Sources of Chicano Art: Our Lady of Guadalupe*

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There have been two main streams of influence on Chicano artists aside from the obvious one that is the result of their artistic training, education and development in the United States. The primary influence came from Mexico, first during the colonial period in the form of New Spanish art and architecture, and then in modern times provided by the Mexican muralists through their work and their use of pre-Columbian art. The New Spanish materials formed the nucleus for the second stream of influence composed of the various manifestations of religious folk art found primarily in the Southwest.

The focus of this paper is on one aspect of the first stream that has its beginnings in the colonial period, the use of Our Lady of Guadalupe by Chicano and Chicana artists and their predecessors in the Southwest where large communities of Hispanics are found. These include the artists identified over the last three to four hundred years as New Spaniards, Mexicans, Spanish Americans, and Mexican Americans. A study of this motif in Chicano art and its background in Mexico and New Spain before that will allow us to place Chicano art within its proper historical and artistic contexts. The discussion includes questions of iconography relating to the cult of Our Lady of Guadalupe and its use as a subject

**Our Lady of Guadalupe*

La Virgen de Guadalupe, or more exactly *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* or Our Lady of Guadalupe, refers to carved or painted representations always modeled after the images in the basilica of Guadalupe in Mexico which is said to have been miraculously painted on the garment of the Indian Juan Diego, to whom the Virgin appeared four times in 1531. This image has had great religious and political significance in New Spain (including the US Southwest) and Mexico in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It continues to have similar significance for the Chicano communities in the US, where it appears repeatedly in the work of the muralists and easel painters. The name, Guadalupe, comes from the shrine of a much older miraculous statue of the Virgin in Estremadura, Spain.

Chicano

The term "Chicano," a contraction of *Mexicano* (pronounced me he-ka' no), reflects two components in Mexican American and Chicano culture: The Spanish language in the sixteenth century in Mexico and the ongoing tendency by Mexicans and Mexican Americans to contract personal names and other words in which the ch sound is prominently used.

The peoples of central Mexico identified themselves as *Mexicas* (pronounced me she' ka) in the sixteenth century. Among these Náhuatl speaking peoples were the Aztecs, people of Aztlán. It may be that the original sound of Mexica when altered with the Spanish suffixes to form Mexico and Mexicano later led to the contraction of the latter form to Chicano. It was a short step from Me*sh*ica to Me*ch*icano, and from there, Me*ch*icano to *Ch*icano, the latter being the much preferred sound among Mexican, Mexican American, and Chicano Spanish speakers. Other examples of contractions: Con*cha* for Con*ception*; Na*cho* or Ig*nacio*; *Ch*en*ch*o for *Cr*escencio; *Ch*into for *Ja*cinto, and so on. It should be noted that the prefixes in the last two examples are suppressed as in *Me*xicano when it is changed to Chicano.

for religious icons at the beginning of this period and as a source for works which focus on Chicano identity. The representations discussed in this paper range from the tin paintings of northern New Spain and Mexico and the *retablos* (panels paintings) of New Mexico to murals, sculptures, prints, paintings, and performance pieces by modern and contemporary Mexican American and Chicano artists.

Other important sources for Chicano art, such as religious folk art and modern Mexican art, fall outside the confines of this paper.[1] The first, comprised of yard shrines and home altars and their relationship to earlier manifestations of religious folk art, such as *ex-voto* paintings, have been used as sources for works known as "altars" created by Chicano and Chicana artists. The second, comprised primarily of modern Mexican muralist art, was used by the early Chicano muralists as a source for their work.

Our Lady of Guadalupe

Our Lady of Guadalupe is one of the most powerful images in Mexican and Chicano culture. Representations of the Virgin appear repeatedly in religious and secular contexts. She is identified with Mexican nationality in that country and abroad by those who acknowledge that relationship (Hispanic Americans of Mexican descent in the United States). Numerous books and articles have been written about the importance of Our Lady of Guadalupe in the emergence of a Mexican identity as a nation and as a people.[2] She personifies the coming together of the Indian and European to create the *mestizo*. She is a religious and political symbol which evokes immediate reactions at these and other levels of meaning when viewed and contemplated by Mexicans, Hispanos (Spanish Americans), Mexican Americans, and Chicanos.

