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Chican@ Time Warp: The Enduring Legacies of Chicano Muralism Displayed in Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda's and Los Toltecas en Aztlán's Mural *La Dualidad (The Duality)*

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction

of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts

in Chicana and Chicano Studies

by

Gabriela Rodriguez-Gomez

2019

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Chican@ Time Warp: The Enduring Legacies of Chicano Muralism Displayed in Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda's and Los Toltecas en Aztlán's Mural *La Dualidad (The Duality)*

by

Gabriela Rodriguez-Gomez

Master of Arts in Chicana and Chicano Studies

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Charlene Villaseñor Black, Chair

This is the first comprehensive study of the mural *La Dualidad (The Duality)* designed by Chicano artist Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda in collaboration with Los Toltecas en Aztlán located inside El Centro Cultural de la Raza in San Diego, California. The thesis conducts a visual analysis of *La Dualidad (The Duality)*, and discusses the changes in design from 1970 to the current version finished in 1984. By reading it in dialogue with the Mexican muralist Rufino Tamayo's *Dualidad (Duality)* mural of 1964, as an example of an earlier mural that visualized the Mesoamerican concept of "duality" through the depiction of the Aztec gods Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl, I propose that the San Diego mural presents the distinct qualities of Chicano muralism. Most notably, *La Dualidad (The Duality)* re-conceptualizes the concept of "duality" in

a future-forward visual interpretation that incorporates what I term a “syncretic-continuum” of ideas, philosophies, and symbolism from Amerindian, Mexican, Mexican American, and Chicano/a cultures. By utilizing a “Xicana futurist lens,” I observe a future-conscious perspective that envisioned the forthcoming generations of Chicanos and Chicanas as active protagonists and creators in a dynamic and technologically advanced American society. This study is the first to theorize futurism and “Chicanafuturism” to conduct a social art historical in-depth reading of Chicano murals.

The thesis of Gabriela Rodriguez-Gomez is approved.

Alma López Gaspar de Alba

Eric R Avila

Charlene Villaseñor Black, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019

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Introduction

This study conducts a comprehensive visual analysis of the mural *La Dualidad (The Duality*) by Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda, in collaboration with the artist collective Los Toltecas en Aztlán, located inside El Centro Cultural de la Raza in San Diego, California. It is the first to examine the various modifications of the mural, from 1970 to its present-day version finished in 1984, and considers these changes as part of the overall understanding of the concept of "duality." As I demonstrate, the mural visualizes this concept through a uniquely Chicano perspective built upon Indigenist iconography. Aranda incorporated symbols from the ancient Mexican and Amerindian past, an example of Indigenism or *Indigenismo*, with the modern social and cultural movements of the late 1960s to create an image that represents a "Chicano" aesthetic. This study is the first to cross-examine sources on pre-Columbian and colonial texts on the concept of "duality" to determine if the Mexican understanding of "duality" correlates with the Chicano experience in the U.S. Through a re-examination of the various symbols and iconography that connote an ancient and modern indigenous Mexican and Amerindian connection, I introduce the concept of a "syncretic-continuum" of ideas, visual translations, and future-forward themes that resonate in time and relate to forthcoming generations of Chicanos/as, Mexican Americans, Native Americans, and other groups in solidarity with the Chicano Movement.

To demonstrate the uniqueness of visualizing "duality" from a Chicano versus a Mexican perspective, I compare the murals *La Dualidad (The Duality)* with Rufino Tamayo's *Dualidad (Duality)* finished in 1964 in Mexico City, located in the National Museum of Anthropology, to identify a Mexican pre-Columbian cultural patrimony that was in agreement with the international audience and Mexican government. I also conduct a brief visual analysis of

Tamayo's *Dualidad (Duality)* interpreting the concept of "duality" amidst the aesthetic shifts in Mexican muralism of the late 1950s and early 1960s. In Tamayo's version, the theme of "duality" and the central Mexican narrative of two Aztec gods, Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca battling for cosmic equilibrium, demonstrates the Mexican approach to the concept that acknowledges the ancient Aztec myths, but through a globalized modern experience that situates the past without a link to the present. Meanwhile, Aranda and Los Toltecas en Aztlán envisioned the concept of "duality" as a continuing timeless message that involved Chicanos/as well beyond the 1970s, and intentionally considered the past as a contributive factor to the present.

I propose the following inquiries about the mural *La Dualidad (The Duality)* by Aranda and Los Toltecas en Aztlán within the grander discussion of Chicano/a muralism in art history and Chicano/a studies. What is the connective tissue that links the Chicano/a murals of yesterday to today? How is the idea of "duality" conveyed in both an ancient and modern context in *La Dualidad (The Duality)* and how does it differ from Tamayo's *Dualidad (Duality)*? What are the direct and indirect transnational influences from Mexican muralism to Chicana/o muralism? Is the use of indigenous or Mexican imagery a borrowed idea from the Mexican muralists? What are the visual qualities that make-up a "Chicano mural" versus a Mexican mural? How are Chicano/a artists incorporating a future-forward vision of solidarity using Native American, Mexican, and Chicano/a iconography? This thesis proposes that Aranda and Los Toltecas en Aztlán cultivated a vision of the future that harnessed an emancipative energy, seeing "duality" as both a cosmic and natural force, allowing a sense of healing of the traumas of colonization and modernity through art and community. Thus, *La Dualidad (The Duality)* signifies the Chicano art and mural movement's efforts for self-determination as it visually translates a complex ancient concept to be applied to present struggles for justice, suggesting its message endures time

to relate to future audiences. I view the mural through what I term a “Xicana futurist lens,” one that enables my interpretation of the image as an intentional future-conscious narrative that situates the Chicano/a experience as an ongoing process that continues to the twenty-first century and beyond.

The following historical overview of the Chicano art movement, an integral part of the social and political activism of the Chicano Movement, chronologically situates the use of Mexican and ancient Mesoamerican iconography as a distinct quality of Chicano muralism. Through a re-evaluation of primary texts, I noticed an extensive discussion of the influential power of the Mexican muralists and the rise of the production of murals in the U.S. — specifically throughout the Southwest. For example, in California starting as early as 1968, Chicano/a artists embarked on the creative journey of producing murals for and with communities in collaboration with local and regional artists, businesses, and universities. The artists, who were either self-taught or attended a university or art college for formal training, visualized the core-themes of the Chicano Movement to create what is known as “Chicano art,” and “Chicano murals.” What are these “Chicano” qualities in the murals produced during the early Chicano art movement? Also, what do we know about the transnational exchanges between artists of Mexico to California?

Brief Historical Overview: The Chicano Art and Mural Movement, 1968 – 1985

The Chicano Movement or *El Movimiento* in California began in the rural agricultural communities of the Central Valley when the National Farm Worker Association (NFWA), established in 1962 and later known as the United Farmworker Union (UFW), joined the Filipino grape strike in 1965. César E. Chávez and Dolores Huerta’s efforts to unionize and strike, also

prompted the creation of artworks and theater that complimented the movement, such as El Teatro Campesino (The Farmworker Theater), where the local farmworkers could view performances held locally in the towns like Delano or Del Rey. Between 1965 and 1968, the production of posters that were utilized to quickly distribute information on the farmworker movement and El Teatro Campesino contributed to the "resurgence and convergence of the social and aesthetic" that Pérez-Torres suggests became the catalyst for the art movement.[1] Other scholars have identified two chronological stages of Chicano art, one from 1968 to 1975 and the other 1975 to 1981. Per art historian Shifra M. Goldman and scholar Tómas Ybarra-Frausto, the early period included the mass production of public artworks in various mediums such as posters, prints, photography, and murals, that codified the beginnings of a legitimate art movement.[2]

Another crucial aspect of the art movement is the understanding of what it means to identify as "Chicano" and interrogate existing art historical texts that describe a type of artwork as "Chicano," as an identity based and politically charged aesthetic. Chicano historian Juan Gómez-Quiñones explained that the word Chicano was an important shift in perception to view a community that strived for self-representation by stating:

> The issue of the proper designation for the community has often been, given the gravity of its implications, controversial. A name has significance in defining self-perception, the perception of one's peers, the cultural heritage, and the larger society. Personally, I find the term Chicano to be preferable. The choice of Chicano is not in itself depreciatory of

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[1] Rafael Pérez-Torres, *Mestizaje: Critical Uses of Race in Chicano Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 116 – 117.

[2] Shifra M. Goldman and Tómas Ybarra-Frausto, "The Political and Social Contexts of Chicano Art," in *Chicano Art: Resistance and Affirmation* (Los Angeles: Wight Art Gallery, University of California, Los Angeles, 1991), 83. "The history of the movement can be divided into two periods: from 1968 to 1975 and from 1975 to 1981 and beyond."

other designations. It is not new; it is an in-group term with connotations of peer fellowship usually reserved for working-class people and those of marked Indian decent. It also has been used to distinguish people of Mexican parentage born north of the border; and it also has been used with pejorative intent. Today, however, the acceptance of the term as the self-designation for the community is increasing. The preference for it can be argued on the grounds that it speaks to what is *autochthonous* as well as *syncretic* of the Chicano historical experience. It is a statement of self-assertion.[3]

I purposefully italicized the words autochthonous and syncretic because Gómez-Quiñones is identifying the native or indigenous quality of the term Chicano, while it simultaneously includes a combination of themes and iconography that originate from multiple cultural groups. He continues to mention that the Chicano community is an "ongoing process that has been and is in the process of becoming," meaning it is a dynamic sense of identity that must be re-analyzed over time.[4] This is an important aspect of *Chicanidad* or *Chicanismo*, central to identifying something as "Chicano," that must be taken into consideration when viewing these works of art.

This study also acknowledges the efforts made by Chicana artists throughout the early phases of the art movement, and considers Chicanas as participants and influencers within the art movement. I use the terms "Chicano muralism" to describe the mural by Aranda and Los Toltecas en Aztlán to comply with its early historical date of production and because the members of the artist collective were predominantly male. Although the mural was finished in the 1980s, during the rise of Chicana feminist scholarship, I argue that the artists were not

[3] Juan Gómez-Quiñones, "Toward a Perspective on Chicano History," in *The Chicano Studies Reader: An Anthology of Aztlán* (Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Press, 1971), 26 – 27.

[4] Ibid, 27.

intentionally inserting feminist theoretical concepts or ideologies in the mural.[5] Therefore, I insert a scholarly intervention influenced by historian Emma Pérez's epistemological activism by choosing to locate the power of women and their agency in leadership, motherhood, sisterhood, and community. Pérez encourages Chicana activist scholars to "deconstruct systems of thought that frame Chicana history" and "imprint" Chicanas into the consciousness of mainstream knowledge and document their genealogy.[6] In conjunction with this intervention, this study conducts an interdisciplinary visual analysis by applying a Chicana feminist and futurist theoretical framework to re-contextualize the imagery displayed in the mural, but also to re-interpret the concept of "duality" not solely from a Chicano perspective but also from a contemporary "Xicana futurist" approach.

Shifra M. Goldman's early writing on Chicano art and muralism guides my analysis on how to critically examine the contributions made by Chicano muralists. In an article published in 1974, during the peak of the Chicano art movement, titled "What is Chicano Art?" Goldman attempted to explain how art historians deal with the topic of Chicano art. She begins with an interesting note about the "nagging controversy" concerning what constitutes Chicano art, and proposed to view Chicano art as a "past pejorative and class-bound adjective" that transformed to

[5] Lee Bebout, *Mythohistorical Interventions: The Chicano Movement and Its Legacies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 201. "I employ the term "Chicano/a" to refer to the field of study as well as the people engaged in the social movements from 1965 to 1975." Bebout uses the phrase "postmovement era" to describe the period from the "decline of the overt activism of the movement to recent years, denoted by a rise in Chicana feminist, queer Chicano/a articulations, as well as the popularization of panethnic terms such as Hispanic and Latino/a." This study will not use "Chicanx" or "Chicano/a" to discuss the early discussion of "Chicano" art because many scholars and literature of the early 1970s refer to the artists and artworks as "Chicano." I incorporate the term "Chicanx" to describe LGBQT artists and scholars who are contributing to the academic field in the 1980s and 1990s. The term "Xicana/o" stems from the influences of Ana Castillo and Dylan T. Miner which will be discussed in detail below.

[6] Emma Pérez, "Introduction," in *Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), xxviii- ix. "Deconstructing systems of thought that frame Chicana history is my task. In other words, I experiment with a consciousness of Chicana knowledge… I uncover case studies of Chicana feminist thought, I begin to use his (referencing Gómez-Quiñones) genealogical method, in which social practice takes precedence over theory – the imprint of the word upon the physical, psychic, historical body in his genealogy."

become "a new cultural identity signaling a rebirth of pride and confidence."[7] The combination of the terms "Chicano" and "art" formulated a unique visual interpretation of the bicultural lifestyle most Mexican-American, Chicano/a, and Latino/a communities experience living in the U.S. Goldman explains that the artwork becomes the expression of a "double-*mestizaje*" where the original *mestizo* from colonial origins (the racial mixing of Spanish, indigenous Mexican, and African people) and the modern *mestizo* (residing in the U.S. as a second-class citizen or alienated by societal expectations that are racially biased) in the twentieth-century are colliding with the technological and industrial Anglo dominated society.

Goldman proposed that "Chicano art is the final realization, in graphic form, that the human ingredients in the famous 'melting pot' of the U.S. have failed to melt; that the total homogenization foreseen in the early twentieth century has not taken place. The blended, de-culturalized All-American did not materialize."[8] The type of aesthetic that constitutes or establishes the category of "Chicano art" is therefore not fused together in a homogenized way, it must be viewed as a dynamic process that continues to challenge the known historical understanding of conquest, colonization, and modernization. Per Goldman, "Chicano art" manifested a "syncretization" or the harmonized unification of multiple ideas, imagery, and philosophies that include contradicting perspectives together in one image. However, there is a glue or energy that connects them, an ephemeral experience as described by Goldman of being

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[7] Shifra M. Goldman, "Chicano Art," in *Critical Documents of 20th Century Latin American and Latino Art, Resisting Categories: Latin American / Or Latino?* Ed. Héctor Olea and Melina Kervandjian (Houston: The Museum of Fine Arts and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), originally published in 1974, 635.

[8] Goldman, "Chicano Art," 635. "Historically the Chicano is a product of double-*Mestizaje* (intermingling). The original Mestizo (fusion of indio-español-negro) resulted from violent collision of cultures in sixteen-century Mexico, and their interpenetration. The modern Mestizo, living in an area he considers "conquered Mexico" (the southwest United States), encountered a further collision with the Anglo-industrial technical-complex, urbanized in cities and sprawling over the land in great agribusiness."

"held in a state of suspension which may, under certain circumstances, dissolve or fly apart."[9] Echoing what Gómez-Quiñones suggested about the term "Chicano" as autochthonous and syncretic, Goldman's use of the word "syncretization" informs the reader about Chicano "thought and art," proposing that Chicano art is a complex interconnection of images that "determined their own destiny."[10] This action toward self-representation was also a moment in history that cannot be reproduced, hence, it is also a fleeting moment that is captured.

The word syncretic or "syncretization" is commonly referenced in other fields such as anthropology and art history to describe a unification or hybridization of cultural traditions, or symbols relating to indigenous cosmology and modern Western religions. Coincidently, Chicano art during its early stages and the multiple artworks that display a combination of narratives and imagery that represent Mexican, indigenous Mexican and Amerindian, and the modern U.S. American experience were also labeled as a fusion or harmonious unification of each culture. The term "syncretic" has influenced my understanding of the concept of *Chicanidad* or *Chicanismo*, including the idea of *mestizaje*, as a hybrid identity that continues to grow and develop.[11] The word "syncretization" or "syncretism" to describe the category of Chicano art has

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[9] Ibid, 635-636. Goldman defines "syncretization" and "syncretism" as a "reconciliation of conflicting beliefs; the process of growth through coalescence of different forms." She also mentioned that "with its implicit proposition that conflicting contraries are held in a state of suspension which may, under certain circumstances, dissolve and fly apart."

[10] Shifra M. Goldman, *Dimensions of the Americas: Art and Social Change in Latin America and The United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 399.

[11] The term *mestizaje* correlates to José Vasconcelos's notion of the *mestizo,* the racial mixing of European (Spanish), indigenous Mexican, and African people*,* as the cosmic race or "raza cósmica," that was viewed as the "fundamental requirement for the emergence of a new age," a spiritual and aesthetic age for mankind. This concept of *mestizaje* during the colonial period and in the modern era in Mexico was racially bounded by a caste class system implemented after the conquest of the Mexica empire by the Spanish conquistadors. See the 1925 article by Vasconcelos titled, "La Raza Cósmica," translated by Didier T. Jaén (Los Angeles: Centro de Publicaciones, California State University, Los Angeles, 1979), x. As noted by Rafael Pérez-Torres, "*mestizaje* in the Americas has become both a metaphor and the precondition for cultural production in the 'New' World, a thematic and formal marker of identity." See *Mestizaje: Critical Uses of Race in Chicano Culture* (2006), xi. Additionally, *chicanismo* and *chicanidad* suggest the embodiment of the Chicano/a experience, which includes living in the U.S. with Mexican heritage.

yet to resurface in contemporary literature in art history or Chicano studies. Therefore, this study inserts this concept within the theoretical framework to explore new directions in viewing these works of art. In a recent publication by art historian Guisela Latorre, titled *Walls of Empowerment: Chicana/o Indigenist Murals of California*, she identifies Chicano artists as contributors to an "Indigenist vocabulary" that "provided the building blocks for the existence of a Chicana/o nation within the U.S. nation-state, and a sense of belonging to the American continent."[12] The notion of *Indigenismo* is discussed as an "ideal tool" for both cultural celebration of indigenous peoples of America and to "promote and disseminate Chicana/o activist discourse as an aesthetic that focuses on difference vis-à-vis Anglo and European-American culture."[13] Latorre concludes that the Chicano sense of Indigenist aesthetics constructed a cultural nationalism that critiqued mainstream U.S. American culture, but also, introduced the discussion of Chicano Indigenist iconography as introspective and a self-affirming identity challenging the often male-centered, militant, and radically political activism.

The interweaving of Indigenist iconography with Mexican symbolism and themes is best explained by art historian and Native artist Dylan T. Miner as "transcultural or hybrid," an interpretation that views Chicano imagery as prolonging "a mode of Indigenous artistic practice."[14] Miner discussed two important terms, *Indigenismo* and Indianismo, that critically re-examines the idea of *mestizaje*, to highlight the difference between the Mexican notion of Indigenismo and "Xicano Indianismo." In Mexico, *Indigenismo* is aligned with the nation-state, integral to state-commissioned cultural production that promotes an official form of

[12] Guisela Latorre, *Walls of Empowerment: Chicana/o Indigenist Murals of California* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 69 – 70 and 80 – 81.

[13] Latorre, *Walls of Empowerment*, 69.

[14] Dylan A.T. Miner, *Creating Aztlán: Chicano Art, Indigenous Sovereignty, and Lowriding Across Turtle Island* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014), 6 – 7.

“indigeneity” and *mestizaje* where indigenous American and African peoples are dismissed or forced to homogenize their cultures to the Aztec or Nahua interpretations of their symbols and mythology. Per Miner, “Xicano Indianismo” contrasts with the Mexican state-organized articulations of indigeneity and *mestizaje*, and represents an “indigenous formation that is community-centered,” where an extension of Indianismo occurs because the action toward self-determination also incorporates a collective consciousness influenced by working with the community.[15] It is important to highlight the term Indianismo when visually analyzing Chicano murals because artists as activists create a sense of indigeneity that is in solidarity with Amerindian cultures that build connections between land and the transnational migration between peoples.

Chicano artworks attempted to establish a new aesthetic code that is described by Tómas Ybarra-Frausto as a cultural and socio-political move toward “Chicano self-determination;” such artworks also embodied “rasquache” sensibility. A “rasquache” or a “rasquachismo” sensibility, introduced by Ybarra-Frausto as an “aesthetic strategy,” makes visible the Chicano bicultural awareness as it recuperates and re-contextualizes other art forms. It restates its premises through self-conscious manipulation of materials or iconography.[16] This concept suggests that Chicano artists did not attempt to re-invent the past, nor did they deny it altogether; instead they applied whatever knowledge was available and communicated that history to the Chicano/a audience through a relatable point of view. This included the use of materials that were non-conventional or non-traditional to create works of art, such as using industrial materials that were accessible

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[15] Miner, *Creating Aztlán*, 7.

[16] Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, “Rasquachismo: A Chicano Sensibility,” in *Chicano Art: Resistance and Affirmation, 1965 – 1985*. Ed. Griswold del Castillo, McKenna, and Yarbro-Bejarano (Los Angeles: Wight Art Gallery, University of California Los Angeles, 1991), 161.

and affordable. Per Ybarra-Frausto, Chicano artists created artworks that re-envisioned the Mexican-American experience and to "repudiate external visions and destroy entrenched literary and visual representations that focused on Mexican-Americans as receptors rather than active generators of culture."[17] Therefore, the narratives and icons portrayed in Chicano art were instrumental as much as they were essential re-visions of history.

The production of murals and the notion of "Chicano muralism" is a significant aspect of the Chicano art movement that will be examined in conjunction with the historical influences of Mexican muralism. The thesis conducts an important historical examination of the written documentation on the transnational exchanges that continued after the 1930s and 1940s, where third or fourth generation Mexican artists and muralists began to travel to California in the late 1960s. The direct and indirect influences from Gilberto Ramírez, a third generation muralist trained under the Mexican school of muralism established by "los tres grandes;" Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and José Clemente Orozco, becomes the link between Mexican muralism and Chicano artists. The connection between Mexican artist, muralist Gilberto Ramírez, and Chicano artists Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda and Rubén DeAnda — both members of Los Toltecas en Aztlán — exchanged the legacies of Mexican muralism through the formal training in painting, organizing artists, and visual techniques. The legacy of Mexican muralism is not lost or discontinued, rather, it is re-defined through a Chicano perspective that demands further exploration. In the book *Mexican Muralism: A Critical History*, art historian Holly Barnet-Sanchez advocated for further research on the history of the Chicano mural movement in

[17] Goldman, "The Iconography of Chicano Self-Determination: Race, Ethnicity and Class," in *Dimensions of the Americas*, 398. Goldman examined the notion of self-determination in terms of how Chicano art can be seen as "statements of conquered people countering oppression and determining their own destiny." In Ybarra-Frausto's, "The Chicano Movement / The Movement of Chicano Art," 1029. "Chicano art has been closely aligned with the political goals of Chicano struggles for self-determination. As an aesthetic credo, Chicano art seeks to link lived reality to the imagination."

relation to the Mexican muralists, because although it is a well-documented focus in art historical and Chicano studies literature, it is not always "adequately examined." Barnet-Sanchez emphasized that there are "no comparable studies available to assess the legacy of Mexican murals to the more far-reaching international community murals movement, of which Chicano/a murals are definitely a part." The community-based Chicano/a murals, she explains, are part of a new category that is removed from Mexican murals that provide a "different frame of reference to make it clear that Chicano/a and Mexican murals are as comparable as apples to oranges."[18]

Essentially, Barnet-Sanchez is suggesting that scholars who attempt to compare Chicano murals to Mexican murals are constructing a false analogy, since these two practices of muralism are uniquely their own thing. She proposes the concept of "radical *mestizaje*" to describe the attributes of Chicano/a murals as purposefully re-defining the artistic techniques and styles of the Mexican muralists, but also to insert their own personal or communal experience through a radical perspective which evoked political and cultural activism. This study acknowledges Barnet-Sanchez's suggestion and proposes to compare the approaches to visualizing and interpreting the ancient Mesoamerican theme of "duality" and attempts to identify the Mexican and Chicano/a legacies in muralism as a means of highlighting their distinct qualities.

