Introduction: Portrait of a Young Painter

1. Elias, “Terrorism in the German Federal Republic,” 229–98. Emerging scholarship on the global 1960s stays close to Elias’s narrative particularly for the United States and Western Europe. See, for example, Marwick, *The Sixties*, and Suri, “‘The Rise and Fall,’” 45–68.


6. For a recent in-depth philosophical exploration of the term, see Ferguson, *Modernity and Subjectivity*; for a more accessible explanation, see Roper, “Slipping out of View,” 57–72.
7. See de Certeau, *Practice*.
10. James, *Doña María’s Story*.
13. It has been and still is such a prevailing view that to single out particular works may be superfluous, but it may be worth citing classical analyses such as Aguilar Camín and Meyer, *In the Shadow of Revolution*, and Hellman, *Mexico in Crisis*.
14. The Mexican Instituto de Seguro Social was founded in 1943 as a tripartite organization of government, employers, and workers to provide health care, pensions, and other social services to principally unionized workers.
21. Claudio Lomnitz discusses the twentieth-century Mexican public sphere in terms of press censorship in “Ritual, rumor, y corrupción,” 241–74. Pablo Piccato has done a rich, innovative analysis of the public sphere as press expression in the second half of the nineteenth century (*The Tyranny of Opinion*). For new work on the twentieth century, see introduction and essays in Sacristán and


24. E.g., Mills, *The Power Elite*; Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man*; the classic work of Habermas’s colleagues of the Frankfurt School, Adorno and Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Scholarly and artistic disdain for the mass media was general in this period and part of a modernist distinction between high- and lowbrow culture. Consider Adorno and Horkheimer, “The Culture Industry,” 120–267; Read, *Cartas a un joven pintor*; Riesman, Glazer, and Denney, *The Lonely Crowd*; Goodman, *Growing Up Absurd*; MacDonald, “Masscult and Midcult,” 1–75; or Fellini’s *La dolce vita*. It is not surprising that Oscar Lewis entirely ignored the impact of movies and the radio on the Sánchez children, although he notes they were avid fans. Nor does Norbert Elías give the media their full due in the formation of 1960s rebels.


26. On the sensorial revolution, see particularly Hansen as she draws on Walter Benjamin in “Fallen Women, Rising Stars” and “Benjamin and Cinema,” 306–43. On community creation and sensorial revolution, see Loviglio, *Radio’s Intimate Public*.


29. On the imagined city, see Tuñón, *La ciudad actriz*, and Lara Chávez, *Una ciudad inventada por el cine*.

30. Interviews with Elva Garma, Elizabeth del Castillo Velasco González.

31. ATM abbreviates ¡A toda maquina! In the 1951 film, Pedro Infante and Luis Aguilar play members of the Squadron of Transit Police in the Federal District.

33. Piccato, City of Suspects, 89–90.
35. The Porfirian approach is well examined in Buffington, Criminal and Citizen, and Piccato, City of Suspects, and the revolutionary shift well explained by Bliss, “The Science of Redemption,” esp. 2, 4–6, 8–9, 17.
36. On the increasing ability of Mexican working-class men to support their families through gainful employment between 1940 and 1970, see Thompson, “Households,” 218.
37. Malanich, “Non-Normative Families.” She bases her argument on Arraros, “Concubinage in Latin America,” 330–39, and Therborn, Between Sex and Power. She also notes that the trend reversed after 1970. In Mexico marriage rates rose from 4 per 1,000 inhabitants in 1910 to 8.5 in 1942 to 11.4 in 1972 (Quilodran, Un siglo de matrimonio en México, 100).
38. On male domestic violence as socially perceived and legally handled in the Porfiriato into the 1920s, see Piccato, City of Suspects, 103–30. See also Buffington, “Toward a Modern Sacrificial Economy,” 157–95. On protest against it in the press, see Gustafson, “‘He Loves the Little Ones’,” 104–7; and in public education, Vaughan, Cultural Politics, 169.
40. On Porfirián conditions, see Piccato, City of Suspects, 40–70. The Porfirián poor often attended to their personal needs over series of spaces ranging from fetid tenements, pulquerías, public baths, the streets, and brothels. On the long-enduring role of the pulquería as a site of multiple transactions (drinking, eating, finding jobs, borrowing money, sharing the news, flirting, sex, fighting, and sleeping) from the colonial period well into the twentieth century, see Scardaville, “Alcohol Abuse and Tavern Reform,” 643–71; Voekel, “Peeing on the Palace,” 183–202; and Gustafson’s analysis of newspaper and government reports in “‘He Loves the Little Ones,'” ch. 5, 163–68; Pulido Esteva, “El ‘cantinismo.'”
41. Sluis, “City of Spectacles,” 203. On consumption and masculinity, see Macías-González, “Hombres de mundo,” 267–97, and “Lagartijo at the High Life,” 236. Examining consumption and middle-class masculinity in Mexico City in the 1920s and 1930s, Susanne Eineigel notes that men consuming new fashions and entertainment were often labeled “fifi,” or effeminate and frivolous. By the 1940s, that behavior had been mainstreamed. For her argument about the 1920s and 1930s, see Eineigel, “Distinction, Culture, and Politics,” 119–20, 126.
42. On Pedro Infante, see Monsiváis, Pedro Infante, and Rubenstein, “Bodies, Cities, Cinema,” 199–233. On Jorge Negrete, see Moreno Rivas, Historia de la música popular mexicana, 81.
43. Fromm’s The Art of Loving was published in New York by Harper Brothers.
in 1956 and translated and published in Spanish in 1966 by Paidós in Buenos Aires. For similar discussions about masculinity in the USA in the 1950s, see Gilbert, *Men in the Middle*.


