

XOCHITL'S BAR: PULQUERÍAS AND MEXICAN *COSTUMBRISMO*¹

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Abstract: *This article examines the 19th-century resurrection of the legend of Xochitl in Mexico's literary and visual imagery. Xochitl, the legendary discoverer of pulque (an indigenous alcoholic beverage) appeared in literary representations of pulquerías as a means of investing Mexican popular culture with historical and cultural authenticity. While many 19th-century representations of pulque and drinking mobilised references to the Greco-Roman god of wine, Bacchus, the costumbrista paintings of José Agustín Arrieta made oblique connections between Bacchus and Xochitl, and the costumbrista prose of Manuel Payno and Guillermo Prieto associated pulquerías more exclusively with ancient indigenous figures and with Xochitl in particular.*

According to the legend recorded by Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, the seventeenth-century Mexican historian, a noble maiden named Xochitl presented the eighth Toltec king Tecpancaltzin with a gift of pulque, which her father Papantzin had learned to produce from the maguey plants that he cultivated.² The king was apparently so taken with this gift, and with the beauty of Xochitl, that he seduced her and took her as his queen without her parents' knowledge. After a period of three years, Papantzin finally managed to track down his daughter, who had borne the king a son by this stage, and challenged Tecpancaltzin about his wrongdoing. The king accepted Papantzin's complaint and reassured him that Topiltzin, the son he had begotten with Xochitl, would inherit the Toltec throne.³

Mexican artists and writers in the nineteenth century revisited this legend. In his 1862 collection of poetry, *Leyendas Mexicanas* [Mexican Legends], José María Roa Bárcena told a very similar tale to that included in Ixtlilxochitl's history. His verses detail Papantzin's experimentation with the maguey juice in transforming it into the "alabaster milk" of pulque, as well as Papantzin's decision to send it as a gift to the king in the hands of his beautiful daughter.⁴ Again, Tecpancaltzin takes Xochitl into his household without securing the consent of her parents but in Roa Bárcena's romanticized version, the king refuses to admit fault to Papantzin. This corrupt and

disrespectful behaviour causes the Toltec nobility and people to lose faith in their king Tecpancaltzin, and the whole society falls prey to the temptations of lawlessness, disobedience, and vice, which in turn leave them vulnerable to the famine, plagues, and rebel armies that later destroy them during the reign of Topiltzin.⁵

José Obregón's famous 1869 painting, *El descubrimiento del pulque* [The Discovery of Pulque], depicted the first stage of Xochitl's story, when she presents the gift of pulque to the king, in the company of her parents. The image was also used to illustrate the account of Xochitl's legend presented in the first volume of the monumental, government-sponsored historical work, *México a través de los siglos* [Mexico through the Centuries], which largely reproduced Ixtlilxochitl's version of the story. Obregón's painting, however, focused solely on the initial meeting of Tecpancaltzin and Xochitl and contained nothing of the deceptive, manipulative, and corrupt acts that characterize the second half of Roa Bárcena's poetic narrative. Moreover, Stacey Widdifield has argued that Obregón portrayed a distinct contrast between the racial features, costume, and bearing of Xochitl and those of the indigenous servants around the edge of the painting, which suggests that Obregón's work was also a narrative about civilization. According to this reading, the ceramic bowl filled with pulque that the lighter-skinned, well-dressed Xochitl holds in her hands is further along the sequence of civilization and cultivation than the maguey plant, still in its uncultivated, natural state, which is carried by a bare-chested, darker-skinned Indian servant.⁶ In Obregón's painting, then, pulque acts as a prominent marker for a certain degree of culture and progress, whereas in Roa Bárcena's poem, it is caught up and subsumed within a larger tale of deceit, corruption, and the collapse of a civilization.

