

**From Mexicas to Ancient Aztecs, Classical Nahuas, and Modern Indios/as: Early Modern
Criollo/a Constructions and Understandings of Indigenous New Spain**

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Scholars have written extensively on visual representation of Indigenous Peoples in Mesoamerica.¹ (Post)Conquest woodprints of Indigenous Peoples depicted White or Black Legends. *Casta* paintings of the colonial period illustrated notions of racial/ethnic social organization and differentiation.² In essence, non-Indigenous iconography of Indigenous Peoples and archetypal images (*costumbrismo*, *indigenismo*, *cartas-de-visite*, photography, and cinema) have been prolific and innovative, especially since the 19th century.³ In Mexico, both Colonial and National art reflect on the history of the Conquest and Pre-Columbian with representations of Indigenous Peoples being central to their artistic narratives. As is the case with other primary source materials, non-Indigenous perspectives and visual representations, both positive and negative, of Indigenous Peoples are what historians largely rely on to interpret the situation of Indigenous Peoples. In visualizing Indigenous Peoples, as with other ethnic or subaltern groups, there is a potential failing among Western artists to exoticize them.⁴ Recently, scholars of Mesoamerican ethnohistory have called attention to a limited understanding of Indigenous peoples within the binary of antiquity and modernity, echoing past debates about barbarism and civilization and part of a larger debate on presentism.

Since the 17th century, Criollo epistemology across the Atlantic including visual materials on Indigenous Peoples relegated the Indigenous of New Spain to a majestic “Aztec” past. By

¹ I am grateful to my advisor, Dr. Miriam Riggs, for her patience and extensive feedback on this project. I also thank Dr. Citlali Sosa-Riddell for reviewing drafts of this paper. My friends were also sources of inspiration for me, thank you all. I offer this paper also to the memory of the now late Dr. David A. Brading (1936-2024). A version of this paper was delivered at the annual Southern California regional Phi Alpha Theta Conference in March 2024, I thank the participants and my colleagues for their suggestions. All flaws are of course my own.

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

³ See John Mraz, *Looking for Mexico: Modern Visual Culture and National Identity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009). See John Charles Chasteen, *Born in Blood and Fire: A Concise History of Latin America* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2016).

⁴ See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1979).

exalting the “Aztecs” as a civilization with high culture and impressive landscapes (pyramids especially), Criollo intellectuals, predominantly men, simultaneously constructed modern Creole patriotisms and historical identities among and for themselves. Creole intellectuals framed their socio-political identities and histories around Indigenous elite perspectives. Equally important is that colonial era Indigenous sources (ex. petitions and testimonies) from elite Nahua men and women were also attempts of self-fashioning and representation for socio-political interests with rhetorical strategies of historical embellishment, remembrance, and forgetting, but which do not speak to the experiences of average Nahua men and women.⁵ Fundamentally, Criollo intellectuals made value-based judgments regarding their 16th century Indigenous sources from elite Nahua men (the *pipiltin*) in accepting them as part of a historical canon. In essence, by privileging Mexica antiquities (material and textual) Criollo intellectuals to framed the Aztec past as a high culture based on elite memories, but labeled the surviving non-Indigenous Peoples, or *macehualtin* (peasants), as being allegedly degenerate to the Aztecs. Thus, Criollo intellectuals discriminated against the surviving non-elite Indigenous Peoples as heirs to the Aztecs and as valuable sources of historical memory, in urban New Spain. Rather, Criollo intellectuals assumed themselves to be heirs to the Aztecs and constructed their own historical narratives with elite Indigenous sources. By framing an elite passed based on Mexica antiquities, the Criollo intellectuals legitimized themselves as geopolitical, if not ethnic, heirs to an imagined grandiose Mexica past and leadership via cultural appropriation and knowledge production of the Mexica past that discredited surviving Indigenous Peoples or *macehualtin*.⁶

⁵ Bradley Benton, *The Lords of Tetzcoco: The Transformation of Indigenous Rule in Postconquest Central Mexico* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 15. See Kelly McDonough, “Indigenous Rememberings and Forgetting: Sixteenth-Century Nahua Letters and Petitions to the Spanish Crown,” in *Native American and Indigenous Studies* 5:1 (2018), 69–99.