45. The bibliography has become immensely long. See, among others, Blum, *Domestic Economies*; Sanders, *Gender and Welfare*; Stern, “Responsible Mothers and Normal Children”; Vaughan, “Modernization of Patriarchy”; see also French, “Prostitutes and Guardian Angels,” 529–53; all essays in Olcott, Vaughan, and Cano, *Sex in Revolution*.

46. In 1965, 26.3% of UNAM students and 15.6% of those in its associated preparatory schools were supported by blue-collar and peasant families. See Pensado, *Rebel Mexico*, 22, with data from Milena Covo, “La composición social,” 28–135. The 1968 rebellion began among vocational high school students, the fastest-growing student sector of the Instituto Politécnico Nacional. Vocational students in IPN high schools increased from 4,666 in 1942 to 23,889 in 1966 (Pensado, *Rebel Mexico*, 29). Many leaders of the 1968 movement came out of the IPN, which had traditionally served the children of campesinos, trade unionists, and public sector workers. In *Refrid Elvis*, Eric Zolov has shown enthusiasts of rock music came first from privileged groups but increasingly from the popular sectors.

47. In 1929, 32% of UNAM students were women; in 1961 only 20%. Of course, enrollments had mushroomed. Between 1961 and 1966, the number of female students rose from 11,444 to 16,766 (Pensado, *Rebel Mexico*, 30, with data drawn from González Cosío, *Historia estadística*, table XXIII, facing 72). Edward McCaughan, *Art and Social Movements*, 57, writes that only about ten of the hundreds of graphics from the 1968 movement preserved by Arnulfo Aquino and Jorge Perezvega contain images of women.


50. Monsiváis, *La cultura mexicana*, 355–68. See also Volpi, *La imaginación y el poder*.

51. The book generated enormous controversy retold in Villareal, “Gladiolas,” 177–228. The Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística launched a vigorous campaign and legal suit against the book as obscene, inflammatory, antirevolutionary, and subversive. Most intellectuals and journalists, including Fernando Benítez, Carlos Fuentes, Carlos Monsiváis, Rosario Castellanos, and Jacobo Zabludovsky defended the book on grounds of press freedom and as an exposé of the failures of the Mexican Economic Miracle. Kram correctly portrays the controversy as a significant opening up of critical public opinion. She notes that although Arnaldo Orfila Reynal lost his job as director of the FCE when he tried to publish a third edition of the book, he immediately went...
to head up the new progressive publishing house of Siglo Veintiuno. While the FCE dropped Lewis’s contract, the new avant-garde publishing company Joaquin Mortiz immediately published the third edition. It became a best seller.

