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I

A Paño's Encoded Revelations

The white tinted surface of an ordinary, mass-produced cotton and polyester *handkerchief* proffers Pepe Baca's resonant image of 1990, depicting a grieving woman drawn in shades of grey, black, red and green inks. Entitled *Repentance*, this work on cloth--an ex-*pinto's paño*[1] in the collection of Rudy Padilla of Albuquerque--elicited this essay's title. Antithetical notions of *presence* and *absence*, of *corporeality* and *ethereality*, of *visibility* and *invisibility*, are not foregrounded gratuitously. Rather, that oxymoronic conjunction of incongruous terms injects an aura of irony, the stuff of drama. Conspicuous in the *paño's* composition is another aura or stylized mandorla (*esplendor*) enveloping the devout, weeping female. The Virgin of Guadalupe is iconically absent from the rendering, but is synecdochically present through the sunburst which traditionally "*clothes*" Her image, and the inclusion in the background of Her crucified Son. Interestingly, the repentant subject--a remorseful *pinto*--signified in the *paño's* title is likewise absent from the drawing, but seemingly not from his *compañera's* memory. Another plausible interpretation, not at all inconsistent with the first, needs stating. The earlier-mentioned aura in the drawing might allude as well to "the disturbances of nature when Our Lord died," dramatized in New Mexico in the ceremony of *las tinieblas* (the *tenebrae*), observed during Holy Week ceremonies by *Los Hermanos Penitentes de la Tercera Orden de San Francisco* (the Penitent Brothers of the Third Order of St. Francis).[2] In this more specific context, the wailful woman herself becomes the present mourner/penitent. A *paño's* very utility is educed and reinforced through connotations of a lamentation or allegorical pietà.

Artist Pepe Baca's own intentionality doesn't preclude or necessarily supersede other readings of his work like those suggested above. In fact, he had his own mother and wife in mind--the latter represented grieving--together with la Guadalupana. But, he didn't consciously strive to elicit la Virgen. When told by Rudy Padilla of this writer's interpretations, Baca was pleased to learn that his paño--an item readily available for purchase in many prison commissaries--was indeed communicating something about which he had thought, but about which he assumed the paño itself was silent. What is *absent* for one viewer is *present* for another.

The ensuing study of Guadalupana imagery in New Mexico will avail itself of this essay's titular evocation of *theatricality*, and its source in an image inscribed on *cloth*. Examined together, these indices invoke and underscore a third index of *gender*. The *Virgen* considered as proactive or passive *actress*--as compared to *las otras dos grandes, Malinche* and *La Llorona*[3]--and Her own *raiment* conjoined with Juan Diego's *tilmahtli*,[4] gauged as "costumes" of critical importance in scenarios of subjugation or liberation. The *presence/absence* dichotomy assumes the function and dimension of an overarching trope throughout this paper. It echoes Nueva Mexicana playwright Denise Chávez's reflection concerning the *"exit"* of her birth mother, and the *"entry"* of her spiritual mother:

When I *lost* my mother
I *found* my mother.[5]

The *lost/found* duality and the *presence/absence* couplet are arguably conceived in the tradition of náhua "*difrasismo*." Concerning this stylistic trait of the Náhuatl language, the distinguished scholar of the Aztecs, Miguel León-Portilla, quotes his own teacher, the eminent pioneer of náhua studies, Angel María Garibay K., who writes:

> It ("difrasismo") is a procedure in which a single idea is expressed by two words, either because they are *synonymous* or because they are placed next to each other.[6]

Garibay underscores the contextual and metaphorical character of the "*difrasismo*,"[7] while León-Portilla suggests that *antonymous* couplets are not precluded in the envelope of "*difrasismo*." Consider that the Náhua *tlamatinime* (sages) "conceived the most profound of all of their "*difrasismos*," (in the guise of) *Ometecuhtli-Omecihuatl, Lord and Lady of duality*."[8] On that linguistic basis, it would seem, then, that the very point in time on Saturday, December 9, 1531, when *la Virgen* first appeared to Juan Diego, can be mapped or illumined by the "*difrasismo*" of *presence/absence*, or as qualified earlier, *visibility/invisibility*. This projection is rooted in the important work of Clodomiro L. Siller-Acuña, a contemporary theologian and anthropologist who combines his academic work in anthropology with extensive pastoral work as a priest among the indigenous peoples of México. In turn, his work informs the scholarship of Ecuadorian theologian, Jeanette Rodríguez, in her just-published feminist investigation of *La Guadalupana*. Their joint insights prove instructive for our purposes:

> For the indigenous, *muy de madrugada*[9] (very early in the morning) referred not only to daybreak, but to the beginning of all time. Our Lady of Guadalupe appears early in the morning, just as the *day* is coming out of *darkness* and *night*. This meaningful time defined the Guadalupe event as fundamental, equal in significance to the origin of the world and the cosmos.[10]

II

La Guadalupana as an Enduring Icon in the Cultural and Religious Narratives of New Mexican Public Discourse, 1848 to the Present

Encapsulated in the foregoing descriptive subtitle are the broad parameters of this Rockefeller Fellowship project in the Humanities, a research activity supported through an Extension Project (1992-94) under the auspices of the Southwest Hispanic Research Institute (SHRI) of the University of New Mexico.

"Public discourse" was understood to subsume both *verbal* and *non-verbal* discursive fields. Thereby, visual images of the Virgin of Guadalupe, devotional hymns or prayers to Her, as well as associated literary and performative narratives, would assume their equal and respective places as cultural and religious sources over a period extending nearly 150 years. The "Extension Project," as articulated by SHRI, recognized within such a protracted number of years "complex questions of relationships, conflicts, struggles, accommodations, and implications for the modern and emerging pluralistic society of the greater Southwestern region." It follows that symbols--even powerful multivalent sacred symbols--are somehow affected by the shifting course of history. And, yet, in certain very meaningful respects, tradition can be observed, respected and maintained. Tradition can also shed some of its ritual garments in its processual reconfigurations. More tersely put, tradition is not static, and may wear new clothes.

III

A Sacred Image Inscribed on Ayate[11] *Cloth: Threads of Old Still Bind Today (the Warp of Palpable Language and Weft of Illusive Imagery Weave a Dramatic Story)*

Writing from a philosophical and theological perspective, two Brazilian proponents of liberation theology, Professors María Clara Bingemer and Ivone Gebara, "conceive of a Marian theology whose starting point is women and Latin America."[12] Foregrounding Our Lady of Guadalupe as the cover-image for their book, the authors appreciate the icon's resonance across space and time. Past and present inform one another. Mary endures:

> the historic figure Mary must enter into dialogue with the time, the space, the culture, the problems, and the actual persons that relate to that figure. It is *today's life* that gives life to Mary's *life in the past*.... each period in history seems

> to build an image of Mary and her activity in history both *past* and *present.*[13]

From Nuevo México, "la tierra del encanto," resonant voices are raised invoking La Guadalupana Herself in cultural, ethnic, geographic, religious, spatial and temporal terms. *Past* and *present*, even *future*, are conflated, and an inference to both México and Spain might be read in these invocations to Our Lady. Words assume emblematic proportions, and become our collective and palpable epigraphic inscriptions.

I always prayed to the Holy Mother, the Virgin Mary. She was Our Lady of Fatima, Our Lady of Guadalupe, the Black Virgin and Our Lady of Lourdes all rolled into one. She was the spirit mother that held me, small child against her breast.

--Denise Chávez, playwright[14]

Our Lady of Guadalupe. She is the Patron Saint of our village here in Velarde. She's very important to our people. My wife (Zoraida) and I have always found that she's a very important carving. To me it's just like a prayer when I do a carving of Her.

--Eulogio Ortega, santero[15]

Many beautiful stories from Mexico were told to us as children. Among them was the story of a poor and humble Indian man, Juan Diego, and his encounter with the Madonna, Our Lady of Guadalupe.

--Paulette Atencio, storyteller[16]

3. Pues que por todo elegistes
la mejor sagrada rosa
también fuistes mariposa
que a las alturas subistes.

11. Pues eres guadalupana,
remedio de todo mal,
líbranos de la epidemia
y del pecado mortal.

13. Madre mía de Guadalupe,
a ti te ofrezco esta salve,
por las ánimas benditas,
y almas de los Santos Padres.

--*salve*/hymn of salutation *alabado*[17]

My mother had told me the story of the Mexican boy, Diego, who had seen la Virgen de Guadalupe in Mexico. She had appeared to him and spoken to him, and She had given him a sign. She had made the roses grow in the barren, rocky hill, a hill much like ours. And so I dreamed that I too would meet the Virgin. I expected to see her around every corner I turned.

--Antonio Luna Márez in *Bless Me, Ultima*, Rudolfo Anaya's novel[18]

In the Southwest, Guadalupe has come to symbolize what happens when the Anglos and the Hispanics come together. Somehow a new people has to be born out of the two cultures, the two races, the two languages, the two ways of perceiving reality, matriarchy and patriarchy. She will be a bridge that pulls them together. She'll be the symbol of what they might become.

--Megan McCinna, theologian[19]

Issuing from wordsmiths, reverential songsters, and a santero, these fragments of oration comprise a *verbal ofrenda* made in the spirit of Denise Chávez's own discursive and performative *"ofrendas Nuevomexicanas."*[20] A harvest of words to Nuestra Madrecita, la Virgen de Tepeyac, Tonantzín-Guadalupe, Reyna de la Anáhuac, la Virgen Ranchera and la Morenita, to enumerate only some of Her more popular names. *Words* somehow made *palpable*, not unlike those exchanged between the Christianized Aztec Indian, Juan Diego--born Cuauhtlatoatzin, "he who speaks like an eagle... who explains the wisdom of God (the sun)"[21]--and the Virgin of Guadalupe. Their whole encounter as told by the learned native Don Antonio Valeriano--whom the Spaniard Fray Bernardino de Sahagún counted among his collaborators and regarded as "el principal y más sabio"/"the principal and wisest" native--reads like a *drama*. Sight and sound appear enhanced. The Virgin appears miraculously four times to Juan Diego and once to his ailing uncle, Juan Bernardino. On all five occasions, the "actors" engage in Náhuatl dialogue and "see" each other. But, and this is dramatically significant, they never "touch" each other. La Guadalupana does receive the Castille roses from Juan Diego ("las cogió en su mano"[22]), and returns them directly to his ayate/tilmahtli ("las echó en mi regazo"[23]), but their "physical" contact does not extend beyond this exchange. In the final analysis, the dramatic meaning behind the *"Nican Mopohua"* narrative is arguably the *elusiveness of palpable reality*. A revealing dénouement of sorts--one overflowing with the *absence/presence* dichotomy--is that pregnant moment when Juan Diego has arrived at the Bishop's palace with the long-awaited "señal"/sign or proof that he has "seen" Our Lady, and is kept waiting for Zumárraga by his staff. Three separate times, these attendants attempt to take roses from Juan Diego's cloak, but as they do so, the flowers no longer seem real blooms, but, instead, take on *a painted, or embroidered/sewn appearance* ("Quisieron coger y sacarle algunas; pero no tuvieron suerte las tres veces que se atrevieron a tomarlas; no tuvieron suerte, porque cuando iban a cogerlas, ya no veían verdaderas flores, sino que les parecían pintadas o labradas o cosidas en la manta."[24]). Ultimately, the icon we visualize and venerate quite literally unfolds in the *tilmahtli*, prefigured by brilliant, dazzling light, enchanting music, and theatrical oratory on *tierra firme*/solid ground, and under the canopy of *cielo mexicano*/Mexican sky.[25] By inference, Rodríguez and Siller-Acuña would even admit to dramatic catharsis when the former observes that the story in words and images produced "healing not only for the uncle, Juan Bernardino, but for Juan Diego and the whole Náhuatl people."[26] Rodríguez, herself, and other theologians like Chicanos Andrés G. Guerrero and Virgilio P. Elizondo, would add Mexican Americans among those la Morenita has healed and to whom She continues to afford succor.[27] To expand on one of our epigraphic sources, the symbol of cross-cultural unification that la Guadalupana signifies for New Mexican theologian Megan McCinna is encountered not as a static icon ensconced and installed in some urban house of worship, but, instead, as the itinerant deity and solicitous protectress of those whom--like Juan Diego--she meets "on the way and on the road."[28] The many processions in Her honor are "a way of reenacting the story again,"[29] in Nuevo México. Streetside altars erected to Her assume the significance of "cathedrals."[30] Perhaps, the emergent *day* following on the heels of *night*--that very moment when la Morenita first appeared to Juan Diego, and the *void of absence* became *filled with presence*--signifies the *hope* that la Guadalupana's spirituality injects where sinister *hopelessness* reigns. Put another way, la Virgen de Guadalupe gives *power* to the once *powerless*. She is, in the words of Don Ezequiel A. Chávez, "libertadora de las razas oprimidas"/"liberator of oppressed races."[31]

Enlarging on the thematic reach of this paper, as already stated under part I, it is to a rarefied selection of Guadalupana imagery in the state of New Mexico that this researcher looks. More precisely, the critical inquiry is fundamentally linked to the *tilmahtli* image, and, therefore, focused on *vestiary images*;[32] those depictions of la Guadalupana rendered directly on cloth--a "second skin"--and on human skin itself; in works utilizing stitchery for their execution; in pieces, other than clothing, worn by the faithful; and in those instances where the icon is pictured or shaped in a context wherein cloth or fabric can be considered an important *explicit* or *implicit* contributing element. Notably, la Guadalupana is sometimes invoked as the Apocalyptic "Woman *Clothed* with the Sun."[33] While this selected imagery is largely contemporary, the historically significant santero tradition affords this investigation a measure of historicity.

