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Myth and Monument in Old Town Albuquerque: Southwest Pietà and The War of Presiding Histories

Cover Page Footnote

Dedicated to my parents, Tomás and Tillie, who always remind me to be relentless and to tell our stories.

MYTH AND MONUMENT IN OLD TOWN ALBUQUERQUE: Southwest Pietà and the War of Presiding Histories

ERIC CASTILLO

*“The past is at its best when it takes us to places that counsel and instruct,
that show us who we are by showing us where we have been, that remind
us of our connections to what happened here”*

William Chapman (1979).

On January 18th, 1983, Texas-born artist Luis Jiménez (1940-2006) walked into a crowded Albuquerque Museum auditorium to face his critics. Over 100 Albuquerque residents attended the artist forum to hear Jiménez explain the concept for his sculpture. On display were the sketches and maquette of the controversial fiberglass sculpture *Southwest Pietà* proposed for Old Town. Rumors that the sculpture depicted the aftermath of a rape scene of Tiguex women by a Spanish conquistador circulated in the auditorium; however, only a handful of people had actually seen the image prior to its unveiling at the museum.

The Albuquerque community was decidedly torn between the proposed sculpture. On the one hand, many Old Town residents angrily opposed a “Mexican” themed sculpture so close to their residence; on the other hand, many people praised the artistry and culturally relevant images the sculpture depicted. Aware of the ongoing turmoil created by rumors and hearsay, Jiménez opened the forum by discussing his rationale for the sculpture in Old Town. For him, this image was emblematic of the Southwest and New Mexico because it acknowledged and converged deeply intertwined cultures and histories. But many audience members refused to accept his vision of the sculpture.

To understand why *Southwest Pietà* had such a powerful impact on Albuquerque communities, we must watershed the controversy

surrounding *Southwest Pietà* and explore how New Mexico's history induced so much debate. This article will make three fundamental claims about memory, history, and community and their ruminations in Old Town, Albuquerque. Firstly, the historical imaginings of Albuquerque and, more specifically, of a Spanish-themed Old Town render invisible, both discursively and visually, Native American history, Mexico's history in New Mexico, and mestizaje prevalent during New Mexico's colonial era. Secondly, *Southwest Pietà* countered this historical amnesia by carefully articulating New Mexico's transnational history aesthetically, literally, and conceptually. Jiménez leverages the multicultural *Pietà* to reconstruct a visual map of New Mexico history. Lastly, the "landscape memory" produced by, and to suit the needs and desires of, Spanish-identified residents was built on a history of the built environment and its semiotic language: San Felipe de Neri Church, the Albuquerque Museum, an Old Town map, and the bronze monument *La Jornada* (2005). The desire to control and maintain the landscape memory of Albuquerque's Old Town is necessary to the formation and perpetuation of community identity of Old Town's Spanish identity.

WHOSE *SOUTHWEST PIETÀ*?

Albuquerque's investment in public art dates back to the early 1980s, when "1% for the arts" projects blossomed across the United States. In 1981, Albuquerque's Art in Public Places board and the National Endowment for the Arts contributed a total of fifty thousand dollars for a public art installation in Old Town. With no parameters as to what the piece should represent, the city Arts Board searched for a suitable artist. According to Howard M. Kaplan, chairman of the Arts Board:

Luis Jiménez, internationally known artist, was selected to create a sculpture for the City of Albuquerque as part of the City's 1% For Art Program and the National Endowment for the Arts, Art in Public Places Grant. Mr. Jiménez was chosen by a jury of Art Experts from Albuquerque and the surrounding region as approved by the National Endowment. The jurors felt that Luis' Southwestern background and his experience with art in public places commissions in other cities made him particularly suitable for this project.¹

By this time, Jiménez had already completed his first public sculptures *Vaquero* (1980) and *Sodbuster* (1981) for Houston, Texas and Fargo, North Dakota, and had made a prominent name for himself in New York and the U.S. art world. Relocating to the Southwest in 1971, Jiménez claimed New Mexico as his second home.² Born in raised in El Paso, Texas, Jiménez had a unique bicultural perspective to both the U.S.-Mexico and Texas-New Mexico borderlands.

Jiménez first visited Tiguex Park, the intended site for the *Southwest Pietà*, across the street from the Albuquerque Museum in 1982. Jiménez stood atop the berm off 19th and Mountain Rd NW where he looked east and saw the Sandia mountains. He immediately made the connection between the twin mountains outside of Mexico City—Popocatepetl and Ixtaccihuatl—and the Sandias.³ Jiménez carefully researched his previous sites meticulously to gauge their histories, cultures, and communities prior to designing his public works. Jiménez first showed rough sketches of the proposed sculpture to a small group of Old Town residents and members of the art community in June 1982, prior to its unveiling in 1983. According to Jiménez, the majority of the viewers in attendance favored his sketches.⁴ He stated that he “only wanted to produce a strong sculpture that embodies symbols and imagery from the Southwest.”⁵ Jiménez drafted what he felt captures the various cultures of the land. In an unpublished document, Jiménez stated why he focused on indigenous imagery for the sculpture:

I think of my work as an homage to those Native Americans and their culture that the Hispanos and later the Anglos have incorporated into what we now consider the culture of the Southwest. This piece is an example of how these cultures relate to each other for while the persons portrayed are Native Americans, this particular image has become the most widely used Hispanic theme in the West and can be seen in popular art such as calendars, murals and custom cars.⁶

Thus, Jiménez skillfully articulated New Mexico’s mestizo roots and transnational heritage through imagery and by placing Native representation as central to New Mexico history. Jiménez’s statement about Hispanics and Anglos borrowing Native American culture is



Figure 1. Southwest Pietà 1984. Fiberglass 120” x 126” x 72.” Commission for City of Albuquerque, National Endowment for the Arts grant and City of Albuquerque 1% for Arts Funds. Photo by author.

important here; rather than trying to exalt a single culture’s legacy in New Mexico, Jiménez created *Southwest Pietà* to represent a lineage of cultures in the Southwest. The preliminary sketch of *Southwest Pietà* proved difficult to digest for a few Albuquerque residents. Although there was no resolution to the onslaught of attacks, Jiménez left the meeting knowing that *Southwest Pietà* would never find its resting place anywhere near Old Town. The city Arts Board eventually rescinded its approval to place *Southwest Pietà* in Old Town and formed a committee to review new locations. In March of 1983, the location for the sculpture was finally chosen in Martineztown, much to the happiness of most Albuquerque residents. Five years later, *Southwest Pietà* was placed in Longfellow Park. The final product was installed at the northwest corner of Longfellow Park in Martineztown in 1988 (see figure 1).

