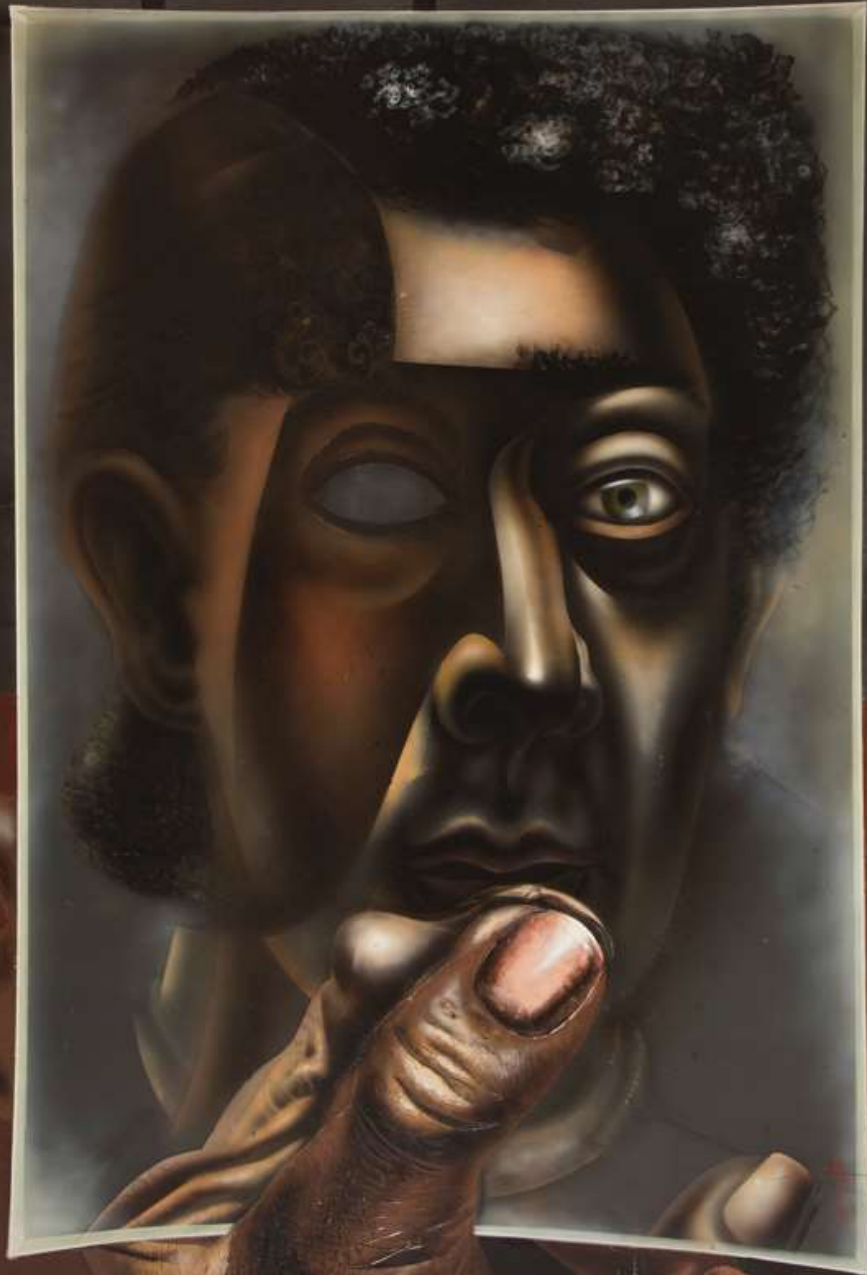


David Alfaro Siqueiros Self-Portrait with Mirror

An essay by Dr. Irene Herner with
the collaboration of Mónica Ruiz
and Grecia Pérez.

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Cover:

David Alfaro Siqueiros

Self-Portrait with Mirror

1937

pyroxylin on Bakelite

30 x 24 x ¼ in (76.2 x 61.0 x 0.6 cm)