IV

Encounters with La Morenita en Nuevo México: Costume, Image and Performance

Expectant as Antonio Luna Márez was to see La Morenita "around every corner (he) turned,"[34] that apparition was to elude him, despite the apparent geological/ geomorphic sameness of Tepeyac and the *llano*[35] of Northern New Mexico. The *"Nican Mopohua"* has La Guadalupana specifying *el llano* as the site on which Her temple is to be erected ("aquí en *el llano* me edifique un templo").[36] She does, however, appear to an anonymous shepherd sung about in an *alabado*,[37] one closely related to our epigraphic *salve*:

Por la orilla de un arroyo

1. Por la orilla de un arroyo
donde de espinas se tupe,
se le apareció a un pastor
la Virgen de Guadalupe.

2. "Ven acá, triste pastor.
¿Qué te aflige en esos campos
que con todo el corazón
has aclamado a los santos?"

3. "Madre mía de Guadalupe,
en ti vivo esperanzado,
por tus benditos milagros
me aparezcas mi ganado."
4. "Ven acá, triste pastor,
por qué vives descuidado."
"Madre mía de Guadalupe,
dormido, perdí el ganado."

5. "Ven acá, triste pastor,
¿desde cuándo no lo ves?"
"Madre mía de Guadalupe,
mañana se ajusta un mes."

6. "Anda, pues, triste pastor,
anda y duerme sin cuidado;
deja que se pase hoy el día
y verás venir tu ganado."

7. De allí se volvió el pastor
en sus lágrimas bañado
y vió venir a la Virgen
que le traiba su ganado.

8. De allí se volvió la Virgen,
traspasada y esperada,
por la alma de aquel pastor
que ya la tenía ganada.

9. El pastor con regocijo,
una corona le tupe,
de ver el milagro que hizo
la Virgen de Guadalupe.

10. De allí se volvió la Virgen
a auxiliarle en una palma,
la Virgen consuela a todos
y a mí me consuela el alma.[38]

Remarkably, this "sad" shepherd's lament to la Guadalupana concerning his missing flock, lost for almost a month, is sung by the balladeer as a dialogue between the shepherd and the Virgin in a manner recalling Juan Diego's own encounter. In this less dramatic instance, though, the setting would appear to be the edge of a stream in or near Española, Nuevo México.[39] Recovering his flock, the grateful shepherd *weaves* la Morenita a crown, probably from readily available brush and greenery, and She, in turn, comes to help and watch over the shepherd from Her new station--"una palma," a *Yucca plant*--designated in the song. Such allusive imagery suggests that what historian Jacques Lafaye maintained regarding the "possible contamination of the nascent Mexican (Guadalupana) tradition by an already established Spanish (Guadalupana) tradition"[40] can also occur in Nuevo México, maybe threefold. The story told in the *alabado* from Española shares a striking element or two with one particular account of the apparition of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Estremadura, Spain--an account recorded in the Codex of 1440--"Wherein is told how Our Lady, the Virgin Mary, appeared to a *shepherd* as he watched his *cows* and ordered him to go home, call the priests and other people, and return to dig at the place where she was, where they would find a *statue* of the Virgin."[41] Add to this the story of another Spanish Marian icon, Our Lady of Remedios (Remedies), "a little statue found on a *maguey plant* by a Christian *cacique*."[42] The sum of these parts now elicits the Mexican Guadalupe, whose image, as we've related, miraculously inscribed itself on a cloth woven of *maguey* fiber.[43] Contradictory, yet reconcilable conflations! La Morenita and Remedios would seem especially incompatible, given that the latter functions as the "*gachupina*" patroness of the conquest under

Hernán Cortés,[44] while the former is associated, through her apparition, with the *conquered*, not the conqueror. That the images of Our Lady in question are both two-and-three-dimensional--the latter referred to as *bultos*[45] in New Mexico--is a noteworthy distinction.

What becomes a rather convoluted process of decodification in the province of a Spanish/Mexican mariology/mariophany, is no less formidable a task for the Marian scholar in the context of New Mexico. Denise Chávez recalls her own devotion to a host of ladies "all rolled into one."[46] Professor Ronald L. Grimes tugs at these tangled New Mexican threads, pulls them taut, and speaks at length to the dilemma:

> A certain fluidity exists between Marian titles, apparitions, and advocations in New Mexico. In addition to the theological assertion that Mary is one despite her plurality of forms, a factor adding to the confluence of differing Marian forms was New Mexico's relative isolation from competing nationalisms which employ Marian images.... Not only is there a confluence of images in New Mexico, but there is also a confluence of titles for the same image. *Santa Feans sing Guadalupe's story in La Conquistadora celebrations, associate her with Our Lady of Remedies, identify her with Our Lady of the Rosary,* and occasionally mistake her for Our Lady of Victory; they have also given her several other titles in her long history.... Veneration of the saints and the Virgin has always been intense in New Mexico, *but never rigid in its iconography. New Mexico Catholic art is characterized by what we might call "intra-Catholic syncretism."*[47]

That these Marian conflations are of long-standing is confirmed by Grimes' reference to the reconquest of New Mexico by the Spaniard Don Diego de Vargas in the late seventeenth century. Grimes points out that "De Vargas thought nothing of conquering under the *banner of Our Lady of Remedies* and giving thanks for the victory before a *statue of Our Lady of Guadalupe*."[48]

At this juncture, it is necessary to reiterate that this particular study of Guadalupana imagery in Nuevo México prioritizes those images of Her *sewn* and otherwise rendered directly on cloth and on skin, worn by the faithful, and conceived in other media, while incorporating *explicit* or *implicit* visual references to fabric. This emphasis on *cloth* derives from the centrality of Juan Diego's *tilmahtli* to the dramatic narrative of La Morenita in México. It remains to be seen how *pivotal* it is in *New Mexican iconography.*

Recalling Grimes' reference to De Vargas, it is of paramount interest and relevance to our investigation that we note, as Fray Angelico Chávez does, that the image of Our Lady of Remedies which accompanied De Vargas' garrison was in fact an icon *embroidered*[49] on a banner. Jesuit historian of New Mexico, J. Manuel Espinosa, adds that "the royal banner that Vargas carried with him on both his entries into New Mexico was Juan de Oñate's original banner."[50] Besides Our Lady of Remedies, the Spanish royal emblem appeared on the banner's other side.[51] More importantly, for our immediate purposes, *what is seemingly one of the first documented references to an image of la Virgen de Guadalupe in Nuevo México is De Vargas' own testimony*, when on Monday afternoon, September 15, 1692, he had an audience with the Indian leader, Don Luis Picurí. De Vargas' description of the Indian's *offering* resonates for this writer with the aspect of Juan Diego's own presentation of his *tilmahtli* to Bishop Juan de Zumárraga:

> "He showed me a small silver image of Christ, and *a small piece of silk, which had stamped on it the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe, which he was holding in both hands.*"[52]

An image of la Morenita inscribed on silk dating from at least 1692, if not before, presently inscribes our own study with more than a measure of historicity, and gives objective validation to the *privileging* of *cloth.*

IV.(i) Imaging Fabric and Fabric Imaging: Brief Meditations on Cloth/La Morenita Frocked and Defrocked

It is in the *Acts of the Apostles,* that *New Testament* "companion volume to the Gospel of Luke"[53] that we find "stories about the early church."[54] One of those narratives, "Paul in Ephesus," rethreads for us the needle with which we began this study, foregrounding *paños* with miraculous powers:

> God did extraordinary miracles through Paul, so that when the *handkerchiefs* or aprons that had touched his skin were brought to the sick, their diseases left them, and the evil spirits came out of them.[55]

The *Bible* is replete with invocations of vestments, from a mere mention of *cloaks* as simple items of clothing to clothes used metaphorically and symbolically. Everything from *sackcloth* to fine *purple* and *white* garments; from *embroidered* cloth to garments of skin; from *nakedness* to *robes* fit for kings. Nakedness, of course, exposes *skin* as a conspicuous *"first"* layer of *"clothing"*; hence, the reference to *clothing* as a *"second skin."* Even *skinning sacrifices* are invoked in certain books of the Old Testament.[56] A *golden cape* is what an Aztec *hymn* called *Xipe Totec's flayed skin* garment, which was presented to this Amerindian deity following sacrificial rituals in observance of military and fertility rites.[57] It is also to this pre-Columbian ambient that we must refer to better gauge the importance and significance of Juan Diego's *tilmahtli.* In either instance, one need not distinguish--as does Jacques Derrida in his wonderfully provocative book, *The Truth in Painting*--between clothing, or what Derrida, adopting Kantian terms, calls the *parergon* or ornament, and the *ergon,* or that which dons the clothing.[58] The *flayed hide* is intrinsic to Xipe Totec's identity in the same way that Juan Diego's identity hinges on his *tilmahtli*. Taking such associations a step further, it can be argued as author Gustavo G. Velázquez implies, that *the tilmahtli* is intrinsic to an Amerindian identity:

> Algunos aseguran que la Virgen de Guadalupe quiso estampar su imagen en una *tilma* para expresar *su identificación con las penas y esperanzas de los indios*.[59]

Published in 1982, Ruth D. Lechuga's book devoted to indigenous Mexican costume advances the argument that 450 years after the conquest of México, the *tilma*, used as *clothing* as well as a means to carry *bultos* (heavy loads), is about to become obsolete, to be replaced by the *sarape* among the native population.[60] The *tilmahtli's* threatened disappearance strikes an ominous chord, particularly in light of the fact that it was the "most important status item of male wearing apparel" among the Aztecs of Central Mexico.[61] Mesoamerican scholar Patricia Rieff Anawalt elaborates on the singular nature of this clothing:

> Every aspect of the *tilmatli* conveyed meaning to members of Aztec society. Not only was control exercised over the material, design, and length of these mantles but also *the manner of wearing them was prescribed*. The *usual style was to tie the knot of the mantle over the right shoulder*. Certain nobles and priests, however, apparently were allowed to tie the cloak in the front.
>
> The *tilmatli*, then, was a *rectangular cloak* of cotton, *maguey*, *yucca*, or *palm fiber* made in *varying* lengths and *degrees of decoration*. It was an *all-purpose garment worn by all classes of Aztec men*. The *tilmatli was the principal visual status marker in Aztec society*, and its material, decoration, length, and manner of wearing instantly revealed the class and rank of the wearer.[62]

Notably, given the Guadalupana's imprint on Juan Diego's *tilmahtli*, the *decoration* alluded to above included, according to Fray Diego Durán, *figures of the gods*, "embroidered in many colored threads and enriched with the down of ducks, all beautifully and curiously worked."[63]

Beyond our exclusive focus on the *tilmahtli*, only one of so many garments in an inventory of Amerindian costume,[64] what, indeed, was the more profound meaning of textiles in pre-Columbian America? Many deities of that period were associated with the art of weaving, and weaving was regarded as a sacred occupation among women.[65] Of inestimable significance to our investigation are certain celebrations observed by Fray Diego Durán which revolved around the cultivation of *roses*. A day was dedicated to roses and a goddess named *Xochiquetzalli*--a name meaning plumage of roses--was regarded as patroness of painters, weavers and embroiderers.[66]

Taking into account all of these native connections between *costume*, *deities*, *roses* and *weaving*, is it any wonder that Jacques Lafaye is able to document the persuasive opinions of those, who like the Franciscans Alonso de la Rea and Dávilla Padilla, together with their predecessor, Fray Francisco de Bustamante, believed that the image of Tepeyac was indeed "the work of an Indian artist, evidently based on a model of European origin?"[67]

Jungian scholar Erich Neumann has so ably demonstrated that the nexus between weaving and the goddess is of *global* proportions, and *archetypal* or *primordial* in its foundations:

> Thus the Great Goddesses are weavers, in Egypt as in Greece, among the Germanic peoples and the Mayans. And because "reality" is wrought by the Great Weavers, all such activities as plaiting, weaving, and knotting belong to the fate-governing activity of the woman, who, ...is a *spinner* and *weaver* in her natural aspect....

It is said of the Great Goddess: "*Clother* is her name."[68]

"The Christian Madonna," Neumann continues, is a "late configuration" of "this aspect of the Feminine as a spinner of fate."[69] In *"The Protevangelion,"*[70] a book of the *Apocryphal New Testament*, the Virgin Mary is chosen to "spin the purple,"[71] an elegant, regal purple hued cloth.

The mandorla or *sunburst esplendor* with which La Morenita is traditionally *"clothed"* is, according to Juan Eduardo Cirlot--the respected Spanish scholar of symbology--"morphologically... cognate with the spindle of the *Magna Mater*[72] and with the magical spinners of thread."[73] Moreover, and of considerable significance in our research, the mandorla "symbolizes the intersection of the two spheres of heaven and earth."[74]

The final, but surely not the least important of the Christian Madonna's attributes, which concerns us here, is Her *"mantle."* As Neumann elucidates, there exist "numerous *mantle* Madonnas sheltering needy mankind beneath their outstretched cloaks."[75] However, with respect to Our Lady of Guadalupe, activist-feminist Chicana scholar Angie Chabram-Dernersesian would take issue with that positive reading of the cloak's meaning, injecting, instead, her opinion that the *mantle constricts and inhibits* the Virgen's potentiality to *act.*[76] In support of her position, she invokes the now-canonic renditions of la Guadalupana by Chicana visual artists, Yolanda Lopéz and Ester Hernández. Referring to the portrait of Victoria F. Franco, Yolanda's painting of her own grandmother, Chabram-Dernersesian characterizes it as "a full length reproduction of an abuelita, proudly *sitting on top of the Guadalupe cloak.*"[77] The subject also exudes "dignity, strength and endurance."[78] Her characterization of Hernández's memorable etching and aquatint print--entitled "La Virgen de Guadalupe Defendiendo los Derechos de los Xicanos" (1975)-- is unequivocal with respect to the *cumbersome cloak*:

> In the portrait by Hernández, which frequently carries the name "The Militant Guadalupe," *a Chicana breaks out of tradition with a karate kick, shedding the oppressive cloak and motionless stance of the Catholic Virgin whose hands and legs are bound by the dictates of religious rituals.*[79]

A very interesting, and possibly not unexpected source--also one contemporary with La Morenita's apparitions in 1531--for much earlier misgivings about the Virgin's efficacy as proactive mediator is a *Colloquy* by Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam. First printed in a Swiss edition of August, 1523, "The Shipwreck" has been criticized of "being irreverent in certain passages dealing with the invocation of saints and the Virgin Mary."[80] A spirited exchange between two of this colloquy's protagonists reveals a likely instance of such alleged irreverence:

> Adolph: There you'd have seen what a wretched plight we were in: the sailors singing *Salve Regina*, praying to the Virgin Mother, calling her Star of the Sea, Queen of Heaven, Mistress of the World, Port of Salvation, *flattering her with many other titles the Sacred Scriptures nowhere assign to her*.
>
> Antony: *What has she to do with the sea? She never went voyaging, I believe.*"[81]

In what sharp contrast this skepticism and faithlessness stand to our epigraphic and extolling hymn from Española, Nuevo México!