At first glance, we see an image of a dark-skinned man kneeling down with a woman lying in his arms. Surrounding them are an eagle, cacti, and a rattlesnake. Prominent colors in the sculpture are light and bright purples, brown, with hints of yellow, orange, red and blue. The bodies structured in the sculpture form a triangular shape as the woman forms the horizontal base and the male figure forms the diagonal lines that converge at the top of his head. Upon closer inspection, the two people’s

genders appear as man and woman and indigenous by phenotype and by external attributes. The man wears a feathered headband, which is the ceremonial garb of some Native American tribes. A purple cloth covers the woman's body from her cleavage to her ankle; the long wavy hair is symbolic of wisdom and long life in Mexican Native American cultures. The woman's body is arched, resembling a land mass. The eagle in the sculpture is emblematic of wisdom, nationhood, and power in U.S./Native American/Mexican cultures. One plant is a Mescál, a traditional kind of cactus popularized by Southwest Apaches (a local tribe historically tied to Albuquerque and New Mexico), also known as *Mescaleros*. The other is a maguey, a plant associated with Mexican cultural traditions and used for food and drink. The sculpture is perched upon a purple volcano with maguey cactus and is surrounded by a metal fence.

The indigenous couple in this sculpture invoke a popular myth about an Aztec warrior mourning his dead love. According to oral history, the Aztec gods were so moved by the two loves that they turned them into mountains so that they would remain together forever. These two mountains, located just outside of Mexico City, are named Popocatepetl and Ixtaccihuatl. In her analysis of *Southwest Pietà* and the Aztec myth Camille Flores-Turney writes, "[f]or Mexicans and Mexican American people, the image represents an acknowledgement of their cultures' Indian component and of the mixed-blood character of Americas in general."⁷ Jiménez stated that the *Southwest Pietà* "was meant as a tribute to the identity of any culture that has been lost or threatened by the dominant culture. It's the history of mankind really."⁸ Jiménez seems to be paying homage to Aztec mythology and a popular Mexican/Mexican American icon, which occurs at the expense of the female character. In addition, this multicultural image resists assimilationist rhetoric and can be seen as a decolonizing mechanism that includes—rather than excludes, eliminates, or misrepresents—historical memory.

Native imagery is central to the sculpture because it centers indigenous narratives often treated tertiary in Albuquerque history. The story line, the characters, and the geological symbols construct a contemporary visual narrative that challenges a major undercurrent in New Mexico's history—a fantasy, pastoral heritage writ large. Jiménez's vision was partly to rethink history and to refashion a more complete

story about the Southwest. Jiménez did so by utilizing *rasquachismo* sensibilities thematically and aesthetically in the sculpture. Jiménez incorporated an array of cultural images into *Southwest Pietà* in an attempt to recover historical accounts that recognize Native American communities as noble and autonomous.

The sculpture allows for what Guillermo Gómez-Peña refers to as a “multiplicity of voices, each speaking from a different part of [the] self” or the recognition of multiple histories that create multicultural identities. Jiménez does not muffle one culture, but layers both methodically into a constellation. Jiménez’s method is, I argue, a firm illustration of a borderlands aesthetic and follows suit with what Francesca González calls “trenzas [braids] of different analytical and experiential meanings”¹⁰ that allow multiple perspectives to connect and diverge at various moments, none isolated from another. Fusing or threading variant meanings and experiences offers a more pronounced view of the Southwest and, more importantly, American history. This braiding of histories, perspectives, and knowledges manifests in Jiménez’s *Southwest Pietà*. While it may seem illogical or incoherent to link the crucifixion of Christ with a “myth” of Aztec lovers, Jiménez links the associations between the two; rather than focusing on borders that isolate and exclude, he produces an image of the multicultural Southwest. While “History” may only reflect the story of “discovery, settlement, and civilization,” Jiménez pays careful attention to other histories caught up in the chaos of discourse. It is in the rearrangement of the voices of history—and not in their *forte* or silences—that *Southwest Pietà* functions as a more coherent and dynamic representation of history. Jiménez could only hope his sculpture would create a “democratic memory of their collective past.”¹¹ His most popular sculpture material (fiberglass) would offer a resounding example of a truly “democratic” message for working-class communities.

Jiménez’s *Pietà* also closely parallels the most famous *pietà* sculpture created by Michelangelo in 1499 for St. Peter’s Basilica in Rome. Michelangelo’s sculpture depicted the Virgin Mary carrying her dead son Jesus Christ, the Savior, after the Crucifixion. Made of white marble, Michelangelo’s *Pietà* helped create a canon of sculptures, along with *Apollo Belvedere*, whose qualities, according to Kirk Savage, were regrouped “not under the banner of antiquity but of whiteness—a whiteness emphasized by the engraver’s minimally hatched rendering of

the white marble...”¹² Classical sculpture has always been heavily relied on as a benchmark for whiteness and racial taxonomies.¹³ Jiménez’s awareness of whiteness of a marbled color and of monument building as a process of national and racial definition enabled him to create works of art that challenged our collective memory of racialized people in the Southwest.

Fiberglass, a more recent and local material used in Pop Art of the 1960s, is known for its application in kitsch items and automotive vehicles such as outdoor signs, low riders, and boats. Its ability to withstand weather like bronze is an added benefit. For Jiménez, fiberglass made a statement about its geographic and cultural context and allowed for the use of color and acrylic sheen. An American tradition grounded in a uniquely American time period, fiberglass made sculpture personal and more meaningful for American audiences. Thus, Jiménez contested the terrain of American sculpture by forcing art critics to look beyond traditional European sculpture and embrace the uniquely American sensibilities of fiberglass. *Southwest Pietà*, with its own sets of challenges and standards, brought to fruition Jiménez’s own understanding of America via fiberglass. Even today, his work continues to “move in directions that enable[d] him to comment on American society by using cherished images of the American past or its present as themes for his... sculptures.”¹⁴ Furthermore, the bright colors that Jiménez use in the sculpture illuminate Jiménez’s attempt to create public art that reflected the heritage and culture of the people it aimed to represent. Mexican and Chicana/o art and culture rely heavily on color as an aesthetic tradition. Red, green, blue, purple, and yellow are among the wide array of colors that are often used in retablos, paintings, and murals. In addition, low riders also subscribe to the same aesthetic values of color and form, with the clear intent to relish the gazes that passersby give. The associations between the fiberglass pietá image and the legendary mountains go beyond the Southwest. By coupling an iconic European Christian image with an Indigenous, Mexican popular legend, *Southwest Pietà* portrays human emotions that reach across race, class, or geography. Positioning Ixtaccihuatl in place of crucified Christ, Jiménez does double work of making sacred the woman’s body and immortalizing his personal convictions. A man of virtue and vice, Jiménez brought in his own trials and triumphs into his artwork.