⁶ Karen Racine, “Fray Servando Teresa de Mier: Anahuac's Angry Apostle,” in *The Human Tradition in Mexico*, ed. Jeffrey M. Pilcher (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2003), 23-34.

It is important to note that, Creole patriotism refers to David A. Brading's conceptualization of Spanish American Criollo's articulating a nativist and later nationalist sense of social identity. At least in New Spain, Creole patriotism centered on being born in the Western Hemisphere to differentiate from the mother country, Iberian Spain, which fueled the wars for independence in the 1810s.⁷ Thus, this essay seeks to illuminate the sporadic imagination and remembrance of Indigenous Peoples as a social and politicized group throughout the early modern period within a non-Indigenous perspective.

The Venetian Cesare Vecellio was not a Criollo nor did he travel to New Spain, but his detailed Mexican characters in his 1598 *Habiti antichi, et moderni di tutto il mondo* are important because they embody a fairly well-informed Mediterranean understanding of the Nahua in spite of the Iberian-Atlantic division between Venice and Anahuac. Cesare Vecellio composed his *Habiti antichi, et moderni di tutto il mondo* (1598) in Venice which display many global ethnic-types of the past and present accompanied with strong explanations of the clothing in Latin and Italian. It is important to note, as other scholars have, that Vecellio never travelled to the New World, though it would not be improbable that he obtained news of Spanish America from Mediterranean merchants given Venetian trade and 'Italian'-Iberian socio-political networks within the Spanish empire. There are three contemporary Mesoamerican types in Vecellio's *Habiti antichi, et moderni di tutto il mondo*: "Giouane Messicano" (Figure 1), "Nobile Messicano" (Figure 2), and "Habiti delle donne di Messico" (Figure 3). Nahua cultural motifs such as flowers and customs related to habits (gendered dress and actions) are detailed in the visual and text, although there are some generalizations or misconceptions about the Indigenous communities embedded in the text and

⁷ David A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State 1492-1866* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 581.

visual. Vecellio also notes the introduction of Spanish conventions in the text, which also hint some elements of transculturation.⁸

As a global point of view on the Mexica of New Spain Vecellio's texts is largely an ethnographic source. Notwithstanding a significant misconception about the Mexica and a generalization with the Chichimeca, Vecellio's tone is not prejudiced against the Mexica.⁹ Moreover, it is important to consider this source as an archive – a compilation of information and source of knowledge – in it of itself, as other scholars have argued. Furthermore, it is crucial to note that Early Modern Mexicanists have overlooked this source in previous research, and Early Modern Mediterraneanists have mistaken certain Indigenous and Spanish elements in their research on empire.¹⁰ Vecellio's information, however, may not have been based on direct knowledge or experience, but second-hand accounts as there is no record of Vecellio traveling to New Spain, and Iberian-Italian Mediterranean trade networks may suggest. Equally important is that fact that Vecellio was not a Criollo. In effect, Vecellio's "European" perspective can be a point of departure to assess the role of Early Modern Criollo epistemologies of Mesoamerican Indigenous Peoples in constructing narrative ethnohistories during the Baroque period of the 17th century and Spanish (Counter)Enlightenment of the 18th century.

⁸ Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi, et moderni di tutto il mondo. Di Cesare Vecellio. Di nuouo accresciuti di molte figure. Vestitus antiquorum, recentiorumque totius orbis. Per Svltatvm Gratilianum Senapolensis latinè declarati* (Venetia: Apresso Gio. Bernardo Sessa, 1598), 492 verso, 473 [i.e., 493 recto], 493 verso, 494 recto, 494 verso, and 495 recto. See Figure 1, Figure 2, and Figure 3.

⁹ See Cesare Vecellio, *The Clothing of the Renaissance World: Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas; Cesare Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni*, trans. and ed. Margaret F. Rosenthal, and Ann Rosalind Jones (London, UK: Thames & Hudson, 2008), 559 or 493.