Not at odds with Chabram-Dernersesian's feminist projections onto La Morenita's clothing, Erasmus, too, philosophizes in some detail regarding vestments in his day. His "The Well-to-do Beggars" Colloquy, first printed in Switzerland in 1524, contains many thoughts surrounding the clothing of native peoples in "lands (then) recently discovered," one of the few allusions in the *Colloquies* to the Americas, according to Craig Thompson, noted Erasmus scholar.[82] The remarks of an *Innkeeper* are highly allusive for us. Review the following: *"And so he who professes wisdom by his dress rather than by the thing itself* (learning) *is in my opinion the biggest fool of all."*[83] Or, *"...if dress were allowed to represent one's state of mind."*[84] Or, *"Some boast that their dress was divinely revealed to them in advance by the Virgin Mother."*[85] And, lastly, Anselm, a protagonist from the "Exorcism" (or "The Specter") Colloquy--first published in Switzerland in 1524--anticipates the tenor of what we shall say below concerning the Native American "Ghost Shirt." Anselm's pronouncement concerns the Franciscan habit: *"Long ago--before a Franciscan cowl became so formidable--people used to protect themselves against harmful demons by this armor."*[86]

The relevance of Erasmus' thinking to our work cannot be underestimated, especially if one acknowledges, as well we must, the considerable extent to which Erasmus influenced Bishop Juan de Zumárraga,[87] the church official to whom Juan Diego brought news of the apparitions, and, ultimately, the miraculous image on his *tilmahtli*.

IV.(ii) Costume and Performance

The *miraculous* nature of La Morenita's apparitions, and the *climactic inscription on the tilmahtli of the acheiropoietic image*--one not believed to be made by human hands[88]--are, but for a slight nod to the New Testament's Book of Revelation, strict departures from Scriptural authority. Mindful of that, one might appreciate and regard aspects of the *"Nican Mopohua"* narrative as consistent with the fabric of a medieval miracle play. Theatre scholar, Allardyce Nicoll, explains that miracle plays were "sometimes related to the cult of the Virgin."[89] The Apocrypha, wherein we encountered Mary weaving purple cloth, became a source for medieval playwrights.[90]

Theatre indulges our *presence/absence* dichotomy. David Cole, the insightful theoretician of dramaturgy, contends quite vehemently that "theatre alone *makes presence*."[91] "What distinguishes theatre from the other arts," he goes on, "is that it makes *imaginative truth* present, or rather, makes it *presence*."[92] The sequential nature and cumulative impact of the *temporal* apparitions, culminating in the *spatial and enduring painted image*, invite a literary imagination to *recreate* and *recover* the *now absent apparitions*. An *illud tempus* or time of origins is missing. The apparitions are *lacunae* a theatrical script can fill with *presence*.[93] The script, likened to the *illud tempus*,[94] can by virtue of *theatrical license* conflate past and present, and potentially the future as well, providing it continues to be performed. In Cole's own words, "the *illud tempus* is not so much *when it first occurred* as *where it is always happening*.[95] Such theatrical conflations of the temporal realm recall the importance assigned to an *enduring Mary* by liberation theologians Bingemer and Gebara, cited early in our study.[96]

Leading student of Chicano and Latino theatre in North America, Jorge Huerta, speculates on Nuevo México's rich legacy of theatre:

> Perhaps because New Mexico was the first area of Aztlán to be settled by the Spaniards and because of its relative isolation, *the Christian theatrical tradition is richest in this state*.[97]

Writing about "Traditional Spanish Religious Folk Drama in New Mexico," Aurelio M. Espinosa, Nuevo México's "pioneer folklorist," documents three manuscripts dealing with "la aparición de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe."[98] Of these, one is from Chimayó (probably dating from the eighteenth century), and another, later, possibly nineteenth century version, is from Santa Fe.[99] The Chimayó manuscript has Juan Diego speaking to La Morenita with an inflection we can imagine, and with such candor and directness of tone that could well elicit more than a few smiles from a contemporary audience:

> Lo mismo que lo pensé. Me lo dijeron *chicero*, y no me dejaron ver al sulustrísimo señor porque no me lo creyeron. Mira, Señora, es mejor que lo hagas tu mensajero un *gachupín*, que no yo. O anda tú, porque con eso verán lo bonito que eres, y así te lo van creyendo.[100]

That Juan Diego suggests to La Morenita that she send a *gachupín* in his stead to revisit the Bishop is highly revealing of racial distinctions then and now. Race was and remains a singular determinant of caste, notwithstanding passionate denials to the contrary. While in New Mexico, the designation of *gachupín* carries with it a linguistic connotation--"speak(ing) Spanish with a twang"[101]--it primarily signifies a "low-class Spaniard."[102] The implication in the fragment of dialogue from Chimayó is that La Morenita is Herself probably not dark complected. As we shall see in this paper's last section devoted to visual icons, She is variously depicted in Nuevo México as a dark or light Virgen.

Dramatically important--on and off stage--to many Chicanas and Chicanos is la Guadalupana's *brown complexion*. Reviewing the play, "*La Virgen de Tepeyac*," La Compañía de Teatro de Albuquerque's production of December 1992, *Albuquerque Journal* correspondent, Catalina Reyes, refers to the principal subject of Cecilio García-Camarillo and Ramón A. Flores' bilingual play as the "brown Guadalupe."[103] Reflecting on El Teatro Campesino's (The Farmworkers' Theatre) own earlier production of the "Virgin del Tepeyac," group member Yolanda Parra puts this sentiment about color into unforgettable words of combat:

> In the *Virgin del Tepeyac* they should have a real Indian-looking woman because that's the *whole point*. She appears to Juan Diego in the image of an *india*, and I mean hardcore stone-ground Mexican Indian... But the women they pick

> for the role look like little Spanish madonnas. I've always thought Olivia Chumacero would make a great Virgen del Tepeyac; because there is *a certain amount of ovaries that go into that part*. You're talking the guts of the Universe there. You're talking somebody who can really feel the power.[104]

Virgilio P. Elizondo titles his book about la Guadalupana, *La Morenita: Evangelizer of the Americas*, pointing out that "The Lady who appeared at Tepeyac was not a foreigner. She was one of the natives who came from their native soil."[105] And, from Juan Diego's own perspective: "Her looks told him that she was not a Spaniard, she was one of his own."[106] Jungian analyst and author, Ean Begg describes La Morenita's evolution in his study entitled *The Cult of the Black Virgin*:

> Patroness of All the Americas, she is above all the emblem of Mexican nationhood. She inherited the devotion formerly accorded to Kwatlikwe, the mother of life, and Texcatlipoca, 'smoking mirror', *the dark sun-god*. Tomatin, mother of the gods, worshipped on top of a mountain of human victims *sacrificed on a black stone*, became Tonantsin, Our Lady and Mother.[107]

This sensitive issue of color also intersects with a very significant component of La Compañia's play, an explicit acknowledgement of the Moorish legacy in Spain, and, for that matter, in New Spain as well.[108] That influence, as the Director's Notes explain, is highly manifest in the Arabic roots of so many Spanish words.[109] The very word, "Guadalupe" is a case in point. It is a compound word whose first element, *"guada"*, means *"river"*. The second element, *"lupe"*, means *"hidden"*. *"Guadalupe,"* then, is Arabic for *"hidden river."*[110] Some believe the term is half Arabic, and half Latin, and signifies "river of wolves."[111] These meanings aside, how do we account for that name being communicated by la Morenita, given that Náhuatl contains neither the letter *d* nor *g*? A plausible answer seems to reside in a speculative *illud tempus* involving Juan

Bernardino--Juan Diego's uncle--and some Spaniards sent by Bishop Zumárraga to accompany Juan Diego on his visit to verify his uncle's miraculous recovery from ill-health. What the *"Nican Mopohua"* indicates Juan Bernardino was told by La Morenita--*"y que bien la nombraría, así como bien había de nombrarse su bendita imagen, la siempre Virgen Santa María de Guadalupe"*[112]--would appear to have been a *dramatic misreading* by the attending Spaniards of the Náhuatl name, "Tlecuauhtlacupeuh," which is rendered in Spanish as *"La que viene volando de la luz como el águila de fuego" ("she who comes flying from the region of light like an eagle on fire").*[113] Jeanette Rodríguez would add that "the region of light was the dwelling place of the Aztec gods, and the eagle was a sign from the gods."[114] And, she continues, "to the Spaniards, it sounded like "Guadalupe" and reminded them of their Virgin at home."[115] So much for Arabic detours!

Arguably, the most innovative element in La Compañia's production is its creative intervention into the polemics surrounding the apparitions and *tilmahtli icon.* Also well noted is the debt owed to the Mexican playwright, Rodolfo Usigli, and his wonderfully engaging play, *Corona de luz* (*Crown of Light: The Virgin*), "An Antihistorical Comedy in three acts," dating from around 1946.[116] Neither La Compañia nor Usigli extinguish the flame that keeps miracles burning.

Well known and respected New Mexican activist-artist, Francisco LeFebre, painted the rather *earthy Morenita* which appears on Juan Diego's *tilmahtli* in La Compañia's staging of *"La Virgen de Tepeyac."* And, it is to the *tilmahtli*, considered as "theatrical costume" that we now turn. Granted that in a staged production, the *tilmahtli* is quite literally a costume. The issue I want to pose is whether the vestment around which the *"Nican Mopohua"* revolves can also qualify as a "costume" in the dramatic sense. That possibility also depends on the dramatical content of the *"Nican Mopohua"* text. Semiotician Roland Barthes postulates the idea that *"the costume must be an argument;"*[117] that it has "a powerful semantic value,"[118] and should be *"read"*[119] as well as seen. For him, costume communicates "ideas, information, or sentiments."[120] In short, Barthes is describing the *vestimentary sign and its politics.*[121] That indeed was the status of the *tilmahtli* in the Amerindian society of the Aztecs, as Patricia Rieff Anawalt's research claims in our preceding section. The *tilmahtli* would also seem to respect other attributes which Barthes sees as contributing to the ethic or *"health"*[122]--as opposed to *"disease"*--of costume. Costume *"must create a humanity,"*[123] and this factor is "largely a tributary of its surroundings, of the material milieu in which the actor performs."[124] How much more organic could that very relationship be than between Juan Diego and his *ayate/ayatl*? How full of resonance another of Barthes' observations is for us: "if the costume is healthy, the open air must be able to assimilate, even to *exalt* it."[125]

In Nuevo México, la Morenita emerges very much as the agent of action through the *"Nican Mopohua"* narrative and La Compañia's staged adaptation and amplification of Her story. In their illuminating introduction to a splendid volume, *Cloth and Human Experience*, Annette B. Weiner and Jane Schneider pique our highly sensitized Guadalupana antennae with two, nearly sequential reflections, that evoke Yolanda Parra's notion of a *Morenita with ovaries*:

> The cloth-givers... generate political power as well, committing recipients to loyalty and obligation in the future.[126]
>
> AND
>
> ancient cloths and traditions of making them continue to reemerge with political--indeed often subversive--intent, above all in societies emerging from colonial domination.[127]

Malintzin and *La Llorona*, who with *La Morenita* complete the "trinity" invoked in the first few pages of this essay, are likewise being reconfigured under a different light, a revisionist feminist critique. In the opinion of Professor Norma Alarcón, through her three-part poem called *La Chingada*, Chicana poet, Alma Villanueva, "envisions Malintzin as the displaced and desecrated prepatriarchal goddess who has returned to redeem and empower her daughters and to transform the sons.[128] Folklorist José E. Limón argues that "women control (the story of La Llorona, understood as an) expressive resource, and it therefore speaks to the greater possibility that it is articulating their own symbolic perceptions of the world."[129]

Los matachines, an "important folk dance of dramatic character... executed by the Pueblo Indians of the Rio Grande Valley and some New Mexican Spanish communities"[130] traditionally names la Malinche a principal actress in its cast of characters.[131] That is the customary practice during the Fiestas de San Luis, held in San Luis, Nuevo México, during the month of June. The Matachines in San Luis also observe La Morenita, and wear the *cupil*, a miterlike headdress,[132] and other costume elements adorned with Her image. While Flavia Waters Champe, a student of the dance, ironically suggests that Malintzin and Our Lady of Guadalupe are conflated in the person of the youthful actress portraying La Malinche,[133] only the latter is officially scripted to appear in the performance. La Morenita, however, remains associated with the dance through Her son. As Aurelio Espinosa sees it, "the essential purpose of the dance is the celebration of the birth of Christ on the twenty-fifth of December."[134] He goes on to add that "the dancers sing praises to the Virgin Mary and the Child Jesus."[135] Fellow-folklorist, James S. Griffith, writing about a representation of Yaqui Matachin dancers in a mural painting, refers to them as "Soldiers of the Virgin," engaged in their "act of devotion."[136] Just how *militant* their New Mexican counterparts are is open to question. What is apparently less debatable is "La Malinche's" deference to "El Abuelo," or the whip-wielding grandfather figure, who "acts as a master of ceremonies."[137] "El Toro," the bull, is "La Malinche's" opposite number, given that the animal--incorporated as part of a simulated bullfight intended to provide "a touch of comedy and an interesting choreographic pattern"[138]--is often played by a young boy.[139] Beside a seemingly meek/"good"/"innocent"[140] Malinche, la Morenita would seem to project all of the conflicting emotions tied to the performance, since many of the dancers/protagonists *wear Her icon.*