The differing accounts of Xochitl and pulque's origins presented in the work of Obregón and Roa Bárcena in the 1860s are interesting because together they exhibit a similar ambivalence towards pulque and its cultural value that is evident in artistic and literary representations of pulque's contemporary role in nineteenth-century Mexican society. This article will examine nineteenth-century representations of pulquerías, the taverns where pulque was predominantly sold, to assess the significance of this artistic ambivalence towards pulque in wider nation-building

discourses.⁷ I will focus on the *costumbrista* passages within Manuel Payno's novels and Guillermo Prieto's memoirs, as well as two *costumbrista* paintings by José Agustín Arrieta. Although *costumbrismo* is normally defined as a "literary or pictorial genre dealing with customs and types" that was widely used in nineteenth-century Spanish America, in the case of Payno's novels and Prieto's memoirs, it is more appropriate to consider *costumbrismo* as a mode, within which these authors operate frequently but not consistently.⁸

Both Payno and Prieto included references to the figure of Xochitl in their depictions of pulquerías as a means of attributing to the taverns a history of cultural authenticity, in addition to delineating what they considered to be good and bad popular cultural practices. Arrieta's paintings of the 1850s, meanwhile, *Interior de una pulquería* [Interior of a Pulquería] (fig. 1) and *Tertulia de pulquería* [Gathering in a Pulquería] (fig. 2) together present positive and negative images of Mexican popular culture: even at a first glance, the first image is markedly more convivial than the second, which is slightly more dark and sinister.



Figure 1: José Agustín Arrieta, *Interior de una pulquería*, 1850, oil on canvas, 96 x 73 cm, Museo Nacional de Historia de México, Mexico City. Courtesy of ArteHistoria.com, Colección Protagonistas de la Historia.



Figure 2: José Agustín Arrieta, *Tertulia de pulquería*, 1851, oil on canvas, 95 x 115 cm, Museo Andrés Blaisten, Mexico City. Courtesy of Museo Andrés Blaisten.

Arrieta's pulquerías, however, have no obvious reference to the legend of Xochitl, perhaps simply because they predate her literary revival in the work of Roa Bárcena. Arrieta does include an image of Bacchus or Dionysus (the Greco-Roman god of wine and festivals) in the background of *Interior de una pulquería* (fig. 1): a painting-within-a-painting that suggests Arrieta's desire to associate Mexican popular culture, represented by the pulquería, with a slightly different kind of cultural authenticity than that which Payno and Prieto envisaged towards the end of the nineteenth century in their prose.

JOSÉ AGUSTÍN ARRIETA

José Agustín Arrieta (1802/3-1874) was born in the state of Tlaxcala and moved to the city of Puebla at a young age. In Puebla, he studied painting in the Academy of Fine Arts, where he was particularly influenced by seventeenth-century Dutch and Spanish works that portrayed local customs and people, a genre that he adopted for his own style of *cuadros de costumbres*, in which he depicted scenes from Puebla's

daily life and which fitted in with a growing literary trend in Mexico to include a mosaic of local customs and cultural practices in fictional and journalistic writings.⁹ *Interior de una pulquería* (fig. 1) shows a variety of male patrons drinking pulque and conversing around a table, while two women serve them the drinks and snacks. Like many real pulquerías, the one Arrieta depicts would have broken several legal regulations, as pulquerías were not supposed to serve food, they were not allowed to have seats, and they were only supposed to have one wall, while this one has at least two.¹⁰



Figure 3: Diego Velázquez, *El triunfo de Baco, o Los borrachos*, 1628-9, Oil on canvas, 165 x 225 cm, Colección Real, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid. Courtesy of Museo Nacional del Prado.

Within this typical setting, there are various Mexican types each signified through their own costumes: the *china poblana* serving girl, the *chinaco* soldier, the *ranchero*, or small farmer, the more well-dressed man, and a quite dishevelled servant woman, as well as a variety of ethnic types, including black, white, mestizo, and Indian. It is

clear that Arrieta uses the *Interior de una pulquería* to depict a cross-section of Mexican society doing typically Mexican things. But a particularly noteworthy part of the painting is the partially obscured painting-within-a-painting positioned at the top-centre and to which the viewer is drawn by the *china poblana* who stands directly beneath it while looking out at us. The painting on the wall is the famous 17th century work (fig. 3), *El triunfo de Baco* [The Triumph of Bacchus], popularly known as *Los borrachos* [The Drunkards], by the Spanish master Diego Velázquez.