PROVENANCE

Acquired directly from the artist by George Gershwin, NY, 1937

Estate of George Gershwin

By descent to the present owner

Photo: Grecia Pérez

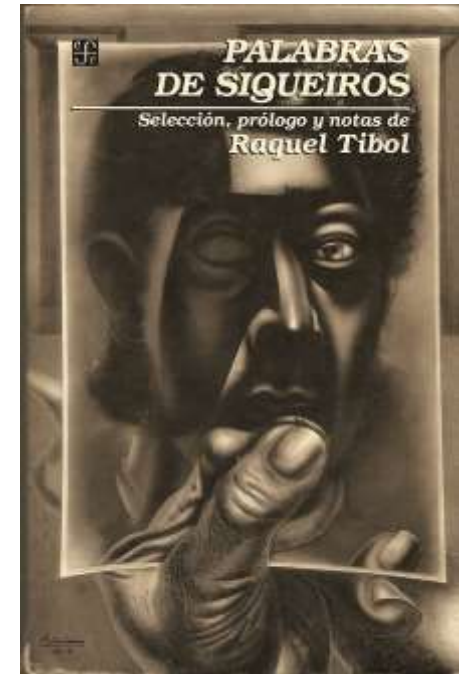
In 1936-37 New York, “Siqueiros’ workshop was a brave and dazzling new world,
a calamitous introduction to a new way of thinking about art...
Siqueiros generated a ‘torrential flow of ideas and new projects’
with a child’s eye for investigation and surprise.”



David Alfaró Siqueiros, *Self-Portrait with Mirror*, detail of the signature, 1937. Photo: Grecia Pérez.

I have written about and looked for *Autorretrato con espejo* since 1994. It was painted by Siqueiros in New York in his *Siqueiros Experimental Workshop*, signed and dated 1937. This is one of the key paintings in the process of the artist to construct kinetic dynamism in painting. It was out of sight, nobody knew who owned it, until now that it is on view at Mary-Anne Martin Fine Art, New York. The specialists thought it had been destroyed. In 1994, I rescued an archive photograph of it in black and white. Raquel Tibol published this photo on the cover of her 1996 anthology: *Palabras de Siqueiros*.

What a great achievement it is to have found this original painting! It is incredible that it hung quietly for 80 years in a Manhattan apartment! The story of the whereabouts of this fabulous work of art is even more relevant since its provenance is the American musician George Gershwin, an admirer of Siqueiros and a very good friend from 1932 until the composer’s untimely death in 1937. Gershwin may not have seen *Autorretrato con espejo* because he did not come back to New York after 1936. The picture was received as a legacy by Gershwin’s mother, Rose Gershwin, who left it to one of her sons, Arthur, when she died.



Cover of the book by Raquel Tibol, *Palabras de Siqueiros*, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico, 1996



David Alfaro Siqueiros
George Gershwin in a Concert Hall
oil on canvas
66 15/16 x 90 3/4 inches
signed and dated
1936
(Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin)

historian Walter Benjamin referred in 1934 to the new concept of the image in our industrial world. He declared that through photographic media all kinds of images, series of them, things, events, vistas, etc., that call your attention are interesting for art, not for contemplation only, as original works of art have been [creations of myth, religion and ethic quests]. In his own pictorial process, Siqueiros employed the same terms that Benjamin used.

This original painting is a treasure, fundamental in order to understand the deep relation that Siqueiros established in the United States between the tradition of painting and the new mass media of his era. Siqueiros asserted that in 1932, in Los Angeles, California, he “faced unexpected physical realities which led me to conclude that all the techniques and methodologies of contemporary pictorial production are archaic and thus anachronistic. I learned that the process of pictorial technique, and of technique in general, is the fundamental premise of all transcendental artistic production. I learned that tools and artistic production processes had a generic value which fertilized aesthetic expression.”²

I wrote a chapter of my book *Siqueiros from Paradise to Utopia* (2004) about *Autorretrato con Espejo*. In order to authorize myself in writing about an old black and white photo of a painting, I resorted to Siqueiros’ own statement that all his paintings are “photogenic matrices.”

According to Siqueiros, an image transmitted through any kind of audiovisual media is the message, as Marshall McLuhan would state in the 1960s. Renowned philosopher and art

According to Benjamin, “modes of representation must change.”³ Modern mechanical technique, Siqueiros felt, “can fully express revolutionary proletarian convictions through art ... profoundly coordinating both essential values (technique and political convictions).”⁴

Siqueiros declared that if only photographs of his works survived, they would not lose their political and artistic impact⁵ and could therefore be revised and documented. In the case of this painting, we are confronted with a lesson of the dynamic composition, a fundamental aspect of his artistic legacy.

During the 1930s the Mexican muralists, staying for long periods in the USA, were not occupied with Mexican nationalism. Siqueiros acknowledged that beyond nationalism the new era foreshadowed that “the foundation of the new ‘state’ is not territorial, but industrial.”⁶ The artist was out there in the world, nurtured by the international communist utopia of progress/social justice and the fascination with machines and technology related to the realm of fiction as he found them in Los Angeles and in New York.

