To everyone I know
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank that people and institutions that have aided me in the progression and research of writing this thesis. Savannah College of Art and Design, the Telfair Museum, as well as the Harn Museum of Art were gracious enough to allow me to experience a number of both Posada and Goya prints that were pivotal to my research.

Many individuals and groups have supported me in a number of ways in my research. I would first like to thank Dr. Cabañas for her unwavering support. I would also like to thank Dr. Stanfield-Mazzi for allowing me to further develop and research elements of my thesis in her Mexican Muralism class. I would also like to thank Elaine Ames, Ivy Margosian, Ryan MacLennan, Mark Hodge, and Macarena Deij Prado for their input and constant support and for acting as sounding boards for my ideas.

I would also like to thank the University of Florida and the College of Art History for allowing me this opportunity to put forth these ideas and allow me to participate in their community. Being a part of this college, which has allowed me the privilege to engage with such remarkable scholars and fellow students, has shaped me in unimaginable ways that I am truly thankful for.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 MORAL VIOLENCE</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 EXECUTION SCENES</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 CULTURAL VIOLENCE</td>
<td>621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 CONCLUSION</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF REFERENCES</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2-1</td>
<td>Francisco de Goya, <em>Todos caerán</em></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-2</td>
<td>Francisco de Goya, <em>Si quebró el cántaro</em></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>José Guadalupe Posada, <em>Consejos y dinero</em></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-4</td>
<td>Francisco de Goya, <em>Los Chinchillas</em></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-1</td>
<td>Francisco de Goya, <em>No se puede mirar</em></td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-2</td>
<td>Francisco de Goya, <em>Y no hay remedio</em></td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-3</td>
<td>Francisco de Goya, <em>El tres de mayo</em></td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>Edouard Manet, <em>The execution of Emperor Maximilian</em></td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>José Guadalupe Posada, <em>Ballad of the Four Executed Zapatistas</em></td>
<td>5960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-6</td>
<td>José Guadalupe Posada, <em>The Execution of Two Madero Supporters</em></td>
<td>6060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-7</td>
<td>José Guadalupe Posada, <em>Bloody Events in the City of Puebla. The Death of police Chief Miguel Caberera</em></td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-1</td>
<td>Francisco de Goya, <em>Bullfight</em></td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-2</td>
<td>José Guadalupe Posada, <em>The Sensational Goring and Death of the Famous Matador Antonio Montes</em></td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-3</td>
<td>José Guadalupe Posada, <em>Sad Recollections of Antonio Montes</em></td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-4</td>
<td>José Guadalupe Posada, <em>Goring of Rodolfo Gaono in the Bullring at Puebla</em></td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A BRUTAL PRECEDENT:
GOYA’S AND POSADA’S IMAGES OF VIOLENCE

By

Chase A. Machado

August 2017

Chair: Kaira M. Cabañas
Major: Art History

This thesis will connect three printed series of renowned Spanish painter Francisco de Goya, *Los caprichos, Los desastres de la guerra, and Los toros de Burdeos*, to Mexican printmaker José Guadalupe Posada’s general body of social, political, and cultural work. Goya’s printmaking reflects his own position within eighteenth and nineteenth century Spanish society as well as that of his intended audience. Goya’s images of violence set a precedent for. Both artists respond to social mores, political instability, and significant events that act as key reflections of their countries’ cultures. Goya and Posada use differing methods when approaching the materials they use and the distribution of their works. Both factors of publication including creation and distribution act as reflections of Goya’s and Posada’s social standing. Along with this, I consider the accessibility of their work for their intended audience as part of the response to the issues they are depicting in their prints.

Goya and Posada address these issues in creating visceral and gruesome prints to further the impact of the images in association with their message. Furthering the connection between the two printmakers is the overarching goal of spurring social change and to critique varying aspects of their societies in an attempt to bring attention to issues of injustice and misconduct. They achieved this through means allowed within their class distinctions and respective cultures.
Posada is one of the most influential twentieth century printmakers to come out of Latin America. His oeuvre has influenced other prominent artists that explored socio-political topics through their artwork. Some of the most well-known artists that drew from Posada’s work include Diego Rivera and José Clemente Orozco, both of whom worked with printmaking for short periods of their careers. Goya was an influential court painter and his oeuvre continues to be researched by scholars such as Fred Licht, Sarah Symmons, and Janis Tomlinson.

Goya’s works respond to a variety of issues but maintain a degree of criticism about the upper class. Despite this, the influence of his prints both thematically and compositionally can be seen in Posada’s later work. Both artists practice working with morality prints, scenes of firing squads, and the sport of bullfighting present in both of their countries. Ultimately, the ways in which Goya portrays this subject matter and how he arranges figures within the frame of the print can be seen in Posada’s work both superficially and more so with the in depth examination that I will conduct in this thesis.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Since its inception in the fifteenth century the art of printmaking has been a medium used for the transference of information. Printmaking’s ability to produce text and images that are economically and efficiently disseminated en masse to audiences allows for the conveyance of a wide variety of ideas through the centuries. As the practice of printmaking became more commonplace, the functionality and purpose of prints evolved due to the materials, techniques and in response to critical social situations the printmakers chose to address. Printmaking remains a medium grounded within the principle of easily achieving and making accessible a comprehensible message through mass production and illustrative shorthand. Francisco de Goya, an illustrious painter from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, is also renowned for his prints. His status as a fine artist stems from his appointment as a Spanish Royal Court painter, while his prints address a separate, crepuscular history. Goya’s prints are regarded as works that emotionally affect their viewers, through incorporating social, political, and cultural critiques. Their unabashed “realism” is taken up in various media after his death by modernist painters and commercial artists.¹ Art historian Fred Licht affirms that Goya was “the first artist to use painting aggressively [and] polemically, which can also be seen his printed works.”² Two of his most noted series of prints, Los caprichos (The caprices) and Los desastres de la guerra (The disasters of war), are satirical depictions of the gruesome atrocities committed during the Peninsular War. A later and less well known series of lithograph prints created during the final years of his life, known as Los toros de Burdeos (The bulls of Bordeaux), showcases the blood sport of

¹ Fred Licht, Goya in Perspective (New Jersey: Spectrum Book, 1973), 1-6. Licht discusses the wide spread appreciation and influence of Goya’s work. Declaring Manet’s Execution of Maximilian plagiarism and stating that “there are even passages in cubism that immediately bring to mind similar visual episodes in Goya’s graphic work.”

² Ibid., 6.
bullfighting, brought from Spain to France, where Goya was in exile himself late in his life. All three of these series utilize images of violence to depict the current affairs and events Goya dealt with in his lifetime. I address Goya’s prints here, as their themes and compositional elements serve as precedents to the printed works of the early twentieth century Mexican printmaker José Guadalupe Posada.

Posada became known as one of the most prolific and prominent printmakers during his lifetime; famous for his prints of calaveras (skeletons), social and political critiquing imagery, as well as his moral chapbooks aimed at a demographic consisting predominantly of children and housewives. Posada’s images use themes and iconography that can also be appreciated in Goya’s prints, such as decent moral behavior and iconic compositions of firing squads. The addition of accompanying narrative text adjacent to the image, taken from multiple sources including traditional folktales and text Posada wrote himself, aids in the understanding and identification of the working class consisting of those, most often in laborious occupations, who create commodities for society. The comprehension of the overall images, figures, and stories was accomplished through visual identifiers that allowed the reader to associate his or her personal life and experiences with the characters in the stories that were often drawn from the Mexican working class. Even though the audience for Posada’s work is largely understood to be illiterate they would still be able to understand the narrative through Posada’s visual shorthand that depicts key aspects from the story through visual means.

Goya and Posada’s responses to social, political, and cultural events are entwined with their own distinct social status within their respective societies. Goya rose to prominence and occupied the highest level of Royal Court painter in Spain, whereas Posada maintained his career as an independent commercial printmaker for many years until he began to collaborate with
Antonio Arroyo’s publishing firm. Both artists deal with a myriad of events and both respond in similar manners: commenting on the moral fabric of social classes and visually engaging with real life scenes of torture and violence during times of political instability and war. They each draw social distinctions between the upper and lower classes through the depiction of the cultural touchstone that traverses both of their societies, bullfighting. Posada and Goya’s works personify their own class identification but also in Goya’s case, represent and respond to the elite and upper middle classes while including the and lower working and impoverished social classes because of his enlightenment ideology as well as his own status in Spanish culture. This can be seen in Goya’s print *Todos caerán* wherein he creates a distinct separation between higher and lower classes of society but equivalently critiques the behavior and moral choices of both parties.

Goya’s work during the late eighteenth century serves as a precedent for how Posada later engages with the same themes of morality/society, war/politics, and the cultural spectacle of bullfighting. While Goya and Posada differ in their responses because of their respective social statuses as a privileged Spanish court painter and an urban commercial artist, they both take it upon themselves to critique and address the conduct of the differing classes in regards to the three topics that I have been outlined above. This thesis examines the ways in which Francisco Goya and José Posada reflect upon their social statuses through the three previously stated themes through their printmaking and how the aggressive, often gruesome imagery they created was intended to inform their audiences while holding the potential to spark reform through its publication and mass distribution. The works that have been chosen for this thesis are used to illustrate how violent images become some of the most moving and engaging for both the artist and viewer by utilizing and isolating specific themes whether they are intended to be subtle or direct. Many scholars, such as Fred Licht and Sarah Symmons, examine how Goya depicts his
social status in a similar manner to how Patrick Frank analyzes Posada’s actions, while others have made the comparison between the two because of their significance in their respective countries. However, there have been few scholars that place Posada in close proximity to Goya other than to make the subjective claim that Posada is the Mexican Goya (just as he is also said to be the Mexican Daumier or Hogarth).

Francisco Goya was a self-proclaimed “man of the enlightenment” and his prominent position within the Royal Court under Charles IV of Spain was at times in opposition to Goya’s own morals and ideals. He was exposed to a number of social practices of the Spanish upper class that he found ridiculous, at times abhorrent, and deserving of critique according to Alfonso Sánchez. Sánchez goes on to explain in the catalogue for the exhibition Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment that the works included in the show are meant to display Goya’s moral criticism and his visual attacks on how harm is perpetrated through the “hypocrisy of those who pretended to be what they are not,” as well as an overall lack of human compassion found in events such as war and the division of classes. The actions of the upper echelon of Spanish society spurred Goya to create the 80 print series that both criticizes and satirizes the questionable acts of the Spanish elite, and in certain instances includes lower class figures. Los caprichos became Goya’s first notable published print series which contains images that cover a breadth of topics, from

---

3 Fred Licht covers Goya’s various methods of representation throughout his book, Goya. Discussing how Goya returns to his method of class identification in many of his works and especially his print series, Los caprichos that I will discuss in depth in Chapter 1. Symmons similarly looks at how Goya associates his social standing with his works (both painting and print) specifically with images dealing with his royal portraits and his scenes of war and violence in her book of the same name, Goya.


5 Alfonso Sánchez, foreword to Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment, by Alfonso Sánchez (Boston: Museum of Fine Art, 1989), xi

6 Ibid.
lewd sexual behavior to subtle images of violence, including child abuse. These images were created with the intent that the intended audience of the upper class would comprehend Goya’s satirical depictions with the hope of addressing such situations occurring in reality and encourage social change.

Posada follows a similar approach by addressing social injustices and morality, and his chapbooks operate in a fashion similar to Aesop’s fables, which conclude with a moral lesson for the audience or reader. These children’s books are aimed predominantly at the lower class and are printed on low quality pulp paper rather than the much higher grade paper Goya used. This practice of using cheaper materials allows these moral stories and their images to be more readily available to the lower classes of Mexico. Posada’s visceral imagery accompanies narrative text provided by other individuals during the early years of production. Some consider these images grotesque, macabre, and distasteful by modern standards, but such imagery aims to bring attention to the seriousness of moral instability caused by the industrialization and modernization of Mexico during the Porfirio Díaz dictatorship. Posada’s use of cheaper quality materials marks one of the major differences between himself and Goya. Because the majority of Posada’s works were issued as broadsheets and in newspapers they were ephemeral; the use of higher grade paper was not cost effective for the production of mass quantities of daily, disposable prints. In opposition to mass production, Goya created a set number of prints for publication with regards to Los caprichos and later Los toros de Bordeaux which were sold only at vendors his audiences were likely to patronize, and at a cost inaccessible to the lower classes of Spain. The means of production and distribution for each artist’s prints is a topic that will be recurrent in my thesis due to its crucial role in association with the artist's life and class.
Throughout the Chapters of my thesis the subjects of publication and dissemination play a major role when discussing how each artist addresses his audience. It will be a crucial point in Chapter 3 when I explore the images of war Posada and Goya create. Goya’s *Los desastres de la guerra* are gruesome depictions of atrocities from the Peninsular War and were not created with the intention of publication. *Los desastres de la guerra* was released posthumously by the Royal Spanish Academy in 1863 upon acquiring the plates from Goya’s heirs. There are numerous reasons that Goya would have for not seeking to publish this series, the most crucial one being the certainty of death due to Ferdinand VII reestablishing the inquisition. Criticism and images such as these were Goya’s response to the allowance of France’s invasion into Spain by the rule of Ferdinand VII. These horrific events as well as the reestablishment of the inquisition led Goya to flee France after being granted permission by the Spanish king and ultimately led to his exile and death in Bordeaux. I treat these images as what they became after their publication by the Royal academy and that is as historical documents.

