subject in New Spain. See Carrera
[9] Katzew. 43.
[10] Deans-Smith,"Creating the Colonial Subject",177.
[11] Deans- Smith and other *casta* scholars suggest that *casta* paintings were a reflection of the imperial Spanish reception of Carl Linnaeus's *Systema Naturae*, first published in 1735. I will argue that bestiary tradition is a potential visual precedent for the *casta* taxonomy given the fact that the earliest *casta* painting prototypes date to 1711 and precede the publication of Linnaeus's influential taxonomies.

specifically those applied to the lower *castas*, functioned as a definitive hailing of difference and the threat that this difference represented to the New Spanish populous.

In addition to being categorized by racial type, the lower *castas* were given animal names, a dehumanizing quality that followed the linguistic tradition utilized in previous periods of imperial Spanish anxiety regarding the threats to the Empire, specifically the presence of Moors and Jews on the Iberian Peninsula. Of the sixteen *casta* labels several contain direct linguistic connections to animals. *Mulato*, the mixture of Spanish and African blood, was a referent to the strangeness of this racial blend that was "deemed uglier and stranger" when compared to other racial types; it was believed that members of this *casta* had, "the nature of the mule."[12] Other names with animal antecedents were *cambujo*, which in peninsular Spanish described chickens and in New Spain connoted swarthiness; *barcino* which was a term used to describe spotted horses; *albarazado*, which referred to animals with white spots; the fifteenth and sixteenth categories, the lowest *castas* on the hierarchy were labeled as *lobo* the Spanish word for wolf and *coyote* the spanishized word (utilizing the Nahua word *coyotl* as influence) for the wolf-like dog of the Central Mexican Valley.[13] By depicting colonial subjects as animals, the imperial Spanish essentially suggested that the "natural" state of these individuals had an animal quality, a direct questioning of the humanity of these *casta* members.

Animalizing of colonial subjects satisfied desires for subjugation colonial Others though ideological controls. While exhibiting qualities of Enlightenment documentation in the name of science, *casta* paintings, in form (as a grid of human "types" given animal

[12] Katzew, 43.
[13] Ibid.

names) and function (as an expression of dominion over the colonial population) also imitated the image of *Adam Naming the Animals,* a product of the medieval bestiary tradition (Fig. 2). This image was an illustrated interpretation of the Christian Bible's book of Genesis 2:19 which states:

> out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof.[14]

The Aberdeen Bestiary illustration depicts Adam on an enlarged scale when compared to the animals on the page. The animals, dwarfed by Adam's figure, are arranged in grids while Adam raises his hand to appoint them with names, at the will of God, as stated in the passage from Genesis. Metaphorically, Spanish imperial powers, who created the *casta* labels, can be compared to Adam of the bestiary image; like Adam among the animals, peninsular Spanish males were the highest ranking in the *casta* order in the colony and in the case of the *casta* grid were physically at the top, a sign of dominion over the *castas* depicted below. The *casta* naming process, observed in the chart like formula of *casta* paintings, suggests that the elite Spanish male found himself as Adam, commanded by the Christian God to order and name his animal dominion in the "New World." The racial blends that the Spanish male perceived as less pure and potentially less than human, were a threat to purity, required marked visual control deployed in *casta* paintings.

The *casta* painting, *De Yndio y Mestiza Coyote* [from indigenous male and mestizo female, coyote] painted by an unknown artist, dated to the early-eighteenth century, emphasizes the physical oppression indicated by the *casta* system ideologies; the

[14] "Genesis 2:19 "

racial label in the painting truncates the legs of the *coyote* child, suggesting that the prominence of the label and, in turn, the European gaze was more valuable than the inclusion of the child's body in the painting (Fig. 3). The imperial authorities were intent on ordering what they perceived as domestic versus wild humans much like the ordering and hierarchical consolidation of the wild canid, the wolf, which required controlled eradication on the Iberian peninsula. Additionally, European Judeo-Christian traditions perceived wolves as particularly vile and threatening by nature, which were also at work in the imaginary of Old World Spain. Therefore, the terms *lobo*, the offspring of African and indigenous parents and *coyote* the offspring of mestizo and indigenous parents are concerning in terms of this study of human/animal confluence in the racial stratification of New Spain. Animalizing of colonial subjects worked to solidify a European gaze and satisfied desires for subjugation of the Others of the colony though ideological controls. The coyote *label,* therefore, functioned as an "ordering other peoples and cultures" created with the hope that these colonial subjects might be made "productive and orderly under the guiding civilizing hand of their Spanish imperial masters."[15]

The *sistema de castas* positioned the Spanish male at the pinnacle of the hierarchy of being in the New World. The desire to order objects/animals on a binary spectrum, evident in the bestiary tradition of Medieval Europe, was reinvigorated by the desire to categorize New World "curiosities" on a similar continuum of good and evil in the name of science, progress and socio-religious purity ;[16] the *casta* placed humans in a similarly stratified hierarchy a continuum of good or more pure races at the top and base or less pure races toward the bottom. This hierarchy of dominion is related to what Homi

[15] Deans-Smith, "Creating the Colonial Subject," 177.
[16] Ibid, 170.

Bhabha describes as a "the phobic image of the Negro, the native, the colonized, deeply woven into the psychic pattern of the West" brought to the "New World" in an attempt to contain objects and beings encountered under the imperial agenda .[17] Naming a particular racial blend as wild dogs (coyotes) of the New World, coyotes, highlights the Eurocentric phobia of indigenous identity that Spanish authorities were intent on repressing via the colonial control system and ideological naming evidenced in *casta* paintings.

[17] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 90.

CHAPTER 2

THE SPANISH IMAGINARY: PURITY AND THE IMAGE OF WOLF IN SPANISH ART

As an institution of the State, the *casta* system and the visual labels that accompanied it were the manifestation of Spanish perspectives on race and culture. In particular, the *casta* and its attention to the identification of cultural Others was a response to Spanish anxieties about race mixing and loss of Spanish racial purity in the New Spanish colony. As a means of control, the Spanish created categories that designated access to power and individual freedoms within the colony. To engrain this control, potent meanings were attached to the labels that clearly identified animal qualities observed in colonial subjects of mixed blood. The *casta* defined the blending of mestizo and Amerindian: De Mestizo y India, coyote. Animal/human comparisons are filled with troubling connotations when applied by an authoritarian regime to subordinate its subjects; usage of a label that linked human subjects to wild dog in the colonial context calls to mind the need to subdue wild and unruly natures that were observed by the Spanish in this blend of Mestizo (Spanish and indigenous) and Amerindian bloodlines. The *coyote* label was created as a result of particularly Spanish perspectives on wild dogs, namely the European wolf. Wolves represented a multivalent threat to both Spanish culture and Christianity at work on the Iberian Peninsula in the centuries leading up the creation of the New Spanish Empire and the naming of the threatening human Other as wild dogs in the *sistema de castas*.

In the decade following the Conquest, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1449-1590), a Spanish Franciscan friar, set about cataloging elements of the "New World" that the

Spanish encountered. These observations were documented in his text *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* (*General History of the Things of New Spain)* or *The Florentine Codex.* The manual, comprised of twelve books, contains written text and painted pictures classifying aspects of the natural world and of the Mexica culture encountered in New Spain. The text has a complicated history given the mode of its creation, a collaboration of native informants and Fray Sahagún; the result was a text written and painted by natives, overseen by Sahagún who later added translation from the native Nahuatl text into Spanish. The lines of textual contribution are culturally complex given the fact that native informants were in the employ of a post-Conquest missionary and writing to his desired textual outcomes. Attention to this unbalanced power relationship has produced in-depth examinations of the hegemonic pitfalls of the Conquest and subsequent evangelical missionary conversions that occurred in the Central Valley of Mexico;[1] for the purpose of this discussion Sahagún's *Historia General* functions as documentary evidence of the Spanish conceptualization of the wild canids, specifically coyote. Sahagún documents coyote in his text, in a section dedicated to animals that were identified by Sahagún as wolf-like:

> *Hay en esta tierra un animal que se dice cóyotl a cual algunos de los españoles le llaman zorro, y otros le llaman lobo…Ni es lobo o zorro sino animal propio de esta tierra*.[2] [There is in this land an animal called coyote that some Spaniards call fox and others wolf…it is neither wolf nor fox but an animal typical of this land.][3]

[1] Sahagún's *Historia General* operated as a preservation of native testimony but was a document created for Spanish missionaries to gain understanding native belief systems or the "character of the Mexican people" for evangelizing purposes. See Miguel León-Portilla's description of purpose and audience for Sahagún's *Historia General* in his text *Bernardino de Sahagún: First Anthropologist* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 144.

[2] World Digital Library, *"Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* (*General History of the Things of New Spain) de Bernardino de Sahagún"* Accessed October 1, 2013. Volume 3 Book 11. http://www.wdl.org/en/item/10096/.

[3] My translation.

Sahagún notes that Spaniards believed the coyote to be similar to a fox or wolf;[4] despite the shared identification of coyote (resembling a fox or wolf), when examined more closely in the text, Fray Sahagún's coyote is more clearly linked to the wolf via consistencies with coyote and wolf behavior. Fray Sahagún describes coyote behaviors as "in every way diabolical" given the animal's tendency to attack livestock and menace travelers on the roads of New Spain.[5] Not knowing the coyote specifically, the Spanish association of coyote with wolf worked consistently as a label associated with the Other, danger, and evil. Considering the *casta* label and the questionable purity of colonial subjects as the end point of this conjecture, it is the coyote's connection to wolf-like nature that unites Spanish imaginaries about moral and cultural purity on the Spanish peninsula that is later applied in the *casta* label coyote for human subjects of the Spanish Empire.

The dubious nature of wolves was established early in Christian history. The Christian gospels are particularly attentive to the metaphor of the predatory wolf poaching flocks of sheep as symbolic of danger to Christian believers. The gospel of Saint John, completed at the turn of the first century AD, describes the hired shepherd who "seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth: and the wolf catcheth them, and scattereth the sheep."[6] Evangelists Mathew and Luke also make reference to Christians as "sheep among wolves"[7] which was a particularly apt comparison for Early

[4] The fox was framed as evil for its observed behaviors in the visual history of Europe. See Hope B. Wierness, *The Continum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in Art* (London: Continuum, 2007),183-184. Although the wolf and fox have similar symbolic ties to evil in the visual history of Europe the wolf has a broader trajectory and significance in the culture and art of Spain further explored in this chapter.
[5] Elizabeth Hill Boone, *Cycles of Time and Meaning in the Mexican Books of Fate* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 94.
[6] "John 10:12
[7] Robert M. Grant, *Early Christians and Animals* (London, Nee York: Routledge, 1999), 14.

Christians navigating the Roman Empire that was at points violently adverse to Jewish and Christian beliefs. Toward the end of the first century, Saint John was himself a victim of a public punishment via the Roman Empire, being sent into exile on the island of Pontia for professing the teachings of Jesus Christ.[8] This alignment of the Christian flock against the predatory wolf, with Christian forefathers pitted against the evil of those wishing to destroy the budding Church set the stage for the wolf to act as a powerful symbol of threat against the project of Christianity, established early Christian doctrine, which evolved in later generations of Christian thinkers.

Images from medieval bestiaries working in tandem with biblical teachings reveal that the wolf was believed to be a representative of evil. The commentary on wolves in the twelfth-century Latin bestiary contains references from Isadore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (sixth century AD) and St. Ambrose's *Hexameron* (fourth century AD), refers to the "rapacious nature" of wolves which drives them in greedily seeking blood via trickery, mimicking a tame dog to gain access to the sheepfold; the bestiary links the wolf's deceitful trickery to the devil who "constantly circles the sheepfolds of the Church's faithful to in order to afflict and destroy their souls."[9] The image of the wolf from the Aberdeen Bestiary (Fig. 5) depicts the skulking nature of wolves that have trapped fearful and defenseless sheep. In the image two wolves encroach upon a group of four sheep cornered to the right side of the picture space by the two wolf figures. A clay-colored wolf stands atop the sheep shelter and a larger blue-black wolf approaches the sheep from the left. Both wolves are depicted with overtly muscled physiques, barred

[8] Ralph Martin Novak, *Christianity and the Roman Empire: Background Texts* (London: Continuum, 2001), 39.
[9]Willene B. Clark, *A Medieval Book of Beasts: The Second-Family Bestiary* (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, 2006), 143.

teeth and sharp claws. The sheep are trapped under the shelter, crowded by the hulking dark wolf that occupies the majority of the picture space. One sheep looks to the shepherd who is asleep near the scene. Despite appearing bulky with muscle, the wolves appear to move skillfully, careful not to arouse the attention of a shepherd that is within earshot of the impending attack. The sheep are dwarfed, pushed both to the side and bottom of the picture space, producing a feeling fear at the inevitable slaying that is poised to occur. This image combined with the bestiary's moralizing text confirmed that wolves were viscerally fearful beings, skillful in tactics and a threat to both physical and spiritual wellbeing, beliefs that had transitioned from Early Christian teaching to the theology of medieval Europe.

Images of the medieval hunt reveal specifics regarding European perspectives on wolves that supported the eradication of wolf populations in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Gaston Phébus, in his hunting manual, *Le Livre de la Chasse,* stated that the wolf was a challenge to hunt due to its stealth, requiring specific lures via butchered quarry (Fig 6). Phébus' image matched with this description reveals an elaborate trap designed as a response to the wolf's stealth. The trap required the wolf to enter and be contained within several spirals of wood thatched walls to prevent the wolf's escape. The trap also contained a trail of blood to both a butchered animal and a live sheep, suggesting the wolf's bloodlust, which required a live lure to meet its hunger for the kill. No other game depicted in Phébus's manual required any plan or device nearly as complex for capture. Additionally, the work involved the slaying a wolf offered no value as it was said to have

inedible meat and stinking hide.[10] For this reason, the wolf was not an object of the noble gamesman's hunt but was rather a threat to be eradicated by specially trained huntsmen. Medieval France and Spain formed special legions in an effort aimed at wolf extermination, a protection for the community and livestock of the countryside, a practice that continued late into the seventeenth century.[11] The value in the wolf hunt resided in the wolf's removal from the Medieval world, not from valor associated with its slaying or the presentation of its pelt. The physical threat of wolf predation resulted in policies aimed at total decimation of wolf populations, a sentiment shared among European leaders and their policies at large.[12]

Medieval Europe marked the wolf as a base being, a cunning, bloodthirsty outsider that required eradication for the benefit of the population. The Spanish huntsman's beliefs also acknowledged the notable stealth and cunning of the wolf assessing its stealth as a sign of its moral dubiousness. Juan Mateos, Master of the Hunt to King Phillip IV, wrote of the wolf's tendency toward predation of sheep in *Origen y Dignidad de Facaza (Origen and Dignity of the Hunt)*, a guide to royal hunting and training for war. In this text, Mateos describes the stealth and moral questionability of the wolf's predation tactics during storms;

> Neither deer nor the boar, nor any other game leave the thickets to run, except for the wolf…the sheep-cote is killed in great secrecy in severe weather, since neither

[10]John Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988), 135.
[11] L. David Mech, *Wolves Behavior, Ecology, and Conservation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 318-320.
[12] L. David Mesh offers detailed research regarding of the total eradication of wolf populations in Central Europe that was sustained until the industrial period's push, which resulted in the decline of rural economies and the adaption of new husbandry techniques. See Mesh, *Wolves Behavior, Ecology, and Conservation*, 318-320.