A point of contention in Jiménez's rendering of the *pietà* landed on gender and cultural representation in *Southwest Pietà*. When analyzing the sculpture, one should wonder why Jiménez represented cultural erasure with the depiction of a dead woman. How do death and gender convey both a multicultural heritage of the southwest and an empowered female? The concern of female representation in the sculpture goes far beyond Jiménez's four marriages and extramarital affairs. The depiction of women in the sculpture leads us to a topic in Chicana/o studies that has been a central concern in the discipline for decades—the inclusion of women in a historically male-centered history and culture. Angie Chabram-Dernersesian, in her chapter “I Throw Punches for My Race, but I Don't Want to Be a Man: Writing Us--Chica-nos (Girl, Us)/Chicanas--until Movement Script” writes about a “politics of representation” that not only finds itself in *Southwest Pietà* but also in Chicano movement politics. Whether objectified through their gender and sexuality or eliminated from historical accounts of Chicano history, Chicanas have fought two (of many) battles that are entrenched in nationalism: American identity and Chicano cultural nationalism. As Chabram-Dernersesian states:

With this gender objectification, the silenced Other, Chicanas/hembras, are thus removed from full-scale participation in the Chicano movement as fully embodied, fully empowered U.S. Mexican female subject. They are not only engendered under machismo but their gender is disfigured at the symbolic level under malinchismo.¹⁵

Even though “Chicano” as a subject of inquiry has struggled to gain prominence in academic and other mainstream circles, Chicano subjectivity has been historicized at the expense of Chicana identity.¹⁶ Thus, the manifestation of gender “disfigurement” that pervades Chicano national discourse is depicted with the female body in *Southwest Pietá*.

Rather than portraying an equitable image of male and female mestizaje, Jiménez chose a popular yet masculinist icon that perpetuates the dominant male/passive female dichotomy. Chabram-Dernersesian critiques this Aztec imagery by stating that Chicana representation

should not be “...calendar Aztec princess[es], who hung like ornaments on the laps of their mates in an untouched paradisiacal landscape...”¹⁷ but as a “barrage of mixed popular cultural practices” –or, “mujeres Valientes.”¹⁸ Sandra Cisneros, in *Woman Hollering Creek* (1991), also tackles the topic of beauty and male-centered representation in her piece titled “Bien Pretty.” The semi-autobiographical narrative ends with a powerful reconfiguration of Popo and Isla that inverts the male and female bodies. Cisneros writes:

Got a good idea and redid the whole thing. Prince Popo and Princess Ixta trade places. After all, who’s to say the sleeping woman isn’t the prince, and the voyeur the princess, right? So I’ve done it my way. With Prince Popocatépetl lying on his back instead of the Princess. Of course, I had to make some anatomical adjustment in order to simulate the geographical silhouettes. I think I’m going to call it *El Pipi del Popo*. I kind of like it.¹⁹

Cisneros’ satirical reconfiguration is a play on the function of the male gaze. By inverting the two bodies, the female’s breasts could no longer create the slopes and mounds that give form to the mountains. So, the male’s crotch becomes the object of the fe/male gaze and renders the male the sexual object of the image. In addition, by placing the female upright and the male on his back, the power dynamic shifts tremendously; it offers a different type of gender representation for the iconic Aztec myth.

THE CONTROVERSY

The Old Town Founders Group, led by long-time resident and advocate Mille Santillanes, did not find *Southwest Pietà* emblematic of love or southwest cultures. In fact, Santillanes became the most vocal opponent of the sculpture. Santillanes voiced her disdain for *Southwest Pietà* on “cultural” difference (although her arguments are more racial) and what she claimed as historical inaccuracies and argued that the sculpture was wrong for Old Town. In addition to her fear of the impermanence of fiberglass and that Jiménez was not New Mexican and therefore could not understand the state’s heritage, she argued that Mexico’s impact on New Mexico was brief and therefore overshadowed by Spain’s lasting presence. By questioning Jiménez’s history, “How long did the Mexican

flag fly over New Mexico? Twenty-four years. How long did the Spanish flag fly? Over 300 years.”²⁰ Santillanes diminished Mexico’s influence relative to Spain. She refused to acknowledge that Mexican culture could thrive long after U.S. occupation.

If Santillanes had not based her argument on longevity, we could have found her argument (that the sculpture does not represent Old Town) as potentially viable; but by claiming “native” heritage to the land, Santillanes revealed her very personal investment in protecting Spanish heritage in Albuquerque. If she acknowledged the multiculturalism of Mexico, of the colonizers of Old Town, and of *Southwest Pietà*, Santillanes would disprove her claims to Spanish heritage.²¹ Historically, Spanish Americans (*criollos*) distanced themselves from Mexican Americans and Native Americans in order to establish their claim to whiteness. The privileges of property ownership, voting rights and legal representation (among others) were contingent upon phenotypic and racial categorizations.²² Laura Gómez writes that “whiteness operated as a palliative to soften the sting of changing from colonial subjects to colonial objects.”²³ This distancing power reproduces similar colonial relationships that sever communities of color throughout New Mexico and the United States into the present day. In an interview with Shifra Goldman for his 1994 “Man on Fire” retrospective exhibition, Jiménez talks specifically about the classism and racism that permeates New Mexico identity politics: “It’s a class distinction and is used to divide the Hispanic community. [Spanish residents] were the aristocracy, and are conservative...[t]hey do not see themselves as part of the larger Mexican-American community...[Thus the sculpture] wasn’t site specific but about agendas...[The image] was just too Mexican.”²⁴

Millie Santillanes’ narrative distraction kept proponents of Jiménez’s sculpture busy by arguing against her interpretation. Instead of focusing on the real issue at hand—Old Town residents’ rejection of an indigenous image that countered Spanish colonial history in Albuquerque—community members fought over how to make sense of the highly personalized meaning of *Southwest Pietà*. Some Native Americans used the image to recover their history in the Southwest. Some Chicanas/os and Mexicanas/os used the image to recognize Mexico’s influence in New Mexico. Some Spanish Americans used the image to harden the discourse protecting the legacy of Spanish

colonialism in Albuquerque. Distracted in their attempts to “educate” each other about their views and concerns, each community lost sight of the main point of the sculpture—in the midst of difference, issues of history, community, and memory are a human concern more so than a racial or cultural one. Although Old Town and Spanish colonialism in Albuquerque could be seen as the dominant culture, in the large schema of race, community, and history in the United States, Spanish Americans and New Mexico have had a long and ever-present enduring battle in its inclusion into the national fabric of American history.

In the end, *Southwest Pietà* found a home at Longfellow Park in Martineztown. Known for its largely Mexican working-class population, many people felt that (for many different reasons) Martineztown seemed to be the best fit for Jiménez’s sculpture. Many of the advocates for *Southwest Pietà* proposed this location instead of Old Town because they did not want Albuquerque to lose out on having a sculpture created by such a prominent artist. More importantly, the sculpture offered a significant historical correction that many Martineztown residents felt Albuquerque needed. Unfortunately, its location is tucked away in a park overshadowed by an elementary school, a hospital, and a residential area. Its visibility and impact in Albuquerque would have been more widespread in Tiguex Park, instead the audience is limited to those who live in Martineztown or know about the park. All the while, Old Town preserved its image and the master’s tools succeeded in dividing the Albuquerque communities. But this story does not end here. To fully understand the controversy of Jiménez’s sculpture and the divisive nature of New Mexico identity politics, we must further explore the relationship between history and the land.

