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Hemisphere is an annual publication produced by graduate students affiliated with the Department of Art and Art History at the University of New Mexico (UNM). *Hemisphere* provides a forum for graduate students to present scholarship and studio practice pertaining to all aspects and time periods of the visual and material cultures of North, Central, and South America, and related world contexts. Through the production of *Hemisphere* students promote their educational and professional interests as they gain first-hand experience in academic publishing. Although the inaugural issue highlighted essays, reviews, and artwork by graduate students from the Department of Art and Art History at UNM, subsequent editions consist of work submitted by graduate students at other universities in the United States. The journal welcomes and will continue to accept submissions from authors at other institutions in and outside of the United States. A call will be sent out each year to invite submissions for the next issue.

Subscriptions are not available at this time; however, we welcome donations to support the production of *Hemisphere*.

EDITOR'S NOTE VOLUME VI

This edition of *Hemisphere* focuses on an area of often overlooked art historical scholarship: that centering on the peoples indigenous to the Americas. While indigenous peoples have created artworks since time immemorial, with countless rich aesthetic histories, it was at the University of New Mexico in the 1970s that American scholarship dedicated to these areas first developed in the academy. Each essay in volume VI contributes to and expands our knowledge about indigenous art histories.

For the first time Hemisphere has featured artists not resident at the University of New Mexico to privilege the narrative of indigenous arts and activism that runs throughout this edition. Our Artists' Spotlight, *Visible Movement: the Arts of Idle No More*, unites art scholarship and practices around a current social movement which itself insists on the visibility of indigenous arts in practice. —INDIA RAEL YOUNG

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THE CUSCO SCHOOL *SURRENDER OF SEVILLA*: CHIVALROUS FANTASIES IN THE ANDES

ANNICK BENAVIDES, M.A., Department of Art and Art History,
University of New Mexico

San Fernando Receiving the Keys of Cordoba (18th century) hangs at the Museo Pedro de Osma in Lima, Peru (Figure 1). I have often gazed upon the work in the company of museum visitors while employed at the Museo Pedro de Osma.



FIGURE 1. Anonymous Cusco School, *Surrender of Sevilla*, 18th century, oil on canvas, 149 cm x 200 cm. (Image courtesy of Museo Pedro de Osma).

In the painting a central, knightly figure on horseback looks skyward, engaged in visual dialogue with a small Virgin visible through an aperture in the clouds. Beneath the knight on the left, a sumptuously dressed man is kneeling. He offers keys to a city, visible in the background, to the central knight. As the discussion leader of the viewing party, I would withhold the title of the work from my audience, encouraging them to decipher the narrative occurring in the painting based solely on visual cues. I deemed my steering of the dialogue successful when, circa five minutes into the

conversation, one museum guest might venture to assert that the scene depicted was: the defeat of Atahualpa by Francisco Pizarro. To which I would enigmatically respond: “That statement is both correct... and incorrect.”

I would then briefly describe the Iberian personages in the painting, and suggest that the confusion between the elegant Moorish king and an Inca ruler, the Reconquista and Inca landscape, was a subversive message in the painting—furtively incorporated into the work by an indigenous painter, probably unbeknownst to the supervising guild master of the Cusco School.

This design of mine was both cursory and disrespectful to the complex histories implicated in the painting. Propagating the analogous relationship between Amerindians and Moors, without critically challenging it, was irresponsible. So too was my adherence to a binary system in which indigenous subversive machinations are positioned as counter to a homogenous Spanish Viceregal project. The Cusco School is credited with the creation of a distinctly *mestizo* aesthetic, whereby Peruvian paintings stylistically adapt imported European models and employ traditionally Andean spatial structures and symbols. The ethnic composition of the Cusco School guild comprised of a diverse band of artists. A conservative estimate, based on extant 17th century contracts for paintings in Cusco, suggests that at least seventy-five percent of painters were indigenous.¹

Undocumented, anonymous artists, such as those that produced the Andean *San Fernando Receiving the Keys of Cordoba* (*Surrender of Sevilla*), are more likely to have been indigenous.²

A comparative analysis of the iconography of Iberian 17th and 18th century military surrender scenes with this Cusco School surrender scene proves that the analogy between the ‘Old’ and ‘New’ World heretics was a conscious and elite strategy—a far cry from the Indigenous agency I fancifully projected onto the work. And neither does the Reconquista landscape in *San Fernando Receiving the Keys of Cordoba* reference any real Andean geography. Consideration of this painting within the larger Cusco School landscape repertoire, or lack thereof, reveals a sustained erasure of local Andean topography in Peruvian viceregal painting.

The re-assessment of my relationship with this painting begins with the catalogue entry for *San Fernando Receiving the Keys of Cordoba in Patrimonio Histórico del Museo Pedro de Osma*, written by the previous director of the Osma Museum, Pedro Gjurinovic.³ At the outset, I was startled by two passages in Gjurinovic's essay. The first was the labeling of the kneeling man on the lower left as a: "joven invasor moro" [young muslim invader].⁴ It seemed incorrect to describe the figure as a 'young invader' when the historic individual was born in a city that had been ruled by Muslims for nearly 500 years, and he had a name. Chronicles refer to him as emir Abu-Assan or Axataf.⁵ Illustrative of the derogatory undertone in labeling Axataf as an 'invader' is the English version of this catalogue entry, visible alongside the Spanish text. The translated description of Axataf in the English column of this catalogue entry reads as simply "young Moor," thus dodging Gjurinovic's pejorative vocabulary.

My second qualm with this catalogue entry was the prominent discussion of the central knightly figure as an embodiment of the emblem *Temperance*. In 1670, Diego López published in Spain a widely read and influential book which gave textual and visual explanations of Andrés Alciato's *Liber emblemata*.⁶ Gjurinovic establishes the visual linkage between the Cusco painting and an emblem in Lopez's text, noting: "The King [in the painting] holds the horse's reins taut, symbolizing Temperance."⁷ He goes on to claim that López's explanation for Temperance reads: "... the Prince really had to learn the art of riding a horse, or judge himself unfit to sit at such a high level of dignity."⁸ Indeed there is an illustration in López's book of a rider holding the reins taut that mirrors the position of Fernando III's hands and the horse's head in the painting (Figure 2). And the accompanying text to this emblem corresponds with Gjurinovic's excerpt. But this emblem was never intended to illustrate Temperance, as Gjurinovic claims. There is no emblem labelled 'temperance' in the entire book. Instead, Lopez labelled the emblem in question: *One who knows not to flatter*.⁹

I was frustrated initially by the emblemata analysis because I viewed Gjurinovic's emphasis on European precedents for this Andean painting to be an antiquated and marginal vein of analysis. Ironically, as my proceeding research will illustrate, my distaste for such a methodology was ill-founded. I now consider the evaluation of European derived allusions in colonial works to be fundamental in inferring Andean significance. And yet, the



FIGURE 2. "De el que no sabe lisonjear" [One who knows not to flatter], (Diego Lopez, *Declaración Magistral Sobre las Emblemas de Andrea Alciato*, 1655, pg. 185.)

discussion of the emblem in the catalogue entry continues to displease me because Gjurinovic clearly invented a new name for the emblem—and tried to pass it off as the original. I can recover some of the logic of this intrepid oversimplification: in the emblem the central horse's two front hooves rear upwards, symbolizing the rider's inability to flatter (i.e. restrain his horse); in the painting the two front hooves are solidly on the ground, symbolizing Fernando III's ability to flatter, and consequently, his temperance in riding.¹⁰

Gjurinovic's blunder in emblemata scholarship is trumped by his failure to recognize the painting as *San Fernando Receiving the Keys of Sevilla*, and not those of Cordoba. The specificities of the iconography reference a historic event, recorded in 16th century chronicles and hagiographies: the surrender of Sevilla in 1248 to Fernando III (who was canonized in 1671). The painting mimics startlingly well the iconographic tradition developed in 17th century Spain for the *Surrender of Sevilla*.

Furthermore, the scene is unlikely to be Cordoba, because there is no visual precedent for painting the surrender of Cordoba, at least, none that I have been able to identify. The Christian capture of Cordoba by Fernando III in 1236 was neither as difficult, drawn out, nor celebrated as his capture of Sevilla. The surrender of Cordoba involved no exchange of keys, and the only distinctive capitulation stipulation was Fernando III's insistence that Moors haul on their backs the bells of Cordoba's mosque to Santiago de Compostela (according to the chronicle, 260 years earlier the emir of Cordoba, Alhaghil

Almanzor, had forced Christians to carry the same bells from Santiago to Cordoba).¹¹ Should an artist attempt to distinguish the Cordoba surrender scene, I believe said bells would make a prominent appearance.

There are no bells in the painting that I will henceforth refer to as: the Cusco *School Surrender of Sevilla* [Figure 1].¹² What distinguishes this capitulation scene is the offering of two keys on a platter to Fernando III. The recounting of the surrender of Sevilla explains that Axataf, upon meeting Fernando III in the ‘arena of triumph,’ handed him two symbolic keys to Sevilla on a platter.¹³ The ceremony was dignified, the chronicles tell, because Axataf intended to give every impression that he was willingly surrendering the city, and it was not force that took the keys from him.¹⁴ It was no easy victory for the Spanish, however. The siege of Sevilla, having lasted over seventeen months, was considered to be especially arduous for Fernando III. In his desperation, he prayed to his statue of the Virgen de los Reyes. According to the chronicles, one afternoon, upon fervent prayer by Fernando III, the statue spoke to him, saying: “En mi imagen de la Antigua, que está en la mezquita mayor, tienes continua intercesora, prosigue que tú vencerás” [In my ancient image, located in the main mosque, you have a continuous advocate, carry on for you shall conquer].¹⁵

The image of Fernando III, on horseback receiving the keys to Sevilla from Axataf before the doors to the city, enjoyed a long iconographic tradition in Iberia. Inmaculada Rodríguez Moya designates the earliest surviving image of this historic scene as an illustration in Alonso de Cartagena’s manuscript *Genealogía del Reyes de España* (1460).¹⁶ This illustration of Fernando III receiving the keys to Sevilla was undoubtedly based on classical imagery in which one power surrendered to another (and thus none too original in and of itself). Nonetheless, this manuscript illustration probably established a visual tradition for depicting the Iberian historical event, and the Sevilla surrender scene was oft replicated in Iberia.

Francisco Pacheco’s *Surrender of Sevilla* (1634) represents a variation of this composition, and is the earliest surviving painting I have identified of the surrender of Sevilla (Figure 3). It is located in the antechoir of the Cathedral of Sevilla.¹⁷ In Pacheco’s composition, on the left stands Fernando III accompanied by two soldiers, and on the right, two Moors kneel, proffering the keys. Pacheco departed from the 1460 composition in

removing Fernando from his horse, decreasing the distance between Axataf and the Spanish monarch. Typical to the iconography for a *Surrender of Sevilla*, we can observe the Virgen de los Reyes in the sky, emerging from an otherworldly divine glow. Although her outline is muted in this work, one can see that she is positioned alongside a distinctive tower in Sevilla: the minaret of the main mosque, constructed in the late 12th century by Ahmad ben Bassu y Alí de Gomara under Almohad rule. After the defeat of Axataf, it was celebrated by Christians as a part of their newly consecrated cathedral, and has been known as *La Giralda* since the early 17th century.¹⁸



FIGURE 3. Francisco Pacheco, *Rendición de Sevilla* [Surrender of Sevilla], 1633, oil on copper, 40 x 31 cm. (Image courtesy of Art Resource, NY).

Pacheco’s fellow Sevillano painter, Francisco Zurbaran, also painted the *Surrender of Sevilla* (1634), currently in the private collection of the Duke of Westminster.¹⁹ In this painting a grouping of men stand in the foreground, with Axataf on the left, and Fernando on the right, each accompanied by their respective entourage—though the Spanish grouping dominates in size and number. Mercedarians, of the Orden de la Merced, commissioned this work and appear prominently on the right of Fernando III, in white tunics.²⁰ Sevilla’s minaret is visible in the distance on the left, although there

appears to be no apparition of the Virgen de los Reyes in this composition. While Pacheco and Zurbaran's works are nearly contemporaneous, it is believed that Zurbaran often imitated the older and established Pacheco's compositions. Pacheco has been identified by many scholars as the unifying vehicle of Spanish Golden Age painterly production.²¹ Based in Sevilla, Pacheco was a major painter at the time when Zurbaran was coming of age as an artist. Pacheco also happened to be the teacher and father-in-law to Diego Velasquez.

Velasquez did not paint a *Surrender of Sevilla*, but he did produce a work comparable in composition and historic significance—*The Surrender of Breda*, or, *Las Lanzas* (1635), (Figure 5). This better-known surrender scene, dating to 1635, hangs at the Prado Museum. It commemorates the Spanish victory over the Dutch in 1625, and their conquest of the most coveted city in the Low Lands.²² The two central figures in the painting exchange the keys to Breda: the Spanish general, on the right, extending a compassionate



FIGURE 4. Diego Velasquez, *The Surrender of Breda*, or *Las Lanzas*, 1635, oil on canvas, 307 cm x 367 cm (Image courtesy of Museo del Prado).

arm towards the bent and yielding Dutch commander, who relinquishes the keys, on the left. A military entourage accompanies each man and in the distance the besieged capital city is visible.

Like the siege of Sevilla, the siege of Breda was long and painful, lasting over ten months. And like the Sevilla victory, the Spanish victory in Breda was seen in a symbolic light, as: "it was a commonly held belief that [Spanish] victories in the battlefield were a sign of God's vengeance against his enemies, or heretics."²³ Divine intervention was implicit in the Spanish conception of victory in Sevilla and Breda. Just as the Virgen de los Reyes intercedes for Fernando III in Sevilla iconography, early 17th century prints celebrate the divine assistance the Spanish general Ambrosio Spinola supposedly received in defeating of the Dutch at Breda: a woodcut from a pro-Spanish newspaper in Antwerp illustrates a heavenly apparition above Breda, where an archangel descends to bestow the city-keys to Spinola.²⁴ The victory in Breda is consequential precisely because it picks up where Fernando III left off. The divinely endorsed battle against heretics, waged on the Iberian Peninsula against Moors, is symbolically resumed in an international context.

Integral to the 17th century push to canonize of Fernando III was the virtual explosion of art that celebrated his accomplishments. Prints were the principal means to extend this cult beyond Sevilla, and their dissemination proliferated the Sevilla Surrender iconography in Iberia, and beyond.²⁵ The Cusco School *Surrender of Sevilla* (Figure 1) probably shares the same progenitor print as a late 17th century *Surrender of Sevilla* that hangs in the Virgen de las Viñas chapel in Aranda de Duero, Spain.²⁶ The two paintings share an uncommon compositional likeness. In both versions Fernando III sits on horseback, is decorated with the Order of the Golden Fleece, looks skyward, and holds the reigns tight with his left hand and a raised baton with his right. Both horses' heads are reined in close to the neck. The Virgins have text emanating from their bodies, directed at Fernando III, and they repeat a variant of the divine message that the Virgin spoke to Fernando III in the chronicles. In both versions Axataf kneels on the bottom left, alone, while soldiers on horseback stand at attention behind Fernando III.

In addition to print production, Pacheco and Zurbaran's paintings were also influential Sevillian propaganda for the canonization of Fernando III, and I find it surprising that art historians neglect this iconographic tradition in their discussion of Velazquez's *Las Lanzas*. They quibble over the supposedly unprecedented and erudite emblematic references Velazquez includes in his work, positioning *Las Lanzas* as a unique masterpiece: "the first painting to depict warfare as surrender, and surrender as the initial step toward an alliance between former adversaries."²⁷ Yet it obviously has visual precedence. Velazquez, a fellow Sevillian, and son-in-law to Pacheco, would have been familiar with the surrender of Sevilla iconography.

I highlight this connection between the works of Pacheco, Zurbaran, and Velazquez in order to illuminate the manner in which the conquests of Breda and Sevilla were symbolically linked through a shared visual iconography. The potential for surrender iconographies to communicate a discursive analogy—a correspondence between besieged cities, heretical enemies, and divine intervention—affects the reading of the Cusco School *Surrender of Sevilla*. The production and display of a surrender of Sevilla iconography in 17th century Peru was an attempt to broaden the analogy, an attempt to insert the 'surrender of Cusco' into the discourse.

I speak of the 'surrender of Cusco' in quotations because, in actuality, there was no glorious Spanish victory in Cusco, no exalted exchange of keys after a formidable Spanish siege on the capital of the Tahuantinsuyu. Francisco Pizarro's infamous capture of the Inca Atahualpa, and the subsequent imprisonment, ransom, and execution of Atahualpa, all occurred in Cajamarca. The Spanish took Cusco, rather uneventfully, in 1534. And two years later, Inca forces besieged every Spanish citizen in Cusco, as part of a countrywide rebellion led by the Inca Manco.²⁸ The survival of the group of roughly 200 Spaniards in Cusco, who had taken their eleventh-hour refuge inside an edifice on the main square, is attributed to the miraculous appearance of the Virgin Mary, who extinguished the fire upon the roof of the Spanish refuge, and flung dust into the eyes of Inca troops.²⁹ The defeat of the rebel troops is also attributed to the propitious appearance of Saint James, the Moorlayer of the Iberian Reconquista, who struck down the stunned Indians.³⁰ The Andean 17th century chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala illustrated these two apparition miracles in his text *El primer*

nueva corónica y buen gobierno. In reality, it was the arrival of Diego Almagro along with Spanish reinforcements that lifted the precarious siege in 1537.³¹

The 'surrender of Cusco' was, if not a down right embarrassing affair for the Spanish colonial project, at the very least an un-glamorous one, which probably fueled the Spanish impetus to supplant the historical narrative with a symbolic one. Thus the Cusco School *Surrender of Sevilla* endeavored to purposefully reference the capital city of the Tahuantinsuyu and the Inca Empire, to imbue the Cusco cityscape with the aura of the Sevilla surrender. The two cities are comparable: Sevilla was the cultural capital of Al-Andalus, and the military stronghold that withstood the onslaught of Fernando III the longest; Cusco was the capital of the Inca Empire, boasted an immense fortress called Sacsayhuaman, and witnessed the strongest indigenous rebellion against the Spanish in the viceroyalty. Axataf's accouterments serve as conspicuous and intentional markers of his dual persona—Moorish king and Inca. By his feet lies a shield with a solar emblem emblazoned on the center, and a sword whose hilt recalls the face of a large bird—perhaps a condor. Both the sun and condor were important entities to the Inca polity, and the sun was linked particularly with Sapa Inca authority in the Tahuantinsuyu. There is also a correspondence in divine apparitions in both cities, as the Virgin appeared in Sevilla to guarantee the victory of Fernando III, and in Cusco to save the livelihoods of the besieged Spaniards.

The painting, in this analogous framework, functioned akin to chivalric porn for those who envisioned themselves as the descendants of the Spanish conquistadors of Peru. Barbara Fuchs notes that in the American contact zone: "a deliberate armature of romance fictions and religious truths served to assimilate the marvelous, while underwriting Spanish claims to empire."³² The entire Reconquista myth, an imagined defeat of clearly 'Other' Moorish enemies by dignified Spanish knights in Iberia, could be superimposed over the conquest of the Tahuantinsuyu. It should be noted that viewing America as the second Reconquista was always a wishful analogy, considering the unresolved conflicts between Christians and Moors/Moriscos in 16th and early 17th century Iberia. Yet the analogy enabled the forgetting of the conquistador's base desire for land, silver and gold, and instead, allowed for the subjugation of indigenous 'heathens' to be celebrated as a divinely ordained mission. The attempt to analogize the Spanish victory in Sevilla with that in Cusco confirms Anthony Pagden's observation that:

“Ideologically, the struggle against Islam offered a descriptive language which allowed the generally shabby ventures in America to be vested with a seemingly eschatological significance.”³³

Paintings such as the Cusco School *Surrender of Sevilla*, which showcased the wishful analogy between conquistadors and Spanish Reconquista knights, were all the more valuable cultural mediums in light of a ban on the exportation of chivalrous novels to the Americas. Fuchs notes that the ideologies propagated in chivalrous novels, as read by Spanish citizens in the Americas, undoubtedly served the Spanish empire-building project.³⁴ The novels, which were believed to confuse the boundary between truth and fiction, allowed Spanish ‘conquistadors’ to self-designate themselves as Christian knights in a new world, wresting territory from infidels. Because the crown would have approved of the effects such novels had on Spanish citizens in the Americas, Fuchs argues that the ban on chivalrous novels was directed primarily at indigenous readers.³⁵ Nonetheless, the chivalrous books were banned from the Americas—a circumstance that may have fomented a sort of forbidden attraction towards paintings that celebrated chivalrous discourses.

The Cusco School *Surrender of Sevilla* painting reveals additional strategies of the Spanish colonial project in another capacity. It was convention for colonial Peruvian paintings to omit references to the local Andean landscape.³⁶ Vistas of terrain were replicated European landscapes that had been disseminated as prints in the Americas. In the Cusco School *Surrender of Sevilla*, the artists manage to render the cityscapes of Sevilla and Cusco as analogous, while avoiding the portrayal of local Andean topography and flora. The figures in the foreground stand on a monochromatic brown slope, while nominal shrubbery and sparse trees decorate the lower right corner and left edge of the painting, respectively. While this landscape evasion mimics the sparse, or negligible landscape in European surrender scenes, read from within the Cusco School repertoire, it is illustrative of a systematic exclusion of Andean topography in colonial paintings.