With the threats of harassment, imprisonment, and even political assassination ever present, Posada produces images that bear striking similarities in composition and theme to Goya’s own execution scenes. On a daily basis Posada created numerous images criticizing the Díaz regime and the events leading up to the Mexican Revolution. Posada and his partner Antonio Arroyo understood that the majority of people affected by President Díaz’s policies were illiterate and would require a substitute for the written language. Arroyo utilized Posada’s distinct style to convey simplified messages that would have been difficult for their audience to decipher through conventional printed text. The addition of images was intentionally done with the objective of reaching a greater audience independent of reading comprehension. Arroyo and Posada’s choice of inexpensive paper allowed Arroyo’s printing firm to produce a multitude of
the same prints and broadsheets that include Posada’s plates. The quantity of prints being produced by the firm would ultimately lead to the plates becoming unrecognizable after pressure was repeatedly applied to them during the printing process. It was not only the physically printed copies that act as a temporary objects, it also the plates. Posada created his prints from various techniques of subtractive method printmaking involving wood, zinc, and copper plates, which break down over time and through their use. Goya also used the subtractive method of etching copper plates for the first two print series, and while metal plates are more resilient during the printing process, even they are also susceptible to deterioration after multiple print runs.

Social status and class are themes that I will address in various manners throughout the Chapters of this thesis. Social mores within the time periods of each artist, with regards to the subject matter printed, will be addressed at length in Chapter 4 that delves into the blood sport of bullfighting. This social spectacle encompassed all levels of Spanish and Mexican society and matadors from varying levels of upper and lower classes that are showcased in Goya and Posada’s prints. The sport brought members of all social strata together for the same entertainment, and both artists addressed this in a manner reflecting their own beliefs and social class, as well as those of their audiences. Despite both addressing class distinctions, Goya and Posada approached the sport in different manners in regards to the representation of violence. Goya found the sport appealing because of his previous involvement with it, being an avid fan as well as an amateur matador himself.7 His firsthand experience as an amateur matador influences his interpretation of the sport and how he represents it in his prints. Posada was an admirer of bullfights, and especially of indigenous Mexican matadors, and would commonly take pivotal

---

and gruesome events from actual bouts and adapt them into broadsheets. Posada depicted the
horrors and dangerous aspects that matadors encounter when participating in their sport, in
contrast to Goya’s heroic portrayal of the matadors. The distinctions Goya and Posada portray
not only reflect class but also national associations. This is because Spanish matadors, who
traveled to Mexico presumably during times of prohibition of the event in Spain, were favored
by the various upper and middle classes, while Mexican matadors were heralded by the
proletariat because of their flamboyance and dangerous style of fighting.\(^8\)

The separation of social classes is not the only issue I will address in Chapter 4. The
intent and desire to distribute these images will again appear due in part to Posada’s prolific
nature and the need for new material for daily papers. But it is Goya’s images that create a more
interesting matter for discussion in contrast to Posada’s publishing and distribution of work. The
production of Goya’s prints for the series of *Los toros de Bordeaux* came as a speculative effort
after he became aware of a possible demand for images such as these. This further changes the
reading as well as why these prints were created. The prints engage with the culture of Spanish
high society through Goya’s fondness for the sport, but initially the images are derived from a
small series depicting bullfighters as working class individuals. This early series of images
gained little attention, which led Goya to further develop them into *Los toros de Bordeaux* series,
changing them from working class figures to elegant Spanish matadors because of his need to
support himself in his later years through any means, even the removal of his own signature.\(^9\)

Posada, on the other hand, used prints of bullfights to represent his class and the fighters that he
or his publishing partner Antonio Arroyo favored as a way to address the distinctions between

---


the more somber Spanish matadors and the exciting and daring Mexican bullfighters. Posada’s images are in constant support of his class as well as the accompanying text that provides further context for the imagery.

Throughout my thesis the recurring themes of class, distribution, and intent for publication persist as focal points of discussion pertaining to these prints of violence. The way in which Goya addressed these issues set a precedent for an artist such as Posada and how he portrayed the cultural climate surrounding him. Posada built upon the framework that Goya created in regard to the materials used and means of production, how he distributed his work, and addressing the themes of class, but did so in a fearless manner in spite of consequences for possibly violating censorship laws enforced by the Díaz government. The images of violence Goya and Posada created epitomize how printmakers can engage with and exhibit the social and political atmospheres of their lifetimes. Through these images and the artists’ ability to simplify difficult themes, viewers have the capability to grasp concepts that are presented and further associate themselves with what is being shown to them. Furthering the understanding of these prints is the dissemination of the image. It is clear that the further the print is able to journey in terms of geographic location, there is more opportunity for the print to reach a larger audience.

In Chapter 2 I will address two of Goya’s prints from the series Los caprichos. I will examine the quality of materials used for their production, the way Goya distributed them to his intended audience, as well as the social class that he represents and responds to through the prints. Along with this I will look at one example from Posada’s story Consejos y dinero and analyze it in the same manner as I have with Goya’s Los caprichos.

Chapter 3 will discuss the striking similarities between two prints Goya created in his Los desastres de la guerra series, scenes of execution via firing squads, and Posada’s execution
scenes of Mexican revolutionaries from the turn of the twentieth century. Once again, the materials play a large part in analyzing these prints as well as the dissemination or lack thereof as well as the audience these artists were trying to respond to. This Chapter will also examine the compositional elements that bear striking resemblances between the two artists, which is likely due to the inherent nature of the printmaking medium as well as Goya’s importance for these issues both in Spain and internationally.

Within Chapter 4, I will examine how Goya and Posada both use scenes of bullfighting to represent and reflect on the social dynamics of their societies and classes. The interest that the artists had in bullfighting is variable, however there are remarkable similarities, as well as differences, in how they depict matadors and violence in regards to their specific class identification, and their audiences’ class. As in Chapters 2 and 3, I examine the quality of material used, along with the techniques employed, and the distribution of the work. All speak to how the artists wished to represent their respective societies.
CHAPTER 2
MORAL VIOLENCE

Throughout history artists have engaged with their surroundings and reflected upon morality within their societies. This is often seen in the medium of printmaking with artists using it as a means of critique. William Hogarth and Francisco de Goya are excellent examples of artists who reacted and responded visually to social situations while bringing attention to activities that, depending on the class of the intended audience, many would consider bizarre or inappropriate. Printmakers such as Goya analyze their environment and use their prints to remark upon and evaluate the behaviors they have witnessed. The prints of these artists bring to light those who are perpetrating such acts to address and comment their behavior.\(^1\) Goya’s efforts to address poor social and moral behavior through violent images are echoed in the work of Mexican printmaker José Guadalupe Posada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The themes Goya engaged with transcend geographic boundaries and are addressed in an almost identical fashion by Posada. The reliance upon the viewers’ prior exposure and knowledge of Goya’s and Posada’s visual content, along with the distribution practices of these violent images, are further indications that both artists associated with their “place” in society. Through the methods of dissemination, intended purpose, and dependence upon the viewer’s frame of reference and understanding of the imagery, Goya and Posada provide an encapsulation of their social classes while simultaneously confronting corrupt morality within their societies.

One of Goya’s most famous series *Los caprichos* (The caprices) is comprised of 80 prints that cover a variety of topics critiquing the upper echelon of nineteenth century Spanish society.

\(^1\) Werner Hofmann, *Goya: To every story there belongs another*, (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2003), 119-128. In these nine pages, Hofmann establishes this claim as Goya’s reaction to Meng work or grotesque monsters and depictions of horrific fantasies in his work. Goya in contrast uses his images as an attempt to portray the” real and ideal.”
as well as a number of prints that depict varying degrees of violence. Two prints that I examine by Goya address moral and social behaviors through portrayals of violence. Plate 19 *Todos caerán* (All will Fall) (Figure 2-1) and plate 25 *Si quebró el cántaro* (If he broke the pitcher) (Figure 2-2) approach two separate topics, the first being the lust and sexual conduct of upper class Spanish men, and the second a scene of child abuse. These two prints are restrained in comparison to Goya’s later use of violence when addressing events in Spain during the Peninsular War, or Posada’s use of violent images that reflect on the atmosphere of immorality surrounding the lower classes in the nineteenth and early twentieth century Mexico. Posada uses graphic images as stand-ins for his audience as well as a way for them to actively participate in their own self-reflection. A print entitled *Consejos y dinero* (Advice and money) (Figure 2-3) from a children’s chapbook tells a moral tale while depicting gruesome imagery of decapitated heads and mutilated bodies to convey the very real threats and events of abduction and murder that were occurring in Mexico during the time of production of this print.

I will further explore Goya’s prints from *Los caprichos* in relation to the topics of class distinction and interpretation of Spanish society. The series of 80 prints was produced using a subtractive method of printmaking. Each plate was created through the application of an acid resistant ground to a copper plate to expose the plate to highly acidic solvents and chemicals that dissolve the copper plate. In addition to the standard etching process, the aquatint technique was used to create varying values of gray. This process is achieved by using various acid resistant powders that are spread across the plate in different volumes to allow the acid to move in between the powder, creating the chiaroscuro.

---


Todos caerán embodies the moral corruption that Goya strove to depict within this series. Goya illustrates a satirical and educational motif derived from similar eighteenth century satirists in this print. The theme of love birds having their wings clipped was a commonly found theme in the eighteenth century. This image emanates a lascivious nature and alludes to the sexual deviancy and depravity of males within the Spanish upper class. The focal point of this image is an anthropomorphized female love bird perched upon a branch. Surrounding her are numerous birds that are meant to represent well-to-do Spanish men. Their distinction as upper class gentlemen is seen in their variety of dress, including the hat and sabre that appear on the male bird in flight to the left of the image, and the medal or medallion displayed on the lapel of the male bird closest to the female. The male birds carry the same value of gray as the background due to the aquatint process, while the female love bird receives no treatment other than the etching, and so appears in stark contrast to the other birds.

Beneath the female lovebird is an elderly woman gazing up at the various lovebirds while two younger women restrain a captured male in the lower right of the image. The woman to the right grabs the wings of the apprehended male while another young lady plucks the tail feathers from the fettered and flailing bird. The women in the lower half of the image have beatific expressions, while the male bird appears to be retching or coughing up blood due to trauma or the pain of the torment he is enduring. An ambiance containing both elation and sadness can be found in both halves of this print. The upper half depicts the males rejoicing in a carefree, lascivious manner, with the majority of their facial expressions exuberant, while the female lovebird appears stoic and melancholic in defiance of the objectification she faces. A reversal of fortune can be seen in the lower half. All three of the women are shown having a pleased look

---

4 Licht, Goya, 134.
while the male is visibly in extreme discomfort. These themes explore one of the moral
dilemmas of the period and allude to the prevalence of bawds and prostitutes seducing and
engaging with the Spanish elite.\textsuperscript{5} I believe that it is evident that Goya is responding to the
interactions between the different social classes and building upon already established motifs, as
he is clearly critiquing and bringing attention to the behaviors and activities of both parties. The
stark contrast of both sides of the moral issue allows the viewer to comprehend Goya’s tongue in
cheek criticism of the behavior of the ruling class, while simultaneously placing a portion of the
blame on the lower class prostitutes and bawds for their “morally corrupt” profession. The
juxtaposition of social classes in such close relation creates an awareness of the dilemma of the
shared interactions between seemingly opposite ends of the social spectrum. This print is
subdued within the scope of the series as a whole when compared to other prints that portray
demons, witches, and further scenes of violence that are seen within an overall satirical nature of
the series intended for wealthy patrons.