It is no surprise, therefore, to find that Our Lady of Guadalupe was a highly favored subject in the art of New Spain (Mexico), and later in the Southwest, Northwest, and Great Lakes region of the United States. Throughout the centuries that the image Our Lady of Guadalupe has been used in paintings and sculptures, the original, housed in the basilica of Guadalupe, north of Mexico City, has been used as a model. It has always been important to retain her pose and configuration, and the symbols associated with her, because any deviation from the original would divest the image of its meaning for the faithful who revere it as an icon.

In spite of the almost universal acceptance of Our Lady of Guadalupe, great controversy has raged over the centuries in Mexico over the question of whether the apparition of Our Lady ever took place.[3] Those who have doubted it from the very beginning ascribed political motives to those who were supposed to have perpetrated the event. The opposition began to wane around the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, when the Franciscans who had been most vocal against it began to abandon their charges of idolatry. In spite of the lack of official recognition during this period, Our Lady of Guadalupe became a cult figure for the people of Mexico (New Spain). First of all, *El Tepeyac*, where Our Lady of Guadalupe was reported to have appeared to Juan

Diego in 1531, became a pilgrimage center for the people of Mexico. Secondly, Our Lady of Guadalupe of El Tepeyac was made the "Principle Patroness" of Mexico City in 1737, and thirdly, "Pontifical recognition of the Guadalupan tradition and the 'Universal Patronage' of Guadalupe over all Mexico" was received in 1754.

Three decisive factors led to the success of the Guadalupe cult in Mexico during the colonial period. First of all, there is the coincidence of the sanctuaries of a major pre-Columbian divinity *Toci*, "mother of gods" and *Tonantzin*, "our mother," celebrated with feasts and sacrifices before the Conquest at the hill of Tepeacac (Tepeyac) and the apparition of Our Lady of Guadalupe at the same place. Secondly, people from all parts of Mexico congregated at the site for purposes of veneration in pre-Columbian times and continued to do so when it became identified with Our Lady of Guadalupe. Most decisive of all is the "Indian" character of the image. This completes the identification of Our Lady of Guadalupe with all the Mexican peoples—Indians, Creoles, and *mestizos*.

Indigenous and European Relationships

Unlike European deities, pre-Columbian gods did not constitute an unchanging, immutable presence or entity. Each deity could and did shed its own attributes as well as acquire those of others without losing its identity. Each could have four manifestations that corresponded to the world directions and, when this was the case, could be distinguished by their color which was read symbolically rather than descriptively. They could also be found at the various levels of the Underworld and/or the sky, each of which was divided into nine and thirteen levels respectively.[5]

H. B. Nicholson,[6] a specialist on Aztec religion, divided the numerous gods of the pantheon into complexes in which he included those that overlap in meaning and configuration. All of the gods under discussion are included in Nicholson's *Teteoinan* Complex. Some of the gods included in this Complex are as follows:

Goddess	Meaning	Principle Jurisdiction
Teteoinan	"Gods-Their-Mother"	Earth mother, fertility, lunar?
Toci	"Our Grandmother"	
Tlazoltéotl	"Filth Deity"	
Atlan(n)tonan	"Atlan-Our-Mother"	Earth mother,
Cihuacóatl Quilaztli	"Woman Serpent"	fertility, lunar?
Tonan(tzin)	"Our Mother"	
Coatlicue	"Serpent-Her Skirt"	

There is another Aztec goddess with which Our Lady of Guadalupe can be compared. Nicholson listed *Citlalicue,* "Star-Her Skirt," under *Ometeotl* ("Two God") Complex. This and other goddesses can offer iconographic parallels with Our Lady of Guadalupe.