Heidi Scott notes in her study of the Peruvian landscape *Contested Territory: Mapping Peru in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* that colonial Spanish familiarity with the Andean landscape did not progress in a linear fashion. Instead of becoming an increasingly comprehensible and easily

controlled place, the landscape, as portrayed in Spanish authored *Relaciones Geográficas* topographical and cultural maps of the 1580’s, seemed: “deeply alien, or at least, vaguely known to the authors.”³⁷

Also, in the 17th century, ecclesiastical anxieties over the persistence of indigenous veneration of sacred geographies reached its zenith.³⁸ Corregidores and ecclesiastics repeatedly mapped sacred Andean geographies in their attempts to eradicate *huaca* sites.³⁹ In these *huaca* maps, the Andes seems an increasingly treacherous terrain with the passage of time.⁴⁰ What was most distressing to idol extirpators was the Andeans’ spiritual resourcefulness in the face of material destruction of their *huacas*. It seemed as though the land provided an enduring spiritual medium that Spanish authorities could not comprehend, nor could they control through the mere eradication of sacred sites. This keen awareness on the part of Spanish civic and ecclesiastical authorities, that the landscape was replete with sacred significance for natives, may have played a role in the expunging of local topographies from Cusco School paintings. Authorities were wary of showcasing natural landforms in paintings because indigenous viewers may read the work as a commemoration of a local sacred topography.⁴¹

The emphasis in the Cusco School *Surrender of Sevilla* on the victorious conquest of a city, and its inhabitants, while willfully ignoring the natural landscape, echoes the portrayal of the Andean world in sixteenth century chronicles. Scott observes a transformation in sixteenth century Spanish literary descriptions of Peru: the very early texts, which relay a struggle for survival, provide significant topographical description; later texts that record Francisco Pizarro’s progress to Cajamarca and Cusco convey a rapid and relentless conquest of cities.⁴² The drastic reduction in the breath of vision and geographical scope of these texts is meant to emphasize the ease is which conquistadors journeyed across a supposedly un-obstructed and homogenous plain.⁴³ In this sense Pizarro’s victory seems a divinely ordained voyage, as God’s favor is manifest by the conquistadors facing no complications or interference by the landscape.

Yet Scott also investigates indigenous tactical suppression of landscape knowledge in colonial Peru. Spanish authorities in the 16th century interviewed local town inhabitants in regards to the topography of their region in order to complete crown mandated *Relaciones Geográficas*

maps. The indigenous informants appear to have supplied information in a vague and detached tone.⁴⁴ The outcome of these interviews produced topographical reports where the Spanish cartographer could rarely identify natural forms, and Scott describes the maps as: “strangely insubstantial and elusive.”⁴⁵ Furthermore, native disclosure of a sacred site to an inquisitive ecclesiastic or crown official would most likely result in the sites’ adaptation, and inevitably result in its excavation—as the crown and church eagerly ransacked these sites for treasure.⁴⁶ It appears as though the reticence to describe, and represent, the local landscape was also a strategy practiced by indigenous Peruvians. This guarding of information protected the locations of huacas against systematic looting on the part of the Spanish.

Indigenous peoples had good reason to be wary of Spanish interest in the Andean landscape. From the outset, the conquest procedure involved crown authorities taking land, previously dedicated to the Inca state, and granting the purchase of said land to non-Indians. And upon the arrival of Francisco Toledo in the 1570’s, the crown instigated the forcible resettlement of scattered townships, or *ayllus*, into larger communities known as *reducciones*.⁴⁷ Yet Ward Stavig, in his article “Ambiguous Visions: Nature, Law, and Culture in Indigenous—Spanish Land Relations in Colonial Peru,” illuminates the tenacious ability of Andeans to withstand Spanish encroachments upon their territory. Andeans were able to maintain land possession early in the colonial era through their long-standing herding tradition.⁴⁸ And the *reducciones*, instead of fragmenting and weakening the indigenous claim to land, actually strengthened it in various manners. Stavig observes that many *ayllus* were assigned the same lands that had been theirs before the Toledan intervention. Those that did lose land were known to quietly re-occupy property that had not been effectively alienated by crown officials.⁴⁹ And through the *ayllus* re-location amongst neighboring *ayllus*, the towns rekindled old bonds and reestablished their extended patterns of settlement.⁵⁰

Contrary to popular belief, colonial indigenous citizens of Peru were supremely conscious of encroachments upon their land holdings post Spanish invasion, and they acted to defend said property. Stavig notes: “The law proved a formidable tool for the naturals.”⁵¹ Using the colonial justice system, imposed by Spain, Andeans were more often than not successful in cases involving claims of illegal land appropriation.⁵² With the support

of the state-appointed legal defender of Indians, Andeans waged fierce legal battles against those who sought to seize their land. Although, in the long run, communal land holdings were significantly reduced during the three centuries of colonial Spanish rule, many of these usurpations were fought “tooth and nail.”⁵³ The landscape around Cusco, a highly populated and fertile area, was especially tendentious. It is therefore possible that the visual evasion of local topography in Cusco School paintings effectively steered the paintings clear of a highly disputed and delicate subject matter: the ownership of the Andean landscape. The process where local landscapes were systematically excluded from paintings produced by this workshop implicated, at least on some level, the participation of Indian, Mestizo, Creole and Spanish Cusco School painters.

The Cusco School *Surrender of Sevilla* can be understood to function in two particularly Andean manners. Firstly, it symbolically triangulates the Spanish occupation of Cusco, a rather shabby affair, with the much-adulated Spanish triumphs in Sevilla in 1248 and Breda in 1625. Secondly, it participates in the visual erasure of local landscapes, manifest throughout colonial Peruvian art, a phenomenon that betrays an ongoing legal and religious battle over landscape representation in the Andes. Should I encounter myself in front of the work again, alongside museum visitors, my approach to leading the discussion would certainly be different. I would introduce the chivalrous analogy between Axataf and Inca king, between Sevilla and Cusco, only to encourage students to ponder the manners in which this symbolic discourse fails to adequately describe the colonial world: a world in which the Spanish occupation of Cusco was an arduous, narrowly won and drawn out affair, and the Spanish encroachment upon indigenous land was a process never entirely completed, and far from uncontested.

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NOTES:

- ¹ Gisbert, Teresa. 1980. *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte*. (La Paz, Bolivia: Apartado 195), 90.
- ² Dean, Carolyn. *Inka bodies and the body of Christ: Corpus Christi in colonial Cuzco, Peru*. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999), 78.
- ³ Gjurinovic Canevaro, Pedro. *Museo Pedro de Osma: The Pedro de Osma Museum*. (Lima, Perú: Fundación Pedro y Angélica de Osma Gildemeister, 2004).
- ⁴ Gjurinovic, *Museo Pedro de Osma*, 102.
- ⁵ As Abu-Assan in: Fabraquer, José Muñoz Maldonado. *Historia, tradiciones y leyendas de las imágenes de la Virgen aparecidas en España*. (Madrid: J.J. Martinez, 1861). As Axataf in: Manuel y Rodríguez, Miguel de. *Memorias para la vida del Santo Rey don Fernando III dadas á luz con apéndices y otras ilustraciones*. (Madrid: Ibarra, 1800). The main source in Manuel y Rodríguez's hagiography of Saint Fernando III is an anonymous chronicle on the lives of Spanish kings printed in 1515, which in turn, claims to reference a chronicle written contemporaneously to the life of Fernando III in the 13th century. This same 1515 publication informed 16th and early 17th century artists' conceptions of the Surrender of Sevilla to Fernando III.
- ⁶ Alciati, Andrea, and Diego López. *Declaración magistral sobre las emblemas de Andrés Alciato*, 1655. (Menston: Scolar Press, 1973).
- ⁷ Gjurinovic, *Museo Pedro de Osma*, 102.
- ⁸ Gjurinovic, *Museo Pedro de Osma*, 102.
- ⁹ López ,Maximo. "El altar arandino de San Fernando," *Diario de Burgos*, May 30, 2010, 185. Name of emblem in Latin: In adulari nescientem.
- ¹⁰ Additionally, I believe that labeling the emblem correctly revolutionizes the relationship between the kings, as Fernando III can now be read as displaying respect, and flattery, for Axataf.
- ¹¹ Manuel y Rodríguez, Miguel de. *Memorias para la vida del Santo Rey don Fernando III dadas á luz con apéndices y otras ilustraciones*. (Madrid: Ibarra, 1800), 65.
- ¹² The Museo Pedro de Osma has, since the publication of the 2004 catalogue, re-titled the work accordingly as the *Surrender of Sevilla*.
- ¹³ Manuel y Rodríguez, *Memorias para la vida del Santo Rey don Fernando III*, 132 & 137. As noted previously, this 1800 text is derives from a 1515 chronicle of the life of Fernando III, and thus, conveys information comparable to that available to 17th century artists in Spain and the Americas.
- ¹⁴ Manuel y Rodríguez, *Memorias para la vida del Santo Rey don Fernando III*, 132.
- ¹⁵ Fabraquer, José Muñoz Maldonado. *Historia, tradiciones y leyendas de las imágenes de la Virgen aparecidas en España*. (Madrid: J.J. Martinez, 1861), 587.
- ¹⁶ Rodríguez Moya, Inmaculada. "Los Reyes Santos" in *Visiones de la monarquía hispánica. Castellón de la Plana*, ed: Mínguez, Víctor, (España: Universita Jaume I, Servei de Comunicacions i Publicacions, 2007), 151. I have not been able to locate a facsimile of this illustrated manuscript, and thus, I rely completely on Rodríguez Moya's description of the 1460 illustration.
- ¹⁷ Rodríguez Moya, *Los Reyes Santos*, 155. See also "Catedral de Sevilla; Catedral y Giralda, Historia." <http://www.catedraldesevilla.es/> Accessed April 29, 2012.
- ¹⁸ "Catedral de Sevilla; Catedral y Giralda, Historia." <http://www.catedraldesevilla.es/> Accessed April 29, 2012.

- ¹⁹ José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos. "La exposición de Zurbarán en Madrid." *Cuenta y Razón del Pensamiento Actual*, 3 (1988); dialnet.uniroja.es
- ²⁰ "Foro Xerbar; Galería de Arte, Galería de Pintores Españoles, Zurbarán," <http://www.foroxerbar.com/viewtopic.php?t=3973> Accessed April 29, 2012.
- ²¹ Marías, Fernando. "Semblante y semblanza de la pintura española del siglos XVII." *Cuenta y Razón del Pensamiento Actual*, 3, (1982); dialnet.uniroja.es.
- ²² Moffitt, John F. "Diego Velázquez, Andrea Alciati and the Surrender of Breda." *Artibus Et Historiae* 3, no. 5: 75-90 (1982): 84.
- ²³ Moffitt, *The Surrender of Breda*, 83.
- ²⁴ Moffitt, *The Surrender of Breda*, 84.
- ²⁵ Rodríguez Moya, *Los Reyes Santos*, 154.
- ²⁶ López, Maximo. "El altar arandino de San Fernando," *Diario de Burgos*, 30 de mayo de 2010.
- ²⁷ Gottlieb, Carla. "An Emblematic Source for Velazquez's 'Surrender of Breda,'" *Gazette des Beux-Arts*, LXVII, (1966.): 181.
- ²⁸ Lockhart, James. *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560: a colonial society*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 14.
- ²⁹ Dean, *Inka bodies and the body of Christ*, 10.
- ³⁰ Dean, *Inka bodies and the body of Christ*, 28.
- ³¹ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 83.
- ³² Fuchs, Barbara. *Mimesis and empire the new world, Islam, and European identities*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 13.
- ³³ Pagden, Anthony. *Lords of all the world: ideologies of empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500-c. 1800*. (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1995), 92.
- ³⁴ Fuchs, *Mimesis and empire*, 19.
- ³⁵ Fuchs, *Mimesis and empire*, 18.
- ³⁶ Although Cusco School paintings are famously known to incorporate South American parrots into landscapes, the scenes are otherwise largely derived from Flemish or Iberian prints.
- ³⁷ Scott, Heidi V. *Contested territory: mapping Peru in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*. (Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 160.
- ³⁸ Scott, *Contested territory*, 160.
- ³⁹ *Huaca* is a quechua word with no exact equivalent in other languages, but here I use it in the adopted Spanish capacity: as a label for indigenous sites of pre-hispanic worship.
- ⁴⁰ Scott, *Contested territory*, 106.
- ⁴¹ A notable outlier being: *La Virgen de Potosi*. This iconography fused the Virgin with the sacred mountain topography of Mt. Potosi.
- ⁴² Scott, *Contested territory*, 27.
- ⁴³ Scott, *Contested territory*, 27.
- ⁴⁴ Scott, *Contested territory*, 57.
- ⁴⁵ Scott, *Contested territory*, 56.
- ⁴⁶ Scott, *Contested territory*, 65.
- ⁴⁷ Stavig, Ward. "Ambiguous Visions: Nature, Law, and Culture in Indigenous-Spanish Land Relations in Colonial Peru." *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 80 Issue 1, (2000): 86.
- ⁴⁸ Stavig, *Ambiguous Visions*, 82.

⁴⁹ Stavig, *Ambiguous Visions*, 91.

⁵⁰ Stavig, *Ambiguous Visions*, 84.

⁵¹ Stavig, *Ambiguous Visions*, 87.

⁵² Stavig, *Ambiguous Visions*, 87.

⁵³ Stavig, *Ambiguous Visions*, 110.

CALENDRIAL SMOKE AND MIRRORS: FRAY DIEGO DE VALADÉS'S ENGRAVING OF A PRE-HISPANIC CALENDAR (1579)

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Fray Diego Valadés, author of the *Rhetorica Christiana*,¹ is usually imagined by scholars to be an intellectual hero: from the initial publication in 1945 of Francisco de la Maza's study of the life and work of Valadés, scholars of the history and art of New Spain have celebrated Valadés as a reliable source on a range of matters including mnemotechnics, rhetoric, the history of Franciscan religious activities in the Spanish colonies, and, most important for my purposes, Nahua rites and customs. De la Maza identifies Valadés as the first mestizo author to publish in Europe, an innovator both in his subject matter and in the way he chose to make it public. Following de la Maza, other contemporary scholars such as J. Estéban Palomera and Gabriel Méndez Plancarte have also portrayed Valadés as an academic pioneer and humanist scholar.² Relying exclusively on the text of the *Rhetorica* as the source of information on Valadés, these and other modern authors have created a portrait of the friar as an authority not only on the Christianization of New Spain but also on the pre-Hispanic past in Mexico.³

The idea that Valadés was an authority on Nahua culture is derived from claims Valadés makes in his book, his expressed literary aims, and his explanations of the role that images will play in furthering the reader's understanding of ancient Mexican rites and customs.⁴ He notes his many years living in New Spain as essential to his treatment of Amerindian subject matter:

... I was moved to tell the story of what is true as well as dubious, about the Indians; and I have examined and seen these events with my own eyes because I have lived among them ...30 years more or less, and I have dedicated myself for more than 22 years to preaching and confessing them in three of their languages: Mexican [Nahautl], Tarascan, and Otomí...⁵

His long tenure among the Amerindians as well as his mastery of the three indigenous languages, his interaction with Amerindian Christian education and his observation of the daily activities of the Amerindians are all here

used to justify his claims to knowledge of Nahua culture in the rest of the book.⁶

Taking Valadés at his word, early modern scholars celebrated him as the first Mexican author to consider Mexico's complicated cultural past in an academic context.⁷ Later, in the mid-twentieth century, scholars from Mexico championed Valadés as the first graduate of the Mexican academic system; it is to this end in particular that the issue of Valadés's mestizo ethnicity has been defended and researched in the last three decades.⁸ Until recently, it has been generally accepted that he was the son of the *conquistador*, Diego Valadés, and an unidentified Tlaxcalan woman. Authors have used Valadés's alleged *mesticidad* to support their claims that he is an authority on Nahua customs and culture as well as to identify his work as the start of Mexican humanism and academics.

Although the text of the *Rhetorica* has received much attention in the last two decades as scholars have questioned the importance of Valadés's literary contribution, its twenty seven engravings have been largely overlooked as evidence of his authorial intentions. There are three engravings in the *Rhetorica* that deal with ostensibly pre-Columbian subject matter specifically: the *Pre-Hispanic Calendar*;⁹ the *New Spanish Mnemonic Alphabet*;¹⁰ and the *Description of the Sacrifices inhumanely made by the Indians of the New World, principally in Mexico*.¹¹ Because of their content and his unique engagement with these images in the text, these three images in particular deserve special attention. In this article I focus on the *Calendar* (Figure 1) as an example of Valadés's purposeful use of complex imagery to lay exclusive claim to knowledge of Nahua culture. Examining the text-image interplay related to this engraving casts doubt on Valadés's actual knowledge of Nahua rites and customs and shows that he obscures information rather than illuminates it for his reader.

The calendar engraving warrants attention because accompanying textual descriptions of it diverge from other text-image pairings in the book. Valadés omits an explanation of this image in the *Rhetorica*, while his discussions of the other engravings are usually detailed. In many instances in the *Rhetorica*, Valadés is clear about the reasons for using a given image: after explaining a specific subject, he refers the reader to the illustration. In his *Diagram of the Brain*,¹² to take one example, he instructs, "All these things [that I have

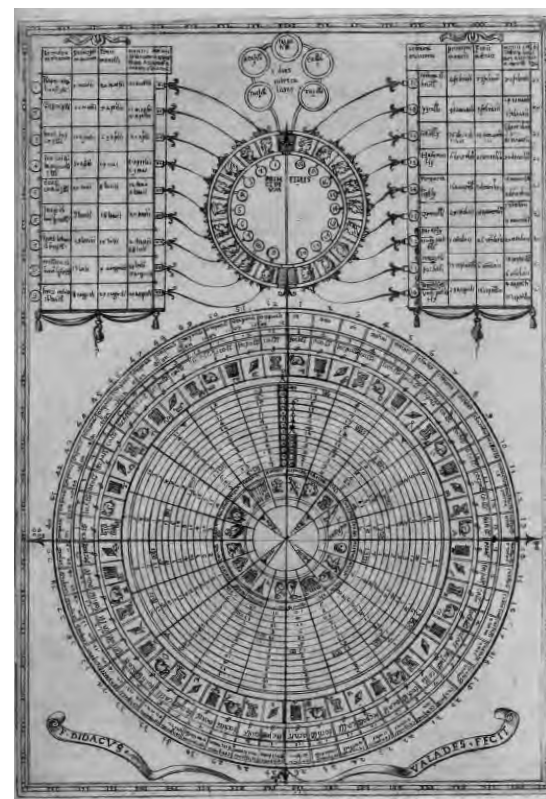


FIGURE 1. Fray Diego de Valadés, *Pre-Hispanic Calendar* from *Rhetorica Christiana* (Perugia, 1579)

explained above] ... are clearly shown in the figure below."¹³ In other instances, he provides an explanatory key for his reader, labeling the image with letters, A, B, C, D, and so on, and offers corresponding discussions in lettered parts of the text, as in the example of his engraving of the *Good Shepherd*.¹⁴ Given the didactic structure of his text, the opacity of the *Calendar* is surprising. Furthermore, subjects such as pre-Columbian calendrical systems and Nahua pictography (included in the diagram) were unfamiliar to the most European readers and, therefore, additional explanation would have been useful to the reader.

Thomas B. F. Cummins was the first scholar to address the omission of an explanation of Valadés's calendar graphic, describing it as a site of "non-communication" in which the reader learns not of Mexican calendrics but rather of Nahua ability to receive the friars' messages through images.¹⁵ While Cummins's assertion is valid, I propose additional motivations for

Valadés's inclusion of the graphic. In this article I build on Cummins's description to examine Valadés's purported knowledge of Nahua traditions, his use of visual rhetoric, and his motivations for including any imagery in what was essentially a homiletic text.¹⁶ In some ways my objective is quite modest: to read Valadés against the grain of his explicit purposes to examine its utility as a didactic. Rather than detracting from Valadés's stature as a writer, this close reading of the image sheds light on why he decided to express part of his knowledge of the New World visually and confirms the important role the image played in formulating an early modern European view of the Americas. A look into the historical circumstances surrounding the writing, illustration and publication of Valadés's book presents a fuller picture not only of the author and his historical moment but also some of the more significant factors impacting the book's creation.

Comparing Valadés's treatment of the pre-Columbian calendar to calendrical studies by other mendicant authors from the mid- and late-sixteenth century, suggests that Valadés inserted his work into an academic tradition with predecessors both in his own order and in wider contemporary European intellectual circles.¹⁷ Perhaps more important, Valadés avoids any systematic discussion of the workings of the pre-Hispanic calendar, deliberately making the content and meaning of his calendar image inaccessible to his readers. Ultimately, Valadés's engraving of the calendar is a ploy and a symbol of his own academic ambitions rather than a visual explanation of the ancient Mexican calendar. The image bolsters Valadés's claim to an exclusive understanding of the Nahua calendrical system, undermining the didactic purpose stated explicitly in his text.

I. THE *RHETORICA CHRISTIANA*

Modern scholars like Palomera and de la Maza were not been entirely misguided in focusing on the singularity of the *Rhetorica* and its author. Valadés was certainly an unusual character for his day: a sixteenth-century Mexican humanist, conversant with Renaissance learning, but perhaps born in the Americas;¹⁸ a reader of canonical Greek and Latin authors, but also a speaker of Nahuatl, Tarascan and Otomí. The *Rhetorica* was, after all, the first text on evangelical work in New Spain to include images.¹⁹ Remarkable for their broad range of subject matter, Valadés's engravings include

diagrams of mnemonics, allegorical images, hierarchic trees, cityscapes, scenes of missionary work and examples of pedagogical methods and learning devices. According to Valadés he illustrated his book because

... there are some who do not know how to read... [and so] we have added some engravings with the intention that [the audience] can quickly remember these things and also so that they can know with certainty and clarity the rites and customs of the Indians...²⁰

And yet, the depth and breadth of Valadés's purported knowledge about Nahua rites and customs is difficult to ascertain from examining the text and the images in the *Rhetorica* because he is vague on the particulars of Amerindian culture. He includes images to claim exclusive authority about the Mexican past without ever discussing specifics.