\textit{Si quebró el cántaro} contains similarities in regards to theme and techniques used to
create the image. Etching was the predominant technique for mark making in this print, a scene
depicting a child being spanked after breaking a pitcher. It creates the contours and shadows for
the woman’s dress, the clothes basket, the pieces of the pitcher, and the linens hanging behind
the figures. A subtle use of aquatint is used for the background creating a light gray void behind
the hanging clothes that cover a little over half of the plate. The working class mother’s face is
grotesquely contorted as she kneels on the ground in front of her laundry and appears
monstrously feral as she pulls the boy’s shirt tail up with her mouth. This act is done to access
more skin as she grips the shoe in her raised right hand, ready to strike the child’s bare buttocks.

\textsuperscript{5} Licht, \textit{Goya}, 134.
The young boy is forcefully contorted in half by his mother. His face expresses the fear of the pain he is about to experience as the shoe will soon strike his exposed rear end. The title *Sí quebró el cántaro* implies the boy’s guilty nature and also a justification for the mother’s action with the assumption that the pitcher is of value. The broken pitcher is seen shattered in the lower left corner. The depiction of a mother disciplining her child would be a familiar genre scene of the period, much like that of the lovebirds from *Todos caerán*. Many would consider this image to be commonplace and even humorous in the eighteenth century, however that does not negate the violence within the scene of a mother striking her child and begs the viewer to come to his own moral reflection of whether or not the actions are warranted for what the boy has done.\(^6\)

These Goya prints possess a satirical and critical eye focused upon eighteenth century Spanish society and its moral conduct. Goya engages with both limits of social classes in these two images, however the images rely heavily on the previous exposure to the implied narrative of genre scenes aimed towards the ideal audience due to their assumed understanding of the material. If the audience is unaware of the presented subject matter or other depictions similar to the prints within this series, especially those with a violent nature to them, the prints lose their relevance in representing, critiquing, and proffering a corrective message to the viewer. Nonetheless, the means and intended purpose of these prints remains the focus and the principal function in conveying these thoughts and messages through the distribution of these prints. Goya chose to make his series available to the class with which he was most familiar and comfortably a part of, given his status as a court painter. Goya directs these prints at the privileged classes of Spain due to their knowledge of the material, and thus their ability to understand the criticisms shown of their eccentric and morally deplorable actions. Through this targeted audience of a

---

\(^6\) Licht, *Goya*, 141-142.
certain class, Goya limits the distribution, and thus his audience, of this series to those he felt it most beneficial.

Francisco Goya created these critical works after he became known for his paintings for Charles IV and his family while occupying the position of Spanish Royal court painter. Holding such a prominent post in Royal society, Goya was able to access many aspects of higher Spanish society that he, as a well-known supporter of the enlightenment, would have disagreed with. He was a firm believer in the need for the advancement of society through education and knowledge rather than previous means and the violence therein. A first edition advertisement states “[Goya] says that he set himself the task of illustrating certain incongruences, injustices, stupidities, and cruelties of his age in order to open our eyes and arouse our indignation.” Licht, in particular, argues that this statement is in line with Goya’s pursuit in addressing the moral instability of Spanish society. So why would an artist that held such a prominent standing within society decide to ridicule his fellow upper class citizens, supporters, and patrons?

Goya’s stance and alignment with the enlightenment would be a guiding principle throughout the creation of the 80 prints. His belief in the advancement of culture through education was unwavering during the production of this series. It was not until Charles IV abdicated the throne to his son Ferdinand VII that it became necessary for Goya to become more selective of supporting the lower classes and publishing satirical visual commentary concerning the upper class of Spain.

---

7 Licht. 23. Fredirch Licht states that many of the characteristics of Goya’s work come from his heritage, upbringing, and ideals. These along with his status allowed him the “refusal to be consoled by insubstantial, impalpable ideals and the loneness of anguished mankind…[and] his unwillingness to gloss over the horrors of existence.” The two sentences prior to this citation are also included in this footnote.

8 Ibid. The sentence before this footnote is also included in this citation.
There was some resistance towards the series and upon Goya’s relinquishing them to the
king he writes in a letter that he was “accused by the Inquisition” presumably due to harsh
criticism and tapping into the prior knowledge and experiences of the middle and high classes of
Spain. Baudelaire states Goya’s series to be a “comique éternel” capable of portraying the
“absurd and the monstrous within the everyday spectrum of human life.”

Regardless of the number of those who changed their habits through viewing these prints,
the intended purpose of social change and the addressing of obtuse and amoral behavior was the
primary message of the prints. This is shown in plate 50 titled Los chinchillas (Figure 2-4) which
is derived from a comedic play of manners by José de Cañizares that comments on the nobility
of the era and their “stupid” behavior, according to Alfonso Pérez and Eleanor Sayre. In this
print, we see two members of nobility identified by their “heraldic straitjackets” with padlock ear
covers while their eyes remain shut. Werner Hofmann argues that the etching displays no
identification of social class when compared to Goya’s preliminary drawing of the plate. He
states that the etching’s setting is likely to a cell or a madhouse. Hofmann’s claims into
question because there are the identifying characteristics of the figures being spoon fed by a
blindfolded anthropomorphic female figure who has the ears of an ass. In addition the heraldic
crest on their clothing from the original drawing remains, though faded, a prominent feature.
Along with this the sword carried by the individual who is standing is indicative of a person of
higher social status. The characters Goya appropriates from the play are seen as stand-ins to

---

9 Licht, Goya, 130.
10 Werner Hofmann, Goya: To every story there belongs another, (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2003), 97-104.
11 Ibid., 141.
12 Ibid.
represent the upper class of the period.\textsuperscript{13} These archetypes are found throughout the 80 prints, but the impact of seeing these recognizable personas in situations that many would perceive as lewd and uncivilized could only be achieved by the viewing of the folio of prints as a whole.

The 80 prints were created and refined from 1797 to 1798 and were released in a compiled album in 1799. The primary means of distribution was through middle income general stores, perfume, and liquor stores. The album of prints was priced at 320 reales, equivalent to an ounce of gold, quite an expensive price for 80 prints that were bound, even though they were by a renowned artist such as Goya. The volumes were deliberately stocked in places that would produce the most profit and effect given the subject matter.\textsuperscript{14} This tactic would prove to be ineffective as only 27 out of 300 sets were sold. Goya’s distribution practices for \textit{Los caprichos} had significant difficulties due to the limited area and selection of stores of their release, the price, and the sudden and abrupt end of their sale. The release for these prints severely limited the effectiveness of their capacity to critique all aspects of Spanish society, according to Werner Hofmann.\textsuperscript{15} The selective release of the folios and the unexpected cease of sales left 240 albums unsold that Goya would later surrender to the Royal Spanish Art Academy to obtain a pension for his son.\textsuperscript{16} Goya’s medium and distribution methods were not the only obstacles to complicate his attempts at social critique.

\textsuperscript{13} Alfonso E. Pérez and Eleanor A. Sayre. \textit{Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment}, (Boston: Bulfinch Press, 1989.), 121. The previous sentence to this footnote is also attributed to this footnote.

\textsuperscript{14} Dagmar Feghelm, \textit{I, Goya}, (New York: Prestel, 2004), 86. The sentence preceding is also attributed to this footnote.

\textsuperscript{15} Hofmann, 119.

\textsuperscript{16} Eleanor Sayre et al., \textit{The prints and Drawings in Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment}, \textit{(Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1989)}, \textit{ci}. 
Throughout the 80 prints members of various distinct classes within eighteenth century Spanish society are represented. Scholars such as Fred Licht argue that it is difficult to distinguish where Goya fell on the spectrum of social affiliation while creating *Los caprichos.*

There are intentional designations between upper and lower class figures that Goya carries throughout the 80 print series. I argue that the distinctions Goya makes help focus the critique on a certain class or on both, as seen in *Todos caerán,* along with the repetition of the recognizable figures and caricatures engaging in mischievous sexual behavior, breaching of social norms, and various forms of violence. I have chosen these images in support of my argument that Goya creates images of violence as a means to critique the upper class of Spain of which he is a member, while simultaneously exhibiting the separation in classes. In *Todos caerán* the upper class gentlemen are shown possessing a more refined demeanor than that of the bawds and prostitutes by way of their social standing. It is not until the gentleman lovebird is caught that he is punished for his lewd conduct. The primary topic in this print is that Spanish gentlemen are as depraved as the lower classes, but are absolved of the consequences because of their wealth, and the lower class is demonized and seen as the origin of the lapse in character of the Spanish elite. Goya’s position as a painter of the court residing with the royal family, as well as his own ideological beliefs exposed him to numerous accounts of “abnormal” behavior between the two classes he would later use to create this series.

I position Goya’s *Los caprichos* as a precedent when examining José Posada’s moral tale chapbooks. Posada was born in 1852 in Aguascalientes, Mexico and quickly became immersed

---


18 Pérez and Gállego, 32-33.
in the world of printmaking and social critique by the time he was nineteen years of age. Unlike Goya, Posada came from the working class of Mexico and adamantly and passionately represented his experiences throughout his life in his prints. Posada was deeply entrenched within his city and country of work and felt a significant connection to his working class roots. Posada’s early print works are illustrations and images that appeared in inexpensive children’s books and functioned in a manner similar to moral tales like Goya’s *Los caprichos*. The tales that Posada illustrates are relatable to everyday situations for the working class while the narratives come to conclusions that attempt to help the reader understand the gravity of the story and transpose the concepts and morals found in reality. The ultimate goal for these stories was for the reader to be able to recognize the severity of the situations that could happen in early nineteenth century Mexico and not become ensnared in the scenarios Posada depicts in the stories. Often these narratives include violent endings to underscore the teachings and were plucked from current events that were ongoing in Mexico during the chapbooks’ publication.

The pivotal image of *Consejos y dinero* involves a child and older man entering a room and being confronted by mounds of dismembered corpses and torture devices. The room in which the figures stand is reminiscent of a quintessential medieval torture chamber rife with menacing hooks and ropes on the wall. There are two ominous items within the image that are presumably responsible for the lifeless bodies that lay on the floor. On the floor lay severed

---


20 Mercurio Lopez Casillas, *Posada: Illustrator of Chapbooks*, (Mexico City: Editorial RM, 2005), 80-82. Casillas does not specify any certain events that influences this story and its image in particular. Patrick Frank who also studies and write about Posada, mentions in his book *Posada’s Broadsheets: Mexican Popular Imagery 1890-1910*, that Mexico had several abductions, murders, and ransoms that Posada would also create prints for, no doubt loosely basing certain chapbooks on other illustrations and news stories he was also depicting.
heads and dismembered bodies of previous victims that did not heed the story’s advice. On the left side of the image a large wheel with curved blades protruding from the outer edge appears; the other device, located in the foreground behind the visceral display of bodies, resembles a field plow with curved blades. The boy carrying a makeshift shoulder bag has an expression of shock and horror on his face in a startled position. His weight is placed on his right leg as he readies to turn and leave as quickly as possible. An elderly man is next to the young boy pointing toward the direction they likely entered from after encountering the horrific scene. Beyond the collapsed bodies a doorway frames a mound of skulls in front of a black void similar to Goya’s *Todos caerán*, *Si quebró el cántaro*, and *Los Chinchillas* from *Los caprichos*. This particular image accompanies a children’s tale that instructs the reader to not be overly ambitious or ask too many questions that could lead them to dangerous or detrimental. An excerpt from the ending reads: “Never take short cuts, never ask about what is none of your business, never follow your first impulse.”

Posada added emphasis on these themes by including gruesome imagery that would shock and be memorable for the reader because of the atrocious nature of the image and situation.

There were a vast variety of chapbooks that engaged with a multitude of different topics. Not all chapbooks or their images featured such violent content as *Consejos y dinero*. Chapbooks were also song booklets, cookbooks, and technical manuals. Posada worked alongside Antonio Vanegas Arroyo and his publishing firm for around a decade illustrating many of these chapbooks and their stories. The majority of the purchasers of chapbooks were children and

---


22 Ibid., 82.

23 Ibid., 20-23, 80-82.
women, and their messages were simplified for children and homemakers with little education. Many European fables were adapted to relate to a new Mexican audience, while other chapbooks served as instructional manuals that outlined medicinal practices as well as recipes meant to appeal to women. The diversity of chapbooks shows that both Posada and Arroyo understood the capacity of these prints as a way to convey a relatable message to their audience.