The early period of "Chicano muralism," or the Chicano mural movement, was between 1966 to 1970 in the U.S., coinciding with the height of Chicano political activism with its direct impact on the notion of identity, socio-political issues, and community outreach. For example, in Denver, Colorado, from 1965 to 1966 the formation of a Chicano based organization for peace and liberation founded by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, called The Crusade for Justice, established the cultural center El Centro Para Justicia or the Center for Justice, which commissioned murals

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[18] Holly Barnet-Sanchez, "Radical *Mestizaje* in Chicano/a Murals" in *Mexican Muralism: A Critical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 245.

for their cause.[19] The two murals finished by Chicana artist Carlota D. EspinoZa in 1966, an untitled canvas mural and a surviving mural titled *A Tribute to Three Mexican Heroes*, demonstrate the artist's response to a lecture by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales and the establishment of a community-based center. EspinoZa's "banner" murals are relatively unknown artworks that would benefit from a separate concentrated study on the artist and her murals.[20] The Chicano mural movement gained momentum after 1968, signaling an important "grassroots explosion" of artistic production that led to what has been described by art historian Shifra Goldman as a "Chicano Renaissance."[21]

In California, for example, Chicano artist Antonio Bernal produced a mural in 1968 that is now known as one of the earliest Chicano murals in the state.[22] Bernal's untitled mural, commonly referred to as the "Del Rey mural," is a moveable piece comprised of two large wood panels that display two separate scenes. The left panel, a series of pre-Columbian Mexican indigenous characters are shown lined up and led by an indigenous woman dancer, and the right

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[19] Alan W. Barnett, *Community Murals: The People's Art* (Philadelphia: Art Alliance Press, 1984), 64. "The Crusade was also to sponsor murals."

[20] Currently, there are limited sources that conduct a thorough analysis of Carlota D. EspinoZa's murals. The collection at UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center on the exhibition *Chicano Art Resistance and Affirmation (CARA)* exhibition papers, box 23, collection 10, contains a mural checklist that included EspinoZa's mural as part of the early dated Chicano themed murals in Colorado. See Holly Barnet-Sanchez and Tim Drescher *Give Me Life: Iconography and Identity in East L.A. Murals* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2016), 31. In the forthcoming Fall 2019 publication of *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* an anticipated study by American Studies scholar Melina Vizcaíno-Alemán's article, titled "Chicana/o Critical Regionalism: The Case for Denver Artist Carlota d. R. EspinoZa," will be an important contribution to consider in future research on Chicano/a murals.

[21] Goldman, "Mexican and Chicano Workers in the Visual Arts," in *Dimensions of the Americas*, 300. Goldman described the Chicano art and mural movement as the Harlem Renaissance. Per Goldman, "artists turned to African sources and the black movement of the 1960s, which did likewise, Chicanos looked to Mexico for inspiration: to its pre-Columbian, colonial, and revolutionary cultures; to Olmec, Maya, and Aztec art; to the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, patron saint of Mexican Independence, which was carried at demonstrations and painted on innumerable walls and canvases, and to Emiliano Zapata, leader of revolutionary Mexican farmers and landless peasants."

[22] Dylan A.T. Miner, *Creating Aztlán: Chicano Art, Indigenous Sovereignty, and Lowriding Across Turtle Island* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014), 101. Antonio Bernal's full name is Forrest Antonio Bernal Hopping, and his mural is one of the earliest Chicano "community murals" in California. See also Alan W. Barnett, *Community Murals*, 65 – 67.

panel depicts historical Mexican, Chicano, and African-American socio-political figures of the modern era. Details about the right panel have been extensively discussed by art historians prior to this study, especially the section that showcases Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata alongside contemporary Chicano activists like César Chávez and Reies López Tijerina. The scene also incorporates African-American social justice leaders Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr., all led by the figure of "La Adelita," a Mexican *soldadera* (soldier and revolutionary) from the Mexican Revolution of 1910. Bernal's mural is an example of a well-documented and repeatedly sourced image that signifies *Chicanismo* or *Chicanidad* due to its combination of political, cultural, and indigenous imagery to create a "revolutionary visual language" through site-specific artworks.[23] These early Chicano murals were executed by Chicano artists to exist permanently in public communal spaces, such as parks and cultural centers, and to be viewed particularly by the local Mexican-American and Chicano/a communities that lived in that urban or rural location. The visual language may have been revolutionary, or radical, as it reflected the energy of the movement where self-determination and self-representation were taken as a serious engagement that pushed for involvement in municipal action for the establishment of arts and cultural centers.

Chicano cultural centers continue to support local, regional, and national artists in both urban and rural areas throughout California. Many of the independently-run organizations were initially established as spaces for the arts and education where self-representation can be achieved. The establishment of cultural centers as autonomous institutions that served their communities, more importantly, was encouraged by the Chicano Movement as part of public outreach known as "community-based cooperation."[24] For example, at the Chicano Youth

[23] Miner, *Creating Aztlán*, 101.

[24] Carlos Francisco Jackson, *Chicana and Chicano Art: ProtesteArte* (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2009), 156 – 157.

Liberation Conference of 1969 in Denver, Colorado, Alberto Baltazar Urista Heredia, known as Alurista, first discussed the idea of self-organized cultural centers as part of the demands written in *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán*. The document was drafted to encourage the Chicano community to collectively embrace a sense of cultural nationalism and a "bronze brotherhood" that established a nation through the "union of free pueblos," known by the name of Aztlán. Alurista also advocated for Chicano communities to recognize that "institutions in our community which do not serve the people, have no place in the community," and must demand for self-made institutional cultural centers that "belong to the people."[25]

In a similar action, *El Plan de Santa Barbara*, written by the Chicano Coordinating Committee on Higher Education in 1969 — coordinated by undergraduate and graduate students at UC Santa Barbara — reinforced and identified the need to develop "community cultural and social action centers" to create a bridge between universities or spaces of higher education in close proximity to the Chicano/a and Mexican-American communities.[26] From 1969 to 1970 in urban cities like San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego, Chicano/a artists established autonomous spaces for artistic and cultural production that manifested into action the demands of *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán* and *El Plan de Santa Barbara*. In the mission district of San

[25] Alberto Baltazar Urista Heredia, a.k.a Alurista, *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán*, in *Aztlán: An Anthology of Mexican American Literature,* ed. by Luis Valdez and Stan Steiner (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), 402 – 406. "Brotherhood unifies us, and love for our brothers makes us a people whose time has come and who struggles against the foreigner "gabacho" who exploits our riches and destroys our culture…Before the world, before all of North America, before all our brothers in the bronze continent, we are a nation, we are a union of free pueblos, we are *Aztlán*. *Por La Raza todo. Fuera de La Raza nada."*

[26] Chicano Coordinating Committee on Higher Education, *El Plan de Santa Barbara* (La Causa Publications, 1969) 9 – 11. "*Chicanismo* draws its faith and strength from two main sources: from the just struggle of our people and from an objective analysis of our community's strategic needs. For these reasons Chicano Studies represent the total conceptualization of the Chicano community's aspirations that involve higher education. To meet these ends, the university and college systems of the State of California must act in the following basic areas: 1) admission and recruitment of Chicano students, faculty, administrators and staff; 2) a curriculum program and an academic major relevant to the Chicano cultural and historical experience; 3) support and tutorial programs; 4) research programs; 5) publications programs; 6) community cultural and social action centers."

Francisco, the opening of the Galería de la Raza and the artist collective Mexican American Liberation Art Front (MALAF) sponsored billboard murals outside the gallery space and organized an early art exhibition titled *New Symbols for la Nueva Raza* in 1969. The four artists who formed MALAF were Manuel Hernández-Trujillo, Malaquías Montoya, Esteban Villa, and René Yañez, all important artists in the production and promotion of murals.[27]

In East Los Angeles, José Luis Gonzalez (also known as Joe Gonzalez or J.L. Goez), his brother "Don Juan" or Johnny D. Gonzalez, and David Botello founded the Goez Imports and Fine Arts Gallery, also known as the Goez Art Studios and Gallery in 1969. Soon afterward, Johnny D. Gonzalez designed and painted the mural *The Birth of Our Art* to accompany the entrance walls of the center in 1971.[28] That same year a group of East Los Angeles Chicano artists and their supporters established the Mechicano Art Center. Mechicano had a mural program that gained momentum and support from artists such as Judithe Hernández and Lucia Villaseñor Grijalva, who frequently used the art center to produce artworks and practice the mural making process. Villaseñor Grijalva's first mural project was an exterior wall panel that featured stylized writing inspired by the graffiti seen around the neighborhood.[29] One of Mechicano's earliest mural projects was a mosaic tile mural for East Los Angeles Doctors' Hospital, titled *Homage to Ruben Salazar* by Frank Martinez, finished in 1971. Other notable

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[27] Shifra M. Goldman, "How, Why, Where, and When It All Happened: Chicano Murals of California," in *Signs from the Heart* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 27 – 28. Esteban Villa's mural, *Emergence of the Chicano Social Struggle in a Bicultural Society*, finished in 1969, is another example of an early mural that was produced inside a community center. The mural was most likely finished sometime between 1969 and 1970. Villa and José Montoya later established the Rebel Chicano Art Front later known as Royal Chicano Air Force (RCAF) along with art students from Sacramento State College: "this occurred after teaching positions had opened up for two artists in 1969 and 1970."

[28] Karen Mary Davalos, "All Roads Lead to East L.A.: Goez Art Studios and Gallery," in *L.A. Xicano* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 29. See also Goldman, *Signs from the Heart*, 28.

[29] Reina Alejandra Prado Saldivar, "On Both Sides of the Los Angeles River: Mechicano Art Center," in *L.A. Xicano*, 43 – 45.

mural projects were supported by programs developed by cultural centers that collaborated with the community and the municipal government to beautify the neighborhood. This included Mechicano's Ramona Gardens mural projects funded by the Recreation and Parks Department and Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), and the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA).[30] The city also endorsed Chicana artist Judith F. Baca to produce a mural in East L.A.'s Hollenbeck Park, titled *Mi Abuelita,* finished in 1971.[31]

In conjunction with the actions taken by artists in East Los Angeles, in other Southern California cities such as San Diego, muralists participated in important events that contributed to the Chicano mural movement. In addition to drafting of *El Plan Espiritual en Aztlán*, Alurista formed student organizations in San Diego during his undergraduate studies at San Diego State University (SDSU), such as Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano en Aztlán (M.E.Ch.A) and the artist collective Los Toltecas en Aztlán.[32] The student union building built in 1968, now known as The Aztec Center, originally commissioned murals for the Montezuma Hall lounge during its final construction phase in 1969. Representatives from M.E.Ch.A, along with Los Toltecas en Aztlán, proposed to invite Mexican contemporary artist and muralist Gilberto Ramírez to produce murals for the lounge.[33] In the fall of 1969, Aranda and fellow member of Los Toltecas en Aztlán Rubén DeAnda, assisted Ramírez in the production of a mural that attempted to bridge the Chicano student body and local community to the university. In that same year, Aranda and

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[30] Prado Saldivar, *L.A. Xicano*, 45 – 46.

[31] Latorre, *Walls of Empowerment*, 183. See also Goldman, *Dimensions of the Americas*, 215.

[32] Seth Mallios, *Hail Montezuma!: The Hidden Treasures of San Diego State* (San Diego: Montezuma Publishing, San Diego State University, 2012), 130 and 168.

[33] Mallios, *Hail Montezuma!,* 168. The SDSU newspaper *The Daily Aztec* noted in November 1970 that Gilberto Ramirez was "invited to San Diego by a group of Chicano artists called Los Toltecas de Aztlán and the members are helping the artist complete the murals in Montezuma Lounge." (vol. 50, no. 28), 1.

Los Toltecas en Aztlán embarked on the establishment of their own cultural center, El Centro Cultural de la Raza, and a mural that visualized the hardships and achievements of not only the socio-political aspects of the Chicano movement, but also the artists who were integral to its growth.

Interweaving an Interdisciplinary Methodology and Visual Analysis

My contribution to existing scholarship on the mural *La Dualidad (The Duality)* is through a social art historical and activist approach influenced by Shifra M. Goldman's research on modern and contemporary Latin American and Latino/a artists that considers the political and social history of their countries. This strategy relates to my epistemological attempt to "deflect and correct the stereotypes, distortions, and Eurocentric misunderstandings that have plagued all serious approaches to that art since the 1950s."[34] The critical components to the analysis were primary historical sources, including literature, newspapers, and slide collections of the mural's progress archived in the Special Collection Library at UC Santa Barbara. I conducted three interviews with Chicano artist Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda, and incorporated these oral histories as part of the visual reading. In addition to the historical discussion, I track the mural's modifications, from 1970 to 1984, and interpret the changes as part of the dynamic process of understanding the ancient Mesoamerican concept of "duality." Scholarship prior to this study does not recognize the mural's transformative quality during its fifteen-year production process, visible through its changes in re-painted scenes and characters, but also the use of unconventional mediums to create a unique aesthetic. For example, the mural was painted using industrial house paint, an acrylic polymer based paint and adhesives, including a polyester resin

[34] Shifra M. Goldman, *Dimensions of the Americas: Art and Social Change in Latin America and The United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 36 – 37.

commonly referred to by the brand *Bondo*, typically used for lowrider car repairs or bodywork. The materiality of Chicano murals as experimental and as multimedia artworks signifies their practice as uniquely Chicano, using a "rasquachismo" sensibility to distance themselves from the traditional fresco practiced by the Mexican muralists. This is a critical component to the methodology because my visual analysis incorporates details about the various mediums used to produce the final image, while simultaneously, incorporating a Chicana/x feminist theoretical framework to explain the importance of the materials as well as the imagery.

The methodological approaches are based on a "decolonial" strategy that allows the mural *La Dualidad (The Duality)* to represent a counter-narrative to colonization. By participating in "decolonial thinking" and engaging in "epistemic disobedience" proposed by scholar Walter D. Mignolo, this thesis opens the conversation about imagery that challenges colonization by illustrating symbols of the ancient American past, the modern present, but also the potential future that attempts to re-define colonial modernity. Per Mignolo, "decolonial thinking emerged at the very foundation of modernity/coloniality, as its counterpoint. And this occurred in the Americas, in Indigenous and Afro-Caribbean thinking."[35] Hence, the history of America is founded on decolonial thinking that is "pluri-versal (not uni-versal)," and through epistemic disobedience I conduct a reading of the mural that refuses to universalize Chicano iconography as a homogenized aesthetic that displays Mexican and Amerindian symbols as fused or borrowed after colonization. I propose that Chicano murals combined Indigenist and modern historical or mythological characters, while simultaneously, provoked an activist sense of cultural negotiation in solidarity with other groups. I do not view these images as a form of appropriating various Amerindian, Mexican, or indigenous Mexican iconography. Instead, I

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[35] Walter D. Mignolo, "Epistemic Disobedience and the Decolonial Option: A Manifesto," in *Transmodernity: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World* 1, no. 2 (Fall 2011): 46.

describe their function as a "fluid process" of representing all American cultures. This notion was introduced by scholar Tomás Ybarra-Frausto in the early 1990s, where he explained that Chicano art and artists belong within a "multiplicity of aesthetic traditions" that allows them to "recode themselves and move beyond dichotomies in a fluid process of cultural negotiation."[36] Thus, these visual negotiations are part of the process of creating an aesthetic that interweaves the indigenous people of America, and an awareness of the natural environment, while moving forward toward modernization.

Chicana/x feminism has influenced the methodology of decolonial thinking and Chela Sandoval's *Methodology of the Oppressed* provided an approach to conducting a visual analysis that is interdisciplinary, but also taking part in "revolutionary movidas" or maneuvers that locate and insert women into the genealogy of the Chicano art and mural movement.[37] These "movidas" include collecting primary and secondary literature in fields such as art history, Chicano/a studies, and history that discuss Chicano/a muralists including materials in archives that focus on information about female artists, or depictions of female characters in early Chicano muralism. I am contributing to what Chicana/x historian Emma Pérez suggested in *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* — participating in the "(en)gendering of Chicano history," by writing women into the field, conceptualizing them into existence, and locating them in time.[38] These methodological tools re-examine the "genealogical historical

[36] Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, "The Chicano Movement / The Movement of Chicano Art," in *Critical Documents of 20th Century Latin American and Latino Art, Resisting Categories: Latin American / Or Latino,* ed. Héctor Olea and Melina Kervandjian (Houston: The Museum of Fine Arts and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 1041.

[37] Chela Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 140.

[38] Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 6 – 7. Also, I discuss Chicana/x feminist scholars and artists using the "x" to identify their gender as non-binary or their non-conforming status and use the "x" to be considerate of the LGBQT community that entered the discussion of art and history since the 1980s.

method" that historians such as Gómez-Quiñones and Pérez incorporated into their research strategies. Pérez encourages future scholars to challenge the written story and "its myth" to find the "interstitial space" or gaps in history. Per Pérez, "revitalizing Foucault's archaeology, the precursor to his genealogical method" can help as an analytical tool to "discourse the gaps, the interstitial moments of history, and insert a differential mode of consciousness."[39] Therefore, the process of decolonization is to insert a new language or world view that is founded by the female perspective and lived through the female body.

Chicana/x feminist author and poet Gloria E. Anzaldúa introduced the necessary terms and theoretical concepts such as "mestiza consciousness" and "nepantla" to describe this sense of an "in-between space" or an awareness of the borderlands that significantly contributes to the methodology of decolonial thinking and the female perspective (mind and body). Anzaldúa provided a spiritual approach to healing the wounds of colonization and modernization where one must view the environment, or the land between Mexico and the U.S., as part of the grander consciousness of existing in two worlds. In *The Gloria Anzaldúa Reader*, edited by scholar AnaLouise Keating, the concepts of "mestiza consciousness" and "nepantla" are discussed as part of Anzaldúa's "carefully considered aesthetics, stylistic preferences, complex self-definition, and holistic vision," which also describes a feminist and futurist shift in methodological approaches and theoretical discourse on the notion of *mestizaje*. For example, Anzaldúa's concept of the "Borderlands," with a capital B, re-defines the geographical location of the Texas and Mexico border as a "transformational space where opposites converge, conflict, and transform," where the location becomes a contributive metaphor to the spiritual and feminine

[39] Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary*, xvi – xvii. Note that the concept "differential consciousness" was also coined by Chela Sandoval and incorporated into Pérez's methodology.

healing, which results in a "new mestiza" or a "mestiza consciousness."[40] Also the Nahuatl word "nepantla" to describe an "in-between space" is re-contextualized under a new "conocimiento" or consciousness that expands its meaning to be transformative and trans-temporal in its understanding and that moves away from the colonial translation of the word itself after the conquest of the Aztec empire. An important element of Anzaldúa's "mestiza consciousness" is that to be a "nepantlera," a bridge that is both natural and unnatural, is to exist in multiple worlds, spaces, and bodies. To be a "nepantlera" is to be non-binary and inclusive in our creative and spiritual healing. Per Anzaldúa, "the nepantla state is the natural habitat of artists, most specifically the mestizo border artists who partake of the traditions of two or more worlds and whom may be binational. They thus create a new artistic space — a border mestizo culture. Beware of el romance del *mestizaje* (beware of the romance of *mestizaje*). Puede ser una ficción (it could be fiction or an invention)."[41] To critique the notion of *mestizaje* and syncretism requires a Chicana/x feminist perspective, which is critical to how I conduct the analysis but also contributes to the gaze or the method of viewing these types of Chicano murals throughout history.

Scholars Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson describe a "feminist turn" in semiotic theory that allows art historical context to be "not bound to a particular object domain and liberates the analyst from the problem that transferring concepts from one discipline into another."[42] Therefore, an interdisciplinary methodology and a Chicana feminist theoretical framework allows Chicano/a art to be emancipatory and not necessarily strictly political or radical.

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[40] Gloria E. Anzaldúa, *The Gloria Anzaldúa Reader*, ed. by AnaLouise Keating (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 4 – 10, and Appendix 1: Glossary, 319 – 323.

[41] Anzaldúa, "Border Arte: Nepantla El Lugar de la Frontera," in *The Gloria Anzaldúa Reader*, 179 – 181.

[42] Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History: A Discussion of Context and Senders," in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology,* ed. Donald Preziosi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 245 – 246.

Returning to Sandoval's methodology, she introduced the notion of "oppositional consciousness" as a form of "differential cognitive mapping" that allowed a decolonial approach to influence our way of seeing and thinking in a postmodern and globalized world.[43] Sandoval's new approach to a semiotic reading of symbols and imagery intervenes with the concept of a "differential" energy that is motivated by an "oppositional consciousness and methodology," which interjects a practice of "meta-ideologizing" or the intended act of engaging with symbols to deconstruct and re-define them. Sandoval's "semiotics and language of emancipation" aims to deconstruct or "meta-ideologize" and re-create a new meaning or interpretation of iconography to "generate a theory of semiotics-as-weapon for emancipating consciousness for decolonizing the imagination."[44] Her incorporation of Roland Barthes's 1957 manuscript titled *Mythologies* represents an early differential discourse on semiotics that introduced an emancipatory method to re-define the visual language of indigenous American peoples. The use of semiotics of emancipation as noted by Sandoval and Barthes is to shift the paradigm on how to view, contextualize, and comprehend the meaning behind the images made by Chicano/a artists. Therefore, I apply an emancipative, decolonial, and futurist lens that theoretically provides the language to unshackle the preconceived notions and dominant interpretations of Chicano iconography that are stuck in a time-capsule waiting to be resurfaced in the twenty-first century.