¹⁰ See Giorgio Riello, "The World in a Book: The Creation of the Global in Sixteenth-Century European Costume Books," in *Past & present* 242:14 (2019), 1, 2-6, 29-31, and 34-37. Ann Rosalind Jones, "Ethnographer's Sketch, Sensational Engraving, Full-Length Portrait: Print Genres for Spanish America in Girolamo Benzoni, the De Brys, and Cesare Vecellio," in *Journal of medieval and early modern studies* 41:1 (2011), 137-138, 140, 143, 144, 145, 146, 160-161, 163, 165, and 167. Eugenia Paulicelli "Mapping the World: The Political Geography of Dress in Cesare Vecellio's Costume Books," in *Italianist* 28:1 (2008): 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 37, and 47-49.

Despite dedicating his interest and abilities to the history of elite Nahua like Don Fernando de Alva Ixilxochitl or Chimalpahin, the Baroque Criollo intellectual, Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora's first-hand testimony of 1692 Mexico City revolt is, as other scholars have noted, significant for his stark prejudices against the contemporary urban Indigenous peasants or *macehualtin*. In Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora's account of the 1692 Mexico City riot, the Criollo intellectual exposes his ideas about lower-class urban Indigenous Peoples.¹¹ Despite his reverence and scholarly interests for Mexica history, Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora held very strong prejudices against urban Nahua peoples who he thought bore no similarity to their glorious ancestors. According to Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, it was also not the Indigenous masses' socio-economic or political frustration, but *pulque* which led the masses to revolt, but also which formed part of their alleged degeneracy. Here Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, as in other works which perpetuate both Black and White Legends, credits *pulque*, a traditional Indigenous alcohol, as a substance which the *macehualtin* depended on to cope with Spanish tyranny.¹²

In *Indigenous Elites and Creole Identity in Colonial Mexico, 1500-1800*, Peter B. Villella explains the ways urban Criollo intellectuals appropriated elite Nahua narratives about Iberian-Indigenous comity in the colonization of Mesoamerica to develop a Creole patriotic myth during the 17th century. When discussing Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, Villella centers Anna More's notion of a Creole archive. The Creole archive was composed of coveted 16th century Indigenous primary sources which rarified the Mexica as a grandiose ancient elite political past and developed vis-à-vis an authoritative Creole historical epistemology. The political and

¹¹ See Kevin Terraciano, "Imagining the Conquest of Mexico," in *Connecting Seas* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, March 12, 2014). Web.

¹² Carlos de Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, "The 1692 Mexico City Revolt (1692)," in *Mexican History*, trans. and ed. Nora E. Jaffary, Edward W. Osowski, Susie S. Porter (London, UK: Routledge, 2010), 150-153.

historiographical works of Criollos would also form part of the developing Creole archive. In effect, Creole patriotism, legitimized by Creole historical epistemologies and/of 16th century Indigenous histories, such as Early Modern cabinets of curiosities composed by Creole intellectuals to preserve Mexica(n) antiquities judged as important, also developed as a reaction to Spanish prejudices against Creoles during the 17th century.¹³

While, Criollo intellectuals such as Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora rendered a Mexica past whose inhabitants were worthy of praise, de Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora rejected contemporary Indigenous peoples and indigeneity as “degenerate” to the “Aztecs” based on socio-economic, political, and ethnic prejudices informed by the Creole archive. Similarly, Jesuits would rely on the Creole archive and compose their own Creole archives (discussed later on in this essay) precursing the Mexican Independence movements. Crucially, the sixteenth century Indigenous-Mendicant sources spoke to a different context of empire than the treatises which Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora and later Jesuits organized, utilized, and expanded the Creole archive for. Nonetheless, the evolution of the Creole archive with its representative Criollo scholars and texts do highlight the sporadic, that is not regulated or systematic, turn from a rhetoric and identity of empire in Mesoamerica to a socio-political regional identity for the elites that developed into the nation-state of Mexico.