In Los Angeles, 1932, all signs pointed for Siqueiros towards a new process of visual exploration and experimentation with the languages of photography, film, and animation (e.g., Walt Disney cartoons). Siqueiros practically entered Los Angeles through the Hollywood Studios, thanks to arrangements made by his cousin, film director Chano Urueta and his friend the film director Joseph von Sternberg. He also befriended John Huston, a screenwriter at the time, and the actor Charles Laughton. But Siqueiros’ best friend, “dealer” and protector in California was Dudley Murphy, a film director from Hollywood and communist sympathizer who in turn introduced him to celebrities such as Charlie Chaplin, Marlene Dietrich and the brothers George and Ira Gershwin.⁷

In November 1935, Siqueiros’ dear friends in America, musician George Gershwin, and his psychoanalyst, Dr. Gregory Zilboorg -a Russian Jewish immigrant-, paid a visit to Siqueiros in Mexico. Dr. Zilboorg had written an article about suicide as a depressive illness. He had also written a study about the history of self-destruction in pre-industrial cultures. It is quite possible that Zilboorg influenced Siqueiros’ own version of a collective suicide, related to the history of the Jews in Masada.

Gershwin and Zilboorg were very important collectors of Siqueiros’ most experimental works. They helped him out of various financial binds in exchange for works such as Gershwin’s portrait, *Niña madre, Víctima proletaria (Proletarian Victim)*⁸, *Self-portrait with Mirror*, *Suicidio Colectivo* -which Zilboorg later donated to the MoMA-, and *El fin del Mundo*, which was kept at the psychoanalyst’s house in Vermont until we went to see it and included it in the “Siqueiros/Pollock Pollock/Siqueiros” exhibit at the Kunsthalle in Düsseldorf in 1995. This painting was later sold by Andrea Marquit and Mary-Anne Martin. Today it belongs to the Harvard Art Museums.



David Alfaro Siqueiros
Niña Madre (Child Mother)
1936
Pyroxylin (Duco) on masonite
30.12 x 24 in (76.5 x 61 cm)
Col. María Rodríguez de Reoyo.



David Alfaro Siqueiros, *Suicidio Colectivo (Collective Suicide)*
1936, pyroxylin on wood with applied sections, 49 x 6 in (124.5 x 182.9 cm). Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New York



David Alfaro Siqueiros, *Fin del mundo (End of the World)* 1936,
pyroxylin and ceramic on panel, 24 x 29 15/16 in (61 x 79 cm),
Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, MA

Siqueiros visited New York for the first time in 1934. He entered the United States as an illegal alien, arriving from Argentina as the “advance scout to organize an international team of ‘Modern Visual Arts and Graphics Technicians.’”⁹ He wrote a manifesto on public art titled *Towards the Transformation of the Visual Arts*, with which he intended to organize a workshop-school of the graphic arts. He announced that artists from all over South America had agreed to congregate in New York, rather than in old London or bohemian Paris. He was the advance guard; the rest -including Antonio Berni from Argentina, Tarsila do Amaral and Osvaldo Andrade from Brazil and Luis Arenal and Xavier Guerrero from Mexico- would arrive later.

Back in New York in 1936 to attend the American Artists Congress organized by the American Communist Party, Siqueiros had “with renewed vigor, and perhaps with more experience, taken up arms in a country which, because of its industrial character, facilitates the work. Fifteen days of agitation among the intellectual circles in New York were enough to give life to the initial nucleus.”¹⁰ The work of the Siqueiros Experimental Workshop started out in a large loft at 5 West 14th Street, near Union Square. “Roberto Berdecio, Harold Lehman, Sande McCoy (sic), Jackson Pollack (sic), George Cox, Clara Mahl, Axel Horr (sic), Louis Ferstadt, Conrad Vasquez, Luis Arenal, José



Union Square, 14th Street and Broadway, New York, 1936. Photo: Berenice Abbot, New York Public Library

Rodriguez, Antonio Pujol”, and Jesús Bracho “assembled around Siqueiros and collectively structured their intimate ideology and public program of technical work.”¹¹

All the members of the S.E.W. agreed to unite against the threats of Fascism and War. The political situation was so dire that even United States communists were thinking of joining ranks with Roosevelt’s mass of supporters, “as an emergency measure to defeat the (fascist) enemy”¹². The threat of the ultra-right was so terrible in those years that it united communists, socialists, anarchists and liberals the world over under the communist “Open Front Against Fascism and War”.