Francisco de la Maza,[7] a specialist in Mariophany, in his discussion of the iconography of the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe, pointed to one of its sources in the Woman of the Apocalypse as described in chapter 12 of the Revelations of St. John. Specifically, the first lines of Revelation 12 read: "And there appeared a great wonder in the heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars."[8]

Our Lady of Guadalupe has a crescent moon under her feet and although she is no longer shown with a crown of stars, artists until the nineteenth century included such a crown in their representations of her. Other clues to the iconography are found in verse 14 of Revelation 12 as follows:

> "And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent."[9]

The triumph of the eagle over the serpent is reminiscent of Aztec legend. The eagle on the cactus with the serpent in its beak was the sign that led to the founding of Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) by the Aztecs in 1325. It was later adopted by the new nation as a national emblem in the nineteenth century.

Representations of Our Lady of Guadalupe

Francisco de la Maza also discussed the numerous representations of Our Lady of Guadalupe that are specifically Mexican in form and content. Among these works is an eighteenth century folk painting from the city of Toluca in which Our Lady of Guadalupe was merged with the eagle of Aztec legend that later became part of the Mexican national emblem.[10]

During the colonial period and the nineteenth century, the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe was represented in numerous paintings and sculptures all over New Spain and later Mexico. The intent of the artists, as already noted, was always to replicate the original in the basilica of Guadalupe. However, two variations of the miraculous appearance were used by the artists. In one, Our Lady was represented by herself as she appears in the original in the basilica, and in the other, she was included with the four narrative episodes associated with the miraculous apparition; these were included as vignettes at the corners of the painting.

Both types of representations are found in the tin paintings produced in northern Mexico and the retablos painted in New Mexico. Tin paintings were made in such northern and northwestern cities as Guadalajara, Zacatecas, and Guanajuato and distributed throughout northern New Spain; this practice continued when the area became Mexico in 1821. Most of the production centers were established toward the end of the eighteenth century. The style had its fullest development during the first half of the nineteenth century.[11]

Although sculptures and paintings from the metropolitan centers of Mexico City and Puebla were also shipped to all of the mission fields from Texas to California, the need for locally produced sacred images was most pronounced in the internal northern territories of Arizona and New Mexico. Friars in California

and Texas were closer to maritime and overland shipping lanes and were, therefore, able to import religious images and furnishings from central New Spain, and later, Mexico. This was not the case in New Mexico where demand for religious images far exceeded the supply, thereby forcing local artisans to produce them. Being largely untrained, the artisans eventually developed a distinctive folk art style. A comparison of the tin painting with a number of retablos will illustrate the differences in style if not the content and meaning of the paintings.

The tin painting selected for our discussion is by an anonymous painter from northern Mexico. (Fig. 1) Our Lady of Guadalupe is seen in the center of the visual field surrounded by the mandorla that identifies her, and she wears a golden crown. The four stages of the miraculous apparition are shown in narrative vignettes at each corner of the painting. Each is framed by an elaborately painted gold frame. The narrative begins on the lower left-hand side of the painting and continues in clockwise fashion to the other corners where all subsequent episodes related to the miraculous apparitions are painted. The final episode is painted on the lower right-hand corner where Our Lady of Guadalupe is seen on the *tilma* (garment) of Juan Diego, on which she was mi-

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

raculously imprinted when the roses (another part of the miracle) were presented to Fray Juan de Zumárraga, Bishop of Mexico, as evidence that the apparitions had taken place.

The first of the two works by artists of New Mexico selected for discussion, is by Rafael Aragon, who is generally identified as a Spaniard.[12] He differed from the other santeros because he could read and write, and this ability was reflected in his work. He signed his paintings and often included lengthy prayers in them. Although his work can be considered folk in style, given his lack of training as a painter, it has a relationship to academic sources because he used engravings as models for his work. Finally, his painting is more sophisticated in its definition of form and the proportion of the human figure than most of the other retablo painters of New Mexico.