As a Xicana feminist and futurist scholar contributing to a generational shift in how to gaze upon and discuss Chicano/a muralism, I write about the mural *La Dualidad (The Duality)* using what I call a "Xicana futurist lens" to insert my own positionality as a first-generation Xicana artist pursuing a doctoral degree at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA).

[43] Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed*, 3 – 4.

[44] Ibid, 112.

Typically, art historical methodologies do not involve subjectivity and identity as part of the analytical strategy of interpreting an image, which arguably is why Chicano murals are usually read as radical socio-political and communal public artworks. Interdisciplinary and decolonial methodology, therefore, acknowledges the visual analysis to be structured from the perspective of one's positionality as a form of activism.[45] The "Xicana futurist lens" is influenced by a Chicana/x feminist interpretation of the humanities-based concept of futurism that situates people of color, and most importantly women of color, as protagonists in science-fiction literature as well as in artworks by Chicano/a muralists.

It is important to note that the concept of futurism is explained in art history as an early twentieth-century avant-garde and social movement. Futurism as an art movement was founded in Italy and emphasized the qualities of a technologically and mechanically advanced society that did not consider the past as a contributive factor to that future. The poet Filippo Tommaso Marinetti and his *Manifesto of Futurism*, published in 1909, denounced the past as oppressive and the institutional structures of the art world such as museums as a dying industry.[46] In addition, futurist painters focused on the dynamism of technology, illustrating the speed or

[45] The concept of a "Xicana futurist lens" places my positionality as a Xicana born and raised in Watsonville, California, and as a first-generation Mexican-American scholar and artist. I identify as Xicana, because of my Mexican and indigenous heritage. My grandmother (on my mother's side) Ignacia Garcia, is indigenous Purépecha from Michoacán. Also, my grandfather (on my father's side) Ramiro Rodriguez is of Huichol descent. The term "Xicana" is derived from what Dylan T. Miner referred to as "Xicano/a or the people generally known as Chicanos or Mexican Americans but to pay particular attention to the indigenous and Indigenist turn in Xicano identity and politics. From this perspective, to be Xicano is to be Indigenous. This spelling pays homage to the use by activists and artists who, for decades, have employed this spelling in reference to written Nahuatl." See *Creating Aztlán* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014), notes for the introduction on page 221. The term "Xicanista" introduced by Ana Castillo in *Massacre of the Dreamers* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 100 – 101, is defined as "activista (female activist), when her flesh, mind and soul serve as a lightning rod for the confluence of her consciousness (not just Chicana, not activista for La Raza, not only a feminist but Chicana feminist), is the new generation of women that now has documentation of her particular history in the form of books, plays, murals, art, and even films that the culturalists have produced."

[46] Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, "The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism," 1909, translated by R.W. Flint, in *Documents of 20th Century Art: Futurist Manifestos*, ed. by Robert Brain, R.W. Flint, J.C. Higgitt, and Caroline Tisdall, Viking Press (1973), 19 – 24. https://archive.compart.uni-bremen.de/2014/website/fileadmin/media/lernen/Futurist_Manifesto.pdf

energy of modern life from the movement of the car or airplane to the bustling life of the industrial city. This sense of futurism is not displayed in the mural *La Dualidad (The Duality)* because I propose Chicano muralists at the time were focused on the socio-political and cultural movement for self-determination. Contrary to the Chicano artists, the Italians were focused on war, technology, industry, and the aesthetics that promote that modern future without the consideration of the past or indigenous peoples. In Mexico, the avant-garde movement prompted Mexican muralists like David A. Siqueiros to depict technology and the mass populace of the urban cities through a futurist and social realist approach to create an ideological sense of national identity. Siqueiros's futurism was also heavily political and socialist, opposite the Italian fascist platform, that favored the Soviet government's socialist part of the 1920s and 1930s.[47] The Chicano murals that I interpret are conveying a futurism that does not focus on government support or a nationalist aim in the imagery. Rather, Chicano/a artists were concerned about the participation of the community's younger generation to continue to critique and engage with the past and re-define it in the forthcoming twenty-first century. Fortunately, Chicana/x writers, artists, and scholars since the 1980s have contributed to a new visualization of the future through the feminist and futurist lens.

Applying a "Xicana Futurist Lens" to Chicano Muralism

Literary scholar Catherine S. Ramírez wrote an analysis on Chicana/x artworks in the 2004 article "Deus ex Machina: Tradition, Technology, and the Chicanafuturist Art of Marion C. Martinez" where she introduced the concepts of "Chicanafuturism" and "Chicanafuturist" to describe the artworks by artist Marion C. Martinez and Chicanx artist and muralist Alma López.

[47] Jacqueline Barnitz, *Twentieth Century Art of Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 44 – 45.

This influential article, focused on Chicana/x art and the materials used in its production process, resulted in Ramírez's theoretical concept of "Chicanafuturism" to designate a "Chicano cultural production that attends to cultural transformations resulting from new and everyday technologies (including their detritus); that excavates, creates, and alters narratives of identity, technology, and that redefines humanism and the human."[48] The perspective stems from "Afrofuturism," a concept coined by cultural critic Mark Dery in the 1994 essay "Black to the Future," that engaged in posing new definitions of humanism and post-humanism by challenging the legacies of slavery, colonialism, segregation, and experiences of racism and sexism.[49] This enabled African-American and Chicano/a/x artists to articulate a link between past, present, and future identities that "prompts us to recognize and rethink the status quo by depicting an alternative world, be it a parallel universe, distant future, or revised past, where good science-fiction re-presents the present or past, albeit with a twist."[50] Meanwhile, "Chicanafuturism" focused on a decolonial history that highlights Chicanas as protagonists and participants in a technologically advanced future by visualizing these figures into history.

Ramírez's "Chicanafuturism" is acknowledged by contemporary scholars Cathryn Josefina Merla-Watson and B. V. Olguín as a feminist intervention that encompasses the idea of "emancipatory futures" created by the "Latin@ speculative arts and cultural production." The concept of "Chicanafuturism" is noted as an opportunity to "reclaim text not conventionally included within the generic parameters of sci-fi or the broader category of science fiction and to re-conceptualize generic boundaries altogether," through a "hemispheric" approach to recovering

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[48] Catherine S. Ramírez, "Deus ex Machina: Tradition, Technology, and the Chicanafuturist Art of Marion C. Martinez" *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 29:2 (Fall 2004): 77-78.

[49] Ramírez, 77. See also Ytasha Womack, *AfroFuturism* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2013), 16 – 17.

[50] Ramírez, "Afrofuturism/Chicanafuturism: Fictive Kin," in *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 33:1 (Spring 2008), 185 – 186.

genealogies of Latin Americans and U.S. Latin@s.[51] Latin@ cultural production since the late 1960s to the 1970s has taken up a "revolutionary call" composing an "alternative futurism" that forces us to "reckon with the past and re-engage our present milieu to conceive other futures, however terrifying they may be."[52] Interestingly, Chicana art historian and anthropologist Karen Mary Davalos mentions in her recent book, *Chicana/o Remix: Art and Errata since the Sixties*, the term "Chicanafuturism" to discuss how Chicano muralists are changing their previously painted murals from the 1970s and adding female figures or androgynous characters to the image. Therefore, Davalos explains that these modifications made by male muralists "resist linear and causal narratives" and proposes to view Chicano identity as a "fluid temporality" that represent an "archive of imagery upon which the future will be built."[53] It is important to note that Davalos also commented that this type of reading of Chicano murals allows the viewer to interpret the iconography and aesthetic as inclusive, because the murals demonstrate "that it is less about heteronormativity and more about future possibility."[54] This interpretation of Chicano murals painted in the 1970s, now modified in the twenty-first century to include female characters, is an invitation to open the interpretation of Chicano murals from then to now and re-define them. In turn, this thesis proposes that scholars and the public must view Chicano/a

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[51] Cathryn Josefina Merla-Watson and B. V. Olguín, "Altermundos: Reassessing the Past, Present, and Future of the Chican@ and Latin@ Speculative Arts," in *Altermundos: Latin@ Speculative Literature, Film, and Popular Culture*, Aztlán Anthology Series, vol. 4 (Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Press, 2017), 1 – 9.

[52] Merla-Watson and Olguín, 9.

[53] Karen Mary Davalos, *Chicana/o Remix: Art and Errata since the Sixties* (New York: New York University Press, 2017), 130 – 131. "As Colin Gunckel argues, the mural functions as a 'public family photo album' but also as much more, as it proposes a relationship between a 'fluid temporality and Chicano identity' and represents an archive of imagery upon which the future will be build. Such a reading of the mural demonstrates that it is less about heteronormativity and more about future possibility. It anticipates David Botello's restoration of his 1996 mural *Dreams of Flight*, in which he pointedly painted pigtails onto the child holding a biplane and repainted the central figure, originally a boy, as an androgynous youth."

[54] Davalos, *Chicana/o Remix: Art and Errata since the Sixties*, 130.

murals as trans-temporal objects or entities that display a narrative or theme that exists in a "syncretic-continuum," moving constantly in time and modifying itself throughout the process.

The theoretical framing that I propose is influenced by art historians and feminist scholars. Chicano/a murals that convey a "syncretic-continuum" — hyphened to demonstrate an interconnected and trans-temporal quality — were critically relevant then and continue to be important to this day. The visual narratives portrayed purposefully demonstrate a conceptualization of a future where Chicanos/as, Mexican-Americans, and Latinos/as in the U.S. are protagonists in the story of the "American Dream" or real agents of change and not an imagined fantasy. This is signified by the cyclical or multi-dimensional perception of time and space, where over the course of history groups who are marginalized or discriminated against will rise above the societal structures that oppress them by breaking the temporal linearity of the Western mind. This concept was noted by art historian Kency Cornejo in the essay "Decolonial Futurism," featured in the Pacific Standard Time (PST) LA/LA exhibition *Mundos Alternos: Art and Science Fiction in the Americas* catalog, where the idea of "progress" alone, as a definitive marker of capitalism and imperialism, is linked with Western orientations of time and space:

> Western concepts of time, space, and future are also embedded in the language, philosophy, and science used against colonized peoples. The idea of 'progress' alone, as a definitive marker of capitalism and imperialism, is linked with Western orientations of time and space. In this case, a lineal view of time as opposed to cyclical view that predominates in many indigenous cultures such as the Maya cosmologies. Western compartmentalization of time and space, moreover, produces binaries used to shape gender roles and social behavior, and to dictate people's relationships with landscape, labor, and leisure. Therefore, time is used as a tool of social control. Thus time, space,

> and technology are framed as belonging only to the West, and historically they have been used as markers of superiority *against* colonized and oppressed peoples, first through colonialism and now with coloniality. A decolonial future, therefore, requires a decolonization of time and space, of yesterday and today.[55]

Cornejo is suggesting that scholars re-consider how time, and the constructs of how time informs life, can be powerful tools to define the dominating discourse on the iconography examined. She continues to state that "a decolonial future requires a decolonization of time and space, of yesterday and today," which offers an opportunity to liberate the idea of duality outside the confines of Western thinking.[56] This new perception of time allows artists and scholars to feature Chicanos and Chicanas as active participants in all levels of society in that future, including the developments of space exploration and advancements in technology. Furthermore, the notion that Maya or Aztec cosmology is cyclical and not linear is the first step in decolonizing time, but still requires an explanation on how time was applied and understood in ancient Mexico. Consequently, I propose to view a "syncretic-continuum" to liberate the binary constructs of time, gender, and societal roles. It also is not strictly a cyclical or linear notion of time, rather, a bending of time or a warpage, described by historian Ross Hassig as a "temporal elasticity" in how ancient cultures participated in and manipulated their sense of time and space.[57] The second

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[55] Kency Cornejo, "Decolonial Futurisms," in *Mundos Alternos: Art and Science Fiction in the Americas*, ed. by Kency Cornejo, Robb Hernández, Tyler Stallings, Itala Schmelz, and Joanna Szupinska-Myers (UC Riverside: UCR Arts Block, 2017), 22 – 23. Per David Freidel and Linda Schele in *Maya Cosmos: Three Thousand Years on the Shaman's Path*, ed. by David Freidel, Linda Schele, and Joy Parker (New York: Perennial HarperCollins Books, 1993), 63 – 73, "the Maya used the term *tun* to mark one year, composed of 360 days, where all cycles of the Maya calendar above twenty-years were set at thirteen, or cycles of 400 years, 8,000 years, 160,000 years, 32,000,000 years and so on. To understand what this means there is a scale of thirteens to calculate one of these cycles. What is important is that the Classic-period Maya conceived time on so grand a cyclical scale that time only *appears* to move in a straight line. The creation date is a point on an even larger circle within circles within circles of time."

[56] Cornejo, "Decolonial Futurisms," 22.

[57] Ross Hassig, *Time, History, and Belief in Aztec and Colonial Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 36.

chapter describes the significance of a "continuum" that suggests both linear and cyclical understandings of time. The use of themes such as "duality" attempt to visually convey important aspects about the cosmos in Aztec culture, and although the Maya are mentioned, this analysis recognizes that the Maya have a completely different understanding of the universe that does not include the concept of "duality" as the Aztecs understood it. Therefore, the chapter aims to clarify the scholarship on the topic of Aztec time and space to better understand how empires of both the past and present use time, space, and technology to dominate over people.

The following chapters account for several important historical details about the Chicano Movement and the Chicano mural movement that are rarely discussed and deserve to be included as significant contributing events. Chapter one explores the transnational mentorship between Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda and Rubén DeAnda, as undergraduates at San Diego State University (SDSU) studying fine arts with Mexican muralist Gilberto Ramírez. In 1969, Aranda and his colleague DeAnda helped Ramírez produce the mural *Mural Tríptico (Triptych Mural)*, which will be visually analyzed alongside the historical significance of the collaboration between Ramírez and two members of Los Toltecas en Aztlán. This contributes to a much-needed discussion of the mutual influences and exchanges between Mexican muralists and Chicano/a artists and attempts to explain the symbolism that demonstrates the link between the two. The first chapter also discusses the efforts made by Los Toltecas en Aztlán to establish El Centro Cultural de la Raza in Balboa Park in San Diego. Through an explanation of El Centro Cultural de la Raza's beginnings one notices the influences that impressed Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda and Los Toltecas en Aztlán to create a themed image with a symbolic narrative that represented the positive and negative aspects of their activism, resulting in the mural we see today.

Chapter two provides an opportunity to focus on the concept of "duality" and how it is visualized from two different perspectives and time-periods. The chapter begins with a brief visual analysis of the Mexican mural *Dualidad (Duality)* by Rufino Tamayo, located in Mexico City. It is important to distinguish the Mexican understanding of the concept of "duality" and how *La Dualidad (The Duality)* in San Diego differs regarding the visual translation of the concept and its relationship to its intended audience. The purpose of comparing the two murals is to distinguish the aesthetic attributes that signify a Chicano imagining of the same concept, with an emphasis on the message and narrative displayed. The chapter also contributes an expanded analysis of *La Dualidad (The Duality)* that interprets "duality" as a continuing narrative that links the past, present, and future generations of Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, Chicano/a and Native American communities in the U.S. This is the first study to discuss the many changes made to the mural from the early phase, starting in 1970 to 1980, and the second phase from 1981 to 1984. The analysis considers the mural's fifteen-year production as part of the process of understanding the concept of "duality" as an integral quality to the Chicano/a community, then and now. I also conduct a re-examination of art historical discourse and insert a new Xicana futurist viewing of each version of the mural, from its creation during the height of the Chicano Movement to its re-visioning during the Reagan era of the mid 1980s.

The thesis concludes with a discussion of the near-future and I contemplate the continuation of the mural *La Dualidad (The Duality)*. It was brought to my attention by Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda that El Centro Cultural de la Raza is currently gathering support to continue to add new scenes to the mural and extend the image from the left section. In other words, the mural itself is not the final product; it is a continuing project that will continue to be modified in the near future. Will the imagery continue to look like the version of 1984? I write

the conclusion as a reflection on the mural's potential expansion while taking inspiration from Gloria E. Anzaldúa's writing on border artists. Anzaldúa mentions that artists who engage in the in-between or "nepantla" change the point of reference by "disrupting the neat separations between cultures and create a culture mix or *una mezcla* in their artworks."[58] I view this opportunity to continue painting the mural *La Dualidad (The Duality)* as a moment to re-imagine, disrupt, or intervene in the history of how community murals are discussed in academic scholarship moving forward.

[58] Gloria E. Anzaldúa, ed. by AnaLouise Keating *The Gloria Anzaldúa Reader*, 77.

Chapter One

Transnational Exchanges: Mexican Muralist Gilberto Ramírez Travels to San Diego State University (SDSU), 1969

Gilberto Ramírez is a contemporary Mexican artist and muralist who participated in two mural projects in the United States (U.S.), the first in San Diego and the second in San Francisco in the late 1960s to the 1970s. Before traveling to the U.S., Ramírez attended the Escuela Nacional de Pintura, Escultura, y Grabado (ENPEG), or the National School of Painting, Sculpture, and Printmaking, known as "La Esmeralda" from 1957 to 1961. This esteemed art academy had two famous faculty members during the mid 1940s, Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo, who taught courses on traditional canvas painting, composition, and mural painting.[1] Immediately after graduating from "La Esmeralda," Ramírez began to produce murals while he worked at The National Museum of Anthropology, with the artist collective "grupo de Luis Covarrubias," from 1963 to 1964. Then from 1966 to 1968, as he continued to paint a series of murals throughout Mexico City and after finishing a mural at the Escuela Superior de Economía (ESE), he was invited to travel to San Diego, California.[2]

In 1969, the artist collective Los Toltecas en Aztlán at San Diego State University (SDSU) invited Gilberto Ramírez to produce a mural for the Aztec Student Union Center (Figure 1). This historical moment marks one of the earliest exchanges and contacts with third-generation muralists from Mexico City who participated in various collaborative art projects that

[1] See Hayden Herrera's Biography, *Frida: A Biography of Frida Kahlo* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishing, 1983), 328-335. See also "La Esmeralda's" website on its history: https://www.esmeralda.edu.mx/historia. It is possible that Ramírez, and contemporary artists who enrolled in courses developed by Rivera on muralism, were trained in the school of Mexican muralism started by Rivera, Siqueiros, and Orozco. However, this detail is rarely discussed in current literature and more research is necessary to conclude with certainty that Ramírez learned techniques on mural production from Rivera's courses.

[2] Galeria Café y Arte Mexico, *Artistas Mexicanos Contemporáneos* (Mexico City: GAM Publications, 1976), 1 – 28.

were in solidarity with the Chicano movement. Current literature on Mexican muralist Gilberto Ramírez is limited in the U.S. and a majority of texts about his artworks are written in Spanish; thus, this is a much-anticipated study that contributes to an important discussion about the training and mentorships provided to Chicano artists. The invitation of Ramírez to SDSU included an opportunity for two members of Los Toltecas en Aztlán, Rubén DeAnda and Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda, to assist Ramírez in painting the mural. The apprenticeship of these Chicano artists under a Mexican muralist represents a transnational encounter of ideas and artistic techniques founded by the Mexican school of mural production.

The mural project exemplifies an artistic exchange, or "contact zone," as described by scholar Deborah Cullen, where an intercultural dialogue, experimentation, and collaboration between artists occurred. Ramírez's training at an art academy that taught courses developed by Diego Rivera, including his experience working with Siqueiros in the production of murals in Mexico City, exemplifies a network of knowledge and techniques about muralism that were passed on to Chicano artists. Per Cullen, "contact zones," whether they are workshops, mural projects, or other collaborative efforts are "international developments that are understudies," and "fostered a rich cross-pollination in the arts."[3] The mural project at SDSU becomes the point of contact that prompted Aranda and Los Toltecas en Aztlán to consider muralism as a medium that linked contemporary social and cultural issues with the philosophies and mural production techniques that were established by "los tres grandes," in Mexican art schools. This is a documented instance of Chicano muralists learning first-hand the type of training and exchange of ideas that dates to the 1940s when Diego Rivera was teaching courses on painting and muralism at "La Esmeralda" in Mexico City through Ramírez's influential mentorship.

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[3] Deborah Cullen, "Contact Zones: Places, Spaces, and Other Test Cases," *American Art* 26, no. 2 (Summer 2012), 14.

The mural, titled *Mural Tríptico (Triptych Mural)* or *Amanecer (Dawn)*, is a triptych piece made of three painted canvases, 20 ft. high and 12 ft. wide, that fit within the horseshow arches inside the Aztec Student Union Center (Figure 2).[4] As reported in newspaper accounts of the time the student organization Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano en Aztlán or M.E.Ch.A, Associated Students, the Aztec Center Board, and The Cultural Arts Board at San Diego State University (SDSU) allocated $550 in funds to complete the mural; $350 was used as a stipend for Ramírez, and about $200 for acrylic paints and supplies.[5] Ramírez and his assistants Aranda and de Anda painted for twelve hours every day from the beginning of the project in the fall of 1969 until it was finished a few months later, sometime in January 1970 (Figure 3). On December 7, 1970, *The Daily Aztec*, the student newspaper at SDSU, reported that the previous day, December 6, 1970, an inauguration was held at the Aztec Center in the Montezuma Lounge to dedicate the three-panel mural as a "gift from the Chicano movement" produced by a "famous Mexican muralist" to be donated to the Chicano students of SDSU (Figure 4).[6] The mural by Ramírez portrays the past, present, and future of Chicanos and the "rise of Chicano consciousness," according to the invitation pamphlet for the mural's dedication, where the

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[4] Seth Mallios, "Alternative State: Social Change and the University's Radicals, Rebels, and Protestors," in *Hail Montezuma!:The Hidden Treasures of San Diego State* (San Diego: Montezuma Publishing, San Diego State University, 2012), 168. In an article by Richard R. Barnes, published in the *The San Diego Union*, on December 7, 1970. He states that the mural is "20 feet high and each panel is 12 feet wide," made with acrylic paint on canvas. See also an article by Maria-Elena Ugalde, Aranda's niece, published in the San Diego Free Press on April 21, 2017, titled "A Missing Link to Greatness." https://sandiegofreepress.org/2017/04/guillermo-yermo-aranda/#.W_0FoKeZN25

[5] *The Daily Aztec*, November 4, 1970 (vol. 15, no. 28), page 1 and 3.