In 1936, Siqueiros goes on with his exploration of juxtaposing (mestizar) and integrating into painting the new languages and forms of mass media. Art was propaganda for the international antifascist cause and it needed to be realistic in order to portray the people in their struggle against inequity.

In the S.E.W. there was a great sense of exaltation about the completely unexpected possibilities of the pictorial experiments they were performing, which arose from Siqueiros’s concepts of the *Technical Revolution of Painting*. The machine age had a unique rhythm and tempo for painters to tune into, and demanded attempts to use new industrial materials and innovative techniques in their works.

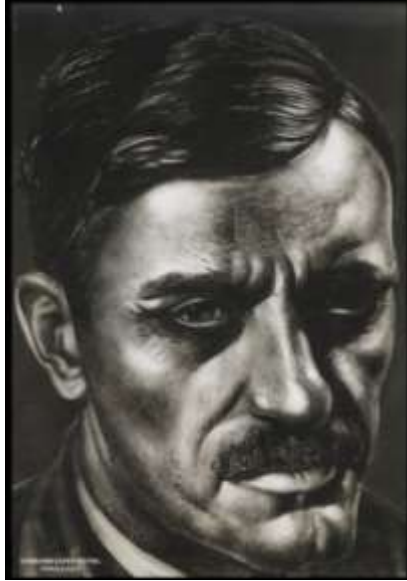
“In the United States, you can find the forerunners of commercial art and advertising art, which have developed the use of compressors and spray-guns, those modern tools that are indispensable to the aims we seek to achieve.”¹³ As for colorants, “we have proven” declared Siqueiros “the enormous artistic value of nitrocellulose-based paints as a more malleable and more expressive and elastic medium. In addition, they dry almost immediately.... Nitrocellulose is superior to any other known material.” Siqueiros also painted over different industrial materials, such as Bakelite, one of the first plastics made from synthetic components, suitable as a molding compound; its look is similar to wood.



Reverse of *Self-Portrait with Mirror*. Photo: Grecia Pérez



In 1936 Siqueiros wrote to María Asúnsolo and to Angélica Arenal - whom he would wed one year later- that he was very happy because he was “working in the way and with the techniques” that he had been seeking for so long. “You’ll see! I’ll create living forms like nature itself...! What a great joy to have such a purpose in life!”¹⁴. He was, however, creating these smaller pieces alone, since the members of his workshop were enduring hardships.¹⁵



David Alfaro Siqueiros
Earl Browder
1936
Pyroxylin on masonite
Whereabouts unknown
Photograph courtesy of Harold Lehman

In Manhattan, Siqueiros sent to an anti-fascist and anti-war exhibit organized by the American Communist Party, works that “are by no means paintings but drawings with the technique especially used for photostatic reproduction, which we call ‘photogenic graphics.’ As you may see, these colors are not used for pictorial purposes but to give variety and strength to the photographic values of reproduction.”¹⁶

“In addition, we have to paint two monumental pieces with the portraits of Earl Browder and James Ford for their nominations as presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the U.S. Communist Party.”¹⁷ These portraits were made as montages, from enlarged photos using pyroxylin applied with air guns. Today the process used in these paintings is only noticeable in Ford’s curly hair, since all that is left of them are a few old black and white photographs.

In the United States, Siqueiros was dedicated to do experimental art, to produce a work with the ideals of dynamism. His question was how to find new ways to achieve the representation of the 4th dimension, time, in painting.

He was not only interested in the possibilities of multiple reproduction



David Alfaro Siqueiros
John Ford
1936
Pyroxylin on masonite
Whereabouts unknown
Photograph courtesy of Harold Lehman

provided by photography, but he was also concerned with developing pictorial compositions that would include partial shots and other multi-angular possibilities generated through photography, which would allow the visual representation of the kinetic sensation of sequence.