Interestingly, Arrieta's second depiction of a pulquería also alludes to the Bacchus painting, albeit in a more obscure way. In *Tertulia de pulquería* (fig. 2), the men are discussing local political affairs, as indicated in the pamphlets two are waving. But the three men on the right of the image appear as Mexicanized versions of three huddled figures in Velázquez's *El triunfo de Baco*. In Arrieta's painting, the men are more dark and imposing and bear more sinister expressions on their faces, while the woman, another *china poblana*, adds some lightness to the picture, in an almost mirrored position to that which Bacchus himself occupies in Velázquez's painting.¹¹ Moreover, the similarities in colour between Bacchus and the serving girl are quite marked.

What do the visual similarities and intertextual references in these images reveal? In both of Arrieta's pulquería paintings, the image of Bacchus is most closely associated with the female serving woman, who stands beneath the image of *El triunfo de Baco* drawing the viewer's eye to it in *Interior de una pulquería*, and who occupies a similar position to Bacchus in *Tertulia de Pulquería*. Perhaps, therefore, the *china poblana* is portrayed as a purveyor of frivolity and drunkenness, symbolically fulfilling the role that Bacchus played in classical societies, and the pulquería in which she works is to be understood as an arena of cultural practice akin to the Bacchanalia.¹² We must also remember of course that Bacchus was a god of fertility as well as a god of wine. We might therefore connect the references to Bacchus in Arrieta's paintings to the legend of Xochitl, through Arrieta's association of Mexican women with both Bacchus and pulque. Xochitl is also the Nahuatl word for flower and, in the Aztec calendar, the flower day sign Xochitl was associated with the goddess Xochiquetzal, representing beauty, love, pleasure, and art, and her twin god Xochipili, representing pleasure, feasting, and frivolity.

Together, all these significations seem to connect Xochitl, and her contemporary Mexican equivalent the *china poblana* serving girl, to the classical attributes associated with Bacchus. In addition to that fairly subliminal relationship, however, we must also take the images at face value to an extent; after all, it is a picture of Bacchus, and not Xochitl, that Arrieta juxtaposes with the contemporary Mexican scene. Perhaps Arrieta merely wanted to showcase his artistic credentials by referencing a past master of Hispanic art, Diego Velázquez.

Nevertheless, it is likely that Arrieta intended his two pulquería paintings to represent the janus-faced nature of cultural practices involving drinking. Drinking in the pulquería is represented as a culturally significant practice: the costumes, the glasses of pulque, the food, and the varied ethnicities of the figures portrayed therein embody the Mexicanness of the scene, while the references to Velázquez's painting of Bacchus hint at both the cultural value of the paintings themselves and the cultural value of the practice depicted in them. In Ancient Rome, Bacchus came to be associated not only with festivity and celebration but also with chaos and destruction and the Bacchanalia held in his honour were treated with great suspicion by the authorities, at the same time as they provided great joy to those involved in them.¹³ Through his associations of the pulquerías with the painting of Bacchus and through the contrasting atmospheres depicted in the two images, Arrieta seems at once to approve of the conviviality and local colour that the pulquería could engender and to warn of the flip side of such spaces, producing drunkenness, lasciviousness, and even violence.

Indeed, the darker side of drinking places and drinking practices in nineteenth century Mexico were quite often associated with the symbol of Bacchus or Dionysus in journalism and fiction. An 1872 article in *El Siglo XIX*, for instance, sneered at the attempts of some Mexico City pulquerías to smarten up their image: "PULQUERÍAS – A colleague says, there is nothing more repugnant than these temples to Bacchus, with the finery that they have tried to introduce in them."¹⁴ The irresponsible father who leads his daughter into a life of habitual drunkenness and prostitution in José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi's second novel *La Quijotita y su prima* (1818), is named Dionisio, after the Greek version of Bacchus, which is worth noting since Fernández de Lizardi had quite a penchant for giving his fictional characters