[6] Richard R. Barnes, "S.D. State Unveils Mural to Honor Chicano Crusade," in *The San Diego Union* published on December 7, 1970 and *The Daily Aztec* issues published on December 4 & 8, 1970. Also, archival material found in the UC Santa Barbara Special Collections papers on El Centro Cultural de La Raza (CCLE), CEMA 12.

Chicano movement "shows the world of its painful history, but also its faith and hope in a better future for humanity."[7]

The first panel, titled *Crepúsculo (Sunset),* depicts the people of the sun or the Aztecs, being destroyed, while Coatlicue —Aztec earth or mother goddess— witnesses its destruction with the arrival of the Spaniards (Figure 5). In the background, three Mesoamerican pyramids are shown burning, with smoke filling the air, and on the left-hand side one notices the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlán, the center of the Aztec Empire, suggesting the fall of the empire due to contact with the Spanish conquistadors. On the far right, next to the pyramids, is a volcano spewing molten lava and ash onto the landscape. Portraying the major volcano Popocatepetl erupting signals the chaotic and violent turbulence that occurred in 1521 when Hernán Cortés reached Tenochtitlán. In the center, Ramírez illustrated a male figure split in two by a bright yellow and a burnt orange color, conveying the mixing of two races or tones to represent the mestizo man, or the mixing of indigenous Mexican blood on the left, and on the right of the central character the European, represented by the profile of a Spanish male figure with a full beard. The Spanish figure is shown with a stern face and no tears whereas the mestizo man and woman shown below him are crying heavy tears highlighted by their frowning faces. The indigenous male figure also cries tears of sadness, and the mestiza character adjacent to the depiction of Coatlicue is shown kneeling at the feet of the men. The figures are drawn expressing sadness for the destruction of their world due to conquest. Directly below the nude mestiza is the depiction of a rape scene bringing to visibility the Spanish conquistadors' abuse of indigenous women. Through the deliberate depiction of sexual penetration, the viewer is confronted with a

[7] Statement taken from the invitation pamphlet for the mural dedication on December 6, 1970, inner section of the invitation page 2. UC Santa Barbara Special Collections Library, El Centro Cultural Papers (CCLE), CEMA 12, folder 11, box 54.

scene depicting a Spanish conquistador dressed in armor while holding a sword that resembles the Christian Holy Cross directly above the body of an indigenous woman. The bottom half of the left panel is painted in dark brown and black colors, with Coatlicue on the left side of the scene, and on the right-side an indigenous Maya looking figure with tears streaming down from the eyes looks upon the rape scene with a painful expression. The symbolism of this panel portrays a solemn reminder of the violent realities of conquest that led to the present mixed population.

The middle panel situates the transition from the time of conquest and colonization to the modern era. Titled *Noche (Night)*, Ramírez depicted two male figures, the figure on the left is a Mexican man and the other Chicano, separated by a barbed wire fence (Figure 5). The scene highlights the mechanization of the border between the U.S. and Mexico, where the entire bottom half of the panel displays several human figures shown laying down facing the viewer, as if they are lifeless corpses on the ground. Interestingly, one figure drawn in the center is the only character who is painted with African or indigenous features and with his arm raised upward, fist clenched, suggesting the universal symbol for the uprising of enslaved peoples who during colonization built the foundations of both the Mexican and U.S. nations. The middle portion of the panel shows what Ramírez described as the "Mexican man who cries because of the separation with his Chicano brother. The Chicano also cries and begins to germinate the idea of social justice and fraternity among all peoples of the world."[8] Aranda noted that it also "reflects the world today, with man trapped in a mechanized society, rather than a society toward the arts and crafts. It also depicts how Mexico and the Chicano movement are separated by the border,

[8] Anonymous author, "Mexican Muralist Paints Lounge Wall," *The Daily Aztec*, Nov. 4, 1970.

yet joined by the common roots of their art."[9] The speech scroll that flows out of the figure on the left is calling out to the Chicano on the right, and although it seems like they have a two-way communication, the figure on the right seems to be hearing a recording or projection from the robotic head that receives the signal and speaks from a filtered source. Per anthropologist Seth Mallios, the Mexican male figure on the left "cries out for unity with his distant brother," and the Chicano figure on the right side of the border cries in pain knowing the "U.S. antagonism against a recently liberated Mexican nation."[10] In conjunction with this narrative, newspaper articles that commented on the mural described the scene as the "alienation of the Chicano by the psychological and geographical borders the white man brought with technology," and that the painting "expresses the mechanical age through men who appear like robots."[11] This conclusion suggests that the relationship between Chicanos and Mexicans is a forced separation caused by colonization, where the figures displayed below the two male figures are the bio-mechanical roots that connect two worlds. In addition to the divide, the white man did not simply bring technology through colonization but also diseases, violence, and a moment of transformation. Ergo, the dark blue night sky is depicted contrasting with the warm colors of the ground and the grey gears of war and industry to further suggest a division of people, landscapes, and nation-states. The symbol floating in the sky represents the moon, with a white rabbit drawn in the center, also conveying the different phases of the celestial patterns that continue to shift.

The third panel conveys the sense of optimism that Ramírez had for the future and the title given to this panel, *Amanecer (Dawn)*, connotes a positive outcome through the union of all

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[9] *The San Diego Union* December 7, 1970 and Barry Cooper, "Chicanos Donate Three-Part Mural" in *The Daily Aztec*, December 8, 1970.

[10] Mallios, *Hail Montezuma!,* 169.

[11] Anonymous author, "Mexican Muralist Paints Lounge Wall," *The Daily Aztec*, Nov. 4, 1970. UC Santa Barbara Special Collections Library, El Centro Cultural Papers (CCLE), CEMA 12.

people. The final panel is painted with bright yellows and oranges illuminating the top half of the panel; meanwhile, the industrial rubble in darkness lies at the bottom. A new dawn awaits, symbolized by the six figures gathered in the center in a circular stance, they are holding each other's hands while shown facing upward toward the sun and the dove of peace (Figure 6). The central female figure, and another to her right, are drawn pregnant, suggesting a heterosexual union between men and women, with the fetus facing downward to convey the upcoming birth of a new generation. In 1970, *The Daily Aztec* newspaper noted that Ramírez described this section as "all the young people of the world symbolized by one couple in which the new life germinates to form the new race. As new day begins, the day of fraternity among all peoples of the world emerges."[12] In a hopeful message, the third panel advocates for a coming together of all races to give birth to a new race, "La Raza Nueva" demonstrated by the "sun of peace" to represent a time "when racism and war will become obsolete and all races will come together as one."[13] The sun symbol displayed on the right side conveys the rising of the fifth sun marking a new age where men and women unite for the common cause of liberating the Chicano population from the struggles of the past and present. Remarkably, Ramírez's use of the word "fraternity" connotes an optimism that pushes the scope of liberation and self-affirmation to not only Chicanas and Chicanos, but all peoples who were experiencing discrimination and exclusion from modern U.S. society. The notion of germinating or the literal birthing of people to re-cognize the past and present becomes an imagined future where all audiences can relate to the message of peace and love.

[12] *The Daily Aztec*, Dec. 8, 1970.

[13] Anonymous author, "Mexican Muralist Paints Lounge Wall," *The Daily Aztec*, Nov. 4, 1970.

Gilberto Ramírez returned to Mexico City in mid-December 1970, to showcase his artwork at the INBA Galería José Maria Velasco and extended the invitation to Aranda and Rubén DeAnda to visit Mexico. That month, Aranda decided to visit Mexico immediately after painting *Mural Tríptico* and traveled to Mexico City, Cuernavaca, and San Miguel de Allende during the winter break.[14] During this time, Aranda and Los Toltecas en Aztlán were in the process of establishing a cultural arts space for the Chicano community of San Diego inside the Ford Building at Balboa Park. The plans for the arts center were in the preliminary stages, while simultaneously, during this time another separate event caused the establishment of a community park underneath the newly completed Coronado Bay Bridge. The completion of the Coronado Bay Bridge on August 3, 1969 not only linked the freeway and the city of San Diego to Coronado Island but imposed a cemented landscape above residents of the community of Logan Heights, also known as Barrio Logan. The predominantly Chicano/a, Mexican-American, and Latino/a community of Barrio Logan was zoned as an industrial and military transportation corridor and at the time junkyards, utility companies, power stations, and freeway traffic overwhelmed the neighborhood.[15] By December, community members including artists who were part of Los Toltecas en Aztlán were publically demanding changes to the fast-paced infrastructure growth.

As early as 1967, the people of Barrio Logan in San Diego advocated for the placement of a public park underneath the pylons of the Coronado Bay Bridge and the freeway interchange.

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[14] Barnes, *The San Diego Union* December 7, 1970. "Ramirez is to return soon to Mexico City for a showing of his work." See also Galeria y Arte Mexico, *Artistas Mexicanos Contemporáneos* (Mexico City: GAM Publications, 1976), 1 – 28. Aranda mentions his travels to Mexico in a VW bus during late December to January 1971 in an interview conducted by Dr. Gail Perez in 2013. The video titled, "Voces de los Muros," is published online https://youtu.be/cSP6r4gqZC4

[15] Eric Avila, "Taking Back the Freeway," in *The Folklore of the Freeway: Race and Revolt in the Modernist City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 164 – 165.

However, the city did not respond until two years later in 1969 when the state of California leased a 1.8-acre lot for twenty-years to the city of San Diego to be used for a community park.[16] That land was soon to be a contested space as the city hoodwinked the public and began to grade the soil for the construction of a highway patrol station beneath the freeway interchange and not the park as promised. Chicano Park, as it is known today, was occupied by demonstrators for twelve consecutive days and nights, which included the planting of cacti, maguey plants, and using their own bodies to create a human chain around the bulldozers who were planning to flatten the land.[17] The occupation of the land affiliated this community action with the Chicano movement due to the demands from the local neighborhoods for self-empowerment and affirmation from the municipal government.

Los Toltecas en Aztlán Establish a Cultural Center, 1968 – 1970

The romantic grounds of Balboa Park represent a cultural and historic area within the city of San Diego that includes several important buildings, for example the California Quadrangle where The Museum of Man is located, the California Building, and other Spanish Colonial Revival buildings constructed for the 1915 – 1916 Panama-California Exposition. Then in 1935, The Ford Building was built for the California Pacific International Exposition, which now houses the Air and Space Museum, and after 1936 the building was donated to the City of San Diego after the exposition ended. From 1936 to 1960, The Ford Building was abandoned and used mainly as a bomb shelter, storage warehouse for the city's Parks and Recreation Department, and at one point was scheduled to be demolished, which made the space

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[16] Avila, *The Folklore of the Freeway*, 164.

[17] Ibid, 166. See also Philip Brookman and Guillermo Gomez-Peña, *Made in Aztlán* (San Diego: El Centro Cultural de la Raza, 1986), 15.

immediately available to use (Figure 7).[18] In the late 1960s, Los Toltecas en Aztlán pushed for a physical site to showcase their artworks and the interest in reusing The Ford Building arose.

In 1968, Alurista met Salvador Roberto "Queso" Torres at SDSU where both participated in the student organized group Mexican American Youth Association (MAYA), including artists Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda and Mario Acevedo Torero. Student groups like MAYA developed the early network of artists to create the artist collective Los Toltecas en Aztlán. The collective formed with several artists including Alurista, Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda, Salvador "Queso" Torres, Victor Ochoa, Rubén DeAnda, Mario Acevedo Torero, Herminia Enrique and the Ballet Folklórico en Aztlán, Leticia de Baca, Tómas Castañeda, and others who participated in self-curated exhibitions and performances.[19] In the fall of 1968, Salvador Torres was granted permission by the San Diego Parks and Recreation Department to use the abandoned Ford Building temporarily for six months and planned to use the facility as a large studio space.[20] The building was no longer to be demolished and the community as well as Los Toltecas en Aztlán donated their time, money, and determination to form a cultural arts center. After the six months were over, at the start of 1969, the cultural center became a major asset to Chicano artists because it transformed into a communal and artistic space for activities and classes that

[18] This study will not discuss The Ford Building or Balboa Park in detail. The following sources were reviewed as an overview of their historical background: Florence Christman, *The Romance of Balboa Park* (San Diego: San Diego Historical Society, 1985); Richard W. Amero and Michael Kelley, *Balboa Park and the 1915 Exposition* (San Diego: History Press, 2013). Information on The Ford Building is primarily distributed by The Air and Space Museum's website and book titled *Wheels to Wings: San Diego's Ford Building* (2010) by Katrina Pescador and Karen Garcia Raines. See also the museum's website about the building: http://sandiegoairandspace.org/exhibits/online-exhibit-page/introduction

[19] Brookman and Gomez-Peña, *Made in Aztlán* (San Diego: El Centro Cultural de la Raza, 1986), 16-17.

[20] In an interview with Guillermo Aranda that I conducted on August 28, 2017, he mentions that when Torres was given a six-month temporary studio site at The Ford Building, Aranda and others from Los Toltecas en Aztlán like Alurista and Ochoa were present during that meeting with the city's Parks and Recreation Department and noted that as a collective the building was allowed to be a studio space for performances, art exhibitions, and mural production. See also Brookman and Gomez-Peña, *Made in Aztlán,* 16-17 and notes #12 and #13 on page 52.

supported the Mexican-American, Chicana/o, and U.S. Latina/o experience. By 1970, the collective came to an agreement to solidify themselves as a non-profit organization that would request full-time residence in The Ford Building as an established cultural center. In a meeting with the city council and Mayor Frank Curran, Alurista poetically described the artists' demands to petition the city for the center:

> We feel that our hearts need channels through which the legacy and the true spirit that inhabited this city can be expressed. El Centro Cultural de la Raza shall be the heart of our ancestry, in order to make this *centro* one where artists create, where workshops are conducted, and where the people of San Diego breathe the spirit of the Chicano people in Aztlán, we further propose that the city seek sufficient funds to aid us in the task that confronts our Mexican community today: building a center where the culture and history of our Chicano people can find a place under the sun that bronzed our skins and our hearts.[21]

In Alurista's statement to San Diego's city council an allegorical connection between the heart of the community and the cultural center resonates with the Chicano Movement's demands for self-organized institutions. Los Toltecas en Aztlán's efforts to establish El Centro Cultural de la Raza became a series of negotiations that occurred during the spring of 1970 that lasted to the summer, between the City of San Diego and Los Toltecas en Aztlán, to propose to use The Ford Building as a cultural center. In addition to these demands the community of Logan Heights also demanded the development of Chicano Park, to convert the Neighborhood House in Logan

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[21] Brookman and Gomez-Peña, *Made in Aztlán*, 15 and 18-19. I italicized the word *centro* or center because not only does it reflect the space to enact activities in the arts but also the heart and core of the community lies in the center as a double metaphor which Alurista intentionally included in this statement made to the city council and mayor of San Diego in July 1970.

Heights to a Chicano free clinic, and to resolve the police brutality cases in the area were all to be voted upon.[22]

The confrontation with the city worsened as the plans to convert The Ford Building into a museum was underway without consideration of Los Toltecas en Aztlán's efforts to propose measures to convert the location into a free cultural center. From August to September 1970, Los Toltecas en Aztlán were evicted by the city to leave The Ford Building. The collective quickly responded and they refused to vacate the premises. The doors of the building were chained, locked, and the police were sent to forcibly remove the group using a warrant issued by the city. Artists Salvador Torres, Luis Espinoza, Victor Ochoa, Guillermo Aranda, and other members of Los Toltecas en Aztlán collaborated with community members of The Chicano Federation of San Diego County including their Chairman Max Hernandez and Executive Director Jessie Ramirez to confront the city and assist Los Toltecas en Aztlán in negotiating a permanent location for a Chicano cultural center.[23] In November 1970, a meeting between City Manager Walter Hahn and Los Toltecas en Aztlán concluded with the decision to use another site within Balboa Park, an abandoned concrete water tank about 90 ft. in diameter and 20 ft. in height. The city council approved and authorized to lease the facility to The Chicano Federation of San Diego on January 28, 1971 for one dollar a year. Later in August 1971, the city of San Diego approved a contribution of $2,400 to help repair the abandoned water tank.[24] The city assisted

[22] Ibid, 21. See also note #29 on page 52 where Alurista mentioned these demands in an unpublished interview with Philip Brookman in Colorado Springs, May 8, 1985. Per Alurista it was Salvador Torres's idea to "liberate" The Ford Building" and use it as the location for El Centro Cultural de la Raza.

[23] Unknown author, "Curran Talk Failure, Say Chicanos," *The San Diego Union*, August 1, 1970. See CEMA 12.

[24] Brookman and Gomez-Peña, *Made in Aztlán*, 21-23. The water tanks were built in 1914 to store water for the Panama-California Exposition. The water tank was a circular structure similar to the Ford Building. Interestingly, the explanation in the essay by Brookman is misleading as the text discusses a $22,000 contribution from the city around the time of the agreement of the lease of the water tank which is not stated in the newspaper article, "Water Tank Leased as Art Center," *The San Diego Evening Tribune*, January 29, 1971, referenced on note #34 on page 52.

funds would be used to "assist in the initial development of the center. Under the terms of a three-month agreement, beginning in August, of payments of $400 would be made from the city's unallocated reserve in accordance with the city council policy for the funding of private organizations."[25] These municipal agreements demonstrate the early strides and challenges to create a community center. El Centro Cultural de la Raza was moved to a new location in Balboa Park, near the Pepper Grove area across from the Naval Hospital. The Ford Building would soon become the San Diego Aerospace Museum, and today it is the location of the Air and Space Museum.

The San Diego Union newspaper published an article the day after Los Toltecas en Aztlán moved the location of El Centro Cultural de la Raza to the water tank, on July 12, 1971, and described the happening as a transformation (Figure 8). Funds from the city increased at the start of 1971 to a total of $19,880 to restore and renovate the water tank to be suitable for inhabitance and to comply with city building codes.[26] On its inauguration day on July 11, 1971, over 500 people attended the festivities attracted by the food, music, and dance performances that occurred outside while an art show featuring Chicano/a artists took place inside.[27] The

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The article states, "The city is leasing the tank to the Chicano Federation for $1 annually. Chicano artists and craftsman have been using the old Ford Building in Balboa for a studio and exhibit area. The tank is some 80 feet in diameter and about 20 feet high." No mention of a $22,000 city contribution as noted by Brookman. Perhaps there is confusion between a contribution made from the city council to develop a park in Barrio Logan of the amount of $21,814.96. See Eric Avila, *Folklore of the Freeway*, 167 and note #24 on page 218.

[25] Unknown author, "Chicano Group Wins Approval for City Aid," *The San Diego Union*, August 4, 1971, CEMA 12.

[26] Susan Harriger, "Chicano Cultural Center Open: 500 Attracted by Festivities in Balboa Park," *The San Diego Union*, July 12, 1971. "When the water tank was transformed into the center, early this year, the city spent $19,880 and continues to pay water and electricity bills." CEMA 12, Page 2, B5.

[27] Harriger, "Chicano Cultural Center Open: 500 Attracted by Festivities in Balboa Park," 1971, pages 1-2. At the time of El Centro Cultural de la Raza's inauguration the mural *La Dualidad (The Duality)* was underway and already painted inside the center and a second canvas mural titled *Birth* by Mario Acevedo was completed and exhibited at the center.

opening ceremony began with a short welcome by Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda, who at the time was the chairman of El Centro Cultural de la Raza and a core member of Los Toltecas en Aztlán, and addressed the audience with a hopeful message. Aranda reminded the public that "this centro cultural belongs to la Raza, we are here to teach and to learn. Children and young Chicanos are our focus, *la familia* (the family) shall be strengthened through our creative efforts; all Raza is welcome to join our efforts."[28] The dedication statement, co-written by Alurista and Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda with notes from Delia Parra Moreno, expressed the commitment Los Toltecas en Aztlán have to the Chicano/a artist community by stating:

> The Toltecas en Aztlán shall be constituted of all those Chicano Artists dedicated to Human Truth (Social, Economic, Political, Historical, and Ecological) and Chicano Beauty which is our belief can only be lived up to through mutual Self-Respect, Self-Determination in our endeavors and this Self-Sacrifice of our individual differences for the sake a Centro Cultural de la Raza where our indigenous ancestral spirit of brotherhood, justice, and peace can flourish in contemporary Chicano Art forms.[29]

On August 13, 1971, Los Toltecas en Aztlán became a corporation and Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda, Herminia Enrique, Delia Moreno Crosby, and Alurista became the first directors of El Centro Cultural de la Raza.

The history of El Centro Cultural de la Raza and the mural *La Dualidad (The Duality)* demonstrates the contested beginnings of the cultural center and in a symbolic manner represents the struggles for equal representation. The level of activism taken by Los Toltecas en Aztlán and the community manifested the idea of self-determination through a collective force that asserted

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[28] "The Toltecas Inauguration" or "Inauguración del centro." *La Verdad*, July to August, 1971, CEMA 12, box 1, folder 3.

[29] Dedication page 1, Los Toltecas en Aztlán, Inauguration Day: July 11, 1971, CEMA 12, box 1, folder 3.

their presence within a cultural space. Alurista and Aranda noted that the opening of El Centro Cultural was an opportunity to build upon this collective foundation and continue to learn, create, and grow from the roots that were established that year. Several mural projects led by Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda, Victor Ochoa, and Mario Acevedo Torero were already in progress; both the inside and outside walls of the circular water tank were to be painted. From 1971 well into the 1980s, several murals were produced on the outside façade of the water tank by artists such as Ernesto Paul, Victor Ochoa, Mario Aguilar, Arturo Roman, David Ávalos, Salvador Barajas, Guillermo Aranda, and Antonio Pérez Pazos. By 1984, the exterior and interior murals were completed and the water tank was transformed into a colorful circular building with imagery that conveyed family, culture, and community (Figure 9).