Of course, the legitimacy and authority of the Criollo intellectuals to the developing claims of Creole patriotism rested on the appropriation of Indigenous culture (sources, materials, and figures) and negation of surviving Indigenous masses in New Spain. Thus, the Criollo treatises published between the seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries form part and parcel of the

¹³ Peter B. Villella “Cacique-hidalgos: Envisioning ancient roots in the mature colony,” in *Indigenous Elites and Creole Identity in Colonial Mexico, 1500-1800* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 150-151, 172-178, and 185-186.

Creole archive and must be scrutinized to overcome the ideological biases inherent in them. In essence, the Criollo intellectuals monopolized historical knowledge, making them the authority on them with their treatises based on their personal/private, local/regional, and institutional archives of Indigenous Peoples from the sixteenth century. Criollo intellectuals thus also gatekept Early Modern Mexican history which privileged elite Indigenous and Criollo memory for political legitimacy and authority centered on Creole patriotism.¹⁴

Writing from Cesna during the Jesuit exile from New Spain in Northern/Central Italy, the Criollo Fray Francesco Saverio Clavigero's 1780 magnum opus the *Storia antica del Messico* accompanied by prints, also represent an evolution in the non-Indigenous perception and representation of the Mexica as idealized subjects vis-à-vis the Criollo (Counter)Enlightenment. While Clavigero's text has been considered by other scholars, the images of Indigenous peoples have not been treated extensively. Figure 4 is part of the Francesco Saverio Clavigero's *Storia antica del Messico* (1780). It should be noted that: the plate is titled "Abiti Messicani," in Francesco Saverio Clavigero's text. The plate in the *Storia antica del Messico* represents six Mexica(n) characters on a single page; on the top row: "Un Plebejo," "Una Donna ordinaria," and "Un Nobile;" on the bottom row: "Una Dama," "Un Soldato," and "Un Sacerdote."¹⁵

Jorge Canizares-Esguerra has built on David A. Brading's work regarding Creole patriotism. In *How to Write the History of the New World*, Canizares-Esguerra highlights the Jesuit Francisco Clavigero's texts about the "ancient" Mexica as an articulation of Creole patriotism. According to Canizares-Esguerra, Clavigero, reacting to the Northern Enlightenment's anti-

¹⁴ Anna Herron More, *Baroque Sovereignty: Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora and the Creole Archive of Colonial Mexico* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 7, 14-16, 23, 25, 27, and 250-262.

¹⁵ Francesco Saverio Clavigero, *Storia antica del Messico: cavata da' migliori storici spagnuoli, e da' manoscritti, e dalle pitture antiche degl'Indiani; divisa in dieci libri, e corredata di carte geografiche, e di varie figure; e dissertazioni sulla terra, sugli animali, e sugli abitatori del Messico*, Tomo II (Cesna: Per Gregorio Biasini all'Insegna di Pallade, 1780), 224-225.

Indigenous bias in constructing epistemology on the New World, established a strong Creole historiography of the Mexica which privileged elite-Indigenous 16th century primary sources. At the same time, Canizares-Esguerra reminds the reader that the 16th century primary sources which Calvijero utilized were also misconstrued histories penned by Indigenous elites. Additionally, as Canizares-Esguerra argues, by framing the pre-Columbian Mexica as a venerable ancient civilization akin to Greece and Rome, and claiming that the Spanish decimated the Classical Mexica (a form of Black Legend), Clavigero developed a Creole patriotism. Although Clavigero celebrated the Indigenous of the past, he rejected non-elite Indios/as of the present epistemologically and ethno-culturally also deeming them as degenerative (ie. inferior to their past) evident in his comparative comments within the *Storia antica del Messico*.¹⁶ Furthermore, Canizares-Esguerra also examines the longer historical and political tradition which Clavigero formed part of. Canizares-Esguerra's highlights Clavigero's *Storia antica del Messico* as representative of a Criollo political philosophy. According to Canizares-Esguerra, Clavigero framed Mexica continuation in the form of Spanish institutions and intermarriages among colonial elites, not non-elite ethnic peoples.¹⁷ While Clavigero exalted the "Aztec" past, Clavigero, in his *Storia antica del Messico*, asserted that the Nahua of the present bore no resemblance to their glorious ancestors because of their addiction to pulque given the tyranny of the Spanish Crown.