David Alfaro Siqueiros, *Eco del Llanto (Echo of a Scream)*, 1937, Pyroxylin on wood, 48 x 36 in (121.9 x 91.4), Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New York

Siqueiros attempted this challenge in paintings like *Dama Negra*¹⁸ (*Black Lady*), *Eco del Llanto (Echo of a Scream)* -in MoMA's collection- and *Autorretrato con espejo*, all painted between 1935 and 1937. Earlier, however, in 1931, he had experimented with the dynamic possibilities of painting from the perspective of Cubists like Fernand Léger and futurists like Carlo Carrá and Gino Severini. He



David Alfaro Siqueiros, *Accidente en la Mina (Accident in Mine)*, 1931, oil on burlap, 54.72 x 88.19 in (139 x 224 cm). Museo Nacional de Arte (MUNAL), Mexico

was first successful with this technique in one of his own favorite paintings, *Accidente en la Mina (Accident in the Mine)*. This work marked the transition between Siqueiros's monumental, massive, and hieratic style from the twenties, and the beginnings of the dynamic style he developed throughout the thirties. In this piece, the

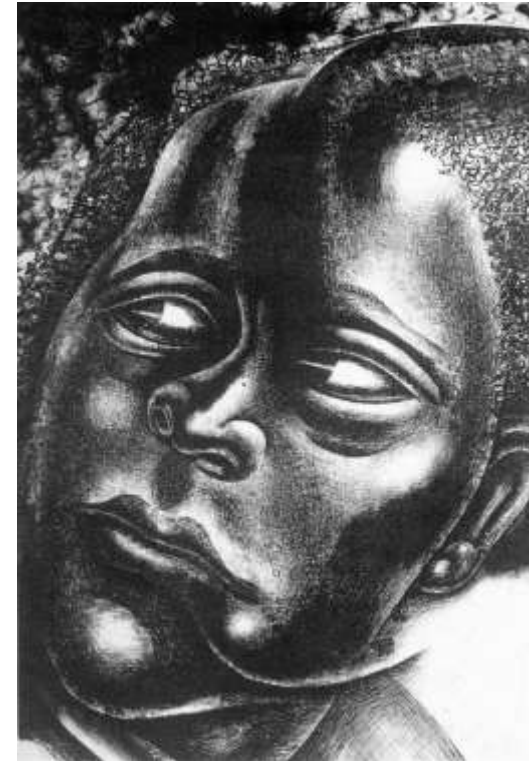
miner involved in the accident and the workers helping him out are portrayed as the gears of a train, with their arms opening and closing in a mechanized sequence.



David Alfaro Siqueiros
Dama Negra (Black Lady)
1937
30 ½ x 24 in (77 x 61 cm)
Pyroxylin on wood

If we look steadily from a frontal perspective at *Dama Negra*, the work seems to depict a single face, but as soon as we move our eyes to either side, it becomes clear that there are two faces represented. One, partly covered by the profile of the other, is facing forward, but when this second profile is juxtaposed over the first face, it creates the effect of a face turning in a sequenced movement. The articulating axis of this optical trick, which offers the illusion of a single black lady, is the nose -a perfect homage to Picasso.

The center of the composition of *Autorretrato con Espejo* shows a painting with a partial photographic appearance, based on a pictorial montage of Siqueiros's face which appears in front of a mirror, looking at himself and at the



David Alfaro Siqueiros
Dama Negra (Black Lady),
1937.
20 x 13¾ in (50.8 x 35 cm)
Lithograph
Sala de Arte Público Siqueiros, Mexico

spectator. The whole concept of this painting is to trick the eye, for realism is much more than the mere appearance of objects.

The frontal image of this fake photograph/mirror shows a massive sculptural head structured by a neck that looks more like a pedestal; a motif that will develop into the concentric swirls so characteristic of his later works. However, if we move our gaze from one side of the painting to the other, it becomes clear that the piece is actually conformed not by one but by three superimposed heads and faces. The one in the background is a frontal view and has curly hair –you can see part of the eyebrow-, whereas the one in the foreground juxtaposed over it has straighter hair. Its perspective is more of a three-quarter view than a profile; you can see the ear on the one side and a fragment of the other one.



David Alfaro Siqueiros, *Self-Portrait with Mirror*, detail, 1937.
Photo: Grecia Pérez



David Alfaro Siqueiros, *Self-Portrait with Mirror*, 1937. Photo:
Grecia Pérez

The face in the third plane is a double representation: on one side, it is a dark theatrical mask with a blind eye, while on the other side, it is a photographic representation of the painter's face with an intense green gaze. This combination constitutes a unity, due to a large, straight and convex nose. The whole self-portrait creates the sensation of a sequenced game of celluloid planes mounted one on top of each other from back to front.