Chapter Two

Visualizing the Concept of Duality

In this chapter I examine two murals that portray the concept of "duality" by depicting a central Mexican story about the cosmic battle between the gods Tezcatlipoca, symbolized by the jaguar, and Quetzalcoatl, represented as the feathered serpent. This indigenous Mexica or Aztec concept was integral to their cosmology that represented the "paired oppositions" or the pairings of "essential interdependent opposites" that created the known world.[1] In Aztec mythology the supreme creative principle was the God of Duality, Ometetotl, and Lady of Duality, Ometecuhtli-Omecihuatl, who were considered "self-generating beings" that had both male and female or masculine and feminine qualities. The Aztec notion of "duality" was understood as a "two-god" or dual god and goddess figure responsible for the creation of the four cardinal directions that resulted from the battle between Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca.[2] Ometetotl is an omnipotent life-giving power that is rooted in the universe's naval, the center of the known universe, who produced the natural world and life within it by means of the "four cosmic forces or the four sons." These forces are in a state of balance that is in "perpetual restlessness" where destruction and regeneration occur simultaneously. The battle between Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca was a sign of the end of an age; in a "dialectic rhythm" the gods attempt to

[1] Mary Miller and Karl Taube, *An Illustrated Dictionary of The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1993), 81. "Similarly, the Mixtecs and other Mesoamerican cultures considered creation to be the work of a sexually paired couple." In the Classic Maya, pairings occur in their writing of "distance numbers used in calendrical references," such as glyphs for Venus and moon, or sun and darkness."

[2] Miguel León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture: A Study of the Ancient Nahuatl Mind* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 34 – 36. Both gods also symbolized the natural elements of earth, air, fire, and water.

"harmonize the dynamism of opposing forces," which resulted in the Aztecs syncopating their personal and social activities with the idea of collaboration with the sun.[3]

According to historian Miguel León-Portilla, the Mexica (Aztec) or Nahua belief structure that involved the concept of "duality" and the gods Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca was part of a "Nahuatl cosmological category" that is metaphorical and meaningful because it explains how there is a "cyclical evolution of the foundations of the world, where the earth is not static, it is ever moving, and subjected to the influences of the cosmic forces."[4] There is an equilibrium of forces where an age or a sun exists, which is the state of balance that continues life, and this cyclical movement situates the Aztecs in a constant "struggle for supremacy" that creates a "temporalization of the world into ages and cycles" that benefit the empire. In Aztec society, time is "inherently cyclical where each commemoration was re-enacted on the anniversary of its original or mythical occurrence, according to whatever calendrical cycle is employed."[5] However, political authorities were likely to "emphasize linear time over cyclical," which demonstrates what Hassig describes as a "temporal elasticity" where seemingly fixed days could be, and were, manipulated.[6] For example, if your birthday was "inauspicious," a shift to your naming day would be scheduled; if both days were ill-omened, then a completely different day would be picked in relation to you. Hence, the calendrical system and how rituals and

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[3] León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture*, 37. León-Portilla described this process as an "obsession" that the Aztecs abided to when it came to their rituals and activities.

[4] Ibid, 48-49. "In summary, the story of the Suns clearly demonstrates the existence of five cosmological categories: (1) the logical urgency for a universal foundation; (2) the temporalization of the world into ages and cycles; (3) the idea of primordial elements; (4) the division of space in the universe into quadrants or directions and, (5) the concept of perpetual struggle for supremacy as a framework in which the occurrence of cosmic events can be understood."

[5] Ross Hassig, *Time, History, and Belief in Aztec and Colonial Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 35 – 36.

[6] Hassig, *Time, History, and Belief in Aztec and Colonial Mexico*, 36.

activities were determined was manipulated by the soothsayer or shaman to reflect both a linear and cyclical calendrical system. It is important to note that the Aztecs inherited a far older Mesoamerican calendar that they incorporated into their own cosmological structure that was based on another ancient culture. They considered their major cultural traditions to have been invented by the Toltecs, a group that predates the Aztecs who were thought to be the inventors of all artistry. Essentially, the Toltecs were "conflated into a single concept of a glorious past and invention, where the city of Tollan or Tula became an idealized place.[7] Similar to the notion of Aztlán, a utopian and mythical location that could be applied to any region of the U.S. Southwest, the idea became more of an important factor than the actual location or place.

Thus, I suggest that our understanding of "duality" in terms of time perceived by the Aztecs is not simply a cyclical sense of time, but as Hassig mentioned "spiral time," which combines linear and cyclical time to be viewed as a continually changing process. The term "continuum" that I employ in this study attempts to bridge the past, present, and future into a timeline that does not have a specific starting and ending point; instead, there exists a time warp of ideas and moments in history. The visual analysis conducted in this chapter concludes that *La Dualidad (The Duality)* conceptualizes "duality" by evoking the same theme as Tamayo's mural in Mexico, but converting that narrative to communicate with the U.S. Chicano/a, Mexican-American, and Amerindian audience to convey a message of solidarity and decolonization. That message is a future-conscious portrayal of time and space that is continually changing with human beings and their actions as part of that intervention. The sense of futurism that I observe is based on the literal transformation of the mural, but also the artists' collaborative process that

[7] Miller and Taube, *An Illustrated Dictionary of The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya,* 170. "The Aztecs and most other Central Mexican peoples believed that there had once been a more glorious era, when the Toltecs had reigned at Tollan, or Tula. The name Tollan also signifies as 'place of rushes,' and can be applied to any great city."

enabled them to learn more about the concept of "duality" and apply it to the modern-present times. I view *La Dualidad (The Duality)* as a Chicano mural that portrays a future that is not based on science-fiction, but an actual and imagined possibility.

The first mural to feature the theme of "duality" was Mexican artist Rufino Tamayo's *Dualidad (Duality)* painted in 1964, located inside the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City (Figure 10).[8] Tamayo's mural showcases a vision of "duality" through the literal depiction of the jaguar and the serpent amongst the stars, but most importantly, he interprets that narrative for a widely international and Mexican audience. Tamayo's *Dualidad (Duality)* purposely demonstrates a visualization of "duality" that departed from the social-realist approach established by "los tres grandes," which at the time was a decision made by the artist to express a sense of nationalism that was not overtly political.[9] Thus, the image situates the ancient past as detached from the modern present or technological future due to the depiction of the serpent and jaguar suspended amongst the stars creating a metaphorical interpretation of "duality" inspired by style, form, texture, and color. Tamayo's vision of the pre-Columbian past becomes a "mytho-poetic" interpretation, described by art historian Mary K. Coffey in the following manner:

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[8] Antonio Rodríguez, *A History of Mexican Mural Painting* (New York: G.P Putnam Son's, 1969), 430 – 432. There is an earlier mural finished by Rufino Tamayo in 1955 titled *Day and Night* that will not be discussed in detail because this study attempts to focus only on two murals that literally depict the jaguar and feathered serpent icons. The mural *Day and Night* was located inside a Sandborn's in Mexico City painted on Masonite. The mural incorporates the narrative of the battle between dualities, day and night, the earth and the sun, etc. The imagery metaphorically connects the two dualities using color, geometric forms, and by depicting two Mesoamerican pyramids to signify the day and the sun with Tezcatlipoca in red on the left-side and a blue tone with an eclipsed moon over a pyramid to represent Quetzalcoatl.

[9] Juan Carlos Pareda and Martha Sanchez Fuentes, *Los murales de Tamayo* (Mexico City: Américo Arte Editores, 1995), "Prologue" by Teresa del Conde, 10 – 13. Tamayo did not want to be considered the "great fourth" or "el cuarto grande" of the "great three" or "los tres grandes," Rivera, Siqueiros, and Orozco.

> A poetic interpretation of pre-Columbian myth, Duality serves as a metaphor for the universal struggle between good and evil, life and death, or what author Alfonso De Neuvillate described as a "fatal and irreversible confrontation with destiny… the phenomenon of being." As he had in his Palace of Fine Arts murals, Tamayo transforms the traumas of national history into the stuff of modern myth and metaphor. Therefore, rather than putting ancient cosmology in the service of technocratic state-craft, he posits "duality" as an emblem of the struggles faced by all humanity.[10]

The viewer is therefore triggered by curiosity more so than a political charge, and is encouraged to discover what The National Museum of Anthropology's collection offers as a resource to learn about the past. Tamayo's *Dualidad (Duality)* attempts to simplify the understanding of "duality" as an ancient concept that is disconnected from the present and as noted by Coffey, "situates the viewer within the realm of myth, and not a future-oriented reality."[11]

It is important to view the concept of "duality" as both an ancient story that incorporates gods and myths, but also a message about humanity and its relationship with time. Contrary to Tamayo's visualization of "duality," *La Dualidad (The Duality)* displays a past, present, and future that are interconnected and considerate of the Native-American, Mexican-American, and Chicano/a experience. The symbols in *La Dualidad (The Duality)* have been described by art historian Alan W. Barnett as "impressive and visionary" in their use of "borrowed imagery and technique to convey new meanings appropriate to the Chicano experience." Barnett further explains this visionary aspect of Chicano murals as a strategy to continue the evocation of

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[10] Mary K. Coffey, *How A Revolutionary Art Became Official Culture: Murals, Museums, and the Mexican State* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 152. Coffey references De Neuvillate's book *Arte Contemporaneo en El Museo Nacional de Antropología* (1985), pp. 211 note #93 under chapter 3.

[11] Coffey, *How A Revolutionary Art Became Official Culture*, 152.

"indio" culture and its "esoteric or occult imagery and symbolism" to convey a modern understanding of social and political change.[12] Barnett's analysis suggests that Chicano artists borrowed or copied indigenous imagery without reference or substance. In other words, he argued that artists did not source or understand the symbols they were re-creating. However, this reading diminishes the significance of the resurfacing and combination of each symbol. This thesis introduces the idea of "syncretic-continuum" to allow the viewer to understand that the borrowed imagery encodes important attributes of Chicano muralism. Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda's and Los Toltecas en Aztlán's mural *La Dualidad (The Duality)* incorporated ancient symbols to re-conceptualize the Aztec narrative of "duality," and situate the Chicano/a experience as part of a future-conscious perspective that is relevant at any point in time. Additionally, I propose that Aranda and Los Toltecas en Aztlán were aware of the corporate consumption or extraction of natural resources that also contributed to the colonization of the Americas. The cautionary narrative about time and space includes the earth, and if we continue to treat the environment as a commodity we cannot heal or feel that sense of emancipation from the past.

Rufino Tamayo's *Dualidad (Duality)*, 1964

During the presidency of Adolfo López Mateos, on September 17, 1964, the new National Museum of Anthropology opened its doors to the public in Mexico City, Mexico. The institution was a cultural and political achievement for Mexico signaling to the international community a post-revolutionary step in the modernization of Mexican museums. The mural *Dualidad (Duality)* by Rufino Tamayo is described by Coffey as part of the "oppositional

[12] Alan W. Barnett, *Community Murals* (Philadelphia: Art Alliance Press, 1984), 237 and 399 – 400.

aesthetic" conceptualized by contemporary artists in the mid 1960s during the post-WWII era in Mexico.[13] This meant that imagery in murals that pertained to ancient Mesoamerican mythos transitioned from a political or social-realist imagining to an alternative re-vision of Mexican modernity. Also, there was an alternative mode of production of murals that included large panels to create a larger painting without directly attempting a fresco affixed to a concrete or plaster-based wall. Tamayo's style and technical approach to mural painting was separate from "los tres grandes," because he did not participate in the fresco technique, but also his themes were not focused on the political; instead they evoked nationalism and identity through a universal conceptualization. Scholar Amy Sara Carroll describes Tamayo's approach to nationalism as a "psychoanalytic nationalism" that was "a move away from the masses toward an insular citizen-subject." The use of Mesoamerican art, for example, was part of Tamayo's attempt to "synthesize it with figurative expressionism and to universalize it," where the viewer takes part in that universalization of a metaphor without having to connect it to the present day.[14] This departure from the traditional mural production exemplifies the avant-garde aesthetic in Mexico that explored a non-objective and emotionally expressive perspective onto modernity.

Is the concept of "duality" visualized by Chicano artists also translated as a metaphor or a universalized image? How does Aranda's *La Dualidad (The Duality)* compare or borrow from Tamayo? Or, do Chicana/o artists construct a whole new understanding separate from Mexican influences? The following visual analysis attempts to discuss Tamayo's mural in Mexico as a comparable mural to *La Dualidad (The Duality)* in San Diego, but also identifies the elements

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[13] Coffey, *How A Revolutionary Art Became Official Culture*, 150.

[14] Amy Sara Carroll, *REMEX: Toward an Art History of the NAFTA Era* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017), 19. Carroll also noted that Tamayo was the "prophet of anti-muralism" along with artists of "La Ruptura" (The Rapture) of the late 1950s to the 1960s, such as José Luis Cuevas, Pedro Coronel, Francisco Toledo, and Vicente Rojo whose artworks were "against the cult of muralism."

that make Tamayo's mural a visual interpretation of the same theme directed to a specifically international and Mexican audience.

Tamayo's *Dualidad (Duality)* is displayed inside the museum's grand lobby on a wall that welcomes the public to the Jaime Torres Bodet Auditorium. The mural is composed of a large stretched canvas mounted on wood, over eleven feet tall and forty feet wide (11.58' X 40.059'), consisting of four panels strong enough to hold paint that was mixed with sand.[15] The experimental use of sand, oil paints, and vinylite was used to create a rough and textured surface in contrast to other areas of the mural that are soft and flat. Bold colors attract the viewer's attention immediately, as the warm and cool hues shift from bright on the left to dark on the right, including a middle section where they mix and collide. The contrasting of lightness and darkness, the portrayal of the sun and the moon, the celestial passage of the stars, and the serpent and jaguar representing two powerful Aztec gods becomes the narrative and theme of "duality" conveyed to the viewer. For Tamayo, the notion of "duality" was about the "principle of dualities" as described by Alberto Blanco as a theme that has "many faces and manifests itself over time as pairings of the principals of dualities," that become unified under a common theme.[16]

Tamayo's representation of "duality" and the story of the battle between Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca visualizes a conceptual play between celestial stars and animals executed through

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[15] Julio Amador-Bech, "Figuras y narrativas míticas de lo índigena prehíspánico en el mural *Dualidad* de Rufino Tamayo," in *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico Año LVI, núm 213 (septiembre-diciembre 2011), 98. "3.53 X 12.21 metros y consta de cuatro paneles unidos." See Coffey (2012), 151. See also, Juan Carlos Pareda and Martha Sánchez Fuentes (1995), 10 – 13. The use of sand is noted in Alberto Blanco's article "Rufino Tamayo: mas allá de la dualidad" in *Revista de la Universidad de México* (UNAM), Núm 106 (2012), 50.
http://www.revistadelauniversidad.unam.mx/ojs_rum/index.php/rum/article/view/190/424

[16] Alberto Blanco, "Rufino Tamayo: mas allá de la dualidad," 51.

the act of "pure painting" that builds from the "intuitive" formal legacies of Mesoamerican art.[17] Interestingly, in 1921 Rufino Tamayo worked as the head of the Department of Ethnographic Drawing at the National Museum of Anthropology, which granted him access to the ancient sculptures in the collection. Tamayo would illustrate the details of the objects, but also pay attention to their form and detected their proportions through touch and close examination of the artifact.[18] The depiction of the jaguar and the serpent is a style uniquely Tamayo's that focuses on form, a cubist inspired method of illustrating shapes with round or sharp edges or the use of line to emphasize the figures within the composition. In addition to his emphasis on form, the use of somber and vibrant colors along with a textured surface signify the "mytho-poetic" approach to visualizing the ancient past. Tamayo noted in an interview that his depiction of the jaguar and the serpent were his own conceptualization of the gods Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca, "not exact copies" from the available resources in literature and artifacts in the museum.[19] However, scholars have suggested that the jaguar's face resembles or has an affinity with the pre-Columbian sculptures of Mexico. For example, curator Juan Carlos Pereda noted that the

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[17] Coffey, *How A Revolutionary Art Became Official Culture,* 150. "Tamayo's adherence to pure painting was more than a mere rejection of the leftist social realism of his peers; it also encompassed an alternative vision of Mexican modernity and the legacies of its indigenous antiquity and colonial past. Tamayo argued for a modern art that would build from the "intuitive" formal legacies of Mesoamerican sculpture and reflect the somber palette of everyday folk life while maintaining a commitment to exploring the plastic problems of pure painting."

[18] Julio Amador-Bech, "Figuras y narrativas míticas de lo índigena prehíspánico en el mural *Dualidad* de Rufino Tamayo," 114-115. Author Jacqueline Barnitz mentions that Rufino Tamayo's interest in pre-Columbian art "dates from his work as a draftsman in the ethnographic division of the Museum of Anthropology in 1921," in *Twentieth Century Art of Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 117.

[19] Pareda and Sánchez Fuentes, *Los murales de Tamayo*, 148. "Tamayo expresó que su mural *Dualidad* representa poéticamente: "la lucha de los contrarios, de los elementos que originan la vida; por un lado, el bien, la sabiduría, la luz; por el otro las tinieblas, etc. He simbolizado esta lucha enfrentando la serpiente con el tigre, es decir Quetzalcóatl contra Tezcatlipoca, desde luego las imagines están de acuerdo con mi propia concepción de la figura pictórica, no es una copia exacta de las referencias que tenemos sobre la mitología precolombina."

snarling look with the paw could be taken from a polychrome ceramic vase design or a stone sculpture artifact found in the museum.[20]

Tamayo's imagery conveys an understanding of "duality" that is universalized to fit the representation of dichotomies or oppositional forces, such as day and night or good and evil, that situates the indigenous past as distant and untouched by modernity. Considering the mural *Dualidad (Duality)* is housed by the prestigious National Museum of Anthropology where the public can gaze upon the wonders of the ancient past, the image does not instruct the viewer about the mythos. The viewer's gaze is guided by the warm red-orange and cobalt-blue colors on opposite ends, and the yellow sun rising on the top left section of the mural signals a movement from left to the right where the crescent moon and constellations show the night sky. The serpent and the jaguar are captured in the moment of an aggressive battle, suspended in time, but simultaneously suggesting the passing of time. These symbols represent a universal interpretation of the mythos for the twentieth-century audience both in Mexico and around the world.

Between the years of 1929 to 1959, Rufino Tamayo noted that after he returned from living in New York for fourteen years and another ten years in Paris, he changed his "conception of art to be more universal," meaning, he was determined to produce artworks that were considered "international art."[21] Therefore by 1964, Tamayo approached the visual interpretation of "duality" with the international viewer in mind when visually translating ancient Mexican myths. Using a Xicana futurist lens, I view the mural as a representation of the universalization

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[20] Ibid, 148. "Tezcatlipoca, puede pensarse como glosa de una cerámica o una escultura en piedra, creada por los tlacuilos prehispánicos, también tiene el característico sello del artista, pero sus líneas son claramente reconocibles en alguna de la piezas del propio museo."

[21] Juan Carlos Pareda; Alberto Blanco, Adriana Domínguez, and Rufino Tamayo, *Rufino Tamayo: trayectos = trajectories* (Mexico City: Museo Rufino Tamayo, Fundación Olga y Rufino Tamayo: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 2012), 26–27 and 31.

of the past without acknowledging the wounds and traumas of history due to conquest and colonization. Tamayo was focused on the portrayal of the idea of "duality" as a moment where the point of contact where two opposites collide is not seen as gruesome or melancholic, instead it is a mixing of color and texture to convey impact. The mural also does not convey a future-oriented reality; instead, it stands as an "emblem of struggle faced by all humanity" that international audiences can interpret and relate to at a surface level.[22] This can be seen in the tension between the serpent and the jaguar highlighted in the center of the mural through the collision of red and blue colors to create a dark moment of impact at the top and a purple color below (Figure 11). The following visual analysis of *La Dualidad (The Duality)* by Aranda and Los Toltecas en Aztlán attempts to identify the significant qualities of the Chicano mural visualizing the concept of "duality" and evoking the same theme as Tamayo's mural in Mexico, but translating that story to a U.S. Chicano audience in San Diego, California.

Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda's and Los Toltecas en Aztlán's *La Dualidad (The Duality): The* Mural's First Phase, 1970 – 1980

The mural *La Dualidad (The Duality)* will be analyzed through a Xicana futurist lens to interrogate and re-define the current literature that attempts to interpret the image's meaning and representation of an ancient story. I read the mural's overall theme and iconography as a "syncretic-continuum" that translates the notion of "duality" through a Chicano perspective, meanwhile capturing a moment in time that cannot be reproduced with a message of solidarity and decolonial thinking for the viewer to see now, then, and forever. I also incorporate Aranda's artistic interpretation of the concept of "duality" and the mural's imagery in conjunction with

[22] Coffey, *How A Revolutionary Art Became Official Culture*, 152.

primary and secondary scholarship to identify inconsistencies in prior critiques of the mural. The first phase describes the production of *La Dualidad (The Duality)* starting in 1970 with the concept and idea. By 1971 to 1972 Aranda and Los Toltecas en Aztlán began drawing the outline of the mural on the wall inside El Centro Cultural de la Raza.

In early publications, such as art historian Alan W. Barnett's book *Community Murals: The People's Art*, the project is described as a "visionary mural" because it could be an imagined representation of Aztlán, or the "idea of Aztlán itself, with its dream of a new civilization growing out of the past."[23] By 1984, Barnett's analysis introduced a critique of the imagery that corresponds to the first phase of the mural where the original design and layout was coordinated by Aranda implying a conceptualization of Aztlán. However, the use of Aztec symbols were described as "esoteric" and were devoid of substance or further explanation. Then in 2008, art historian Guisela Latorre resurfaced the mural and discussed *La Dualidad (Duality)* as a Chicano/a and Indigenist mural that should be viewed as part of the category of "obras maestras" or master artworks that "epitomized the Chicano/a community's spirit and essence," but also play an important role in representing "the ideals of community-oriented concerns defining Chicano/a cultural nationalism."[24] This study considers both Barnett's and Latorre's conclusions as important contributions to an already limited discussion on the significance the mural itself. The visual analysis that I write introduces a transformative element to the mural's fifteen-year process that elaborates and builds upon existing scholarship to further situate these works of art as part of the masterworks connected to the Chicano art movement.

[23] Barnett, *Community Murals*, 237.

[24] Guisela Latorre, *Walls of Empowerment: Chicana/o Indigenist Murals of California* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 76.

In September 2017, I returned to my hometown of Watsonville, California, and had the opportunity to interview Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda and visit his studio and archive located downtown.[25] I examined several original paintings and drawings that were housed in his studio, including the original concept drawing of the mural *La Dualidad (The Duality)* which he started between 1971 to 1972. The drawing shows a similar composition to Gilberto Ramírez's *Mural Tríptico* at San Diego State University (SDSU), with a triptych layout of symbols and figures using three scenes (Figure 12). It is important to note that Aranda's drawing is the blueprint design for the overall composition of the mural, using horizontal and vertical lines to create a grid format, with triangular lines emphasizing the vantage points and the scale of figures represented. The grid template and the use of a triangular perspective to create depth was probably taught to Aranda by Ramírez at SDSU, signifying a continuation of the techniques used by Mexican muralists. The use of circular objects to organize the composition or the depiction of large anatomic features, such as an extended leg, foot, and arm with the fist facing upward toward the viewer are similarly used to emphasize perspective or depth. The right section of the mural also included an enlarged eagle that faces its wings and head toward two human figures, one male on the left and one female on the right with their backs facing each other, and a sacred tree in-between their bodies. The anonymous male and female figures tower over other objects because they represent a balanced power, which is symbolized by the one character offering a weighing device to convey justice or equilibrium.