The audience for these books were Mexican peons, individuals who earned approximately a peso a day in wages. As such the chapbooks were printed on incredibly low quality paper, using one ink to lower costs. If warranted the prints could be hand colored, although this practice was rare. The initial creation of plates for these works was the most expensive part of production, and after the first printings of chapbooks were completed, the plates of the images were archived for later reprints of the same booklet or to be adapted for other stories. This practice of adopting a single image for multiple stories extended the publication and circulation of images, though the original intended message behind an image could be lost when it was used for a different story. That is, an image could be used for multiple meanings and readings for various stories, allowing it to morph and adapt to the narrative that it accompanies.

The cost effectiveness of chapbooks contributed to their constant presence in nineteenth and twentieth century Mexico. The paper quality, when compared to fine art prints Goya

24 Casillas, 20.
25 Ibid., 20, 79-80.
26 Ibid., 23.
27 Ibid., 80.
28 Ibid., 79, 82.
produced, is less refined, contains a large amount of pulp, and is most comparable to the newsprint of today. Due to the low grade of paper these booklets were susceptible to poor weather conditions and would quickly deteriorate, forcing replacement if the owner cared to have another copy of the book and given it was available. The practice of using economical material allowed for the cost of 8-page chapbooks to range between 3 and 6 centavos, an affordable price for the intended audience of lower class citizens.\textsuperscript{29} Mercurio Casillas argues that part of the appeal of chapbooks over more expensive printed material such as literary books, which were directed at those with leisure time and expendable income, was the chapbooks’ large size.\textsuperscript{30} The average sizing of higher grade books was double the size of Arroyo’s chapbooks, which measured around 14 centimeters in height by 9.5 centimeters in width.\textsuperscript{31} Arroyo allowed many of the artists, including Posada, to include text on the same plate as the image instead of taking the time to allow a typesetter to properly align and correctly spell the text, expediting the printing process.\textsuperscript{32}

Posada’s involvement in the creation of these books grew immensely over time, both in creating the image and in the production of them. Arroyo’s intent always revolved around the distribution of the chapbooks for monetary gain to keep his printing firm operational, but taking into consideration the nominal price and the targeted audience the argument can be made that the messages, morals, and accessibility were equally as important to creators like Posada. The Mexican peons who traveled around as migrant laborers during the period of the late nineteenth

\textsuperscript{29} Casillas, 20.

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid. Casillas discusses the price value of commonly printed literature being priced at the lowest end of the market one peso.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., 21-22.
and early twentieth century were important buyers of these cost effective moral tales, manuals, and song booklets.\textsuperscript{33} The recognition and support for Posada by the laboring classes are the two qualifying components that help establish his audiences as well as his own class distinction through characters that appear in these books and the materials used for their production in the nineteenth and twentieth century Mexico. In collaboration with Arroyo, Posada, like Goya, had an intended audience for these booklets, and similarly, paid little attention to the other social classes in the hopes of gaining patronage. Akin to Goya, both artists were interested in addressing the populace that their prints could have the most impactful effect on.

The production methods of these morality tales are not the only way to decipher the class that Posada identified with. The characters in stories such as \textit{Consejos y dinero} are relatable to the primary audience, being depicted as having comparable living situations much like the boy and the elderly man wearing humble clothing in \textit{Consejos y dinero}. This could create a more significant effect on the reader who was to learn and understand the lesson presented to them through visual means. The ability to place the reader in the position of the characters of the stories is a common practice used to create a more immersive and engrossing telling of the story. Robert Darnton supports this in his book \textit{The Great Cat Massacre: and Other Episodes in French Cultural History} wherein he discusses the influence of folktales on seventeenth and eighteenth century French peasantry. Darnton argues that the folktales that French peasantry read were based on their real-life status in society, allowing for a closer relation between the reader and characters.\textsuperscript{34} I apply this same argument to how Posada visualizes his characters in a similar

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{33} Casillas, 23.
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{34} Robert Darnton, \textit{The Great Cat Massacre: and Other Episodes in French Cultural History}. (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 12.
\end{flushleft}
or near-identical socio-economic situation to his readers, thus allowing for the identification between characters and readers in his chapbooks. This ability for the viewer to identify with and replace the characters with themselves created a form of pragmatic escapism, whereby the reader was offered a brief period of respite from their difficult life. The relatability of the characters allowed for a deeper emotional connection and forms a relationship in which the reader is comfortable so that they are able to internalize the moral of the story. Chapbooks also had accompanying text to help create a further connection with the reader to allow the narrative to develop over time, as opposed to a single print wherein the entire image is seen at once.35

Through these examples I have shown the criterion for how Goya and Posada respond to their respective societies through the use of violent images as part of a moral lesson, and how Goya sets a precedent for the use of printmaking as a way to explore the morality of sexual behavior and of child abuse, which are merely two of the examples I have analyzed. The elements of how each artist addresses their intended audience, whether through the deliberate choice of materials, means of distribution, or varying personal reflections of their social standings may differ, but both artists share the same objective. Goya approaches the inappropriate behavior of the Spanish elite through satire and criticism, while Posada addresses issues within society through surrogacy, representing the reader’s class so that they may visualize themselves as the characters in the stories that comprise his chapbook illustrations. Both methods have similarities and their respective differences, but still function by forging a connection between their viewer and the society in which they exist. Goya applied his honed technical skill of etching and aquatint to achieve refined images, defined contour lines, and

35 Darnton, 12-15. Darnton discusses the development of the connection between the readers and the characters that they are following through narratives.
varying degrees of tones and values of grays, blacks, and white in his prints. Posada created images using materials and methods suited to economical production. These techniques are known for being unable to produce the polished imagery of metal etchings or engravings. However, Posada used this to his advantage by simplifying his images while maintaining an impressive level of detail and texture.

In Chapter 3 I will examine the works of Goya and Posada in times of political upheaval and distress. The works chosen carry similar elements of composition, and thematic social discourse that Goya establishes in *Los desastres de la guerra* in two scenes of firing squad executions that bear a striking resemblance to Posada’s prints of Mexican revolutionaries being executed by the same method. The means that have been applied in this Chapter to identify how Goya and Posada identify and represent social classes will be also applied to Chapter 3.
Figure 2-1. Francisco de Goya, *Todos caerán*, etching and burnished aquatint, 1799. 11 3/4 x 8 inches.

Figure 2-2. Francisco de Goya, *Si quebró el cántaro*, etching and burnished aquatint, 1799. 6 5/8 x 8 1/2 inches.
Figure 2-3. José Guadalupe Posada, *Consejos y dinero*, Zincograph stencil, c. 1900.

Figure 2-4. Francisco de Goya, *Los Chinchillas*, etching and burnished aquatint, 1799. 12 x 8 inches.
CHAPTER 3
EXECUTION SCENES

The ways that Goya and Posada depicted violent acts carry over into their imagery of the political climate during periods in their lives where both artists were exposed to catastrophic events. In Chapter 2 I discussed how Goya and Posada explored social behavior through brutal images, using them to convey moralizing messages. Goya again sets a precedent for Posada with his violent execution scenes from the Peninsular war. The elements Goya set forth carry over into the early twentieth century in how Posada portrays similar scenes from the early years of the Mexican Revolution. The themes of politics and conflict generate some of the most graphic images produced by these two artists. Through these images, they continue to represent their social status as well as that of their audiences, as previously shown in Goya’s *Los caprichos* and Posada’s chapbooks. Goya and Posada scrutinize and show their own class distinctions through the same means — with some evident variations — as in previously published series: the prints’ intended use and function is to inform and act as stand-in for the reader. The creation, dissemination, meaning, imagery, and presentation of the images contribute to my discussion of how the artists directly and indirectly identified themselves and their classes through their responses to the cruelty of their fellow men.

Goya produced *Los desastres de la guerra* (The Disasters of war), a collection of 82 prints, between 1810 and 1820. The prints are reflections on possible encounters that Goya may have had with gruesome scenes of torture and violence committed on Spanish civilians by the French military.¹ Two of the most significant and well known images from the series are of firing squads poised to execute their victims. Plate 5 *No se puede mirar* (One cannot look)

---

(Figure 3-1) and Plate 15 Y no hay remedio (And there is no remedy) (Figure 3-2) both use the imposing theme of impending death to convey the ever-present social crisis taking place in Spain during 1808–1814. These two images bear striking resemblances to Goya’s famous painting El tres de mayo (Figure 3-3) and I contend that these two images precede the painting, a point of contention among scholars such as Sarah Symmons who believes that due to the ambiguous nature of the production dates of these prints and El tres de mayo the painting precedes the prints.² Despite the lack of concrete dates of creation there are identifiable elements within the prints that are not present in El tres de mayo.

Within the series of 82 images there are three sections commonly identified by thematic elements. The first section spans plates 1 to 47 and examines real world events that Goya may have witnessed.³ The latter two sections approach apocalyptic landscapes (Plates 48-64) and allegorical interpretations (Plates 65-82).⁴ Both No se puede mirar and Y no hay remedio originate from the first section of Los desastres de la guerra and deal with the atrocities taking place in Spain during Goya’s production of these images. No se puede mirar is a disturbing image of numerous Spanish civilians on their knees preparing to be shot, rifle muzzles fixed with bayonets appearing on the right side of the print. The muzzles are placed in front of the brightest part of the intaglio plate, highlighting them in contrast to the victims. The majority of those waiting to be executed appear to be women, along with a single child, while two men also appear

---

² Sarah Symmons, Goya (London: Phaidon Press, 1998), 261-262. Knowing the length of time for the creation of Los Desastres de la Guerra was ten years and El tres de mayo was completed in 1814 in the middle of Goya finishing the plates, it is most likely that these prints began as original thumbnails or compositional studies before leading to the prints, and then to the painting. The hypothesis of how El tres de mayo was created, when examining the composite imagery of the two prints, is less relevant than the discussion of social identification and representation.

³ Ibid., 241-242.

⁴ Werner Hofmann, Goya: to every story there belongs another (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2003), 222-228.
in the foreground of the print. Both men clasp their hands together in a final moment of prayer, or perhaps as a plea to the faceless and unidentified executioners. Two women grasp the child between them in an effort to shield her from the horror that is befalling them. Immediately to the left of the man in the foreground a woman arches her back with her arms extended as though she has already been shot—the momentum of the blast pushing her backwards, though no shots are seen. To the left is a woman lying prostrate on the ground, possibly already killed by a previous volley of bullets, while another cradles her head in her hands. This scene unfolds in front of a background devoid of any place markers that might indicate a location. The lack of any tangible context creates the sense that this act could happen anywhere at any given moment in tumultuous Spain.

*y no hay remedio* shares the similar feature of the imposing rifle barrels that loom in from the right. The viewer is shown a barren landscape created through the intaglio and aquatint processes that Goya used to produce a number of plates for this series. A blindfolded man who is assumed to be a part of the rebellion, which predominantly consists of the laboring and lower classes, is tied to a garrote post with his arms behind his back. During the Spanish War of Independence, those fighting used guerilla tactics to engage in conflict with the invading French military. These skirmishes would lead to multiple round-ups of impoverished Spanish civilians including women and children who were executed because of their affiliation with those involved in the rebel militia. At his feet is a fallen victim that came before him. In this image the viewer gains a first glance at those performing the execution. To the right of the victim, Goya has drawn French soldiers in the middle ground, identified by their military uniform; they are

---

5 Symmons, 233.
seen as the perpetrators of these violent actions. They, much like the anonymous muzzles in the foreground, are arranged in a cascading line and have likely just shot or are preparing to shoot their captive, a slumped form. The main figure is held upright by his restraints and the post, in a similar manner as the victim directly behind him, creating a rhythm that presumably continues into the distance as indicated by a third post in the far background. The variation of values within the smoke-laden sky blends almost seamlessly into the ground as though it is one continuous environment without a distinct beginning or end. The prints bear a resemblance to the way that Goya depicts the soldiers in El tres de mayo, thus connecting these two prints to a possible composite composition that generated the famous painting.