The retablo by Rafael Aragon has a large half circle extension on the upper part of the rectangular frame. (Fig. 2) The space between the inner half circle and the outer one was cut out, and the dove of the Holy Spirit was painted on the bridge between the two. As in the tin painting reviewed above, the retablo has Our Lady in the center with the representations of her appearance to Juan Diego represented in the same manner as that seen in the tin painting. The oval frames for each event are almost as large as the oval used to contain the mandorla surrounding Our Lady of Guadalupe in the center. The head of Christ is seen directly above the Virgin, and on the bottom, a church that refers to the Virgin's request (when she appeared to Juan Diego the second time) that it be constructed in her honor. The other spaces along the sides of the painting are filled with small angel heads with wings placed above and below the large flowers seen in the centers.

Aragon used line to represent all the motifs in his painting, and color to bring the narrative panel and its frame together, thereby creating an overall pattern which almost obscures the narrative aspects of the work. This is in contrast to the anonymous tin painter who built up his forms with brush strokes and left empty spaces between each of the narrative units and the central motif. This indicates that the artist had received some art training in contrast to Aragon who was self-taught.

The other New Mexico example does not include references to Juan Diego. (Fig. 3) The retablo is by an anonymous artist, initially identified as the "Dot-Dash Painter" and later as Don Antonio Fresques by E. Boyd, and more recently as the "Truchas Master" by W. Wroth.[13] The work by this artist is generally dated between 1790 and 1830.[14]

The Truchas Master painted Our Lady of Guadalupe on a rectangular panel to which he added the upper half of a large semi-oval shape on top. An enormous flower with large petals is painted in the circular shape, and other smaller ones are painted on each corner of the narrative panel. Thin tendril-like branches along the sides stop short of connecting each of the flowers. A wide scalloped frame contains the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe and the mandorla that surrounds her. The entire unit has been expanded to fill the sides of the panel. The Virgin is crowned as in the earlier examples, and she assumes the traditional pose.

However, any further resemblance to the original in the basilica in Mexico City stops at this point.

The Truchas Master not only ignored the standard proportions of the slender figure of the Virgin, but he did away with all semblance of naturalism in depicting her downward gaze. The eyes are simple crescent shapes and each iris is indicated by a black dot. The other features are defined with an equal economy of means. The figure and the slender form of the original have been transformed into a schematic rendition in which there is an emphasis on the colors and vigorous line used to outline each form.

In spite of the many differences in rendition, largely the result of circumstances and the training of the artists or lack of it as well as their talents, the intent was always to create an image as close to the original as possible because it was to be used an an object of religious devotion. The artists were also very careful in presenting the episodes of the apparition leading to the actual miraculous imprint of the image of Our Lady on Juan Diego's tilma. Fidelity to the original continued in the work of Hispanic American and Mexican American artists in the twentieth century, including that of the Chicano artists who began to use the image in their murals fifteen to twenty years ago. Most, if not all twentieth century renditions, focus on the initial apparition of Our Lady of Guadalupe to Juan Diego or on the original image found in the basilica in Mexico City.[15]

Fig. 3

Most of the images of Our Lady of Guadalupe created by other Hispanic American and Chicano artists in sculptures, paintings, drawings, prints, and installation and performance pieces, relate to social, political, and artistic issues rather than religious ones. The emphasis has been on Hispanic heritage, Chicano identity and Chicano art. The discussion will begin with those examples in which slight changes have been made to those in which the entire image has been transformed and used to emphasize the non-religious issues raised by the artist.