Towards the end of the Spanish colonial period in 1803 and eve of the independence movements, the Criollo cleric Joseph Ignacio Heredia y Sarmiento published his *Sermon panegirico de la gloriosa aparicion de Nuestra* in New Spain, containing representations of the

¹⁶ Francisco Javier Clavijero, "Carácter de los Mexicanos," in *Actualidades* n. 3-4 (1977), 243-246.

¹⁷ Jorge Canizares-Esguerra, "Historiography and Patriotism in Spain," in *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 204-206, 206-209, 230, 236-238, 241, 243, 245-246, and 248.

Mexica similar to Clavigero's prints which represent an important development regarding the trans-Atlantic cultural proliferation of Creole histories under Bourbon rule. Herredia y Sarmiento's replicated engraving of Clavigero's prints can also be situated within the historical and political tradition which Canizares-Esguerra outlines. The replication of Clavigero's engraving in the *Sermon Panagerico* also lends credit to the possibility of how prominent the Creole patriotisms developed among Mexican Criollo clerics and elites during the Spanish (Counter)Enlightenment precursing the Mexican independence movements of 1810-1820. Figure 5 is part of Don Joseph Ignacio Heredia y Sarmiento's *Sermon panegirico de la gloriosa aparicion de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* (1803). It should be noted that: the engraving is left untitled in Dr. Heredia y Sarmiento's text. Nonetheless, Figure 5 bears a striking resemblance to Figure 4, Clavigero's "Abiti Messicani," in his *Storia antica del Messico* (1780). The engraving in *Sermon pangirico* also represents six Mexica(n) characters on a single page; on the top row: "Un Plebeyo," "Una Mujer plebeya," and "Un Noble;" on the bottom row: "Una Senora," "Un Soldado," and "Un Sacerdote." While essentially depicting the same thing, Figure 5 differs from Figure 4 aesthetically. There is a minor alteration in Figure 5's rendition of the Mexica(n) noble with a small housing situated in behind the man, potentially suggesting the importance of landed property to distinguish the social statuses of the *pipiltin* (elite Nahua men) and *macehaultin* (Nahua commoners, in this case specifically men as represented in Figure 5) under Spanish rule. Whereas, Clavigero's Ancient Mexicans have visually rough features, the Mexica(n) characters in Figure 5 appear with softer figures. There is also less shading in Figure 5 which contributes to the softer edges and appearances, as well as the visually clearer renditions of the Mexica(n) types. However, the high

quality and warm appearances with less shading in Figure 5 makes the Mexica(n) look physically smaller, less imposing, and in a less dominant position relative to Figure 4.¹⁸

Despite the fact that the Spanish Crown censored Clavigero's book, it is evident that it circulated into the Americas. Heredia y Sarmiento's engraving highlights that the censor failed as his 1803 figures are very similar to Clavigero's prints from 1780, which Heredia y Sarmiento may have taken inspiration from. More importantly, Clavigero's depiction of the Mexica may have been prolific or iconic based on Heredia y Sarmiento's nearly identical reproduction and potential subsequent dissemination. Therefore, print media with its dissemination across the regulated Atlantic was important in the circulation of ideas among elites and potentially influential in framing a general popular imagination of Indigenous Peoples and history in the New World – or at least in Spain.

In discussing the production and dissemination of Heredia y Sarmiento's *Sermon panegirico* (1803) with images, it is crucial to recognize the importance of his publisher. Doña Maria Fernandez Jauregui was Heredia y Sarmiento's *impresora*. The fact that she owned and operated a printing press to publish Heredia y Sarmiento's *Sermon panegirico*, and held the honorific Doña lends credit to the possibility that she came from an elite background of considerable wealth in the Viceroyalty of New Spain. Moreover, Doña Maria Fernandez Jauregui's patronage of Heredia y Sarmiento's Criollo patriotic and devotionally Catholic text, as well as other early 19th century Catholic and legal publications with her name, illustrate her own active role and direct participation in late colonial Novo Hispanic society and Atlantic intellectual culture as a woman in relation to the Church and Viceroyalty.