> the mastiff nor the shepherd hears it; and these are the nights during which they commit their greatest evils.[13]

According to Mateos, the wolf alone, among all game in the natural world, would emerge in a storm to attack its prey. This description places the wolf within a binary operation of civility of behavior with the entire animal population tucked away from the torrent while the wolf emerges for the kill. The binary of natural and unnatural behavior reveals the wolf as outside of rules that applied to the natural world and, in Mateos's vision, was a behavior that was indicative of evil. Much like the language and imagery used in the twelfth-century bestiary and the Bible, Mateos's description of wolf behavior suggests that the wolf's wily stealth operated outside of natural, morally acceptable boundaries.

The negativity associated with the wolf was further intensified by the European admiration of partnership garnered in the human relationship with the domestic canine. No other species in Western thought contains such a notable variant within a shared bloodline. Dog and wolf are both members of the family *canidae,* yet with wolf and dog there existed a diametric opposition of outside and inside vis à vis civilization; man and domestic dog were partners united inside the town and home while wolves were perceived as ever stalking the perimeter, awaiting an opportunity to poach the civil population. Gaston Phébus describes the hunting dog as "the most reasonable beast that God has ever created" a creature that "loves his master loyally and unconditionally… learns quickly, is steadfast and good."[14] Phébus also discussed a widely held European belief that if a man were murdered his dog had the ability to identify the man who had

[13]Abel Alves, *The Animals of Spain: An Introduction to Imperial Perceptions and Human Interaction with Other Animals, 1492-1826* (Liden and Boston: Brill, 2001), 65.
[14] William Schlag, *The Hunting Book of Gaston Phébus* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1998), 31.

committed the crime, which is echoed in bestiary texts.[15] The Spanish shepherd also held the domestic dog in high esteem for the loyal behavior exhibited in defense of the flock. The Spanish mastín (shepherd dog) maintained a position of respect, trained to the shepherd's voice and would "readily attack a bear or a wolf if the flock was attacked."[16] The dog was revered by man for his service and as a paragon of loyalty and subservience. In her text *The Drama of the Portrait: Theatre and Visual Culture in Early Modern Spain,* Laura Bass calls specific attention to Hapsburg royalty depicted in portrait with hunting dogs as a potent symbol of the loyal bond between king and his dog, suggesting that this relationship served to legitimize rulership. Diego Velázquez's portrait of *Phillip IV As Hunter* (Fig. 6) features the quiet dignity of relationship between man and dog. The King is central to the picture space and his royal canine companion sits at his side, with an alert tension in the musculature of his chest, paws together in a steadfast stance. The proximity of the dog to the King and his attentive stature suggest the loyalty of the dog to his master. This animal had earned an esteemed position, depicted alongside the King in the painting's composition due to his service to his human master. His canine cousin, the wolf, represented a split in the canine bloodline; the wolf was a destructive threat of evil, stalking the periphery of civil society.

This binary of good and evil, operating within seemingly similar canine bodies, was neatly transferred as an example of difference among human beings, vis à vis Spanish binary perspectives on human racial and cultural difference. The civility and wildness perceived by and conveyed through dog and wolf behavior respectively set

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[15] Clark,146, 147.
[16] Carla Rahn Phillips, and William D. Phillips. *Spain's Golden Fleece: Wool Production and the Wool Trade from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 105.

canine animate binaries as an exemplar of human binary difference in the Spanish imperial imagination. Justification for the destruction of wolf populations became the precedent for persecution of human spiritual and cultural Others on the Spanish peninsula. The image of the King and his dog united as hunters against the threats of wolves in Spain was symbolic of value relationships at work in the Spanish imaginary, relationships that hinged on notions of Christian purity within Spanish culture. The symbol of threat at work in the image of the lurking wolf was conflated with perceived threats of cultural and religious difference, which become the cornerstone of state agendas aimed at control of "pure" Spanish identities.

Wolf imagery functioned to engrain concepts about protection against threats to cultural purity "with deep ties to the ideologies of sin, evil, justice, and punishment."[17] Threats to Christianity in Spain were transposed from the animal (wolf) to human Other, observed in attitudes and imperial policies aimed at forced removal of religious difference from the peninsula. In the thirteenth century, Bishop Fulk of Toulouse, former troubadour in the court of Alfonso II of Aragón, preached that, "heretics were the wolves and faithful Catholics sheep."[18] This linguistic trend continued as a tool used in the fifteenth-century Inquisition in Spain; Franciscan priest Alfonso de Espina called for inquisition in Castile, referring to Jewish converts to Christianity as "ravenous wolves permitted to enter the flock of God."[19] Utilizing language that aligned "Jew" with "wolf" allowed for the preloaded wolf symbol to represent religious and cultural difference

[17] Christine Caldwell Ames. *Inquisition, Dominicans, and Christianity in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 27.
[18] Ibid, 23.
[19] Benzion Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain* (New York: New York Review of Books, 2001), 731.

observed in human Others. The unification of Jew with wolf united the animal and human Other as equally unworthy of existence in medieval Spain, a justification for the imperial call for Inquisition. The animal representative of evil set the precedent for ideologies that required the isolation and removal of human threats to Spanish imperial agendas on the peninsula and the New Spanish empire.

The symbol of the spiritual/cultural Other as wolf was an apt symbol for evil within an animate body and this characteristic of debased spirituality was believed to be a genetic predisposition at work in the bloodlines of non-Christians. The wolf was seen as an appropriate identifier for Jews, Moors, and myriad racial combinations of converts to Christianity marrying into Old Christian families which was marked as "an irreversible corruption of pure linages" and a support for Imperial desires for isolation of cultural and spiritual difference in the peninsular deployments of the statues of *limpieza de sangre*.[20] The wolf identifier was utilized in debates about the biological purity of cultural and spiritual newcomers, apparent in the Spanish attention to pure genealogies that "exalted and legitimized the political status quo" of unmitigated Christian, imperial power in Spain.[21] Interest in a biologically determined form of pure Christian genealogy (an impossibility given the mélange of cultures that had been interacting on the peninsula over the course of hundreds of years) was active in the Spanish imperial imagination despite its physical impossibility.[22] The imperial identification of wolf-like nature in the Christian Other highlights the Spanish obsession with purity and the functioning political

[20] Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 56.
[21] Elizabeth B. Davis, M*yth and Identity in the Epic of Imperial Spain*. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2001), 210.
[22] Barbara Fuchs, "The Mirror Across the Water: Mimetic Racism, Hybridity, and Cultural Survival" in *Writing Race Across the Atlantic World,* eds. Philip D. Beidler and Gary Taylor (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 10.

projection of evil and animality upon the population of mixed ancestry. This process that began on the Iberian Peninsula would be reignited and offered new targets in the Spanish colonial process in New Spain.

With the human/animal equivalencies of evil established, images of the wolf can be read as a multivalent signifier of threats to the Spanish imperial notions of cultural purity. Moving from the post *Reconquista* Inquisition, beginning in the mid-fifteenth century into the Early Modern period, the wolf/human threat was deployed as a defense of imperial Spanish cultural identity amid various populations of difference. Anxieties at work in the imperial Spanish imaginary at work in the Inquisition under Ferdinand and Isabella was continued into the period of expansion of the Spanish Empire by Hapsburg kings. The theme of human as canid and predatory Other was utilized by Holy Office of the Inquisition in New Spain, operating by 1571 wherein "New World" heretics were marked as threats to Spanish religion and culture, referred to as "*lobos y perros rabiosos*," (wolves and wild dogs) set on destruction of purity of the Christian faith.[23] Being a product of a similar Inquisitional process, the wolf label was reestablished as the mark of threat to Spanish culture via the presence of the multi-ethnic population of New Spain. Utilizing the same marker of animal and Other revealed that Spanish imperial powers saw similarities to the colonial situation and the peninsular project utilizing ideologies of purity as a socio-political control of cultural the Other. That fact stood that imperial control of New Spain was far more difficult given the distance from the seat of the Empire and the unknown nature of multiple cultural Others. Intent on cultural hegemony via identification of pure Christian identities, Conquest in the "New World"

[23] Michael C. Torres, "Lobos y Perros Rabiosos: The Legacy of the Inquisition in the Colonization of New Spain and New Mexico," Masters Seminar Paper, University of Texas, El Paso (2012):24.

resulted in elevated imperial anxieties regarding maintenance of Christian, Spanish identities amid contact with multi-cultural Others of New Spain, which required a new approach for containment.

Tensions were at work in the mind of the imperial Spanish, considering the complicated nature of Spanish purity amid a swirl of cultural difference in New Spain. Pushing toward the Enlightenment, Spanish thinkers continued negotiations with the Other in terms of familiar icons. As observed by Yumma Siddiqui in her study of imperial narratives in fiction, imperial anxiety is available and most prevalent in "the seams of ideology… most acute at moments and places where the structure is strained or unraveled—where the seams come apart."[24] The anxiety produced by unraveling ideologies of purity, a seam that runs through the religious and cultural history of Spain, resulted in the creation of the *sistema de castas* used as a clear marker to identify racial blending in the New Spain. At the time when racial designations were formed along lines of cultural purity in New Spain, the wolf remained a potent metaphor for the fear and threat of the cultural Other. With imperial expansion the human Other became associated with a trifecta of difference that was spiritual and cultural, as in the Old World, but with the new incorporation of racial difference and concern with skin color. Where the marking of cultural Other (Jews and Moors) was accomplished via ideologies about purity of Christian blood on the peninsula the containment of the vast population in New Spain required and additional layer of hierarchical control, that of visual differentiation of the Other by racial category. Therefore, the most feared races of New Spain were labeled and linked to the malevolent image of wild canid, *lobo* and *coyote*.

[24] Yumma Siddiqui, *Anxieties of Empire and the Fiction of Intrigue*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 21.

Indigenous peoples, along with the African members of the population (*lobos* and *coyotes* of the *casta*) were believed by colonial powers to be "the common rabble…the worst among such a vile mob."[25] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries imperial Spanish beliefs circulated that blackness was connected to evil behavior warranting isolation and punishment. Old Testament history based on Hamm's youngest son Cannan being condemned to a life of servitude and the belief that all Cannan's sons were born with black skin, resulted in the correlation that Cannan's biblical condemnation explained the "natural" servitude and slavery of the black races and the African population at large.[26] The label *lobo*, as related to African subjectivity in New Spain is beyond the scope of this discussion, deserving academic investigation in its own right. Suffice to say that the abject nature of dark skin and its association with base animality, specifically of wild canines, was evident in the New Spanish colony and applied to African and native racial subjects. In 1763 Capuchin monk Francisco de Ajofrín wrote in a travel diary of his experiences in New Spain describing the darker-complected *castas'* behaviors; in his travels he identified that "*lobos*, *cambujos, coyotes* are fierce people with bizarre customs"[27] Francisco de Ajofrín's use of the adjectives "fierce" and "bizarre" reveals how easily the lines of animal and human behavior became blurred under Western Christian gaze. It is the well-tooled language of wolf as animal Other, as a creature of darkness, ferocity and threat that allowed for clear binaries to be formed in the Spanish imagination that were conveniently applied to threats of the wild and fierce in human form. These features of wildness in humans, supported by faulty scientific logic regarding

[25] Katzew, 44.
[26] Ibid, 46.
[27] Ibid, 190.

bloodlines and skin color being manifestation of unruly behavior, aligned the human and animal Other as outsider and threat to Spanish imperialism and the New Spanish colony. *Lobo* and *coyote* were the lowest on the *casta* hierarchy, isolated with the least access to movement in the colony, watched carefully as a wolf among the more pure sheep of the colony.

As discussed in Chapter 1, *casta* paintings were an effective means of conveying the imaginary of natural racial order of the colony in terms of purity in visual and clearly labeled terms. The imperial anxiety that Siddiqui mentions, the type of fear that causes a rupture in ideology, can be seen in another subject of Spanish paintings from the period, that of the *Divina Pastora*. The image of the *Divina Pastora* (Divine Shepherdess) was the product of Spanish painterly tradition developed and celebrated in Spain in the eighteenth century, which can be seen as a visual counterpart to the *casta's* attempts to communicate notions about heresy, wildness, and animality versus the sanctity of the pure Spanish, Catholic faith. The image of the Virgin Mary as shepherdess was said to have appeared in a dream to Isadore of Seville, a Capuchin monk living in Spain in the early eighteenth century. The work was painted in oil on canvas (nd.) by Sevillian artist Alonso Miguel de Tovar (Fig. 7). The image he wished to convey from his dream was the Virgin Mary in the foreground, surrounded by pure white sheep, contrasted with a wolf in the field in the background stalking a lone sheep, which is being simultaneously subdued by an angel from the heavens descending from the top of the painting. The foregrounded Virgin, surrounded by a flock of all white sheep highlights the importance of whiteness

as a visual component of the virgin's purity and the purity of the sheep.[28] This interpretation is in line with the fact that the Virgin Mary's lineage is conveyed in binary terms of black and white in Spanish pastoral literature describing the Virgin as "the white ewe" born without the "black stain" of original sin.[29] The stark white of the Virgin and the sheep is contrasted by the dark wolf in the background of the painting, a manifestation of the psychic eruption of fear operating within the imagination of Spanish Christians both on the Iberian peninsula and in the conquered territory of New Spain; the heathen peoples of New Spain were dark both in complexion and in terms of their distance from the light of Christian salvation and, thus, represented a multi-dimensional threat to the Spanish imperial project. In the painting, the wolf is moments away from being struck down by an avenging angel. The predominant whiteness in de Tovar's *Divina Pastora*, this specifically Spanish, visual veneration of the Virgin as shepherd, is a prime visual exploration of Spanish concerns regarding threats to whiteness in terms of both spiritual and racial difference.