Unlike the previous prints in Chapter 2, Los desastres de la guerra acts in a differing manner due to its later production and disbursement. Goya did not create these prints with forethought that the works would be seen, except by a few other artists that he trusted to see proofs. This was in part due to the rule of Ferdinand VII who reinstated the Spanish inquisition during Goya’s lifetime, as well as due to Napoleon’s brother Giuseppe Bonaparte assuming the position of king of Spain between the two separate reigns of Ferdinand VII, first in 1808 and again in 1813 until his death. These tyrannical leaders enforced laws and regulations that were in direct opposition to the enlightened values Goya held, causing tension for the artist and his position in the royal court. This type of leadership, in addition to the blatantly horrific and apocalyptic environment of war, inspired the creation of the images in Los desastres de la

---

6 Sanchez and Sayre, 194.
7 Hofmann, 228
8 Nigel Glendinning, Goya and his critics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 183
These prints were Goya’s response to the atrocities that were happening in his birthplace of Fuendetodos and other cities across Spain. Fred Licht asserts that these graphic scenes are a criticism of the empowered and authoritative class. The production of such works would have been seen as treasonous, and almost certainly lead to Goya’s death if the prints came into the hands of the wrong individuals. This fear is well founded and explains the possible reasoning behind the lack of distribution until after Goya’s death in 1828. Hillary Chute states that because of the late production and posthumous distribution, Goya’s images act more importantly as historical documents and as a precedent for how war and trauma have been shown since. Symmons states that The Disasters of War form perhaps the most uncompromising artistic record of conflict ever produced.

Fred Licht states that the situations Goya depicts in Los desastres de la guerra are presumably based on events encountered firsthand. Licht also argues that the production of these works becomes a “secondary matter” with which I agree. The publication and distribution does not diminish the effect of these prints, nor does it negate Goya actively creating these images during war. Licht’s argument makes the prints more relevant as explorative material for

---

9 Sanchez and Sayre, 184. This is more specifically about Goya’s exposure to the events that he saw in Zaragoza but can certainly be applied across all aspects of these prints and the series as a whole.

10 Fred Licht, Goya, The Origins of the Modern Temper in Art (New York: Universe Books, 2001), 158. Licht discusses the imposed mandates and regulations regarding representations during the Ferdinand reign as well as civil liberties being oppressed.

11 Hillary Chute, Disasters Drawn: Visual Witness, Comics, and Documentary Form (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 8-11. Chute establishes this claim by cataloging a number of artists that as she states, “[artist such as] Otto Dix…produced the disturbing series of fifty etchings Der Krieg (The War) in 1924, modeled after Goya.” Chute also establishes Goya’s work as historical documentation with her statement, “Some of the etchings, those completed during the war, produce an account of the present, while others…flag themselves as doing the work of reporting.”

12 Symmons, 238.

13 Licht, 174.

14 Ibid., 176.
illustrating and commenting upon the political climate of the eighteenth century. However, many scholars including Sarah Symmons and Janis Tomlinson state that Goya likely would not have witnessed scenes of this nature because of archival records that show Goya was in Madrid during pivotal moments in the war.\textsuperscript{15} Despite the argument that Goya’s prints lack first-hand accounts of these events, these prints still provide visual documentation pertaining to a historical context, which becomes the important part of how these prints are understood for portraying social classes.

Once the Royal Spanish Academy of Fine Arts printed the series, it became documentation reflecting upon and responding to subject matter of a historical event. The prints become more than self-reflective vignettes from the life of an artist who has been tormented by the sight of such horrible actions, or the culminations of Goya’s maladies in his old age that later become evident in his “Black Paintings.”\textsuperscript{16} Dagmar Feghelm states in his book \textit{I, Goya} that prints such as these act as factual and thematic accounts of how Goya was revolutionizing the way Modern artists approached “visual syntax” and depictions of subject matter in comparison to the preferred eighteenth century manner of classicism.\textsuperscript{17} Feghelm’s argument supports my thesis of how Goya creates a visual mode of portraying these traumatic events in historical documents that later becomes an archetypal approach of portraying this subject that Posada then uses in his own work.

As \textit{Los desastres de la guerra} was printed and released in its entirety post-mortem, it must be addressed in the manner of how it was seen historically in its completion by those who

\textsuperscript{15}Symmons states in her book \textit{Goya}, “[Goya] probably spent most of the six years of the conflict in Madrid…” (234) While Dr. Tomlinson at a lecture of the University of Florida responded to a question regarding the matter agreeing that Goya more than likely spent a large portion of time in Madrid. (2/28/17)

\textsuperscript{16}Dagmar Feghelm, \textit{I, Goya} (Munich; New York: Prestel, 2004), 105.

\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., 113.
were contemporary to the production and publication of them. These two works, along with the
80 others that create the whole of the series, are seen as some of the “most uncompromising
artistic records of conflict ever produced” declares Sarah Symmons, a statement with which I
agree.18 They also became the “modern iconography of war” and draw attention to the
artist/viewer as a spectator; someone “generally left unrecorded” according to Symmons. Goya
not only becomes a spectator, he becomes identifiable as a record keeper, storyteller, and
historian through these images.19 This is more evident when related to the paintings *El tres de
mayo* along with *El dos de mayo*. These are considered the first modern paintings to portray
civilian street protest and the ultimate consequence of those who engage and are associated with
the rebellion, which would become important not only to the enemy that he was representing at
the time, the French, but also to José Posada.20

Most of Goya’s praise from his contemporaries stems from his realism and lack of
romanticizing within his prints - I use the term realism in regards to Goya’s portrayal of subject
matter rather than his technical ability of portraying and modeling a realistic and lifelike image.
“Goya does not draw torture, rape, murder, hangings, the sadism of guerilla warfare rhetorically,
patriotically, or with a desire to teach, but he is as savage in his realism or his satire at the war
itself,” states Victor Sawdon Pritchett.21 Emilio Castelar, a liberal politician and a contemporary
of Goya’s, had already identified him as a realist, declaring that Goya was the perfect expression
of the eighteenth century in terms of art: “an extraordinary man, who broke artistic conventions,
mocked religious fanaticism, and made his pencil (like Voltaire’s pen) into a weapon against the

---

18 Symmons, 252
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid., 263.
inquisition, against censorship, against monasticism, against torture, against absolutism, indeed against all the crimes which the winds of revolution swept away.”

These are not isolated accounts. While Goya was not actively producing and distributing these prints critiquing the violence perpetrated by the French on Spanish civilians, they were met with praise from his contemporaries for their “realism” after their publication by the Royal Academy. This is echoed later by those who study his work academically as models of historical accounts and artistic practice.

Goya’s identification of his class and his ideologies can be seen through the examination of his position in the court as well as those he decides to depict in this series and these prints in particular. Those in power in these two prints are French soldiers, who continuously reappear throughout the 82 prints. The victims Goya presents are those of the Spanish lower class and can be identified as such by their clothing. The working classes were most commonly associated with partisan groups engaging in guerilla warfare with the French military during the rebellion of the Napoleonic invasion, as seen in art of the period as well as in historical accounts. Goya’s status and the spheres of Spanish society he traveled within gave him the opportunity to create these violent scenes showing the victimization of the less privileged. It was unlikely that misfortunes such as these would befall people of his status or position in Spain. Despite this,

---

22 Glendinning, 183. Excerpt from a letter penned by Carlos Iriarte’ about Goya that originally appeared in Revista de España, x, 1869, 162.


24 Glendinning, 186. This comment is made in passing while discussing the gathering interest of Goya once again during the 1920s and 1930’s and his portrayal of the various social classes throughout his oeuvre.

25 Feghelm, 49. Feghelm discusses the personal conflict Goya had while wanting to maintain his position but also being horrified by the scene of violence. Despite this conflict, Feghelm asserts that individuals in the court even if they had liberal leanings, as long as they continued their support of Joseph Bonaparte they were left alone.
these images are in alignment with Goya’s previous printed works, which critique those in positions of power through visual means.

We are forced to speculate on how Goya would have presented and distributed his prints, but not so with Posada. Posada’s images, widely distributed and created in vast quantities, bear striking resemblances to those of Goya’s firing squad executions in their intended form as a way of transmitting information. Posada’s prints compositionally and thematically utilize many of the same key features as Goya’s prints from *Los desastres de la guerra*.

Posada’s execution scenes are commonly printed in the form of half or full broadsheets as informational devices and alerts of current events. Posada produced countless images of executions that are similar in many aspects to Goya’s plates *No se puede mirar* and *Y no hay remedio* from *Los desastres de la guerra*. It is possible that Posada had exposure to Goya in a mediated way via Édouard Manet’s painting, *The execution of Emperor Maximilian* (Figure 3-4). This work, which depicts, is known to be derived from Goya’s *El tres de mayo*. One version of Manet’s painting was completed between 1868-1869 around the time Posada would have been 17 or 18 years old—near the time he produced his first political print — and during this time he would have been traveling to, if not already in, Mexico City, only a little over 100 miles from where the actual execution took place. Posada’s works examined in this thesis are a

---


27 John Elderfield’s book *Manet and the Execution of Maximilian*, discusses in a variety of ways the transitive nature and influences Manet received to construction the various versions of his painting of the execution of Emperor Maximilian. He explains that the creation of one version of this painting in Boston reached Europe in two weeks via the newly implemented transatlantic cable. It is hard to believe that if news of Manet’s painting could reach Europe in such a brief period of time, that news and reproductions of the painting would reach the country in which the depicted event took place in a similar manner given the historical importance of the event.

28 Symmons, 265.

way to delve into how he portrays his class as well as the class of his audience. His images, appearing on broadsheets disseminated across Mexico City and adjacent outlying cities, simplify and visually condense the accompanying written information. Unlike Goya, Posada’s prints place the image in context with current events due to their accompanying text.

The first image I will address is entitled *Ballad of the Four Executed Zapatistas* (Figure 3-5) and utilizes compositional and thematic elements that become a formulaic way of representing firing squad executions, as seen in Goya’s prints and *El tres de mayo*. In this image four revolutionaries known as Zapatistas - named for the Revolutionary leader Emiliano Zapata - from the Mexican agrarian class, identified by their simple white shirts and dark trousers, are lined up against a wall. The two Zapatistas closest to the left hang their heads with their hands in their pockets, the closest figure’s face is obscured by his sombrero. The third Zapatista raises his hand towards his executioners in a declarative gesture. The furthest one holds both hands up to the riflemen, like figures in Goya’s *No se puede mirar* and *El tres de mayo*. On the right of the print, Posada more directly invokes Goya. The line of riflemen seems to blend into one continuous mass of muzzles. Behind them, the soldier in charge of giving the order to execute raises his sword in preparation to order the riflemen to fire at the four revolutionaries. The background of the work contains a bare wall with inverted arches at the top while a similar void and plumes of smoke appear ominously behind those about to kill. Created by a woodcut, this print displays subtle hints of shading, utilizing stark blacks and whites through a less sophisticated means of production when compared to Goya’s technique of chiaroscuro on his works first etched on metal plates.

---

identifies that he was familiar with other high arts such as Manet. Making the connection through transitive means, Posada was aware of Goya’s work even if it was simply the mimicking that Manet uses in his painting of Maximillian.
The second image that I will examine is *The Execution of Two Madero Supporters* (Figure 3-6). Almost identical in composition to Goya’s two previously mentioned prints and prior Posada image, a row of soldiers appear to the right of the print, the muzzles of their rifles blending into a seamless mass identifiable only by the muzzle flash propelling the bullet. In this instance, however, the victims are seen mere seconds after the bullets have hit them, one body tumbles down while the other has already hit the ground. The two victims are supporters of Francisco Madero, a Mexican revolutionary and later the president after the removal of Porfirio Díaz. One victim lays on the ground with his hand resting on his chest; he looks to be a part of the lower middle labor class, not to be conflated with other lower class such as agrarian, given his clothing. Clothed in a simple white shirt and pants, the other victim falling to the ground is portrayed as being of the agrarian class and the Zapatistas. Behind the victims appears a cleric holding a crucifix, likely there to give the men their last rites. Beside him are two unidentified men, one wearing a poncho and sombrero, and the other wearing clothing associated with the middle class. The background is a void of white created from the paper’s tone and some minor texture of the ground before it dissolves into the stark contrast of the white background with the predominantly black figures in the fore and middle ground. This background more closely resembles that of Goya’s due to the absence of a defined setting.