52. Monsiváis, La cultura mexicana, 362.
53. With the publication in Siempre!, the cultural supplement became La Cultura en México.
54. See Paz, Posdata, 322–24; also García Canclini, Hybrid Cultures, 120–32; Coffey, How a Revolutionary Art, 130.
55. See, e.g., Pensado, Rebel Mexico, 74–80, and Zolov, Refried Elvis, 39–126.
56. Pensado, Rebel Mexico, 29.
57. Read, Cartas a un joven pintor, 21, 27.
58. On the recording industry, see Zolov, Refried Elvis, 21–26, 62–71, 91–103, 112, 162–74; on the book and journal industry, see Jean Franco, Decline and Fall of the Lettered City, 5, 10–11, 35–37, 43–50, 155–70, 185–88; Monsiváis, La cultura, 355–81. Neither Franco nor Monsiváis note the importance of the multitude of books translated into Spanish in the late 1950s and 1960s. Perhaps that is because of the inordinate importance of the new Latin American novel. The dependence of rebel youth on proliferating consumption has been noted in emerging comparative scholarship. See, for example, Marwick, The Sixties; Suri, “The Rise and Fall,” and Timothy S. Brown, “1968.” The most strident critique of the 1960s as an enlargement of capitalism in which youth movements played little more than a role in the transition from one stage of capitalism to another came from Fredric Jameson, “Periodizing,” 178–209.

Chapter 1: Lupe’s Voice

1. On Oaxaca in the late nineteenth century to the revolution, see Chassen López, From Liberal to Revolutionary Oaxaca. On elite attitudes toward race and ethnicity, see Poole, “An Image of ‘Our Indian,’” 37–82. On the religious movement, see Overmeyer-Velázquez, Visions of the Emerald City, 70–97; Wright Rios, Revolutions in Catholicism, 31–112; Esparza, Eulogio Gillow y el poder.
2. On Oaxaca’s artisan spaces, see Garcia Manzano, Oaxaca, 365–70, 378.
3. Loosely translated, “Attention, child! You’re before the Señor!”
5. Federico Baena Solis, “Que te vaya bien.”
6. The arrabal is loosely translated as slum.
9. A galán is a ladies’ man.
10. A manda is a request and an obligation.
15. *China poblana* is the national folkloric women’s dress. On this day, see also García Manzano, *Oaxaca*, 161–62.

16. *Carrizo* is a form of bamboo that grows everywhere in the valley of Oaxaca.

**Chapter 2: Enchanting City/Magical Radio**


2. Interviews, Juan Buendía, February 9, 2011; Epifanio López, February 9, 2011.


9. It is a play on words: *La policía siempre vigila* and *La policía siempre en vigilia* (fasting, i.e., doing nothing).


**Chapter 3: Pepe at School and with God, the Virgin, and the Saints**

These textbooks were all approved in 1941 (El Nacional, Feb. 22, 1941) and in 1948 (SEP Folder s/201.6, "Lista oficial de libros de texto para uso de las escuelas primarias y secundarias," 13 de febrero de 1948) with the exception of Delgadillo’s Adelante, missing from the 1941 list but approved for 1948. I was unable to access editions of Norma and Camarilla de Pereyra published in the 1940s. Basurto’s text has no date of publication (the earliest recorded date is 1941). There are many studies of Mexican school textbooks; the foundational text is Vázquez, Nacionalismo y educación en México.


5. Delgadillo, Saber leer, 20–21.


7. Delgadillo, Saber leer, 97.


11. See, e.g., Delgadillo, Poco a poco, 115, 137–38; Saber leer, 83–84, 186–87; Norma, Rosita y Juanito, 138; Basurto, Mi patria, 121, 142, 161; Cedujo, Chiquillo, 79.


13. For this transition, see Greaves, Del radicalismo a la unidad nacional, 55–65, 141.


16. Delgadillo, Saber leer, 83–84; Basurto, Mi patria, 200–201.


22. Delgadillo, Poco a poco, 139; Adelante, 88, 93; Cedujo, Chiquillo, 81; Basurto, Mi patria, 21, 25.

23. Delgadillo, Poco a poco, 40, 48, 124, 133; Adelante, 79, 154; Norma, Rosita y Juanito, 17, 25; Cedujo, Chiquillo, 35, 110; Basurto, Mi patria, 43–44, 47.

24. Delgadillo, Poco a poco, 54–55, 70; Norma, Rosita y Juanito, 112; Cedujo, Chiquillo, 112–13; Basurto, Mi patria, 163.


27. Cedujo, Chiquillo, 44–50.

28. Cedujo, Chiquillo, 51, 129, 138, 139; Rosita y Juanito, 75–89.

31. Interview with Juan Buendía.
32. “Pelos! Pelos!”
34. Interview with Elvia “La Boogie” Martínez Figueroa, March 14, 2011.
35. Interview with Elvia “La Boogie” Martínez Figueroa, March 14, 2011.