The wolf, representative of cultural Other, set against the whiteness of Merino sheep was a particularly appropriate expression of anxieties and the required maintenance of imperial Spanish power and purity. Early Modern Spanish anxieties informed by the image of wildness and Other were captured in the images of the wolf from the Bible, bestiaries, and hunting manuals, and hence supported the white sheep as threatened vessel of purity given the natural predator/prey relationship. Predation of livestock was a

[28]An all white flock of sheep is a visual trope utilized in Spanish painting depicting biblical scenes of the pastoral in Early Modern Spanish painting despite the common occurrence of spotted sheep that were products of Merino sheep breeding. See Javier Irigoyen-Garcia, *The Spanish Arcadia: Sheep Herding, Pastoral Discourse and Ethnicity in Early Modern Spain* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2013) 37, 66.
[29]Irigoyen-Garcia, 192.

particular threat to Spanish ways of life. The wolf's tendency to prey on herds and flocks resulted in poached livestock and economic losses for the imperial Crown in Spain. The wool trade represented a significant portion of Spanish economic success and for this reason shepherding and pastoral lives had strong ties to Spanish identities. From the fourteenth to eighteenth century, Spain exported seven million pounds of washed wool per year and was the strongest export commodity of the preindustrial Spanish economy.[30] In addition to the support of the Christian teachings involving wolf as evil, the thriving sheep economy in Spain allowed for the wolf to act as a potent symbol of threat and destruction, encroaching on Spanish supremacy and success.

Threats to Spanish success via the pastoral also had a racial/color component. The white wool of Merino sheep was an effective visual tool for communicating the essence of what it meant to be a pure Spaniard as white Merino wool was the most valued color and became known as a trait of Spanish sheep. Spanish shepherds were tasked with identifying non-white sheep, considered defective, and removing them from the flock with the intent of only maintaining stock that produced white sheep.[31] The pastoral realm thus became an example of whitening of a population, the ethnocentric bond that the Spanish could share with their ancestors, as it was believed that the Merino sheep were of pure Spanish lineage connected to prehistoric Iberian Spain, via the Turdetans and Tartessians.[32]

Pastoral paintings by celebrated Spanish painter Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617-1682) are a keen example of the socio-spiritual pastoral united with Christian

[30] Phillips and Phillips, xi-xii.
[31] Ibid, 48.
[32] Irigoyen-Garcia, 37.

purity in the image of the Merino sheep. Murillo's paintings use the sheep as a focalizing element of the Christian pastoral. One example of this theme can be seen in Murillo's oil painting *Christ the Good Shepherd* created circa 1660 (Fig. 8). The painting is a portrait of a seated adolescent Christ laying his hand on a pure white sheep. The sheep stands alongside Christ in a stately position, head raised, revealing rolls of white fleece on the sheep's chest. The inclusion of the sheep, and the fact that Christ and the sheep share equal space in the painting reveal the spiritual importance of Spanish sheep imagery. This equivalency of Christ and the sheep was a result of the racial, cultural, and spiritual, importance of the purity that Spanish sheep represented, which in this image appears to be a spiritually ordained purity suggested by the sheep's proximity to the young Christ.

Murillo's union of Christ and white sheep is also apparent in two versions of Murillo's *Adoration of the Shepherds*; in one version (Fig. 9), painted between 1650-1655, the viewer's eye is drawn to the white fleece of the sheep on the right side of the painting which is balancing the white light that emanates from the Christ child reflecting onto the white skin of the Virgin Mary on the opposite side of the composition. In a later version of the same subject (Fig. 10), painted circa 1668, the white light of the Christ child is the brightest, shining on the central image of Mary, cascading down past the Christ child, to the sheep, lying at the feet of the shepherd at the bottom of the painting. Like the *Christ as Good Shepherd,* the image of the sheep is united with the spiritually pure subjects of these paintings, all united by whiteness of light. The whiteness of Merino sheep in these compositions picks up the emanating light of Christ, symbolic of the metaphor of Christ as lamb of God, but pushing further; the sheep are not just present in Murillo's paintings. The sheep receive special visual recognition via their reflected light

and their whiteness. This whiteness has very clear connections with Spanish pastoral successes and the concept that like the sheep in the painting, whiteness of Spanish sheep shepherding was a spiritually ordained cultural inheritance.

Christ and his followers were cautioned to be wary of wolves that were metaphorical threats to Christians. The binary opposition of pure sheep and the evils of wolves became integral socio-religious experiences and, in turn, part of the Spanish identity. Sahagún's seemingly simple observation of a coyote resembling a wolf carried with it centuries of symbolic importance regarding deeply enmeshed hierarchies of good and evil that were both cultural and religious, deeply enmeshed in Spanish belief systems. The demonization of wolves in Spain and the subsequent relation of this evil to human threats to Spanish cultural purity reveal the powerful connotations associated with wildness, threat, and animality that were at work in the minds of the imperial leadership in New Spain. Thus, the naming of native peoples as coyote is not a simple cultural identifier of difference by the Spanish. The difference communicated through the image of wolf and its New Spanish canid equivalent, coyote, was loaded with fear-based ideologies about difference that were cultural, religious, and racial in nature. The imaginary targeting of the symbolic Other as threat worthy of eradication was at work in the journey toward domination of New Spain's varied cultures. Naming of the cultural and spiritual Other as wild canid, drawing upon the imagination of the Spanish imperial vision of domination, aligned suppression of threats of difference with cultural purity and prowess of Spanish imperialism, first utilized on the peninsula and later in the creation of the colonial *casta* system. Whiteness and Christian notions of purity colluded at the top of the *casta* hierarchy while heathen dangers prowled the lower ranges of the *casta*.

Containment of the Other was the ideological goal of the *casta* naming process and the wolf was an appropriate choice for the identification of contamination and threat that the cultural Other represented in the imperial Spanish imaginary in New Spain.

CHAPTER 3

THE MESOAMERICAN IMAGINARY: SIGNIFICANCE OF IMAGES OF THE UNDOMESTICATED CANINE, *COYOTL*

Identifying the human Other as animal, particularly a wild canid, connects to a long developed history of wolf as outsider to European concepts of civility and Christian purity. When extended to members of the colonial population the wild canine label *coyote* carried with it a complex history of identification and demonization of the cultural Other. Imperial powers, secure in the history built upon the identified evil of the wild canid had no reason to consider the function of the coyote within the imagination of the named colonial subject. As the dominant force in the colonial relationship, the Imperial Spanish controlled the development of the political structure of New Spain designing a structure that limited freedoms to members of the population deemed most threatening to the survival of Spanish cultural superiority. Although the coyote *casta* label was devised as a means of hegemonic control over the native population of New Spain, the fact remained that the coyote operated multidimensionality as a cultural symbol in the colony; when viewed from the perspective of the colonial named, the offspring of mestizo and Amerindian members of the population, the coyote had potent symbolic meaning that had developed though multiple eras of human civilization in the Central Valley of Mexico and would make appearances in the arts of New Spain.

Mesoamerica is a broad term for a "culture area" comprised of modern day Mexico (including the Yucatan), Guatemala, Western Honduras, and El Salvador. [1] This classification includes varied time periods spanning cultures in differing regions. Although separated by vast spans of time and space it is believed that Mesoamerican

[1] Joel Palka, *Historical Dictionary of Ancient Mesoamerica* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2000), 1.

cultures shared remarkable socio-cultural commonalities. One link between cultures can be followed through the belief in the interconnectedness of the natural world with supernatural belief, that the cosmos had "all-encompassing energy" that traveled through Mesoamerican earth, sun, plants, animals, and deities.[2] Such was the case with the wild canid, *coyotl*; Mesoamerican cultures' connection with undomesticated canine is evidenced in archeological remains, murals and sculpture from the Mesoamerican world; *coyotl* was a native of the Central Valley of Mexico and parts of North America, with wider dispersals of its population beyond the Valley after the arrival of Europeans.[3] The coyote's physical presence in Mesoamerica was focused around the Central Valley of Mexico northward toward what is now the Southwest region of the United States. As was the case with the European wolf, animals that physically infiltrate human societies have the power to influence human beliefs about the world at large. For this reason this thesis study will focus on images of coyotes produced by cultures that lived with the coyote in Central Valley of Mexico and the surrounding region and will be limited to evidence that dates from the Classic Teotihuacan (300-900AD), Early (900-1250 AD) and Late (1250-1521AD) Post Classic periods of central Mexico, namely the Toltec and Mexica civilizations. Examination of these cultures and their relationship to the figure of *coyotl* reveals potent cultural and religious connections of coyotes to human culture that were disseminated over time in the Mesoamerican geographical region. This human-animal relationship becomes important when considering the "coyote" label created by the Spanish to identify mixed-race, mestizo and indigenous, members of the population

[2]James Arnold, *Monsters, Tricksters, and Sacred Cows.* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996), 50.
[3] Mircea Hidalgo-Mihart et al, "Historical and Present Distribution of Coyote (*Canis Latrans*) in Mexico and Central America," *Journal of Biogeography* 31(2004): 2027.

during the colonial period. Acknowledging indigenous understandings of *coyotl* allows for greater understanding of the multivalent nature of *coyotl* as symbol and the subsequent evolution of the figure *coyotl* in the arts of colonial New Spain.

The Mesoamerican sacred pantheon contained figures that glided between animal and human features, each a reflection of unique qualities, both good and evil, in terms of Western binary constructions.[4] *Coyotl* symbolism and its mythic connection to Mesoamerican gods highlight the multivalent nature of *coyotl* a natural predator with tendency toward trickery and shape shifting. *Coyotl* symbolism connoted supernatural powers that were both favorable and destructive to human beings, a theme echoed in stories of the Mesoamerican pantheon, gods who were polymorphous beings, "creators and destroyers, bearers of both good and ill" often personifying natural phenomena.[5] *Coyotl* was an active member of the Mesoamerican world, a creature that operated with fluidity of being, the product of a complex belief system communicated visually through Mesoamerican cultural and religious beliefs.

C*oyotl* prominence in Mesoamerican culture is evidenced in sacred objects of a series of Mesoamerican cultures. Although present in the archeological record before the Classic period of Mesoamerican history, a significant pattern of iconography featuring *coyotl* does not appear until the establishment of Teotihuacan, the prominent administrative and commercial center of Central Mexico from the first to seventh centuries. Teotihuacan was an urban center, known for craft specialization and also functioned as the religious hub for the region. The eight square mile area of pyramids,

[4] Arnold, 90.
[5] Jaime Lara, *Christian Texts for Aztecs: Art and Liturgy in Colonial Mexico* (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2008),79.

commercial, and residential complexes marked Teotihuacan as the largest and most powerful urban center in the Mesoamerican world during the Classic period. The remains of this influential city yielded images of *coyotl*, the Central Valley coyote, evidence of the influence that *coyotl* had in the construction of sacred and political identities at Teotihuacan.

Teotihuacan is recognized as one of the most influential civilizations of the Mesoamerican world given its sheer size and the stratification of its urban population. Aside from the physical grandeur of the city's pyramids and enormous grid of organized urban life, refined power can be observed in Teotihuacan's dedication to craft specialization. Pottery made of San Martín orange ware, a clay-based ceramic concentrated in the region, is evidence of attention to mass production of fine ceramics for use in Teotihuacan and as export commodity. There is evidence at Teotihuacan that San Martín orange ware was produced in specialized workshops, an indication of highly organized craft specialization and mass production of pottery in Teotihuacan.[6] One such pressed-ware orange bowl was found at Las Colinas, a site south of the central urban area at Teotihuacan. This bowl has become a much-contested area of research regarding Teotihuacan iconography; researchers agree that the bowl dates from the Teotihuacan Classic period (c. 650-750) and that it depicts four humans in animal attire in procession with animal counterparts, a bird, a feathered serpent, and a coyote (second figure from the left), all sacred animals of the Teotihuacan pantheon (Fig.11). [7] Although there is some speculation about the identity of the humans depicted on the bowl, it is clear that

[6] Kristin Sullivan, "Specialized Production of San Martín Orange Ware at Teotihuacan Mexico," *Latin American Antiquity* 17:1 (2006): 30-32.
[7] Clara Millon,"Writing, and Polity in Teotihuacan, Mexico," *American Antiquity* 38:3 (1973): 303.

the human figures are designated as elite and associated with the higher orders of socio-religious organization at Teotihuacan given their elaborate headdresses and their proximity to sacred animals.[8] This bowl is symbolic of the organization and power of Teotihuacan, a specialized ceramic piece, of a color and style distinctly associated with the city. This specific form of artistic creation is also indicative of the importance of *coyotl* among the elite patrons of Teotihuacan.

The association between sacred canid and the elite of Teotihuacan is developed in more detail in the archeological remains of an apartment compound in Atetelco, a building complex located to the west of the sacred pyramids at Teotihuacan. Teotihuacan scholars suggest this complex, constructed in the Classic period (ca. 600-750 AD), was home to the elite of Teotihuacan given the well-finished surfaces, painted murals and the apartments' proximity to the city's temples.[9] The construction of this complex and its visual program would have demanded time and resources reserved for elite members of the population. Elite members would likely have desired easy access to the sacred pyramid structures that were the center zone for political activity. The proximity of this domestic space to the pyramids would have been a matter of convenience but additionally highlighted the occupants' elite status, homes aligned with the grand pyramid structures, the space dedicated to the gods.

The mural paintings in these complexes reveal details connecting the elite orders of Teotihuacan and *coyotl* symbolism related to the Las Colinas bowl. Portico I of the

[8] Esther Pazstory, *Teotihuacan: An Experiment in Living* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 114.
[9] Chávez-Gómez, Sergio. "Structure and Organization of Neighborhoods in the Ancient City of Teotihuacan."*The Neighborhood as a Social and Spatial Unit in Mesoamerican Cities*. Eds. M. Charoltte Arnauld et al, 74-101. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012),85.

Patio Blanco or White Patio at Atetelco, is also called the "Coyote Portico" due to the intricate and repeated *coyotl* imagery covering the walls as a mural panting in the space (Fig12). The murals depict elite males wearing highly stylized, coyote garments;

> flames emanate from their coyote-skin covered bodies and from the objects held in their hands, as they do from the crisscrossed strips of flayed coyote skin that frame each of the lords within a diamond shaped space. (Fig 13).[10]

The coyote impersonators shown inside each of the diamonds in the mural, are political elites, represented in the image of the tasseled headdress, which was indicative of rulership at Teotihuacan.[11] Beneath the elite figure depicted within repeated diamond motifs, is a border of coyotes similar to the image of *coyotl* found on the Las Colinas bowl (Fig 14). The presence of the *coyotl* imagery near the elite male figures that are adorned with coyote attributes suggests the association of the elite human and *coyotl*, perhaps that the *coyotl* was the alter-ego of the human in *coyotl* costume.[12] The White Patio is dominated by images of *coyotl* in multiple forms, elite males with *coyotl* skins and tails, and the animal itself prowling the perimeter of the room, suggesting an important connection between the leaders of Teotihuacan and *coyotl*.