particularly significant names.¹⁵ In another example, the protagonist of Fernando Orozco y Berra's novel *La guerra de treinta años* (1850) has a dualistic romantic and seedy nature and the seedy aspect of his character is represented by his occasional indulgence in nights of drunken debauchery, which are variously called "orgies", "Bacchanals" and "infernal nights".¹⁶ Furthermore, in Heriberto Frías' 1893 novel *Tomóchic*, the alcoholic protagonist Miguel Mercado routinely indulges in drunkenness to assuage his feelings of inadequacy and fear regarding his duties as a soldier in the Mexican army. In one scene, where the soldiers drink together as they prepare to march on a group of rebels in the north of Mexico, Frías gives the gathering a sinister atmosphere by highlighting the mixed emotions the Bacchanalian excess induces in Mercado:

"Once again the alcohol maddened him, awakening in him bitter memories, after a strange, fleeting happiness. In that moment he became melancholy and tried to be philosophical amidst the Bacchanalian uproar. 'Well, after all', he said, 'What's wrong with a little drinking... if it blots out the pain?' "¹⁷

In a final example, Ángel de Campo's 1894 short story, *Dos besos*, places side by side two illicit romantic meetings, one taking place between Efigenia and Armando in an undefined historical era in the Black Forest in Germany, and the other involving Carmelita and Antonio in contemporary Mexico City. While the first couple are able to meet because Efigenia's father is otherwise engaged in "drinking from the skulls of his serfs, in a horrible orgy with his concubines... singing Bacchanalian songs in the company of his favourites", the Mexican couple steal a few moments in the dimly lit street behind a pulquería, accompanied by the noise of a "chorus of drunkards".¹⁸ The contrast between the romanticized, tortured, and chaste encounter in the first portrait and the banal, slightly embittered exchange between Carmelita and Antonio is further emphasized by the dramatic background of classical Bacchanalia in the German scene, as compared to the distinctly ordinary pulquería that forms the background to the Mexicans' meeting.

Arrieta's pictorial reference to Bacchus was not, therefore, without intertextual predecessors and successors in nineteenth century artistic production and discourse in Mexico, as journalists and novelists also used Bacchus or Dionysus symbolically

in their work to allude to the simultaneously convivial and threatening nature of drinking places and drinking practices. Arrieta's pair of pulquería paintings also point to the simultaneously dangerous and frivolous nature of social drinking, by incorporating references to Bacchus and by associating the image of Bacchus with the legend of Xochitl, through the *china poblana* figures. His images call to mind Roa Bárcena's version of Xochitl's story, which highlighted both the joy and excitement engendered by the discovery of pulque and the ruinous chain of events that Xochitl's gift to the king initiated for the Toltec civilization. Two other major figures of Mexican *costumbrismo*, Manuel Payno and Guillermo Prieto, would also call upon the legend of Xochitl but they would mobilize her image as a pre-Conquest indigenous symbol to associate pulque and the pulquería with Mexican cultural authenticity.¹⁹

MANUEL PAYNO AND GUILLERMO PRIETO.

Manuel Payno (1810-1894) was a prominent public figure in Mexico throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, holding administrative, advisory, and ambassadorial offices within successive governments. Of a moderate political persuasion, Payno examined a rich mosaic of Mexican cultural customs, as well as the causes of Mexico's social problems and inequalities, in his fiction, which included the two encyclopaedic *costumbrista* novels, *El fistol del Diablo* (1845-6) and *Los bandidos de Río Frío* (1888-91).²⁰ In *Los bandidos*, Payno describes a pulquería in a bustling Mexico City barrio as "America personified" and "the queen of all these singular taverns where the liquor discovered by the beautiful Xochitl is dispensed".²¹ The pulquería's single interior wall sports the image of Xochitl herself, complete with feathered adornments, and this image is said to "preside over the pulquería and... encourage the locals to leave on display their bulky chests, their thick calves, and their small, sandaled feet".²² The reference to Xochitl not only leads the reader to imagine the pulquería Payno describes as a time-honoured Mexican tradition, due to the pre-Conquest legend of the discovery of pulque of which she is part, but her image is even given a degree of agency, as she is drawing out the local colour of the local Mexicans who drink and relax in her company.