**Chapter 4: My Father, My Teacher**

3. For a sense of its complexity, see Flores Rivera, *Relatos de mi barrio*, 5–20.
4. Much has been written about these films as products of U.S. policy toward Latin America, some scholars interpreting them as blatant cultural imperialism and others examining them more from a Latin American perspective of appropriation. For hard-line criticism, see Burton, “Don (Juanito) Duck,” 21–41, and “‘Surprise Package,’” 131–47. For more nuanced analysis, see Fein, “Myths of Cultural Imperialism,” 139–98; Pernet, “‘For the Genuine Culture,’” 132–68.
6. There is no exact translation for “puto” or “joto.” Puto is a male whore, and joto a fairy.
Chapter 5: The Zúñiga Family as a Radionovela

1. “A son of the family.”
8. On the role of boleros in popular life in Mexico City, see, e.g., Monsiváis, “Agustin Lara,” 80. The lyrics to the song composed by Pedro Flores are printed at the beginning of Monsiváis, Amor perdido. On boleros, see also Granados and Loaeza, Mi novia, la tristeza, and Alejo Peralta Fundación, Bolero.
9. On the knife, see Piccato, City of Suspects, 89–90.
10. If photography created archetypes and didactic models, it also fostered pretension and hypocrisy. See Chava Flores’s famous song of the 1950s, “El retrato de Manuela.” www.allthelyrics.com/es/lyrics/chava_flores/el_retrato_de_manuela-letras-1189766.html.
11. Interview with Susana Pacheco Zúñiga.
12. On the vedettes, particularly Celia Montalván, see Monsiváis, “Instituciones,” 23–46.
15. Interview with Susana Pacheco Zúñiga.
16. Interview with Susana Pacheco Zúñiga.
18. Interview with Susana Pacheco Zúñiga and Marta Pacheco Zúñiga, Mexico City, June 15, 2006.
21. Interview, Susana Zúñiga Pacheco.
22. She used the word gallo.
23. On these murals, see Coffey, Revolutionary Art, 78–126.
24. While the bibliography on Kahlo is extensive, it is less so on María Izquierdo. In relation to the body and sexuality, see Zavala, “María Izquierdo,” 67–78, and Becoming Modern.
25. On syphilis and its treatment in Mexico, see Bliss, Compromised Positions, 99–126. Pepe is not sure of the treatment given to his father for the disease.
27. Ficheras worked in nightclubs entertaining men, inviting them to drink and dance. Although doing so was illegal, many engaged in sexual relations with the customers.
Chapter 6: “How Difficult Is Adolescence!”

2. Cursi is close to the English word *tacky or sugary.*
4. It was produced in 1951 but Pepe saw it later.
6. On the Mulatas de Fuego, see Lam, “La leyenda.”

Chapter 7: “Five Pesos, Two Pencils, and an Eraser!”

5. Catalog, *Exposición de Escuela de Pintura Esmeralda*, July 1959, Galería Chapultepec, Mexico City; personal archive of José “Pepe” Zúñiga Delgado.
6. In 1960 there were 25 private art galleries in the city; by 1970 there were 80, and by 1974, 124; Frerot, *Mercado del Arte*, 67–68, 103–4. These outstripped the state’s organization of galleries, schools, museums, exhibits, and plastic arts organizations.
7. Published by Editorial El Ateneo, Buenos Aires, 1943.
8. *Expedición a Bonampak.*
11. Shifra Goldman has written the most comprehensive history of Nueva Presencia: *Pintura mexicana contemporánea* (esp. 1–110). See also Tibol’s excellent introduction to that book, xx–xxiii. Material here is taken from both of these sources.
New Images of Man, held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1959. On Rodman in Mexico, Goldman, *Pintura mexicana contemporánea*, 68–84. She argues that Rodman served as a catalyst rather than a guide to Nueva Presencia, as Mexican participants thought his ideas not sufficiently linked to politics.


17. Interview with Alicia Uruastegui.

18. Interview with Alicia Uruastegui.

19. Interview with Juan Castañeda.

20. Manrique, *Tepito Arte Aca*, 93–94. His words are “algumas cuatesones tan jodidos como yo” and “chingada o jodido.”

21. Interview, Elva Garma.

22. Interview with Juan Castañeda.


24. Published in English in 1962 (Philadelphia: Chilton), it was translated as *Ciudades perdidas y civilizaciones desaparecidas* and published by Editorial Diana in Mexico City in 1964.