Research beyond the images at Atetelco's White Portico suggest that coyote-human imagery was connected to the military elite of Teotihuacan, which, like its advanced orange ware pottery, was an art form dispersed to other cultures in the region. In her discussion of Teotihuacan military clothing, Andrea Stone links a warrior stele at Tikal, (located in present-day Guatemala) to the images in the Coyote Portico or White

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[10] Paulinyi Zoltán, "A Mountain God in Teotihuacan Art" In *The Art of Urbanism: How Mesoamerican Kingdoms Represented Themselves in Architecture and Imagery*, ed. Leonard Fash and Leonardo López Luján, 172-200. (Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.: Harvard University Press, 2009),187.
[11] Ibid, 186.
[12] Ibid, 185.

Patio at Atetelco. Stone notes the stella at Tikal depicted a warrior with "coyote tail clusters at the rear" (Fig 15) indicated by the black spot at the end of the tail, a feature found on a zoomorphic figure in coyote dress with "clusters of tails draping his head (Fig. 16)."[13] When comparing the two images, it is clear that coyote tail adornment of costumes at Tikal and Teotihuacan are visually similar; both images display long tails with black stripes and black spots at their tips. Stone's research connects the shared adaption of coyote costume between the elite of Teotihuacan and the warriors of the Lowland Maya in the Late Classic period. Although the identities of the coyote-males at Atetelco are not known, it is certain that *coyotl* was connected to the power elite at Teotihuacan, fused via religion, sacred warrior lineage or perhaps a combination of these identities.

Coyotes and other predators were linked to power that was enacted in sacred religious rituals and the acts of war that allowed for cultural dominance of the elite classes of Teotihuacan. The coyote's link to power is suggested by the fact that the elite of Teotihuacan utilized these creatures in iconographic programs on the walls of their homes and on their valued pottery. The predator-prey relationship was honored within the culture of Teotihuacan and the human connection to this power, evidenced in renderings of these *coyotl,* allowed for Teotihuacan's elite, whether nobility, religious, or warrior to

[13] Andrea Stone, "Disconnection, Foreign Insignia, and Political Expansion: Teotihuacan and the Warrior Stelae of Piedras Negras" *Mesoamerica After the Decline of Teotihuacan AD 700-900*, ed. Richard A. Diehl and Janet Catherine Berlo, 153-173.(Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1989),156, 157.

be positioned within the space of authoritative power communicated through valued objects depicting the sacred, iconic animal.[14]

As art historian Esther Pasztory discusses in her text, *Teotihuacan: An Experiment in Living,* the monumental pyramids and vast living spaces at Teotihuacan were reflections of nature itself. Being the first known state-based political structure in the region, Teotihuacan "pitted itself against the stars and the mountains…built on the order of the gods and along the plan presented by the gods."[15] Their vision of the world would be one that would influence cultures of the region that followed and the experience of *coyotl* was a vision that continued long past the destruction of Teotihuacan's great temples. The temples called to mind the greatness of the mountains in the same manner that the use of *coyotl* imagery in the visual arts reveal the power that *coyotl* conjured in the imagination of Teotihuacan elite residents. It has been observed that Teotihuacan was a "venerable place of beginnings,"[16] its symbolism acting as source of inspiration for the other cultures up until the arrival of the Spanish to the region. Teotihuacanos chose *coyotl* as an extension of themselves, as a means of defining elite status through the power of the animal, which resonated with Mesoamerican cultures that followed.

Andrea Stone's study of the image of the coyote warrior at Tikal makes evident the fact that *coyotl* and the link to warrior classes was a concept at work in the arts of the Classic period in Mesoamerica beyond Teotihuacan. The tradition of Mesoamerican cultures' alignment of *coyotl* with the power of warriors and sacred leaders continued in

[14] David Carballo. *Obsidian and the Teotihuacan State: Weaponry and Ritual Production at the Moon Pyramid* (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Center for Comparative Archeology,2011), 133.
[15] Esther Paztory, *Teotihuacan: An Experiment in Living*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 240,241.
[16] Zoltán, 201.

the Post-Classic arts of the Toltec civilization which dominated the northern end of the Valley of Mexico from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. Symbols that bear resemblance to those found at Teotihuacan are repeated in the Toltec arts. The supposed connection with military elite at Teotihuacan was clear in the arts of the Toltec culture. The Toltec civilization is noted for a marked shift in leadership style in the Valley of Mexico, moving from leadership via priestly lineages to rulership by warriors.[17] War and warrior classes became a focal point of Toltec artistic expressions, particularly those involving the image of *coyotl*.

The Temple of Quetzalcoatl in Tula (also called the Pyramid of Tlahuizcalptecuhtli, or Pyramid B), erected at the height of the Toltec civilization, (800-1000 AD) was the ceremonial center and seat of the empire established by the Toltec peoples. What remains of the original structure is a five-step pyramid and Atlantes, fifteen-foot tall warrior sculptures that may have supported the temple roof (Fig 17).[18] The stepped sides of the temple contain friezes incorporating four rows of reliefs with repeated motifs of coyotes, jaguars, and eagles. Where the presence of the *coyotl* in Teotihuacan murals is still under scrutiny by scholars, the presence predatory animals in the arts of Toltec is believed to be a symbol of the warrior classes at Tula. The function of *coyotl* as warrior emblem is suggested by the details of the relief carvings. *Coyotl,* along with alternating images of jaguars, appear to be stalking the perimeter of the temple (Fig. 18); the animals' active predation is evident. The coyote walks with open mouth, the jaguar is also opened mouthed striking out with its claws bared and the eagle is

[17] Åke Hultkrantz,*The Religions of the American Indians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 234.
[18] Joyce Kelly. *An Archaeological Guide to Central and Southern Mexico*. 114.

crouched and in the process of consuming a human heart.[19] Toltec warrior elites were drawn to *coyotl's* predatory nature and as great warriors, they embodied these predatory qualities in their wartime achievements.[20]

The ferocity and predatory nature seen in the image of animals at the Temple of Quetzalcoatl had the power to extend beyond the visual experience of the animals on the wall of the temple. *Coyotl* and other animals in the Mesoamerican world could be united with human counterparts as a *nahuales* or "animal sprit companions" that accompanied humans on their journey in life and the afterlife."[21] In his account of indigenous warriors Fray Sahagún documented that coyotes and tigers were ranked as the most desirable *nahual* or animal sprit alter-ego.[22] The most notable component of a *nahual* was the ability for the human or god to transform into their spirit animal in times of need. In fact, this co-mingled state of being might have influenced the coyote elite in the White Patio at Teotihuacan, who was dressed as a blend of human and coyote. The Mesoamerican belief systems allowed for the human ability to take on animal natures and for the Teotihuacan and Toltec elite (given the presence of *coyotl* images in their sacred and domestic spaces), it would appear that *coyotl* was one of the more emblematic *nahuales*. It would stand to reason then that warrior classes associated with *coyotl* believed they acquired wartime supremacy from a physical and spiritual connection to the coyote predators

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[19] Elizabeth Kennedy Eastby and John Fredrerik Scott. *Before Cortés, Sculpture of Middle America: A Centennial Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art from September 30, 1970 Through January 3, 1971* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art), 268.

[20]The Toltec placed a focus on a warrior culture as much of the energy of the empire was dedicated to development military technologies The Toltec was the first Mesoamerican culture to develop short swords (lighter weight swords with longer cutting edges) and synchronized attack methods utilizing projectiles and blades that required drilling and training. See: Ross Hassig, *War and Society in Ancient Mesoamerica* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 112,114.

[21] Arnold, 87.

[22] Guernsey, 35.

carved on their temples. As Fray Sahagún noted, the coyote of Central Mexico was known for "diabolical" attacks;[23] perhaps viewed from a less binary perspective, the coyote's keen attack methods were venerable as evidenced in the arts of Teotihuacan and the Toltec; the ability to access this animal's abilities was of sacred value to the people of Mesoamerica.

This valued comingling of animal and human was communicated through a particularly striking image of human/canid attributes on an effigy jar lid (Fig.19), also discovered at Tula at the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, which has been described as a warrior emerging form the mouth of a coyote.[24] This jar is exquisitely rendered in three dimensions. A man's face appears in the mouth of *coyotl,* made from a mosaic of mother of pearl, which when lit, creates sheen and a sense of movement. Although identified by Roberta and Peter Markman and other scholars as Toltec coyote warrior, it has also been argued by archeologist Jorge Acosta to be the image of the god, Quetzalcoatl, the feathered serpent, emerging from the mouth of a coyote.[25] This is supported by the concept that Quetzalcoatl's *nahual* or spirit animal companion was *coyotl*.[26] Regardless of the identity of the man within, it is clear that there is a complex visual component to transformations from human and god to animal that involved the power of shape shifting and disguise, which had both physical and spiritual components. By espousing the *coyotl nahual* a human could share the power of the predatory canid, *coyotl*. The human/canid

[23] Boone, 94.
[24]Roberta and Peter Markman. *Masks of the Spirit: Image and Metaphor in Mesoamerica* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1989), 73.
[25] Richard E.W. Adams. *Prehistoric Mesoamerica*. 287.
[26] Ibid.

effigy jar thus reveals the imbricated nature of power that could be present within man, animal, and god alike.[27]

The most plentiful visual evidence and accounts regarding the significance of *coyotl* to Mesoamerican cultures is the result of Western contact with the Mexica (Aztec) culture. The documentation of Fray Sahagún and other Europeans during the early post-Conquest period resulted in extensive textual evidence of Mesoamerican ritual and belief. Having destroyed the majority of monuments and painted documents that recorded native belief systems, scholars must rely on post-Conquest codices as evidence of native belief. *Codex Borbonicus* and the *termus ad quem* of the *Codex Selden* were created by native artists, while the majority of codices of the time were visual/linguistic documents created in conjunction with Christian missionaries at the will of the Spanish Crown[28]. Although codices can be viewed as a product of the European gaze upon the natives as exotic curiosity these texts offer a glimpse into belief systems at work in Mexica culture in the early post-Conquest period, including references to understandings of *coyotl.*

The *Codex Mendoza*, created twenty years after the Conquest, commissioned by the Spanish crown, documents each of the New Spanish province's geographic particularities, political histories, and lists of tribute required to be paid by natives to the Imperial Spanish powers.[29] The detailed and precise accounts of tribute in the *Codex Mendoza* offer images of Mexica military clothing that were in use upon the arrival of Western powers. The Mexica like the Toltecs and Teotihuacanos before them, utilized

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[27] David Carrasco. *Quetzalcoatl and the Irony of Empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 88.
[28] Serge Gruzinski. *The Conquest of Mexico The Conquest of Mexico: The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th – 18th Centuries* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1993), 17.
[29] Frances F. Berdan and Patricia Rieff Anawalt, eds, *The Essential Codex Mendoza* (Berkley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1997), xv.

coyotl as a symbol of power; *coyotl* was emblematic of an entire class of warriors who took on the visage of coyote, wearing head to toe costumes with a frame made from parrot feathers and a crest of the highly valued feathers of the quetzal bird, made to resemble a coyote head[30] (Fig. 20). Helmets were made with a wooden frame, allowing the face of the warrior to be visible through the animal's mouth. Costumes made for higher ranking members of any of the elite animal warrior classes would involve delicate craftsmanship; knights' helmets and mantles were adorned with fine feather work while the highest level elites would often wear the actual skin of their animal emblem.[31] The intricate feather-work technique required for these garments can be seen in one of the few remaining feathered artworks (*emplumados*) from the era. A coyote shield (Figs. 21 and 22), attributed to Mexica warriors, was created in the early sixteenth century and reveals the complex detail that was involved in the creation of these garments. Imagining the hundreds of these garments worn by men, used in ritual and war by the Mexica and later collected as tribute by the Spanish, would have been visually stunning in terms of color and texture. Clothing and art made of thousands of tiny feathers, laid one over the other, united to create resplendent colors, and shapes that shimmer in light. An entire suit made of this type of feather work would make a powerful visual statement and was only permitted for honored warriors. This attention to detail in feather adornment reflected the importance of the animal depicted and the man within the garment. To "take on a skin a

[30] Ibid, 199.
[31] Benjamin Keen. *The Aztec Image in Western Thought* (Rutgers: New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 14.

costume, a mask, insignia, characteristic movement, a cry" of the animal, was a valued act in the Mexica world.[32]

The codices of New Spain offer evidence that supports the idea that *coyotl* as power symbol for the Mexica was inherited from their pre-history, namely the story of the creation of the Nahua peoples. The *Historica-Tolteca Chichimeca*, a sixteenth century Nahua manuscript, recounts the emergence of the Nahua speaking peoples of the Valley of Mexico. According to the legend, the Tolteca-Chichimeca people were created in caves of Chicomoztoc and migrated to populate and eventually ascended to power in the Valley of Mexico.[33] The image that accompanies the legend depicts a man in a coyote skin above the caves, working sticks together which produced smoke, suggesting that the fire of the new age of the Tolteca-Mexica people was about to be ignited. (Fig. 23) This image reveals the historic value of the *coyotl* to the culture and traditions of the Mexica. The fact that a human/*coyotl* character, perhaps suggesting the individual's *nahuatl* or his function as a coyote warrior, is integral to the visual manifestation of the legendary beginnings of Mexica lineage. Although produced at the time of shared contribution in the arts, this text is attributed solely to Nahua artists with no mention of Spanish names or patronage, revealing that the fire creating the *coyotl*/human figure was "spontaneously expressed" as a specifically Nahua symbol."[34]

Colonial era codices also offer documentation of the Mesoamerican pantheon and ritual beliefs of the Mexica used for the conversion of native peoples to Christianity. The

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[32] David Carrasco and Scott Sessions eds. *Cave, City, and Eagle's Nest: An Interpretive Journey through the Mapa de Cuauhtinchan No. 2* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 395.
[33] Ibid, 299.

[34] James Lockhart, *Historia de la Conquista de México* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), *44, 45.*

Mexica pantheon carries on the tradition of the power animal *coyotl.* For example, Huehuecoyotl, "Old Man Coyote," was an Mexica god associated with "sportive pleasures, mischief, and eroticism, akin to the wily dog whose zoomorphic features and name he bears (Fig. 24).[35] This image of Huehuecoyotl, who kneels at the right side of the picture space, features the god's musical aspect; he shakes a rattle while a figure to the left plays a drum and sings. The god's canid aspect is indicated by his fur, (the curved hatched lines at his rear are indicative of *coyotl* tail and tufts of *coyotl* fur are indicated by hatched lines on the knee joint) which is indicated through the curved, hatched lines at his rear and knee.[36] In addition to his pleasing music, Huehuecoyotl was believed to be responsible for discord among men, especially in terms of war; feasts were celebrated in his honor.[37] Huehuecoyotl's power was multifactorial. He was linked to musical entertainments but also was held responsible for war and human discord. Like the iconic *nahual* of *coyotl*, Huehuecoyotl shape shifted and assumed multiple forms.