Valadés's *Rhetorica* is an illustrated book, often described as a training manual for novice missionaries. Its 378 pages are written in Latin and illustrated with 27 copper-plate engravings. The *Rhetorica* was printed in Perugia by Pietro Giacomo Petrucci in 1579. Valadés states that its main goal is to outline effective methods for preaching, drawn from ancient literature, the scriptures and fathers of the church, and even some contemporary authors. Valadés explains his intentions in the preface of the *Rhetorica*, writing that he composed his text "[so that] we could be the spokesmen of God, instruments of His divine goodness and heralds of Christ. To fulfill these goals more easily, we will demonstrate [to the reader] the art of cultivating the memory, [a skill] so desired by all [men] since long ago...".²¹ Peppered with anecdotes from his unique experiences in the New World, this exhaustive manual on evangelization combines discussions on Christian rhetoric and the art of cultivating the memory with short passages about Nahua culture prior to and just following the arrival of the Spanish. Valadés's artistic attempts to represent the pre-contact past are important for the overall aims of his book: to make claims to the sincere conversion of the Indians and to show the Franciscans as having a decisive role in the spiritual reform of the New World.²² By offering proof of his intimate knowledge of the history of the Indians via visual examples, Valadés validates the truth of these important goals.

II: THE CALENDAR IN EARLY CHRONICLES OF THE NEW WORLD:

Many early mendicant ethnographers and chroniclers in New Spain were interested in documenting, describing, and depicting the pre-Hispanic calendrical system as part of their studies. Given an official order by the Franciscan chapter in 1536, missionaries began to pursue studies of the Nahua calendar methodically,²³ in part because Nahua methods of recording time were imagined to be “comparable to” European practices. Moreover, the calendar provided an opportunity for curious Europeans to garner specific information about Nahua culture—rituals, gods, history and cosmogony. Fray Toribio de Benavente Motolinía’s studies of Nahua record-keeping traditions, for example, described five types of pre-contact books, written in “symbols and pictures,” categorizing them as follows:

The first dealt with the years and time; the second, with days and ceremonies that [the Indians] had throughout the year; the third spoke of dreams and omens, spells and the superstitions they believed in; the fourth had to do with baptism and names that were given to children; and the fifth, with rites, ceremonies and omens related to marriage...²⁴

To Motolinía, only the first type, which recorded time and secular histories, was to be trusted because of its resemblance to European annals.²⁵ Describing the first kind of book, which recorded the years, Motolinía says,

... the only one [of the books] to be given credit is the first because, in truth, although barbaric and lacking letters, they gave much attention and care to record time and years, ceremonies and days... They wrote and drew figures of the exploits and histories of war [and also] of the successions of their first kings,... and diseases, and at what time and to whom these occurred, ... all of this was written in symbols and figures.²⁶

Fray Bernardino de Sahagún likewise wrote of the pre-Columbian calendar in books 2, 4, and 10 of the *Florentine Codex*.²⁷ In book 2 he gives a thorough account of the eighteen ritual months, their ceremonies and the gods to which they belong; in book 10 he articulates the relationship of cycles of time with cardinal directions. In book 4, Sahagún refutes Motolinía’s

characterization of this count as a calendar based on its associations with divination, emphatically claiming it to be “very pernicious to our holy Catholic Faith”; instead, he advocates that his own description should be used in order that the reader might identify this erroneous calendar and destroy it.²⁸

With better understanding of Nahua religion and traditions, missionaries thought that they would be able more easily to identify pagan practices and put a stop to them, thus effectively convert the Indians to Christianity. Fray Diego Durán for example includes a discussion of the pre-Columbian calendar in his 1579 study, *The Ancient Calendar*, “... in order to instruct the priesthood for the honor and glory of our God, for the dissemination of Holy Catholic Faith, and the extirpation of the ceremonies and rites of the past.”²⁹ For Durán the study and understanding of the pre-Hispanic calendar was advantageous, and necessary, for missionary efforts to succeed:

...my sole intention has been to give advice to my fellow men and to our priests regarding the necessity of destroying the heathen customs which they will encounter constantly... My desire is that no heathen way be concealed, hidden, because the wound will grow, rot and fester, with our feigned ignorance. Paganism must be torn up by the roots from the hearts of these frail people!³⁰

The calendar had value because it showed more than just historical events and the system of recording time. Durán explains the comprehensiveness of the pre-Hispanic time-reckoning system, indicating the connections in the Nahua thought between time and space. In long passages describing the Nahua calendar and its uses, like Motolinía, Durán says, “In this way was kept the [the Nahua kept] record of all the events of importance which took place – wars, famines, plagues, comets, deaths of kings, princes, and lords...”; “in each [cardinal direction] were to be found, according to these people, great omens, signs and the forecasting of events by astrologers”; and later,

...these characters [date glyphs] also taught Indian nations the days on which to sow, reap, till the land, cultivate corn, weed, harvest, store, shell... They always took into account that it had

to be in such and such a month, after such and such a feast, on such and such a day... The reason for all this was that some signs were held to be good, others evil and others indifferent...³¹

These examples of sixteenth-century descriptions of Nahua time-keeping are quite similar to one another. I am primarily concerned with one commonality: the inclusion of a visual depiction of the pre-Hispanic calendar. In the opinion of some European friars, visual representations of the calendar—like the diagrams included in the works mentioned above – made the intricacies of time-reckoning systems palatable to the reader. There was a wide-spread notion among missionaries that images were effective tools for communicating complex information to both the new American converts and to the European audience unfamiliar with ancient Mexican culture. This belief created foundational aspects of Franciscan pedagogical strategies that Valadés ultimately defends throughout the *Rhetorica*.

Valadés's *Pre-Hispanic Calendar*—perhaps the very first Nahua calendar published in Europe—is unique within the tradition of early illustrations of the Nahua calendar because it is part of a book on rhetoric, not an ethnographic study. For Valadés, the ambitions to make his work the “*summam summarum scientiarum omnium*” may have warranted such a rare inclusion. For the reader, however, the engraving seems out of place because Valadés says very little about Nahua time-keeping and even less about his own engraving. In a book with a didactic purpose structured on the interplay between text and image, why does Valadés include this visually complex graphic, but omit an explanation? If not didactic, what could its purpose have been? And, what do we learn about the author from the inclusion of an image that was, in fact, recycled from those more illustrative examples of his predecessors?

III: VALADÉS'S PRE-HISPANIC CALENDAR ENGRAVING

Physical description:

Valadés's *Pre-Hispanic Calendar* is an intricate chart conceived to compare the sacred and ritual time-reckoning systems of the Nahua and Julian calendars.³² Valadés's illustration of the Nahua calendars consists of two wheels—one large and one small—and two rectangular charts. The larger wheel takes up the majority of the page and is heavily embellished with glyphs, numbers and words, described below. The small wheel is placed above the

larger one and it is connected to the charts by sinuous lines. Valadés signed his engraving in a banner at the bottom of the page: *F. Didacus Valadés fecit*. A thin ornamental border frames the entire composition; tassels and swags of drapery add decorative elements to the design.

The Large Wheel:

The large wheel depicts the Nahua sacred calendar, or *tonalpohualli*, (“count of the days”), a 260-day calendar made up of a count of thirteen and the twenty day signs, used by the Nahua to identify the days, date events, and name people. Valadés divides the wheel into four quadrants of thirteen parts each, and numbers it from one to fifty two along the circumference. The chart includes Nahuatl glyphs and Arabic numerals, as well as Nahuatl words written in Latin.³³ Moving inward from the numbered border, Valadés includes a ring of Nahuatl words for the numbers shown; this ring is followed by another series of numerals, one to thirteen, repeated four times. In the next ring Valadés spells out the Nahuatl names of the four glyphs that are repeated in series in the subsequent ring: *tochtli* (rabbit); *acatl* (bundle of reeds); *tecpatl* (flint-knife); and *calli* (temple). In the middle section, Valadés shows a series of concentric circles, divided into parts also numbered from one to thirteen. The innermost ring contains twenty Nahuatl glyphs, such as “death”, “reed”, “sun”, “deer”, “lizard” of the twenty names of the days on the calendar. The glyphs and the numbers could be paired into the combinations that make up the count of the days in the 260-day cycle—like 3 Reed, 10 Death.

The Small Wheel

Valadés connects the larger *tonalpohualli* calendar to a smaller wheel, the *xiuhpohualli* calendar, by a vertical line. The *xiuhpohualli* (“count of the years”), or annual calendar was a 365-day period of eighteen “months”, each of twenty days, used mostly to determine agriculture and feast days. Valadés's illustration of the small ceremonial calendar is simply demarcated with eighteen numbers around the inner edge of the circle and eighteen corresponding heads in profile around the outer edge. The words PRINCIPIUM and FINIS instruct the viewer: this calendrical circle is to be read counter-clockwise (notably, this is the only directive as to how to use the chart). Above the ceremonial calendar are five circles, indicating the five inauspicious days, or *nemontemi* (“empty days”) at the end of the Nahua calendar year; the *nemontemi* are connected to the *xiuhpohualli* calendar by



FIGURE 2. Ramón Llull, Combinatory Wheel, *Ars magna, generalis et ultima* (1517)

the influence of Llull's diagrams on his own conception of Nahua time-keeping and cosmology.

Rectangular charts

The rectangular charts to the right and left of the small wheel are important details for understanding the calendar print. Each row in the chart is linked to a head in the *xiuhpohalli* wheel. In these charts Valadés has indicated the Nahua calendar days and their corresponding dates on the Julian calendar—for example, *quecotli* ("precious feather") the thirteenth ceremonial day, begins on 28 October and ends on 15 November. Valadés labeled the final columns of each chart "Mensis annisque indiorum quibe dies asntiae dies a mensi Christi", roughly translated, "The Indian months and years with the corresponding Christian day and month." In this column Valadés has corrected the dates of these periods to ones that were presumably synchronized with a reformed Christian dating system.

IV: MOTOLINÍA VERSUS VALADÉS: THE CALENDAR IMAGE

In 1945 de la Maza suggested that the model for Valadés's larger wheel most likely was the calendar depicted in Motolinía's *Memoriales* (1541), which itself may have been copied from a now lost drawing of a calendar by a fellow Franciscan, fray Francisco de las Navas.³⁵ Valadés introduced some superficial changes to Motolinía's calendar, making it more visually appealing and also more visually complex than its model. For example, he repeated the four Nahuatl glyphs—tochtli, acatl, tecpatl, calli—in succession around the entire circumference, added Nahuatl words and additional numbers to the chart, and included the solar calendar wheel with his diagram. Valadés also embellished Motolinía's image by adding the rectangular charts with Julian calendar dates. The visual connections between the wheels and charts indicated by arrows and lines suggest, at least to a modern viewer, a legible narrative for the diagram. But how that narrative functioned requires further investigation. One significant difference between the calendars of Motolinía and Valadés has to do with context. Motolinía's is embedded within a much longer discussion of the workings of the calendar and Nahua ritual.³⁶ Valadés, on the other hand, offers no explanation of his illustration.

Calendars by contemporary friars Motolinía, Sahagún and Durán were explicitly added to their texts to clarify descriptions of Nahua ritual.³⁷ Motolinía, for example, uses the following introduction to his diagram,

thick branches, indicating their relation to the calendar but their separation from the normal day-count.

As Samuel Y. Edgerton has argued, these wheels are not unlike Ramón Llull's combinatorial wheels, diagrams of concentric circles in the *Ars magna, generalis et ultima* (1517) in which two paper disks—each with either numbers or letters printed on their circumference—were fixed together at the center and, when rotated, presented a multitude of letter-number permutations (Figure 2).³⁴

In terms of visual formatting, the parallels between the system of connected calendrical diagrams and Llull's mnemonic combinatorial wheels may have been of interest to Spanish Franciscans, intimating a link between the spirituality and mysticism found in Llull and the spirituality of the Nahua prior to the arrival of the Spaniards. Valadés's calendar wheels suggest his interest in Llullism, his preoccupation with mnemonics and perhaps even

“Of how they [the Indians] have counted their time until today. Now newly put into the form of the wheel to be better understood.”³⁸ In addition to the particulars of the calendar, such as the rules governing the weeks, months and years, he explains how one would find one’s own time using the wheel.³⁹

Similarly, Sahagún included a calendrical chart in the *Florentine Codex* to show that “...on one side are counted [the Nahua] months, which are of twenty days each. And on the other side are counted our months, which are of thirty days one more or less. And since this count is so given, it is easy to know, of their feasts, in which of our months they fell and on which day of each month.”⁴⁰ Presumably, Valadés’s chart was included with the same intentions of the mendicant authors—to teach missionaries how to be better, more effective preachers. In fact, as mentioned early, he explicitly stated that the images in the *Rhetorica* were created with an educational purpose, in particular, with respect to the customs of the Indians. It follows that the calendar engraving should have had a detailed explanation, especially because the time-reckoning system it depicts is not at all self-evident. But the engraving ultimately fails to achieve its didactic purpose. Valadés provides the novice missionary with a complex graphic, which is of little practical use for understanding the information it contains. It is possible, then, that he had other motives for including this image.

V: VALADÉS AND ARS MEMORATIVA

Although scarce, the textual evidence in the *Rhetorica* is a good starting place to examine Valadés’s motives. He mentions his calendar chart only twice in the text, and both times in sections dealing with mnemotechnics. Valadés devotes large sections of the book to the memory arts, and is especially interested in articulating the benefits to the preacher of cultivating the memory as well as the use of images in instruction of catechism and in confession.⁴¹ He also liberally scattered his text with quotes from classical sources on ars memorativa—including Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and the anonymous author of *Ad Herennium*⁴² sometimes referred to as Pseudo-Cicero—to demonstrate his own erudition and to validate his claims to the success of this learning strategy.

To Valadés, mnemonics were an effective method for converting the Indians of New Spain because there were parallels between the memory arts of

classical antiquity and those used by the Nahua prior to the arrival of the Spaniards. Valadés argues that pre-Columbian pictography was equivalent to a mnemonic system and his first mention of the calendar is actually embedded in a lengthy discussion of Nahua pictographics:

In the manner [of the ancients] [the Indians]... recorded their secrets in many different ways... by way of signs and figures... But of everything I will write the most admirable is that they recorded, by way of this method, their plagues, calendars and annals. The year of [the Aztecs] consisted of 18 months, and the month of 20 days, as I have shown in the corresponding drawing. And from what is presented above it is concluded that the artificial memory consisted of organized places and images, it is evident that these things are the essence of the [art of memory].⁴³

Valadés uses the example of the calendar to demonstrate a writing system that was actually employed in ancient Mexico to fulfill a variety of functions, such as drafting contracts and recording histories and genealogies. While he briefly mentions these instances in his text, Valadés ultimately exemplifies Indian ars *memorativa*, using a complex graphic of the calendar, embellishing it with “exotic” imagery like lizards, flint knives, and skulls. In effect he focuses his illustration on an aspect of Nahua culture that was not widely known or understood by Europeans. And rather than illuminating it, he offers an inadequate description, stating simply that the calendar was comprised of eighteen months of twenty days each—nothing more than a basic understanding of what was a complex time-reckoning system. His engraving suggests the complex structure of the system, for example, with his inclusion of detailed the *tonalpohualli* calendar and the European-Nahua corollary charts along with the 18-month calendar; but the reader is left wanting an equally detailed explanation of the graphic example.

Images and Conversion:

As Cummins has pointed out, Valadés could have used many illustrations other than the calendar to describe the effectiveness of using visual aids for teaching Christian doctrine. One example is found in Valadés’s print of the *Religious Teaching of the Indians through Images* (Figure 3). In this engraving



FIGURE 3. Fray Diego de Valadés, *The Indian Instruction through Pictures*, from *Rhetorica Christiana* (1579)

an Amerindian congregation views and discusses a preacher's sermon. In this print the preacher points to images on canvases suspended above the crowd showing the application of this didactic strategy.

Also illustrative of this method is *The Indians Before Calvary*, in which a preacher and congregation are part of a biblical event, standing at the base of the cross, while the missionary gestures to Christ; or, Valadés's well-known *Franciscan Organization of the Evangelization of New Spain* in which small groups of Amerindians receive instruction from a friar who points to symbols on a *lienzo*. These images are examples of teaching through images, and suggest that Amerindians were prepared to understand material that was presented visually.

Another effective strategy for teaching Amerindians Christian doctrine was to combine image and word—either spoken or printed. The successes of this methodology are probably most well-known in the writings of Mendieta

and Sahagún; furthermore, Fray Luis de Caldera recounts going from village to village carrying large canvases with images of the sacraments, the catechism, heaven, hell and purgatory and presenting them to the indigenous peoples he encountered.⁴⁴ We know as well from Valadés that the didactic practice of using images in sermons was widely used by most missionaries, especially Franciscans, who relied on a combination of evocative speech and illustrative pictures:

... the friars, having to preach to the Indians, use admirable and until now unknown figures, to persuade them ... To this end they [the friars] have canvases on which are painted the major tenets of Christianity... [the friars] of the Order of Saint Francis were the first to work diligently to adopt this new method of teaching...⁴⁵

Identifying the mnemonic value of pre-contact pictography was an important tactic for missionaries trying to establish grounds for the success of their teaching practices. To Valadés, Nahua picture writing was equivalent to the classical practice of *ars memorativa* whereby a scholar organized information, such as the parts of a speech, using imagined places and images. Unlike the ancients, who ordered this information in their imagination, the Nahua used painted images on *amatl*, or fig bark paper.⁴⁶ This system of logograms would allow the Nahua to receive the Christian message through images and mnemonics, and thus, be converted.

But Valadés had an additional agenda stated in the preface of the *Rhetorica*: to create mnemonics for his readers to help them be better preachers. It was not the Indian who needed to learn of the calendar of the ancient Americas but the missionary who was entering New Spain for the first time. The calendar graphic's utility as a teaching device is problematized, however, when we examine the text for an explanation of its application, and find that Valadés does not, in fact, provide one.

VI: VALADÉS AND LANGUAGE

The hypothetical reader is especially relevant in analyzing Valadés's second reference to the calendar and his image of it. The author concludes his section on cultivating the memory: "... I want to advise the reader beforehand that I have omitted an explanation of the calendar of the Indians because an

explanation should be given in their language [Nahuatl]”⁴⁷ Since Valadés claims to have spoken Nahuatl it is the reader who might lack this skill and for this reason the explanation is missing. In effect, he avoids a discussion of the details and meanings of his engravings and implicitly faults the reader for not possessing the proper language skills to decipher a potential textual explanation.

In general the Franciscans in New Spain were strongly committed to learning native languages rather than teaching Spanish to the Amerindians.⁴⁸ In the early phases of the missions, the Crown was sympathetic to the friars’ linguistic challenges and so tolerated their learning native languages as a sort of interim measure, “until they learn our language” as stated in a letter from the Crown to Viceroy Mendoza in 1536.⁴⁹ But by 1550 the royal attitude had changed drastically, and the Crown insisted that “for the good of this land is the natives’ salvation, instruction and conversion to our Holy Catholic Faith and ... as a means to this end, it seems that one of them and the main one is to order that these people be taught Spanish...”⁵⁰ The Franciscans’ stance on language resulted in tensions between the mendicants and the Crown.⁵¹ Friars, for the most part, ignored monarchical decrees forbidding the learning of Amerindian languages, and instead continued to learn local dialects and to publish grammars and dictionaries in those languages.⁵¹ In the preface to the *Rhetorica*, Valadés claims to have mastered three indigenous dialects—Nahuatl, Tarascan and Otomí.⁵² By boasting of his own knowledge of native languages and, most important, stressing the usefulness of this linguistic knowledge in preaching and confession, Valadés suggests his resistance to the Crown’s orders to teach Spanish to the Nahua peoples. In fact, he flaunts his multi-lingualism before the reader. For the aspiring missionary who wished to use the *Rhetorica* as a training manual, the message implied is that missionaries should continue to learn indigenous languages, despite decrees by the Crown against it.

For Valadés, images had proven useful in communicating ideas and explaining concepts when language failed, as he both explains and illustrates in the *Rhetorica*. The claim that, when dealing with the calendar the reader had to know Nahuatl to understand native time-reckoning undermines the very reason for including that or any other image in his text and weakens his claims to the effectiveness of images. Moreover, Valadés had already restricted his potential audience by writing his *Rhetorica* in Latin so that only

a specific and learned audience would be able to read it. He further narrows this ideal audience by requiring that the reader also know Nahuatl. At least at this time, his potential readership in Europe would have comprised no more than a handful of missionaries. The indecipherable image made for a hypothetical bilingual Latin-Nahuatl reader is actually a maneuver to claim exclusive knowledge among a small circle of learned ecclesiasts. The inclusion of the calendar image allowed Valadés to avoid decipherment of the engraving but to still include testimony of his knowledge of the exotic New World.

VII: CALENDAR REFORM:

Valadés’s tensions with the Crown may have contributed to or have been reinforced by other political events of the late-sixteenth century. In 1577, during the printing of the *Rhetorica*, Valadés was suddenly expelled from Rome and went to Perugia, where he finished publishing the book.⁵³ As mentioned above, Valadés reiterates to his reader that his book contains only material that is sanctioned by the Church.⁵⁴ He reassures his reader of his commitment to the Roman church, anticipating any possible backlash or unfavorable reception of the book. Although he had been deposed of his position as Procurador General and asked to leave the Eternal City, he could appear to be fully sanctioned by Pope Gregory XIII.

The charts correlating the Nahua and European dating systems are features of the calendar print that create visual proof of Valadés’s connections to the papal court. They allude to the debate surrounding calendrical reform that was at the fore of ecclesiastical discussions in the 1570s. This debate for reform of the Julian calendar began in 1562 at the last session of the Council of Trent and continued for at least 20 years until Pope Gregory XIII,⁵⁵ to whom the *Rhetorica* is dedicated, issued a papal bull on 4 October 1582 establishing a reformed calendar, known today as Gregorian. Pope Gregory XIII nominated a commission, presided over by Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto. Although many scholars, mathematicians, and religious officials weighed in on the debate, the final format of the reform was essentially decided by Cardinal Sirleto and Pope Gregory XIII, exclusively.

This debate is of particular interest in the study of Valadés’s calendar because of his relationship with the two men. In 1575 Pope Gregory XIII named Valadés as Procurador General of the Franciscan Order

because he was regarded as an authoritative figure on the New World and knowledgeable about the cultural climate in the viceroyalty. Valadés mentions in the dedication of the *Rhetorica* that he had shown drawings of his twenty-seven engravings—including the calendar—to the Pope (and likely to Cardinal Sirleto) for approval prior to the book's publication. This led Palomera to assert that Valadés's pre-Columbian calendar probably contributed significantly to the Julian calendar reform efforts.⁵⁶ However, there is little evidence behind Palomera's speculation, making his hypothesis difficult to prove. His assertion simply perpetuates the notion that Valadés had authoritative and exclusive knowledge of Nahua culture and religion, and that this knowledge made him influential in the highest ecclesiastical echelons, despite his being born in New Spain.