30. de Maria y Campos, “Olimpica.”

31. de María y Campos, “Olimpica.”

32. Velázquez Jiménez, “Divinas palabras.”


38. Interview with Elizabeth Del Castillo Velasco González.


Chapter 8: Exuberant Interlude

1. *Política* stopped publication in 1967 for lack of funds and the refusal of the harder-line government of Díaz Ordaz to sell it paper.


3. On the museum as a key Mexican contribution to universal culture, see Torres Bodet, “Discurso,” xiii, also published in *El Nacional* and *Excelsior*. Mexican educator and poet Jaime Torres Bodet had been Secretary General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) from 1948 to 1952. The Mexican government preferred this Paris-based organization dedicated to the “intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind” to U.S. and U.S.-dominated OAS cultural initiatives.

4. There is much written on the artistic and architectural politics of the museum. For a recent and penetrating analysis, see Coffey, *Revolutionary Art*, 127–77.

5. On the Buenos Aires museum as symbol of high modernism, see Franco, *Decline and Fall*, 5.

6. Other leading teams included Regina Raull, Iker Larraui, Fanny Rabel, Nicolás Moreno. For politics of their painting, particularly the innovative works in the museum by Goeritz, Carrington, Tamayo, and Coronel, see Coffey, *Revolutionary Art*, 148, 151–63.


9. Sandra Rozental retells the story in “Mobilizing the Monolith: Patrimonio and the Production of Mexico through Its Fragments.” She has also made a film with Jesse Lerner about the uprooting of the stone, its transformation into a god, and its meaning for residents of Coatlinchán: *La piedra ausente*, coproduced by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH) and the Instituto Mexicano de Cinematografía (IMCINE), 2012. The film can be viewed at https://vimeo.com/80928830, password, festivales. For film footage of Tlaloc’s journey on the flatbed truck, see www.youtube.com/watch?v=rJH2cwQE-hc.
10. Ocampo, Yo metamofórico, 43.
11. Interview with Rogelio Naranjo.
13. Interviews with Guillermo Ceniceros and Esther González.
15. Interview with Rogelio Naranjo.
16. Desde las tripas would literally translate “from her gut.”
17. The Mexican practice refers to joking around, to a suspension of seriousness in relation to convention described, analyzed, and essentialized in detail by Portilla, Fenomenología del relajo.
18. Loosely translated, “Blackness! Here comes your whiteness!”
21. Ocampo, Yo metamofórico, 44.

Chapter 9: Private Struggle / Public Protest

2. These several movements are covered, described, and analyzed in Debroise, La era de la discrepancia.
4. “Drifting on this wave.”
5. Read, Cartas a un joven pintor, 34.
6. Read, Cartas a un joven pintor, 27.
7. Read, Cartas a un joven pintor, 32.
8. See, e.g., Rodríguez, Mexican Muralism.
9. Residents of the two Colonias del Periodista were diverse in their politics and métiers. Jesús Álvarez Amaya (“Una gira por Oaxaca en avión,” 43) writes that they included reactionaries and militant communists, poets and police reporters, directors of newspapers, cartoonists, and poster designers for bullfights. Further information on Rodríguez taken from Carpeta Antonio Rodriguez, CENIDIAP, interviews with Pepe Zúñiga, Ivan Restrepo, August 24, 2011, and Cuahtemoc Rodríguez and María Antonieta Fernández Moreno de Rodríguez, and essays in Galindo Quiñones, Antonio Rodríguez.
10. Roughly translated, “I have not had the opportunity of doing you a favor.”
11. Related by Ivan Restrepo, interview, Mexico City, August 24, 2011; see also Restrepo, “Antonio Rodríguez,” 205.
15. On Rodríguez and avant-garde music, see Estrada, “Antonio Rodríguez,” 63–75.
18. Interview with Ivan Restrepo.
19. On his activities as director of Difusión Cultural at the IPN, see Restrepo, “Antonio Rodríguez,” 206–7; Aguirre García, “Antonio Rodríguez en el IPN,” 23–27.
22. Unidentified newspaper clipping, personal archive of José Zúñiga.
29. As articles in *Siempre!*, June 1968, pointed out, student rebellions were ongoing or had preceded those in Paris—in Berlin, Bonn, Brussels, Rome, Turin, Cairo, Tokyo, Rio, Buenos Aires, Caracas, US campuses, Madrid, Prague, Warsaw, London, Essex, not to mention Sonora, Puebla, Michoacán, and Tabasco. However, the focus was on Paris. See Rodríguez, “Francia hoy,” 19, 70.
30. Interview with Felida Medina.
33. Engel, “Teatro.”
34. Felida Medina, Interview.
35. This is the argument of Michel de Certeau (*The Capture of Speech and Other Political Writings*) about Paris 1968. The language of the movement was more in gestures, bodily performance, and spontaneous utterances oral, written, and painted.
36. Interviews with Elva Garma and Juan Castañeda.
37. The many accounts of 1968 share this very basic narrative of events. Here, I am drawing on González de Alba, Los días y los años, 65–162.
42. Rodríguez, “Presentación” (1969), personal archive of José Zúñiga.
43. Frerot, El mercado del arte, 26.
44. Concanaco, Primer concurso nacional de pintura, personal archive of José Zúñiga.
46. Manrique, Tepito Arte Acá, 217.