Codices also relate information about *coyotl's* influence in another dominant figure of the Mexica pantheon, Tezcatlipoca, brother of Quetzalcoatl, who was associated with darkness, discord, trickery and change. Tezcatlipoca utilized the guise or *nahualli* of *coyotl* as a tool for his seduction and mockery of men and fellow gods alike.[38] Quetzalcoatl, the morning star, was associated with light and benevolence and was Tezcatlipoca's balanced opposite and also utilized *coyotl* as *nahual* in Mesoamerican

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[35] Samuel Y. Edgerton. *Theatres of Conversion Religious Architecture and Indian Artisans in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 220.
[36] The depiction of fur in the iconography of Mesoamerica is indicated by hatched lines evident in Classic period Mesoamerican artforms. This hatching was usually indicated at the jaw line, joints and, tail of coyote figures. See Zoltán,179 and Stone, 161.
[37] Guilhem Oliver, *Mockeries and Metamorphoses of an Aztec God: Tezcatlipoca, "Lord of the Smoking Mirror*" (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2003), 32.
[38]Ibid.

myth. The interdependent opposition of these brothers and their shared usage of the guise of *coyotl* is key to the fluid understanding of *coyotl* in indigenous cultures; Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl were opposites yet one can not exist without the other (both having offered their blood in the creation of man) and it follows that there can be no day without night or benevolence without discord, all of which is a part of a divine, cosmic cycle. [39] Although predatory by nature, the cunning and shape-shifting nature of the *coyotl* appears to represent binary positives and negatives and could not be conflated with one specific nature other than the fact that this figure had the ability to shift between states of being.

This ambiguity of *coyotl,* wherein predatory qualities play less of a role, is found within in the name and legacy of Mexica philosopher, poet, and king, Nezahualcoyotl. His name, which translates to Hungry/Fasting Coyote, was a member of Mexico's triple alliance, a powerful leader, philosopher and poet, whose rule from 1418-1472 was associated with scholarship and a denial of reliance on the identity of a warrior king. Although Nezahualcoyotl was a warrior who had risen to power through military conquest, scholars assert that Nezahualcoyotl differed from rulers of his time who espoused and celebrated power via military might.[40] Nezahualcoyotl departs from the expected role of predatory warrior king, assuming a role of power through leadership that was not defined by physical dominance. Nezahualcoyotl's glyph is represented by a collared coyote head, suggesting an able-minded restraint of the predation associated with *coyotl*.[41] This interpretation is in keeping with the belief that Nezahualcoyotl was anomalous among leaders of his time, opposed to human sacrifice and "Aztec (Mexica)

[39] Carrasco, *Quetzalcoatl and the Irony of Empire, 92.*
[40] Jongsoo Lee, *The Allure of Nezahualcoyotl: Pre-Hispanic History, Religion, and Nahua Poetics* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 108.
[41] Ibid, 309.

barbarism."[42] In the name and glyph of Nezahualcoyotl we see the acknowledgment of the power of predation (the coyote head and name) alongside ability to control predatory instinct, (given the presence of the collar and the title of "fasting") an indication of the power within Nezahualcoyotl that could be called upon if necessary but could turn away from violence when not required. The notion of *coyotl's* shifting states of being, where the predatory tendency of the animal is controlled or made invisible, is present in the cultural understanding of *coyotl* in the figure and name of Nezahualcoyotl.

Coyotl was an important cultural presence, a fierce predator capable of inspiration of warrior classes while also being associated with higher philosophical principles such as gratefulness, abstention, and humility. These qualities, when blended with both human and deified personas, reveal that *coyotl* assumed multiple meanings, forms and purposes in the Mesoamerican world. The multivalent nature of *coyotl* is related in a Mexica tale that highlights a benevolent view of the *coyotl's* character in what has been titled *The Tale of Grateful Coyote*. Fray Sahagún recounts the tale of a coyote, who when freed from a snake by a passing warrior, repays the deed with a gift of two turkeys at the moment of liberation, another fowl later on the warrior's journey, and a final fowl placed in the courtyard of the warrior's home by the coyote.[43] This shift from the image of voracious predator recounted in other aspects of Fray Sahagún's text as the creature that is "diabolical," to an animal that it both thoughtful and humble points to the selfsame duality and shifting nature seen in the figure of the philosopher King Nezahualcoyotl.

Some of the more detailed images of *coyotl* are painted with words, via the proverbs found in the codices of colonial Mexico. These colloquialisms offer another

[42] Ibid, 236.
[43] Oliver, 33.

angled glimpse into the importance of *coyotl* as creature and cultural icon amid Mexica tradition and beliefs. Like *The Tale of The Grateful Coyote*, Sahagún documented proverbs used in Nahua culture. For instance, the statement "where, perhaps in a coyote's ear" would be said when one person openly criticizes another person, without revealing much information or detail about the nature of the flaw.[44] *Coyotl* could also be called upon in cases of confused or misdirected information; for instance, in response to a questionable statement one might say "when I am coyote, I shall see."[45] This statement suggests that becoming coyote, whether figuratively or as a *nahualli,* allowed a person access to the truth in a convoluted situation.

The images of *coyotl* from Mesoamerica reveal specialized powers associated with the animal's connection to the power elite, warriors, kings, and the mythic creation of the culture that the Imperial Spanish met in the Conquest. It is also clear that there was considerable flexibility in human understandings of *coyotl,* which depended upon the individual and his/her relationship to *coyotl*. In the figure of *coyotl* there was continuum of behavior linked to elites, warriors, and gods; most notably c*oyotl* behavior and symbology hinged on the ability to change forms and play with the truth in a slippery form of being that worked outside of binary designations. Unlike the Western conception of wild canid that received a clear designation as predatory evil from Europeans, the vast history of *coyotl* and indigenous relationships with the animal are much less easily pinned to one clear definition or understanding, other than the fact that power resided in the animal and its association with human identities in Mesoamerica.

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[44] "Wired Humanities Project" *University of Oregon, Nahuatl Dictionary.* http://whp.uoregon.edu/dictionaries/?page_id=17. (Accessed October 12, 2013).
[45] Ibid.

CHAPTER 4

COLONIAL CANID:
CULTURES IN CONTACT AND *MESTIZAJE*

Examining the human development of images of coyote/wolf from Mesoamerican and Spanish cultural histories allows for an understanding of the imaginaries of the Imperial Spanish and indigenous population that met in the colonial experience in New Spain. Wolves and coyotes acted as powerful symbols but the ideological purposes connected to the animal image were processed differently given characteristics of each culture's worldview. Mesoamerican cultures had a fluid relationship with self and the natural world, which allowed for connections to the coyote that acknowledged coyote behavior on a continuum versus a binary construction. The Spanish perception of wild canid was hardwired as a binary negative derived from Christian and Western conceptions of good and evil. When these cultures met face to face in the Conquest and following colonial period, these divergent worldviews entered negotiations via bureaucratic policies and religious conversions aimed at control of the non-Spanish population in the New Spanish colony. Although these processes were aimed at complete cultural control of native belief, the Spanish could not fully account for native reception of these policies. Examining the image of wild canid (which shifts between wolf and coyote amid these negotiations of colonial identity) acts as a lens to view the imaginaries at work in the colonial arts from both sides of the colonial equation amid the development of *mestizaje*, or blended culture in New Spain.

Mary Pratt's article "Arts of the Contact Zone" makes the point that colonial processes are "asymmetrical relations of power" and "social spaces where cultures meet,

clash, and grapple with each other."[1] Colonial New Spain was such a space, where the asymmetry of power weighed toward the dominance of the Spanish elite of the colony manifest in maintenance and dispersal of Spanish belief systems to colonial subjects at large. Spanish beliefs about race and religious purity were the main components of the power wielded over those who were considered threatening to the established controls of the colony and the *casta* system. Despite the *casta's* design and hegemonic intention, the moment the coyote *casta* label entered the colonial process, it became a pivot point of cultural negotiation, incorporating the memories of the pre-Conquest indigenous past and the experience of the colonial present. On the one hand, there was a history of *coyotl* as power animal and shape shifter throughout multiple periods of history in Mesoamerica; on the other side of the colonial equation, there was the European belief that coyote, like wolf, was a representative of spiritual and cultural threat. Through the clash of cultures within the colonial system, the meaning assigned in the *casta* began to take differing shapes, evident in the arts of New Spain. Coyote as symbol and image thrived in the colonial "contact zone" as a representative of the slippery nature of identity formation and identification of human subjects of colonialism.

In the broad view, in an imperial winner-take-all view of history, the Spanish succeeded in containing, controlling, and steering cultural development of New Spain. The Spanish colonial powers remained in control of New Spain for 300 years, from the Conquest until the Mexican War for Independence culminated in Mexican Independence from the Crown in 1821.[2] The *casta* coyote label impaired movement of the threatening

[1] Mary Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," *Ways of Reading: An Anthology for Writers* (Boston, New York: Bedford/St. Martins, 2011), 36.
[2] Robert T. Buckman, *Latin America* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012), 242.

mixed-race Other, isolated at the bottom of the *casta* and declined rights as the human embodiment of the wild canid Other. Despite the crushing power of Spanish imperialism and the hegemonic control evident in the *sistema de castas*, the colonial process in New Spain could not control the subtleties of identity formation for an entire nation.

If we imagine the New Spanish colony as an architectural space with separate floors representing the differing cultures that met in the colonial experience, the image of wild canid would represent a shared but contested image, operating in between the floors, characteristic of the differing cultural imaginations at work in Spanish and indigenous belief systems. Within this structure, with totalized or pure cultures represented on the floors, the space between floors is the area where cultural development can be observed. In *The Location of Culture*, Homi Bhabha envisions the stairwell as "liminal space…an interstitial passage between fixed identities…that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy."[3] *Coyote* as New Spanish symbol is an example of the ambiguous and interwoven imaginaries that were working as a colonial subtext. The label *coyote* and the image of coyote offer a glance at the cultural construction that goes beyond the binaries of black and white at work in the cultural development and blended identities that developed in colonial New Spain.

As an art form of European inception, the *casta* represented control of the Other and the wild canid label represented an Old World tradition and aimed at containing heathen races of the New Spanish population. The Castilian Spanish naming process utilized in the *casta* is an example of a hegemonic tool of colonial power that was required in order to contain difference among the varied population of New Spain.

[3] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*. (London, New York: Routledge, 2004), 5.

Working in tandem with *casta* paintings these labels had a branding quality, as a visual-verbal seal of Spanish approval or disapproval of a colonial subject's value. To brand colonial subjects with the Castilian label was an instrument of control and supremacy, communicating ideas of base wildness and animality of the colonial subject, as was the case with Castilian Spanish *casta* labels *mulato* (mule) and *chino* (pig) and *lobo* (wolf). This subjugation of difference by way of linguistic control was on the minds of the imperial powers of Spain from the outset of the colonial project. In the prologue to his text on Castilian grammar published in 1492, the Bishop of Avila wrote that "language has always been the perfect instrument of empire."[4] By creating a Spanishized word drawing directly from the Nahuatl word *coyotl* instead of a Castilian word (which was the case with each of the other animal *casta* categories), the deeply engrained Spanish imaginary about wild canids as an evil threat to Spanish purity does not get a clear transposition as a mode of totalized Spanish control but instead hints at inclusion of native systems of communication and beliefs about *coyotl*.

From the linguistic perspective, the *casta's* coyote label functions as an access point toward understanding the interconnected nature of the colonial experience, a culturally blended process of identity formation. Considering the power that *coyotl* had in centuries before the arrival Western conceptualizations of the world, it is clear that indigenous peoples of the Valley of Mexico looked to *coyotl* as a symbol of power. Framed by a perspective that includes indigenous history, "coyote" calls to mind the Nahua belief in the new fire lit at caves of Chicomoztoc, the heritage of great warriors, of gods that would assume the role of *coyotl* in times of need, for sport, pleasure, and

[4] Zhena La Rosa,"Language and Empire: The Vision of Nebrija" *The Loyola University Student Historical Journal* 27 (1995): 3.

rulership. *Coyotl* connoted power to the indigenous culture that was present in the Valley of Mexico despite imperial desire to eradicate the memory of indigenous identity. Coyote was a label that had multivalent possibility, much like the animal it described.

Coyote as word and image is the product of what Mary Louise Pratt terms the "contact zone" a transcultural space that is neither monolinguistic or monolithic, but rather anomalous and chaotic. The differing cultures that met in the colonial experience were unbalanced by the colonial structures of power but this inequality did not result in the wholesale elimination of the belief systems of either group. Colonial contact is at its baseline is the comingling of individuals within a political schema. Coyote stands as an example of the blended understandings and misunderstandings that existed with the contact zone of New Spain. As Mikhail Bakhtin observes in his theory on Dialogism, set forth in his essays *The Dialogic Imagination* (1975), all signs (in this case of the label *coyote*), are not a unified entity, but rather, always conflict-ridden and between different consciousnesses;[5] in the contact zone of colonial New Spain representations of the wild canid do not fit definitions of a Spanish or Mesoamerican vision but are a blend of the cultures in conflicted contact. Given the ambiguous nature of sign and symbol it is clear that the images of coyote that appear in the colonial arts are an expression of blended imaginaries and a product of a more porous cultural milieu than suggested by a structure like the *casta*.

This blended conception of colonial coyote came to the visual arts of New Spain as a result of Spanish colonial allowances. Where the *casta* suggested totalized control of the New Spanish population, the arts of the period reveal breakage in imperial

[5] Andrew Robinson. In *Theory Bakhtin: Dialogism, Polyphony and Heteroglossia*. http://ceasefiremagazine.co.uk/in-theory-bakhtin-1/ (Accessed December 12, 2012).

mechanisms, by design or mistake, that allowed for native and mixed-race subjects of the colony to express their unique vision of coyote. The artists of the New Spanish colony used the dominant discourse of Christian evangelism as a vehicle to express concepts of blended cultural identity. Where the dominant image of wild canid in Spanish Christianity was meant to communicate purity of Spanish culture, the wild canid that appears in the image of coyote in the art of New Spain sidesteps this binary to represent a culture of slippery identity, of *mestizaje.*

Coyote images enter the New Spanish religious discourse via early colonial requirements for the extensive project of Christianizing the churches of New Spain. Inclusion of wild canid on the walls of New Spanish churches was integral to the process of native conversions to Christianity. Through the studies of mendicant trailblazers, like Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, missionaries became acquainted with the native pantheon, rituals, and sacred images. Overwhelmed by the project of mass conversion of native peoples, mendicants utilized creative appropriation of existing images from native beliefs to communicate Christian theology to the vast colonial population. Syncretism is a term frequently used to describe the process of blending Christian and indigenous symbology but as Latin American scholar Samuel Edgerton notes in his text, *Theatres of Conversion,* syncretism is by definition the "interchange of ideas among equals" and to suggest the parity of native subjects and Christian missionaries is not entirely accurate.[6] Mendicants allowed for native symbols to enter the conversion process as a means to an end, not to equate native belief with Christianity, but to expedite the conversion process.[7] Inclusion of native symbols was helpful in promoting Christian teachings and although

[6] Edgerton, 2.
[7] Ibid.

unintended, the flexibility of these iconographic projects allowed native artists to include images of the natural world that operated outside of Western.