These images were created with the specific purpose to inform and give a graphic narrative to the viewers and readers of the broadsheets and newspapers in which Posada regularly published his images. Along with the informative aspect to these prints, there are multiple elements that are layered just below the surface. In Patrick Frank’s book *Posada’s Broadsheets: Mexican Popular Imagery, 1890-1910* he repeatedly makes the argument that both Posada and his publishing partner Antonio Arroyo would imbue the images and text with left-
leaning favoritism that corresponded to their own social class and thus launch satirical
commentary on the upper class society of Mexico.\textsuperscript{30} The text accompanying Posada’s
broadsheets contextualizes the images of revolutionaries being executed and repeats the Díaz
regime’s labeling of them as criminals. Despite this labeling, Posada and Arroyo add context and
a sense of sensationalism to the images, creating favoritism for the persons being killed by
portraying them in gestures that identify them as heroic figures.\textsuperscript{31} One instance is of Hercilo
Bernal who “helped plan an anti-Díaz revolt with Trinidad García de la Cadena.”\textsuperscript{32} The
accompanying text reads:

How brave was our Bernal
On his Horse the color of wine
With his pistol in his hand
He could take on thirty-nine.

And what a great charro he was
On the back of his very dark horse;
In the middle of a furious battle
He could light a cigar, of course

How fearless was our Bernal
On his horse the color of honey
He never stole from the poor
But rather gave them money.\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{30} There are multiple instances throughout the various Chapters in Frank’s book that discuss the approach Posada
and Arroyo took to convey their message towards a very specific audience that the image and text was geared
towards representing and capturing their attention.

\textsuperscript{31} Frank, 63.

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., 97.

\textsuperscript{33} “De Macario Romero,” in Vicente Mendoza, \textit{El Romance Español y el Corrido Mexicano} (Mexico, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1930), 436.
Though it was not overt that Posada and Arroyo were trying to sway their readers one way or the other, they were subtly expressing their own opinions on the events that they were reporting. There is a connection weaving the visual imagery and the text together to show certain figures in *Ballad of the Four Executed Zapatistas* as heroes making a last speech with the evocation of grandiose motions and postures of the third man in the line. The figures to the left of the print can be read as ashamed, but also as somber and stoic, accepting their fate. This can be seen in a multitude of other execution prints in Posada’s oeuvre.  

For further context on how frequently these images were being produced during the Díaz presidency, it needs to be stated that during the four-year period between 1905 to 1909 the Federal District courts charged 11,296 individuals with crimes of all varieties and found 97.5 percent of them guilty. The gravity of this situation can be seen by the sheer amount of papers purchased when significant executions were reported. Within two days of a high-profile military execution a combined 208,171 papers were sold by *El Imparcial*. In the typical Posada approach, the images that accompanied the text portrayed the executed as a heroic individual while the text was “folkloric” in its telling and depiction of the event. Posada and Arroyo’s textual and visual depictions of figures in firing squad scenes was first used by them in earlier military execution broadsheets. In one case a soldier in the Mexican military named Bruno Apresa was sentenced to death by firing squad, and while waiting for the order to be given, reportedly raised his cap and shouted, “Adiós muchachos!” Then Apresa waved his cap twice, threw it to the ground, and stood at attention until he was shot. While these were more highly

---


35 Frank, 63. The preceding sentence is also included in this footnote.

36 “La Ejecución de Bruno Apresa,” *El Imperical*, 30 April 1904.
publicized events across multiple news sources, it is not off course for the way other political executions were presented to Posada’s and Arroyo’s readers. Other scenes of executions within prison walls are presented to the readers in a similar manner. Frank states, “Posada’s prison and execution broadsheets sided with the accused or the condemned when the judicial system of Mexico functioned ‘normally’, and also when that system malfunctioned.”  

These images not only function as a way to transmit information to the public about such instances, they become a way for Posada and Arroyo to critique the instability and corruption of the Díaz-influenced judicial and political system, possibly bringing these issues to light for their readers and allowing them to learn about the presidency’s unfair practices.

These works follow a long line of “penny presses” that dealt with political content. Joyce Bailey’s contribution to the book Posada’s Mexico states that El Calavera would be the first paper in Mexican history under the freedom of press to publish political and satirical work foreshadowing how Posada would earn his claim to fame, not just by way of its name that is now synonymous with Posada’s skeletal work, but by the subject that is “personified in the images - justice, the people, the patria, deceitful leaders ... - on behalf of the people.” These penny papers were financially unstable and often would cease production and close after only a few years. Bailey references an 1891 publication discussing the cost and distribution of small newspapers by La voz de Guanajuato “without government subsidy, a serious newspaper in Mexico could not survive as a profitable financial enterprise but must operate as a philanthropic

37 Frank, 65.

38 Joyce Waddell Bailey, The Penny Press, from Posada’s Mexico, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1979) 86. The first free - in the sense of freedom of press in Mexico - satirical illustrated paper was El Calavera, which was founded on January 1, 1847 by Ignacio Díaz. It focused on commentary about political subjects and burlesque with their prints, text, and poetry.

39 Bailey, 88.
This was not the case for Arroyo with Posada in his employ once Posada honed his distinct artistic style. The partnership between Arroyo and Posada was such a prolific and revered publishing source that those from other penny presses commended them, including individuals that were forced to join other publishing firms when theirs went under. Bailey says that these images were seen by a wide audience, stating, “by the turn of the century, the penny press had expanded enormously so that Posada, in addition to his work for [Arroyo], was executing prints for at least twenty-three different periodicals.”

The distribution through Arroyo’s firm was not the only way that Posada’s images of executions were making it out into the world, they were also reproduced by multiple papers. There were three predominant types of papers that can further substantiate the availability of Posada’s work. The first is libelous papers, which critiqued the government and sacredness of the home; the second is announcements and advertisements; and lastly, there were papers that tried to “enlighten the public.” The first being the most lucrative, the second had no audience to speak of, and the third barely survived, according to Bailey. The first and third can be seen as one and the same in Posada’s case. Posada’s prints were critical of both the Díaz - and later the Madero - regimes in an attempt to draw attention to the injustices he saw perpetrated in Mexico during their presidencies. Ron Tyler’s contribution to the anthology Posada’s Mexico shares a figure about the extent and impact that Posada’s prints were spread out Mexico, stating, “It is estimated

---

40 “El periódico y los gastos de impresión,” in La Voz de Guanajuato, September 6, 1891, p. 1.

41 Martínez Carrión made a comment in El Colmillo Público on May 29, 1904 after leaving his own firm El Hijo del Ahuizote in 1903. Declaring Arroyo as “popularismo” as a way to describe their prolific nature, contribution to the medium and discourse of the political sphere of Mexico, and the relatability to the common reader with their images and text.

42 Bailey, 117.

43 Ibid., 106. The previous two sentences also belong to Bailey’s analysis of the penny presses.
that he did perhaps fifteen thousand different prints, which were distributed throughout Mexico and on at least one occasion led a government official to correct an abusive regulation.”44 This instance in particular, shows that Posada’s images had the ability to become a material object that led to serious discussion about how the laboring classes were being treated under the Díaz dictatorship.

French painter and illustrator Jean Charlot claimed that he “discovered” Posada’s work and discussed at length during the early part of the twentieth century Posada’s influence on the public understanding of Mexico through his publications with Arroyo.45 But it was not that Posada’s work was lost, it was birthed into a new form through the Mexican muralists. This being said, the predominant form of printmaking that influenced two of the “Big Three” – Diego Rivera and José Clemente Orozco - was the availability of seeing prints such as these execution scenes that showed criminals as heroes and martyrs. The impact of scenes that Posada was producing and distributing can be seen later in the socio-political influence and the representations of Mexican identity that was present in Rivera’s and Orozco’s work during the twentieth century.46 Jean Charlot, with his bold claim of “discovering” Posada’s work, went on to explain the importance and impact of the widespread accessibility of Posada’s prints stating, “Through presenting in their best light the workings of the firm, Posada does not distort the facts…[Antonio] Arroyo had a vast and complex market for his goods. The packages in the pressroom ready to go were to reach eventually the farthest corners of the nation.”47

44 A federal District Official admitted that Posada’s cartoon pointing out restrictive laws on vehicles was correct. See La Guacamaya (Mexico City), May 28, June 8, 1908.

45 Milloites, Diane, José Guadalupe Posada and the Mexican Broadsides, (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2006), 4-5.

46 Ibid., 4.

47 Jean Charlot, Jose Guadalupe Posada and His Successors, from Posada’s Mexico, 34.
Much that has been said about Posada’s distribution practices and the aims of reaching his audience was stated in Chapter 2 and is applicable to the subject of execution imagery as it was with his moralizing tales for children and Mexican peasantry. Posada and Arroyo’s aim to distribute images of “heroic” scenes of people the Díaz presidency marked as criminals, is shifted within the graphic narrative created by Posada along with the “folkloric” portrayal by the accompanying text by Arroyo.

Unfortunately, unlike Goya, Posada did not live long enough to see the conclusion of the conflict surrounding him. He would die on the 20th of January, 1913, only three years into the turbulence of Mexico’s formative years in fighting for freedom from a dictator, and governmental reform. Because of this, these images of executions must be read as precursory acts to the lead up of the actual events of the Mexican Revolution. Posada had little to no time to gestate his opinion about the Zapatistas, as depicted in one of the images covered in this thesis, or other revolutionaries such as Francisco “Pancho” Villa. Yet these images can be read as articulating an oppositional stance on part of the working class that Posada affiliated with. What I care to draw attention to is how the lower class is rendered and how they are associated with the resistance through the imagery in these prints. The oppositional stance that Posada and Arroyo took towards Díaz and his regime led to these images being created and becoming a standard image of, and for, the lower classes. Because of this, these prints become a baseline in understanding how Posada and Arroyo, and the working class, felt about the dictatorial leadership leading up to the revolution. The way that Posada illustrates those who are being

48 Frank, 203.

49 Gilles Deleuze’s philosophy on speaking for the other that cannot be heard is touched upon here in a very passive manner, but is critical to the understanding of how both Posada and Goya go about creating their images for the convenience of information about specific segments of society.
killed in his prints along with the accompanying text played a pivotal role in changing the perception of how the papers’ readers viewed those being executed, and their own political and social status.

These images are specifically created by Posada and the text by Arroyo to embody the ideals and class identity of those most in line with the rebellion movement against Díaz, those who are exploited and forgotten. Ron Tyler states that “these powerful illustrations were made for their intended audience: the pelados, the poor natives and Mexicans who, for the most part, could not read and who were entertained by the gory and fantastic accounts of mass killing…”

However, he also claims that “it would be impossible to discern Posada’s politics by examining his prints, although the antigovernment caricatures in the satirical papers seem to have more bite than the unblushingly eulogistic prints published by [Antonio] Arroyo.” I disagree with Tyler’s sentiment that Posada’s political leanings cannot be interpreted in his prints. Through Posada’s materials, distribution practices, and imagery of firing squads, I argue, along with Patrick Frank, that Posada commonly depicts the Díaz classified “criminals” in a heroic and favorable light.

Posada further associates his own identity with that of lower class patrons with the “first” account that sparked the Mexican Revolution. The print that Posada created to depict the shootout on November 18th, 1910 at the Serdán house - a cache for weapons and other supplies belonging to the rebellion - shows a carefully crafted neutrality to avoid political persecution.

---

50 Ron Tyler, ed. Posada’s Mexico (Washington: Library of Congress, 1979), 10. Footnote 17 explains there are several works from Manilla and Posada both moral, satirical, and political that utilized these elements of gruesome violence to keep the reader’s attention.

51 Tyler, 12.

52 Frank, 227. Frank expands the general portrayal of Zapata’s character in many Newspapers. Posada countered this with his famous print of the rebel leader taken from a photograph showing him in a heroic three quarters pose despite the headline attached to the article that read, “nuisance”. Frank believes that with the illustration created by Posada, a better headline would have been, “Guardian of the People’s Rights.”
while simultaneously giving the rebellion supporters something to be proud of, according to Frank.\(^5\) (Figure 3-7) The accompanying text to this image reads:

Oh Peace, Oh beautiful Peace!
Why do you abandon your sons?
Without you, all is lost;
There is no hope, only cost;
Why do you abandon us,
Oh Peace, Oh beautiful Peace?\(^5\)

Along with the text and image, the account of the assault on the domicile eloquently reinforces the “neutrality” Frank argues for by declaring those in the house as villains and rebels while the police and military were heroic doers of justice.\(^5\) Frank claims that the vagueness of text and image in the poem above is a step taken to avoid political and judicial backlash against Posada and Arroyo, but the poem can certainly be read with a satirical voice condemning the actions of the military and police force that were waiting for the most opportune time to raid this house given prior knowledge of Madero’s plan to use it as a congregation for rebels against Díaz.