In the same passage, Payno notes that his general musings on popular customs would have an "ancient novelty value" not only for foreigners but "even for those

enlightened and *Parisian* Mexicans who live in the city centre”.²³ He italicises the words *enlightened* and *Parisian* in order to emphasise the distance the author felt to exist between elite and popular culture in Mexican society and the passage as a whole suggests that he believed popular culture had some sort of potential to become the basis of an authentic and unique Mexican identity. Indeed, pulque and pulquerías are consistent emblems of the popular, the authentic and the uniquely Mexican, throughout the novel.

From the very beginning of *Los bandidos*, the honest, hard-working, modest, rural family of the mestiza Doña Pascuala, her Indian husband Espiridión, and their (interestingly named) son Moctezuma III, enact the typical values associated with popular rural cultural spaces, including the consumption of indigenous food and drinks such as tortillas, tamales, atole and tlachique, which is a sweetened low-grade pulque.²⁴ In another section of the novel, a female market trader treats the wealthy municipal official Lamparilla to a traditional Mexican meal of tortillas, eggs, and chilli when he remarks

“This dish, which a Frenchman would call the disgusting concoction of savages, is among the best that one could ask for, and if you had some flavoured pulque, I could wish for nothing more.”²⁵

Tortillas and pulque, then, although typical features of popular social spaces, ought to be appreciated even by the sophisticated French and, by implication, those enlightened and Parisian Mexican elites who showed disdain for popular culture in general.

In a second pulquería in *Los bandidos* Payno again draws on a reference to Xochitl, as well as to Nezahualcoyotl, the Texcocan king accredited with an illustrious philosophical and poetic career, to highlight the traditional, uniquely Mexican nature of the pulquería:

“[In the new town] they built a large pulquería from its very foundations up, which attracted one’s attention with the images of Xochitl and Nezahualcoyotl painted in strong colours on the white front-facing wall... One day two well-dressed *charros*

arrived on their excellent horses and dismounted before the pulquería. They asked for lunch and, although it was not a restaurant, in the spirit of good will the owner arranged for his wife to make them something to eat, as he was accustomed to pleasing all his customers in order to promote the famous 'Xochitl's pulquería', which sold the finest pulques from the plains of Apan."²⁶

In this case, the image of Xochitl is not merely an attractive decorative feature but it also adds to the aura of prestige created by the owner's hospitable attitude and the pulquería's quality produce. Her equal positioning with the renowned Nezahualcoyotl indicates that she too acts as a pre-Conquest symbol of culture, echoing the representation of *El descubrimiento del pulque* in José Obregón's painting, where she was differentiated from the lowly servant woman carrying the maguey plant in terms of race, dress, and the gift of pulque that she bore.

In making this representation of "Xochitl's pulquería", Payno shared several features with the rustic portrait of those drinking taverns offered by one of his oldest friends, Guillermo Prieto, in his celebrated *costumbrista* memoirs written in the 1880s.²⁷ Guillermo Prieto (1818-1897) was born to a comfortable Mexico City family but, as his father died and his mother had a nervous breakdown during his adolescence, Prieto was adopted by the prominent politician Andrés Quintana Roo and was educated in the San Juan de Letrán College. He was committed to the creation of a Mexican national literature and, in addition to his career as a prose writer, poet, essayist, and journalist in which he often used the pseudonym Fidel, Prieto was a prominent liberal politician, serving variously as congressional deputy, Minister of Finance, and Minister of Foreign Relations.²⁸

Like Payno, Prieto credited pulquerías as being the popular cultural spaces that best represented an authentic Mexican identity, as is evident in the following extract from *Memorias de mis tiempos* [Memories of my Time]:

"the typical way of getting to know the common population of Mexico City, a population peppered with friars and soldiers, matadors, libertines, and carefree youths of the rich class, was going to the pulquerías located in the suburbs, like 'La Nana', 'Los Pelos', 'Don Toribio', 'Celaya' etc... Men, women, children, abattoir

workers, matadors; blankets, capes, camel-hair coats, and jackets, intermingling to form a restless throng, in which shouts, insults, shamelessness, guffaws, and blasphemy flow freely, the fervour being fed by tasters, glasses, and pitchers of Xochitl's intoxicating liquor."²⁹

Although Xochitl does not adorn the walls of the pulquerías that Prieto describes, her symbolic presence in his literary portrait operates in a similar fashion to Payno's use of her image, by adding historical and cultural depth to the scenes of local customs that both authors depict. In Prieto's description, which could seem attractive or off-putting depending on the orientation of the reader, Xochitl seems to float around and between the motley group of revellers, out-of-sight but yet always there. The brief reference to her "ownership" of pulque, after the longer list detailing the different layers of Mexican society one might expect to find in the pulquerías, enhances the Mexicanness of the scene by alluding to a story hundreds of years old that had been undergoing somewhat of an artistic renaissance in the nineteenth century.

CONCLUSIONS

In the work of Payno and Prieto, the repeated references to Xochitl with regard to pulquerías invested their representations of these drinking places with a sense of history, culture, and authenticity, in a different yet oddly similar way to Arrieta's references to Bacchus in his pulquería paintings. While Arrieta's references to Bacchus can be linked to the legend of Xochitl as well, since the active positioning of the *china poblana* figures in his paintings serve to link the classical god of wine to women and pulque, this relationship remains implicit at the very least. By the late nineteenth century, however, when Payno and Prieto were writing, selected pre-Conquest symbols were increasingly incorporated into aspects of national iconography and they were often given a classicized sheen. The unveiling in 1887 of a Roman-style statue of Cuauhtémoc, the last Aztec emperor who fought against the Spanish conquistadors, on the main thoroughfare in Mexico City, the Avenida de la Reforma, and the erection in Texcoco of a statue of the revered poet-king Nezahualcoyotl, are prominent examples of this trend.³⁰ In addition, the Aztec palace constructed for inclusion in the 1889 World's Fair in Paris bore a decorative façade of Aztec emperors, including Nezahualcoyotl, and pre-Conquest gods, including Xochiquetzal, as testimony to the noble origins and natural productive

capacity of modern Mexico. As Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo has suggested, the main architect behind the project sought to represent the pantheon of Aztec figures as equivalents to Greco-Roman gods and heroes.³¹ Perhaps, then, Payno and Prieto's inclusion of Xochitl in their representations of the humble pulquería ought to be interpreted as part of this trend towards the inclusion of classicized icons from the ancient indigenous past into the growing repertoire of national cultural symbols. Their work signified an attempt to incorporate pulquerías and pulque-drinking, as elements of popular culture that could be connected to a long history of Mexican cultural expression, within ideas of what constituted the national. The evolving *costumbrista* representations of pulquerías, from Arrieta to Payno and Prieto, therefore reveal the transformation of Xochitl into Bacchus and back again in the Mexican imagination.

¹ All translations from the Spanish are mine, unless otherwise stated. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the conference "Seeing the Nation: Art and Imagining in 19th-Century Spanish America" at the University of Essex, September 2009. I would like to thank the organisers, Prof. Valerie Fraser and Dr Rebecca Earle, and several participants, especially Dr Guy Thomson and Prof. Emily Umberger, for their comments on this paper. I would also like to thank the Institute of Advanced Studies at the University of Warwick for its financial and institutional support in completing this work.

² Pulque is a fermented alcoholic beverage, with a foamy, milky-white appearance and a pungent smell.

³ Alfredo Chavero (ed.), *Obras históricas de don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl* (3 vols, Mexico City: Secretaria de Fomento, 1891), vol. 1: 43-6.

⁴ José María Roa Bárcena, 'Xochitl, o La ruina de Tula', *Leyendas mexicanas, cuentos y baladas del norte de Europa, y algunos otros ensayos poéticos* (Mexico City: Agustín Masse, 1862): 21-2.