The explosive establishment of mendicant churches throughout New Spain in the sixteenth century required a fleet of artists to adorn Christian ritual space. For this reason native artists came under the employ of missionaries as the artistic workforce. The sixteenth-century construction of the Augustinian monastery at Malinalco was a project that utilized native artists working between Malinalco and at the monastery of Santiago Tlatelolco in Mexico City.[8] These artists created a fresco in the cloister of the church at Malinalco that included "a luxuriant array of plants, trees, and flowers as well as thirty-four different species of animals and birds."[9] The animals depicted in the garden have been identified as native species by art historian Jeanette Peterson in her text *The Paradise Gardens of Malinalco*. Among the native animals is an image of a coyote on the east cloister wall (Fig 25). The coyote crouches, its mouth open, exposing its teeth, as it eats berries. Atop the coyote is a creature that has been referenced a "composite figure" a "European-derived figure…a hybrid creation, with elfin ears and a snarling humanized face derived from a medieval bestiary."[10] The coyote also resembles the bodily form of the wolf in the Aberdeen Bestiary (Fig. 4), crouched, with a long muscular body with barred teeth. Although similar in bodily form, the Malinalco coyote does not convey the insidious quality of the bestiary wolf but instead appears gentle, cupping its clawed paw, to bring soft berries to its mouth. The coyote and the garden filled with native animals have been interpreted as native version of the garden paradise, before the Fall of Adam

[8] Jeanette Peterson, *The Paradise Garden Murals of Malinalco: Utopia and Empire in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993),29.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid, 105.

and Eve.[11] Old World images of the garden before the Fall most often contain the human actors, Adam and Eve.[12] This garden does not mirror the typical visual conventions of Old World Christian iconography. The image and symbolic purpose of the coyote remain somewhat ambiguous from the standpoint of a Christian message.

Another sixteenth-century Augustinian Church located in Ixmiquilpan contains a curious image of coyote when considering the purpose of native conversion via Christian images. On the north wall of the church there is an image of a warrior, dressed in a coyote garment similar to those seen in the tribute lists in the *Codex Mendoza* (Fig 26).The warrior is in the process of subduing an enemy. As a whole, the fresco project portrays a battle between warriors. The image is representative of a warrior of native decent, sharing the appearance of the coyote attire seen in the *Codex Mendoza* (Fig. 20) and is realigned with native concepts of power within the context of native memory. Inclusion of an image clearly derived from the native imaginary was the a result of a conflict that was underway between the Otomí and Chichimeca tribes when Augustinian friars began their evangelization of the Mezquital Valley.[13] The Christian friars aligned themselves with the Otomí inhabitants of the town against the nomadic Chichimecas. The battle scene represents Otomí victory over the Chichimecas, a victory that represented safety for the Augustinians but also an opportunity to align Christian ideology with the inter-tribal struggle. From this perspective this fresco evoked the symbolism of holy war,

[11] Ibid.
[12] Janette Peterson offers a well-documented argument for Malinalco cloister garden as symbol of the Garden of Eden, with detailed visual support for how the mural could be read as a native exploration of the concept of the Garden before the Fall. I do not contest this analysis but instead posit that the coyote in the fresco is an example of ambiguous native icon vis à vis Old World visions of the wild canid (wolf) as threat to purity. See Peterson, *The Paradise Gardens of Malinalco*, 130-132.
[13] Robert H. Jackson, Jackson, Robert H. *Conflict and Conversion in Sixteenth Century Central Mexico: The Augustinian War on and Beyond the Chichimeca Frontier* (Leiden: Brill, 2013),151.

a mirror of the Christian triumphs over Moors on the Spanish peninsula.[14] The concept of a holy war developed out of Augustinian positioning of the Chichimeca people as evil and under the influence of Satan, due to their reluctance to accept the project of Christian conversion as readily as other native groups.[15] Like the coyote at Malinalco, the Otomí coyote image does not readily connect with Old World Christianity and required a complex narrative to support its inclusion as a Christian image.

In addition to mendicant interpretations and allowances of the native images, which creatively co-opted native imagery for the required Christian message, scholars also suggest that the ambiguous coyote frescoes found at Malinalco and Ixmiquilpan were considered acceptable to their mendicant patrons due to the popularity of late-gothic grotesque images in the Christian arts of Europe. The Spanish crown favored the grotesque image, or *romano* style, which had developed in Italy and spread across the Iberian Peninsula, which by the mid-sixteenth century popularized in the arts of Spain.[16] Grotesque decoration provided painters with a broad range of expression, a departure from the rules of visual order instituted by traditional European artists, a style, which allowed for whimsical images of "metamorphosis and illusion."[17] The same quality of the grotesque is found in the Mesoamerican arts, figures that would take on the qualities of other gods and animals in a creative amalgamation for various uses. It is not surprising

[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid, 146.
[16] Serge Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 111-112.
[17] Ibid 111.

that the mendicants observed native artists easily adapting to the grotesque style "effortlessly producing '*romanos y bestiones.*'"[18]

The slippery identification of native paintings did not go unnoticed by a later generation of Spanish imperial authorities. In 1585, after mendicant conversation processes lost traction in New Spain, the murals at Malinalco and Ixmiquilpan were whitewashed and removed from view. This campaign coincided with "heightened antinativism" and the active project of removing "evidence of native co-operation" from the colony.[19] The removal of native-imagined imagery was a result of fear that co-operation with native artists yielded impure productions of the Christian images. Coyote images were powerfully connected to native lives and, therefore, the image of the coyote had some correspondence with Pre-Conquest native belief. As such, the ordinances to destroy images that had been created by natives were an extension of the *casta* and other jurisdictional controls that attempted to control the blending of European and native imaginaries, which was already underway and impossible to clearly identify, let alone eliminate.

Coyote inclusion on the walls of these monasteries was not so much a syncretic process of shared ideas among equals. This was impossible given the position of the colonial subject/artist being overseen by the conquering Spanish culture. The images of coyote that were allowed via mendicant Christianization involved inclusion of native concepts without conscious awareness of the coyote's all encompassing meaning to the indigenous population. This form of cultural blending was an early *mestizaje* process which James Lockhart has identified as "Double Mistaken Identity" in which "each side

[18] Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind*,112.
[19] Peterson, 178.

of the cultural exchange presumes that a given form or concept is functioning in the way familiar within its own tradition and is unaware or unimpressed by the other side's interpretation."[20] Mendicant allowances created a space for the coyote to enter, without any real concern for the power or meaning the symbol might have had to the native community. Once Spanish powers considered the potential contamination of heathen belief at work in native artistic expression, the images that served as evidence of blended belief were blocked from view, whitewashed and replaced with visual programs that were considered more purely Christian. Although the state attempted to remove the images that evidenced cultural blending in New Christian art, the early colonial power structure could not halt the *mestizaje* process that was occurring and would continue to evolve in New Spain.

The Spanish removal of images made by native artists operated on the same ideological premise that informed the creation of the *sistema de castas* and *casta* paintings; the imperial powers were set on controlling the process of *mestizaje* at all levels of society, civic and religious. The lack of imperial oversight in the early colonial period met with a crackdown and control of artistic creation of Christian images until the end of Imperial rule in Mexico. Christian icons approved by the Spanish bureaucrats became the main visual output of the colony where, "colonial painters, far more than those of peninsular Spain, avoided transgressing orthodox doctrine and concentrated on correct, clear and direct expressions of sacred narratives."[21] Ideologies of purity and control of culturally mixed imaginaries were of such concern to the Spanish leadership

[20] James Lockhart, "Double Mistaken Identity" *Of Things of the Indies: Essays Old and New in Early Latin American History* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 99.
[21] Donna Pierce, Rogelo Ruiz Gomar, and Clara Bargellini, *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life 1521-1821*(Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2004), 47.

that the New Spanish ecclesiastic offices dictated all public artistic expression in New Spain. The Church was, "one of the few institutions with access to the financial resources necessary for artists' sponsorship...requiring painters in New Spain to undergo rigorous theological examinations."[22] The New Spanish Church controlled the artistic output of the colony through ideological bureaucracy; "purity" of content took precedence over creativity in the arts, which resulted repetition of "accepted motifs in the popular taste."[23]

A majority of painters in service to ecclesiastic patrons were considered craftsman, who were unable to produce images that deviated from European artistic exemplars. As the colonial period progressed individual artists were recognized as exceptional and able to exercise a greater degree of freedom with their interpretations of sacred subjects. Miguel Cabrera (1695-1768), a mestizo born in Oaxaca, moved to Mexico City in 1719 to pursue a career in the arts. Educated as a member of the Academy of Panting in New Spain, which formed in 1722, Cabrera and his fellow New Spanish masters were later recognized as members of what became the Royal Academy of San Carlos in 1783.[24] From 1749-1756 Cabrera served as the court painter to Archbishop Rubio y Salinas.[25] Cabrera's career was an example of the possible success that existed for a New Spanish colonial painter; celebrated as the "personification of the great artist and of the painter par excellence" and was most noted as a painter of religious imagery in eighteenth-century New Spain.[26] During his career, Cabrera became known as the

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[22] Nora Jaffary, *False Mystics: Deviant Orthodoxy in Colonial New Spain* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004),115.
[23] Pierce, Donna, Rogelo Ruiz Gomar, and Clara Bargellini, *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life 1521-1821*(Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2004),50
[24] Katzew, 17.
[25] *Mexico: Splendor of Thirty Centuries* (New York: New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1990), 432.
[26] DA Brading, *Mexican Phoenix: Our Lady of Guadalupe: Image and Tradition Across Five Centuries (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002*), 169.

foremost painter of New Spain and solidified his place as an individual with a certain degree flexibility regarding the sacred imaginary and the images he created.

Among the members of the Academy of Arts at San Carolos, peninsular Spanish artist Bartolomé Esteban Murillo's style was hailed as worthy of emulation as evident in the paintings of New Spain. Appropriation of Murillo's themes, compositions, and "painterly colorism" by Academy members suggest the influence of Murillo's vision among the artistic community in New Spain.[27] Murillo's attachment to pastoral imagery can be seen in a series of paintings of sheep with biblical antecedents. The influence of Miguel de Tovar, the first and foremost painter of the *Divina Pastora* and a fellow Sevillan artist of the seventeenth century, was also likely an influence on the New Spanish school. The vision of Christian purity found in these peninsular Spanish images of sheep with their shepherdess was an image that must have gained popularity in New Spain as Cabrera was commissioned to paint several versions of the subject.

Given the influence of Sevillan masters in the New Spanish academy and ecclesiastic patrons' desire to connect with the pure (peninsular) Spanish vision of Christianity, it is not surprising that Cabrera would have been commissioned to paint the *Divina Pastora*. Although strikingly similar to the composition of de Tovar's *Divina Pastora*, Cabrera's paintings are set apart from the traditional image because of the subtle changes that Cabrera makes to the Old World exemplar. An example of a distinct alteration can be found in his *Divina Pastora,* a painting of oil on copper completed in 1760 (Fig 27). The painting follows all the iconographic patterns found in de Tovar's touchstone. The Virgin is seated, surrounded by pure white sheep, but the wolf at the

[27] *Mexico: Splendor of Thirty Centuries*, 361.

right hand border of the painting differs distinctly from de Tovar's. De Tovar's wolf is in the background where Cabrera's wolf shares the foreground space. In addition to sharing the foreground with the Virgin and sheep the Cabrera's canine's head is noticeably larger than de Tovar's distant wolf. Its mouth flaps open, fantastically agape and fanged, an image that bears resemblance to a depiction of the Mouth of Hell in a Dutch Book of Hours that dates from the fifteenth century (Fig.28). Despite all other elements of the painting following, if not excelling the rendering of the original *Divina Pastora*, the wolf/coyote takes on a grotesque form, which strongly contrasts with the remainder of Cabrera's composition. Cabrera's *Divina Pastora* transforms de Tovar's skulking wolf of the Old World into a fantastical canine caricature, a style not seen elsewhere in Cabrera's oeuvre. Could this be a suggestion of the ways in which wild canid was understood by Cabrera, who was of mestizo linage? Was the change an example of adaptions of native symbology with images of the Virgin that were occurring elsewhere in the arts of New Spain?[28]

It is difficult to ascertain the exact meaning behind Cabrera's conscious choice to include this canine caricature, especially as a one-off instance of deviation from the Old World standard. Another version of Cabrera's *Divina Pastora* suggests that there was a theme of inclusion of non-Spanish imaginaries that was at work in Cabrera's renderings of this subject. In another painted *Divina Pastora* (Fig. 29), an oil on canvas with unknown date, Cabrera makes iconic inclusions that suggest deviations from Spanish concepts of socio-cultural purity. The painting includes a black sheep at the feet of the

[28] Deanna S. Brandenberger's thesis, "The Fainting Mary: The Role Of Marian Divinity in Colonial Nahuatl Drama" proposes a similar "hybrid" image of the Virgin Mary developed through native syncretic adaption of the Christian Virgin that combines with Mesoamerican female icons in her study of Post-Conquest Nahua Theater. See pages 67-74.

Virgin. The black sheep is the most foregrounded of all the figures in the painting and is markedly deviant form the Old World manifestation of the *Divina Pastora*, created from a culture that took great pride it white Merino sheep, purposefully breeding for whiteness and eliminating colored-wooled offspring from the breeding program. In peninsular Spain, where white sheep and purity of sheep were a socio-cultural mark of supremacy, dark sheep were not included in paintings, even on the periphery, and certainly not in the presence of the Virgin. Javier Irigoyen-Garcia in his study of ethnicity in Murillo's paintings notes that "flocks of sheep are an immediate metaphor for the Christian community, these images also imply that monarchs can manipulate their subjects' genealogy and composition at will."[29] Cabrera's black sheep defies the whiteness required by the Spanish image of the sacred flock. Placed in this context a deviant imaginary (straying from the traditional iconic group of white sheep) Cabrera's inclusion of the black sheep suggests a conscious and potentially subversive break with peninsular Spanish visual traditions. The inclusion of the dark Other, the sheep that has not been purified by proper breeding or "blood mending" was indicative of Cabrera's denial of the Spanish imperial fantasy of blood purity. The Christian flock of New Spain was a product of contact, of mixture, and Cabrera made a point in expressing that the New Spanish flock was, in turn, a mélange of believers all with differing points of cultural reference. Cabrera's inclusion of the black sheep suggested that the non-white Other, despite having a different entry point to Christianity was capable of reverence to the Virgin and was worthy of visual inclusion by her side.