[25] Interview with Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda at Aranda's studio, located downtown in the historic La Manzana Center that is shared with La Manzana Community Resources: Community Bridges (Puentes de la comunidad), September 22, 2017. The center is a vital non-profit organization serving Santa Cruz County that includes ten programs, such as Women, Infants, Children (WIC) program, transportation services, education and day-care services, elderly care services, and other social programs that provide these resources for a low-cost fee or at no cost to the community member. To learn more visit: https://communitybridges.org

Gradually, the theme of "duality" was emerging and the original concept did not include the literal depiction of Quetzalcoatl as the feathered serpent or Tezcatlipoca as the jaguar. In a previous interview conducted at El Centro Cultural de la Raza with Aranda, I had the opportunity to ask about his training with Gilberto Ramírez, and the influences he learned with a Mexican muralist as a mentor. I was also curious about the fifteen-year duration of the project, with its final version finished in 1984, as notated on the mural itself. Aranda noted that the design and theme was a collaboration with fellow artists and members of Los Toltecas en Aztlán. The mural went through several stages of adding and deleting, and slowly these changes told the story of the two pre-Columbian gods Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca. Aranda described the development process as: "*La Dualidad (The Duality)* emerged as sketches and random ideas on paper at first around 1970, a composition which eventually came three paintings or sections of the mural, the left (Tezcatlipoca), center (Coyolxauhqui), and right (Quetzalcoatl)."[26]

In 1971 Los Toltecas en Aztlán, consisting of Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda, Victor Ochoa, Tupac Enrique, Ernesto Paul, Guillermo Rosete, Eduardo Galindo, and other Chicano artists, began to paint an outline of the mural on the massive 16 ft. by 46 ft. curved wall of El Centro Cultural de la Raza.[27] The outline and compositional arrangement of figures and symbols were part of Aranda's concept drawing, which eventually were modified. A photograph taken by a

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[26] Interview with Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda at El Centro Cultural de la Raza, August 27, 2017. El Centro Cultural is located inside Balboa Park, San Diego, CA. The questions asked were: What was the training with Gilberto Ramírez like? Did you learn a lot from him about murals in general and their production process? Did you produce the concept drawing by yourself or did you collaborate in terms of ideas or symbols to use? How did the story of Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca become part of the mural's theme?

[27] Brookman and Gomez-Peña, *Made in Aztlán* (San Diego: the Centro Cultural de la Raza, 1986), 18. In 1970, Los Toltecas en Aztlán consisted of forty members, with the chance that number is a low approximation as noted by Aranda during our interview. Per Brookman, the group "numbered over forty members." This included Chicana artists and performers, such as Delia Moreno, and her daughters Maria and Delia Moreno, who used the first space of El Centro Cultural (The Ford Building) for dance and musical group rehearsals. Per Latorre (2008), 77, Tupac Enrique also participated in part of the mural's creation because of his affiliation with Los Toltecas en Aztlán.

member of Los Toltecas en Aztlán, around 1971 to 1972, displays the scaffolding necessary to create the outline of the grid template on a curved concrete wall with an illustrated serpent rising from the middle to right section of the mural (Figure 13).[28] The center and the far-right section of *La Dualidad (The Duality)* marked a moment when the feathered serpent god, Quetzalcoatl, was inserted in the scene. The new changes also included the uniquely designed logo for El Centro Cultural de la Raza shown outlined near the symbol for "ollín," which means movement or earthquake in Nahuatl. Adjacent to these symbols are human male and female characters standing together with their backs facing each other, and below them are two exaggerated hands large enough to hold a dog in the left hand and a deer in the right hand. The right half of the mural changed to include a serpent and a giant face of an old man with a long-haired mustache and saggy eyes to highlight his elderly age. By 1975, the mural was dramatically modified and the inclusion of color complemented the flow of the characters portrayed to create a thematic story (Figure 14). The visual narrative portrayed on the wall was described by Aranda as:

> A search for an understanding of the ancient pre-Columbian perspective of the universe, life, creation, life's natural energies, the interaction of the positive and negative forces, thus, the birth of Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca, and their human reflection, or different faces such as peace and violence, love and hatred, day and night, women and man. Within every aspect of creation we will find *La Dualidad*, even within the element of water — it nourishes us, yet too will drown us.[29]

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[28] The image used is a scan of a slide that was graciously done for me by the staff at the UC Santa Barbara Library, Special Collections. The online image is of low resolution and is not the best quality scan to use for this study. I thank Daisy Muralles for helping me scan the original slide image and allowing me to publish it for the first time in a study on *La Dualidad (The Duality)* mural. Also, in Brookman and Gomez-Peña's *Made in Aztlán*, the mural's early version is shown on pages 26 – 27, with each page showcasing the far-left and center and the far-right sections of the mural's outline from 1971 to about 1973.

[29] Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda, *La Dualidad (The Duality)* mural diagram explaining each detail, created in 2010. This diagram is not published in any prior literature, and a copy of this diagram was given to me by Aranda during

Aranda's visual interpretation of the ancient Aztec story about the two gods Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca connects to our own dualities or dichotomies in the modern experience conveying a continual narrative from the past to the present. This is displayed in the left section of the mural where the figure dressed in armor and a gas mask injects himself with the drug of Christianity and religious conquest.

The first phase of *La Dualidad (The Duality)* showcases two contrasting scenes, where the left-section re-imagines the consequences of negative actions in human history, symbolized by the portrayal of Ozomatli, the Aztec day symbol for monkey. The Ozomatli figure is depicted as a human wearing a gas mask and armor; also the god Tezcatlipoca is shown above Ozomatli drawn as the jaguar; adjacent to these figures is a zopilote or vulture eating a heart while flying above fire.[30] The scene includes the torture of Cuauhtémoc bound to a large coin and a rabbit along with a nude indigenous woman fleeing in fear to avoid the violence (Figures 14 and 15). Aranda and Los Toltecas painted a black background that sharply contrasted with the warm, literally burning hot colors such as red, yellow, orange, and brown to convey to the viewer a cautionary tale of the consequences of our actions and colonization. The tortured indigenous man is Cuauhtémoc, the last Aztec emperor, drawn tied to a circular shaped object described by Aranda as the "shield of technology" but also representing the "coin" or economic exploitation of the Americas. The scene references the historical narrative of the torture and execution of

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my visit to his archive and studio in 2017. The UC Santa Barbara Special Collection Library, El Centro Cultural de la Raza Archives (CEMA 12) also contains another diagram of the left section of the mural attached to an interview with "Yermo Aranda" conducted by David Ávalos on January 5, 1984. The diagram was included with the interview papers (CEMA 12, box 80).

[30] Art historians Alan W. Barnett, *Community Murals*, 38, and Guisela Latorre, *Walls of Empowerment*, 79, described this animal as either resembling a cross between a "Californian quail and a vulture or buzzard" and/or a "vulture and an eagle." I asked Aranda what the animal was specifically, and he noted that in its original drawing and idea the bird was to be a vulture or zopilote.

Cuauhtémoc in 1525 by the Spanish conquistadors.[31] The flames are directed toward the figure of Cuauhtémoc by an anonymous human hand or "la mano," representing the viewer's hand, the artists' hand, or society's hand — not specifically the Spaniards' or Hernan Cortes's hand.[32] The vulture represents "deterioration" or "nature's sanitation crew" that takes hold and eats the heart of Cuauhtémoc but cannot take his spirit, shown in the lightning flashes depicted under the vulture in an early version of the mural, dating from the early to mid 1970s (Figure 15). The bamboo or "cane" painted below the vulture, burning alongside Cuauhtémoc, symbolize hollowness or "emptiness" of the heart.[33]

The scene of Cuauhtémoc's torture also includes a character that was originally designed by Aranda, called "inferior man," referencing the monkey or Ozomatli in Nahuatl, which shows a half nude, half armored soldier injecting himself with the drugs that are capitalism, war, colonialism and religious conquest. The Ozomatli figure is called "inferior man" because Aranda took artistic liberties in creating a character influenced by the ancient Mesoamerican codices that

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[31] The earliest depiction of this scene is by Mexican artist Leandro Izaguirre, titled *The Torture of Cuauhtémoc*, finished in 1893. Also, the mural by David A. Siqueiros titled *The Torment of Cuauhtémoc*, finished in 1950 – 1951, also demonstrates a visualization of a historical event that demonstrated conquest and the violent actions done to the indigenous people during colonization by the Spanish.

[32] Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda, *La Dualidad (Duality)* mural diagram explaining each detail, 2010. This diagram is not published. Per Aranda, "The shield symbolizes this societies' attitude in dealing with land and indigenous peoples; we justify all our destruction of life and resources for economic gain." Aranda mentions that the hand could be seen as, "It's your hand, it's my hand, we've lost our ways, we no longer speak our dialects, instead we speak Spanish, English, French, or Portuguese, depending on who colonized us. Now we don't know who we are, now we turn on each other, we hurt each other, we disrespect each other. We perpetuate upon others what has been done to us."

[33] David Ávalos's interview conducted in 1984 (UCSB Special Collections Library, CEMA 12, box 80), pp. 2. Aranda explains the cane and scene in general: "What I am trying to say is in the way of today's world with the values and the attitudes that this society has or what we grow up into, its constantly destroying that which is indigenous, that which man can do away with and justify it by saying this is for the advancement of civilization. This is progress. This pertains to all these things, but in here I'm dealing specifically with values and attitudes that are doing the same thing in our everyday lives; getting hooked up in drugs or alcohol; being full of greed; and being unfulfilled – like the cane on the right by the fire is hollow so it represents emptiness, somebody that is without anything within them. The alligator is lazy and the rabbit represents fear, and the buzzard (vulture) is tearing out the heart of Cuauhtémoc."

show the monkey symbol.[34] The character of Ozomatli has also gone through several transformations. For example, the left and right leg were extended outward and drawn in mid-air in the act of stepping on a pentagram symbol painted on the floor (Figures 14 and 15). The sense of depth is conveyed in the bottom portion of the mural with the illustration of landscape, the ground soil floor that Ozomatli, the rabbit, and the alligator or iguana, and the lower body of Quetzalcoatl as the feathered serpent that interweaves the entire image together creates a foreground and deep background.

This foreshortening technique was typically used by muralists to capture the viewer's eye and emphasize the scale of the image as well as create depth. See, for example, the application of a three-dimensional fist to the arm of Ozomatli as he injects himself with the drug that is represented by a holy cross to symbolize Christianity. Aranda noted the use of industrial materials to create the fist, such as a chunk of Styrofoam or foam-core typically used for making surfboards with a fiber-glass outer layer. To create the knuckles and shape of the fist, Aranda cut the 8-foot mold into three pieces and glued them together using *Bondo* putty, a common brand of resin-based filler used for automotive bodywork.[35] To smoothen the edges of the hand Aranda painstakingly sanded the material to sculpt and form a large hand facing upward with each finger

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[34] Mary Miller and Karl Taube, *An Illustrated Dictionary of The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1993), 117–118. "The allegory of man and the monkey, Ozomatli or Chuen in Yucatec Maya, is noted in the Popul Vuh when the Maya gods destroyed the people formed of wood and turned them into monkeys. Also, the monkey is related to Quetzalcoatl in his guise as *ehecatl* or wind. According to the Five Suns cosmogonic accounts, Quetzalcoatl presided over the second sun, *ehecatonatiuh*, the sun of wind, until it was destroyed by great winds. The people of that era were turned into monkeys." Aranda may not have known these details of ancient Mesoamerican creation stories, but could have been exposed to these myths in literature at SDSU or had a generalized understanding of this symbolism.

[35] Interview with Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda at El Centro Cultural de la Raza, August 27, 2017. The Interview was conducted inside the center in Balboa Park, San Diego. "It was a donated piece of Styrofoam slab about 8 feet, and I wanted to make the hand three-dimensional and at an angle." I then asked, "Did you see the Siqueiros mural at Bellas Artes and thought that's what I am going to incorporate onto my mural? Aranda responded, "No. I wanted the hand to pop out of the wall, and I did not take this idea from any Siqueiros mural in Mexico. I wanted to create a three-dimensional and sculptural object. I also used *Bondo*, used for car bodywork or for lowriders, to glue the cut-outs together and hand sanded it down to shape it to a fist."

curled inward. I asked Aranda if this was a direct reference to Siqueiros's mural at The National Palace of Fine Arts, *New Democracy* finished in 1945, or other murals that have the same style. Aranda quickly responded that this is not a direct copy and that it was an attempt on his own part to add sculpture and a three-dimensionality that was influenced by Siqueiros's use of the foreshortening perspective. Details such as these are attempts to pay homage to muralists like Siqueiros, not to mimic or copy from an existing image, but to create the same visual technique.

The Christian cross that is injecting the arm of the gas-masked Ozomatli character has stayed consistent since the original concept drawing; however, the figures and details around this scene have undergone several changes. Aranda and Los Toltecas portrayed an intriguing detail to the right of the serpent's tail that incorporates seven human figures, illustrated as decaying bodies or weak, starving humans crawling toward the Christian cross syringe. Prior to applying the three-dimensional sculptural hand Aranda painted these dying humans desperate to get another "fix" or to indulge in the same drug that Ozomatli injects, but also referenced death with one skeletal figure laying at the bottom (Figure 15). The nude, decaying human figures were painted over to display the pentagram on the ground floor where Ozomatli's giant leg and foot land, and to this day the decaying human portrayed within the Christian cross is still affixed to the side.

The upper left section of the mural — the furthest point away from the viewer — depicts Tezcatlipoca as the jaguar tucked in a corner above Ozomatli, the half-human and half-machine character, with the city of San Diego in the background. The pouncing or lunging jaguar amidst the rows of soldiers demonstrates the environment that has imprisoned man, signified by the gas masked Ozomatli, where Tezcatlipoca becomes the predator in a familiar territory (Figure 14). The symbolism behind the Aztec god Tezcatlipoca was generally understood by Aranda in the

1970s. He and others in the Chicano Movement related this god to darkness or the opposite energy of Quetzalcoatl, associating Tezcatlipoca with the Western sense of "evil" versus "good." To reduce the concept of "duality" to binaries, such as evil or good, dark and light, or earth and wind, simplifies the original pre-Columbian story to become more universal. In the ancient central Mexican narrative of the cosmic battle between Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl, as described in a colonial text by Ruíz de Alarcón titled *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*, the story of the Five Suns notes that Tezcatlipoca presided over the sun of earth and Quetzalcoatl presided over the sun of water, and during their first battle Quetzalcoatl turned Tezcatlipoca into a jaguar after he struck him down. There are several battles until they reach the fifth sun which is understood in Aztec mythology as a continual conflict in terms of a dualistic opposition of earth and wind or matter and spirit. It is important to note that the god Tezcatlipoca represents more than just the opposite of Quetzalcoatl, as he relates to disorder and conflict but is also a creator and a bringer of fortune.[36] I propose that although Aranda's initial concept of the left section of the mural was to convey the environment of Tezcatlipoca as the embodiment of darkness and colonization, he was also making a statement about learning from the past — to not submit to the addiction of war, religious conquest, or the destruction of the natural environment and the history of indigenous peoples. Tezcatlipoca represents a continual battle of dualities, whether it is the post-modern technological reality or the indigenous existence prior to conquest of the Americas. This section of the mural underwent the least amount of changes, and is considered by Aranda to be the starting point of the entire mural's thematic story.

[36] Miller and Taube, *An Illustrated Dictionary of The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya*, 164 – 165. "According to the Florentine Codex, Tezcatlipoca is omnipresent, and causes discord and conflict everywhere he passes. Nonetheless, the same passage also describes him as a creator as well as destroyer. The name of this being signifies 'smoking mirror' and is a term rich in meaning. More than anything Tezcatlipoca appears to be the embodiment of change through conflict. He also battles and assists Quetzalcoatl."

The representation of a female character as a nude woman in the act of running away from Ozomatli is a detail of the mural that has been modified and re-painted since 1973. In the central section of *La Dualidad (The Duality),* Aranda and Los Toltecas en Aztlán originally painted a nude woman "fleeing" from the Ozomatli character, but also escaping the chaotic scene of war and the fire that ravages the left half of the wall (Figure 16). Per Barnett's reading of the scene, the nude female is described as "a beautiful Chicana fleeing from a mechanized monster across a rainbow," as well as a "nude young woman who flees from the military machine."[37] The nude woman represented "fear" and the "act of fleeing away" from danger or darkness, which Aranda mentioned was there to highlight how indigenous peoples were forced to leave their environment or abandon their old traditions.[38] This female character is not referenced in the Aztec story of Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl and is an addition made by Aranda and Los Toltecas en Aztlán to include women in the overall narrative.

Through a Xicana feminist lens, I view this female subject as an indigenous woman painted in the nude to convey the female body as a marker of change, while simultaneously, presented as an intermediary character in the mural's narrative. Although Aranda did not explain this figure as indigenous or Chicana, I have chosen to associate this nude female as an ambassador from the unspoken reality of the Chicano movement, representing the exclusion of Chicanas and Chicanx artists and activists in the history of the social and cultural movement. The (en)gendering of Chicano historiography, as noted by historian Emma Pérez, where "women are conceptualized as merely a backdrop to men's social and political activities, or where women's activities are unseen," describes why the "fleeing young nude woman" is portrayed in the early

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[37] Barnett, *Community Murals*, 108 and 237.

[38] Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda, *La Dualidad (The Duality)* mural diagram explaining each detail, 2010. This diagram is not published.

phase of the mural (Figure 16).[39] Despite the participation and leadership by Chicanas/xs in the Chicano Movement, early representations generally referred to their beauty, loyalty, and maternal qualities resulting in stereotypes that imposed a heteronormative binary in gender and social roles.[40]

The female character represents the indigenous, nude but also naked female body, eroticized, vulnerable, and in the act of fleeing because the figure was not given a name and was not modeled after a specific person in history. Hence, the indigenous woman embodies both the unspoken and spoken truths of colonization, modernity, and to an extent the future. I see her as a symbolic evocation of Malintzin, or La Malinche, because she is either considered a traitor or an important link between the past and present. I turn to the guidance of Chicana lesbian feminist writers like Gloria E. Anzaldúa, Cherríe Moraga, Norma Alarcón, Ana Castillo, and other contributors, as explained by Alicia Gaspar de Alba in "Thirty Years of Chicana/Latina Lesbian Literary Production," to consider the legacies of "generation A thru Q" intellectuals that founded this philosophy of a "discourse of decolonization" that in many ways has been manifested into visual form.[41] The acknowledgement of Chicanas and lesbian Chicanas within the Chicano movement did not occur until the 1980s in publications made by Chicana writers, artists, and scholars.

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[39] Emma Pérez, *Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 7.

[40] Maylei Blackwell, "Women Who Make Their Own Worlds: The Life and Work of Ester Hernández," in *Chicana Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era*, ed. Dionne Espinoza, María Eugenia Cotera, and Maylei Blackwell (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018), 139.

[41] Alicia Gaspar de Alba, "Thirty Years of Chicana/Latina Lesbian Literary Production" in *The Routledge Companion in Latino/a Literature*, co-authored by Suzanne Bost and Frances R. Aparicio (Routledge: 2012), 474 – 475.

The first publication that incorporated writings by women of color feminists and scholars was a co-authored anthology titled *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* by Gloria E. Anzaldúa and Cherríe Moraga in 1981. The article "Chicana's Feminist Literature: A Re-Vision Through Malintzin," by Norma Alarcón described the efforts made by Chicanas and lesbian Chicanx feminists who focused on the reclamation of Malintzin Tenepal or La Malinche to signify the Chicana/x perspective over the white feminist approach to post-modern feminism. Alarcón suggests that Chicanas were once considered traitors and betrayers like La Malinche and if they identified as a feminist they would then embody the "myth of male consciousness and not the historical figure in all her dimensions."[42] Alarcón and other writers in this publication advocated for a women of color feminism and Chicana feminism that revised the male label upon a female figure with the literal re-writing of history.

The historical figure that is Malintzin Tenepal or La Malinche, the indigenous woman who was deemed a traitor or "la chingada" by Mexican writer and scholar Octavio Paz, is both a real and symbolic figure to Chicana/x, Mexican, and Mexican-American women. Alarcón's writings are part of a methodology and a legacy of intervention by Chicana scholars, writers, and artists to surface Malintzin's "neosymbolic existence in the masculine imagination" which has affected "the actual experience of so many Mexicanas and Chicanas. She mentions that it became necessary for "her daughters" to revise her "scanty biography," and re-tell a story of Malintzin that is not re-emphasizing a patriarchal view.[43] Moreover, Alarcón points out that there is an underlying negative connotation to the concept of *mestizaje* that becomes an image that

[42] Norma Alarcón, "Chicana's Feminist Literature: A Re-Vision Through Malintzin/or Malintzin: Putting Flesh Back on the Object" in *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, ed. by Gloria E. Anzaldúa and Cherríe Moraga (London: Persephone Press, 1981), 188 – 189.

[43] Alarcón, "Tradutora, Traditora: In the Tracks of the Native Woman," in *Living Chicana Theory*, ed. by Carla Trujillo (San Antonio: Third Woman Press, 1994), 83.

“side-steps the image of Malintzin as raped mother and part of the feminine condition, by depicting her or transforming her into the “neo-myth of the goddess.”[44] This emphasis on Malintzin and the re-visioning of her story as a positive influence is an example of the significant contributions made by Chicana feminists, and specifically Chicana lesbian feminists and theorists, through the reclamation of her visual and historical memory.

The historical figure that is La Malinche epitomizes the Chicana feminist argument that the female body or the woman who chose to use the tongue to speak — considering Malintzin was also called “la lengua” or the tongue because of her translation skills — became adopted as a powerful and integral figure that deserved to be resuscitated.[45] Malintzin essentially aided the Spanish conquistadors in translating and forming alliances with rival groups to invade the Aztec empire and dismantle the societal structures at the time of conquest. If Chicanas were perceived or even underhandedly named Malinches, it meant they were “traitors” contributing to the division of the movement, because Malintzin was misrepresented by male interpretations of history. In turn, this analysis intervenes by describing this Malintzin figure and Chicanas as “mediating” figures that signaled a shift in paradigms and embodied the decolonial thinking strategy.