⁵ Ibid: 37. See also Rafael Olea Franco, 'José María Roa Bárcena: literatura e ideología', in Belem Clark de Lara and Elisa Speckman Guerra (eds), *La república de las letras: asomos a la cultura escrita del México decimonónico* (3 vols, Mexico City: UNAM, 2005), vol. 3: 263-5.

⁶ Stacie G. Widdifield, *The Embodiment of the National in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexican Painting* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996): 93-5; Stacie G. Widdifield, 'Dispossession, Assimilation, and the Image of the Indian in Late-Nineteenth-Century Mexican Painting', in *Art Journal*, vol. 49, no. 2, *Depictions of the Dispossessed* (1990): 126-8. See also Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's*

Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1996): 119-21; Rodolfo Ramírez Rodríguez, 'La representación popular del maguey y el pulque en las artes', in *Cuicuilco*, vol. 14, no. 39 (2007): 127.

⁷ For an overview of 19th and 20th-century literary, artistic, and musical representations of pulque and the maguey plant from which it is produced see Ramírez Rodríguez, 'La representación popular del maguey y el pulque': 123-40.

⁸ Erica Segre, *Intersected Identities: Strategies of Visualization in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Mexican Culture* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007): 7. See also John S. Brushwood, *Genteel Barbarism: Experiments in Analysis of Nineteenth-Century Spanish-American Novels* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1981): 5-6; John Mraz, *Looking for Mexico: Modern Visual Culture and National Identity* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009):28-9.

⁹ There is some confusion as to whether Arrieta was born in 1802 or 1803. Francisco Cabrera cites 1802 but includes in his appendix an excerpt from Francisco Pérez Salazar's *Historia de la pintura en Puebla* (1963), which cites the birth date as 1803. Francisco Cabrera, *Agustín Arrieta, pintor costumbrista* (Mexico City: Editorial Libros de México, 1963): 36, 117.

¹⁰ Juan Pedro Viquiera Albán, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1999): 101, 143; VirginiaGuedea, 'México en 1812: control político y bebidas prohibidas', in *Estudios de historia moderna y contemporánea de México*, vol. 8 (1980): 32; Michael Scardaville, 'Alcohol Abuse and Tavern Reform in Late Colonial Mexico City', in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 60, no. 4 (1980): 648; Sonia Corcuera de Mancera, *Del amor al temor. Borrachez, catequesis, y control en la Nueva España (1551-1771)* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1994): 215; Anne Staples, 'Policía y Buen Gobierno: Municipal Efforts to Regulate Public Behaviour, 1821-1857' in William H. Beezley, Cheryl English Martin and William E. French (eds), *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1994): 119-21.

¹¹ Cabrera also notes the central role of the *china poblana* figure in many of Arrieta's compositions. Cabrera, *Agustín Arrieta*: 60-3.

¹² On the *china poblana's* place in 19th and 20th-century nationalist discourse, see María del Carmen Vázquez Mantecón, 'La china mexicana, mayor conocida como china poblana', in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, vol. 22, no. 77 (2000): 123-50; Joanne Hershfield, *Imagining la Chica Moderna: Women, Nation and Visual Culture in Mexico, 1917-1936* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008): 128-55; Rick López, 'The India Bonita Contest of 1921 and the Ethnicization of Mexican National Culture', in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 82, no. 2 (2002): 301-2; Mraz, *Looking for Mexico*: 77-9; María Esther Pérez Salas, *Costumbrismo y litografía en México: un nuevo modo de ver* (Mexico City: UNAM, 2005): 228-30, 307.

¹³ For a highly engaging synthesis of the many different incarnations of Bacchus in ancient literature, see Andrew Dalby, *Bacchus: A Biography* (London: The British Museum Press, 2003).

¹⁴ *El Siglo XIX*, 8 August 1872, p. 3.