¹⁸ Joseph Ignacio Heredia y Sarmiento, *Sermon panegirico de la gloriosa aparicion de Señora de Guadalupe ... :[Resumen historico de las principales naciones que poblaron el pais de "Anahuac, o virreynato de Nueva España]* (Imp. de Doña Maria Fernandez Jauregui, 1803), 128-129.

As part of the Hispanic (Counter)Enlightenment, New Spain also became a lettered republic based on elite Creole historical epistemologies and Creole archives with Criollo intellectuals (predominantly men, but also women) framing their historical position within an ancient elite Mexica tradition to legitimize Creole patriotism. In essence, a Creole patriotism and identity developed vis-à-vis the exotification of Mexica history during the Hispanic (Counter)Enlightenment.

Twentieth century Mexican (post)revolutionary politics also utilized the “Aztecs” to highlight that a Mesoamerican persisted in Mexico for time immoral. Like in the Early Modern period, contemporary Mexican intellectuals utilized the Aztecs to cultivate and legitimize their one-sided nation-state, revolutionary ideology, and national identity. Often the Mexican government utilized these Criollo patriots and their texts in constructing nationalism during the twentieth century.¹⁹

The imagination of the Mexica was selective in the late colonial period for Criollo agendas, with the Indigenous belonging not to the present, but the past. As told through their treatises that included text and images, Criollos (men and women contributors) influenced by their ideology built on archival sources, attributed the alleged decline of a perceived former Mexica glory to a myth of Spanish tyranny in New Spain that stereotyped the surviving Indigenous masses as dependent on pulque given Spanish socio-political oppression which survived until very recently in important works within Mexican historiography.²⁰ Early national narratives of Mexico were constructed by Criollo intellectuals utilizing the Indigenous past. By privileging elite Indigenous

¹⁹ Shelley E. Garrigan, *Collecting Mexico: Museums, Monuments, and the Creation of National Identity* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 17.

²⁰ Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1964), 402-409.

perspectives Criollos rendered pre-Columbian Mesoamerica as a grandiose civilization akin to those of the Mediterranean. Yet, according to the predominantly Criollo men, Spain did away with the Indigenous beauty of the past through colonization. The Criollo narrative about Spanish imperialism, however, willingly ignored the contemporary Indigenous as lesser than the civilized Indigenous of the past and thus minimized Indigenous tradition, innovation, persistence, continuity, survival, and resistance.

Appendix

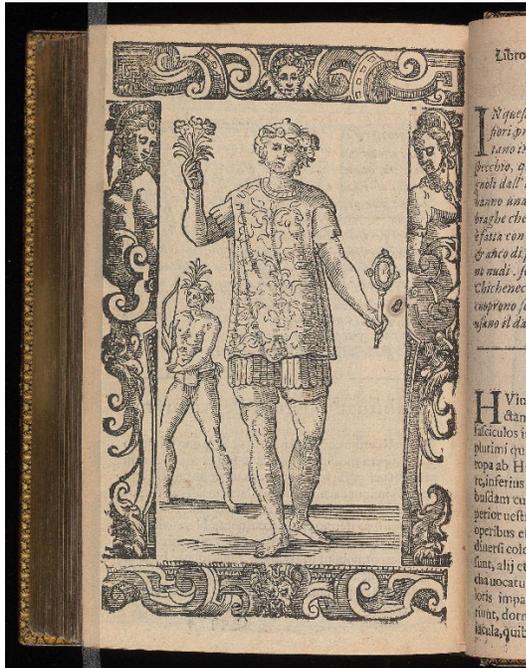


Figure 1: Cesare Vecellio, “Giouane Messicano,” in *Habiti antichi*, 492 verso.