The roles and positions held by Chicanas in the 1970s, during the first phase of the mural, included that of a “soldadera” or “Adelita,” female soldiers ready to fight, mothers like La Virgen de Guadalupe who took care of the Chicano revolutionaries and loved them

[44] Ibid, 83 – 84.

[45] Norma Alarcón, “Tradutora, Traditora: A Pragmatic Figure of Chicana Feminism,” in *Cultural Critique*, no. 13, *The Construction of Gender and Modes of Social Division* (1989): 63 – 65.

unconditionally, or traitors and "bad whores" who gave their bodies to outsiders.[46] These roles associated Chicanas to administering meetings or cooking for the members rather than leading their own separate movement. The indigenous woman fleeing the chaos and violence of colonization was painted over in the late 1970s or early 1980s; at one point she was placed behind an Aztec dancer, but in the end removed from the scene entirely (Figure 16). The indigenous woman becomes a transient figure in time and space, a fleeting moment, where the viewer fills in the gaps of history and the "syncretic-continuum" is manifested in the central section of the mural. This analysis introduces the idea of Malinztin as a cosmic guide that demands the attention of the viewer, since the section is painted slightly above the bottom floor where audiences are at eye-level standing in front of the scene, taking them on a journey to the potential future through time and space. The transformation of the indigenous woman to the Aztec dancer, adjacent the sacred tree of life drawn as a female bodied anthropomorphic tree, shifts the speed or sense of motion from running or fleeing to dancing and performing toward the right section of the mural.

From 1972 to 1975, the depiction of a realistic moon alongside the morning star, a portrait of Black Elk who represented "a Lakota holy man," the Native American "ojo de Dios" or "God's eye" symbol, and the shadow or spirit of Emiliano Zapata resided in the sky. The "escudo del centro" itself is a design that combines Aztec symbols, such as the rays of the sun similar to the Aztec sun stone, with a Toltec symbol for the butterfly. Within the center of the

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[46] Ana Castillo, *Massacre of the Dreamers: Essays on Xicanisma* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014), 98 – 105. See also, Alicia Gaspar de Alba, *Chicano Art: Inside Outside the Master's House Cultural Politics and the CARA Exhibition* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 126 – 127. Gaspar de Alba explains that in the "early chauvinist years of "el" movimiento, Chicanas were granted one of two particularly defined identities. They were either "Adelitas," depicted in the popular Mexican revolutionary song as loyal supporters and followers of their men as female soldiers, or "Malinches," Eve-like traitors of La Causa (The Cause), perniciously pursuing their own individual interests." The "Adelitas" represented the good whores who gave their bodies and sexual desires to the men for La Causa and La Malinche represented the bad whores.

sun and butterfly is a heart made of ceramic clay that is a three-dimensional sculpture signifying the "love for our community and the center."[47] Below the emblem for El Centro Cultural de la Raza is the tree of life with the silhouette of a female body, with its branches as arms toward the sky above, and the roots extending underneath to the bottom floor (Figure 14). The middle section of the mural represents the transitional period, or a transformative moment, that was outlined and repainted in the late 1970s when Aranda learned of the discovery of the Coyolxauhqui stone in Mexico City in 1978.[48] Afterward, Aranda re-painted the moon and replaced it with a reproduction of the Coyolxauhqui stone. This change in how to represent the moon and incorporating the Aztec moon goddess demonstrates the inclusion of another powerful female character that leads the viewer through a path of transformation from a broken past to a mending and healing future.

The transition of celestial stars from darkness to lightness follows the path of the serpent's body and at the bottom of the central scene Aranda painted a "ceremonial purification lodge" or temazcalli. Here, Aranda references his experience in the Native American community called Red Wind, located near San Luis Obispo, where he participated in traditional and ritual ceremonies in the 1970s to the 1980s.[49] The scene was painted to signify Aranda's Yaqui and Mexican heritage and implemented symbols from the Amerindian cultures as an act of solidarity with the indigenous North American social and cultural movement. The inclusion of Black Elk, the "God's Eye" votive object, and the peace pipe acknowledges the Native American influence

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[47] Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda, *La Dualidad (The Duality)* mural diagram explaining each detail, 2010. This diagram is not published.

[48] The Coyolxauhqui stone was discovered in 1978, at the base of the Huitzilopochtli side of the Templo Mayor in Tenochtitlan (Mexico City). See Miller and Taube, *An Illustrated Dictionary of The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya*, 68 – 69.

[49] Interview with Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda at El Centro Cultural de la Raza, August 27, 2017. El Centro Cultural is located inside Balboa Park, San Diego, CA.

and presence in American history, creating what Guisela Latorre described as a "Pan-Indigenist aesthetic" where alliances in socio-political struggles resulted in a combination or conflation of Mexican and Native American references.[50] In the case of Aranda, the real relationships with Native American artists and communities complements the use of Amerindian iconography that attempts to link ideas and imagery in time. I will elaborate on this point in the second phase of the mural when Aranda and a Native American artist include more stylized motifs that reference Amerindian connection.

By 1974 to 1975, the first phase of *La Dualidad (The Duality)* showcased how the artists were learning more and more about the story of Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca because they were continually changing how each god was illustrated. In addition to their portrayal of the Aztec gods, there were other imagined characters that were inserted to create a sense of equilibrium between opposing forces. Immediately to the right of the sweat lodge scene of the mural Quetzalcoatl's tail wraps around a winged male character, with butterflies fluttering around his face, shown below two large hands facing toward the viewer holding a dog on the left hand and a blue deer on the right hand (Figure 17). In the 1972 version of this scene the winged man was illustrated in flight with his wings extending forward toward the hands, which was modified sometime after 1973 or 1974 (Figure 18). The winged male figure, and the large hands that support a violet-colored Mesoamerican pyramid (Aztec or Toltec architecture), emerge from the lake depicted on the bottom-right section of the mural. This upper-right section of the mural had references to Toltec, Native American, and Aztec iconography as well as the United Farm

[50] Latorre, *Walls of Empowerment*, 80. See also Brookman and Gomez-Pena, *Made in Aztlán,* 27. Brookman interviewed Tupac Enrique who mentioned that "in 1972 many of the Toltecas strengthened their commitment to indigenous causes, including treaty rights and national sovereignty, by joining several gatherings of Native Americans and their supporters. They went on caravans to the La Jolla Indian Reservation in northern San Diego County and to the Hopi Reservation in Arizona. Here, many new contacts were made, including those between Los Toltecas en Aztlán, the American Indian Movement, and the Unity Movement."

Workers (UFW) movement's black eagle emblem that was influenced by Aztec imagery.[51] The double-headed eagle is painted a deep black, with an outline of white and red solid lines, where the inner body seems to convey the darkness of space, and its wings guide the viewer to several other symbols. For example, the eagle's left-wing directs the viewer toward the upper-right corner of the mural, where the four directions are shown as a compass symbol that was created by Aranda and Los Toltecas to link colors and animals with the four cardinal directions. Directly below the eagle's right wing is also the depiction of corn referencing a pre-Columbian Mesoamerican glyph (Figure 19).

Underneath the eagle's right-wing is a Native American peace pipe, or ceremonial pipe, accentuated with a feather representing both an eagle and red-tailed hawk, drawn floating in mid-air with a red background symbolizing the "red people of the earth."[52] Within the body of the eagle at the top of the pyramid are four pre-Columbian Toltec sculptures, known as the "Atlantes of Tula," that face the viewer while a beam of light illuminates the center of the pyramid.[53] The emanating light shining upward and around the pyramid, creating an outer transparent sphere made of light similar to a crystal ball, is an important detail of the right section (Figure 14). Alan

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[51] Ibid, 79. "Behind the pyramid we see the UFW eagle majestically spreading its wings while acting as a thematic opposition to the eagle/vulture creature on the Cuauhtémoc side. A pair of hands that emerge from a lake underneath, in turn, support this structure."

[52] Aranda's *La Dualidad (The Duality)* mural diagram explaining each detail, created in 2010. This diagram is not published in any prior literature, and a copy of this diagram was given to me by Aranda during my visit to his archive and studio in 2017. This is also mentioned in an interview by David Ávalos on January 5, 1984. The diagram was included with the interview papers (UC Santa Barbara Special Collections Library, El Centro Cultural de la Raza Archive, CEMA 12, box 80).

[53] The Atlantes of Tula are known by Aranda as "Los Gigantes de Tula," seen as "guardians, watching over our traditional ways. They carry on their chests what we called a stylized butterfly, a symbol we as an organization of artists, the Toltecas en Aztlán took as our emblem, this task, we the artists took upon ourselves, as the preservers of our traditions." Aranda's *La Dualidad (The Duality)* mural diagram explaining each detail, created in 2010. This diagram is not published. Tula was the capital city of the Toltecs, in the region of central Mexico. To learn more see Michael D. Coe and Rex Koontz, *Mexico: From the Olmecs to the Aztecs* (Thames and Hudson Publishing, sixth edition 2008), 234.

W. Barnett described it as "an incarnation of a new Aztec culture with a pyramid crowned by eagles, and this vision is seen through a transparent globe held in a pair of enormous hands, but the pyramid projects behind the globe, suggesting that it is more than apparition."[54] The "transparent globe" held by the enlarged hands, supported also with the wings and upper-body of the half-bird and half-human character below, is more than an apparition but a visual interpretation of spiritual and cultural healing. Per Aranda's diagram and description of each detail of the mural, the cosmic looking sphere of light is called the "circle of the four directions" where the colors "white to the north, yellow to the east, black to the south, and red to the west represent the four cardinal points."[55] The double-headed eagle could be understood as the link between the celestial space to the grounded pyramid on earth, and also embodying what Aranda explained as "the importance of working toward a future, moving forward, yet knowing your past, your history, to give clarity and strength to pave the way for future generations to come."[56] The pyramid illuminates the pathway toward a real future with Chicanas and Chicanos at the forefront of monumental transformation in time and history. The technologies of that future are the tools necessary to manifest that change, such as the symbols of corn and architecture embodied by the Mesoamerican pyramid, and the winged male or female character as the warping in time and space that allows possibilities that were considered imaginary become tangible realities.

[54] Barnett, *Community Murals*, 237. "In many other Chicano murals the evocation of *indio* culture in a modern setting had a visionary aspect."

[55] Aranda's *La Dualidad (The Duality)* mural diagram explaining each detail, created in 2010. This diagram is not published.

[56] Aranda's *La Dualidad (The Duality)* mural diagram explaining each detail, created in 2010. This is also mentioned in an interview by David Ávalos on January 5, 1984. The UC Santa Barbara Special Collections Library, El Centro Cultural de la Raza Archive (CEMA 12, box 80).

These early manifestations of *La Dualidad (The Duality)* demonstrate a sense of caution and optimism, not poetic or conceptual like Tamayo's approach, but rather an alternative or "decolonial futurism" that conveys a timeless message. Aranda and Los Toltecas en Aztlán purposefully created this mural to translate an aged old story or philosophy to the Chicano/a community that could transcend time and continually engage with audiences. The mural visually articulates "duality" as not only a depiction of contrasting forces in nature and the universe, but also a collective production and experience that implies what Guisela Latorre explained as "an interdependence and correspondence between the two, implying that, paradoxically, one cannot survive or exist without the other."[57] This conclusion is influenced by the words, "in lak'ech," commonly referred to as "you are my other self," which requires further explanation.

This concept of "in lak'ech" referred to an interdependence that was in solidarity with indigenous cultures throughout the Southwestern U.S. and Mexico which Chicano artist and activist Alurista incorporated with the concept of *Indigenismo* or Indigeneity that collectively unites rather than separates. It was Alurista who mentioned the phrase "in lak'ech" or "you are my other self," which he borrowed from the Maya language in an attempt to explain what Los Toltecas en Aztlán were channeling during the creation of El Centro Cultural de la Raza. Per Alurista, the concept of "duality" included this notion of "in lak'ech" that "applies to everything, it is only our rational mind that, for practical purposes, distinguishes us, separates us, establishes distances between us and the things that surround us, between the subject and object. It is a question of perception."[58] The poet and founder of El Teatro Campesino, Luís Valdez also

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[57] Latorre, *Walls of Empowerment*, 78. "Chicano writers like Mario Garza recognized that the Mexican American experience contained a persistent duality: This duality started since the origin of the Chicano when the Spanish element and the native Indian element united and fused together to form the *mestizo* – the Chicano. It still continues today as the Chicano is continually exposed to the Mexican and American forces around him."

[58] Brookman and Gomez-Peña, *Made in Aztlán*, 26.

incorporated the term "in lak'ech" as part of a larger poem called "Pensamiento Serpentino," produced in the 1970s and coinciding with Alurista's comment in the mid to late 1970s when the mural was finishing its first phase.

The term "in lak'ech" does not relate to the concept of "duality" as told in the central Mexican stories about time and space; instead, it has a connection to maíz or corn.[59] Therefore, I conclude that the concept of "you are my other self" is a modern explanation of a Maya greeting that stems from the colonial period. Professor Domingo Martínez Parédez is noted by Luís Valdez to have directly influenced his use of the term; anthropologists and Maya experts have assessed these type of modern explanations as "New Age" interpretations about the Maya that misinterpreted the original meaning.[60] In terms of Aranda's interpretation of "duality," the incorporation of the term "in lak'ech" does not correspond with his original idea for the mural, and although contemporary literature references this Maya word as part of the mural's overall message, in actuality this complicates the original meaning. Therefore, I interpret the interlinking of Amerindian symbols throughout the mural, particularly on the central and right sections, as signifiers of solidarity with the native peoples of the Americas. Despite the inclusion of terms and concepts borrowed from the ancient Maya or Aztec to interpret this action, I argue that the intention was inclusive and positive to emphasize a sense of community. In the second phase of

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[59] Roberto Cintli Rodríguez, "Maíz as Civilizational Impulse," in *Our Sacred Maíz Is Our Mother: Indigeneity and Beloning in the Americas* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014), 114 – 115. Rodríguez cites Domingo Martínez Parédez's book, *El Popol Vuh tiene razón: teoría sobre la cosmología preamericana* published in 1968.

[60] David Stuart, *The Order of Days: The Maya World and the Truth About 2012* (New York: Harmony Books, 2011), 304 – 308. "Several New Age spiritual leaders have in different ways appropriated the Maya calendar, or to be accurate, their poor, superficial understanding of it, to use it as a source of personal spiritual insight, inspiration – not to mention monetary income." Some of these "New Age" writers include José Argüelles, Carlos Castañeda, and others. In some cases, I propose that Professor Domingo Martínez Parédez's writings became popular influences of the late 1960s that attempted to philosophically understand certain aspects of Maya culture, as well as other Mesoamerican cultures, but perhaps have been mistranslated or misunderstood by U.S. interpreters or New Age writers. The poem "Pensamiento Serpentino" by Luís Valdez can be viewed online. http://vue.annenberginstitute.org/perspectives/lak'ech-you-are-my-other

the mural, Aranda invited a Native American artist to contribute to the expansion and re-painting of several scenes to represent the connection between nature, indigenous peoples and traditions, and the spiritual essence of the act of cleansing or healing.

The Mural's Second Phase, 1981 – 1984 to the Present

In February 1978, the discovery of the Coyolxauhqui stone in Mexico City was an important moment and news of this event captured the interest of Mexican, Chicano/a, and Mexican-American communities in Mexico and the U.S. Later that year, Aranda immediately began to re-paint the moon which led him to invite Native American artist Daniel "The Wolf" Benally to include stylized motifs that showcased Benally's heritage.[61] Between 1980 to 1984, the central and right sections were modified to include Native American symbols that are rarely discussed in contemporary literature. These icons acknowledge the Amerindian presence in the U.S. and Mexico, a uniquely Chicano understanding that Los Toltecas en Aztlán as well as Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda envisioned as a critical aspect of the mural.

From 1979 to 1981, El Centro Cultural de la Raza underwent several changes in administrative leadership, community outreach, funding resources, exhibition programs, and other institutional investments that aimed to include all people of the San Diego community. Josie Talamantez, Agustín Casásola, and Veronica Enrique were vocal in developing an ambitious exhibition program and including the concept of "cultural preservation" and a "binational consciousness" as part of El Centro Cultural de la Raza's mission.[62] In 1981,

[61] Barnett, *Community Murals*, 107 – 108. "Work on the mural was intermittent, but by 1974 it covered about a fifteenth by fifty-foot area and maintained its appearance until 1978, when Aranda returned to it with a Native American painter, and they began changing it in substantial ways."

[62] Brookman and Gomez-Peña, *Made in Aztlán*, 50. See note 84 on page 53. Interview with Josie Talamantez by Philip Brookman, April 26, 1985, in San Diego, CA.

Veronica Enrique became the new Executive Director of El Centro Cultural de la Raza and through her leadership the community center became an institutionalized museum and gallery space that encouraged local and regional artists from Mexican, Mexican-American, Native American, and Chicano/a backgrounds to be exhibited. This new mission established exhibitions and educational programs that brought awareness to the border region of San Diego, where the subject of the border between the U.S. and Mexico became part of a "cross-border dialogue" by mobilizing visual artists, poets, musicians, and dancers to educate and engage with the public.[63]

By this time, *La Dualidad (The Duality)* was undergoing changes that complemented these efforts to broaden the message to include all audiences in solidarity with the U.S. Southwest and San Diego's border region. This prompted Aranda to invite Benally to collaborate visually on the right section of the mural and insert a Native American visual perspective into the concept of "duality." The second phase of the mural and all its changes up until 1984 conveys a "syncretic-continuum" because its various stages exhibit the dynamic process of translating a complex idea to a diverse audience that continues to engage with them well into the twenty-first century. The mural's transformation correlates with the different phases of the moon where Coyolxauhqui's dismembered body alludes to the continual process of destruction and regeneration. The far-left and far-right sections of the mural showcase the extreme forces, such as colonization and emancipation, which are commonly seen as opposing energies that are neither good or evil, but rather, co-dependent and independent forces simultaneously. In contrast to Tamayo's visualization of "duality," where the jaguar and the serpent are captured in a cosmic battle scene without a direct connection to the ancient peoples, Aranda and Los Toltecas en Aztlán portrayed a perpetual movement or dance in time. Therefore, *La Dualidad (The Duality)*

[63] Ibid, 50. El Centro Cultural de la Raza celebrated its tenth anniversary on July 11, 1981.

is an image that represents a sense of healing, both physically and spiritually, by connecting the dismembered parts of the past scattered in history.

The tripartite composition of the mural is outlined by several spheres that organize the themes of the narrative into three interconnected scenes (Figure 20). The first is the left side portraying the "shield of technology" where Cuauhtémoc is tortured on a circular object; the second is the celestial stars portrayed in the central section, including the morning star with a color wheel in the middle, the Coyolxauhqui stone as the moon, and the emblem of El Centro Cultural de la Raza. Lastly, the transparent globe or "circle of the four directions" and other spherical motifs on the right side symbolize ancient technology, but also the force of nature that leads to an enlightened future that is considerate of the earth and humanity. Guisela Latorre mentioned the Maya word "in lak'ech" to address the complex and interconnected relationship between the colonized and the colonizer, but also to "illustrate the two spheres depicted in the mural act as opposites that, nevertheless, form part of a cosmic balance." Latorre noted only two spheres, but distinguishes the composition as two sides of a whole, where the left-hand side demonstrates "the forces of colonialism and imperialism" whereas the right-hand side depicts "indigenous culture and earth's natural habitat" using Indigenist imagery.[64] Thus, the mural continued to be analyzed through a binary lens that dismissed the central scene where the important transitions occur. Through a Xicana futurist lens I interpret and identify three scenes that re-conceptualize a timeless narrative, while simultaneously, inserting indigenous women as emancipative figures representing transition, balance, and healing.

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[64] Latorre, *Walls of Empowerment*, 80. "The artists closely associate Indigenous culture on this side (right) of the mural with the earth's natural habitat, whereas the forces of colonialism and imperialism on the other side are connected to industrialized and artificial environments."

The left-hand section of the mural remains the least modified portion, where Quetzalcoatl's lower body was the only detail that was extended to the right section using blue, yellow, green, and white outlines to emphasize the scales, the feathers, and the tail of a rattle-snake. Interestingly, the serpent is shown in the act of rattling its tail or warning the viewer of the fiery torch aimed at Cuauhtémoc, as if to suggest we tread with caution (Figure 21). The tortured and bounded Cuauhtémoc, as well as the Ozomatli character, represent human beings that are imprisoned by the actions of colonization and the developments of a technologically and militarily advanced profit-making machine. These scenes convey a future that is a dystopian consequence of the machineries of war, becoming an overpowering force that implies a risk to the natural environment, depicted as the burning of bamboo trees and the dark sky above the line of soldiers shown hovering over Ozomatli.

This dystopian future or portrayal of Aztlán itself can be viewed as a counter-narrative that implies potential risk, such as the loss of the natural environment or worse, the death of all people and animals on earth. The artwork suggests we approach pessimism with optimism, but more importantly, uses Amerindian iconography to shift our actions and thoughts toward practices of healing the wounds of the past. Inhabiting that space is the depiction of Emiliano Zapata looming over Ozomatli's large fist as well as the roots or veins that lead the viewer to the "Ojo de dios," or eye of God symbol, painted at the very top of the mural's edge (Figures 20 and 21). In addition to Zapata, the Lakota holy man Black Elk and the book *Black Elk Speaks,* published in 1932, influenced Aranda and Los Toltecas en Aztlán to incorporate male historical figures that resisted colonization. The struggle for land rights by indigenous peoples, both in Mexico and the U.S., were visually linked using Zapata and Black Elk and other native characters within the central scenes to portray unity and liberation.