MEMORY

The *Southwest Pietà* controversy prompts us to ask: What is Old Town’s role in preserving Albuquerque’s historical memory? Does the community that Old Town represents have an advantage in writing their stories onto the land? What are the tools necessary in rooting memory to the land? How does the landscape reconcile competing historical narratives? How does *Southwest Pietà* challenge Old Town’s landscape narrative? These questions are necessary for understanding the production of landscape memory—the shifting narrative that

obstructs the visual historical record of the land. By applying the idea of landscape memory to Old Town, we can see how Spanish residents built their environment—their “memorial landscape”²⁵—to legitimate a perceived cultural-national identity binding them to the past.

Landscape is an invented social space that is used to build community on the differences of others. In addition, landscape serves various imperial desires such as claiming physical and ideological control over land, presenting and representing acceptable citizenry, constructing national identity, and authoring an acceptable historical record of presence in the land. Landscapes function similarly (but with an imperialist bent) to the idea of place. Described by Michael de Certeau as “practiced spaces,”²⁶ place and place-making construct history and fashion a novel way of documenting a community’s links to the land. Keith Basso states that place-making is “a universal tool of the historical imagination”²⁷ and that it “consist[s] of an adventitious fleshing out of historical material that culminate in a posited state of affairs, a particular universe of objects and events—in short a place-world—wherein portions of the past are brought into being.”²⁸ Hence, place-making is central to developing a community identity and a sense of belonging to the land.

Memory gives meaning to the present by invoking the past; but the process of remembering is highly political and mediated. A narrative of an event rather than its replica,²⁹ memory involves a series of repetitious acts that make history durable. As Moore and Meyerhoff write, “The repetitive insists and may even persuade that its messages are durably true, now and in the future. It gives information that affairs and states, attitudes and understandings are stable; we may count on them, make plans in terms of them.”³⁰ In the context of New Mexico and Old Town, “the repetitive” embeds itself in annual Founders’ Day celebrations, *fiestas*, and public art. By reviving memories in very public ways, their inauthenticity goes unchallenged and thus creates troubling views of history that caused uproar for Jiménez’s *pietà*.

To understand the relationship between monuments and memory, we must explore what monuments *do* for their public. Kirk Savage states “Monuments emerged within a public sphere that communicated between actual communities of people and the abstract machinery of the nation-state. Monuments were one space in which local communities based on geography or interest or both could define themselves and speak

to or for the larger collective.”³¹ As permanent markers of constructed identity, monuments infuse prevailing ideologies with communities who relate to the image at hand. Both monuments and memory, or monumental memory, shape the cultural, racial, and social terrain of Old Town Albuquerque in implicit ways allowing for a cohesive historical account of New Mexico.

Old Town is the locus of several memorials that remind visitors of Albuquerque’s Spanish colonial history. Although catering to the tourism industry that is crucial to New Mexico’s economy, these memorials serve are important for Spanish residents of Albuquerque. As a self-sustaining living monument, Old Town establishes historical ties and very clear “sites of memory.” This site of memory³² binds the Hispano community to their imagined Spanish community³³ and enshrines them with discursive power over the landscape. Frank G. Pérez and Carlos F. Ortega³⁴ contend that public art can “distort...history and exemplif[y] Eurocentric framing of Southwest colonization, which Carey McWilliams has called the region’s ‘fantasy heritage.’”³⁵ Old Town—its *Jornada* monument (discussed later in this article) and as a monument itself—furtheres Pérez’s and Ortega’s claims about the discursive power of public art. In fact, the monumental images discussed later in this article reify and naturalize Spanish colonial heritage in elicited and explicit ways. Monuments are powerful forms of memory production. By placing monuments in Old Town, Albuquerque city officials hoped to showcase New Mexico history. They would also create a unified voice for Old Town while circumventing the complexities of history. By placing monumental value and size in *Southwest Pietá*, Jiménez confronted and challenged the surrounding monuments that silence Native American and Mexican American histories that helped shape Albuquerque.

HISTORY’S IMPRINT ON THE LAND

From as far north as Bernalillo to as far south as Isleta Pueblo, Tewa Natives inhabited the land formally known as Tiguex for over five hundred years prior to the arrival of the Spanish.³⁶ Migrating from higher ground to Tiguex in the 1300s,³⁷ Tewa Natives established a long history with the land. Rooting themselves not in a built environment but with respect toward the volcanos, rivers, and the soil, they did not claim ownership of the land, but rather developed a reciprocal relationship

with it.³⁸ Even though intertribal relations were not always peaceful, indigenous communities were able to coexist. Pueblos and nomadic tribes such as Navajos, Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches combatted for resources with violence as an inevitable consequence.³⁹ But Native people shared an indigenous philosophy of land rights and understood that land resources were gifts to cherish, not commodities to exploit. But an unavoidable clash of cultures soon promised to unravel indigenous life in New Mexico. Although European colonization had not yet infiltrated the northeastern United States, European colonizers came northward through Mexico with hopes of creating their own empire.

Spanish influence in New Mexico extends back to 1539 when the Spanish Crown authorized an expedition northward under the leadership of Fray Marcos de Niza.⁴⁰ Pueblo oral history notes that this was the first encounter with a non-Native population.⁴¹ In 1540 another expedition led by Francisco Vásquez de Coronado brought the Spanish in contact with Zuni Pueblo.⁴² In search of fantastic cities laden with gold that de Niza reported back to the Spanish Crown, Coronado found nothing but farming villages and thousands of Native dwellers that outnumbered the Spanish settlers.⁴³ Pueblo houses were created in clusters overlapping each other connecting families to one another. Built from natural products such as sand, clay, water, and straw, Pueblo houses were a far cry from golden palaces that de Niza claimed to discover.

In 1598, Juan de Oñate extended Spanish control past Tiguex and into northern New Mexico. Ordered by the royal crown to establish a proprietary colony along the Rio Grande, Oñate set out to establish New Spain's presence in the newfound territory.⁴⁴ Of the 130 colonizers accompanying Oñate, there were thirteen married couples and the rest were single male soldiers.⁴⁵ Upon reaching the village of Ácoma, colonizers encountered stalemates, conflicts, and even some cooperation from Ácoma natives.⁴⁶ However, not all Natives accepted this new regime of power; during Oñate's tenure conflict and unrest with Native Pueblos swelled. After various clashes and battles, most specifically the three-day battle in 1599, Oñate ordered soldiers to sever the right foot of twenty-four Ácoma men over the age of 25 and ordered over six hundred men to serve twenty years of slavery.⁴⁷ As a result of Oñate's violent forms of subservience, Native populations resist memorializing such a tyrant. However, many Spanish Americans today celebrate his

efforts to establish the first Spanish capital of Ohkay Oweenge (San Juan Pueblo). Remembering Oñate in such a light helps create and sustain a Spanish colonial narrative of rights and rootedness to the land. This narrative, however, is not only represented in historic buildings such as the San Felipe de Neri Church or regal facades, but also in inventing traditions and epic stories of “discovery” and “civilization.”