A bulto by Horacio Valdez made in 1976-77 follows the traditional representations of Our Lady of Guadalupe, but the intent was not to create an object of veneration. It was meant to be taken as an image related to the

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Hispanic traditions in New Mexico. Valdez, like the other new santeros, reintroduced polychromy and larger size in order to make the pieces closer to the traditional santos produced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[16]

The works of the new santeros reflect the many movements of the 1960s which were aimed at attaining equal rights along all fronts for blacks, Hispanics, women, and other minorities in the United States. They also differ from the small unpainted santos which have been made in Cordova, New Mexico, since the early 1920s primarily for the tourist trade.[17]

The need to retain Hispanic culture and identity places the work of Valdez and the other santeros like him in the same situation as the Chicano artists in other parts of the Southwest, Northwest, and the Great Lakes region who used their art to make similar statements. The organization of Chicano artists' groups throughout these different regions is reflected in the formation of *La Cofradía de Arte y Artesanos Hispánicos* for the purpose of supporting Hispanic artistic freedom.[18] It has members from throughout the state of New Mexico.

Chicano muralists who have painted Our Lady of Guadalupe in the barrios since the late 1960s and early 1970s have emphasized the traditional representations of the holy image but have added Chicano references. An

example is seen in a detail of a mural on the side of an off-ramp of the Coronado Bridge in San Diego, California, painted by members of the *Toltecas en Aztlan*, an artists' group.[19] (Fig. 4) Arturo Roman, a member of the group, painted Our Lady of Guadalupe in the traditional pose but substituted the head of a Chicano youth with mustache and headband for the angel seen in the original image. The artist retained the angel's wings but added the red, white and green colors of the Mexican flag to make a statement about Chicano antecedents and identity. Guillermo Rosete, another member of the group, painted the demonstration scene to the right in which the demonstrators are shown carrying the flag of the United Farmworkers Union (Huelgo Eagle on a white circle inside a red field), and banners with images of Our Lady of Guadalupe. (Fig. 5)

Other Chicano artists have used Our Lady of Guadalupe to focus on the meaning of the Chicano experience. In so doing, they have taken the sacred image out of the realm of reverence and veneration but have broadened the meanings traditionally assigned to Her.

Among the earliest efforts to use Our Lady of Guadalupe to make a statement about women and their role in the Chicano movement was made by Ester Hernandez in a linocut print and a painting dating from 1975. (Fig. 6) The work is titled *La Virgen de Guadalupe Defendiendo los Derechos de los Xicanos* (Our Lady of Guadalupe Defending the Rights of Chicanos). When the linocut version was printed on the cover of the December 1979 issue of a guide for public radio in Santa Rosa, California, titled *enfrecuencia*, there was a negative reaction to it.[20] Earlier, in a published interview, the artist explained what the figure meant to her:

> The figure "represents woman becoming an active participant, breaking out of some traditional images—the colonial mentality, while maintaining her culture, informing, teaching, and learning from her people; taking a militant stand on all fronts, on behalf of La Raza: La Chicana at the forefront of the arts, in schools, as writers . . . whatever. Encompassing everything."[21]

Hernandez retained the most recognizable motifs of Our Lady of Guadalupe—the mandorla, the crescent moon, and the small angel that supports the image—and used them as a frame for the karate figure, shown in an action pose with all the extremities forming two primary directions made up of diagonals and horizontals that accentuate its dynamism. The other forms add to the movement that permeates the image.

Yolanda Lopez, who now resides in San Francisco, used Our Lady of Guadalupe in a series of works she exhibited in the Mandeville Center for the Arts, San Diego, in 1978.[22] Among the works on women and Our Lady are several which are of particular interest because they focus on Chicano culture and identity. The artist substituted a number of human figures and an Aztec deity for Our Lady in several works, among them, her grandmother, an Indian woman nursing her child, the artist herself, and *Tonantzin* (Our Mother) which is actually

a small Aztec sculpture generally identified as *Coatlicue* (Serpents, Her Skirt). The self- portraits include a performance piece in which the artist is photographed moving toward the viewer armed with paint brushes and wearing blue shorts, a sleeveless undershirt with stars painted on it, and sneakers; and a painting in which the artist has appropriated the attributes of Our Lady and her pre-Columbian counterpart. (Fig. 7) She runs toward the viewer with an expression of triumph holding the serpent in one hand and the mantle with star-studded blue field in the other.