It seems that Valadés's corollary charts are not indicators of his knowledge of pre-contact customs so much as a deliberately placed symbol of his familiarity with the intellectual issues of his day, and especially with some of the primary concerns of the Pope and the Pope's inner circle—whether he had any influence there is purely speculative. The visual rhetoric expressed in these charts suggests that Valadés's main concern may not have been entirely didactic and, instead, symbolic. Rather than educate his reader on the workings of the calendar, his image serves to neutralize the pagan aspects of Nahua culture by placing them within a safe and comprehensible Christian dating system. The pre-Hispanic calendar was a chart describing purportedly diabolical ritual acts, such as human sacrifice. In an organized and controlled format, Valadés's chart indicated the colonial New World was on its way to being a fully Christianized state.

Correlating the Christian and Amerindian calendars was an established practice among the early chroniclers of pre-Hispanic rites and customs. But the works of such authors—Sahagún, Durán and Motolinía—were published posthumously; only Valadés lived to see his calendar in print. Valadés's good fortune has secured his place in New Spanish scholarship as the first author to publish the pre-Hispanic calendar in Europe. From this turn of fate, scholars have unjustifiably extolled his exclusive and supposedly unprecedented understanding of Amerindian time-reckoning systems, despite the fact that there is little indication in his text that he understood this aspect of native culture and the rituals it dictated. Valadés seems simply

to have followed the tacit guidelines provided by his missionary colleagues; he even copied one of their images and labeled it as his own. Ultimately, he presents his reader with a revised version of Motolinía's image, with a thicker gloss of "Indianness." The recycled calendar is essentially an authorial maneuver to claim familiarity with a subject and place largely unfamiliar to most Europeans except through illustrated texts. It is possible that Valadés was purposefully vague about the meaning of the calendrical diagram because he understood only the bare outline of the Nahua calendrical system. The use of a few Nahuatl words is only a smokescreen to mask his lack of knowledge and understanding of his calendar illustration.

CONCLUSIONS:

In examining this single image from the *Rhetorica*, it becomes clear that what is really at stake is not the exceptional rise of a proto-Mexican intellectual hero, but rather the struggles of a Franciscan missionary writing for a European reader. Although Valadés may have been born in New Spain, he understood the value placed on imagery by a European audience reading about a foreign culture.⁵⁹ There was a widely-held belief that images were effective tools for communicating complex information. The images in a text on what were to European eyes new and exotic places, served to legitimate the author's authority by suggesting that he was a unique witness to foreign things and people. In effect, Valadés's book highlights the primacy placed on visual aids as authentic sources of information; but upon close examination we can see that it lacks the substance to support modern claims of Valadés's significant role in the development of New Spanish scholarship. By probing the engravings and examining the parts of the text that address these images, we find, in this as well as other graphic examples from his book, that Valadés was not in fact an authority on Nahua culture, as modern scholars would have it; rather he manipulates his reader's understanding of the rites and customs of the Nahua by embellishing his pictures with exoticizing details and using deliberately vague language in his discussions of images that treat specifically Nahua subject matter.

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NOTES:

¹ Fray Diego Valadés, *Rhetorica christiana: ad concionandi et orandi usum accommodata, utriusque facultatis exemplis suo loco insertis: quae quidem ex Indorum maxime deprompta sunt historiis: unde praeter doctrinam, summa quoque delectatio comparabitur* (Perugia: Apud Petrumiacobum Petrutium, 1579). Francisco de la Maza, Fray Diego Valadés, escritor y grabador franciscano del siglo XVI (Mexico: 1945).

² Gabriel Méndez Plancarte, *Humanistas mexicanos del siglo XVI* (Biblioteca del Estudiante Universitario, num. 63 Mexico: UNAM, 1946); J. Estéban Palomera, *Fray Diego Valadés, OFM, evangelizador humanista de la Nueva España: su obra* (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1962) and *Fray Diego Valadés, OFM, evangelizador humanista de la Nueva España. El Hombre y su época* (México: Editorial Jus, 1963).

³ Valadés is credited with two other publications. He was responsible for editing and securing publication for colleague, the French Franciscan Fray Juan Focher's *Itinerarium Catholicum Proficiscentium... ad infideles covertendos: Fratres Ioane Focher minorita autore. Nuper jumma cura & diligetia auctū, expurgatum, limatū ac praelo mādatū, per fratrem Didacum Valadésium, eiusdem instituti, ac prouintiae Sancti Euangelij in noua Hyspania, professorem* (Hispania: Apud Alfonso Scribanum, 1574). Valadés also wrote *Assertions catholicae contra praecipuos aliquot haeticorum errors...* (1581) during the last few years of Valadés's life while he was at San Pietro di Montorio (a Spanish foundation in Rome). Like the *Rhetorica*, the objective in these two texts was to outline methods for effective evangelization, particularly in communities that showed strong resistance to Christianization and/or was culturally distant from the missionaries.

⁴ Valadés, 29.

⁵ Valadés, 419: "...me sentí movido a traer a cuento lo verdadero, y lo dudoso sobre lo que se refiere a los indios; y esto ha sido examinado y visto por mí mismo, pues he morado entre ellos ... treinta años más o menos, y me dediqué durante más de veintidós años a predicarles y confesarlos en sus tres idiomas: mexicano, tarasco y otomí..."

⁶ Isaac Vázquez Janeiro, "Fray Diego Valadés. Nueva aproximación a su biografía," in *Archivo ibero-americano*, vol. 48 (1988): 852.

⁷ The early modern sources on Valadés and the *Rhetorica* include Antonio León Pinelo, *Epítome de la Bibliotheca de oriental, y occidental, nautica, y geográfica* (Madrid: 1629, 1737); Lucas Waddingus *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* (Rome, 1650) 103; Vetancurt; Eguiara y Eguren; S. Melchiorri de Cerreto, *Annales Minorum*, vol. 21 (1844); Francesco Saverio Clavijero, *The History of Mexico, Collected from Spanish and Mexican Historians, from Manuscripts and Ancient Paintings of the Indians*, trans. Charles Cullen, esq., vol. 1, book vi (London, 1807 [1780]), 269. Sabin, 201. See Brunet, 1030; Graesse, 235. Quaritch is citing Brasseur de Bourbourg who wrote that Valadés's *Rhetorica* was "...l'un des premiers religieux qui visitèrent l'Amérique. Il donne des renseignements précieux sur la manière employée pour catéchiser les Indiens... La *Rhetorica Christiana* est un ouvrage fort bien écrit et rempli de notions intéressantes sur les Indigènes du Mexique. Les pages qu'il (Valadés) consacre à l'examen de leurs arts et sciences, ce qu'il dit de la variété de leur système graphique, prouve qu'il les connaissait et qu'il avait su les apprécier." See Quaritch, *Catalogue of Books on the History, Geography and of the Philology of America, Australia, Asia and Africa* (London: 1886), 3020. For a summary of the early modern and modern sources, see Leaper, Time, Memory, and Ritual: Deciphering Visual Rhetoric in Fray Diego Valadés's *Rhetorica Christiana* (PhD Diss, New York University: 2012), 31-63.

⁸ L. Oligier, "De vita et scriptis Didaci Valadés O.F.M., missionarii in Mexico et generalis procuratoris ordinis († post 1579)" in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 36 (1943); Demetrio García, "Fray Diego Valadés," in *Homenaje a Don Francisco Gamoneda. Miscelánea de estudios de erudición, historia, literatura y arte* (Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria 1946); Ciriaco Pérez Bustamante, "La colonización indiana como modelo en la retórica del siglo XVI," in *Revista de Estudios Políticos* 19-20 (1945). The shift in New Spanish art historical scholarship of the past four decades away from strictly regional histories to thematic and/or cross-disciplinary studies can be considered as part of reason for this re-examination of the *Rhetorica* specifically. Valadés's ethnicity no longer plays such a significant role in analyzing his work; rather, in considering his work against the social milieu in which it was created, the validity of Valadés's contribution can be explored without having a definitive answer to the question of his race. Nonetheless the use of his ethnicity in early studies of the *Rhetorica* is an important factor that must be addressed.

⁹ Valadés, 245. The page numbers of images in the *Rhetorica* are from Herrera Zapién, Pimentel Álvarez and Palomera's 2003 edition.

¹⁰ Valadés, 244.

¹¹ Valadés, 389.

¹² Valadés, 217.

¹³ Valadés, 217: "Todos esas cosas [que he explicado arriba] ...se perciben más claramente en esta figura puesta abajo."

¹⁴ Valadés, 55.

¹⁵ Cummins, "From Lies to Truth: Colonial Ekphrasis and the Act of Cross-cultural Translation" in *Reframing the Renaissance: visual culture in Europe and Latin America 1450-1650*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) 161.

¹⁶ In his Introduction to the the 2003 Spanish translation of the *Rhetorica Christiana*, Estéban Palomera gives the title, "Calendario prehispánico de los mexicanos y su correlación con el juliano" (Palomera, introduction, in Herrera Zapién, Pimentel Álvarez and Palomera's *Retórica Cristiana* by Diego Valadés [Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003] xvi).

¹⁷ Although Valadés's pre-Columbian calendar is probably the first published in Europe, he was not the first to endeavor such a study (see Clavijero *Storia Antica de Messico*, vol. 1, 290, 296 and 460; Palomera, introduction, xvi). Before 1579, contemporaries in his order such as Fray Toribio Motolinía de Benavente and Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, and in the Dominican order, namely Fray Diego Durán, created calendar diagrams and described pre-contact calendrical systems at length. Sahagún illustrated the calendar in his *Primeros Memoriales* (ca. 1559-61) as well as the *Manuscrito de Tlatelolco* (ca. 1561-65), which contains a calendrical wheel and a table of day signs. These calendar drawings are copied in the *Florentine Codex*. A copy of Sahagún's calendar is reproduced with discussion in Francisco Hernández *De Antiquitatibus Novae Hispaniae* (ca. 1571-77) though it was not published until the seventeenth century. There are also calendar pages in the Codex Ríos and the Codex Telleremensis, both of which were in Italy in the 1560s. In Mexico several calendars were produced, among them the *Boban Calendar Wheel* now at the John Carter Brown Library, which was made in Texcoco, Mexico in 1546. Later in the sixteenth century, Fray Juan de Tovar also published a calendar chart in his *Historia de la benida de los yndios* (Mexico: s.n., ca 1585). Kubler and Gibson list the calendar graphic in the *Kalendario Mexicano, Latino y Castellano* (Tlatelolco, ca. 1585 and 1597) as a copy of the Tovar calendar. The *Kalendario* features a calendar chart correlating the European

12-month calendar and the Nahua 18-month calendar, similar to what is presented at greater length in books 1-18 of book 2 of the *Florentine Codex*. In fact, Glass indicates that the text in the *Kalendario* is by Sahagún. The other pictorial section of the *Kalendario* is a partially illustrated account of the 18-month calendar and it includes illustrations of the inauspicious *nemontemi*. This section is believed to be a copy of the Tovar calendar. See Glass, "A Census of Native Middle American Pictorial Manuscripts" in *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, Guide to Ethnohistorical Sources, ed. Howard Cline, et al., 14.3 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975); and Kubler and Gibson, Handlist in Juan de Tovar, *The Tovar Calendar: an illustrated Mexican manuscript*, ca. 1585, Kubler and Gibson, eds., *Memoires of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, vol. xi (New Haven: The Academy, 1951), 55-78.

¹⁸ The hypothesis that Valadés was mestizo has never been proven. It was first suggested by Agustín de Betancourt in his *Teatro Mexicano* (1697-98); in later studies of Valadés Betancourt's assertion is taken as true.

¹⁹ There were other illustrated accounts of the New World, such as letters from explorers and conquistadors, but these books did not have ecclesiastical aims. Likewise, the illustrated ethnohistorical texts of Motolinía, Sahagún, Mendieta, and others, though illustrated and written in Valadés's lifetime, they were not published until much later, giving Valadés's *Rhetorica* precedence among these works. The *Rhetorica* is most often compared to fray Luis de Granada's *Rhetorica Ecclesiastica* (1578); although Palomera has argued that Valadés was influenced by Granada's text, a distinguishing characteristic of Valadés's work is its twenty-seven engravings. For comparison of Granada and Valadés, see Palomera, "Introducción," in *Retórica Cristiana* by Diego Valadés, trans. Tarsicio Herrera Zapién with Julio Pimentel Álvarez, Alfonso Pallares and Palomera (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003) xxxi-xli.

²⁰ Valadés, *Retórica*, 29: "hay algunos que no saben leer, o no tienen afición a la lectura añadimos algunas laminas con el fin de que rapidamente se acuerden esas cosas como también para que se conozcan debidamente y con claridad los ritos y costumbres de los indios y así por medio de estos dibujos se inciten las voluntades de los lectores a leer estas páginas con avidez y conserven en su mente aquello que más les haya agradado. All translations of the *Rhetorica* from Latin to Spanish, including image titles, are from Herrera Zapién, Pimentel Álvarez and Palomera's 2003 edition and will be cited with their pagination. Spanish to English translations are my own.

²¹ Valadés, 25: "[para] que seamos voceros de Dios, instrumentos de su divina bondad y pregoneros de Cristo. Para conseguir esto más facilmente, mostraremos el arte de cultivar la memoria, tan deseado por todos desde hace mucho tiempo..."

²² Ronaldo Carrasco has pointed out that the rhetorical strategy of using *exemplum* has classical as well as biblical roots. He argues that this strategy serves Valadés in two ways: to show an evangelical tactic employed by the missionaries, which includes leading the Nahua by example, both from their own way of life and from the Bible; and also *exemplum* allow Valadés to defend the Indians against critics of their sincere conversion. What Carrasco does not include in his discussion is how the text and image work together to establish Valadés as an authority on the particulars of Nahua culture, and that establishing these qualifications is imperative to Valadés's overall goals. See R. Carrasco, "El *Exemplum* como estrategia persuasiva en la *Rhetorica Christiana* (1579) de fray Diego Valadés," in *Annales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, no. 77 (2000): 33-66.

²³ Georges Baudot, *Utopia and History in Mexico: the first chroniclers of Mexican civilization* (1520-1569) (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1995) 373-374.

²⁴ Motolinía, *Memoriales*, 3: "El primero hablaba de los años y tiempos; el segundo de los días y fiestas que tenían en todo el año; el tercero que habla de los sueños y de los agüeros, embañamientos [embruajameitnos] y vanidades en que creían; el cuatro era del bautismo y nombres que daban a los niños; el quinto es de los ritos, ceremonias y agüeros que tenían en los matrimonios..."

²⁵ These books were called *xihpohualamatl* in Nahuatl, meaning literally "year-day-paper" (Boone's translation, *Stories in Red and Black: Pictorial histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs* [Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007] 22) and were similar to European annals of history, consulted often to confirm territorial disputes or to recall historical events. Motolinía calls this book "the book of the count of the years." Unlike this first kind of book, the other four books, "inventados por los demonios," were divinatory codices, books that predicted the fates of men, and articulated notions of time and its connections to the supernatural. See Motolinía, *Memoriales*, 5. For a detailed historical study of the painted codices, including synthesis of the chroniclers' accounts of the ancient Mexican codices, see Boone, *Cycles of Time and Meaning in the Mexican Books of Fate* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), especially 1-32, and *Stories in Red and Black*, especially 1-27.

²⁶ Motolinía, *Memoriales*, 4: "...El uno que... se puede tomar crédito, que es el primero, porque en la verdad aunque bárbaros y sin escrituras de letras, mucha orden y manera tenían de contar los mismos tiempos y años, fiestas y días... escribían y figuraban las hazañas é historias de guerras, y las del subceso de los principales señores, de los temporales y pestilencias, y en qué señor acontecian... Todo esto tienen escrito por caracteres é figuras."

²⁷ In the Appendix to *Book 4* Sahagún gives a lengthy disclaimer to the reader saying that the "very pernicious count, superstitious and full of idolatry" is falsely interpreted as a calendar, in particular by Motolinía but that it is assured that it "cannot be and never was a calendar" because the particular calendar described by Motolinía only represented 260 days rather than 365 days (i.e. lunar vs. solar, etc). The real calendar of the Indians is, for Sahagún, represented in his Second book (Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: general history of New Spain*, trans. and notes Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson, book 4 (Santa Fe: Monographs of The School of American Research and Museum of New Mexico, 1979) 139.

²⁸ Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, Book 4, 139. Sahagún writes of Motolinía's description that "[t]he thirteen days which he [Motolinía] wrongly calleth a week are only the number of days in which each of the twenty characters in this soothsaying art reigned, as is made clear in the preceding Fourth Book, which dealeth with this soothsaying art." (Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, Book 4, 142)

²⁹ Durán, *Book of the Gods and Rites and The Ancient Calendar*, trans. Fernando Horcasitas and Doris Heyden, trans. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 383.

³⁰ Durán, 470.

³¹ Durán, 391-396.

³² In most editions, the calendar image appears after Valadés's mnemonic alphabets in Part 2, chapter XXVIII, titled: "Of the method of cultivating the memory,"³³ and is part of his discussion on the memory arts, and on Nahua intellect and rationality. There have been a number of insightful studies on the Aztec time-reckoning system. See Elizabeth Hill

Boone, *The Aztec World* (Montreal: St. Remy Press; Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 1994) as well as the bibliography therein; Anthony Aveni, *Empires of time: calendars, clocks, and cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1989); *Calendars in Mesoamerica and Peru: Native American computations of time*. Anthony Aveni and Gordon Brotherston, eds., *Proceedings of the 44th International Congress of Americanists. BAR International Series* 174 (Oxford: 1983); Ross Hassig, *Time, history, and belief in Aztec and Colonial Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001); Holford-Strevens and Blackburn.

³³ Beginning with Motolinía, the calendar has often been described as two wheels or circles. See for example, Motolinía, *Memoriales*, Chapter 16 (Motolinía, 48-53; Durán, 388). Walter Mignolo notes that the Aztec calendar was in effect “colonized” when it was represented as a circular shape by the European ethnographers for a European audience; extant painted manuscripts from the pre-contact era indicate that the peoples of Mesoamerica preferred a square shape for their time-reckoning systems, as for example in the Codex Fejerváry-Mayer (See Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality and Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 235). The circular so-called Aztec Calendar stone, found beneath the streets in Mexico City in the late eighteenth century and now well-known as a symbol of Aztec culture, was probably not used as a calendar, per se, although it displays calendrical glyphs. In the codices that represent histories, the count of time appears in a linear format, the unfolding of events and time happenings across the pages of the screenfold. Mesoamerican examples of a calendar, that is, one page that represents a block of time, such as a year, are unknown to me. For a comprehensive and synthetic examination of Nahuatl time-reckoning systems as represented in the codices, see Boone, *Cycles of Time*.

³⁴ Edgerton, *Theaters of Conversion: Religious Architecture and Indian Artisans in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001) 241. The revival of Lullism in the Renaissance probably influenced Franciscan missionaries before they left Europe for the New World and so could have formed at least part of their new systems of memory arts. Linda Báez Rubí maintains that Lullist philosophies were key influences in Valadés's book (see Báez Rubí, *Mnemosine novohispánica: retórica e imágenes en el siglo xvi* (Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2005). The permutations corresponded to an index of what Lull called “undeniable truths,” a fixed set of Christian truths, employed in the conversion of non-Christians. For a discussion of Lull's (as well as Valadés's) strategies for converting non-Christians, see Pauline Moffitt Watts, “Talking to Spiritual Others: Ramon Llull, Nicholas of Cusa, Diego Valadés,” in *Nicholas of Cusa in Search of God and Wisdom*, ed. Gerald Christianson and Thomas M. Izbicki (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991) 203-18. .

³⁵ De la Maza, 39: “mucho más completo y bien dibujado”. George Baudot gives a thorough analysis of the theories on the origin of Motolinía's calendar, indicating that it may have been based on the calendar in the *Relación de Michoacán*, or on a calendar created in close collaboration with Las Navas. See Baudot, *Utopia and history in Mexico*, 246-485. Kubler and Gibson date Motolinía's calendar graphic to 1549 (Tovar, 69).

³⁶ Motolinía, *Memoriales*, 35-58.

³⁷ Motolinía's calendar discussion was the result of at least a decade of study. Motolinía began his first attempts at explaining the calendar in 1527 in the *Epistola Proemial*, an opening letter of Motolinía's *Memoriales*. It was published by Baudot in 1971.

³⁸ Motolinía, *Memoriales*, 48. “[Por] dónde han contado sus tiempos hasta hoy. Ahora nuevamente puesto en forma de rueda, para mejor ser entendido.”

³⁹ Motolinía, *Memoriales*, 52. According to Baudot, Las Navas also wrote of the correlations between the two calendars and Motolinía may have followed Las Navas's model in his synchronization of the calendars. Las Navas also titles his explanation this way: “Beginning of the First Days of the Month, adjusted to Our Calendar so that the day searched-for can be more easily found.” The trend to correlate the European and Amerindian calendar systems is a common feature of colonial studies of the calendar. In most cases these correlations do not correspond to one another. See for example Kubler and Gibson's discussion of the Tovar correlation based on the Seler and Caso's study of the diagram in *The Tovar Calendar*, 42-45 as well as relevant discussions in their Handlist, 55-76.

⁴⁰ Sahagún, *Florentine Codex, Book 4*, 146.

⁴¹ For discussions of memory arts in the *Rhetorica* see Chapter 4 of this dissertation; Taylor, 45-75; and Baéz Rubí, especially 119-163 and 171-216.

⁴² *Ad. C. Herennium libri IV*.