Spanish colonialism was challenged by various Native groups on many fronts. Because Franciscan priests demonized indigenous religions and forbade the practice of kiva ceremonies and ritual dances, Natives felt their community identity threatened. Between 1608-1680, Ácoma Pueblo’s population fell almost by forty-three thousand.⁴⁸ With the onslaught of forced labor, a dwindling population, and forced assimilation, Ácoma Pueblo knew they had to rebel. Under the leadership of Native Pohé-yemo (better known as Po’pay or Popé), several Pueblos organized a tactical assault on Spanish colonizers.⁴⁹ The Great Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the most organized and successful revolt by Native Americans in the Southwest, forced Spanish settlers, conquistadores, and families to leave New Mexico and relocate to El Paso for at over twelve years.⁵⁰ Spanish presence eventually found its way back at the Santa Fe capital in 1692 under the leadership of Diego de Vargas Zapata y Luján Ponce de Leon as Pueblo resistance waned. De Vargas passed away in 1704, and in March of 1705, Francisco Cuervo y Valdez was appointed to govern New Mexico.⁵² Continuing the settlement process started by de Vargas, Cuervo y Valdez founded more towns and on April 23, 1706 the Villa de Alburquerque de San Felipe de Neri was founded.

According to Tomás Atencio, Cuervo y Valdez was bound by the Spanish 1512 *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias* and the *Leyes de Burgos* that afforded the newly established Villa rights and privileges.⁵³ In order to be recognized as a Spanish colony, Atencio lists the criterion had to be met: “A minimum of thirty families receiving a community land grant and private lots for gardens and a dwelling were to have settle the initial Villa. A Plaza de Armas had to be laid out. A church and government buildings were to be part of the Plaza. A cabildo, town council, was to govern the new town.”⁵⁴ But none of the requirements were met by the settlers. In fact, no more than fifteen families were part of the original establishment of Albuquerque. Over time, Albuquerque became the center of Spanish traditions, customs, and community

governed by Spanish elites, politicians, and soldiers. Although there had been Tewa Natives residing on the land long before Spanish settlement, the land was carved out for community and personal interests and allotted in land grants to Spanish settlers. By 1812, Albuquerque's population reached roughly 40,000 and diversified among Spaniards, Pueblo Natives, genízaros, and mestizos.⁵⁵ While New Mexico was growing in numbers, in New Spain (now Mexico) resistance against the Spanish Crown culminated into The Mexican War of Independence (1812-1821). After the overthrow of the Spanish Crown in 1821, New Mexico became a territory of newly independent Mexico.

New Mexico saw another change in power in 1848 when the United States overthrew Mexico and claimed New Mexico as a federal territory (in 1850) under the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. Because of the relatively low EuroAmerican population in New Mexico, the territory did not receive statehood until 1912. Laura E. Gómez writes that proponents for the New Mexico territory had to develop a “progressive racial narrative”⁵⁶ in order to establish a legitimate claim for statehood. New Mexico's delegate to Congress Lebaron Bradford Prince lobbied articulately for New Mexico's inclusion into the United States by situating the land's history not with the narratives of Mexican or Native history, but within the competing narrative of Spanish colonialism—a more fashionable history that mirrored the colonization of the northeastern United States.⁵⁷ Over the years Albuquerque grew in size and population, especially with the advent of Spanish, Mexican, Native, and European migration. With the Santa Fe Railroad crossing into Raton crossings in 1878, New Mexico became a new landing strip for migration westward. By 1880, the railroad accelerated the gentrification process in Albuquerque that altered community relations. This process shifted non-whites into newly-established local predominantly-Mexican neighborhoods such as Los Griegos, Barelás, Los Duranes, and Martineztown.⁵⁸

Spanish Americans in Albuquerque felt the pressure to maintain their community identity in the midst of gentrification and transformation. Old Town resurfaced again as the crux that reinforced their ties to the land and served as the touchstone for their community history. Phillip Gonzales writes in *Expressing New Mexico* that “[Spanish American's or Hispano's] community of memory rose to prominence between the 1890s

and the 1930s, when the Nuevomexicanos came to a sharp awareness of their ancestry, which they compacted within the territorial bounds of New Mexico.”⁵⁹ More specifically, Spanish Americans’ “community of memory” sharpened its focus on Old Town, Albuquerque by using the plaza to perform their Spanish heritage and inaugurating Old Town as a sacred space.⁶⁰ As a result of this performance, the Spanish legacy in Albuquerque grew in strength, both discursively and economically, as Old Town became the “center” of the town. Annual fiestas that were created as early as 1706 and 1712 to commemorate Coronado, Oñate (known as the *reconquista*, or reconquest), influence Hispano assertions of culture and identity in Albuquerque today.⁶¹ Dressed in conquistador regalia, Hispanos fill the streets to reenact the settling of New Mexico and the formation of local Hispano identity. These fiestas create what Sylvia Rodriguez writes as “a ritual event that enacts collective and individual identities while achieving *communitas* through a mixture of resistant and accommodationist practices.”⁶² In the case of Old Town, Hispanos “resist” Native American presence in Albuquerque’s Spanish history while “accommodating” for the capitalist market by allowing Native Americans to sit on the concrete floors surrounding the plaza to sell their wares. Old Town, as a “home...and a stage for the exercise of power,”⁶³ was well equipped to attract consumers and build itself as a formidable contender in Albuquerque’s capitalist market. In fact, Old Town itself functioned as its own capitalist market, bound by a romance and nostalgia for things remembered. Remembrance of Native American life was rendered picturesque, a staged interaction that made them living vessels of a culture that once was. This allowed for their relative elimination from Old Town history by controlling their presence in a fabricated past. Any claims to authority Native Americans’ products and actions engendered was diminished when compared to Old Town’s powerful presence.