Fig. 6

Lopez obviously did research on Our Lady of Guadalupe and the various manifestations of the Aztec earth goddesses, which have traditionally been considered the equivalents of the Catholic deity. The use of the pre-Columbian deities to make statements about identity is also found in Mexican art. In a series of works devoted to "Our Gods," done between 1914 and 1918, Saturnino Herran superimposed the Crucified Christ on the colossal figure of the Aztec deity *Coatlicue* to make a statement about the merging of indigenous religion and Spanish Catholicism in Mexico.[23] Colonial artists in Mexico City had earlier used Indian and European figures in paintings with the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe to make a statement about the emerging Mexican nationality comprised of Spanish and Indian components. Lopez used Our Lady to make a statement about identity in which the pre-Columbian and Hispanic components form an integral part.

The most unusual of the new renditions of Our Lady of Guadalupe is a drawing with colored pencils by Cesar Martinez of San Antonio, titled *Mona Lupe, the Epitome of Chicano Art.*[24] (Fig. 8) Our Lady is represented from the

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

waist up and her hands overlap the lower part of the frame, an obvious reference to the universally known painting *Mona Lisa* by Leonardo da Vinci. The artist ignored the original configuration of the Our Lady except for the mantle and the mandorla that surrounds her image.

Martinez used the *Mona Lisa* as a format for his drawing, in order to make a statement about the definition of Chicano art and the ubiquitous image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in so many murals, drawings, prints, paintings, and other works of art by Chicano artists. The artist demonstrated his knowledge of art history when he decided to use the *Mona Lisa* in his drawing because many other artists have used the image in the past to make all sorts of social and political as well as artistic statements. Martinez used it to make a comment about Chicano art as it relates to Chicano identity and its personification by Our Lady of Guadalupe, which embodies religious, national, ethnic, social and political meanings for Mexicans and Chicanos.

Summary

The miraculous image of Our Lady of Guadalupe has been an important source of inspiration and a point of reference for Mexican, Mexican American, and Chicano artists, as well as for their predecessors in New Spain, because of the many levels of meaning and significance assigned to it. Although the vast majority of people see the image as an object of devotion and veneration, artists and others have used it for non-religious purposes, that is, as the source and rallying point for Mexican identity and nationality. Our Lady of Guadalupe has had and continues to have cultural, historical, and political meaning for Mexicans, Spanish Americans, Mexican Americans and Chicanos.[25]

Our Lady of Guadalupe was used in New Spain to focus on the forging of a new Mexican identity as early as the eighteenth century. There are a number of paintings from this period in which the image of Our Lady is flanked by Indian

and European figures and symbols. The dual components—Indian and European (Creole) and their merging (mestizo)— were always emphasized in these images.

The Tin Painters of northern Mexico and the santeros of New Mexico created images of Our Lady of Guadalupe that were meant to be used primarily for veneration purposes. The artists always used the original image, which they attempted to faithfully replicate by itself or with small narrative scenes at each corner relating to the miraculous apparition of the Virgin to Juan Diego. The Chicano muralists also used the traditional image of Our Lady of Guadalupe, with slight variations, to make statements about Chicano culture and identity.

More recently, Chicano and Chicana artists have used Our Lady of Guadalupe in paintings, drawings, prints, performance pieces and installations to focus on issues relating to Chicano heritage, identity, and art. Specific themes in their works have dealt with the identity and role of women in the Chicano movement, and the ubiquitous image of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Chicano art that seems to be synonymous with that art.