¹⁵ José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, *La Quijotita y su prima* (intro. by María del Carmen Ruíz Castañeda, Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1962). A prominent example of Fernández de Lizardi's far from subtle technique of using symbolic names occurs in his last novel, *Don Catrín de la Fachenda* (1832), where a group of men named Modesto, Prudencio, Constante, and Moderato (Modest, Prudence, Constant, and Moderate) live according to the precepts of Enlightenment philosophy. José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, *Don Catrín de la Fachenda y Noches tristes y día alegre* (2nd edn, prologue by Jefferson Rea Spell, Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1970): 35-7.

¹⁶ Fernando Orozco y Berra, *La guerra de treinta años* (2 vols, Mexico City: Vicente García Torres, 1850), Vol. 2: 274-5.

¹⁷ Heriberto Frías, *Tomóchic* (intro. by Antonio Saborit, Mexico City: Random House Mondadori, 2007): 75.

¹⁸ Ángel de Campo, 'Dos besos' in *Cosas Vistas y Cartones* (2nd edn, prologue by María del Carmen Millan, Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1968): 56-60.

¹⁹ For an interesting analysis of Xochitl's appearance in the work of 20th-century American writer, Katherine Anne Porter, famous for her interest in Mexico, see Thomas Walsh, 'Xochitl: Katherine Anne Porter's Changing Goddess', in *American Literature*, vol. 52, no. 2 (1980): 183-93.

²⁰ John Lloyd Read, *The Mexican Historical Novel, 1826-1910* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1973): 125-7; Mario Calderón, 'La novela costumbrista mexicana' in Belem Clark de Lara and Elisa Speckman Guerra (eds), *La república de las letras: asomos a la cultura escrita del México decimonónico* (3 vols, Mexico City: UNAM, 2005), vol. 1: 318-24; Nicole Giron, 'Payno, o las incertidumbres del liberalismo' in Margo Glantz (ed.), *Del fistol a la linterna. Homenaje a José Tomás de Cuéllar y Manuel Payno en el centenario de su muerte, 1994* (Mexico City: UNAM, 1997): 135-40.

²¹ Manuel Payno, *Los bandidos de Río Frío* (Mexico City: Grupo Editorial Tomo, 2006): 466.

²² Ibid: 466.

²³ Ibid: 465

²⁴ Ibid: 12-13. In *Angelina* (1893) another novelist, Rafael Delgado, also offers a positive depiction of a typical Mexican provincial town enjoying community festivals with common foods, including tamales, beans and turkey mole, along with aguardiente or tepache as the typical alcoholic drink consumed by the popular

classes. Rafael Delgado, *Angelina* (3rd edn, with prologue by Antonio Castro Leal, Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1972): 149-51.

²⁵ Payno, *Los bandidos*: 287-8.

²⁶ Ibid: 652.

²⁷ Among the many projects undertaken jointly by Payno and Prieto was the foundation of *El Museo Mexicano* in the 1840s, a periodical with the *costumbrista* goal of displaying scientific, artistic and natural knowledge about Mexico to the Mexican public, including the 'celebration and conservation of highly figurative local folklore'. Segre, *Intersected Identities*: 22-4. See also Pérez Salas, *Costumbrismo y litografía en México*: 203-4. The two men apparently fell out after Payno opposed the 1857 liberal constitution. See Leonor Ludlow, 'Guillermo Prieto' in Belem Clark de Lara and Elisa Speckman Guerra (eds), *La república de las letras: asomos a la cultura escrita del México decimonónico* (3 vols, Mexico City: UNAM, 2005), vol. 3: 192.

²⁸ Ludlow, 'Guillermo Prieto': 190-2; Guadalupe Fernández Ariza, 'Guillermo Prieto' in Luis Iñigo Madrigal, *Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana. Vol. 2: Del neoclasicismo al modernismo* (3 vols, Madrid: Cátedra, 1987): 251-2.

²⁹ Guillermo Prieto, *Memorias de mis tiempos* (prologue by Horacio Labastida, Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1985): 48-9.

³⁰ Widdifield, *Embodiment of the National*: 98-9; Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs*: 205; Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810-1930* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007): 8, 75.

³¹ Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs*: 75-7