Young Man of Mexico

In this province they use many delicate accessories of flowers and scents, and they adorn their heads with flowers and carry many of them in their hands, along with mirrors, which they think of as jewels; these are brought to them from Europe by the Spaniards. They dress as follows: underneath they wear a short garment of very thin cotton, with trousers that end above the knee. Their overgarments are patterned with beautiful designs of flower, small animals, and bird feathers; otherwise, their arms and legs are naked. Others, from a nearby province called Chichen [*sic*], go entirely naked because of the heat, covering only their private parts. They sleep in tress; in warfare they use darts.²¹

²¹ Cesare Vecellio, *The Clothing of the Renaissance World: Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas*; Cesare Vecellio's *Habiti Antichi et Moderni*, trans. and ed. Margaret F Rosenthal and Ann Rosalind Jones (London, UK: Thames & Hudson, 2008), 559.

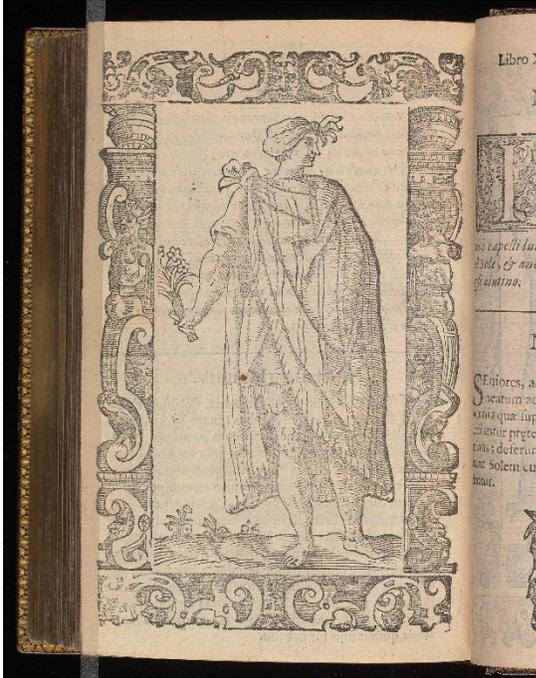


Figure 2: Cesare Vecellio, “Nobile Messicano,” in *Habiti antichi*, 493 verso.

Mexican Nobleman

The more mature men wear a striped mantle arranged over their shoulder. Under it they wear the same clothing as the young man shown here, with the same adornments. They also wear *camice* [*sic*] of very thin fabric, decorated with flowers. They worship the sun and the moon and make sacrifices to them in order to win their help.²²

²² Cesare Vecellio, *The Clothing of the Renaissance World: Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas; Cesare Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni*, trans. and ed. Margaret F. Rosenthal and Ann Rosalind Jones (London, UK: Thames & Hudson, 2008), 560.



Figure 3: Cesare Vecellio, “Habiti delle donne di Messico,” in *Habiti antichi*, 494 verso.

Clothing of the Women of Mexico

These women of Mexico, and also those of the province of Nicaqua [now Nicaragua], [*sic*] dress in this way. Their garments for the most part are of wool or cotton, striped in different colors, similar to an uncut piece of cloth, which they gather at their hips and then tie, leaving an opening, and they overlap it at their side; this comes down to mid-calf and is worn with a short overgarment open at the sides, in various colors. They leave the rest of their bodies bare, with their hair loose on their shoulders. They spin, as shown here. There are others who wear a piece of white cloth or other fabric over their shoulders. Now they follow the Catholic Church.²³

²³ Cesare Vecellio, *The Clothing of the Renaissance World: Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas; Cesare Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni*, trans. and ed. Margaret F Rosenthal, and Ann Rosalind Jones (London, UK: Thames & Hudson, 2008), 561.



Figure 4: Francesco Saverio Clavigero, “Abiti Messicani,” in *Storia antica del Messico*, 224-225.



Figure 5: Joseph Ignacio Heredia y Sarmiento, "People of Ancient Mexico," in *Sermon panegirico*. 128-129.

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