Old Town maintains its stake as the original site of Albuquerque through various functions and social events. Annual Founders Day events fill the streets to honor the “thirty” families that settled Albuquerque in 1706. Organized by the Old Town Founders Group, founded by Millie Santillanes, this celebration memorializes the contributions by the Spanish Crown in establishing Albuquerque. Included in the celebration is a re-enactment of Oñate’s journey



Figure 2. Map of Old Town Albuquerque New Mexico.

northward into northern New Mexico. Performing 1706 endows Old Town residents with a powerful claim to the land and an overriding power that subsumes Native, Mexican, and, at times, U.S. ties to the land. Today, Old Town functions similarly to what Setha Low writes about plazas as “a contested terrain of cultural meaning, providing an example of how cultural meanings of the past are presented and represented in the built environment.”⁶⁴

ONE IMAGE, MANY MEANINGS

Given the contentious history performed through Hispano ritual in Old Town, it is no surprise that Jimenez’s *pietà* was met with equally contentious views about his sculpture’s historical meaning. Reception of the *Southwest Pietà* demonstrates the very personal and political associations between history-making, memory-making, and community-making. For instance, Ellen Landis, then director of the

Albuquerque Museum, expressed her shock at the outrageous claims made about the initial sketches. Although aware of the controversy prior to the forum, Landis did not expect such an outpouring of anger and resentment toward Jiménez's sculpture. An art historian by education, Landis saw the sculpture's remarkable aesthetic and innovative use of materials.⁶⁵ For her, *Southwest Pietà* demonstrated Jiménez's ability to transcend traditional models of sculpture and European art. Frank Martinez, life-time resident of Martineztown Albuquerque, attended the forum in support of Jiménez. For him, "the Mexican influence played a significant role in the development of the city...It is only fitting that the statement be made in [Martineztown] that has struggled to maintain its Mexican heritage."⁶⁶ Predominantly a Mexican-American working-class neighborhood, Martineztown was created by migrant workers coming north to work on the railroads. Thus, for him the sculpture would recuperate this significant portion of New Mexico history. In response to the controversy surrounding his sculpture, Luis Jiménez was struck by the (at times) violent outbursts in and out of the museum. He maintained his composure and defended his position. It was more than just a sculpture about a Mexican myth, it was about universal emotions of love and mourning. He chose an image people of several ethnic categories understood give his replication of imagery in calendars, restaurants, murals or heard in storytelling. His *Pietà* made the mundane monumental and it places competing histories into a single story that did not contradict one other. In fact, his sculpture served as proof that our divergent views on history—once pieced together—can serve as an expression of another greater story about life along the Rio Grande. Although three of the four perspectives are shared among Hispanics, their perspectives are influenced by how they *culturally* identify: Spanish in Santillanes' case, Mexicano in Martinez's case, and Chicano in Jiménez's case. The way each person understood their identity and relationship to one another shaped how they made meaning of *Southwest Pietà*.

Luis Jiménez knew that identity is contingent and differential. As Lila Abu-Lughod states, we are all always "standing on shifting ground [that] makes it clear that every view is a view from somewhere and every act of speaking, a speaking from somewhere."⁶⁷ Donna Haraway also writes that, as situated knowledge,⁶⁸ "truth" and knowledge are

produced based on our position as partially-informed spectators of history. Thus, the four acts of knowing and speaking mentioned above are partial truths that must be articulated in conjunction with each other. In the case of Albuquerque, three public arenas, or three “acts of knowing,” shape the landscape memory of Old Town Albuquerque. According to Benedict Anderson the census, the museum, and the map help shape how hegemonic powers imagine the geography of their dominion, the nature of the people it governs, and the legitimacy of its ancestry.⁶⁹ The tourist map (see figure 2) sets the parameters for Old Town, which includes the church, the museum, the sculpture garden, the plaza, shopping areas, and an elementary school. Not included in the map is Tiguex Park, directly across the street from the Albuquerque Museum. The map only highlights specific monuments and public places that offer a visual register of Spanish heritage. Places or locations that are not aligned with the Spanish history, included Nora Naranjo-Morse’s *Numbe Whageh* (2005) and Los Duranes, a working-class Mexican American neighborhood on Rio Grande Blvd. and I-40, are either left as unnamed spots or left out completely. Museums are contested spaces where multiple communities—many in the name of nationalism—attempt to write their history into the present. Most, if not all, museums are shaped and influenced by identity politics and difference. Although the Albuquerque Museum is not in question, its presence as an author and guarantor of Old Town’s homogenous and “unified” history must be considered.⁷⁰ Spanish-identified residents’ goals in sustaining their narrative of cultural-nationalism “require[s] that the public museum support this singularity by condensing and reconfiguring its practices, smoothing out differences and promoting unity, and ignoring contradictions that did not fit the singular image of the nation and the citizen.”⁷¹ Thus, the museum apparatus in Old Town hardens the discourse of Spanish heritage by ignoring difference and projecting a unified historical account of Albuquerque.

I contend that some of the plaza’s sculptures could be read as a census of Old Town’s community. As mentioned earlier, Oldtown residents are highly selective of the images that represent their community and their history. Public art can be understood as a “representative sample” of Old Town residents. The Spanish colonists, settlers, and soldiers of the past are re-presented via the sculptures. This visual census proves

Old Town's claim as a Spanish community. The equestrian sculpture of Juan de Oñate successfully (and overtly) on the northwest corner of Old Town compounds this Spanish history. Celebrating this iconic figure has very profound and dramatic implications. As Michael Trujillo suggests, memorializing Oñate speaks to "Nuevomexicanos' struggle to retain their community's integrity. Moreover, this nostalgia is constituted in a discourse field long dominated by Anglo America."⁷² Oñate's sculpture in Old Town memorialized Spanish heritage while and repressing "the reality of their own subjugation" (2008, 104) in an Anglo-dominant society.

Betty Sabo's and Reynaldo "Sonny" Rivera's *La Jornada*⁷³ (2005) [figures 3-5 on next pages] sculpture "manufactur[es] its own public"⁷⁴ —and portrays the "harmonious" relationship between Europeans and Natives. Partitioned into five sections, *La Jornada* reenergizes the story of Spanish settlement in New Mexico. The first section depicts a Spanish conquistador understood to represent the controversial figure of Oñate. Flanking him are two soldiers scouting forward and looking back, a Native male serving as a guide, and a friar kneeling down for prayer or penitence. Just behind this ensemble are a Spanish man hoisting a lamb upon his shoulders (reminiscent of the iconic "good shepherd") and a Spanish woman with child riding a donkey (also reminiscent of the European image of Madonna and child). Off to the side are women tending to children while several rams and lambs follow along. Following the animals is a conquistador herding livestock, a man on horseback attempting to pull an oxcart out from the ground, and two men pushing the cart from behind.

This gendered and socially hierarchical image embodies the racial and social makeup of sixteenth century New Mexico. While the monument clearly documents specific gender roles, the racial and social "roles" are implied with the Native present merely as a guide and two men dressed in civilian clothing at the tail end of the monument doing manual labor. Moreover, *La Jornada* demonstrates how art reflects dominant values while tacitly and tactfully tokenizing "other" perspectives. Taken together, this monument exemplifies the Spanish presence while rendering Native Americans' presence as singular. The journey northward, as depicted in the monument, eliminates the messy history of contact and contention and only shows a harmonious



Figure 3. La Jornada 2005. Bronze sculpture. Various dimensions. Betty Sabo and Reynaldo “Sonny” Rivera. City of Albuquerque 1% for Arts Funds and private donations. Photo by author.