⁴³ “Del mismo modo [en que los antiguos] los nuestros [los indios] ... confiaban sus secretos de muy diversas maneras... por medio de signo y figuras... Pero de todo lo que diré, lo que es muy admirable entre todo lo admirable, es que ... redactan, siguiendo ese método, sus efemérides, calendarios y anales. El año de [los Aztecas] constaba de 18 meses, y el mes de 20 días, como se podrá apreciar en el dibujo correspondiente. Como a partir de lo arriba tratado se deduce que el artificio de la memoria consta de lugares e imágenes debidamente ordenados, es evidente que estas cosas son de la esencia del arte [de memoria].” Valadés, 229. All translations of non-English quotes are my own, unless otherwise specified. All Spanish quotations from from Herrera Zapién, Pimentel Álvarez and Palomera and will be cited with their pagination, with the exception of a few Latin quotes from the *Rhetorica*, for which I have used the 1579 edition pagination and Latin title of the text.

⁴⁴ Mendieta wrote: “As we have seen by experience, it is very beneficial for these people because, in towns where they have received the preaching of Christian doctrine with pictures, the Indians understand much better the things of our holy Catholic faith and are much better established in the faith.” Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Codex Franciscano*, 59, as cited by Jaime Lara, *Christian Texts of Aztecs: art and liturgy in colonial Mexico* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008) 49.

⁴⁵ Valadés, 231: “...los religiosos, teniendo que predicar a los indios, usan en sus sermones figuras admirables y hasta desconocidas, para inculcarles con mayor perfección y objetividad la divina doctrina. Con este fin tienen lienzos en los que se han pintado los puntos principales de la religión Cristiana... todos aquellos de la Orden de San Francisco que fuimos los primeros en trabajar afanosamente por adoptar ese nuevo método de enseñanza...”

⁴⁶ Valadés uses the terms “*locii et imagines*” referring to the classical practice of the art of memory described in the *Ad Herennium* and reiterated by such classical authors as Cicero.

⁴⁷ Valadés, 241: ...quiero advertir de antemano al lector que he omitido la explicación del calendario de los indios; porque para ponerla debería hacerlo en su propia lengua.”

⁴⁸ According to Baudot, Franciscans wrote 80 of the 109 texts devoted to or written in native languages of Mexico. The first Nahuatl grammar was written in 1547 by Olmos (although not published until the nineteenth century). The first Nahuatl grammar was published in

1555 by fray Alonso Molina, who also went on to write the first Nahuatl dictionary that same year. In Baudot's view, the Franciscans' concerted effort to learn and record native Mexican languages was part of the order's desire to create a utopian community in New Spain by warding off any possibility of corruption through Hispanization. (See Baudot, 92).

⁴⁹ *Archivo General de las Indias, Indiferent General*, no 415, fol 65, instructions of the Crown, July 14, 1536, as quoted in Baudot, 93.

⁵⁰ *Archivo General de las Indias*, Mexico, no 1089, bk 4, fol 240 called R.C. Valladolid, a 7 de junio de 1550, as quoted in Baudot, 94.

⁵¹ For scholarship on the grammars and dictionaries published in native languages, see bibliographies in Ricard and Baudot.

⁵² Valadés, 419.

⁵³ There are a few theories on the reasons for Valadés's expulsion, but none has been proven. A document sent by Felipe II via the Spanish ambassador to Rome, don Juan de Ledesma, on 10 May 1577 indicates the King's request that Valadés vacate his post and the city of Rome "for many reasons" ("movidos por muchas causas que para ello ha habido"). Palomera includes a translation of this letter and explains that the Franciscans in Mexico had begun to circumvent the bureaucratic channels set up by Felipe II, and were instead going straight to Valadés with their problems and concerns. Seeing him as a political threat, Felipe II not only expelled Valadés from Rome, but deposed him of his position as Procurador General. (*Fray Diego Valadés*, 157-161); René Taylor, "El arte de la memoria en el Nuevo Mundo," in *Iconología y sociedad: arte colonial y novohispánico* (Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1987), 68; Lara, *Christian Texts for Aztecs: Art and Liturgy in Colonial Mexico* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), 63; and Gaia Rossetti, "La 'condanna' di Diego Valadés e il suo soggiorno a Perugia nel 1578-79" *Un francescano tra gli indios Diego Valadés e la Rhetorica christiana : atti del Convegno di Perugia, maggio 1992*, Claudio Finzi, Adolfo Mogranti, eds., (Rimini: Il cerchio, 1995) 83-98. Taylor suggests that Ricard's mention of the general prohibition in 1577 against friars writing about New World culture may have been a direct result of the "incidente Valadés." (Taylor, 68, footnote 92). Lara asserts that Valadés's political troubles were triggered by the fact that he failed to obtain permission from the Spanish Crown to leave the New World, and then to leave Iberia—and was so expelled from Rome. He also suggests that it may have been discovered that Valadés was a mestizo preacher and so he was asked to leave. (Lara, *Christian Texts*, 63).

⁵⁴ Valadés, 25.

⁵⁵ For extensive discussion on the debates surrounding the calendar reform in the sixteenth century, see A Ziggelaar, "The Papal Bull of 1582 Promulgating a Reform of the Calendar," *Gregorian Reform of the Calendar: proceedings of the Vatican Conference to Commemorate its 400th anniversary 1582-1982*, ed. G.V. Coyne, S. J., M.A. Hoskin and O. Pedersen, Citta del Vaticano: Specola Vaticana (1983): 200-239. The calendar debate actually pre-dates the final meeting of the Council of Trent by several centuries, as summarized by J.D. North in "The Western Calendar—'Intolerabilis, Horribilis, et Derisibilis'; Four Centuries of Discontent" in *Gregorian Reform*, 75-113. In the sixteenth century at least, the publication of many works previously written on the subject was set in motion by the Council's discussion of the issue. North mentions in his article about the Western Calendar the example of Petrus Pitatus, the Veronese astronomer, whose detailed astronomical

discussion of lunar cycles and their relevance to calendar reform written in 1539, was finally published in 1564 as a direct result of the debate (North, 101). The issue was also laced with anti-Protestant sentiment, since Luther commented that Easter should be on a fixed Sunday, rather than determined by the lunar cycle (North, 101-102; and Ziggelaar, 227-230).

⁵⁶ Palomera, *Fray Diego Valadés*, OFM, 166.

**SOUNDING THE ALARM:
FASHION STATEMENT:
NATIVE ARTISTS AGAINST PEBBLE MINE**

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“To remove a people from their ancestral, natural surroundings or vice versa—to destroy their lands with mining, deforestation, bombing, large-scale industrial and urban developments, and the like—is to sever them not only from their traditional sources of livelihood but also, and much more importantly, from their ancestry, their history, their identity, and their ultimate claim for legitimacy of their existence. It is the destruction of age-old rhythms of cyclical dramas that lock together familiar time, motion and space.”
—*Epeli Hau’Ofa*

My parents understand and respect the power of art, and not surprisingly, I feel the same way. My mother is an appreciator of art and music, especially writing, while my father is world-renowned as a sculptor of Unangan (Aleut) ancestry. I grew up encouraged to express myself in wood, paint, and any other creative medium that suited.

Often, both negative and positive social happenings inspired my father’s work, sometimes a response to the sad but true reality of alcohol addiction in Native Alaskan communities, or other times an encounter with a magical sea bird. These expressions spawned from real life experience have armed me with a similar set of tools to formulate my own response to all things that foster a strong reaction in me, whether it be the beauty of a blooming flower backed by a blue sky, or the harsh imagined outcome of the world’s largest gold mine: Bristol Bay is at threat of becoming the scarred remains of earth where for generations, my family has learned life lessons from the land. I return every summer from Washington State to celebrate the resource of this region.

I document Native American art historical issues through image and video. My video works, still image based artworks and installations, give Native concerns voice in venues such as Alaska House in New York, The Burke Museum in Seattle, The Paul Robeson Center for the Arts at Princeton

University, The C. N. Gorman Museum at UC Davis, Waiariki Institute of Technology in Aotearoa/New Zealand, The Bishop Museum in Honolulu, and Trench Gallery in Vancouver, BC. My most recent project beginning in 2012, has been to establish a platform for Native artist exchange, *First Light*, in Dillingham, Alaska. From this, *First Light Alaska* has surfaced. It is an organization that I have formed to foster arts interaction and innovation in downtown Anchorage. *First Light Alaska* is intended to provide a public space for the creation of art; art as an inclusive Native process toward positive social change.

Art helps me find the waterways that connect my own relationship to the environment. My ancestors are fishermen and fisherwomen. My great-grandmother from Norway caught and dried cod on the beach to earn money for her ticket to come to America, and my mother’s father spent the 1950s and ‘60s as superintendent for Alaska Packers Association, the state’s largest fish processing company. I continue this tradition by managing my parent’s gillnetting operation based in Egegik, Alaska. There, people learn the way seasons interconnect with our well-being and the foods that sustain us. We live with the land, but today that relationship of primacy is at threat of being lost.

Bristol Bay’s fragile ecosystem is being considered for the new home of the largest open pit mine in North America. Troubled by the prospect, I have spent countless hours brainstorming on ways to raise awareness, and ultimately stop, the proposed Pebble Mine from becoming manifest. I realized it would be most effective to dedicate my Master’s Practicum work to the cause and began planning an exhibition. Over the past few years I have traveled extensively to Native Art History conferences and Indigenous artist gatherings both nationally and internationally. I have travelled to Alaska, Siberia, Hokkaido, Hawaii, Cuba, Mexico, Spain, Germany, Italy, Canada and Aotearoa/New Zealand. In my travels I spent time with leading artists and scholars which resulted in friendships and research partnerships. It is this group of people who have assisted toward the list of internationally known artists and sites for presenting the exhibit.

INTENTIONS OF THE EXHIBITION

The theme of this exhibit, is to oppose the largest proposed mineral mine in North America to be located approximately 200 miles southwest of

Anchorage, Alaska. The exhibition's aim, is to heighten awareness of the huge threat the mine poses. It is a threat to the environment, the wildlife and the continued way of life for not only Alaskans, but for all whom enjoy the natural resources this ecosystem offers. To fulfill this aim, I invited a select group of artists to donate serigraph designs, which were printed on tee shirts. There are precedents for art's power to inform people of environmental threats and ways to prevent them.¹ Throughout history, artists have enabled those in their communities with a voice to critically describe the world. By including artists who are familiar names within the internationally recognized Native art world, their designs provide a platform for discussion in Native communities, and beyond; their creative acts mitigate the commercially authoritative voice of the mining companies involved.

Art can be one of the most efficient ways to communicate. Artists are often able to digest ideas and produce palatable conversation starters for their audiences to take in. Artists are visionaries for their people, they often describe those things that are not clearly visible to mass audiences. In Native communities, artists are not only guides for the focus and direction of people, but spiritual leaders too. Through dialogue that has informed the artists involved on the looming threat of the mine, I have educated a dynamic group of community members about a topic they may otherwise not have known, and in turn, inspire them to become involved in the cause. Native artists convey their communities' direct connection to the land and a necessarily relational respect for the cyclical drama that is life.

In the early planning stages, a decision was made to define the project's immediate outcome as reproducible artworks. The goal all along has been to spread a global message that Bristol Bay's watershed is the wrong place for a mine of this magnitude. The local Native people who have lived in the area for thousands of years, the economic industries that have been thriving for hundreds of years, and the environmental scientists who have studied the area for close to a decade, agree that the Pebble Mine would have a disastrous effect on the area, and the vast majority are in opposition.

To make full advantage of the artists' influence within their own communities, I asked them to make their signatures a prominent element of their design. Due to the artists' international reputations, the inclusion

of their signature links their "no Pebble Mine" sentiments, to their artistic profiles; it transforms an otherwise commonplace tee shirt into an artistic statement of solidarity.

It is unfortunate that due to current economic trends, the art market, like all other markets, has suffered with reduced art sales and galleries with closed doors. By providing an opportunity for viewers to purchase a wearable artwork with a recognized artists' name on it, this particular exhibit communicates to a broader audience than would normally be expected. This exhibition brings not only fine art to a diverse crowd, but also emphasizes the message that Bristol Bay is not a viable location for any type of mining exploration. In the 2007 film *Red Gold*, the message is clear that the local Natives, scientists and fishermen agree: "the risks outweigh the benefits."²

THE PEBBLE MINE AND BRISTOL BAY

The proposed Pebble Mine is comprised of two parts, the larger of which is a two-mile wide and half-mile deep open pit mine. Copper, gold and molybdenum are the minerals being sought.

Bristol Bay is at the headwaters of the world's last remaining sustainable wild sockeye salmon runs, and is extremely sensitive. An article from the *New York Times* states that the revenue from the region's fishery accumulates upwards of \$2.2 billion annually.³ The salmon are the source of sustenance for the people of the area, and also play a key role in the ecosystem of the entire region. They annually deliver nutrients to the far reaches of their fresh water spawning grounds and not only fertilize the soil, but also provide the yearly sustenance for large land mammals in the area.

Alaska's colonial history goes back to the mid-eighteenth century, when Russians began to enslave the Aleut and Alutiiq people as hunters for seal pelts. This exploitative agenda survives into today, but instead takes the guise of corporate stakeholder meetings and charitable endowments for the 'benefit' of the community. Three linguistically and culturally different indigenous groups border the site of the proposed mine; Dena'ina (Athabaskan), Yup'ik and Sugpiaq (Alutiiq). The Unangax (Aleut), who also live in the area, were displaced from the Aleutian Islands during World War II and volcanic evacuations. Traditionally, inhabitants never took more than they needed and shared everything; now, people are encouraged through

Euro-American values to take all and share nothing. This shift undermines cultural beliefs rooted in a time-tested system of ecological checks and balances. Now in order to feed families, people must assimilate a system based on exploitation of the land's finite resources, and adopt a monetary form of capital to buy fuel and electricity.

In her book *Biopiracy*, Vandana Shiva traces the history of colonialism as a base for racism, which has more recently become a justification for environmental racism. Environmental racism is a form of racial discrimination that singles out minority communities to become locations for polluting industries. Indigenous communities are being denied the right to contribute their Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), which is based on centuries of learned information from generations living off the land.⁴ The people of these areas are viewed as thieves when they attempt to keep, or gain control over their own traditional resources.⁵ This harsh reality results from minimized access to economic resources, and mainstream scientific research which provides evidence for Euro-American legal paradigms.

Nevertheless, there are Native people living in the Bristol Bay region who support the mine and see it as progress for themselves and their people. With the rise of fuel costs, living in rural Alaska is more expensive than in past decades. Luckily though, the environment is still healthy enough to support a subsistence lifestyle for local people.

The parties who advocate for the mine are foreign investors named the Pebble Partnership. They are comprised of two high-profile, billion-dollar corporations; British, Anglo American PLC, and Canadian, Northern Dynasty Minerals Ltd.⁷ The Partnership promises high-paying jobs for locals, though the highest paying positions require four-year engineering degrees not common amongst the men and women who call Bristol Bay



FIGURE 2. Cultural map of the Native peoples of Alaska⁶



FIGURE 1. Image scanned from Pebble Partnership literature showing Native people

home. In an attempt to blend with the locals, the Pebble Partnership has co-opted a “Native” image by hiring Natives to travel with them as they attend meetings across the globe; their literature is adorned with images of Native employees. I was witness to this strategy in April 2009, when I attended a meeting at the Leif Erikson Lodge in Ballard, Washington, hosted by the Pebble Partnership. Upon arriving, I was greeted by a middle-aged Native Alaskan man seated at a table of informational pamphlets produced by the Partnership. He was busy on his cell phone and unresponsive to his surroundings.

Mines that use acid rock drainage extraction techniques historically result in environmental disaster, and multi-million dollar clean-up efforts. Other disasters that result from mining catastrophes include; the acid lake that once was Berkeley Mine in Butte, Montana; mercury air pollution from Jerritt Canyon gold mine near Elko, Nevada, and; the cyanide spill at the gold mine in Baia Mare, Romania.⁸ Although Alaska is home to a number of mining operations, combined, they pale when compared to the proposed size of Pebble and the amount of material it will extract, and the area it will pollute and leave until the end of time. Another detrimental outcome is a road that will be built to access the otherwise isolated habitat of reindeer herds, wolves, bears and runs of salmon which number in the tens of millions.

The health of the natural environment is not a priority of the mining company. Anglo American PLC literature mentions \$100 million already spent by the Pebble Partnership on environmental and socio-economic studies, and ninety-four million ounces of “discovered” gold, but shows little regard for the thirty-one million salmon that return every year to a self-sustaining fishing industry that generates \$325 million annually.⁹ The

sockeye salmon run of Bristol Bay is part of a continuous cycle that has lasted for over ten thousand years, utilized as a primary resource by Bristol Bay's inhabitants. This exhibit offers the point of view that the Pebble Mine presents an end to this ancient natural wonder, an environment at risk of biological, cultural and human impoverishment.

To make a case for the minimal impact of the mine, "scientific" evidence is produced by Euro-American-trained scholars. Their prized research ignores Indigenous cultural beliefs and knowledge, and disrespects the historic balance that keeps salmon stocks strong, and in turn, the region thriving. In the *Alaska Geographic* volume *Living off the Land*, Yup'ik village resident Richard Emanuel describes his ideal lifestyle as one with fewer monetary needs, and more time to be spent out in the country. He describes people he knows who are able to live in this way: "And some people do that; they spend a lot of time out in the country. And even though their domestic resources may be a little thin, they're happier that way."¹⁰

In Cynthia Hamilton's article *Women, Home, Community*, she coins the sensible term, "economic blackmail", which describes corporate monetary offers of grants and jobs.¹¹ These opportunities do not come without a cost; the artists of this exhibition argue the loss of a healthy environment is too great an exchange for higher paying jobs to be enjoyed by a few hundred people in a singular generation. This exhibition asks the question; "why are Indigenous people forced to constantly stand their ground to protect the land that surrounds and supports them?" Sixty-six percent of Bristol Bay's 7,500 residents are Alaska Native.¹² Winona LaDuke, an Anishinaabe activist and scholar answers by stating, "there is a direct relationship between the loss of cultural diversity and the loss of biodiversity. Wherever indigenous peoples still remain, there is a corresponding enclave of biodiversity;"¹³

In his book *Rationality and the Ideology of Disconnection*, Political Science professor Michael Taylor critiques the economic vantage of the world by stating that, "some things are not properly valued in monetary terms and that some public choices should not be made by aggregating individual monetary evaluations (intended as a surrogate for the 'choices' that would be produced by a competitive market) but should rather be made by deliberation with a view to arriving at what the people, collectively, believe should be done, or at least pay attention to their judgments."¹⁴

CURRENT MINING DISASTERS

One major environmental consequence of open pit mining is the hazardous waste that can leach from tailings ponds into the groundwater of the area that surrounds the mine. Tailings ponds are storage facilities for the thousands of tons of earth, which as a result of the mining process, become hazardous waste that cannot be re-introduced to a natural environment.

Quoted in an article written for *Fast Company* magazine Anglo-American Chief Executive Officer Cynthia Carroll argues that the company "sees Pebble as a chance to prove [they] can be 'sensitive to the environment' and help the community." But with only 7/10 of 1 percent of the mined resource value paid in taxes to the state, it is hard to hear the argument for economic gain of the state of Alaska, let alone economic gain for rural Bristol Bay communities. As for being sensitive to the environment, Anglo American PLC does not have a good track record; as discussed by veteran corporate researcher Phillip Mattera in his analysis of this very subject:

Whether it is the poor safety record of its South African platinum and formerly owned gold mines, the repeated spills of mine waste into communities in Ghana and South Africa, failure to control acid mine drainage in Zimbabwe, mercury air pollution in Nevada, degraded rivers in Ireland, or the unfair treatment of villagers displaced from their land in places such as South Africa, Anglo American can hardly be considered a model of good corporate citizenship.¹⁶

The cyanide spill in Baia Mare, Romania, has resulted in the pollution of the Sasa river area, and also in Hungarian rivers since the 2000 incident. No fish have been seen in the river there since cyanide was first used in gold mining 60 years ago. The once healthy environment is now an industrial landscape of dead rivers, polluted lands, and sick people.¹⁷ In Butte Montana, at Berkley Pit Lake (the abandoned open pit that once was Berkley Copper Mine), highly acidic water which contains concentrated dissolved heavy metals remain.¹⁸ As a result of this leached hazardous waste, "there are currently four separate but contiguous Superfund sites on the National Priorities List in the Clark Fork Basin alone."¹⁹

To offer a preview of what will likely happen in the Bristol Bay area, I highlight another major U.S. disaster at Jerritt Canyon gold mine. It is poignant to point out that it was previously owned by a subsidiary of Anglo American. “State and federal agencies repeatedly expressed concerns about pollution from Jerritt Canyon during Anglo American’s tenure. Yet the corporation failed to fix what has become an extensive and serious water pollution problem that will persist for many generations to come.”²⁰ This resulted in “recommendations to limit fish consumption for downwind fisheries.”²¹ Not only is the Pebble area amidst a fragile salmon habitat, it also sits above an uncharacterizable fault line. If an earthquake disrupts the area below the tailings ponds, the hazardous material will potentially be spread over huge distances.

The Bristol Bay region also receives a big economic boost from sport fishermen and game hunters who want to experience the “Last Frontier.” Trout Unlimited is a non-profit organization dedicated to conserving coldwater fisheries inclusive of Bristol Bay. In 2007, Trout Unlimited funded the production of an hour-long feature on the Pebble Mine, to emphasize the local economy and local people. *Red Gold* has been featured in film festivals across the globe including a stop in the home-city of one of the two major members of the Pebble Partnership. There has also been an outpouring of support ranging from Tiffany and Co., to Robert Redford, to gourmet seafood restaurants throughout the US and Canada. Other establishments that oppose the mine include: Natural Resources Defense Council, Bristol Bay Native Corporation, and Nunamta Aulukestai.