A work published in 1990 by Chicana Bettina R. Flores denounces the use of home altars because, in her estimation, they perpetuate "negative inspiration" through patron saints full of "gloom and doom."[141] By contrast, Rosario (Chayo) De Leon of Austin, Tejas, reverses skeptical feelings she once harbored, and now champions a "mighty Guadalupana Coatlaxopeuh Tonantzín." Although extensive, her many sonorous words belong together:

> ***Virgencita de Guadalupe***. For a long time I wouldn't let you in my house. I couldn't see you without seeing my ma each time my father came home drunk and yelling, blaming everything that ever went wrong in his life on her.
>
> I couldn't look at your ***folded hands*** without seeing my *abuela* mumbling, "My son, my son, my son..." Couldn't look at you without ***blaming you*** for all the pain my mother and her mother and all our mothers' mothers have put up with in the name of God. Couldn't let you in my house.
>
> ***I wanted you bare-breasted, snakes in your hands. I wanted you leaping and somersaulting the backs of bulls. I wanted you swallowing raw hearts and rattling volcanic ash. I wasn't going to be my mother or my grandma. All that self-sacrifice, all that silent suffering. Hell no. Not here. Not me.***

Don't think it was easy going without you. Don't think I didn't get my share of it from everyone. Heretic. Atheist. *Malinchista. Hocicona.* But I wouldn't shut my yap. My mouth always getting me in trouble. Is that *what they teach you at the university? Miss High-and-Mighty. Miss Thinks-She's-Too-Good-for-Us.* Acting like a *bolilla,* a white girl. *Malinche.* Don't think it didn't hurt being called a traitor. Trying to explain to my ma, to my *abuela,* why I didn't want to be like them.

I don't know how it all fell in place. How I finally understood who you are. ***No longer Mary the mild,*** but our mother Tonantzín. Your church at Tepeyac built on the site of her temple. Sacred ground no matter whose goddess claims it.

That you could have the power to rally a people when a country was born, and again during civil war, and during a farmworkers' strike in California made me think ***maybe there is power in my mother's patience, strength in my grandmother's endurance. Because those who suffer have a special power, don't they?*** The power of understanding someone else's pain. And understanding is the beginning of healing.

When I learned your real name is Coatlaxopeuh, She Who Has Dominion over Serpents, when I recognized you as Tonantzín, and learned your names are Teteoinnan, Toci, Xochiquetzal, Tlazolteotl, Coatlicue, Chalchiuhtlicue, Coyolxauhqui, Huixtocihuatl, Chicomecoatl, Cihuacoatl, when I could see you as Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Nuestra Señora del Perpetuo Socorro, Nuestra Señora de San Juan de los Lagos, Our Lady of Lourdes, Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Our Lady of the Rosary, Our Lady of Sorrows, I wasn't ashamed, then, to be my mother's daughter, my grandmother's granddaughter, my ancestors' child.

When I could see you in all your facets, all at once the Buddha, the Tao, the true Messiah, Yahweh, Allah, the Heart of the Sky, the Heart of the Earth, the Lord of the Near and Far, the Spirit, the Light, the Universe, I could love you, and, finally, learn to love me.

> *Mighty Guadalupana Coatlaxopeuh Tonantzín,*
> What "little miracle" could I pin here? Braid of hair
> in its place and know that I thank you.[142]

"No longer Mary the mild," indeed, but La Morenita on the offensive. We're reminded of the strident images of Our Lady by Hernández and López, and two animated Mexican paintings of "La Virgen de Guadalupe (defendiendo) a la niñez mexicana," dating circa 1933, and painted by P. Gonzalo Carrasco, S. J.. These unusual depictions from the Iglesia de la Compañia in the city of Puebla are companion canvases painted in oil and relating a combat between La Morenita and a host of anthropomorphic dragons from whose apparently evil threat six children are rescued.

IV.(iii) Stitching, Inscribing and Shaping Her Iconic Presence in Nuevo México: La Morenita Visualized on Cloth and Other "Skins"

Among this paper's epigraphic inscriptions, which have functioned as a point of departure as well as a backdrop, Nuevo Mexicano santero, Eulogio Ortega's *conflation of carving with praying* is a reminder of the *reciprocity between verbal and non-verbal discourse*. At one and the same time, he also calls attention to the critical part prayer plays for the faithful. One of Jeanette Rodríguez's informants, Rosío, explains the more or less pragmatic nature of praying to La Morenita:

> I *speak* to the Virgin, you know, like as if she's my *mother*. And I speak to her about *things with me* and I *pray* to her, and I *pray* and I hope things are going to be okay, and *if she can help me*, you know. And then I *pray* to God, you know, like *she can speak to him*, you know. And *maybe he can help her*, you know, and things can work out.[143]

Prayer can bring with it contradictory notions, best expressed in the couplet of *activity/passivity*, another *"difrasismo."* To rely on saints was perceived by Bettina Flores as a kind of perpetual helplessness. Vehement believers would argue against this jaded view, believing La Morenita to be all-powerful. Something of this dichotomy is visualized when we juxtapose a mixed-media work by Albuquerque-based artist María Baca with a popular T-shirt design readily available in New Mexico. Baca's piece, entitled *Our Ladies of Perpetual Sorrow* (1992) portrays several sedentary women in her own family disposed to praying to that host of *Ladies* Denise Chávez wrote about, Professor Grimes tugged at, and Baca depicts in the work's background. There *they, too, sit*--including la Morenita--in the company of other religious icons, all set against an intricate Matisse-like design, echoing the dense calligraphies of rich textiles. The T-shirt, a *"canvas" of cloth*, represents an *active* Guadalupana--Her donned cloak notwithstanding--who worries about the *"Life"* consigned to *"Her Hands"*. The calligraphic inscription is rendered in the style of barrio graffiti or *plaqueasos.*[144] This Morenita instills confidence. Gone is Her traditional angelic companion, and the faithful behold a Virgin in a *warrior's stance*, a far cry from *"Mary the mild."* The shirt also comes in the shade of black with the imagery just described, emblazoned in a bold white tint.

A *vow* or *promesa*[145] to la Morenita is an act of faith without bounds. It is a *solemn promise* made to the Virgin for Her *divine intervention* in human affairs. Just as Gonzalo Carrasco's painted Guadalupana rescued children from monsters, so a *promisory petition* can pray for a child's rescue[146] from a threatening illness. In return, the mother can quilt la Morenita a thank you. Santa Fe fiber artist, Vicki Chávez, did exactly that. Her son, Andrew, was eleven when diagnosed with a very serious illness. Vicki *promised* la Morenita a quilt upon Andy's recovery.[147] *La Promesa* (*The Promise*), machine sewn with metallic threads, evolved from a simple line drawing, and was completed in December of 1992. Measuring 48 by 42", this striking *paean in cloth* to Our Lady is largely fashioned of cotton with strips of lamé utilized for the esplendor. Additionally, cotton batting is used as a filler. Cloaked in rich blue and lavender, la

Morenita is levitated by an energetic, upright and darkly complected angel, whose outreach seems to propel her to greater heights, as is more the custom in Nuevo Mexicano *retablos* (panel paintings) than in Mexican prototypes. Nearly suspended against a densely starred sky, and framed within a flower-studded niche-like canopy, la Morenita and her shrine are themselves enveloped by a border with a *millefleurs*-like design. Enthroned, la Morenita wears a salient orange lamé crown, further linking Her quilted image to the New Mexican santero tradition. *La Reina de mi Corazon* (*The Queen of My Heart*) was Vicki's subsequent tribute to la Morenita. Executed in 1993, this quilted depiction, measuring 24 by 30", also originated in a drawing done in white chalk. Chávez wanted "to achieve color and brightness" in this bust-length portrait.[148] Between Her foregrounded hands held in an attitude of prayer, and a nearly "electric" esplendor--again shaped in gold lamé with metallic threads--la Morenita's compassionate face engages the reverential viewer. Two strips of cloth, one red with a profusion of white dots, and a second checkered band in black-and-white, enclose Her portrait. Again, a *millefleurs*-like outermost layer frames the whole composition. Chávez explains her method of working as a layering process which begins with the icon's face.[149] This writer has commissioned Vicki to do a Morenita quilted tie, and she, herself, projects doing a piece this year which would incorporate Juan Diego with his *tilmahtli* draped over one arm, la Morenita's image realized in relief like "a quilt within a quilt."[150]

In Albuquerque, Angela Aragón made her *promesa* to la Morenita in 1989, following an accident which left her incapacitated.[151] In gratitude for restoring her health, Angela offered to make a *colcha embroidery* in *homenaje* (homage) to Our Lady. A homemade embroidered coverlet, often used as a tapestry, this colcha was in process from 1989 to 1991. Finished in December of '91, it measures over 6' in height, and is between 42 and 48" wide. On an expansive surface of *white muslin*, la Morenita is the most commanding image, accompanied by Juan Diego, whose *tilmahtli* receives the famed Castille roses. For Angela, the setting she's depicted, with cactii and heavenly canopy, recalls northern New Mexico's *llano*,[152] the terrain about which this essay has previously commented. Echoing written descriptions of the Mexican *tilmahtli*, Aragón's colcha is both *embroidered and painted*. Beads and sequins are added, and hues range from turquoise blue to pinks and reds. Embroidering since her early childhood, the artist has received considerable attention for her accomplished work. The colcha has been exhibited on Our Lady's feast days, and on the occasion of New Mexico's State Fair. Currently, Angela is working on her colcha interpretation of Christ's Last Supper.

Gary Valerio from Española, Nuevo México, is a 34 year old *pinto* (inmate), incarcerated in the Penitentiary of New Mexico, serving a third sentence.[153]. He was already behind bars when his infant son was shaken to death by his own grandmother. Grief stricken over his profound loss, and guilt-ridden that he was not free to have *intervened* in the murder, Gary this year dedicated a moving pillow case *paño* in his *hijito's* memory. La Morenita is the focal image in this *mournful cloth ofrenda*. Compositionally, the black ink on white rendering mirrors elements derived from both the mexicano tradition as well as the local and regional santero traditions. Conspicuous decorative roses and highly animated angels are borrowed from both potential sources. The *banderoles* with the inscription, "In Loving Memory of my son," would appear to derive more from the Spanish/Mexican iconographic traditions. The injection of an agitated Christ, and the calligraphic words, *Amor* and *Hijito*, are more inkeeping with the vocabularies of contemporary murals, paños and tattoos, while the praying hands are a universal and time-tested imagery. A diminutive Juan Diego with open *tilmahtli* looks up at la Morenita; she, too, appears to gaze in his direction. Below his figure, a scroll contains a fragment of inspirational text from Psalm 23, *The Divine Shepherd/A Psalm* *of David.* A not dissimilar *paño* with a scrolled citation from Psalm 4 (*Confident Plea for Deliverance from Enemies*), delicately air brushed clouds and cupids accompanying la Morenita and Christ, is dedicated by Gary to this writer, his wife, daughter and son, and dated '94.

Luis Jiménez, the multitalented draftsman, painter, printmaker and sculptor from Hondo, Nuevo México--who enjoyed a splendid retrospective earlier this year at The Albuquerque Museum--tried in vain to intervene in a dear friend's behalf with a *printed ofrenda, Para Luis/For Luis,* a small lithograph of 1992, depicting a man with a tattoo of la Morenita on his back, with a banderole inscribed "para Luis Carlos." Beneath the banderole, the Mexican national symbol of an eagle atop a cactus pad devouring a serpent, replaces the usual angel. Unfortunately, Luis Carlos Bernal, the distinguished Chicano photographer from Arizona would never recover from a long-term coma to see his *tocayo's* (namesake's) inscribed Morenita offering. Like Gary Valerio's innocent son, Bernal would die.

On an exterior adobe wall of Diana García's house at 501 Atrisco S.W., near Sunset Gardens, in Albuquerque, Dickie Ray García, Diana's son, painted a mural of la Morenita's fourth apparition to Juan Diego. Near large cactii (*nopales*), the latter kneels with open *tilmahtli* before la Guadalupana, and She drops the roses into the famous cloak. García's portrayal of Juan Diego would agree with the kind of generalized description--"a poor and humble Indian *man*..."--that is contained in our epigraphic inscription attributed by Paulette Atencio to the large repository of "legends and folktales of Northern New Mexico."[154] García's Juan Diego is, indeed, a grown man, but not one in his late fifties, the historical Juan Diego's age when Our Lady appeared to him.[155] Ornamental Christmas lights encircle much of the mural which Dickie Ray did for his *abuela* (grandmother) who was dying of cancer. He also erected a *nicho de* *jardin*, or garden altar, its contents not visible from the street. A commercially-made plaster *bulto* of la Morenita and a few other assorted items occupy the outdoor shrine. Inside the home, other *santos* (saints), including El Niño Santo de Atocha, keep watch over the amiable García clan.[156]

La Morenita is Patron Saint of the village of Velarde, Nuevo México,[157] and the site of a wonderful chapel built in Her honor by Eulogio and Zoraida Ortega. This affable santero and weaver pareja (couple) preside over the chapel built on their property. Following her recovery from grave illness, Zoraida persuaded Eulogio to have the *capilla* constructed by masons from México.[158] Padre (Father) Cuesta from Spain consecrated the building around 1983. Not quite so contemporary is the bell tower bell which was cast in 1892 in St. Louis, Missouri. The altar was painted over the course of a year by Zoraida, with decorative flourishes and a sense of color grounded in *her primary art of weaving*. Another common thread binding her weaving of fabric with the painting of santos is an abiding faith in Our Lady; Zoraida prays before and during these activities. She could very well be characterized a "cultural warrior" as per Taos artist Juanita Jaramillo-Lavadie's criteria:

> I see a warrior as a visionary. I see a warrior as someone who has made a commitment. I see a warrior as someone who has taken risks. I see a legacy of the warrior's efforts as having transcended more than one generation...[159]

Eulogio, who was once an elementary school principal, began carving *santos* when a *bulto* representing Rafael the Archangel--carved by the legendary *santero*, José Rafael Aragón--was stolen from the Santuario in Santa Fe. Eulogio's first carving was the Archangel, which now stands by the entrance of the capilla. Eulogio's studies at Highlands University in Las Vegas, Nuevo México, did include the history of art, with El Greco emerging as his personal favorite artist. It is not unexpected, then, to see his *bultos* of la Morenita possessed of both terrestrial and ascendant, celestial natures. They are at once anchored, yet volant. Another instance in this study of a *"difrasismo" of duality*.