Figure 4. La Jornada 2005. Bronze sculpture. Various dimensions. Betty Sabo and Reynaldo “Sonny” Rivera. City of Albuquerque 1% for Arts Funds and private donations. Photo by author.



Figure 5. *La Jornada* 2005. Bronze sculpture. Various dimensions. Betty Sabo and Reynaldo “Sonny” Rivera. City of Albuquerque 1% for Arts Funds and private donations. Photo by author.

relationship between the Spanish colonizers and the Native(s). As Michael Trujillo writes, these public symbols are “shaped by social relations and has more to do with the present American era than with the colonial period.”⁷⁵ By silencing the ethnic and cultural diversity of colonial New Mexico, *La Jornada* maintains the symbolic order of Spanish Old Town and asserts a stringent narrative that teeters between the multicultural southwest and a strong Spanish legacy. *La Jornada* honored New Mexico’s 400-hundred-year celebration, “*el Cuarto Centenario*,” in 1998. Together with Nora Naranjo-Morse’s⁷⁶ *Numbe Whageh (Our Center Place)* earth sculpture (2005) [see figure 6 on next page], these artworks costed \$700,000. Their location was moved from berm at Tiguex Park—the initial proposed site of Jiménez’s *Southwest Pietà* — to the sculpture garden at the Albuquerque Museum.⁷⁷

The Arts Board intended the monument to represent the relationship between Natives and Spaniards prior to and post Conquest. Including a Native artist and “the Native experience” into the memorial for the *Cuarto Centenario* was an attempt to represent various cultures



Figure 6. Numbe Whageh earth sculpture various dimensions. Nora Naranjo-Morse. City of Albuquerque 1% for Arts Funds. Photo by author.

into one historical narrative. The problem was that it constructed the Native presence within (or as as actor of) Spanish history, leaving out their own historical narrative. Naranjo-Morse felt that her role was merely an effort to create the tri-cultural effect and only tokenized the Native perspective. Much like the *Southwest Pieta*, *La Jornada* and *Numbe Whageh* sparked heated debates about identity politics and matters of inclusion in New Mexico history.⁷⁸ After much controversy about matters of representation, both the bronze monument and the earth sculpture were installed in the sculpture garden. If Jiménez's sculpture had been placed in Tiguex Park directly across the street from Sabo's and Rivera's monument, then the two works would have sparked a war over presiding histories. This space could have engineered what Santillanes so fearfully projected—a dialogical battleground severing Old Town from the land and providing a more accurate historical census. *Southwest Pietà* would have challenged (both discursively and visually) the colonial Spanish Old Town legacy which rendered Native American identity and culture as a nostalgic *historical* time period. So, city leaders tucked Jimenez and his sculpture a mile away in a secluded park, away from the prominent Old Town stronghold.

Since the Old Town tourist map does not even include Tiguex

Park, the dispute over *Southwest Pietà* turned into an issue of proximity. Having an image so close to Old Town would potentially serve as a counter discourse to the town's Spanish origin story and according to Santillanes, "We founded this city...there wasn't even a wheel here"⁷⁹ (quoted in June-Frisen 2005). Santillanes was partially correct in her statement; prior to Spanish conquest, there were no wheels, no churches, or no monuments. Natives did not attach themselves to a built environment, but to the land itself. But Spaniards saw the land as potential for empire, not a source of identity. So, if historians of Albuquerque and New Mexico want to know the story of the land, they must recognize that wisdom sits in places,⁸⁰ not in the built environment. Thus, the most enduring legacy of Old Town is its hybridity—not its homogeneity.

Southwest Pietà was dangerous knowledge for Old Town, Albuquerque. It challenged the historical memory, it illuminated a Mexican and Native connection to the land, and it offered a hybrid image that crossed aesthetic, historical, and conceptual borders. When Luis Jiménez accepted the commission, he did not anticipate any controversies and accusations. The past was waiting for Jiménez when he came to New Mexico; a past unacknowledged, unexplored, and untold in Old Town. *Southwest Pietà* was a correction to Old Town history. It did not claim homogeneity or "truth" as *La Jornada* or the Oñate sculpture, but it represented the hybrid, diverse, and transnational experiences of the Southwest via culture, story, and the land. Jiménez knew he could never fully represent an entire community with his art; Albuquerque's cultural politics have divided its community for centuries. But in the end, his sculpture was a testament to the vibrance of life in the Southwest; the images and stories he told in *Southwest Pietà* meant to capture the universal emotions felt by humankind undivided by race or culture.

NOTES

¹ Kaplan, "Public Forum for the Luis J[e]menez Sculpture at the Museum of Albuquerque," 1983.

² Birmingham, Interview with Luis Jiménez. 1985.

³ Mazur, "Artist Says Piece Meant To Convey Ancient Love Tale," C1 and C9.

⁴ "Proposed Sculpture For Old Town Park Sparks Objections." 1B.

⁵ Ibid.

- ⁶ Jimenez, Luis. Unpublished document in possession of author, no date.
- ⁷ Flores-Turney, Howl, 24.
- ⁸ Ibid.
- ⁹ Gómez-Peña, *Warrior for Gringostroika*, 21.
- ¹⁰ González, “Formations of Mexicananess: Trenzas de identidad múltiples/ Growing Up Mexicana: Braids of Multiple Identities,” 81-102.
- ¹¹ Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, 5.
- ¹² Ibid, 9.
- ¹³ Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 1981.
- ¹⁴ Quirarte, *Mexican American Artists*, 120.
- ¹⁵ Chabram-Dernersesian, “I Throw Punches for My Race but I Don’t Want to Be a Man: Writing Us—Chica-Nos (Girl, Us) Chicanas—into the Movement Script.” 83.
- ¹⁶ One can look at Gonzales’ “Yo Soy Joaquin” to see the history of Chicana identity relegated to “black shaw women” with no names.
- ¹⁷ Chabram-Dernersesian, 89.
- ¹⁸ Chabram-Dernersesian, 91.
- ¹⁹ Cisneros, *Woman Hollering Creek and Other Stories*, 163.
- ²⁰ “Is Disputed Statue ‘too Mexican?’,” 1A.
- ²¹ Millie Santillanes’ claim to Spanish descent goes far beyond the fact that she was born and raised in Old Town, Albuquerque. Rosalia Durán, Millie’s mother, was of the Durán and Montoya families that founded “Albuquerque” in 1706. (See http://www.nmhcpl.org/Remembering_Millie_Santilla.html).
- ²² For more information on this topic, please review Ian Haney-López’s 1997 book *White by Law*.
- ²³ Gómez, *Manifest Destinies*, 86.
- ²⁴ Jiménez, *Man on Fire*, 28.
- ²⁵ For a nuanced discussion on “memorial landscape” see Kirk Savage’s *Monument Wars: Washington. D.C., the National Mall, and the Transformation of Memorial Landscape* 2009.
- ²⁶ de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 117.
- ²⁷ Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, 5.
- ²⁸ Ibid, 6.
- ²⁹ Sturken, *Tangled Memories*, 1997.
- ³⁰ Gonzales, *Expressing New Mexico*, 201.
- ³¹ Savage, 6.
- ³² Gonzales, 2007.
- ³³ Anderson, 2006.
- ³⁴ Pérez and Ortega, “Mediated Debate, Historical Framing, and Public Art,” 121-140.
- ³⁵ McWilliams, Meier, *North From Mexico*, 1990.
- ³⁶ Fowles, “The Making of Made People: The Prehistoric Evolution of Hierocracy Among the Northern Tiwa of New Mexico” 2004.
- ³⁷ Atencio, *Social Change and Community Conflict in Old Albuquerque*, New Mexico, 33.
- ³⁸ Hewett, *The Pueblo Indian World*, 34.
- ³⁹ William B. Carter’s *Indian Alliances and the Spanish in the Southwest, 750-1750*