The Pebble Partnership is currently completing an Environmental Impact Statement, with a plan to submit the required 67 permit applications to the Alaska Department of Natural Resources.²² Aware of the sentiment and desire of the region’s people to continue living off the land, corporations focus on “community development” and perceived “sustainability” in their mission statements. The Partnership has invested over \$1.5 billion in the preliminary research stages alone, only five million of which was designated for a cycle of grants to promote well-being in the villages. To soften the hearts of the people and to create a sense of social obligation to the company, The Pebble Fund backs projects such as an Elder Food Bank, a school library renovation and the construction of local healthcare facilities. In addition to

this grant cycle, “The firm pays premiums to rent lodges and homes around Lake Iliamna and [in 2007] flew natives for weekends in Anchorage, handing out envelopes of \$600 in cash as spending money.”²³ The total sum of the monies focused on community development equal 1/1000 of the budget already spent on the planning stages of the mine. Opponents of the mine see these types of activity as strategic distractions. The huge environmental threat posed, has become a multi-national corporate game.

MARKETING RESEARCH

In February 2011, I attended an intimate round table discussion with Anishinaabe activist and environmentalist Winona LaDuke. In 1996 and 2000 LaDuke ran as vice-presidential candidate alongside Ralph Nader. She is perhaps best known for co-founding the first Native-run organization to provide financial and organizational support to Native environmental initiatives. *Honor the Earth Foundation*, is based on a model of strategic analysis; one centered deep within Native communal histories of our duty to protect the earth.²⁴ I was able to share my research with LaDuke, and ask for tips on how to fight this skewed battle. It comforted me to hear that as long as opponents keep mining companies from receiving permits, huge costs for the mining companies increase. Projects often lose momentum due to lost interest from investors.

Events to promote awareness of the Pebble Mine provide great opportunities to gauge public engagement with the issues involved. They also create pathways for collaborations with a range of organizations, who always offer advice on ways to extend the exhibition’s reach. This type of support has

FIGURE 2. Winona LaDuke and Anna Hoover Photo by Sean Cruz, 2011



allowed the exhibition's aims to enter into many different types of forum, often not the places people expect art to be seen. As a result, the exhibition receives great media coverage in the places where it is exhibited, and beyond.²⁵

RELEVANCE TO ART WORLD

Screenprint as a process of the Northwest Coast, has been popular since the 1950s. The earliest example of serigraphy on the Northwest Coast is attributed to Ellen Neel's scarves, which she began to create in 1949. It was not until the 1960s that artists like Robert Davidson and Tony Hunt began to produce prolifically. Soon after that time, the Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild was established, and the medium began to thrive.²⁶

A large exhibit for the purpose of environmental protection, is difficult to publicize when communicated from within the space of the Native American art scene. However, there is a very strong history of Native art activism regardless. In 1992, Jaune Quick-to-See Smith organized the *Submuloc Show—Columbus Wohs, an* exhibit to draw attention to the other side of Columbus' "discovery" of the New World.²⁷ One of the better-documented acts of Native art activism took place in the 1980s on the Northwest Coast of the United States. Haida leaders Miles Richardson and Guujaw, successfully led their people in an effort to save the old growth Forest of Lyell Island in their homeland Haida Gwaii. Not only did they successfully halt clear-cutting, but they also created Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve, co-



FIGURE 3. Joe David's 1987 tee shirt design

managed by the Haida nation and the Canadian National Parks Service. To explain the inspiration for his decades of environmental activism, Guujaw stated: "our people have determined that Windy Bay and some other places in the Charlottes must be left in their natural condition so that we can keep our identity and pass it along to the following generations."²⁸ Guujaw's good friend and fellow tribal leader, Joe David, also helped lead a successful anti-logging movement with the Tla-o-qui-aht at Meares Island in the 1980s.

The artists' anti-logging sentiment was shared via serigraph prints on paper and tee shirts. One of Joe David's several designs, includes *The Life of Meares Island*. It features the whale and the thunderbird close to a mountain, as depicted in Nuu-chah-nulth mythology. The whale represents both water and material things; the thunderbird represents the air and the supernatural, and; the mountain represents the land. David's tee shirt design interconnects the seemingly separate functioning parts of life for the Nuu-chah-nulth people on Meares Island and their surrounding territory.

Another design by Joe David, *The Crown of Title*, portrays a traditional whaler's hat. It represents supernatural knowledge and emphasizes the

FIGURE 4. Crown of Title, Joe David, 1985. Photos courtesy of Joe David.



FIGURE 5. Ancient Knowledge, Joe David, 1985. Photos courtesy of Joe David.



need for a healthy ecosystem in which people can continue successful whale hunts.²⁹ Only head chiefs and whalers can wear this style of hat as true stewards of the land. These hats are not intended for Canadian politicians, who intend to strip the environment of its resources.³⁰

Ancient Knowledge, another of David's designs, directly addresses the ignorance of non-Native people who are dismissive of Indigenous knowledge. This print represents "the understanding the Nuu-chah-nulth have of the continuum between the spiritual and physical worlds," and the "ancient nature of their claim to Meares Island because of their long-standing knowledge of the natural and spiritual life of the island."³¹ When asked how funds raised from the sale of prints and tee shirts were invested, David discussed how they went toward the successful opposition court case, and to pay for other related events and protest gatherings.³²



FIGURE 6. Joe David Welcome Figure, 1984. Photo courtesy of Joe David.



FIGURE 7. Joe David with Uncle Dan David. Photos courtesy of Joe David.

FIGURE 8. Completed tee shirts. Photo courtesy of Laura Grabhorn



In case the magnitude of their message had not been clear, in 1984 Joe David and friends carved a twenty-three foot tall welcome figure and raised it on the front lawn of the Parliament building in Victoria, BC. The carving is now in the permanent collection of the University of British Columbia's Museum of Anthropology in Vancouver, BC, and has been erected in the Great Hall alongside other master works. This carving will stand as a reminder to future generations that we can influence our surroundings for the greater good. Many other grassroots efforts have been supported by art on tee shirts.

Silkscreened tee shirts play a plethora of roles in present-day Native communities. In an essay titled *Crests on Cotton*, Aaron Glass profiles the history of Kwakwaka'wakw tee shirt designs; used to convey messages from rival soccer teams, and depictions of potlatches to honor the passing of loved ones. Glass connects the visual display of purpose through attire, to the custom of crest designs which are worn on button blankets. This tradition dates back nearly three hundred years to first contact, and the introduction of beads and buttons.³³

Hiko Hanapi, a Hawai'ian artist from The Keomailani Hanapi Foundation, describes the stories he embeds in each of his silkscreen designs, which are then turned into tee shirt prints with students. For each screenprint, he creates a story to explain the art shown. One of the print designs depicts Pele protecting an old man who defends her honor. To describe his inspiration for the project, longtime friend Laura Grabhorn explains how his rationale "was to make the artwork accessible to people who couldn't afford one of his original pieces." Hanapi wants for viewers to get more than just a tee shirt, he hopes they also gain a bit of knowledge from the story or legend.³⁴ In



Joe David



Nicholas and Jerrod Galanin



Tanis S'eiltin

much the same way, the shirts generated from fashion STATEMENT will share knowledge through word of mouth.

The link between names within the contemporary art world, and the anti-Pebble Mine message creates a reputable foundation. When combined with shirts available for purchase online, the anti-Pebble Mine message can reach diverse audiences. Native communities are given a voice to discuss the issue, and wearers of the tee shirts, a choice to affiliate themselves with a pro-environment statement. The shirts are like walking billboards for the sake of the environment, and for the prolonged sustainable health of the region's fish-dependent ecosystem.

I am honored to have the support of such a fine group of artists. The prolific artists included in the exhibit, exert their influence from within the Native art world. Many of the artists have previously created activist art in support of environmental protection. The inclusion of a voice such as Joe David's, directly links the exhibition to the lineage of Native art activism in America. In his design, he makes comparisons between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous perceptions of wealth, through the use of a copper shield; a Native symbol of wealth.

Nicholas and Jerrod Galanin

Nicholas Galanin is one of Native America's cutting-edge contemporary artists. His work is known to push boundaries and point fingers when others do not. His design is created in collaboration with his brother, Jerrod. They



John Hoover



Anna Hoover



Larry McNeil

use humor to broach a tough political subject, which is a common approach for artists. Appearing like a spoof on an advertisement for *Anglow Amerika*, a three-eyed cartoon fish looks blankly at its viewer while an intentionally misspelled message below reads "Delivering Real Benifits."

Tanis S'eiltin

To honor the original peoples, the Yup'ik, and the salmon of the Bristol Bay area, Tanis S'eiltin's design shows drying smoked salmon. "The image is an attempt to replicate the jeweled effect of drying salmon that turns into glistening vivid colors of red and gold." Through this depiction she warns how the Pebble Mine development in the fragile ecological area, can drastically alter the preciousness of the subsistence lifestyle contingent upon the salmon returns.

John Hoover

John Hoover's design takes an equally effective but different approach. A classic mask from early in his career titled *Salmon Man*, engages the viewer with a stoic yet gripping gaze; it reflects on the consequence a mine of this size, might have upon the Earth.

My own image portrays a spawned out salmon, at the stage of life where all is about to change. It displays a look of desperation, but not of hopelessness. I speak through his eye, a call to action.

Anna Hoover

The southern sea bass, an ichthyic relative, shows support to its relation in the north. Through his image, Brad Kahlhamer



Sonny Assu



Richard Kereopa



James Luna

represents with arrows, the symbolic and spiritual connection shared by the two related fish. The acronym written, speaks “Native Artists Against Pebble Mine”.

Larry McNeil

Larry McNeil’s compelling image, asks the viewer to reverse the action between Salmon and Pebble Mine; it shifts the balance of power between people and nature. McNeil states: “This proposed mine near Bristol Bay is but another step towards our idiotic practice of laying waste to the Earth... Our modus operandi is nearly always painfully simple. A few people become obscenely wealthy from what simply amounts to raping the Earth.”

Sonny Assu

In Sonny Assu’s design is the abstracted form of a spawning salmon. Sonny explains through his image, the impact that the proposed mine could have on salmon bio-diversity. His work here communicates the deep impacts that continue throughout the entire food-chain, when primary food sources are lost or poisoned.

Richard Kereopa

ANGER DANGER by Richard Kereopa, speaks of Native dialogues, and actions between isolated groups of Indigenous communities. In his design he draws a single line to represent dialogues of anger, and subversive strategies of social change that are part of a global Indigenous voice.



Rick Bartow



Phillip Charette



Brad Kahlhamer



Da-ka-xeen Mehner

James Luna

Renowned performance artist James Luna, creates a singular tee shirt as a performative statement about commercial greed. His work, sold for auction, presents a quirkily depicted dead fish, afloat in a shredded black sea of fish-hooks and pirate badges.

Rick Bartow

Celebrated Wiyot and Yurok colorist and gestural sketch artist Rick Bartow graces us with a fierce salmon swimming by showing his teeth and intentions of protecting his surroundings and way of life.

Phillip Charette

In “What We Do to the Land-We Do to Ourselves,” Charette’s message is clear, with a village at the base of the image, destructive forces linger. A forecast of the future if we are unable to maintain sustainable living.

Da-ka-xeen Mehner

A hand raised, palm forward, is a sign to stop. This poetic image calls for action to halt progress of the Pebble Mine. Again, the symbol of the Copper shield is used as a representation of wealth.

CONCLUSION

It seems clear the economic benefits of the Pebble Mine do not outweigh the environmental risks. Although the Pebble Partnership is pulling all the stops, their intentions are clear, and their track record speaks for itself. The land surrounding the proposed mine is a watershed home which supports a sustainable wild sockeye salmon

fishery. This area is too valuable a long-term asset to risk in order to improve the shares of a ten billion dollar corporation. No matter the temporary economic benefits, this mine will forever pollute the salmon habitat of the Bristol Bay area. It simply takes one accident, the results of which are irreversible.

fashion STATEMENT had its premiere on August 5th, 2011 at the International Gallery in Anchorage, Alaska. Since then, it has toured to The Burke Museum in Seattle, Washington; Ancestral Spirits Gallery, Port Townsend, Washington; Central Washington University in Ellensburg, Washington, The Legacy Ltd. Gallery in Seattle, Washington, and; Waiariki Institute of Technology in Rotorua, Aotearoa/New Zealand. Along with a traveling exhibit of serigraph prints by some of today's leading Native American artists, this art action employs humans as billboards with a diverse range of artists' anti-Pebble messages. It juxtaposes text with image, and both with thought; these tee shirts activate humans with voice, to ask questions about their fashionable statements. So far, signs exist of the interventionist power of grassroots engagement. The United States Environmental Protection Agency announced its support of research done that argued the risk of environmental disaster for the Bristol Bay region. Bristol Bay is on the radar of politicians and environmentalists alike. With the issue still relevant and the mine investors keen to disseminate hierarchies of propaganda, the exhibition's journey is difficult to foresee. Considerations have been made to shift the form of the show in future venues, to test ways to reach new audiences in both close and distant communities.

Proceeds raised during the project are directly invested into *First Light Alaska*, toward establishing a Native Arts Cooperative in the Bristol Bay region. Rather than donate the money to one of the many non-profit organizations fighting the mine, the money could perhaps be better spent to provide the local people in the region with a voice of their own. Workshops with youth and the wider community are an immediate priority; *First Light Alaska* enables Indigenous artists from all over the world to share knowledge and stories of inspiration.

The Pebble Partnership claims benefits for the community at large, whilst in reality, it poses a continued threat to the region's longstanding cultural and economic existence. Rather than recognize the subsistence lifestyle within

Bristol Bay's thriving ecosystem, the partnership places emphasis on money, which can only temporarily affect local lives positively. An awareness has been raised, and in this, an emphasis on every action as having an equal and opposite reaction. I am doing my part to share with the world, how a mine of this scale can destroy an entire ecosystem. Its loss would most certainly bring halt to an age-old subsistence economy, and the traditions it supports.

On September 15, 2013 Anglo American withdrew from Pebble Partnership.

ANNA HOOVER With master's degrees in Native American Art History and Indigenous Documentary Filmmaking from the University of Washington, Anna Hoover brings historical perspective and power of place to bear on her films, fashion, sculpture, photography, and activism. Spending summers salmon fishing in Bristol Bay, winters kayaking the Puget Sound, and time in between learning and sharing with indigenous peoples in northern Japan, far eastern Russia, Hawai'i, and Aotearoa/New Zealand, Anna makes work about the flows of both water and time. Currently, she is focusing her efforts on forming an International Native Artist Residency Program working in conjunction with rural communities across the state of Alaska. To support activism against Pebble Mine you may purchase a tee shirt at www.nativeartistsagainstpibblemine.com.

NOTES:

¹ The most recent success being the Haida campaign to "Stop the Bear Hunt." A design created by Walker Brown was reproduced on posters and t-shirts and contributed to the Canadian Government changing regulations against bear hunting on Haida Gwaii. <http://www.spruceroots.org/BearHunt/BearHunt.html>.

² Ben Knight, Travis Rummel, *Red Gold* (Felt Soul Media, 2008). DVD.

³ New York Times. Feb. 13, 2011.

⁴ "Alaska Native Knowledge Network," University of Fairbanks, accessed 26 August 2013, www.ankn.uaf.edu/.

⁵ Vandana Shiva, *Biopiracy: the Plunder of Nature and Knowledge* (Cambridge: South End Press, 1997).

⁶ "AAANativeArts," accessed 26 August 2013, www.aaanativearts.com/alaskan-natives/alaska_indian_regions.htm.

⁷ Edwin Dobb, "Alaska's Choice, Salmon or Gold," National Geographic, Date accessed: January 18, 2011, ngm.nationalgeographic.com/2010/12/bristol-bay/dobb-text.

⁸ *Anglo American: The Reality: Anglo American plc's response to Mr. Philip Mattera's report entitled "Anglo American's Track Record: Rhetoric or Reality?"* 14 August 2008.

⁹ Karl Vick, "Alaskans Weigh the Cost of Gold," *The Washington Post*. 25 December 2007.

¹⁰ Richard P. Emanuel, "Living off the Land," *Alaska Geographic* v27, n4 (2000).

¹¹ Cynthia Hamilton, “Women, Home, Community,” *Race, Poverty and the Environment Newsletter* v1 (1990).

¹² “Regional Economy,” last accessed, 2 April 2009, www.savebristolbay.org/site/c.gqLT14OzGIF/b.2129649/k.8E78/Regional_Economy/apps/lk/content2.aspx.

¹³ Winona LaDuke, *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life* (South End Press: Cambridge, 1999) 153.

¹⁴ Michael Taylor, *Rationality and the Ideology of Disconnection* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

¹⁵ Melanie Warner, “Anglo American’s Bristol Bay Controversy: Wildlife vs. Mineral Riches,” *Fast Company Magazine*. 13 October 2008.

¹⁶ Phillip Mattera, “Anglo American’s Track Record: Rhetoric or Reality?,” last accessed 26 August 2013, ourbristolbay.com/fact_sheets/rhetoric_or_reality_exec%20sum.pdf.

¹⁷ “One year on: Romania’s cyanide spill,” BBC News, last accessed 26 August 2013, news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/1146979.stm.

¹⁸ “Pitwatch,” last 2 accessed June 2009, www.pitwatch.org/.

¹⁹ Wade Martin, *Environmental Economics and The Mining Industry* (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1994), 36.

²⁰ Glenn Miller, “Anglo America’s record doesn’t bode well for Alaska,” *Anchorage Daily News*, 24 November 2008.

²¹ Mattera, 11.

²² Pebble Partnership FAQ’s, last accessed, 20 May 2010. www.pebblepartnership.com/project/faqs#permitting_process.

²³ Vick.

²⁴ “Honor the Earth,” last accessed 26 August 2013, www.honorearth.org.

²⁵ Don Decker, Apr. 26, 2011.

²⁶ Edwin Hall, Margaret Blackman, and Vincent Rickard, *Northwest Coast Indian Graphics: An Introduction to Silkscreen Prints* (University of Washington Press: Seattle, London, 1980), 50.

²⁷ Jaune Quick-to-See Smith, *The Submuloc Show/Columbus Wohs. Atlatl*, v3 (1992).

²⁸ Ian Gill, *All That We Say is Ours: Guujaw and the Reawakening of the Haida Nation*, (Douglas and McIntyre: Vancouver, 2009), 111.

²⁹ Jeannette Mills, *Land claim art: Joe David and his support of Meares Island Tribal Park*. M.A. Thesis (Seattle: University of Washington, 1990), 77.

³⁰ Joe David. Phone Interview, 8 January 2011.

³¹ Mills, 75-76.

³² Joe David, *Ibid*.

³³ Aaron Glass, “Crests on Cotton,” *Museum Anthropology*, v31, n1, (2008), 1-18.

³⁴ Laura Grabhorn, Phone Interview.

VISIBLE MOVEMENT: THE ARTS OF IDLE NO MORE

MARIAH CARRILLO, KATHRYN MANIS, AND LESLIE WOOLSON
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FIGURE 1. Geoffrey Mcnamara: *Vancouver Island March Series*, 2013. Digital photograph.

In early 2011, Canada’s conservative federal government proposed an omnibus bill that sent shock waves through the indigenous community. Prime Minister Stephen Harper and cabinet introduced Bill C-45 and other coordinated bills that effectively attacked the integrity of legal treaties between sovereign First Nations peoples and the Canadian government, including measures to open reserve lands to private entities without First Nations consent and the deregulation of waterways.¹ In May of the same year, a small group of First Nations women and non-aboriginal allies—Nina Wilson, Sheelah Mclean, Sylvia McAdam, and Jessica Gordon—established a protest movement to specifically address the omnibus bill, and Canada’s larger historical systems of indigenous and environmental exploitation.² The vision of these four founders sparked a wave of local protests that ultimately matured into the international Idle No More movement. As Idle No More took root, it responded not only to a specific set of legislative actions, but also to the overarching legacy of colonization and illegal infringement advanced by the governments of Canada and the United States. Engaging issues of

visibility, identity, and community through images, protest, ceremony, and performance, Idle No More acts as an urgent call for greater responsibility and unity on a universal scale. *Visible Movement: the Arts of Idle No More* showcases these diverse forms of expression and examines their ongoing effects on Canadian society and the expanding global dialogue.

In a moment that foreshadowed the concerns and methods that would later come to define the movement, Idle No More was deeply affected by the courageous actions of Attawapiskat Chief Theresa Spence. Chief Spence's forty-four day hunger strike in December and January of 2012, though not directly associated with the original Idle No More movement, served as a galvanizing force to many of the movement's members. As a performative act of protest, Chief Spence adopted a traditional fasting diet of fish broth, water, and vitamins for over a month, and occupied Victoria Island across from Parliament Hill in Ottawa with a body of First Nations leaders and elders. Chief Spence called on Prime Minister Harper to meet with First Nations chiefs and governing bodies to address the Canadian government's ongoing history of economic and legislative abuses. Over the course of the month, along with her fast, she hosted many aboriginal leaders from across Canada and lead marches through the streets of Ottawa. Chief Spence's dramatic measures directed attention towards specific local housing and water crises and governmental neglect suffered by the small, rural reserve of Attawapiskat in the Canadian province of Ontario. Spence's protest resonated with a vast audience, both in Canada and beyond, and drew attention to the stunning legacy of injustice towards Native cultures that Idle No More labors to address.

Chief Spence's sacrificial gesture was significant in many ways—not in the least because it set the tone for creative protest formats and an expansive, community based approach. From communal flash mob round dances at malls and powwows, to performative pilgrimages by Kwakwaka'wakw Chief Beau Dick and the band of Cree teens, the Nishiyuu Walkers, Idle No More has inspired passionate protests, cross-cultural conversation, and indigenous solidarity, which is unified by a collective understanding of environmental issues and a growing awareness of First Nations concerns.³ Significantly, these expressions developed both from specific Native practices and epistemologies, as well as grassroots models of community organization. The movement's emphasis on community has served to



FIGURE 2. Geoffrey Mcnamara, *Vancouver Island March Series: Copper Cutting*, 2013. Digital photograph.

deliberately underscore cultural practice and the shared, though complex, identities of First Nations people.