Directly below the sky the Aztec dancer, or Aztec "danzante," becomes another example of indigenous culture within the central section of the mural. The female danzante is shown in mid-air in the act of dancing and is struck by the staff of an indigenous male figure dressed as a Yaqui deer dancer wearing a headdress made of a buck's head and skin completing the upper-half of the garment (Figure 22). The inclusion of the Yaqui deer dancer, the Aztec danzante, the blue deer or "watakame" among the Huichol, the peyote bird and thunderbird in the Native American style of artist Daniel "Wolf" Benally, and the skull or Aztec "malinalli" motifs, exemplify Latorre's notion of a "Pan-Indigenist aesthetic." The photograph of Aranda and Benally sitting atop the scaffolding, captured by an anonymous photographer around the late 1970s or early 1980s, is a significant event in the mural's development proving Latorre's conclusion (Figure 23). This is a unique moment in history when a Chicano and Native American artist collaborated to create imagery that combined traditions and cultural icons within one mural. Art historians prior to this study do not mention the details painted by Benally, and if they are discussed, the artist's name is not stated. Therefore, my analysis contributes new interpretations with an awareness of the cross-cultural iconography produced after 1978. Benally's motifs are the thunderbird and peyote bird, illustrated using bold red and blue colors with black lines, shown flying above the blue deer and the Yaqui deer dancer (Figures 22 and 23). The peyote bird, per Aranda's diagram of the mural, represents the Native American Church and the peyote religion, whereas the thunderbird symbolizes the earth and the cycles of life that re-nourish humanity. Additional motifs added by Benally include the Native American peace pipe floating near the central Mexican pyramid, the kiva that sits atop the steps, the owl painted in red and blue colors, and the "abyss" symbol depicted at the bottom-right corner of the mural.

The second phase of the right section, between 1978 and 1984, also refers to the changes made to the male figure with wings that is later modified and renamed "the winged woman, representing emancipation and the release from the constraints of male oppression and the shackling of machismo."[65] The winged woman stretches her wings outward and lifts up the left and right hands of humanity, shown as an emanating light from the human body, to the head of Quetzalcoatl's serpent body to a three-dimensional ceramic head of the god (Figure 24). The scene reminds the viewer of the biological advancements in bio-technology in the ancient Americas such as the creation of corn, shown as an Aztec corn motif next to the hummingbird. The depiction of wings and birds in the right section, such as the double-headed eagle, the hummingbird, the owl, and the winged woman character, associates this half with liberation and freedom. In contrast to the vulture on the left side that demonstrates destruction or decay, the birds on the right correspond to the natural movement forward, backward, and in-between in flight. The winged character, whether male or female, must be viewed as a character that expresses a "syncretic-continuum" of trans or non-binary characters that are not bounded by the social and religious constructs of the left section (Figures 17 and 24).

The type of futurism that is demonstrated by these anthropomorphic figures exemplifies what Ramírez's concept of "Chicanafuturism" and Cornejo's "decolonial futurisms" discuss as the re-definition of humanism. I propose to consider the half-human characters, such as the gas masked soldier Ozomatli and the post-human winged woman, as conceptualizations of the future of humanity where human beings transcend and transform to adapt and survive. In a recent

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[65] Aranda's *La Dualidad (The Duality)* mural diagram explaining each detail, created in 2010. This diagram is not published. Per Aranda, "Here we begin to find understanding of the matriarchal societies that existed prior to Christianity, when the woman is totally free, then we, as men are truly free." Guisela Latorre, *Walls of Empowerment*, 79 – 80, described the winged woman as an "earth goddess" whose wings "echo those of the UFW eagle above." I believe Latorre meant both the eagle and the winged woman are drawn in a similar spread-wing posture where birds extend their wings prior to flight.

interview with Professor Catherine S. Ramírez, I discussed "Chicanafuturism" as a theoretical tool to locate the Chicana and Chicanx presence within the mural and inquired about whether the idea of humanism includes the cyborg or the idea of transhumanism.[66] Ramírez soon prompted me to consider pushing the limits of my inquiries about the futurist lens, and question whether it is about humanity itself or the non-human, post-human, sub-human, and the inclusion of that simultaneity in time and space. Coincidently, the far-right section of the mural coincides with Ramírez's suggestion, as the bottom-corner motif designed and painted by Benally represents "the abyss" where the owl and the edge or precipice signifies what Aranda described as "the unknown, where we don't move forward because we can't see what's ahead, uncertainty, yet we need to step forward, taking that step and facing our fears" (Figure 25).[67] What is the force that makes humanity continue to move forward? What happens when one is on the edge of a cliff, literally and metaphorically? Do we jump over the edge or do we fly? Remarkably, the owl directly gazes upon the viewer with gold yellow and black dotted eyes, with a bold red and blue silhouette; it is the only bird that is not depicted as a realistic animal. The precipice motif, or "the abyss," is illustrated using yellow, red, and blue lines with a dark black background associating the unknown future with the night.

Daniel "Wolf" Benally's stylized motifs contributed to an aesthetic that conveys a dream-like vision, teetering between fantasy and reality, of color within the darkness. The far-right section does not portray an ending, but the eventual progression from the darkness or the unknown future, prompting humanity to look for the light. Therefore, the sky above showcases

[66] Interview with Dr. Catherine S. Ramírez at UC Santa Cruz in the Latin American and Latino/a Studies Department, on Wednesday, May 29, 2019. This meeting was in conjunction with the field research at the McHenry Library and Special Collections archive from May 29 to June 3, 2019.

[67] Interview with Aranda at El Centro Cultural de la Raza, August 27, 2017. Also, Aranda's *La Dualidad (The Duality)* mural diagram explaining each detail, created in 2010. This diagram is not published.

the hummingbird and the four cardinal points drawn as a compass to direct the motion back toward the light of the pyramid and transparent globe (Figures 24 and 25). The top-right section depicting the "sacred fire or Xuiteotl," painted as an emblem with four points, with each color signifying a cardinal direction, represents the farthest point in the known universe and is a sun symbol used to "enlighten, cleanse the mind and body, destroy, and create."[68] Directly adjacent to the spheres of light and cardinal points, the hummingbird ascends out of the sun and shines a beaming light out of its needle-like beak toward the pyramid. The smallest bird indicates where the head of Quetzalcoatl protrudes from the core of the pyramid steps, embodying the continuum of time within the celestial universe, as well as the biological progression of humanity and nature inhabiting the terrestrial space.

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[68] Aranda's *La Dualidad (The Duality)* mural diagram explaining each detail, created in 2010. This diagram is not published.

Conclusion

La Dualidad (The Duality) in the Twenty-First Century

> Border artists "cambian el punto de referencia" or change the point of reference. By disrupting the neat separations between cultures, they create a culture mix, una mezcla in their artworks. Each artist locates her/him self in this border "lugar," and tears apart and rebuilds the "place" itself. Yes, cultural roots are important, but I was not born at Tenochtitlán in the ancient past nor in an Aztec village in modern times. I was born and live in that in-between-space, "nepantla," the borderlands. There are other races running in my veins, other cultures that my body lives in and out of, and a white man who constantly whispers inside my skull. For me, being Chicana is not enough. It is only one of my multiple identities. Along with other border "gente" or people, it is at this site and time, where and when, I create my identity along with my art.[1]
>
> — Gloria E. Anzaldúa, "Border Arte," 1993.

The quote from Gloria E. Anzaldúa describes the border artist or the "nepantla" artist as the bringer of change, creating a mixture of many identities and experiences, that acknowledges the past, present, and future. In writing this thesis, Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda mentioned that he plans to continue to add new scenes to the mural *La Dualidad (The Duality)*, if El Centro Cultural de la Raza can gather enough support to re-start the project. To date, no news has surfaced about the project, but I am optimistic that the community of San Diego and El Centro Cultural de la Raza will find the support necessary to fund this mural project in the near-future. Aranda did finish the mural in 1984, but with the intention to someday return to it and continue

[1] Gloria E. Anzaldúa, "Border Arte: Nepantla, el Lugar de la Frontera," in *The Gloria Anzaldúa Reader,* ed. by AnnaLouise Keating (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 177 and 185.

painting. Thus, I interpreted the mural as a continual process with the potential to be expanded upon. As noted by Anzaldúa, border artists change the point of reference to include all American cultures who were wounded by the actions of colonization to look to the future as a pathway toward healing and rebuilding through a decolonial perspective. I discuss this "cambio del punto de referencia" as the epistemological disobedience or decolonial thinking used in my analysis to identify the Chicana/x presence within the Chicano mural. Using a Xicana futurist lens, I incorporated Chicana feminist theoretical methods to write a visual reading that aimed to liberate the iconography from the shackles of the past that imposed a strict binary of thought.

In turn, I suggest that we view Chicano muralism as a dynamic movement that changes generationally with an intentional future-conscious narrative or message to engage with audiences on relevant topics then and now. Hence, I introduced the notion of a "syncretic-continuum" to explain the perpetual cycle of cultural iconography, artistic techniques and practices, and ancestral mythologies intervening in the re-vision of history. Chicano murals like *La Dualidad (The Duality)* embody a sense of *Chicanismo* or *Chicanidad* because of the timeless message of emancipation and justice, but also spiritual and emotional healing from the darkness of the colonial past. The path toward healing involved the presence of women, animals, and colors that signified the bending of light, as well as the warping of time, to positively view the continuity of nature and the universe as an inevitable process that involved humanity. The enduring legacies of Chicano muralism are archived in a time-capsule seen as the mural itself where the theme, as in this case "duality," is preserved and visually interpreted to become relevant at any point in history. There is no end, and no beginning — the most important aspect of the creative practice is the mending of broken pieces of oneself and the community through self-determination and in solidarity with other cultures.

Appendix: Illustrations

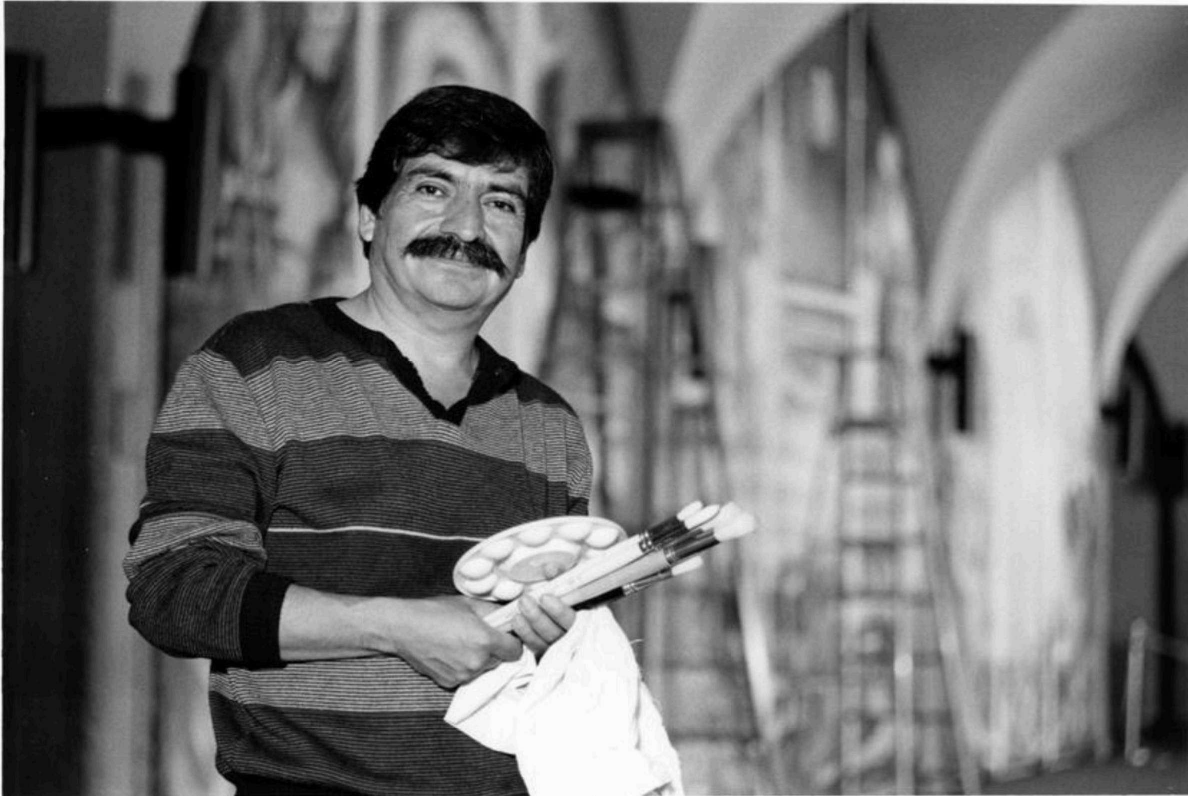

Figure 1. San Diego State University, Photography Collection Archives under Faculty Photographs and Negatives. *Gilberto Ramírez, 1991*. 5 X 7 inches. Print. San Diego State University Library Digital Photograph Collection. Caption of image states: "Gilberto Ramírez restores his triptych murals, Conquest of the Americas, Joining of the Chicano and Mexican, and Birth of the New Man, in Montezuma Hall in Aztec Center." Image source online: https://digital.sdsu.edu/view-item?i=98158

Figure 2. Gilberto Ramírez, with assistance by Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda and Rubén DeAnda. *Mural Tríptico (Triptych Mural).* 1970. Three panels at 20' H X 12' W. Acrylic on canvas. Original building finished in 1968 of Aztec Union Center, Moctezuma Hall, San Diego State University (SDSU). UC Santa Barbara Special Collections, El Central Cultural de la Raza Archives (CEMA 12). Calisphere image source: https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/hb6t1nb729/

Figure 3. Photographed by Fred Gates. Left to right: Guillermo “Yermo” Aranda, Gilberto Ramírez, and Rubén DeAnda. 1970. Print. Article written by Richard R. Barnes, titled “S.D. State Unveils Mural to Honor Chicano Crusade,” in *The San Diego Union*, published December 7, 1970.

Figure 4. Gilberto Ramírez, with assistance by Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda and Rubén DeAnda. *Mural Tríptico (Triptych Mural).* 1970. Three panels at 20' H X 12' W. Acrylic on canvas. Mural moved to new remodeled Aztec Union Center, San Diego State University (SDSU). Photographed by author in August 2017.

Figure 5. Gilberto Ramírez, with assistance by Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda and Rubén DeAnda. *Mural Tríptico (Triptych Mural),* detail of left panel*, Crepúsculo (Sunset),* and middle panel*, Noche (Night).* 1970. Three panels at 20' H X 12' W. Acrylic on canvas. Aztec Center, San Diego State University (SDSU). Photographed by author in August 2017.

Figure 6. Gilberto Ramírez, with assistance by Guillermo “Yermo” Aranda and Rubén DeAnda. *Mural Tríptico (Triptych Mural), Detail of right panel, Amanecer (Dawn).* 1970. Three panels at 20’ H X 12’ W. Acrylic on canvas. Aztec Union Center, San Diego State University (SDSU). Photographed by author in August 2017.

Figure 7. The Ford Building. San Diego Historic Society. Image taken from website:

http://sandiegoairandspace.org/exhibits/online-exhibit-page/the-white-elephant-1936-1980

Figure 8. The larger photograph is of El Centro Cultural de la Raza in 1970. The second image within is of El Centro Cultural in 1975 when the murals were painted outside the building. Image taken from Philip Brookman's and Guillermo Gómez-Peña's *Made in Aztlán* (Centro Cultural de la Raza, 1986), 23.

Figure 9. El Centro Cultural de la Raza, Balboa Park, San Diego, CA. View of entrance on Park Blvd. near Pepper Grove Park. Photographed by author in August 2017.

Figure 10. Rufino Tamayo. *Dualidad (Duality).* 1964. Approximately 11’ H X 40’ W. Vinylite on canvas with sand. The National Museum of Anthropology, Mexico City, entrance to the Jaime Torres Bodet Auditorium. Photographed by author in July 2011.

Figure 11. Rufino Tamayo. Detail of middle section of *Dualidad (Duality).* 1964. Approximately 11’ H X 40’ W. Vinylite on canvas with sand. The National Museum of Anthropology, Mexico City, entrance to the Jaime Torres Bodet Auditorium. Photographed by author in July 2011.

Figure 12. Guillermo “Yermo” Aranda. The concept drawing of *La Dualidad (The Duality)* mural. 1972. 8 X 25 inches. Pencil on paper. Guillermo “Yermo” Aranda’s studio and archive, Watsonville, CA. Photographed by author in August 2018.

Figure 13. El Centro Cultural de la Raza and Los Toltecas en Aztlán. *Work in Progress for "La Dualidad" Mural*. 1970 – 71. The early stages of applying the outline drawing to the wall. Digital scan of slide. University of California Santa Barbara Special Collections Library, El Centro Cultural de la Raza Archives (CEMA 12), California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives. https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/hb6290106j/

This version of the mural dates from 1971 to 1973.

Figure 14. Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda in collaboration with Los Toltecas en Aztlán: Victor Ochoa, Tupac Enrique, Ernesto Paul, Guillermo Rosete, Eduardo Galindo, Daniel "Wolf" Benally, David Ávalos, Mario Aguilar, Armando Nuñez, Ricardo Mendoza, and many others. *La Dualidad (The Duality).* 1970 – 1984. 16' H X 46' W. Acrylic and multimedia on concrete. El Centro Cultural de la Raza, San Diego, CA. Digital scan of slide from El Centro Cultural de la Raza Archive, University of Santa Barbara Special Collections Library (CEMA 12). This version of the mural dates from early 1970s to 1974.

Figure 15. Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda in collaboration with Los Toltecas en Aztlán: Victor Ochoa, Tupac Enrique, Ernesto Paul, Guillermo Rosete, Eduardo Galindo, Daniel "Wolf" Benally, David Ávalos, Mario Aguilar, Armando Nuñez, Ricardo Mendoza, and others. *La Dualidad (The Duality).* 1970 – 1984. Digital scan of slide. University of California Santa Barbara Special Collections Library, El Centro Cultural de la Raza Archives (CEMA 12). This version of the mural ranges from 1971 to 1972.

Figure 16. Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda in collaboration with Los Toltecas en Aztlán: Victor Ochoa, Tupac Enrique, Ernesto Paul, Guillermo Rosete, Eduardo Galindo, Daniel "Wolf" Benally, David Ávalos, Mario Aguilar, Armando Nuñez, Ricardo Mendoza, and others. *La Dualidad (The Duality).* 1970 – 1984. Digital scan of slide. University of California Santa Barbara Special Collections Library, El Centro Cultural de la Raza Archives (CEMA 12). The version of the mural on the left is from 1972 to 1973, and the version on the right is from 1973.

Figure 17. Guillermo “Yermo” Aranda in collaboration with Los Toltecas en Aztlán: Victor Ochoa, Tupac Enrique, Ernesto Paul, Guillermo Rosete, Eduardo Galindo, Daniel “Wolf” Benally, David Ávalos, Mario Aguilar, Armando Nuñez, Ricardo Mendoza, and many others. *La Dualidad (The Duality).* 1970 – 1984. Digital scan of slide. University of California Santa Barbara Special Collections Library, El Centro Cultural de la Raza Archives (CEMA 12). This version of the bottom-right section of the mural is from 1974.

Figure 18. Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda in collaboration with Los Toltecas en Aztlán: Victor Ochoa, Tupac Enrique, Ernesto Paul, Guillermo Rosete, Eduardo Galindo, Daniel "Wolf" Benally, David Ávalos, Mario Aguilar, Armando Nuñez, Ricardo Mendoza, and others. *La Dualidad (The Duality).* 1970 – 1984. Digital scan of slide. University of California Santa Barbara Special Collections Library, El Centro Cultural de la Raza Archives (CEMA 12). This version of the right section of the mural is from 1972.

Figure 19. Guillermo “Yermo” Aranda in collaboration with Los Toltecas en Aztlán: Victor Ochoa, Tupac Enrique, Ernesto Paul, Guillermo Rosete, Eduardo Galindo, Daniel “Wolf” Benally, David Ávalos, Mario Aguilar, Armando Nuñez, Ricardo Mendoza, and others. *La Dualidad (The Duality).* 1970 – 1984. Digital scan of slide. University of California Santa Barbara Special Collections Library, El Centro Cultural de la Raza Archives (CEMA 12). This version of the right section of the mural is from 1978.

Figure 20. Guillermo “Yermo” Aranda in collaboration with Los Toltecas en Aztlán: Victor Ochoa, Tupac Enrique, Ernesto Paul, Guillermo Rosete, Eduardo Galindo, Daniel “Wolf” Benally, David Ávalos, Mario Aguilar, Armando Nuñez, Ricardo Mendoza, and others. *La Dualidad (The Duality).* 1970 – 1984. 16’ H X 46’ W. Acrylic and multimedia on concrete. El Centro Cultural de la Raza. This version of the mural dates from 1984 to the present.

Figure 21. Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda in collaboration with Los Toltecas en Aztlán: Victor Ochoa, Tupac Enrique, Ernesto Paul, Guillermo Rosete, Eduardo Galindo, Daniel "Wolf" Benally, David Ávalos, Mario Aguilar, Armando Nuñez, Ricardo Mendoza, and many others. *La Dualidad (The Duality).* 1970 – 1984. Acrylic on concrete, multimedia. El Centro Cultural de la Raza. Photographed by author August 2017. This version of the mural dates from 1984 to the present.

Figure 22. Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda in collaboration with Los Toltecas en Aztlán: Victor Ochoa, Tupac Enrique, Ernesto Paul, Guillermo Rosete, Eduardo Galindo, Daniel "Wolf" Benally, David Ávalos, Mario Aguilar, Armando Nuñez, Ricardo Mendoza, and others. *La Dualidad (The Duality).* 1970 – 1984. Detail of center-bottom section. El Centro Cultural de la Raza. Photographed by author August 2017. This version of the mural dates from 1984 to the present.

Figure 23. Photographer unknown. Guillermo “Yermo” Aranda, left, painting with Daniel “Wolf” Benally, right, the center section of the mural *La Dualidad (The Duality).* 1978. Digital scan of slide. University of California Santa Barbara Special Collections Library, El Centro Cultural de la Raza Archives (CEMA 12).

Figure 24. Guillermo "Yermo" Aranda in collaboration with Los Toltecas en Aztlán: Victor Ochoa, Tupac Enrique, Ernesto Paul, Guillermo Rosete, Eduardo Galindo, Daniel "Wolf" Benally, David Ávalos, Mario Aguilar, Armando Nuñez, Ricardo Mendoza, and others. *La Dualidad (The Duality).* 1970 – 1984. Detail of right section. El Centro Cultural de la Raza. Photographed by author August 2017. This version of the mural dates from 1984 to the present.

Figure 25. Guillermo “Yermo” Aranda in collaboration with Los Toltecas en Aztlán: Victor Ochoa, Tupac Enrique, Ernesto Paul, Guillermo Rosete, Eduardo Galindo, Daniel “Wolf” Benally, David Ávalos, Mario Aguilar, Armando Nuñez, Ricardo Mendoza, and others. *La Dualidad (The Duality).* 1970 – 1984. Detail of far-right section near entrance. El Centro Cultural de la Raza. Photographed by author August 2017. This version of the mural dates from 1984 to the present.

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