Zoraida's eight altar panels were each dated when completed. *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* is dated December, 1983. Splendidly conceived in muted blues and reds, She is held aloft by one of those strident angels so typical of New Mexican *retablo* depictions. Her mandorla with its sharply spiked sunburst clearly relates to the carved esplendores of Eulogio's *bultos*. The delicacy of the foliate and cosmic ornament owes a great deal to Zoraida's keen sense of design, honed in her many creative triumphs with fiber.

It would seem that those making *promesas* do so believing that la Morenita will *protect* them from whatever menace they face. La Morenita and other *santos* function, in part, as *talismans*. *Agua bendita*/holy water is such a magical potion. Clothing, too, can function that way as we observed above in the context of Erasmus' colloquy, "Exorcism"/"The Specter," wherein the character, Anselm, recalls how a *Franciscan cowl* could, in the past, *protect one armor-like against harmful demons*.[160] Santa Fe multi-media artist, Pedro Romero, created his own kind of *armor* in 1991. *New Mexico Ghost Shirt* is a mesmerizing, *tableau-like* piece realized in tin and fire glazed clay, and now owned by the Mongerson/Wunderlich Gallery in Chicago. A recessed box or niche-like environment calls your attention to its complex mosaic surface where an intricate geometry of interlocking tesserae distorts one's sense of balance or perspective. A small ceramic guitar--inscribed with the artist's signature--occupies one corner, and above it a window-like opening affords one a vista of the New Mexican *llano*. Enclosing this niche is a stamped tin garment shaped, contoured, or silhouetted like the common T-shirt or poncho, and echoing the concept of the Madonna's *protective mantle*. In fact, the T-shirt motif recurs in a later piece, to be discussed momentarily, devoted to la Morenita. First, however, we must address the more immediate connection with the sacred Native American *Ghost Dance* elicited through Romero's allusive title. The artist's "flight of fancy" or "whimsical observation"[161] stemming from the guitar and the mexicano's love of music and dance, inspired the title. Romero's intended link to Native American culture appears, then, almost fortuitous or incidental. That is, until we probe more deeply. The *ghost shirt* "was firmly believed to be impenetrable to bullets or weapons of any sort,"[162] and "in some cases the fringe or other portions (of this shirt) were painted with the sacred red paint of the *messiah.*"[163] Other ghost shirts "were fairly covered with representations of sun, moon, stars..."[164] Ethnologist James Mooney, whose foregoing observations were made and published through the Smithsonian Institution during the last decade of the nineteenth century, goes on to add a very important qualification: "The author is strongly inclined to the opinion that the idea of *an invulnerable sacred garment* is not original with the Indians... it may have been suggested by the "endowment robe" of the Mormons..."[165] I would argue that something akin to this alleged religious syncretism also triggered Romero's conscious or subliminal intentionality. Perhaps, he wanted to introduce a *Native American cultural overlay* onto a work that is overtly Chicano through the *huelga eagle* of the United Farm Workers, and, more importantly, the *con safo(s)* symbol *c/s,* both of which appear stamped on the tin skin of the T-shirt. Romero, himself, is given to calling this evocative work, *Chicano Ghost Shirt.* Given our preceding focus on *talismans,* the concept of *con safo(s)* resonates loudly in that context. According to the witty and eloquent Chicano writer, José Antonio Burciaga, our phrase translates literally as "with safety."[166] *Con safo(s)* means, above all, *"anything you say against me will bounce back to you."*[167] In one word, *deflection.*

That a *ghost shirt* is intrinsically bound up with the *ghost dance*, itself, is a complicating factor for us, because the dance is almost non-existant among the Pueblo Indians. Yet, Mooney informs us that the Taos Pueblos did perform the dance as a pastime.[168] A specialist on Native American music and dance, Lynn F. Huenemann adds that Taos Pueblo dances "share certain dance elements of the Plains tribes."[169] And, cultural historian, Vincent Scully, also observes the intersection of Plains Indian and Pueblo elements--even invoking the ghost dance itself--in his analytical discussion of the Mescalero Mountain Spirit, Gahan, Dancers.[170]

Pedro Romero's depiction of la Morenita of 1993, in the collection of this writer, is to say the least quite intriguing against the foregoing backdrop. Our Lady of Guadalupe appears without her usual angelic companion. She is clothed in a salmon hued gown over which She wears a greenish cloak with ochre edging. The moon at Her feet is black, and Her esplendor ranges from off-white to brown. The *T-shirt/ghost shirt/tilmahtli* amalgam, on which la Morenita is superimposed, is azure. All of this imagery is conceived in glazed ceramic, and has been mounted on tin which, in turn, is enclosed in a handsomely sculptured wooden frame. Be it *T-shirt, ghost shirt or residual tilmahtli*, the garment here assumes the almost metaphorical presence of an *hábito*, the habit of a saint sewn for and worn as a *habitito* (nightshirt) by a child cured through the intercession of that saint.[171] Such tropes are even more plausible, considering Romero's interest in and study of Frida Kahlo's own use of dress imagery in her paintings.

Other representations of la Morenita by Romero are executed in handmade ceramic tiles fitted together or compositionally arranged to suggest the appearance as well as texture of quilts or patchwork tapestries. One of these dating from the late eighties includes an *angelito* (angel) in the Nuevo Mexicano idiom, only to be replaced later in the early nineties by *nopalitos* (cactii). In 1992, he incorporates a tiny, seemingly *talismanic* Guadalupana into the quilt-like ceramic fabric of his enchanting *New Mexico Lowrider Bench* at 1500 Broadway N.E. in Albuquerque. Almost adrift or lost in a sea of imagery--some whimsical, some resembling fossilized remains of an enigmatic culture--la Morenita hovers above the driver's side window. Future projects include one depicting la Morenita, emphasizing the faithful's fascination with Her eyes.

Snippets of Denise Chávez's writing have already been woven into our argument. Between 1986 and '87, an interdisciplinary project spearheaded by Albuquerque-based ceramicist, Sandi Roybal Maestas, and Taos-based weaver-painter, Juanita Jaramillo-Lavadie, would also involve Denise as a playwright. Additional collaborators included Kika Vargas, an actress, and Patricia Vargas-Trujillo, a tinsmith. Everything revolves around a *novena*, the act of reciting prayers on *nine* consecutive days, usually *to seek some special favor*. Recall the practice of making *promesas*. The play written by Chávez, *"Novena Narrativas y Ofrendas Nuevomexicanas*," became the hub of the project.[172] Maestas explains how her ceramic *Nuestra Señora de Leche y Buen Parto (Our Lady of Abundant Milk and Easy Delivery)*[173]--which becomes conflated (as Grimes would have it) with Our Lady of Guadalupe[174] in the play's script--evolved in a *sueño* (dream):

> My Lady came to me in a dream. That is how she came to look as she does; *brown skin*, *singing*, *pregnant*, hands in an open, receiving gesture, contrapposto as if she were *marching forward with power*.[175]

Sandi's Morenita "warrior" appears the earthy embodiment of an attitude about pregnancy and ensuing childbirth postulated by feminist anthropologist, Marta Weigle:

> There is need for a way of thinking strongly about birth, whether actual, ritual, or imaginative. The mothers, midwives, and gossips who think and act strongly about childbirth must be counted among the enablers of powerful symbolic processes.[176]

Admittedly, this clay Morenita is first and foremost of this earth. Even her beautiful cloak and startling tin and brass esplendor don't promise her flight. She's here to stay, as it were. And, stay, she does throughout the play's nine different vignettes. In Maestas' words, she is "the thread that goes to make the play cohesive and whole."[177] First performed by Kika Vargas on February 1986 in Taos, the play revolves around nine females ranging in age from 7 to 78, and "was inspired by cultural traditions of *cuentistas* (storytellers), *santeros* and *ofrendas*... as well as by *altares* and *nichos* one finds in (New Mexican) family homes."[178] At the outset of the play, the set cites "a tall chest, covered by a lace mantel on (which) stands *a statue of la Virgen de Guadalupe*."[179] One actress plays all nine roles, and, yet, no two are really alike. *Isabel*, *Jesusita* and *Juana* all sew. *Pauline Mendoza* sports *a tattoo of Our Lady of Guadalupe*, and in a make-believe dialogue comments about la Morenita's esplendor, and admits to being "a lady and a Chicana and an artist."[180] *Corrine*, admittedly gay, also wears tattoos. *María* and *Jesús* on her knuckles are reminders of time she served as a *pinta*. We, in turn, are reminded of Ester Hernández's iconic silkscreen, *La Ofrenda* (1988-89), in which a *chola* (hip Chicana) sports a tattoo of la Morenita to which a rose is being offered. In her closing scene, Isabel speaks a line that encapsulates the spirit of the whole play: *"Each of our lives is a song, or a prayer, like a novena."*[181]

Juanita Jaramillo-Lavadie wove and embroidered the indigo *manta* together with the salmon-hued gown which clothed Maestas' sculpture when incorporated into the play. Employing paño cloth, she wanted to exploit the nearly banal nature of cloth, cloth at its most basic, relating to the essence of survival.[182] "Paño as an everyday thing connected with laughter and tears." For Juanita, this project elicited connections with cloth woven in fulfillment of *promesas*, and *pinto's paños* with which our study began.

Rudy Padilla has been systematically collecting *pinto's paños* for some time, encourages and supports investigators like this writer, and has implemented a *Paño Arte Project* under his own auspices and that of Youth Development Incorporated of Albuquerque. In his unpublished essay documenting the history of the handkerchief, Rudy points to the intimate connection between paño, tattoo, graffiti, mural and lowrider art forms.[183] The locus of the *barrio* (neighborhood) is replaced by that of the *pinta* (prison).

Pablino Vásquez's back--understood as human/*first skin* in contrast to the *second skin* afforded by cloth/fabric[184]--has emblazoned on it a full-length Guadalupana tattoo no less impressive than the 31½ by 20½" *bedsheet* rendering of la Morenita (dated 2/8/94) in this writer's collection. Both incorporate the all-important roses associated with Guadalupe, as well as textual references alongside the images. Plaqueaso-like letters accompany the tattoo, while a not-so-bold script is incorporated into the cloth rendering. *"Viva Mi Rasa Querida"* and *"Chicano Power"* are invoked on fabric, and exclaim/proclaim the very sentiments of *orgullo* (pride) which challenge Professor Grimes' mistaken unequivocal notion that "for Santa Feans, Our Lady of Guadalupe does not have the qualities which would inspire *a Chicano militant* like César Chávez to carry her banner in protest to a state capital."[185] César is dead, but his combative spirit and faith[186] live on in Chicanos like Vásquez. Even Pablino's angel at la Morenita's feet is given a cholo's hairstyle, his Virgen is made-up with a *lunar* (beauty mark), and Her esplendor is highly stylized; another crossover between cloth and tattoo imagery. Evidently, Pablino enjoyed beautifying his *empowered Morenita*. In the person of Pablino Vásquez, one might recall a particularly resonant acrylic on canvas painting by Tejano (Texan) painter, César Augusto Martínez, entitled *Hombre que le Gustan las Mujeres*

(1986)Writing about the tattooed man depicted in this work, Chicana artist-writer, Amalia Mesa-Bains, might well have been describing Vásquez, himself:

> This is a man who *loves* women, a man to whom women are so central that he marks his body with them.[187]