Chapter 10: Subjectivity and the Public Sphere

5. del Conde, “Richard Rocha,” 6a. On the “grupos,” she wrote: “In relation to the masses they wanted to reach, no one paid any attention to them. It’s likely that contemporary graffiti artists have had much more success.”
10. As quoted in Revista Electrónica, “Efemérides.”
13. I made this selection drawing from the exhibit catalog collection in the library of the Instituto de Artes Gráficas de Oaxaca. It includes Guillermo Ceniceros
(b. 1939), Xavier Esqueda (b. 1943), Byron Gálvez (b. 1941), Irma Grizá, Alfredo Falfán (b. 1936), José Francisco (b. 1940), Leonel Maciel (b. 1939), Leticia Ocharán (b. 1942), Carlos Olachea (b. 1940), Emilio Ortiz (b. 1936), Irma Palacios (b. 1943), Arturo Rivera (b. 1945), Susana Sierra (b. 1942), Beatriz Zamora (b. 1935), Guillermo Zapfe (a bit older, b. 1933) and, of course, José Zúñiga (b. 1937). It is not an exhaustive coverage. Among others, it does not include two extraordinary Oaxacan painters, Rudolfo Nieto (b. 1936) and Francisco Toledo (b. 1940). Although Nieto studied briefly at La Esmeralda, he early sought an extra-academic artistic independence that appears to have been more intense than the artists above. Francisco Toledano is in a class by himself, recognized as a major artist in the 1960s. He early began to depict sexuality, his own and that of Isthmenian Zapotec culture through local flora and fauna. He is more regionally identified than the above artists and considered by many to be Mexico’s most outstanding artist.

15. Irma Grizá can introduce figuration and tell stories.
16. Mountainscapes of Durango and Nuevo León in Ceniceros’s painting Guillermo Ceniceros, 80–92; Tabascan landscapes and pre-Hispanic symbolism in Francisco, José Francisco; Guerrero landscape and pre-Hispanic symbolism in Maciel, Cosas de niños; popular toys, images of flora and fauna, pre-Hispanic sculpture in Ortiz, Emilio Ortiz; on Carlos Olachea and the landscape of Baja California, Carlos Olachea; pre-Hispanic iconography and middle-class family living room in Esqueda, Xavier Esqueda; Aztec mythology in Grizá, Realidades suspendidas; degraded urbanscape in Falfán, Alfredo Falfán.
17. On female abstract artists Beatriz Zamora, Susana Sierra, and Irma Palacios, see Fernández, “Cinco Pintoras Abstractas Mexicanas.”
19. Teresa del Conde notes Magritte and Ernst influenced Emilio Ortiz’s surrealist painting. She does not mention the women surrealistists; del Conde, “Emilio Ortiz.”
21. On gender and the Mexican school, see Zavala, Becoming Modern.
23. See paintings, Ceniceros, Guillermo Ceniceros, 103–23.
27. Covantes, La onda, Novedades, November 13, 1977, personal archive of José Zúñiga.
28. Rodríguez, “El sol negro”; “José Zúñiga: Pintor,” 5; “José Zúñiga y el juego”;


35. Ocharán, “Del hueco.”


40. del Conde “Enrique Guzmán,” 18; McCaughan, “Gender, Sexuality,” 121–32.


42. Andres Henestrosa, “José Zúñiga,” Exposición José Zúñiga, Galeria Estela Shapiro, ca. 1982; personal archive of José Zúñiga.


44. Guizar, “Las marimbas.”