(University of Oklahoma Press, 2009) offers an expansive history of inter-tribal relations and how natural resources (water, food, raw materials, fertile land, etc) prompted repeated skirmishes between Native populations.

⁴⁰ See Jacques Lafaye's *Quetzalcoatl and Guadalupe* 1974 for more in-depth work on Spanish colonization northward into Native American land in the Southwestern United States.

⁴¹ Gómez, 48.

⁴² Atencio, 34.

⁴³ Weber, *What Caused the Pueblo Revolt of 1680?*, 3.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away*, 103.

⁴⁶ Native resentment toward the Spanish was not unanimous. Small factions did comply with the Spanish crown because soldiers were able to squelch frequent raids from the Apaches and Navajos (Garner 1974).

⁴⁷ George Hammond's *Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico* (1927) offers close historical accounts of Oñate's and Villagrà's expeditions and confrontations with Ácoma, Moqui, and Zuni. Of importance here is that Juan de Zatlívar, Oñate's nephew, was killed in Ácoma's initial skirmish with the Spanish which drove Oñate to take such an offensive and violent assault on Native men (114-115).

⁴⁸ Weber, 5.

⁴⁹ Taos, Isleta, Ácoma, Pecos, and Santo Domingo Natives were represented in the planning and after several meetings August 11, 1680 was chosen as the date for the revolt. However, not all tribes supported the rebellion as many Natives felt their relationship with Spanish colonizers was at times beneficial for their tribes. Ramón Gutiérrez writes that caciques from Tanos, San Marcos, and La Cienega opposed the revolt and informed the Spanish of the plans, pushing the revolt to August 10th. (See Gutiérrez 1991).

⁵⁰ Espinosa, *The Pueblo Indian Revolt of 1696 and the Franciscan Missions in New Mexico*, 1991.

⁵¹ Kessel and Hendricks, *The Spanish Missions of New Mexico*, 22-25.

⁵² Atencio, 43.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 44.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 67.

⁵⁶ Gomez, 64.

⁵⁷ Prince, *Historical Sketch of New Mexico*, 351.

⁵⁸ See Janis Timm-Bottos' *The Necessity of Public Homeplace in Urban Revitalization* (2005) for an in-depth discussion about gentrification in New Mexico.

⁵⁹ Gonzales, 209.

⁶⁰ Victor Turner writes that a person's sense of belonging to a larger community intensifies when afforded a sacred space where other like-minded members can come together (1978 13). This unification, as Sarah Horton (2007) states, helps Spanish Americans maintain their claim as heirs to the Spanish colonial identity.

⁶¹ Sarah Horton examines the performance of dominance and reconquest in her 2001 "Where is the 'Mexican' in 'New Mexican' Enacting History, Enacting Dominance in the Sante Fe Fiesta," (41-54).

⁶² Rodriguez, "Fiesta Time and Ritual Space: Resistance and Accommodation in a Tourist Town," 39-56.

⁶³ Stoeltje, "Power and the Ritual Genres: American Rodeo," 135.

⁶⁴ Low, "Indigenous Architecture and the Spanish American Plaza in Mesoamerica and the Caribbean," 759.

⁶⁵ Castillo, personal interview.

⁶⁶ King "Southwest Pietá Installed" 1D.

⁶⁷ Abu-Lughod, "Writing against Culture." 155.

⁶⁸ See Donna Haraway's "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism as a Site of Discourse on the Privilege of Partial Perspective" in *Feminist Studies* 14 no. 3, 575-599.

⁶⁹ Anderson, 164.

⁷⁰ I am hesitant to characterize the Albuquerque Museum as entirely invested in nationalist endeavors. Several art exhibitions, including Jiménez's *Man on Fire* exhibition, evidence the contested terrain the ABQ museum rests on.

⁷¹ Davalos, *Exhibiting Mestizaje*, 55.

⁷² Trujillo, Michael. "Oñate's Foot" 100.

⁷³ In 1997, Millie Santillanes advocated for a sculpture that would honor the Spaniards' migration, known as *La Entrada*, into New Mexico. The original sixteen-thousand dollar commission was for a bust of Oñate but was later changed to a bronze monument depicting Oñate kneeling atop of a kiva with a cross in one hand and a sword in another with one moccasin leading down from the steps of the kiva. The missing moccasin implied the atrocity at Acoma Pueblo in 1599. But the arts board rejected the design and mandated that 1) the Native experience would be a part of the memorial and 2) that the memorial focus not on Oñate but on Spanish settlers who came with him. Millie Santillanes, her grandchildren, and former Mayor Martin Chavez were used as models to cast the Spanish families. After a series of proposals were submitted and rejected, *La Jornada* was approved with funding from taxpayer money and private donations.

⁷⁴ Savage, 7.

⁷⁵ Trujillo, 99.

⁷⁶ Naranjo-Morse was asked to participate in the three-artist memorial to the *Cuarto Centenario*. The Arts Board felt they needed representation from the three major racial/ethnic groups of New Mexico. After a major controversy in depicting the history of New Mexico, Rivera and Sabo continued in creating the sculpture and Naranjo-Morse created a separate memorial from a Native perspective of the land, water, and spirit.

⁷⁷ See Kathy Friese's "Contesting Oñate: Sculpting the Shape of Memory" in Gonzales' *Expressing New Mexico* (2007) for a critical discussion of *Numbeh Whageh* and the *Cuarto Centenario* controversy.

⁷⁸ Alison Fields, in her 2001 "New Mexico's *Cuarto Centenario*: History in Visual Dialogue" expands on the controversy surrounding the *Centenario* and the proposed monuments that created an uproar within both the Old Town and Native American communities.

⁷⁹ June Friesen, "Recasting New Mexico History" 2005. <https://alibi.com/feature/recasting-new-mexico-history/>

⁸⁰ Keith Basso, 199.

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