Scholars such as Frank contend that Posada and Arroyo reigned in their political agenda due to the press censorship of the Díaz government. But when looking at the subtle hints and jabs about the actions of events that took place at the Serdán residence, and other volatile conflicts across Mexico that Posada created images for, these execution scenes can be interpreted as a portrayal and connection of Posada with those of the lower classes taking part in the rebellion.

Once again, one sees how Goya and Posada utilized prints of violence - this time executions - to embody distinct class separations between those they were portraying,

---

\(^5\) Frank, 207.

\(^5\) Ibid., 227

\(^5\) Ibid.
themselves, and the ruling party of their periods. While the intention behind creation for Goya and Posada may differ in regards to certain aspects of distribution and social response, the prints embody those who are being punished or oppressed. Posada’s images and the adjacent text exhibit those being executed as heroic while Goya invokes sympathy in his audience. Along with representing those being persecuted, the measures taken to distribute these images vary drastically between Goya and Posada. Posada’s broad distribution of his work allows for a reading of his commitment to convey a message that is current to his audience. Lastly, the most direct way Goya and Posada engage with their audience about class identification is in their figures and the awareness of current affairs they depict in these images.

In Chapter 4 I will further discuss the ways in which Goya and Posada continue to create prints to respond to their social climates in reaction to their respective classes. The manner in how I approach this argument will be further nuanced so that I am capable of engaging with the topics that have run throughout Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis. I will apply similar means of analysis to address the images of violence Goya and Posada make in response to the blood sport of bullfighting that was present within both of their societies.
Figure 3-1. Francisco de Goya, *No se puede mirar*, etching and burnished aquatint, 1810-1820 published 1863, 9 15/16 × 13 1/2 inches.
Figure 3-2. Francisco de Goya, *Y no hay remedio*, etching and burnished aquatint, 1810-1820 published 1863, 8 7/8 × 12 1/2 inches.

Figure 3-3. Francisco de Goya, *El tres de mayo*, oil on canvas, 1814, 8’10” × 11’5”.
Figure 3-4. Edouard Manet, The execution of Emperor Maximilian, oil on canvas, 1867, 8’4” x 10’.

Figure 3-5. José Guadalupe Posada, Ballad of the Four Executed Zapatistas, woodcut, c. 1900.
Figure 3-6. José Guadalupe Posada, The Execution of Two Madero Supporters, woodcut, c. 1900.
Figure 3-7. José Guadalupe Posada, *Bloody Events in the City of Puebla. The Death of police Chief Miguel Cabrerera*, Broadsheet with blac-line illustration, 1910.
CHAPTER 4
CULTURAL VIOLENCE

Posada and Goya produced violent imagery that portrayed societal and political conflicts, and through these images I have explored how the artists and their images became social and class identifiers through the materials used, figures depicted, and the accessibility of the works and to whom they were aimed. Posada and Goya continued reacting to their cultures and society by creating violent depictions of the entertainment event of bullfighting. These scenes carry the same connection to the social status of the artists as the previously discussed images of execution. In much the same way as Chapters 2 and 3, these graphic depictions of animal and human violence will be examined though the figures each artist used, the materials involved in the prints’ production, and the dissemination of the prints to an intended audience.

Goya created two separate series of prints that survey the subject matter of bullfighting. The first is a series of etchings entitled *La tauromaquia* (The art of bullfighting) that considers working class figures through Goya’s mythical portrayal of Spanish bullfighters from the countryside developing the activity. The connection to the working class is achieved by the acknowledgment of the natural world as opposed to a ring, and the theme correlates with Goya’s earlier paintings of working people such as knife grinders, women carrying water, and blacksmiths.\(^1\) The second series, known in English as *The Bulls of Bordeaux*, is considered to feature some of Goya’s most exquisite works, created in the relatively new medium of lithography.\(^2\) Lithography is a technique invented by German playwright Aloys Senefelder as a way to reproduce sheet music that quickly found its way into the graphic arts. Goya was

---


convinced by a fellow Spanish artist, José María Cardano, to take up the practice and quickly produced multiple works with efficiency, skill, and much experimentation. 3 Alfonso Pérez Sanchez and Julián Gállego state, “[The Bulls of Bordeaux] are among the greatest works created by the prolific painter, draughtsman and [printmaker].” 4 Sanchez and Gállego’s claim is more substantial when considering the circumstances surrounded the creation of the prints, such as Goya’s advanced age and his living in exile in France. Goya created the lithographs during his seventies and into his nineties while living in seclusion, and largely, if not completely, deaf. Scholars such as Fred Licht state that these later works of violence have common thematic elements of horrific depictions and gruesome subject matter, however they also include the theme of “the worker.” 5 Licht argues that Goya’s prints are representative of a class of individuals that he felt a connection with - through his involvement with the enlightenment - even though Goya occupied the “highest circles of court society.” 6 Yet even with focus being on the worker - in this case the skilled matador - Goya’s artistic practice of production for these prints differs from the commonplace commercial function of lithography during the period. 7

The process of lithography consists of drawing on a piece of treated limestone with a lithographic crayon, pencil, or brush, allowing for a more artistic approach to what many considered a minor form of art (printmaking) often practiced by artisans or trained printers that were not traditionally trained artists. 8 Works such as Bullfight (Figure 4-1) are demonstrative

---

4 Sanchez and Gállego, 236.
6 Ibid., 320.
7 Brown and Galassi, 147.
8 Ibid.
images of Goya’s experimental process in using this new form of printmaking. Stationed in the lower left quarter of the print is a bull composed of frantic brushstrokes. The bull is impaled with the spears of three picadors or spearmen. Goya utilizes a style of “linear shorthand” that allows for a looser interpretation of the faces of the figures and defined lines.\(^9\) The three picadors drive their contrasting white spear handles into the black bull creating the focal point. In between two of the spearman are two other men attempting to restrain the bull by pulling on its tail. Behind this Goya fills in the arena floor with the bodies of fallen humans and animals alike, furthering the chaotic and destructive nature of the scene. From the top left of the print there is a wall separating the crowd from the action, and this is seen as a dynamic contrast to Goya’s preferred, and commonly used, one-point perspective with a mixed point perspective.\(^10\) This shift in perspective changes between Goya’s La tauromaquia’s one point perspective to a multiple mixed point perspective, wherein the viewer inhabits the venue in which this scene is taking place.\(^11\) The viewer goes from the position of an onlooker in the La tauromaquia prints, to becoming an active participant engaged with the event as if present in the arena. A question that arises is that of who is the intended observer of this type of entertainment, and who would purchase a print such as this?

As stated previously, Licht argues that these prints showcase the value of the skilled “working man,” and while that can be claimed, the working class was not the target audience for these images. While this series was produced through a cheaper and longer lasting method of printing, the prints themselves were still created using higher quality paper, placing the series out

---

\(^9\) Licht. 450.

\(^10\) Ibid.

\(^11\) Ibid., 321.
of the range of affordability for those Goya was depicting. The rationale for this may be that Goya was pursuing two goals: connecting the act of bullfighting to the working class and celebrating the Spanish tradition of bullfighting, the latter of which would have appealed to the upper class due by way of national pride. When Goya initially created the eight prints that became a series of five known as *Los toros de Burdeos* (The Bulls of Bordeaux), he did not do so with the intention of publishing or distributing them.12 After much consideration he chose to contact his acquaintance, politician Joaquín Ferrer, regarding the possibility of him publishing the prints, stating in a personal letter to Ferrer: “When Mr. [Pedro Sáinz] de Baranda was going to Paris, I sent you a trial lithograph that represents a bullfight with young bulls so that you and our friend Cardano could see it, and if some of them are thought worthy of being sent, I’ll send whatever you want; I am putting this not with the print and having no news I beg you again to tell me, because I have done three in the same size on a bullfight theme.”13 Brown and Galassi assert that from this letter it can be speculated that Goya had begun to create the series with an idea that these works would be able to be sold.14 A response from Goya addresses his claims that such images would not be marketable with this statement:

> I take note and agree with what you say about the bullfight prints, but as I thought that they should be seen by artistically aware people of whom there are many in that court as well as the large number of people who will already have seen them, I thought it would be easy to give them to a print dealer without saying my name and do so at low cost.15

---

12 Brown and Galassi, 148.


14 Brown and Galassi, 149.

15 López, 389-390.
In this statement Goya identifies an audience for his prints while simultaneously dismissing the works by realizing their failure to reach their desired demographic of the upper classes or even those – the workers – that they heroically portray. Brown and Galassi state that as Goya suggested the removal of his name from *Los toros de Burdeos*, and thus the prominent reputation thereof, he would not be associated with their production and the inclusion of them into his oeuvre and lower the desire of the series to those it was not intended for.  

16 This argument supports my claim that Goya’s series of bullfighting is representative of his social status, due in part to his awareness and desire to protect and maintain the esteem surrounding his name while enticing those of a lower social class to purchase works that they would not understand according to his own statement. In allowing these prints to be sold without his name they would have been able to be sold at a much lower cost.

Even with the possibility of a lowered cost due to the omission of Goya’s signature, the process Goya used to create these prints is an example of his attempt to maintain his social status. Despite the standard technical approach of lithography, Goya’s images convey a great comprehension of learned fine art skills. Laurent Matheron describes Goya’s practice of implementing elements of painting in these prints, “He worked at his lithographs on his easel, the stone placed like a canvas. He handled the crayons like paintbrushes and never sharpened them. He remained standing, walking backwards and forward from moment to moment to judge the effect,” and later describes how Goya continuously worked upon the images, adding emphasis to shadow and light.

---

16 Brown and Galassi, 149.
through intensifying or removing already applied crayon. Goya’s process of creating this series is a further indication of his training and distinction as a Fine Artist. The act of painting was already considered High Art, and Goya was well known as he held the position of Royal Court painter of Spain, and through replicating the practice and techniques of painting within these prints during his exile these works are indicative of Goya attempting to retain, in some manner, his previously held prestige. This application of Fine Art techniques helps to anchor my argument of Goya’s realization of his own class distinction within these prints, however upon identifying the proposed target audience as needing to be “artistically aware” he segregates those of the lower classes he features in these works. Goya’s statement, portrayal, and targeting a new audience becomes a contradiction of who these prints are meant to represent including those of the lower class that have become the new desired patrons.

Through addressing the simulation of painting in lithography as means of production for these prints, the materials and distribution of the works as representative of a specific class can be addressed. The initial lack of dissemination of these prints causes issue in how they are intended to represent the “working man” and bullfighting as a culturally significant part of eighteenth and nineteenth century Spanish life. In Goya’s lifetime bullfighting was seen as a positive cultural event by the conservative populace, and demonized by those with liberal political leanings and those involved with the enlightenment. Goya, however, was a participant within both parties as Goya is a known man of the enlightenment while also being an aficionado and amateur matador in his

youth. Those of the enlightenment claimed that the sport incited the public to perform acts of vandalism and behave in an unruly manner, while those of the conservative party claimed it was culturally and historically important. This issue became volatile to the extent that bullfighting itself was outlawed under the liberal government between 1820-1823, only to be reinstated during Ferdinand VII’s return to power.

The issue of bullfighting’s cultural weight showcases the duality of Goya’s prints due to his position within society along with the content of the works themselves. Goya continued his endeavor to publish the works for profit and partially achieved this goal. Two prints entitled El famoso Americano and Mariano Ceballos are signed by Goya and numbered I-IV implying that there were to be more prints that had not yet been completed or associated with the series, according to Brown and Gallasi. However, the prints were moved to a warehouse owned by Jacques Galos, to only be sold to those who learned of their existence by word of mouth or by viewing the few purchased series. The act of selective purchasing creates a larger gulf between those depicted in the prints and their desired audience.

The practice of bullfighting was a cultural identifier for many in eighteenth and nineteenth century Spain, as it represented their country and was seen as exotic and mystifying by countries such as France. In a tradition that continues today, there were

---

18 Brown and Galassi, 150.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid.,151.
21 Ibid., 151-152.
22 Sanchez and Gállego, 236.
favored matadors that traveled between countries, and many of them developed a following and reputation. Goya favored one of the working class South American Indian matadors known as "el mestizo" or "el indio." Little information is known about this bullfighter except that Goya enjoyed his fights and his spectacular showing in the ring so much that he created two lithographs of the matador many years after his death. The title of "the Indian" as viewed through the lens of the upper class in nineteenth century Spain can be interpreted as derogatory, though many native Mexican matadors were seen as heroic figures by the lower class while higher class Spanish bullfighters were booed and jeered by local, small and impoverished arenas. Other than the crowd’s acceptance or rejection of native or international matadors, there is one distinct way in which Posada and Goya render these scenes of bullfighting and it deals directly with social distinctions of the matadors and their portrayal by each artist. Goya, due in part to his prior history with bullfighting, can be seen as having a bias in commonly portraying Spanish matadors having the upper hand, while Posada is inclined to show the bull having an advantage over Spanish matadors, notably demonstrating his allegiance to his social class, and thus native bullfighters, by exhibiting them in heroic portraits.