Possibly the most remarkable tattoo Miguel Gandert[188] and this author saw at the state penitentiary in Santa Fe, is etched on Alberto Ramírez's back. Reading like a plaqueaso caption, Alberto's surname appears marquee-like at the foot (his waist) of what is a dense figurative and representational *skin* canvas. A host of figures, Amerindian and contemporary, are portrayed in the company of a pyramid, palm trees, a lowrider automobile, flowers and phantom faces. The complex tattoo was done in 1991 in the pinta at Las Cruces, Nuevo México. Pedro Aragón from México is the artist. Ramírez, who claims he's very religious also admits to doing some drawing, himself. Commenting on his tattoo, he describes the area around his shoulders as "paradise," and underscores the importance for him of his "ancient roots." He also wanted this tattoo to incorporate imagery he associated with the *veteranos* (older inmates).[189] Some paño designs betray a similar kind of compositional density. Smaller tattoos of la Morenita are worn by Rubén Chávez, Deputy Director of Outreach Services for Youth Development, Incorporated in Albuquerque, and Gordy Anderson, an employee at The University of New Mexico (UNM). Chávez's tattoo is a very finely delineated portrait in the Mexican idiom appearing on his right forearm. Anderson, while not Latino, was raised a Catholic and has a deep respect for the faith's icons. Tattoo artist Jason Ward, a graduate of UNMs Department of Art, did the diminutive Morenita on the large toe of Gordy's left foot. Having been injured on the left side of his body, he decided, out of superstition, to be tattooed on the left.[190] A sacred heart tattoo appears on the opposite big toe. The choice of la Morenita was based on how frequently he saw others' tattoos of Her, and because She's part of the heritage of a culture in which he was brought up. Placed on his toe, Gordy means no disrespect to la Morenita. Rather, he didn't feel he should flaunt the image to which he relates as an Anglo. He has adopted Her. She adopted Juan Diego, and is by definition any Hispano/Chicano's birthright. Gordy, who operated a tattoo parlor of his own between 1987 and '88, is not without a sense of humor when it comes to tattoos. From Her vantage on his toe, Gordy argues that la Morenita watches over him and his wife, whose image appears on the lower part of his left leg. Recalling Cirlot's interpretation of the esplendor or mandorla of la Virgen as symbolic of the "intersection of the two spheres of heaven and earth," not to mention the terrestrial connotations of Tonantzín, we would have to regard Anderson's foot tattoo as standing on firm religious ground! Folklorist Alan Govenar, long-interested in Chicano tattooing, and tattooing as a whole, notes that "Christian designs are most numerous" in the Chicano context.[191]

Sam Vigíl is the last of my pinto subjects. Inside the Santa Fe correctional facility since 1987, at 41 he has developed a repertory of crafted items he makes and sells through a gift shop run by the Penitentiary. Earrings, pins, crosses, boxes, baby shoes, wishing wells, stage coaches, *ojos de dios* (talismanic "eyes of God"), and even rocking chairs number among his creations. Using cigarette wrapping papers, other papers with xeroxed patterns, or cut-up cards--including religious chromolithographs made in Italy with a more or less Mexican iconography--Sam sews and weaves intricate, dazzling pieces. Crafting his "needles" out of pieces of rescued plastic, and adapting dental floss as "thread," he creates his sundry forms. One pin, for example, shows a much-truncated chromolithographic portrait of la Morenita framed in a woven paper frame of his making, which Sam fashioned into a wearable pin by attaching a commercially made fastener. Reflecting on his environment and his art, Vigíl says that "prison is (his) salvation; (it's) here (he) learned (his) art."[192]

Other inspirational, religious jewelry and related objects showcasing la Morenita are fashioned by two Albuquerque artists, Chicano Goldie García, and Margot Radaelli. Goldie, who grew up on South Broadway in Albuquerque attended UNM, and later Harvard. In addition to her jewelry making, Goldie's business card identifies her as a "professional comic/speaker."[193] There may indeed be a touch of whimsy in the materials she uses to enthrone la Morenita: bottle caps and jar tops. But, as we listen to Goldie, and look more closely at her work, we come to understand her *sobering* and controversial thoughts. The bottle tops are Budweiser-made, and in her view, beer and Catholicism, both, have conspired to "keep people down." She's serious about this! And, yet, consider how the design of the bottle cap's interior lends itself so well to suggesting la Morenita's esplendor. Generously sprinkled glitter has become Goldie's trademark, and defines its own spectral compositions superimposed on la Morenita's features as cut-out from their chromolithographic sources. The caps and jar tops function as refrigerator magnets, car "medallions" and as pins. Pierced earrings with la Morenita's icon shown peering through stars and glitter, are signed by the artist on the image's obverse side. Having marched often as a child in fiesta celebrations to Our Lady of Guadalupe (on her feast day of December 12), Goldie finds a commercializing tendency at play, and thinks la Morenita assumes the status of a "pop icon." Goldie García prices her work reasonably because she wants her community to have access to her work. That gesture is certainly inkeeping with la Morenita's own charity.

Margot Radaelli recycles fabric from Guatemalan *huipiles*, the loosely fitting blouses with *sacred connotations for the Maya*,[194] and with it encases fragments of ordinary louvers (from wooden window shutters). Shaping two of these cloth covered louvers into a cross, she then affixes religious medallions and chromolithographic card pieces depicting la Morenita, Juan Diego, and scenes from Her apparitions. She adds brass fittings to the ends of the crossed members, imbuing them with the aspect of "rich Mexican gold."[195] Radaelli has come to appreciate la Morenita in a processual sense, in terms of Her ability to promote community solidarity. Currently, she's doing what she calls "Pueblo crosses." But, it would seem she's falling prey to what Ramón A. Gutiérrez characterizes as "the confabulation of Pueblo prayer-sticks with the cross."[196]

If Margot Radaelli is correct in her assessment that la Morenita builds community, it should come as little surprise that Her spirit should *smite* the African American fiber artist, Peggy Randolph. *Hail Mammy* (1993) is her mixed-media tribute in fabric--including African textiles--, found objects, tin cans and votive candles to la Guadalupana. The work's title conflates a "mammy" with the virgin. The former is a term of familiarity, spoken particularly by children in the southern states of North America. A *mammy/mammie* refers to a Black nurse caring for white children. Randolph's Black Madonna cares for us all! The shrine Peggy has built is a kind of synthesis of crèche and niche arrangements which she finds nurturing, and has often encountered in New Mexico.[197] Likewise, she's seen la Morenita widely venerated in the area. Along her fabric esplendor, Peggy has inscribed her *ofrenda* with these words: *"Hail Mammy/Full of Grace/Blessed art Thou/Among Women/and the Fruit of Thy Womb/Chil'ren."* La Morenita's almost obligatory angel has ascended and takes on the identity of a Black angel, now seen hovering over Mammy's head. *La Morena's* breasts, turned globes, carry suspended heart *milagros* (*offerings* made to beget a miracle). Fabric roses and cactus pad complete the largely fabric sculpted environment.

Two additional works conclude our selective investigation of the visual harvest of Morenita images in Nuevo México. Francisco LeFebre's *untitled* painting in oil on canvas of 1989, and Ray Latham's laminated pine sculpture, *Vision,* dating from the same year, are, like all of the foregoing examples, *eulogistic executions* to Our Lady. Those eulogies do, however, seem to involve Juan Diego and his famous *tilmahtli* to a much lesser degree than one finds in Mexican iconographic programs.

LeFebre, whose *tilmahtli* rendering for La Compañia's production of *"La Virgen de Tepeyac"* has already been acknowledged, painted a young woman picking flowers while dressed in a loose fitting, full-length dress bearing the image of la Morenita. While the artist had no specific blooms in mind, he does admit to a possible association between the woman and Tonantzín.[198] The landscape is also evocative for him of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains of Northern New Mexico. The horse in the background has spiritual significance. Francisco explains that part of his *herencia* (heritage) is Comanche Indian, a people known for their horsemanship, and faith in the horse as a spirit. La Morenita also appears in some of the many murals he's painted throughout Nuevo México.

> When you speak of Pedro Romero, and his extension of Native American imagery,... it reminds me of something that I read recently. In part it suggests that a good reflection on ancient Native American cultures is that "there are those for whom cosmology is an operative concept - a personal experience that brings joy and meaning to existence that in its local manifestation is often burdensome as it is beautiful." Such steps are integral with Christianity - to Catholicism, and I attempted to make such, visual in "Vision."

The preceding paragraph was contained in a letter of May 6, 1994 sent by sculptor Ray Latham of Santa Fe to this writer, pursuant to a telephone conversation.

More than five years earlier, on March of 1989, Ray, an Anglo artist who moved from the west coast, and had by then resided some twelve years in New Mexico, had just created *Vision* which speaks volumes about his adopted state in cultural, ethnic, historical and religious terms. La Morenita, a *transmogrification* of the Corn Mother,[199] is a key icon in the engrossing sculpture which was installed at the Santuario de

Guadalupe. Visually evident in the sculpture is the merger of Mary and the Corn Mothers, although Latham's work does not mirror Her every aspect as historian Ramón Gutiérrez pictures that syncretism: "The Virgin now appeared cloaked in garb decorated with corn ears and stalks with the moon at her feet, surrounded by flowers and butterflies, Indian symbols of fertility.[200]

Latham's *Vision* is a real tour de force. His own statement about the work is quite provocative, and closes with a Jewish affirmation of la Morenita:

> The sculpture is an allegory using familiar images and symbols seen in Mexico and the southwestern United States.
>
> From Aztec to symbolic, reaching toward a higher knowledge (or enlightenment), the steps (pyramid, mountain) lead to an image of Mother Earth, here depicted in the *vision of the Virgin of Guadalupe*.
>
> The stone idol (Aztec), which is of course situated on an elevated area (i.e., a pyramid or mountain) as the way of emergence, is shown *being enveloped, jungle-like, by the corn plant, so beautiful and important to this part of the world.*
>
> The stone idol is falling back, an inevitable retreat, another cycle within human history but representing a recent point of time when we have realized collectively a modicum of inner knowledge and faith.
>
> In contrast to the idol, the corn flowers in front of the full personage are a sign of new life and knowledge. The woman, *simple in her dress*, is a person of humble life and influence. She shows, in her stare, an immense amount of understanding through infusion of history, culture and spiritual growth. The woman is standing before the cross, with a respectful awareness of it. Her firm stance on the moon symbolically shows her world knowledge and her freedom, rightfully perceived, to create her future.
>
> The image of the sacred heart and crown of thorns is centered to reveal the importance of using all that we can know in a loving way; or the re-understanding through the language of symbols of the source of our knowledge.

> Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel said, "The human soul is born with a past." With this in mind, the sculpture is dedicated to the re-recognition of community, of spiritual ascent throughout the world and the commonality of all cultures to define their tradition.[201]

V. Tying Up a Very Short Loose End: No Threadbare Conclusion

There was more than a hint in Megan McCinna's epigraphic inscription that la Morenita is a *powerful* and *multivalent* image in Nuevo México, *uniting* Anglos, Chicanos/Hispanos, Native Americans and African Americans. Chicana sociologist, Irene I. Blea, explains that Chicana(o)s active in the Catholic church "would like (Our Lady of Guadalupe) to be more fully incorporated into religious services outside the Chicano community."[202] La Morenita elides fronteras (borders). Like the artists who pay Her *homenajes* (tributes), She is a *"warrior,"* to reiterate Juanita Jaramillo-Lavadie's apt words. To invoke idiomatic New Mexican Spanish, there are *chispas* (sparks) flying in La Morenita's esplendor.

Endnotes

1. *Penitentiary inmate's handkerchief.* Unless otherwise noted, this reference and all subsequent references to the dialect of Spanish spoken and written in New Mexico are taken from Rubén Cobos, *A Dictionary of New Mexico and Southern Colorado Spanish* (Santa Fe, NM: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1983), 126, 134.

2. Juan B. Rael, *The New Mexican Alabado,* With Transcription of Music by Eleanor Hague (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1967), 10, 15-16.

3. This juxtaposition of *La Virgen de Guadalupe, Malinche* (*Malintzin*) and *La Llorona* is suggested by a number of provocative readings--notably Norma Alarcón, "Traddutora, Traditora: A Paradigmatic Figure of Chicana Feminism," (1989) in *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices,* edited by Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 110-133; José Limón, "La Llorona, The Third Legend of Greater Mexico: Cultural Symbols, Women, and the Political Unconscious," in *Between Borders: Essays on Mexicana/Chicana History,* edited by Adelaida R. Del Castillo (Encino, CA: Floricanto Press, 1990), 399-432; and Angie Chabram-Dernersesian, "I Throw Punches for My Race, but I Don't Want to Be a Man: Writing Us - Chica-nos (Girl, US)/Chican*as* - into the Movement Script," in *Cultural Studies,* edited, and with an introduction, by Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, Paula A. Treichler et al. (New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, Inc., 1992), 81-95--and a projected exhibition devoted to this "trinity," being planned by San Francisco's *Mexican Museum.*

4. The cape/cloak/mantle worn by Juan Diego. I adopt the orthographic rendering by Frances Karttunen, *An Analytical Dictionary of Náhuatl* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991/92), 241.

5. Denise Chávez, "*La Guadalupana: Images and Influences in New Mexico,*" ½", 50 minute videorecording by Jerry Teale (on the staff of the general library of The University of New Mexico) of paper presented at the Rio Grande Institute Forum, Abiquiu, New Mexico, November 11-12, 1983.

6. Miguel León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture: A Study of the Ancient Náhuatl Mind,* translated from the Spanish by Jack Emory Davis (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 75. Italics are mine.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., 99. With respect to the complexities/subtleties involved in "conveying Amerindian texts to others"--beyond Náhuatl, to include Mayan and Zapotec languages--refer to Miguel León-Portilla, *Endangered Cultures*, translated by Julie Goodson-Lawes (Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 1976/90), 123-154.

9. Rodríguez italicizes this phrase taken from Antonio Valeriano, "*Nican Mopohua*" (Historia de las Apariciones de Ntra. Sra. de Guadalupe, 1552-1560?), in *Testimonios Históricos Guadalupanos*, compiled, with a Prologue, Bibliographical Notes and Indices by Ernesto de la Torre Villar and Ramiro Navarro de Anda (México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982), 28.

10. Jeanette Rodríguez, *Our Lady of Guadalupe: Faith and Empowerment Among Mexican-American Women*, foreword by Fr. Virgilio Elizondo (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1994), 36, 38. Other italics are mine.

11. An *aztequismo*, this word--derivative of áyatl, meaning cloak made from *ixtle* or maguey fiber (op. cit., Karttunen, *An Analytical Dictionary of Náhuatl*, 16)--is, in the opinion of one expert, the most appropriate term by which to refer to Juan Diego's *tilmahtli*.--Enrique Graue y Díaz González, "La Tilma de Juan Diego," in Luis Medina Ascensio, et al., *Album Commemorativo del 450 aniversario de las apariciones de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* (México, D.F.: Ediciones Buena Nueva, 1981), 115. Valeriano's description as related in the "*Nican Mopohua*" would appear as one source for E.G. y Díaz González's opinion.--op. cit., *Testimonios Históricos Guadalupanos*, 35.