While Idle No More protests and performances are grounded in Native traditions, elements of their practice and expression have been relocated into a shared public sphere. The spread of Idle No More has made visible the inherently interconnected nature of the human community, and the stake we all have in a future of justice and sustainability. Nowhere is the power of this visibility more apparent than in the surprisingly responsive chord it has struck with red-state ranchers and landowners in the United States.⁴ This is particularly true in Texas and parts of Nebraska where land has been forcibly taken from ranchers by the Keystone XL pipeline. These unexpected allies of the Idle No More cause apprehend another angle of the far-reaching effects that the deregulation of land and waterways would inevitably produce. In accordance with this combination of specific, local goals, set in a universal context, Idle No More utilizes visual and social structures visible in both First Nations communities and mainstream Canadian/American culture at large. Fittingly, the artworks featured in *Visible Movement: the Arts of Idle No More* take a variety of forms, which embody the diversity of the movement and its goals.

The Idle No More movement aims to be an active and visible agent of aboriginal identity and community across cultural and geographic boundaries, as demonstrated through the integral relationship between the movement and the North American powwow community. The rebirth of the round dance as a pivotal element of Idle No More protests and flash mobs across America has served, both as a unifying force amongst diverse cultures and communities, and as a forum for increasing visibility and understanding of long-standing indigenous practices.⁵ As Clyde Ellis notes:

Powwows are a vital element in the creation and maintenance of contemporary Indian culture ... Since the post-World War II era the powwow has become one of the most popular and visible expressions of the dynamic cultural forces at work in Indian country. ...! dance embodies cultural attitudes which cannot be readily articulated today in other ways.⁶

The contemporary powwow establishes and solidifies First Nations communities as sovereign contemporary nations by designating a site for the continual creation and adaptation of aboriginal society, as well as reinforcing communal structures and knowledge through performances of dance. Specifically, this entails such ceremonies as the presentations of young dancers by their families, and often highlights inter-tribal demographics. Doreen Granacki-Bartow, a talented maker of powwow regalia, has been referred to as an “artist in thread” and uses her passion for sewing to address what she sees as a large hole in contemporary commercial textiles. The works shown are created for friends and family to be worn on the powwow circuit as a celebration of contemporary First Nations culture (Plates 1, 2).

The emblem that Granacki-Bartow affixes to her textiles is one that was created by Northwest Coast artist Andy Everson, and has been associated from its conception with the Idle No More movement. As with many other artists, Everson created a digital print for the movement and posted the image to all of his websites so that it could be used by any activists associated with Idle No More. Everson, who has pursued venues in traditional dance and performance as well as a Master’s degree in Anthropology, thinks of his artwork as an exploration and expression of his ancestry in a contemporary form. Featuring both the aggressive protest imagery of an upraised fist, the

stylized, graphic forms of traditional Northwest aesthetics, and the powerful symbolism of the eagle feather, Everson’s insignia emphasizes the vitality of modern aboriginal cultures.

Painter Kelli Clifton also deals with broader issues of First Nations rights and visibility, as well as the more specific issues of the Idle No More movement. Clifton’s mother is of European descent and her father is Tsimshian from the community of Hartley Bay. Through her work, Clifton explores the duality of her unique biracial upbringing, describing it as both a blessing and a curse. Her paintings, like contemporary powwow culture and the Idle No More movement, negotiate the space between established First Nations traditions and the culture of mainstream North America. Clifton’s interest in repetition, color, and the grid are evident in works like *Skeena Salmon*, which draws on the Northwestern formline tradition (Plate 3). *Skeena Salmon* specifically invokes the pollution of First Nations water sources and degradation of fishing ecosystems that is directly related to Bill C-45 legislation. Her work, *Join Hands*, was also first produced and circulated digitally. It has since been printed on tee-shirts and worn by the likes of *Tribe Called Red* as they tour the continent bringing awareness to First Nations through their art—their music (Plate 4).

Artist Joe David works with a similar body of imagery, and has been instrumental in the resurgence of Nuu-Chah-Nulth art and ceremony. His oeuvre reflects a deeply embedded commitment to the maintenance of tradition and spirituality in contemporary First Nations cultural practice. No stranger to Idle No More’s powerful combination of art and activism, David is well known for his protest work in the mid eighties against the logging of his ancestral home on Meares Island. The artist erected a monumental carved welcome figure, first in the Nuu-chah-nulth territory of Tin-Wis, and later at the Provincial Parliament Buildings in Victoria. This act of defiant visibility served as a potent reminder of First Nations claims to their lands, and was an indicator of the high level of passion and commitment that David continues to bring to his work. The serigraphs featured in this exhibition are examples of the artist’s continuing concern with nature and place (Plates 5, 6). David—like Clifton, Everson, and the Idle No More community—is deeply committed to the maintenance of indigenous ideology and practice in the current cultural moment, a concern clearly represented in his artwork.

This aboriginal-centered rhetoric also emerges in hereditary chief and artist Beau Dick's 2013 work, which was at once a performance piece, an act of protest, and a traditional practice of shaming neighboring leaders for a failure to uphold community social systems. Dick marched the 290 mile length of Vancouver Island, from his home community in Alert Bay to the seat of British Columbia government in Victoria, meeting with and gathering together other tribal leaders along the way. In an act of solidarity with First Nations community leaders across Canada, Dick reprised the historic Kwakwaka'wakw custom of cutting copper. Audrey Hawthorn describes this practice as follows:

When rivalry was fierce, the aggressor might 'break' his copper. In this case, the copper was literally cut up, and the pieces representing deliberately shattered wealth, were handed to the rival chief (Plate 9?). The latter then had to destroy wealth of equivalent value or suffer shame.⁷

Beau Dick's performance of this ritual acts as a powerful challenge to the Canadian government, while utilizing specifically indigenous political paradigms. The strength of Dick's role as an artist and elder in the community reinforce this underlying moral theme—one that holds those in power directly accountable for the repercussions of their actions on future generations. Enacted in a political space, the copper cutting ceremony affirmed the sovereignty of indigenous nations and their ongoing systems of governance.



PLATE 9. Geoffrey McNamara, *Vancouver Island March Series*, 2013. Digital Photograph.



FIGURE 3. Geoffrey McNamara, *Vancouver Island March Series: Cowichan Rally*, 2013. Digital Photograph.

Geoffrey McNamara documented the arc of Beau Dick's protest march in photographs. These capture one of the unifying principles of the movement—the ongoing experience and presence of First Nations peoples. A black and white photograph from a rally in Duncan shows a young woman in contemporary clothing with a mike, speaking to an unseen crowd (Figure 3). She holds her young daughter's hand and, to her right, an older woman in a combination of traditional and contemporary garb watches on. The gathering of three generations into a single frame, along with the nuances of their body language and attire, highlight the generational engagement in the movement—perhaps the most significant presence is the silent daughter, turned away from the camera, the visual symbol of a future still in question.

Call to action, and the determination to make visible the ignored and the invisible emerges in Idle No More's print and poster art as well. The accessibility of prints make them a powerful protest tool; they are cheap, impactful, and easily distributed through many mediums, making them especially effective in a public sphere. The prints created in solidarity by artists like Ernesto Yerena, Shepard Fairey, Melanie Cervantes, and Jesus Barraza serve as an assertion of aboriginal voices that are often excluded



FIGURE 4. Geoffrey McNamara, *Vancouver Island March Series*, 2013. Digital Photograph.

from public dialogue (Plates 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14). The prints themselves combine symbols of Native identity with the more mundane signifiers of daily existence, embracing a reality that respects the complex negotiations of aboriginal life. These images project a contemporary Native identity that acknowledges and draws power from the past, but is respected as a current and relevant voice for the future.

Idle No More asserts the sovereignty and vitality of Native peoples, as well as their equal position within a dynamic web of political and communal relationships. Instead of positing a dichotomous opposition between aboriginal and mainstream societies, Idle No More underscores the connectedness of diverse individuals and groups through an emphasis on shared environmental concerns and universal human rights. Responding to governmental and corporate entities that see the extinction of Native culture as inevitable and seek to hasten its departure, Idle No More participants respond with a vision of aboriginal equity that makes visible the continuing presence and importance of First Nations people. The works of art included in this exhibition are vital responses to the concerns of the Idle No More movement, connected in a web of dialogue and community. Collectively, these artists and works explore issue of First Nation's rights and sovereignty, and make manifest the environmental and social issues that are at stake, not only for Native peoples, but for all members of the human community.

MARIAH CARRILLO is a graduate student in the University of New Mexico's Art History master's program. She has a bachelor of arts in Visual Arts from George Fox University, where she researched and curated the institution's first exhibition of Native American art. She has worked at a number of museums and galleries in the Northwest, and is currently an educational assistant at the University of New Mexico Art Museum. Carrillo is interested in the visual and material culture of indigenous peoples, as well as in visual expressions of identity in contemporary subcultures. Her thesis research focuses on the historical and contemporary practices of feminine tattooing in the Inuit cultures of Alaska.

KATHRYN MANIS is a master's student studying art history at the University of New Mexico. She has received dual honors for her bachelors of arts in Literature and Art History from Appalachian State University, where she studied the role of illustration in the satirical work of Ishmael

Reed. In her current research Manis focuses on the intersections between dialogues of race, gender, and American essentialism. Her ongoing thesis work interrogates the construction of black masculinity in American popular media, specifically examining the work of artist Kehinde Wiley.

LESLIE WOOLSON is currently a graduate student at UNM studying Counseling and Psychology. As a former Art History student, she is interested in art's social function and its importance to the understanding of our environment at a fundamental level.

NOTES:

¹ Winona LaDuke, Frank Jr. Molley, "Idle No More: Canada Escalates War on First Nations," *Indian Country Today*, 26 June, 2013, indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2013/06/26/idle-no-more-canada-escalates-war-first-nations-150125. Accessed 25 August 2013.

² See the movement's official website, "Idle No More," idlenomore.ca. Accessed 25 August 2013.

³ Judith Butler, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Who Sings the Nation-State?: Language, Politics, Belonging*. (London: Seagull Books, 20067).

⁴ For more information the response of Texas landowners and ranchers to the Keystone pipeline see: "Honor the Treaties," www.honorthetreaties.org/, accessed 25 August 2013; Mark Hefflinger, "TransCanada Calls Nebraska Ranchers Aggressive and Abusive, Talks of Terrorism," 14 June 2013, boldnebraska.org/transcanadadatactics; Mark Strassmann, "Texas rancher won't budge for Keystone pipeline," CBS News, 18 February 2013, www.cbsnews.com/8301-18563_162-57569967/texas-rancher-wont-budge-for-keystone-pipeline/. Accessed 25 August 2013.

⁵ Melissa Martin, "Round dance: Why it's the symbol of Idle No More," 28 January 2013, www.cbc.ca/manitoba/scene/homepage-promo/2013/01/28/round-dance-revolution-drums-up-support-for-idle-no-more/. Accessed 25 August 2013.

⁶ Clyde Ellis, *A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 5.

⁷ Audrey Hawthorn, *Kwakiutl Art* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), 35.



PLATE 1, 2. Doreen Granacki-Bartow, *Southern Sunset*, 2013. Textile, thread.



PLATE 3, 4. Doreen Granacki-Bartow, *One Fire*, 2013. Textile, thread.



PLATE 5. Kelli Clifton, *Skeena Salmon*, 2012. Acrylic on canvas. 36 in x 24 in.



PLATE 6. Kelli Clifton, *Join Hands*, 2012. Digital media printed on shirt.



PLATE 7. Joe David, *Wild Beauty*, 2013. Serigraph, edition 200.

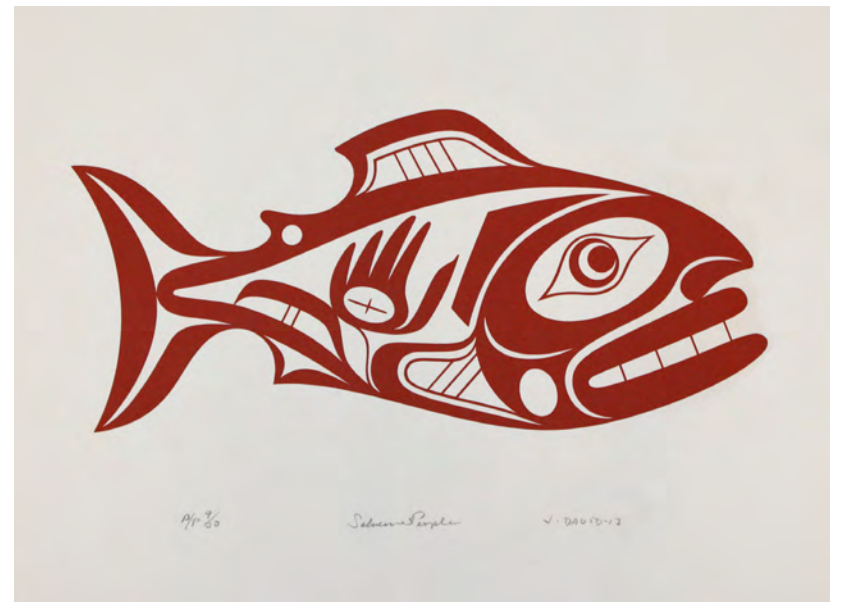


PLATE 8. Joe David, *Salmon People*, 2013. Serigraph, edition 200.

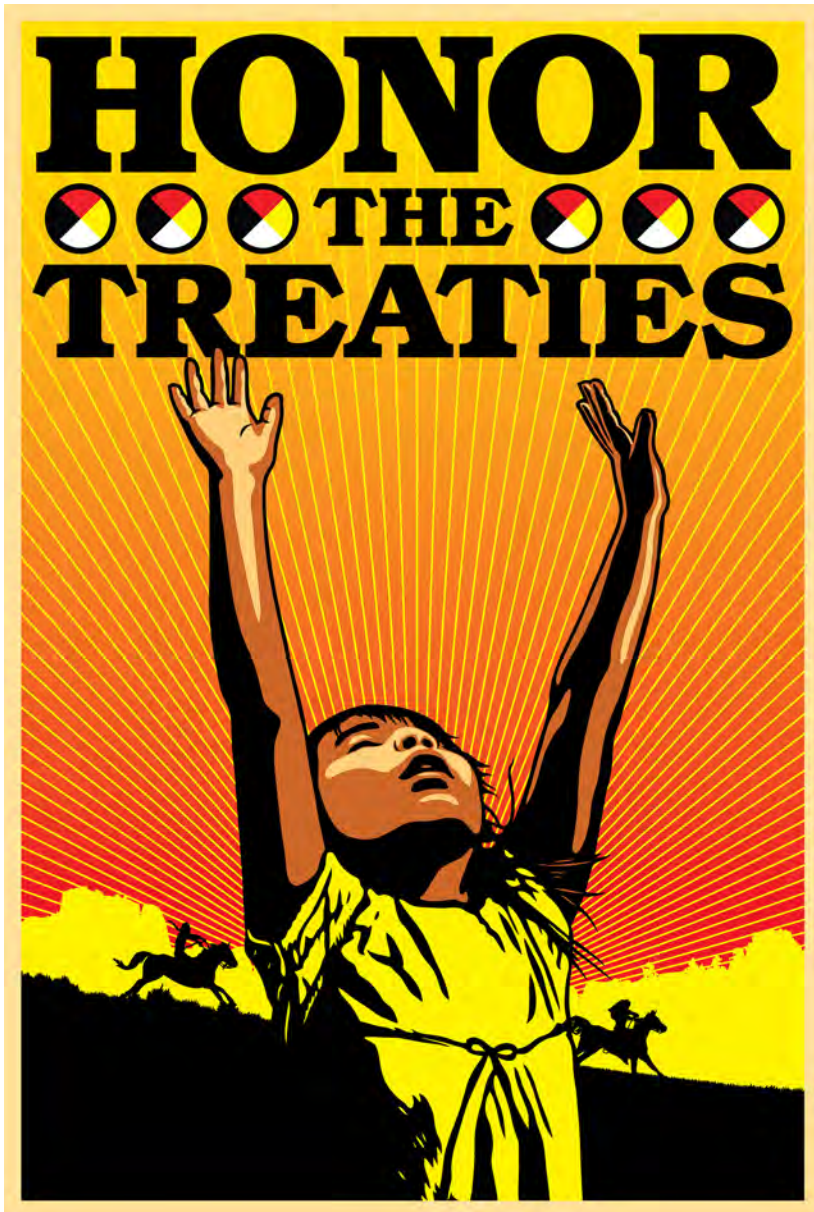


PLATE 9. Ernesto Yerena, *Honor the Treaties*, 2013. Silkscreen and digital media.

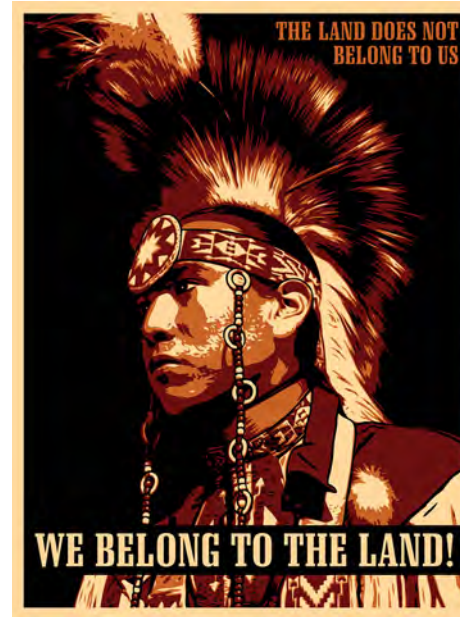


PLATE 10. Ernesto Yerena, *We Belong to the Land!*, 2013. Silkscreen and digital media.



PLATE 11. Geoffrey McNamara, *Vancouver Island March Series*, 2013. Digital Photograph.



PLATE 12. Shepard Fairey, *The Black Hills Are Not For Sale*, 2013. Silkscreen and digital media.



PLATE 13. Shepard Fairey, *We Are Still Here*, 2013. Silkscreen and digital media.



PLATE 14. Jesus Barraza, *Idle No More*, 2013. Digital media.

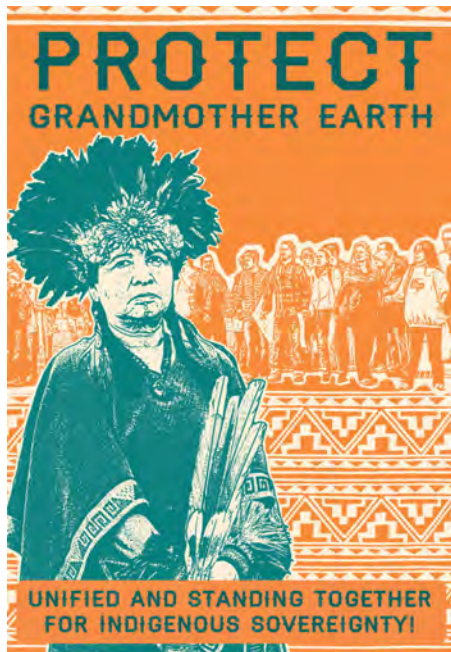


PLATE 15. Melanie Cervantes,
Protect Grandmother Earth, 2013.
Digital media.

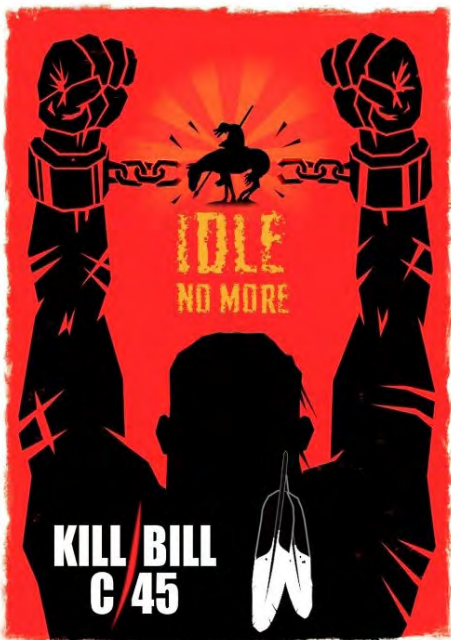


PLATE 16. Shaun Peterson,
Kill Bill C-45, 2013. Digital
media.

ARTIST BIOGRAPHIES:

MELANIE CERVANTES, JESUS BARRAZA, KELLI CLIFTON, JOE DAVID, SHEPARD FAIREY, ERNESTO YERENA, DOREEN GRANACKI-BARTOW, GEOFFREY MCNAMARA, AND SHAUN PETERSON

MELANIE CERVANTES and JESUS BARRAZA are the duo behind Dignidad Rebelde, the revolutionary activist company currently re-enlivening the Chicano artist-activist movement. Cervantes built her foundations by studying library books, designing and constructing her own clothes, and forging friendships with other creative people. At University of California, Berkeley, she received formal training in Ethnic Studies. Barraza has works closely with numerous community organizations, running several of his own in the Berkeley area. He has taught printmaking across the United States as part of his commitment to return power to the people. Cervantes and Barraza believe that art can be an empowering reflection of community struggles, dreams and visions. Following principles of Xicanisma and Zapatismo, they create work that translates people's stories into art that can be put back into the hands of the communities who inspire it. Their art is grounded in indigenous movements that build people's power to transform the conditions of fragmentation, displacement and loss of culture that result from global histories of colonization and exploitation. Representing these movements through visual art means connecting struggles through the work and seeking to inspire solidarity among communities of struggle worldwide.

Born and raised in Prince Rupert, British Columbia, KELLI CLIFTON believes that it was both a blessing and a challenge to grow up in a biracial family. Kelli's works are heavily influenced by her coastal upbringing and often comment on First Nations identity. In the Visual Arts program at the University of Victoria, Kelli took it upon herself to study the art of her aboriginal community. Truly inspired, she began to reference traditional coastal elements to create her own unique, non-traditional works. Her interest in color, repetition and the grid form a bound between European and Coastal visual systems. Kelli was honored to receive the Tsimshian name Adziksm Gyipayk—*Raven Flying Proud*—at her late grandfather's feast in 1994.