Posada and Arroyo fully engaged in the promotion and advocacy of the blood sport of bullfighting, supporting and favoring stories surrounding native Mexican matadors. Bullfighting was one of few professions that a lower class individual could become

---

23 Brown and Galassi, 150.


25 Ibid., 130.
involved in that would change his social status. This possibility of an individual having the ability to shift between social classes is one of the contributing factors in how Posada displayed native Mexican matadors in comparison to bullfighters that traveled from Spain that were popular among the elite class in Mexico, similarly found in Goya’s lifetime. Posada’s materials for creating these prints changes little from his previous works, however the extent of production is certainly diminished when compared to his genre scenes of moral stories and executions scenes, a production scale of six or eight genre stories or execution scenes to every one bullfighting image according to Patrick Frank. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 the analysis of Goya and his bullfighting prints, the works of Posada will be examined as class identifiers through the materials, distribution, and audience.

Posada’s prints occupy and operate within a period of time in Mexican history similar to Goya’s Spain. The spectacle of bullfighting was seen as unsavory by most in the capital until prohibition of the sport was lifted in 1886, though it was slow to grow an audience and would again be banned for a four-year period between 1890 and 1894. After 1894 bullfighting quickly became one of the more frequented activities of the upper class with disposable income during bullfighting season of autumn and winter. There was a clear division among the viewing public of the bullfighting rings. The upper class spectators would pay up to ten pesos to be in close proximity to the action, while those of

---

26 Frank, 130.
27 Ibid., 143.
28 Ibid., 129.
29 Ibid., 130.
the lower classes paid less than a peso for seats high in the stands. This class separation can be seen in the spatial division Posada uses in one of his well-known broadsheets to announce the death of Spanish matador Antonio Montes.

Posada created two different prints of the event wherein Montes is seen gored and tossed in the air, each print varying in visual storytelling. The first is *The Sensational Goring and Death of the Famous Matador Antonio Montes* (Figure 4-2), which shows Montes just moments after he is cast into the air by the bull, likely a representation of the first, non-fatal hit Montes received in the fight, his sword still in hand about to skewer the bull through the shoulder blades for a lethal blow intended to pierce the heart. The way that Posada positions the bull’s anatomy fills the still image with energy, and in contacting Montes he appears weightless in the air with his cape blowing in the wind beside him. Behind Montes is a crowd representing the upper class with their bowler hats, suits, and ties, receding into a void, reminiscent of Posada’s previous execution prints, but carries a more practical purpose in that it would have been a laborious undertaking to scale images to such a small size. Posada presents the audience in the tenuous moments between seeing what is happening to Montes and the recognition of the severity of the events. When compared to the second image, their expressions give no indication that they have processed the events unfolding before them or the extent of Montes’s injuries is understood.

The second image, known as *Sad Recollections of Antonio Montes* (Figure 4-3), is dramatic in its portrayal of violence. The matador is similarly thrown into the air by the

---

30 Frank, 130.

31 Ibid., 131, 143.
bull, however this is likely a depiction of the goring that would take Montes’s life. The matador is flung into the air, feet above his head, arms preparing for the inevitable impact of the ground. The horns of the bull thrust upwards, stabbing Montes’s leg, which would lead to his death from infection.\textsuperscript{32} The audience gestures in shock and astonishment at the gruesome events unfolding before them. Immediately to the left of Montes another matador rushes in to distract the bull from further injuring the wounded bullfighter.

In both broadsheets, the upper class is shown to be the main audience of the spectacle. While this may not initially appear to represent Posada’s social class, the act of portraying a Spanish matador being gored by a bull is an act of supporting the preferred matadors of the working class population of Mexico, in which some were created to look like religious icon paintings. Patrick Frank supports this claim by explaining that Posada and Arroyo “heavily favored Mexican bullfighters over Spanish bullfighters, and among Mexican matadors those from the lower classes or indigenous ethnic groups were the most favored of all.”\textsuperscript{33} This championing of the proletariat can be seen in later prints of a native Mexican bullfighter of indigenous descent by the name of Rodolfo Gaona. Gaona was a favorite among the working class Mexican population and when he was gored in Puebla in 1908 Posada and Arroyo took a different approach to depicting the matador. \textit{Goring of Rodolfo Gaona in the Bullring at Puebla} (Figure 4-4) contains no indication of the grisly incident. Instead, Posada reverently renders iconic elements of the matador's life and the prestige of Gaona’s career as one of only a handful of Mexican matadors to receive affirmation in Spain, possibly the only native Indian to do so. Gaona’s portrait is placed in

\begin{footnotes}
\item Frank, 143.
\item Ibid., 130.
\end{footnotes}
the center of the image and is backed with a circle while his hat mimics that of a halo, associating the matador with a revered religious figure. A bull's horn is placed underneath him, to his left his sword and cape, and to the right a bull and banderillas act to frame the image.

Prints not unlike the death announcement of Gaona acted as social recognition for the lower classes in that they were able to traverse the social strata of twentieth century Mexico. They also act as heroic portrayals of figures that allow an entire social class to live vicariously through them. Images such as this created tension among those of the upper class of Mexico City due to Gaona occupying “such an exalted position.”

The friction caused by matadors that originated from modest means was stressed by the flamboyant fighting style of their bullfighting as well as an audience comprised predominantly of the wealthier portion of the population, especially during times of prohibition of the blood sport, forcing well-to-do spectators to travel outside of the city limits to view the fights in small rural arenas not catered to their desired tastes. The only way for one to do so was to have a source of expendable funds, which the working class did not have available.

Posada and Arroyo tried not to strain the relationship between classes aside from producing the aforementioned images. While bullfighting was an important part of Posada and Arroyo’s production, it was not as socially significant as their execution scenes. Posada and Arroyo decided to create broadsheets for specific bullfights, addressing their lower income demographic. While these prints were not often created unless there was a driving

---

34 Frank, 153.
35 Ibid., 143.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
purpose behind them such as praising a lower class bullfighter, flouting the loss of a Spanish matador, or a telling the gruesome tale of the goring of a matador, these prints were distributed to all who would find the story sensational, transcending class with success.

Divergent to Goya’s shift to using the technique of lithography late in life, Posada first trained as a lithographer but continued to work with the materials of wood and zinc to produce prints of bullfighting. The two prints of Montes are almost certainly woodblocks from the telling signs of directional removal of the image as well as the proof – the negative space of the plate or wood block that does not fully get removed and can have ink still applied to it due to its protrusion from the removed area – of the plate. The print of Gaona is created through the zinc etching process, similar to the copper etching process where an acid resistant ground is placed on the plate and areas are removed, allowing the acid to dissolve the exposed areas, which permits the ink to build in the removed portions of the plate that are then transferred to the paper after it is run through the printing press. This use of materials can also be read as an attempt to create a leveling between classes because of the cost of the plates used. Posada used a cheaper woodblock technique for the Spanish matador that does not allow for the detail of the slightly more expensive and longer lasting technique for Gaona.

Goya and Posada engage with and represent their own social classes, and those they desire to represent, through these culturally reflective images of bullfighting. Goya employed a style for his series *Bulls of Bordeaux* that is reminiscent of the fine art of painting cultivated during his previous lifestyle as a high court painter in Spain. Ancillary to his social mores, he presents the Spanish matadors as noble figures in the images he
creates for the public. Posada continues his association with the working classes of twentieth century Mexico. All aspects of Posada’s prints are representative of his social status as well as his ideal audience. The ways in which he depicts the division of the classes as both spectators and bullfighters is reflective of the cultural climate during this period and is supported through the means of distribution. The accessibility of the bullfighting prints, both in quality and production, is minor compared to previous works in other genres, but still vastly outnumbers Goya’s production of the same subject. Despite the divergent approaches taken by these two artists, they are connected in how they chose to portray themselves, their culture, and their class. The selection of prints I have chosen display how Goya and Posada depicted their respective social class and biases through their prints. These choices would have been understood by the intended audience of either series of broadsheets. Posada had the luxury of having a well-established printing firm that allowed his work to be widely distributed. This contrasts with Goya’s selective release and decision to target his works for those who were, in his words, “artistically aware.” Posada’s practice of depicting Spanish and Mexican matadors is an attempt to reach those who would find such a work culturally important.
Figure 4-1. Francisco de Goya, *Bullfight*, crayon lithograph on paper, 1825, 12 ¼ x 16 ¾ inches.
Figure 4-2. José Guadalupe Posada, The Sensational Goring and Death of the Famous Matador Antonio Montes, woodcut, 1907, half broadsheet.
Figure 4-3. José Guadalupe Posada, *Sad Recollections of Antonio Montes*, woodcut, 1907, half broadsheet.
Figure 4-4. José Guadalupe Posada, *Goring of Rodolfo Gaono in the Bullring at Puebla*, Broadsheet with black line illustration, 1908, half broadsheet.
CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

I have argued to establish the relationship between Francisco de Goya and José Guadalupe Posada through their shared thematic elements within violent images that signal political association and explore their respective positions within Spain and Mexico. The theoretical relationship I have established places Goya as the clear foundation and precedent on which Posada relied heavily for the creation of his own prints of violence. The similarities that Goya and Posada share cannot be overlooked. The compositional elements, the themes of violence, and the materials chosen by the artists create connections and continuities that allow this discussion to take place. This also bears relevance in terms of the way printmakers use the medium in a critical manner to address their audience, society, and themselves. I have used these prints of brutality, precipitated by man and beast alike, to show the affiliations between the two artists and the similarities in their moral criticism and concern for specific classes of their societies, the atrocities that both artists observed during their lifetimes, and the cultural significance of rebellion and blood sport in regards to the division it created and upheld in their countries.

Goya by no means created the genre of violent imagery, however his series is influential upon artists that follow. His response to the events that sparked the creation of Los caprichos, Los desastres de la Guerra, and Los toros de Burdeos become reflections of his personal involvement in them. Along with this, his technical practice, composition, thematic elements, and distribution methods are radically different for his period. These features are further developed by Posada and others as a way to transmit their messages to their viewers. Goya came from a place of privilege as a part of the Spanish Royal Court, and as such he had the ability to create works from high quality materials as a demonstration of his social and class status.
Posada builds upon Goya’s practices. Being one of the most prized commercial artists during his time and later championed by the Mexican Muralists, Posada has naturally been compared to Goya. Posada’s prints respond to many of the same themes and issues as Goya and there are many striking similarities not only in their work and practice, but also their cultural climates and events that generated the creation of such works of violence. Posada’s work, just as Goya’s, become affiliated with the artist’s own class identification and their intended audiences. The graphic style, materials, and content of Posada’s images, as found in Goya’s, are manifestations of the artists’ own awareness of their position in society as well as how he each wishes to create a connection with a specific audience.

Both Goya’s and Posada’s prints work within the principal function of printmaking: to convey information or a message to viewers. These prints reflect, respond to, and critique their respective societies and cultures. The dissemination, creation, and content of these works is for the viewer to recognize and associate themselves with the visible figures and situations for their benefit and that of society.

Printmaking today still holds many of the same values Goya and Posada show in their prints. However, it now has the capacity to occupy the spaces of both fine art and commercial art, both spheres include social critique with little resistance by critics. Modern and contemporary printmaking is in a period of resurgence yet much is still needed to bring it back to the status it once occupied from artists such as Goya, Posada, Hogarth, and others. Many current printmakers that engage their audiences with critique do so in a similar manner to both artists presented in my thesis.
LIST OF REFERENCES


Scott, Andrew L. “A Picture is worth a thousand word:” José Guadalupe Posada and popular perspectives of the Porfiriato (1876-1910) PhD diss., Texas A&M University, 2007.


BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Chase Machado graduated with his B.F.A. in Art History from Savannah College of Art and Design in 2014 under the guidance of Dr. Andrew Nedd. He focuses on prints from North and South America from the nineteenth and twentieth century. Chase graduated in 2017 from the University of Florida with the tutorage of Dr. Kaira Cabañas and Dr. Maya Stanfield-Mazzi.