12. Yvone Gebara and María Clara Bingemer, *Mary: Mother of God, Mother of the Poor*, translated from the Portuguese by Phillip Berryman (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1987/89), xi.

13. Ibid., 9, 29. Italics are mine.

14. Denise Chávez, "Saints," from *Face of an Angel*, excerpted in *Mirrors Beneath the Earth: Short Fiction by Chicano Writers*, edited by Ray González (Willimantic, CT: Curbstone Press, 1992), 42.

15. Santero Eulogio Ortega quoted in "*Santeros*," ½" videorecording directed by Ray Telles, and produced by Mark J. Carreno, Teresita Productions/KCET Latino Consortium, with funding from the Folk Arts Division of the National Endowment for the Arts, and the New Mexico Arts Division, c. 1986.

16. Paulette Atencio, *Cuentos From My Childhood: Legends and Folktales of Northern New Mexico*, a bilingual edition translated by Rubén Cobos (Santa Fe, NM: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1991), "Juan Diego," 32.

17. "Dios te salve, Virgen pura," no. 54, IV. "Farewell to the Virgin," in Juan B. Rael, *The New Mexican Alabado.* With Transcription of Music by Eleanor Hague. Stanford University Publications/University Series in Language and Literature, vol. 9, no. 3 (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1967), 99.

18. Rudolfo A. Anaya, *Bless Me, Ultima,* a novel with illustrations by Dennis Martínez (Berkeley, CA: Tonatiuh-Quinto Sol International Publishers, 1972/84), 180.

19. Theologian Megan McCinna quoted in "*La Fiesta de la Guadalupe,*" a "*Colores*!" segment of KNME-TV 5, produced by Sandy Garritano and Dale Sonnenberg, December 26, 1989.

20. Refer to Denise Chávez, "Novena Narrativas y Ofrendas Nuevomexicanas," in *Chicana Creativity and Criticism: Charting New Frontiers in American Literature,* edited by María Herrera-Sobek and Helena María Viramontes (Houston, TX and Irvine, CA: Arte Público Press and Mexico/Chicano Program, 1988), 84-100.

21. op. cit., *Our Lady of Guadalupe: Faith and Empowerment Among Mexican-American Women,* 52.

22. op. cit., *"Nican Mopohua,"* in *Testimonios Históricos Guadalupanos,* 33.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid., 26-35. Given the voluminous and varied literature surrounding the apparitions of La Guadalupana, it is noteworthy to point out, as Jeanette Rodríguez does, that "modern Guadalupan theologians generally accept the *Nican Mopohua* as the literary basis for their study." "For believers," she continues, "the *Nican Mopohua* is for Guadalupe what the Gospels are for Christianity."--op. cit., *Our Lady of Guadalupe: Faith and Empowerment Among Mexican-American Women,* 17-18.

26. op. cit., *Our Lady of Guadalupe: Faith and Empowerment...,* 43.

27. "Guadalupe was and continues to be the mother of the oppressed native Americans and mestizos in México and in the Chicano Southwest."--A. G. Guerrero, *A Chicano Theology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1987), 99. Also refer to Virgilio Elizondo, *La Morenita: Evangelizer of the Americas* (San Antonio, TX: Mexican American Cultural Center, 1980), 111.

28. op. cit., quoted in *"Colores!"* segment, *"La Fiesta de la Guadalupe."*

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. op. cit., *A Chicano Theology*, 102 and n. 11, 169.

32. Textile imagery has been among this investigator's long-standing interests, particularly his ongoing work on Chilean *arpilleras*. He would also like to acknowledge the always-thought-provoking discussions with fellow art historian, Marcos Sánchez-Tranquilino, whose insights on the Guadalupe image, and its Amerindian connections have been stimulating.

33. "A great portent appeared in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars. She was pregnant..."--*Revelation* 12.1-12.2 in *The Harper Collins Study Bible*, with the Apocryphal/ Deuterocanonical Books, edited by Wayne A. Meeks et al. (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, Inc., 1993), 2323. The Apocalyptic Woman is also invoked as the title of a book relevant to the present study: *A Woman Clothed with the Sun: Eight Great Appearances of Our Lady in Modern Times* (New York: Image Books/Doubleday, 1961/90), 37-60; a discussion of "Our Lady of guadalupe in Mexico" by Ethel Cook Eliot.

34. op. cit., *Bless Me, Ultima*, 180.

35. Anaya's novel, *Bless Me, Ultima* cites the *llano* or flat prairie many times. The author has also published a collection of short stories, set in New Mexico, under the title, *The Silence of the Llano* (Berkeley, CA: Tonatiuh-Quinto Sol International Publishers, 1982).

36. op. cit., *"Nican Mopohua"* in *Testimonios Históricos Guadalupanos*, 29. Italics are mine.

37. Rubén Cobos defines an *alabado* as "a kind of religious hymn of praise to God, the Virgin or the saints," in op. cit., *A Dictionary of New Mexico and Southern Colorado Spanish*, 7. Interestingly, John Donald Robb distinguishes the *alabado* from what he terms an *alabanza*. It is the latter--a word not included in Cobos' dictionary--which Robb defines "as a song in praise of the Virgin Mary, a saint, or other holy figure," in his study, *Hispanic Folk Music of New Mexico and the Southwest: A Self-Portrait of a People* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 644.

38. op. cit., no. 55, IV. "Farewell to the Virgin," in Rael's *The New Mexican Alabado*, 99-100.

[39] The source of the ballad's text is given as Española in Ibid., 100.

[40] Jacques Lafaye, *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness, 1531-1813*. With a Foreword by Octavio Paz. Translated by Benjamin Keen (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974/76), 244.

[41] op. cit., 218-219.

[42] op. cit., 244.

[43] refer to n. 11, above.

[44] op. cit., Lafaye, 225.

[45] a statue or image of a holy person carved in the round is termed a *bulto*.--op. cit., *A Dictionary of New Mexico and Southern Colorado Spanish*, 20.

[46] refer to first epigraphic inscription, above.

[47] R. L. Grimes, *Symbol and Conquest: Public Ritual and Drama in Santa Fe* (Albuquerque, NM: The University of New Mexico Press, 1976/92), 243-244; italics are mine.

[48] Ibid., 242; italics are mine.

[49] Fray Angelico Chávez, *La Conquistadora: The Autobiography of an Ancient Statue* (Santa Fe, NM: Sunstone Press, 1975/83), 25. Italics are mine.

[50] Don Diego de Vargas, *First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico, 1692*. Translation, introduction and notes by J. Manuel Espinosa. Vol. X in *Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940*, edited by George P. Hammond (Albuquerque, NM: The University of New Mexico Press, 1940), 59, n. 2.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid., "Document Two: Vargas' Campaign Journal," 102-103. Italics are mine.

[53] op. cit., *The Harper Collins Study Bible*, 2056.

[54] Ibid.

56. Ibid., *Acts 19.11-19.12*, 2095-2096. Italics are mine.

56. *Leviticus 1:6; 2 Chronicles 29:34, 35:11*; and *Micah 3:3*.

57. Esther Pasztory, *Aztec Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1983), 226. Xipe Totec's place in Aztec religious cosmology bears amplification in light of our narrowly focused inquiry. Citing from fellow-German scholar Konrad T. Preuss' 1926 study, *Die Eingeborenen Amerikas*, Jungian exponent Erich Neumann explains that "Xipe is the male parallel to the earth and moon goddess, to the mother of the gods or the goddess of sensual pleasure, who also personifies the corn plant and the corn or foodstuff."--E. Neumann, *The Great Mother: An Analysis of the Archetype*. Translated from the German by Ralph Manheim. Bollingen Series XLVII (New York: Random House, Inc., 1955/63), 194. Neumann goes on to discuss the birth of the corn, the latter personified as *Centeotl*, the deity of maize who *wears the skin of the sacrificed Earth Mother*. Specifically, he *wears a mask fashioned from the skin of the mother's thighs*. An especially resonant aspect of this sacrificial ceremony is the added fact that prior to her sacrifice, the woman representing the corn goddess and *Centeotl's mother wears a mantle of maguey characteristic of Centeotl, Himself*.--Ibid., 195. Italics are mine.

58. Jacques Derrida, *The Truth in Painting*. Translated by Geoff Bennington and Ian McLeod (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978/87), 57-82.

59. Gustavo G. Velázquez, *El Rebozo en el Estado de México* (México, D.F.: Biblioteca Enciclopédica del Estado de México, 1981), 40. Italics are mine.

60. "A cuatrocientos cincuenta años de distancia desde la conquista, la tilma está a punto de desaparecer. Mientras tanto ha surgido otra prenda que toma su lugar: el sarape. Esta prenda y sus variantes cubren ahora los hombros de los indígenas."--R. D. Lechuga, *El traje indígena de México: su evolución, desde la época Prehispánica hasta la actualidad* (México, D.F.: Panorama Editorial, S.A., 1982), 176-177.

61. Patricia Rieff Anawalt, *Indian Clothing Before Cortés: Mesoamerican Costumes from the Codices*. Foreword by H. B. Nicholson. Charts prepared by Jean Cuker Sells (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), 27.

62. Ibid., 30. But for the word *tilmatli*, italics are mine.

63. Ibid. Italics are mine.

64. Refer to the excellent compilation of such vestments, *Diccionario de Indumentaria Náhuatl* by César Macazaga Ordoño (México, D.F.: Editorial Innovación, S.A., 1983).

[65] op. cit., *El traje indígena de México...*, 35-37.

[66] Ibid.

[67] op. cit., *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe*, 231-232.

[68] op. cit., *The Great Mother: An Analysis of the Archetype*, 227, 230. Italics are mine.

[69] Ibid., 233.

[70] "An Historical Account of the Birth of Christ, and the Perpetual Virgin Mary, his Mother, by James the Lesser, Cousin and Brother of the Lord Jesus, chief Apostle and first Bishop of the Christians in Jerusalem."--*The Apocryphal Books of the New Testament* (Being all the Gospels, Epistles, and Other Pieces Now Extant Attributed in the First Four Centuries to Jesus Christ, His Apostles and Their Companions *Not Included, by Its Compilers, in the Authorized New Testament...*). Translated from the Original Tongues (Philadelphia, PA: David McKay, Publisher, 1890/1901).

[71] Ibid., 29-30.

[72] Neumann points out that the term, *Magna Mater* or *Great Mother* is "a partial aspect of the Archetypal Feminine, ...a late abstraction, presupposing a highly developed speculative consciousness." He adds that, "it is only relatively late in the history of mankind that we find the Archetypal Feminine designated as *Magna Mater* (notwithstanding that) it was worshipped and portrayed many thousands of years before the appearance of the term."--Ibid., 11. Italics are mine.

[73] J. E. Cirlot, *A Dictionary of Symbols*. Translated from the Spanish by Jack Sage. Foreword by Herbert Read (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1962), 194.

[74] Ibid.

[75] op. cit., *The Great Mother...*, 331. An *alabado* from Cerritos, New Mexico, includes a stanza(8) which invokes this mantle of refuge: Madre de la Soledad, Madre de consolación, cobijanos con tu manto... (op. cit., *The New Mexican Alabado*, 100-101.

[76] op. cit., A. C.-Dernersesian, "I Throw Punches for My Race, but I Don't Want to Be a Man..." in *Cultural Studies*, 91. Italics are mine.

[77] Ibid. Italics are mine.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid. Italics are mine.

[80] Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, *The Colloquies of Erasmus.* (1518-33). Translated by Craig R. Thompson (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), 139.

[81] Ibid., "The Shipwreck," 141. Italics are mine.

[82] Ibid., "The Well-to-do Beggars," 203.

[83] Ibid., 212. Italics are mine.

[84] Ibid. Italics are mine.

[85] Ibid., 215. Italics are mine. Weigh the Inkeeper's words in relation to present-day Mayan ritual in Tenejapa, near San Cristóbal de Las Casas in the State of Chiapas, México. According to myth, the Virgin appeared in Lake Banabil and asked for a *huipil*--a garment enclosing a woman in a sacred space of its own making--and a skirt so that she could dress as a proper woman. Each year a weaver is chosen to lead a procession of religious officials to Lake Banabil, where clothing is thrown into the water as an offering.--Walter F. Morris, Jr., with Photographs by Jeffrey J. Foxx, *Living Maya* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1987), 137, 143.

[86] Ibid., "Exorcism"/"The Specter," 233. Italics are mine.

[87] O. Carlos Stoetzer, *The Scholastic Roots of the Spanish American Revolution* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1979), 32.

[88] David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 110.

[89] Allardyce Nicoll, *Masks, Mimes and Miracles: Studies in the Popular Theatre* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1963), 178-179.

[90] Ibid.

[91] David Cole, *The Theatrical Event: A Mythos, A Vocabulary, A Perspective* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1975), 6.

[92] Ibid. I italicize the word *presence*.

[93] Ibid., 7-8.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Refer to text footnoted 13.

[97] David Richard Jones, ed., *New Mexico Plays* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 65. Italics are mine.

98. Aurelio M. Espinosa, *The Folklore of Spain in the American Southwest: Traditional Spanish Folk Literature in Northern New Mexico and Southern Colorado*, edited by J. Manuel Espinosa (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 210-212.

[99] Ibid., 210.

[100] Ibid., 211. But for *gachupín*, the italics are Espinosa's. He mistakenly translates *tilma* as blanket (212).

[101] op. cit., *A Dictionary of New Mexico and Southern Colorado Spanish*, 74.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Catalina Reyes, "Play Gives Comic Twist to Virgin Appearance," *Albuquerque Journal* (Saturday, December 19, 1992). Pagination unavailable.