JOE DAVID was born in Opitsat, a Tla-o-qui-aht village on the West Coast of Vancouver Island. Joe grew up in Seattle and followed a career in the arts as had many members of the David family. After attending art school in the late sixties and working as a commercial artist, David's interests turned to Northwest Coast Native art, particularly that of his home community, the Nuu-Chah-Nulth. David experimented with serigraphs featuring traditional West Coast design motifs in what was, for the time, an innovative medium. Throughout his career, Joe has produced artworks as activism. In the 1980s, along with prints and tee-shirts that protested logging on Meares Island, David erected a fully carved totemic Welcome Figure on British Columbia parliament lawns. He has since produced tee-shirt designs to bring awareness to the gravity of opening Pebble Mine, and to protest fish farming. His works included in the exhibition reflect an undercurrent of the importance of awareness and preservation.

Renowned street artist SHEPARD FAIREY began his subversive commentary on American culture with his OBEY campaign in the 1980s and continued onto infamy with Barak Obama's presidential icon. In support of the Honor the Treaties, Fairey donated his talents to a national poster campaign that brings awareness to the threats facing Native American sovereignty. ERNESTO YERENA'S poster contribution has become the face of Honor the Treaties. A Chicano artist, Yerena shares narratives of his conflicts of identity that he feels are kindred to what many of these communities experience. As an organization Honor the Treaties fights battles over access to land and water, hunting and fishing rights, healthcare, education, and religious freedoms. From Idle No More's growing movement in Canada to the road blockades attempting to stop the Keystone XL pipeline from crossing tribal lands, aboriginal sovereignty is still very much alive.

DOREEN GRANACKI-BARTOW has always worked with her hands to bring to life her own, and other people's visions. She began her career in 1979 as a commercial artist before the age of computer graphics. During the mid 1980s she turned a hobby of woodworking into another career supplying restoration and reconstruction services to Victorian and Edwardian homes. Working with her father's and grandfather's hand tools, she found satisfaction in bringing an age of creativity back to life. Doreen gave her company to her Brother-In-Law to pursue the most important and rewarding career path in her life, raising her three children: Brooke,

Benjamin, and Jessica. Doreen was always passionate about sewing. The most rewarding sewing she does is for friends and family where she fills the gap left from commercially available items.

GEOFFREY MCNAMARA considers his life a story, and each of his photographs speaks to the stories of its subject. Some stories are about unimaginable strength, failure, and courage in the face of adversity. Regardless of origin, Geoff believes stories have the ability to share valuable messages to those seeking the truth in everyday life, from everyday people, doing everyday things. This particular photo-essay follows the story of Kwakwaka'wakw Chief Beau Dick on his three hundred mile march from his home community in Alert Bay, British Columbia, to parliament lawns in Victoria. In his journey Beau Dick pass through many local indigenous communities to bring support and gather support for indigenous sovereignty.

SHAUN PETERSON carries the Lushootseed Coast Salish name Qwalsius. Working in a variety of mediums, Peterson is a leader in the revitalization of Coast Salish art, which employs a visual vocabulary unique to Washington and southern British Columbia. While much of his work focuses on cultural stories and practices, his support for Idle No More was inspired by his artist peers across the border. His piece reflects their activism for their communities who've risen up together by using social media for both expression and as a means to assemble.

LAS ARTES TRADICIONALES EN MEXICO Y LA INVISIBILIDAD INDIGENA:

ENTREVISTA CON FRANCISCO GUEVARA, CO-DIRECTOR EJECUTIVO DE ARQUETOPIA, POR EMMANUEL ORTEGA

EMMANUEL ORTEGA, Ph.D. Candidate,
Department of Art and Art History, University of New Mexico

El arte mexicano en la historia del arte mundial se ha edificado por medio de un sentido de doble conciencia colonial. Este estatus imaginario se deriva de un sentimiento criollo que empezó a hilvanarse a principios del siglo XVII. La primera generación de artistas criollos activos en el centro de La Nueva España, por razones socio-políticas y económicas, tuvieron la necesidad de crear un arte local con tintes más Europeos que Mesoamericanos. Siglos de prácticas y estéticas indígenas fueron remplazadas por un arte que nunca ha cesado de indagar su voz dentro del ámbito del arte occidental. Esta voz ha sido traducida y explotada a través de la historia del arte mexicano. Desde Bernardo Couto, a mediados del siglo XIX, la crítica del arte en México se ha concentrado en promover esta voz, creando a su vez la invisibilidad de las prácticas indígenas dentro del campo de lo anticuadamente denominado como “las bellas artes.”¹ La invisibilidad del arte indígena, o mejor dicho, las *artes tradicionales* en México, no corresponde a su práctica. Las artes tradicionales varían ampliamente de región a región, y en muchos casos, representan técnicas y estéticas adoptadas por diferentes grupos indígenas a través de procesos coloniales de asimilación artística. Cuando estas son analizadas en su debido contexto histórico, social y estético, expresan una riqueza artística que desafía toda noción de invisibilidad. Sin embargo, dentro de la historia del arte en México, el arte que no se arraiga a estéticas Europeas, es clasificado con términos derogatorios como “arte popular” y “artesanía.” Estas denominaciones activan su invisibilidad dentro del campo del arte global, y promueven un sentido antropológico que ha sido explotado por el gobierno nacional para satisfacer las fantasías orientalistas del turismo internacional. Sin embargo en México existen instituciones independientes dispuestas a cambiar los esquemas coloniales y entablar un dialogo más profundo entre artistas e historiadores con promovedores y practicantes de las *artes tradicionales*.

Francisco Guevara es Co-director ejecutivo de Arquetopia. Esta es una fundación sin ánimo de lucro dedicada a promover el Desarrollo y la transformación social por medio de residencias artísticas, programas educativos y generando nuevos modelos de participación. Fundada en Puebla en Octubre del 2009, Arquetopia desarrolla su cometido social por medio del diálogo entre artistas locales y artistas internacionales. La siguiente charla se desarrolló con el propósito de comprender un poco más el tema de la invisibilidad de las *artes tradicionales* dentro de la historia del arte mexicano y dentro de la crítica del arte contemporáneo. Francisco nos explica el tipo de retos que Arquetopia ha tenido que afrontar al desarrollar prácticas que intentan re-definir el estatus de las *artes tradicionales* en Puebla y en Oaxaca. También, el nos explica el tipo de desafíos que conlleva la promoción de un arte ubicado, hasta cierto punto, fuera de los parámetros del entendimiento de “las bellas artes” en México.

Los residentes de Arquetopia normalmente se interrelacionan con las artes tradicionales de Puebla y Oaxaca. ¿Qué tipo de técnicas artísticas se promueven en la residencia?

Para hablar del trabajo que llevamos acabo en Arquetopia es importante partir del contexto en el que nos ubicamos. Tanto Puebla como Oaxaca se construyen a partir de una herencia colonial muy rica producto de la mezcla no sólo de indígenas y españoles sino una diversidad cultural muy basta. Puebla y Oaxaca son dos de los estados con mayor índice de pobreza en México, y sin embargo sus ciudades capitales se ubican en el país como importantes centros económicos. Simplemente Puebla es la ciudad del país en dónde más se consumen automóviles de lujo y la ciudad de Oaxaca una con el mayor índice de ingresos por la venta de arte per cápita.

Ambas ciudades reconocen una gran herencia histórica y cultural ligada a la colonia, y ambas disfrutan de los privilegios del orgullo criollo, la diferencia interesante es que cada una se ubica en el extremo opuesto de la dicotomía indígena-español. Mientras que en Puebla la mayoría de los habitantes se enorgullecen de una supuesta pureza en la herencia española, muy parecido al fenómeno con los hispanos en Nuevo México; los oaxaqueños romantizan la idea de la pureza indígena y se enorgullecen de nunca haber sido conquistados ni por los Mexicas ni por los Españoles. La realidad es que ninguna de las dos construcciones de la identidad es completamente falsa ni

verdadera y en ambos contextos existe una gran diversidad que es ignorada y aparentemente invisible y es ésta la que precisamente nutre la riqueza de las artes en México.

El trabajo que Arquetopia ha desarrollado en los últimos tres años ha sido el de identificar saberes y recursos que potencialmente puedan estimular el desarrollo local y a largo plazo el cambio social. Dentro de estos saberes existen técnicas milenarias producto no sólo de la herencia de los grupos dominantes “indígenas” y “españoles”, sino muchas minorías indoeuropeas así como originarias de diversas regiones de Mesoamérica, que van desde cholultecas, totonacas hasta mixtecos, y triquis, pasando por judíos, árabes, gitanos, etc., en fin la lista es interminable. Todas estas tradiciones se entretejen en un complejo entramado, como repositorios de conocimiento y memoria histórica, que han sido preservados por las actuales minorías como tesoros rescatados del complejo proceso de opresión histórica.

La realidad es que muchos de los grupos indígenas en México se han dedicado a reproducir desde la *periferia* las técnicas, iconografía y narrativa producto de esta herencia, misma que se reinterpreta y se transforma en el proceso creativo. De tal suerte que en México puedes encontrar comunidades “puramente” indígenas, que no hablan español, pero que bordan animales fantásticos con la técnica más fina de las cortes europeas del siglo XVII; otras celebran rituales ancestrales con danzas árabes del norte de África; mientras que otras más producen singulares menorahs con nahuales, diablos, ángeles y la imagen del nacimiento católico en el centro. Estas aparentes contradicciones son algunos ejemplos de la complejidad cultural que nutre las identidades en México, y sin duda lo más interesante en este proceso son los sistemas de preservación de la memoria de tantas minorías. La realidad es que estos conocimientos también generaron riqueza en la historia de Mesoamérica, Nueva España y México y existe una infraestructura aparentemente olvida que puede reactivarse y actualizarse para promover el desarrollo local.

Algunos de los ejemplos de técnicas con las que trabajamos son: teñido y pigmentación con tintes naturales como la grana cochinilla y el añil, técnicas de tejido y bordado, diversas técnicas de cerámica desde la talavera hasta el barro negro, así como técnicas artísticas utilizadas en el arte religioso durante la colonia, como la pasta de caña y el estofado en oro y plata.

¿Cómo encaminan ustedes esta relación entre artistas extranjeros y artista locales?

Sin duda este es uno de los retos más grandes al que nos hemos enfrentando. Como tu ya bien mencionaste en un país con historia colonial como México, la estética europea tiene un valor superior a la estética local, y en el otro extremo la visión orientalista explota la estética “indígena” romantizando en el mejor de los casos un pasado histórico nacionalista y en el peor la proyección exótica del colonizador. De cualquier forma la estética local se vuelve invisible y se tiende a copiar la estética de uno de los dos extremos.

El diálogo por medio de las artes es una de las herramientas más efectivas para llevar a cabo el intercambio cultural. Todos hemos escuchado acerca del poder transformador del arte, de este lenguaje universal que abre las puertas del entendimiento mutuo y el respeto. Sin embargo las artes como expresión cultural que son, no están separadas de la identidad y por ende del género, la raza, la edad, etc., por lo tanto en proyectos donde artistas con diversas identidades culturales participan, el conflicto siempre está presente. Este es el trabajo que Arquetopia lleva a cabo, identificar el conflicto en el proceso creativo y de intercambio, y de forma proactiva renegociar las relaciones históricas de poder y opresión. Claro que este proceso no es infalible y cada proyecto artístico representa un reto, dependiendo del objetivo artístico, el contexto, la identidad de los artistas participantes, tanto locales como de otras nacionalidades, con toda la carga histórica, cultural y visiones políticas que esto conlleva. En pocas palabras Arquetopia funciona como amortiguador y hemos aprendido a negociar de forma asertiva reinvertiendo recursos en el desarrollo local con una perspectiva internacional. Todos nuestros proyectos tienen un enfoque social con énfasis en la calidad artística, van orientados a promover la sinergia y colaboración, y consideran la innovación, viabilidad, reciprocidad y el respeto a los saberes locales como factores indispensables del proceso creativo.

¿Cuál es el mayor reto que esta relación conlleva? ¿Cuales son los resultados que buscan obtener de este dialogo artístico?

El eje conceptual que rige todas nuestras decisiones es el Desarrollo Sostenible que expresamos a través de cuatro directrices que se expresan en todas nuestras actividades: la promoción de la conciencia social, la

corresponsabilidad, la innovación y la generación de redes locales. Ha sido un proceso largo de experimentación no sólo para de identificar los recursos locales, sino de selección de los artistas que son adecuados para los programas que ofrecemos y que se benefician al máximo de la experiencia de trabajar con nosotros.

Hemos desarrollado herramientas básicas que facilitan abordar el conflicto y minimizarlo. Por ejemplo Chris Davis, Co-director y fundador de Arquetopia, desarrolló un manual que explica a detalle rituales de la vida diaria que facilitan la convivencia. Por ejemplo como el tiempo en México es entendido de una forma distinta, como el saludar y decir gracias no son sólo una expresión de buenos modales, sino de reciprocidad y una herramienta muy efectiva que puede contribuir de manera significativa al desarrollo de los proyectos artísticos. Pero sin duda alguna el staff y patronato crean la estructura más efectiva que promueve el diálogo y el intercambio. Cada uno de los que colaboramos en Arquetopia tiene el cometido de ejercitar la propia conciencia social y estimular la de los demás, de compartir de forma generosa la información y los procesos, al mismo tiempo que reforzamos las relaciones basadas en la confianza y reciprocidad.

Nos interesa que los artistas comprendan que Puebla y Oaxaca y especialmente México no pueden ser reducidos a una imagen estereotípica y exótica. Esto como un ejemplo de la diversidad y complejidad que existe, no sólo en México sino en el mundo, especialmente en el análisis de problemáticas sociales. Que el paradigma “Norte-Sur”, “Occidente y el resto mundo”, “Centro-Periferia” es sólo un modelo pero no es la verdad. Queremos que los artistas asuman la gran responsabilidad que tienen al producir imágenes y nos interesa evidenciar los sistemas de explotación para evitar que sean utilizados como mecanismos de producción de la obra artística. Tal vez este último punto sea el mayor reto.

¿Cual es, en tu opinión, el papel que juegan las instituciones de arte en México en el impulso de las artes tradicionales?

El análisis de las instituciones de arte como sistema en México es muy complejo. Por un lado en México se invierte un poco más del 8% del PIB (producto interno bruto) en actividades culturales, sin embargo estas no necesariamente son consideradas actividades artísticas. Este es el caso de

las artes *tradicionales*, que muchas de ellas se han sido incorporadas a la vida cotidiana y cada vez se alejan más de los circuitos oficiales de las “bellas artes” como los museos y bienales de arte.

Es muy difícil que las instituciones de arte, especialmente oficiales, puedan desprenderse de la herencia colonial y en este sentido tomen conciencia de que favorecen sistemas de opresión históricos. Se sigue manteniendo la dicotomía “Indígena-Español” que coloca a los artistas exitosos en alguno de los dos extremos, casi como una pintura de castas.² Incluso en los sistemas oficiales de apoyo a las artes existen programas separados y que están dirigidos exclusivamente al “arte popular” o las “artesanías” por no considerarlas como parte de las artes. La realidad es que estos programas no estimulan la creatividad o innovación sino que se han convertido en sistemas de subsidio que obedecen a las tendencias contemporáneas de asumir culpas históricas y tratar de remediarlas de una forma superflua. Lo que hacen estas políticas culturales es romantizar el pasado tratando de preservarlo intacto e inamovible en las artes tradicionales, sin embargo limitándolas en acceso y recursos, impactando de forma directa el desarrollo de grupos minoritarios.

¿En términos de análisis contemporáneo, crees tú que la crítica del arte contemporáneo en México considera la producción de artistas de descendencia indígena?

Esta pregunta tiene varias respuestas dependiendo a qué crítico le preguntes. De forma estadística en teoría, sería posible determinar que artistas son de descendencia indígena porque así se auto identifiquen. Sin embargo la realidad es que la mayoría de la población en México es mestiza y la construcción de la identidad no se determina fundamentalmente a partir de la raza como en otros países.

Ahora bien si la pregunta va dirigida a hablar de las clases hegemónicas, si podemos hablar de que en un principio éstas fueron europeas e indígenas, y posteriormente fueron reemplazadas por las clases medias y altas criollas. Es importante recalcar que en México la discriminación es siempre por clase, y que además es un tema tabú del que generalmente no se habla. Esta discriminación puede ser mucho más rígida y mucho más profunda que el racismo, y es en este sentido las pinturas de castas son un fantasma que nos persigue y está presente incluso en la gestión de instituciones culturales.

Basta observar los curadores y artistas al frente de las instituciones oficiales que se autodefinen a través del proceso de diferenciación por clase. En contraste con muchos otros países los artistas en México son en su mayoría de clase privilegiada, pertenecientes a la clase media o media alta, algunos de padres extranjeros e incluso con doble nacionalidad, nuevamente una referencia a las pinturas de casta. Por supuesto que existe el otro extremo en el que los artistas hacen gala de su “pureza” indígena y explotan su imagen con un sentido publicitario y comercial.

Como lo explicaba en la introducción, el arte mexicano siempre encontró su voz en el campo de las “bellas artes” mundiales por medio de ideologías de doble conciencia colonial. ¿Crees tú que estos retos de identidad han cambiado? ¿Crees tú que las ideologías coloniales de identidad sigan afectando la producción del arte en México?

Es innegable que los retos de la identidad van cambiando con el tiempo. En términos generales, en México nos enfrentamos a retos distintos a los que se enfrentaron durante la colonia, o incluso durante el siglo XX. Sin embargo la herencia colonial no sólo es innegable sino visible. El problema no son los retos de la identidad, sino los sistemas de explotación y abuso que se han ido refinando con el tiempo.

Por supuesto que en México hemos superado errores históricos y “aprendido” la lección. La mayoría de los mexicanos, por ejemplo, reconocemos nuestro legado indígena y nos horrorizamos al presenciar la evidencia de los abusos que los conquistadores perpetraron a los conquistados. Incluso en algún momento de la historia este discurso se convirtió en el oficial dando origen a grandes movimientos artísticos como el muralismo.

El problema que sigue afectando la producción de arte en México es que reconocemos en la estética de occidente la verdad y la norma, y los artistas tienden a incorporar métodos de explotación en sus procesos creativos. Ya sea que los artistas se ubiquen en uno o en otro de extremos de la dicotomía que rige la identidad de los mexicanos, estos sistemas siguen presentes. En este sentido no hay mucha diferencia entre un grabado del siglo XVI sobre el exterminio en el continente americano, una pintura colonial sobre la inquisición y una instalación de Teresa Margolles y en el otro extremo un códice sobre las guerras floridas y un grabado de Francisco Toledo. Que

por cierto todas estas piezas además tienen en común que forman parte de importantes colecciones en Europa.

EMMANUEL ORTEGA is a Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of Art and Art History at the University of New Mexico. He received his masters’ degree in Art History in the Spring of 2010 from the *University of New Mexico* (UNM). His thesis explores images concerning inquisitorial public events known as autos-de-fe. These civic events took place in eighteenth century central New Spain. For his doctoral dissertation Ortega is investigating the history of eighteenth century Franciscan martyr images. He has participated in conferences in Mexico and the United States. In October of 2012 he presented in the XXXVI Coloquio Internacional de Historia del Arte, “*Los estatutos de la imagen: creación-manifestación-percepción*” of the Universidad Autónoma de México in Mexico City (UNAM). His presentation titled, “El ahuehuate de la noche triste como monumento histórico y sentimentalista” culminated in a digital publication of the *Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*. Presently, Ortega teaches art history in the *University of Nevada Las Vegas* (UNLV).

FRANCISCO JOSÉ GUE VARA ROBLES is the Executive Director of Arquetopia Foundation. Through the *Universidad Nacional de Estudios a Distancia* (UNED) of Madrid, Spain, Francisco received his title of Academic Expert in Management and Planning Cooperative Projects of Development in the Realm of Education, Science and Culture. He also received a post-graduate degree in Cultural Management and Communication from the *Facultad Latinoamericana de ciencias sociales* in Argentina. He also obtained a diploma from the prestigious *Cátedra Ferrán Adrià of the Universidad Camilo José Cela* of Spain. His works and projects emphasize the roll of contemporary art as a tool for social change and economic development. He has promoted several international cultural and artistic exchanges with Australia, Brasil, Ecuador, Hong Kong, México, Paraguay, Spain and the United States. As an artist, he explores the symbolic charge surrounding food and its rituals. He also delves into issues of identity and post-colonial residues by creating artistic metaphors, provoking actions and re-negotiating power relationships. Guevara has received many prestigious awards which include the patronage of Dolores Olmedo Patiño, *New Mexico Honor Award del American Institute of Architects (AIA)*, *AIA Albuquerque Honor Award* and *The Mexico Report 2012 Real Heroes of Mexico recognition*.

INTERVIEW

NOTES:

¹ Aquí me refiero aquí al que es considerado uno de los primeros libros de crítica de arte en México del siglo 19; *Dialogo sobre la historia de la pintura* de Berdardo Couto. Para más información refiérase al estudio introducido por Juana Gutierrez Haces, con notas de Rogelio Ruiz Gomar; José Bernardo Couto, Juana Gutiérrez Haces, and Rogelio Ruiz Gomar. 1995. *Diálogo sobre la historia de la pintura en México* (México, D.F.: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes).

² Francisco aquí se refiere a las pinturas que se produjeron como forma de inventario de castas de la Nueva España, principalmente hacia el siglo 18. Estas imágenes normalmente mostraban a una pareja heterosexual representando a dos castas distintas, y consecuentemente, el resultado de la mezcla de estas mismas; el hijo o hija de raza mixta. Su distribución predominó en la Península Ibérica. Para más información sobre las pinturas de castas, favor de referirse a, Carrera, Magali Marie. 2003. *Imagining identity in New Spain: race, lineage, and the colonial body in portraiture and casta paintings* (Austin: University of Texas Press).

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Each submission must be accompanied by a cover letter that prominently notes the title of the essay, the field of study to which it pertains, as well as a curriculum vitae that includes the author's status (e.g. M.A. / Ph.D. Student or Ph.D. Candidate), department, and institution name and location.

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- All images will be printed in black and white, except for those included in the Artist Spotlight Section. However, when possible images may be printed in color; but this is not guaranteed. If images are printed in color, their placement within the journal will be dictated by constraints related to printing.
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