[29]Irigoyen-Garcia, 66.

Another element included by Cabrera in this *Divina Pastora* is the image of the blue-colored morning glory vine, *ipomeoa violacea.* The round blue flowers stand out in contrast to the dark green of the tree and match the color of blue mantle that cascades down the Virgin's shoulder. The flower customarily associated with the *Divina Pastora*, are the roses that the Virgin feeds to the sheep. Cabrera's inclusion of the morning glory is not seen in any other depictions of the *Divina Pastora* from this period. The morning glory, the flower indigenous to the Valley of Mexico was "thought to be invested with divine powers; notwithstanding strenuous efforts at suppression by the colonial authorities."[30] The inclusion of the morning glory stands apart from its Spanish model and, like the black sheep, sends a message about sacred elements of indigenous belief.[31]

Cabrera's deviations from Old World Spain's painterly precedents are eighteenth-century versions of the indigenous/Christian blended icons created at Ixmiquilpan and Malinalco. Singularly Spanish symbols of cultural purity were not realistic representations of the New Spanish populous and its believers. Christian belief had been accepted in New Spain, but not without connections to the previous generations that had embraced the fluid connection of their environment as conduits to the spiritual, as was the case with the figure of *coyotl* and Cabrera's morning glories. These images suggest that blended skin color and native imagination were not extinguished by Conquest and colonial rule. The visual language the New Spanish world included voices from the indigenous past, regardless of isolation or control via bureaucratic systems like the *casta*.

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[30] Susan Toby Evans and David Webster, eds. *Archaeology of Ancient Mexico and Central America: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 372.

[31] Hallucinogenic plants were consumed by indigenous, *mestizo* and *mulato* populations of the colony as part of their experience of Christianity and continued Pre-Conquest rituals. See: Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind*, 98.

Cabrera's talent allowed for him to modify the iconographic tradition in a way that at first glance may have been noticed, but after close examination appear to represent deconstruction of notions of Spanish purity. Cabrera's canid, black sheep, and morning glory flowers are ambiguous additions to Old World icons that hint at inclusion of the cultural Other in the space of New Spanish Christianity. Like the *coyotl* at Malinalco and Ixmiquilpan, Miguel Cabrera's images carry the memory indigenous identity and can be read as a narrative of unsuspected inclusion of native culture that tore the net of colonial power. The torn net, a concept borrowed from the writings of Serge Gruzinski, represents the manner in which native memory persisted through conquest and colonialism; "despite persecutions, epidemics, and turmoil…the colonial reality that took place before their eyes…was no doubt censored and reduced but was still considerable."[32] Inclusions of indigenous symbology signal that survival of indigenous memory allowed for allowed for indigenous beliefs to operate in the margins of a dominant colonial discourse.

In his text, *The Location of Culture,* Homi Bhabha identifies the "impossibility of claiming an origin for the Self (or Other) within a tradition of representation that conceives of identity as the satisfaction of a totalizing, platitudinous object of vision."[33] The binary assumptions of cultural purity and contamination, which were the message of Old World artistic traditions like the *Divina Pastora* and *casta,* were impossible visions. These images were created as psychic responses, racial purity fantasies, built upon concerns about the maintenance Spanish racial identity and power in a rapidly changing world. As such, the label *coyote*, utilized as an interpellation of animality and threat in

[32] Serge Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico: The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th – 18th Centuries*. (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1993), 20.
[33] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, New York: Routledge, 2004), 66.

mixed-race other, created out of fear of the offspring of native and *mestizo*, was also an impossibility. Although a tool of hegemonic control, the *coyote* as image had alternative meanings that operated outside of dialogues of colonial control. Cabrera's play with the traditional images of Old World Spain instead suggests an interpolative process, wherein Cabrera used his position as artist to communicate elements of the colonial subject's position as an included Other. Using the dominant artistic forms of the period, Cabrera was able to inject symbols with mixed meaning that reveal the existence and cultural significance of the Other amid the *mestizaje* process.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS: CABRERA'S *COTOYE,* DEFYING A TRADITION

Miguel Cabrera's subtle changes to the *Divina Pastora* shed light on the role that this artist played in creating *casta* paintings in New Spain. Cabrera's version of the painting *De mestizo y india nace coyote* [From mestizo and indigenous female, coyote] (Fig 30) from his *casta* series produced in 1763 contains details that suggest a denial of totalizing control of the *casta* and, in turn, the ambiguous nature of cultural identity in eighteenth-century New Spain. The *casta* painting, as genre, was intended as an objectifying and totalizing vision of New Spanish subjects; Cabrera's subtle visual cues offer peripheral discussions about identity formation within the confines of the *casta*. Cabrera is known to have created one *casta* series (fourteen of sixteen of which have been located), each an individual oil on canvas.[1] Cabrera's series represents a change in *casta* style, attending to details of socio-economics of the colony through his attention to the quality of the clothing worn by the paintings' subjects, indicative of class and livelihood.[2] In *De mestizo y india nace coyote*, Cabrera reveals that the *mestizo* father and native mother are peasant farmers, given the vegetables they bring by burro to the city; there is a sense of struggle suggested by their clothing. Each family member wears tattered cloth. Cabrera's series is also noted for physical contact between the subjects and adds an intimate touch to his portrayal of family units.[3] In this painting the *mestizo/*indigenous parents stand near each other, but there is a tension produced in their body language. The mother's hands are occupied, carrying the female child on her back

[1] Pierce, et al., 250.
[2] Katzew 106.
[3] Katzew 95.

and when her eyes focus on her husband with a searching look, he glances away from her. The relationship between these figures echoes the icon of the Virgin Mary and Joseph's flight with the newborn Christ child into Egypt to escape King Herod's decree to kill infant boys born in the region. Bartolomé Esteban Murillo's *Flight into Egypt* (Fig. 31) completed in 1650 echoes the sentiment of Cabrera's *casta*, as there is a sense of anxiety given the Holy Family's flight from persecution and the *casta* family's socio-economic situation. These images share the burro as a partner to the burden both families carry as they search to escape their positions. Given the function of the *casta*, to prevent upward mobility of the lower *castas*, it is known that this family will never be able to physically escape their impoverished situation, which explains the tension seen in the mother's expression. Due to the family's subjugated position in the colony, there is no hope for socio-economic movement.

It is in the images of the *coyote* children that we see interesting cues that suggest power despite their position in the *casta*. In Cabrera's painting the young *coyote* male is riding atop the burro and the young *coyote* female is carried on her mother's back. As young children, these two figures lack awareness of their marked position in the colony and express themselves much differently than their parents. The coyote male sits atop the burro, above all the other figures in the picture space. His eyes look away from the scene focused somewhere outside the action of the painting. He has raised a stick above his head with a look of mischievous defiance, his mouth slightly upturned. Next to him on the burro are corn and cotton, vital resources used by indigenous peoples of the region. Like the morning glory of the *Divina Pastora*, corn and cotton were native plants that were staples of Mesoamerican life for clothing and food but were also "perceived to be

imbued with sacred powers and came to play important roles in mythology, calendar and ritual."[4] The growth of these crops was vital to human survival and, as such, growth and harvest of corn and cotton was annualized with systematic planting and ritual celebration. Perhaps the boy is guarding these symbols from pillage by the constantly encroaching call for tribute from imperial authorizes. This child's assertive position in the painting and his label as *coyote* negate the assumed repression the *casta* intended but instead call to mind the indigenous memory of *coyotl* warrior or of *Huehuecoyotl,* the mischievous god connected to human discord. The *coyote* female balances her brother in the composition. Aligned on a diagonal, she is looking the same direction as her brother. The female child rests comfortably in a sling on her mother's back, an attentive, poised, and knowing look on her face. The female child's colored crown stands out amidst the otherwise subdued color palate in the painting. The girl's colorful crown when matched with her peaceful demeanor call to mind royalty, specifically the rule of Nezahualcoyotl, King Hungry/Fasting coyote, ruler in the Triple Alliance in the era before the Conquest. Like Nezahualcoyotl's rule, associated with the arts, philosophical projects and resistance to war and human sacrifice, this child seems to represent the less active but equally important aspect of the multivalent and shape shifting figure *coyotl*.

Through his ability to reflect European style, Cabrera, like the native painters who communicated native belief on the walls of Christian churches, sent a message through dominant art forms that had been used to promote notions of purity, for the purpose of integrating non-Spanish perspectives into the colonial conversation. The New Spanish colony was covered with images that supported the dominant culture and Christian

[4] David Carrasco, *Religions of Mesoamerica, Second Edition*. *Religions of Mesoamerica: Second Edition* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 2013), 45.

Spanish identities. Cabrera's symbolic inclusions in the *Divina Pastora* and *De mestizo y india nace coyote* suggest that indigenous belief was at work in the borders of colonial society. Cabrera's paintings included symbols that represented indigenous survival. Utilizing the hegemonic symbols of the colonial process, of fantasy of blood purity and of the Western conception of the wild canid label as an access point, Cabrera reveals the impossibility of purity of culture. Using two visual programs that had intended to hail the animal in the Other, Cabrera instead offers a compassionate rendering of the ambiguous position of the Other, the black sheep of the colony and of *coyote* children, the mixed race majority of the population of New Spain in the eighteenth century.

Cabrera's work infers a fluidity of being a feature of indigenous versus Western binary conceptions of human identity. Cabrera's *coyote* children seem to reveal ambiguities of the colonial situation that defy binary definition. Cabrera's morning glories, corn, and cotton conveyed an interest in injecting indigenous understandings of the sacred into the dominant discourse of Western hierarchy and the *casta*. The creation of images of coyote during the colonial period symbolized a denial of Western attitudes that political ecologist Philipp Pattberg observes of European cultures intent on world domination. Pattberg notes that the cultures, like the Spanish who had conquered lands outside of Europe, supported by Christian dogma, believed that "nature was designated to meet human [European] needs exclusively…making man the "Lord of Nature"…the King as absolute ruler."[5] This extreme notion of hierarchy, wherein all of nature, including other men of non-European lineage, were under the dominion of the Crown, represented a Eurocentric fantasy that only accounted for a portion of the worldviews that

[5] Phillip Pattberg. "Conquest, Domination and Control: Europe's Mastery of Nature in Historic Perspective" *Journal of Political Ecology* 14(2007): 2,5.

existed in the colonial population. Cabrera's play with indigenous symbolism and the delicate details of identity inclusion of mixed-race subjects in his *casta* painting, worked to break ties with Spanish concepts of racial purity, while making inroads for non-Western concepts of identity. Cabrera's visual contributions were reflective of "a pervasive perception in indigenous thought and spirituality…a perception without equivalent in Western thought," that could explain, "the persistent barrier in penetrating and comprehending indigenous worlds."[6] The binary nature of Western thought that played out in the Christian attempts to block or remove evil from conquered lands could never interlock with a cosmic belief system that required duality for the existence of life. As noted by Marcos, native beliefs connected to duality of being could not be entirely anticipated or accounted for in the process of native conversion to Western belief systems. This bias, of seeing only one way, through Western binary perceptions, allowed for indigenous beliefs to blend unknowingly in New Spain, even within the genre of *casta* painting intent on subjugation of the colonial Other.

Thus, the adaption of Old World canid by indigenous artists allowed for coyote to operate as Christian icon of evil (to binary thinkers) while also maintaining the centuries-old significance of *coyotl* as sacred animal of indigenous civilizations. Considering the role of coyote in the arts of New Spain reveals that the binary vision that informed the colonial process could not fully grasp and order the vast scope of native sacred beliefs that hinged on, "all things one sees on land and sky"[7] Coyote images, like those of Malinalco, Ixmiquilpan, and of Miguel Cabrera belong to a segment of artistic creation wherein "subordinate peoples do not usually control what emanates from the dominant

[6] Sylvia Marcos ed., *Women and Indigenous Religions* (Santa Barbara: Prager, 2010.), 54.
[7] Serge Gruzinski, *Images at War: Mexico from Columbus to Blade Runner* (1492-2019), 64.

culture, they do determine to varying extents what gets absorbed into their own and what it gets used for."[8] The coyote image in New Spanish art reveals that the *casta* painting's *coyote* label, designed by the dominant culture to frame the colonial subject, was absorbed by individuals of blended race and belief systems to form alternative identities and meanings; these shape shifting identities that operated via non-binary beliefs about the self, could not be repressed by those blinded by Western conceptions of identity formation.

[8] Pratt, 36.


Figure 1. *Casta Series*, Unknown Artist, ca.1725

Figure 2. *Adam Naming the Animals*, f5r. Aberdeen Bestiary, c.12th century.