These images which can be jarring or gently mocking of firmly held beliefs, remind us that Chicano art is far more complex than the mere inclusion of images of Our Lady of Guadalupe. They are but one part of an art that has a much broader genesis, content, and meaning. The intent of the artists has also varied. Some have used Chicano motifs and themes to make social or political comments; others have used them to celebrate Chicano culture as a positive force. In all of these cases, Our Lady of Guadalupe has been used by artists to comment on the substance and meaning of the Chicano experience in the United States.

Notes

[1]For a discussion of the continuing relationships between the earliest Spanish settlers of the Southwest and their religious folk art from tin paintings, santos, *ex-voto* paintings to yard shrines, home altars, see Jacinto Quirarte, *A History and Appreciation of Chicano Art* (San Antonio: Research Center for the Arts and Humanities, 1984), 125-34. See the same publication, pp. 66-84, for a discussion of the relationships between Mexican American and Chicano art to modern Mexican art.

[2]Francisco de la Maza, *El Guadalupanismo Mexicano* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1981). First Edition, 1953; Jacques LaFaye, *Quetzalcoatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness 1531-1813* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976) 209-311.

[3]LaFaye, 254-67.

[4]La Faye, 295.

[5]For a discussion of Aztec cosmology, see Miguel Leon Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963).

[6]Henry B. Nicholson, "Religion in Pre-Hispanic Mexico," in *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, gen. ed. Robert Wauchope, vol. 10, Archaeology of Northern Mesoamerica, Part One, vol. eds. Gordon F. Ekholm and Ignacio Bernal.. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), 395-446.

[7]de la Maza, 182-86.

[8]LaFaye, 245.

[9]de la Maza,182.

[10]de la Maza, 184.

[11]For a discussion of Mexican folk retablos (tin paintings), see Gloria K. Giffords, *Mexican Folk Retablos: Masterpieces on Tin* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974).

[12]William Wroth, *Christian Images in New Mexico* (Colorado Springs: The Taylor Museum of the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, 1982), 105-14.

[13]Wroth, 171-84.

[14]Wroth, 173-74.

[15]For reproductions of the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe see J. Quirarte, *Mexican American Artists*, 1973, facing p. 46; and for numerous examples, see Jacinto Quirarte, *A History and Appreciation of Chicano Art* (San Antonio: Research Center for the Arts and Humanities, 1984).

[16]For a reproduction of the Valdez work, see Quirarte 1984, Fig. 43, Charles L. Briggs, *The Wood Carvers of Cordova, New Mexico* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1978) 36-83.

[17]Briggs, 36-83.

[18]Briggs, 210. Other references to *La Cofradía de Arte y Artesanos Hispanicos* in the text are taken from this source.

[19]Quirarte, *A History and Appreciation of Chicano Art*, 203.

[20]*enfrecuencia*, Diciembre 1979, cover. Jorge Cendejas reacted with shock upon

seeing Hernandez's print of Our Lady of Guadalupe on the cover of this publication and expressed other concerns in a letter printed in the January issue of the same publication.

[21]Dorinda Moreno, "Ester, Lupe, y la Chicana en el Arte, in " *La Razon Mestiza II* (San Francisco: Concilio Mujeres, Summer 1976) no pagination.

[22]Exhibition Catalogue: *Yolanda M. Lopez: 1975-1978* (San Diego: Mandeville Art Center, December 1978).

[23]For a discussion of the use of the *Coatlicue* by Mexican artists, see J. Quirarte, "The Coatlicue in Modern Mexican Painting," *Research Center for the Arts Review* (April 1982): 1-8.

[24]Quirarte, *A History and Appreciation of Chicano Art*, 179-80.

[25]Banners with the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe have been used by Mexican and Mexican American leaders to further their causes. Father Miguel Hidalgo used them in the fight for Mexican Independence that was declared on 16 September 1810. Emiliano Zapata, one of the leaders of the Mexican Revolution of 1910, used them in public demonstrations. César Chávez, the leader of the United Farmworkers Union, used them in the strike against the grape growers of California that officially began on 16 September 1965. The banner referred to the ethnic identity of the farmworkers and the date to Mexican Independence.