[104] Yolanda Julia Broyles, "Women in El Teatro Campesino: "¿Apoco Estaba Molacha la Virgen de Guadalupe?""in *Chicana Voices: Intersections of Class, Race, and Gender*, edited by Teresa Córdova et al. (Austin, TX: Center for Mexican American Studies, University of Texas and The National Association for Chicano Studies, 1986/90), 171. *"Color"* is very much a viable means of identifying as the sociological data--"investigating the experience of Mexican-American women in relation to Our Lady of Guadalupe"--reveals in Jeanette Rodríguez's study.--op. cit., *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, 87, 134.

[105] op. cit., *La Morenita...*, 97.

[106] Ibid., 83.

107. E. Begg, *The Cult of the Black Virgin* (New York: An Arkana Book/Penguin Books, updated edition, 1985), 248.

108. It is fascinating to note, as historian Ramón A. Gutiérrez does, that although there were no Moors in New Mexico, "some of the colonists spoke of the Indians as Moors."--R. A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), 194-195.

109. Cecilio García-Camarillo and Ramón A. Flores, *La Virgen de Tepeyac*, Program Booklet for the December 11-20, 1992 shows' run at Kimo Theatre, Albuquerque, NM; "Director's Notes," 7.

110. Mauro Rodríguez, *Guadalupe: ¿Historia o Simbolo?* Prologo de Vicente Leñero (México, D.F.: Editorial Edicol, S.A., 1980), 13.

111. Ibid. Curiously, the word *lob(a)o* can be used derogatorily in México to mean *"halfbreed,"* a mixture of Black and Indian races.

112. op. cit., *"Nican Mopohua"*, 34.

113. Jeanette Rodríguez cites from the work of Fray Fidel de Jesús Chauvet. op. cit., *Our Lady of Guadalupe...*, 45-46.

114. Ibid., 46.

115. Ibid.

116. Rodolfo Usigli, *Two Plays/Crown of Light, One of These Days...*, Translated by Thomas Bledsoe, Introduction by Willis Knapp Jones, Foreword by J. Cary Davis (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965/66/71).

117. R. Barthes, "The Diseases of Costume," (1955) in R. Barthes, *Critical Essays*, Translated from the French by Richard Howard (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1972), 46. Italics are Barthes'.

118. Ibid.

119. Ibid. Italics are Barthes'. It is interesting to note that twelve years after authoring this seminal essay, Barthes will introduce a tripartite taxonomy for clothing: (1) *real clothing* referring to an actual garment; (2) *image clothing* referring to a photographic or other reproduction of an actual garment; and (3) *written clothing*

referring to the actual garment described and transformed into discourse/language. *Clothing to be read* is an implicit fourth category.--Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System,* translated by Matthew Ward and Richard Howard (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967/83/90), 3-18.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid., 47.

[122] Ibid., 41. Italics are mine.

[123] Ibid., 48. Italics are Barthes'.

[124] Ibid., 48-49.

[125] Ibid., 49. Italics are mine. The *exalted tilmahtli* is an example of an "elementary *hierophany,*" to use the words of the eminent scholar, Mircea Eliade. The cloak *"reveals that it is sacred,* that it has been, as it were, *chosen* as the receptacle for a manifestation of the sacred."--M. Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy,* translated from the French by Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Series LXXVI (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), 32.

[126] A. B. Weiner and J. Schneider, *Cloth and Human Experience* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989/91), 3. Italics are mine.

[127] Ibid., 4. Italics are mine.

[128] N. Alarcón, "Traddutora, Traditora: A Paradigmatic Figure of Chicana Feminism," in *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices*, edited by Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 123.

[129] J. E. Limón, "La Llorona, The Third Legend of Greater Mexico: Cultural Symbols, Women, and the Political Unconscious," in *Between Borders: Essays on Mexicana/Chicana History*, edited by Adelaida R. Del Castillo (Encino, CA: Floricanto Press, 1990), 417.

[130] op. cit., *The Folklore of Spain in the American Southwest...*, 224-225.

[131] Ibid., 225; and Flavia Waters Champe, *The Matachines Dance of the Upper Rio Grande: History, Music, and Choreography* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 12.

[132] Ibid., *The Matachines Dance...*, 5, 89.

[133] Ibid., 12-13.

[134] op. cit., *The Folklore of Spain...*, 225.

[135] Ibid., 226.

[136] J. S. Griffith, *Beliefs and Holy Places: A Spiritual Geography of the Pimería Alta* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1992), 166.

[137] op. cit., *The Matachines Dances...*, 12.

[138] Ibid., 14.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Ibid., 12.

[141] B. R. Flores, *Chiquita's Cocoon: The Latina Woman's Guide to Greater Power, Love, Money, Status and Happiness* (New York: Villard Books, 1990/94), 89-90.

[142] From "Little Miracles, Kept Promises," in Sandra Cisneros, *Woman Hollering Creek and Other Stories* (New York: Random House, 1991), 127-129. Bold italics are mine.

[143] op. cit., *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, 135. Italics are mine.

[144] An excellent reference source on this subject is Jerry and Sally R. Romotsky's book, *Los Angeles Barrio Calligraphy* (Los Angeles, CA: Dawson's Book Shop, 1976).

[145] William Wroth, *Images of Penance, Images of Mercy: Southwestern Santos in the Late Nineteenth Century*, with an Introduction to Part 2 by Marta Weigle (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press for the Taylor Museum for Southwestern Studies and the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, 1991), 39. Writing about religious practices in Puerto Rico, Martha Egan explains that "in return for a *cure* or an *answered prayer*, the petitioner will fulfill his *promesa*...."--M. Egan, *Mílagros: Votive Offerings from the Americas*, Foreword by Marion Oettinger, Jr., translation by Luís Fernando Mejía and Ana Isabel Stellino Martínez (Santa Fe, NM: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1991), 29. But for word *promesa*, italics are mine.

[146] Jeanette Rodríguez finds that "the area from which the content of the petitions comes usually involves marital problems, *issues with children*, pregnancy, family, friends, or husband."--op. cit. *Our Lady of Guadalupe...*, 135.

[147] Personal interview conducted in Santa Fe on November 18, 1993. *La Promesa* was first exhibited in December of 1992 at the Santuario de Guadalupe. Thereafter, it was exhibited in October, 1993 in a show entitled, *"Madonna Revisited,"* held at the Gallery of the Repertory Theatre, also in Santa Fe. Not all the pieces shown were religious.

[148] Ibid.

[149] Ibid. *La Reina de mi Corazon* was shown until May 15, 1994 in a show called *"Fiesta Artista,"* a joint effort involving the cooperation of Hispanic and Native American artists; Convention Center, Albuquerque.

[150] Ibid.

[151] This writer wishes to acknowledge the generosity and expertise of Guadalupana scholar, Jacqueline Dunnington, of Santa Fe, through whom he identified Aragón. Many thanks to Santa Fe-based artist Dominique Mazeaud who was his initial contact, and referred him to Dunnington.

[152] Telephone conversation with the artist, May 23, 1994.

[153] Interviewed him and eleven other *pintos* in Santa Fe at the Penitentiary on February 24, 1994. I am grateful for Warden John Thomas' gracious help, and especially for the crucial and unwavering support of Holly Haas, a member of the Education staff at the Main facility; she was the principal facilitator in gaining entrance to the correctional facility.

[154] Refer to n. 16, above.

[155] Juan Diego was then 57.--Donald Demarest and Coley Taylor, eds., *The Dark Virgin: The Book of Our Lady of Guadalupe (A Documentary Anthology)* (New York: Coley Taylor, Inc., 1956), 115-117. Note that *Bless Me, Ultima* represents Juan Diego as a mere "boy." (refer to n. 18, above).

[156] Miguel Gandert and I visited Diana García in the early afternoon of July 13, 1993.

[157] Refer to n. 15, above.

158. On-site interview with the Ortegas was conducted on July 16, 1993.

159. Quoted in Diana Pardue, *¡Chispas!: Cultural Warriors of New Mexico* (Phoenix, AZ: The Heard Museum, 1992), 2. Although neither Eulogio nor Zoraida were among the thirteen New Mexican artists represented in this exhibition (which ran from February 15, 1992 until April 25, 1993), both meet Jaramillo-Lavadie's criteria.

160. Refer to n. 86, above.

161. From personal interview held with the artist in Santa Fe on November 17, 1993.

162. James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and Wounded Knee* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1892-93/1896/1973), 790.

163. Ibid. Italics are mine.

164. Ibid.

165. Ibid. Italics are mine.

166. J. A. Burciaga, *Drink Cultura/Chicanismo* (Santa Barbara, CA: Joshua Odell Editions/Capra Press, 1993), 6.

167. Ibid.

168. op. cit., *The Ghost Dance...*, 805, 926.

169. L. F. Huenemann, "Northern Plains Dance," in *Native American Dance: Ceremonies and Social Traditions*, edited by Charlotte Heth et al. (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution with Starwood Publishing, Inc., 1992), 127. Consider the implications for our study--where ghost shirts and the *tilmahtli* of Juan Diego are conflated--of two lines of lyrics from a Ghost Dance song: *Now the sun's beams are running out,/The sun's yellow rays are running out.* Is *night* merely overtaking *day*, or is la Morenita's esplendor losing its splendid luminosity?--Jamake Highwater, *Ritual of the Wind: North American Indian Ceremonies, Music, and Dances* (New York: A Studio Book/The Viking Press, 1977), 173.

170. V. Scully, *PUEBLO: Mountain, Village, Dance* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972/75/89), 361-364.

[171] I am grateful to my wife, Ida N. Guzmán-Sorell, for referring me to both the *hábito* and *habitito* garments and associated *costumbres* (customs) as she remembered them growing up in the lower Rio Grande valley of Texas.

[172] Denise Chávez, *"Novena Narrativas y Ofrendas Nuevomexicanas,"* in *Chicana Creativity and Criticism: Charting New Frontiers in American Literature*, edited by María Herrera-Sobek and Helena María Viramontes (Houston, TX/Irvine, CA: Arte Público Press and Mexico/Chicano Program, 1988), 84-100.

[173] Discussing the earliest shrines erected to Our Lady in the New World, author Peter Lappin mentions "a permanent Indian mission... established in Saint Augustine (Florida)... which included a shrine dedicated to *Nuestra Señora de la Leche* (Our Nursing Mother). He goes on to date the shrine as early as 1620.--P. Lappin, *First Lady of the World: A Popular History of Devotion to Mary* (New Rochelle, NY: Don Bosco Publications, 1988), 121.

[174] Marina Warner maintains that "there is no more *matriarchal image* than the Christian mother of God who bore a child without male assistance."--M. Warner, *Alone of all her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Random House, 1976), 47.

[175] Letter from Sandi Maestas to this writer, dated May 25, 1994. Italics are mine.

[176] M. Weigle, *Creation and Procreation: Feminist Reflections on Mythologies of Cosmogony and Parturition* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 145.

[177] op. cit., Maestas' letter.

[178] op. cit., *Chicana Creativity and Criticism...*, 85.

[179] Ibid., 87.

[180] Ibid., 98.

[181] Ibid., 100.

[182] Telephone interview with the artist, June 02, 1994.

[183] R. Padilla, "History of the Handkerchief (Paño)," 8-page unpaginated/ unpublished typescript, ©1991 by the author and Paño Arte Project/Youth Development, Inc., Albuquerque, NM.

[184] I borrow these notions from the text, *The Second Skin: An Interdisciplinary Study of Clothing* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1968/75/81), through which co-authors Marilyn J. Horn and Lois M. Gurel advance "an overall understanding of dress as *a second skin*." (5). These authors refer to tattooing as *corporal decoration*(141). The Japanese can conceive of *tattooing as clothing*.--Robert Brain, *The Decorated Body* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1979), 64.

[185] op. cit., *Symbol and Conquest...*, 243. Italics are mine.

[186] Vásquez referred to la Morenita as "a good saint that I like; she'll help me with my drawing."--Interview at the Penitentiary, February 24, 1994.

[187] Amalia Mesa-Bains, "The Real Multiculturalism: A Struggle for Authority and Power," in Marcia Tucker et al., *Different Voices: A Social, Cultural, and Historical Framework for Change in the American Art Museum* (New York: Association of Art Museum Directors, 1992), 98.

[188] I extend my deepest appreciation to Miguel who has been a wonderful collaborator, and whose accomplished photographs document much of my fieldwork.

[189] Interview at the Penitentiary, February 24, 1994.

[190] Interview with Anderson conducted at SHRI on July 27, 1993. I am grateful to Vangie Samora, then on the SHRI staff, for referring me to Gordy and fiber artist, Peggy Randolph, discussed below.

[191] A. Govenar, "The Variable Context of Chicano Tattooing," in *Marks of Civilization: Artistic Transformations of the Human Body*, edited by Arnold Rubin (Los Angeles, CA: Museum of Cultural History/UCLA, 1988), 209. Refer also to A. Govenar, "Christian Tattoos," in *Tattootime*, no. 2/*Tattoo Magic*, edited by D. E. Hardy (Honolulu, HA: Hardy Marks Publications, 1988), 4-11.

[192] Interview at the Penitentiary, February 24, 1994.

[193] Interview with Goldie in Albuquerque on July 13, 1993.

[194] Refer to n. 85, above.

195. Interview with the artist in Albuquerque, July 27, 1993.

196. op. cit., *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away...*, 82-83.

197. Interview with artist at her home in outlying area of Albuquerque, July 12, 1993.

198. Interview with the artist in Albuquerque, February 26, 1994.

199. op. cit., *When Jesus Came...*, 78.

200. Ibid., 90-91.

201. Statement (made by the artist in March of 1989) provided by the Santuario de Guadalupe in Santa Fe. Italics are mine.

202. Irene I. Blea, *La Chicana and the Intersection of Race, Class, and Gender* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1992), 112. I want to thank Irene for referring me to Rudy Padilla.

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