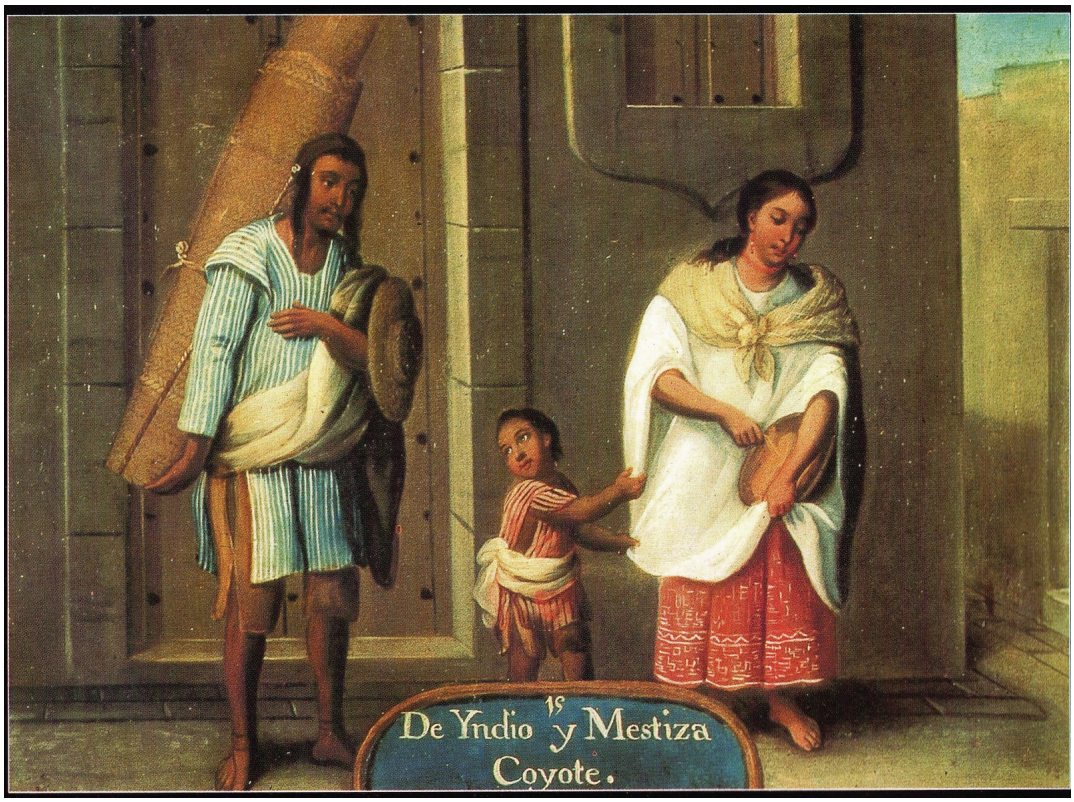

Figure 3. *De Yndio y Mestiza Coyote,* Unknown Artist, ca. 1700.

Figure 4. *The Wolf*. Aberdeen Bestiary, f16v. c. 12th century

Figure 5. *Wolf trap with live bait: Le Livre de la Chasse*, Gaston Phébus (BnF, FR 616) fol. 110, c. 1387.

Figure 6. *Phillip IV As Hunter*. Diego de Velázquez. Oil on Canvas, c.1636.

Figure 7. *La Divina Pastora* (Holy Shepherdess). Alonso Miguel de Tovar, Oil on Canvas. nd, Museo Carmen Thyssen, Málaga, Spain.

Figure 8. *Christ the Good Shepherd*. Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, Oil on Canvas. c.1660.

Figure 9. *Adoration of the Shepherds*, Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, Oil on Canvas c. 1650.

Figure 10. *Adoration of the Shepherds*, Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, Oil on Canvas c. 1668.

Figure 11. Scene molded on orange ware jar found at Las Colinas, near Calpulalpan, Tlaxcala. Fragments imagined as being part of the same form. c. 650-750AD.

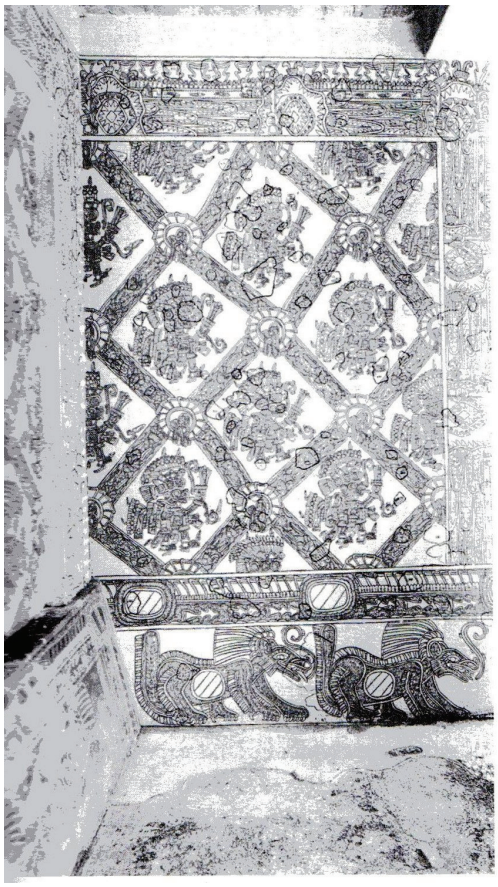

Figure 12. White Patio, Atetelco, Teotihuacan: view of Portico I, Late Classic.

Figure 13 Coyote Lord from Portico I, White Patio, Atetelco, Teotihuacan, Late Classic.

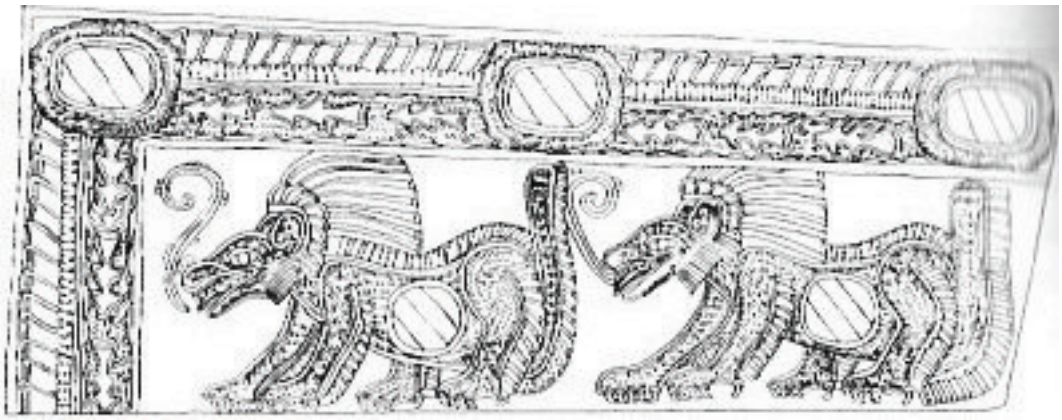

Figure 14. Coyotes from Portico I, White Patio, Atetelco, Teotihuacan, Late Classic.

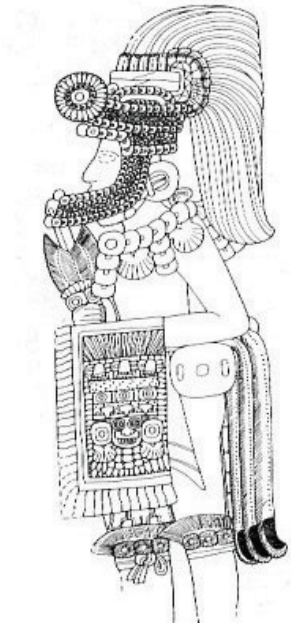

Figure 15. Stela 31, Tikal, right side. Late Classic.

Figure 16. Rain God with Coyote Tail Headdress, White Patio , Atetelco, Teotihuacan, Late Classic.

Figure 17. *Temple of Quetzalcoatl (Pyramid B)*, Tula, Toltec, c. 800-1000 AD

Figure 18. Coyote, Eagle, and Jaguar. Relief from the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, c. 800-1000 AD

Figure 19. Human Face Emerging Canid Mouth. Toltec c. 900-1250 AD Gray clay, shell and bone. National Museum of Anthropology, Mexico

Figure 20. Detail of Aztec Yellow Coyote Costume from The *'Codex Mendoza', pt. II.* Folio #: fol. 021v, c.1540.

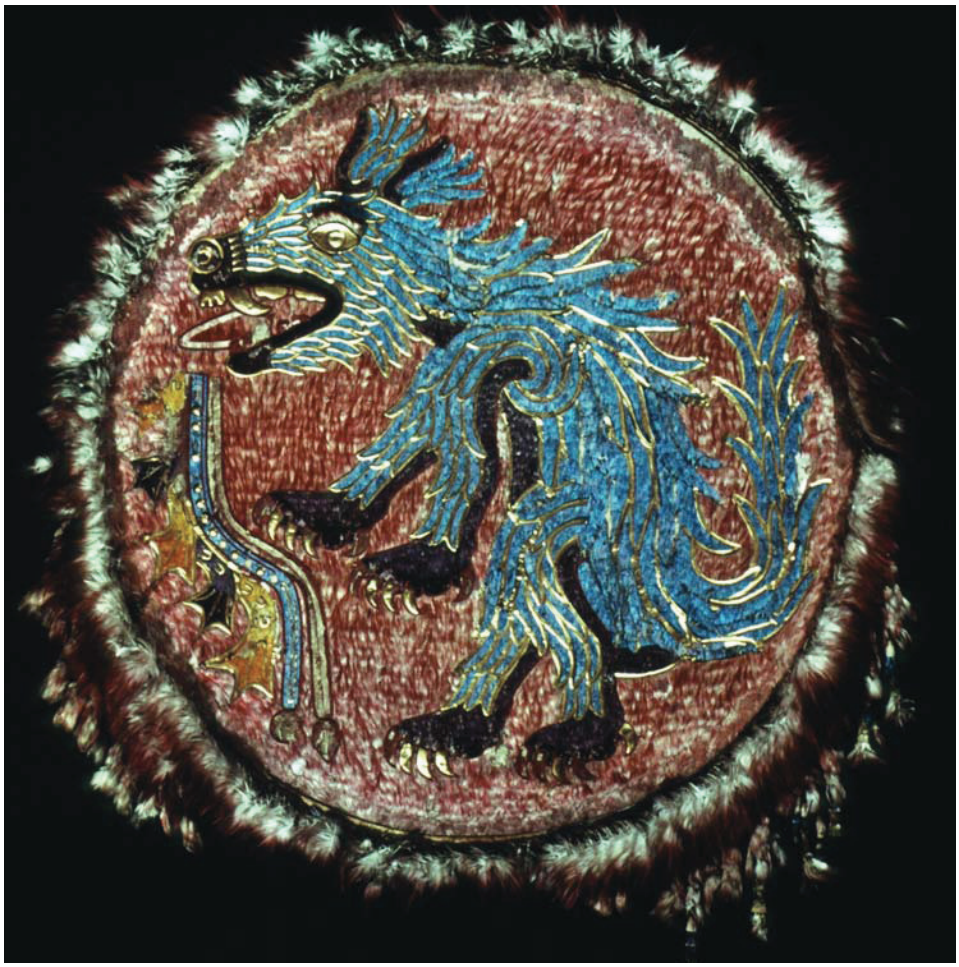

Figure 21. Mexica Shield. Feathers, leather, and gold, c.1520. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, cat.no. 43,380.

Figure 22. Detail of Mexica Shield. Feathers, leather, and gold, c.1520. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, cat.no. 43,380.

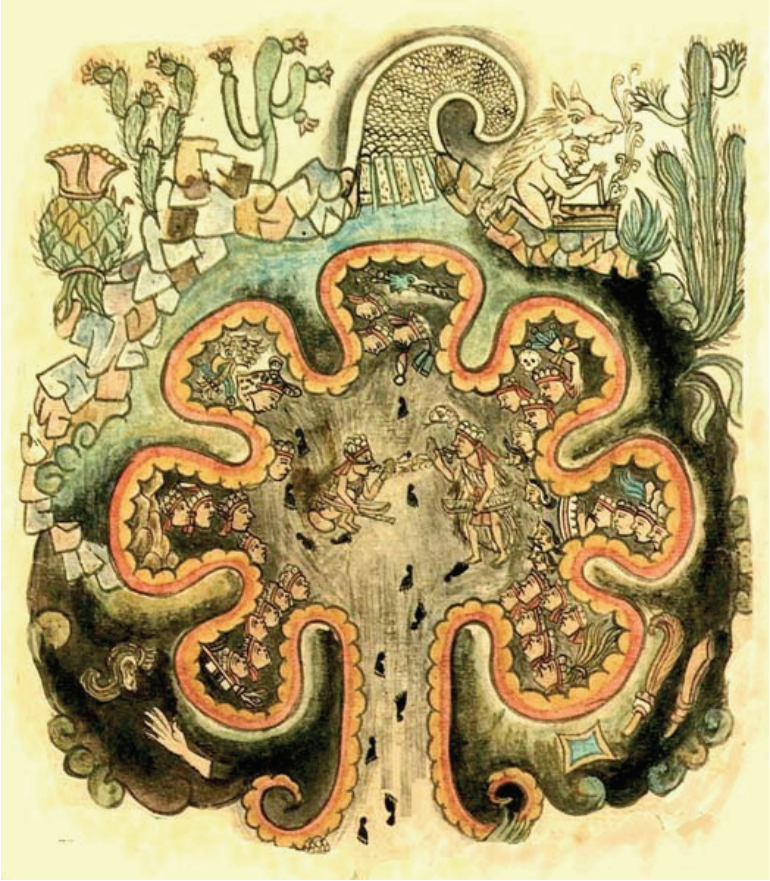

Figure 23. Map of Chicomoztoc. *Histórica-Tolteca Chichimeca.* c.1500.

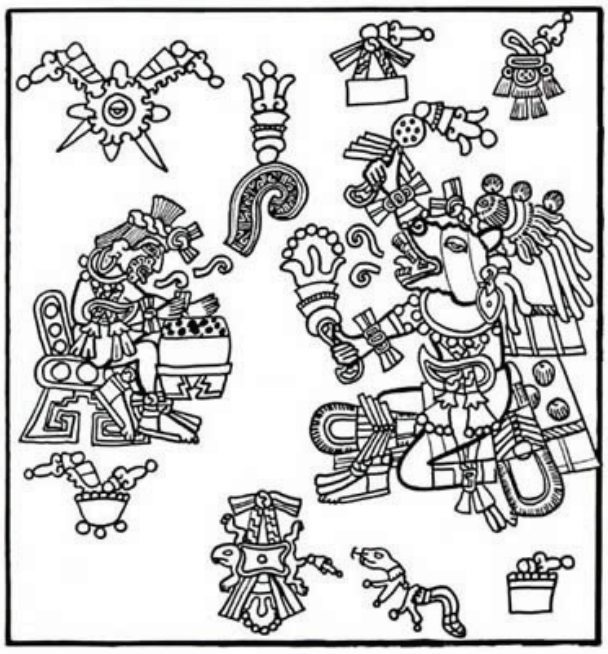

Figure 24. *Huehuecoyotl*. Drawing by Karl Young after the Codex Borbonicus, c1500

Figure 25. Coyote with Composite Figure On Back. Fresco. Monastery of Malinalco, Mexico c.16th century.

Figure 26. Coyote Warrior. Fresco. Detail from Cloister Wall. Monastery at Ixmiquilpan, Mexico. c. 16th Century.

Figure 27. *La Divina Pastora (The Divine Shepherdess).* Oil on Copper, Miguel Cabrera c.1760.


Figure 28. *Mouth of Hell*. Hours of Catherine of Cleves. c. 1440.

Figure 29. *La Divina Pastora*. Miguel Cabrera. Oil on Canvas, Museo National de Arte, Mexico, nd.

Figure 30. *De mestizo y india nace coyote*, Miguel Cabrera, Oil on Canvas, 1763.

Figure 31. *Flight Into Egypt.* Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, oil on canvas, 1650.

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