David Alfaro Siqueiros, *Self-Portrait with Mirror*, detail, 1937. Photo: Grecia Pérez

The self-portrait is represented as a volume inside a cube with two openings that form two passages. The image of the self-portrait is supported by part of the palm and the ring finger of the left hand which is reflected in the mirror. At the same time another voluminous left arm -that of the spectator?- explodes into the space of the canvas under the self-portrait.



David Alfaro Siqueiros, *Self-Portrait with Mirror*, detail, 1937. Photo: Grecia Pérez

To continue playing with the enigma of time, whose hands do we actually see in the painting? Is the artist holding a photo? Is he looking at himself in the mirror while he paints his image? Why is the self-portrait interposed as a photograph between the spectator and the mirror? Yet the painterly hand that holds the mirror/photograph is painted in such a way as to appear more realistic than photography. It looks so real, so tangible -more so than the photograph that appears flatter-, with marks and scratches, that it seems to break out of the picture plane.

The importance of this painting is that in its small size, it is an abstract and concrete statement for his future mural experiments. The artist deals here with a statement of realism in painting, questioned and enriched by photography.



Siqueiros created in this work a montage of different faces which converge, recalling the volubility of the “self,” the identity, always changeable, constituted by diversities. The face in the self-portrait is a rearrangement of distinct layers, with several personalities; the same face projected in a span of time from the depths of an infinite space. More than photographic realism, Siqueiros recovered with this painting a sense of the partiality and multiple angles of photography while rethinking traditional visual games involving mirrors, like those in Jan Van Eyck’s *The Wedding of the Arnolfini*, Courbet’s *The Painter’s Studio* and, above all, Velázquez’s *Las Meninas*.

David Alfaro Siqueiros, *Self-Portrait with Mirror*, detail, 1937.
Photo: Grecia Pérez

The green gaze of Siqueiros moves likewise beyond the constraints of time. In *Eco del llanto* he implemented this sense of sequence in the central figure, out of whose mouth a replica of itself unfolds. Siqueiros continued to experiment playfully with these montages in a series of works on acrylic that he created towards the end of his life. In his last self-portrait (1973), *Fantasia y Realidad* (*Fantasy and Reality*), he retrieved the superposition he encountered in a number of Pre-Columbian masks since 1930, representing half-life and half-death. In the past, Siqueiros said, the formidable Paolo Uccello had achieved snapshots of movement, but it was still necessary “to construct movement itself within art; we still need to construct the living vision of movement through movement itself and for itself. Such a thing could only be done in this age.”¹⁹



David Alfaro Siqueiros, *Fantasia y Realidad* (*Fantasy and Reality*) 1973, Acrylic on masonite
59 x 46.85 in (150 x 119 cm)
Sala de Arte Público Siqueiros, Mexico



Pre-Columbian duality, Zapotec culture,
Preclassic Period (500 BC – 1200 AD),
ceramic.
Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia,
Mexico



David Alfaro Siqueiros, *Siqueiros por Siqueiros*, 1930, oil on canvas, 39 x 31 1/8 in (99 x 79 cm) Private collection



Anthropomorphic funerary mask, Teotihuacan culture, Classic Period (0-750 AD), stone, 8 1/4 x 9 7/8 in (21x 25 cm.), Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico



David Alfaro Siqueiros, *Etnografía (Ethnography)*, 1939. Pyroxylin on composition board, 48 1/8 x 32 3/8 in (122.2 x 82.2 cm) Museum of Modern Art (MoMA),



Mask, wood with jade incrustations, Olmec culture, ca. 1500 BC-1 AD, 7 1/2 x 8 x 4 1/4 in (19 x 20.5 x 11.0 cm.), American Museum of Natural History, New York

The original self-portrait (*Siqueiros por Siqueiros*, 1930) shows the mastery of the Mexican artist in the use of color in order to show convexity as volume and space as a concave passage, especially the orange color of the table inspired by Paul Cézanne's still lifes. The double passage of the background is a development of the cubicle (a fiction of cubic space) in works like *Retrato de Zapata* (1931) and *Madre Proletaria* (1931). The question for Siqueiros in 1936-37 was how to use this revolutionary technique to produce pictorial depth, an element which at that point seemed to Siqueiros not just a problem of light, but also one of "textural vibration, of dynamism in the painting's superpositions." In his other S.E.W. works, especially *Suicidio Colectivo* and in *Figura* (1936), Siqueiros experimented and successfully achieved the sensation of infinite depth; he made holes, slicing the thick impasto, or constructed empty spaces on overlaid materials, like pieces of wood, on smooth concave or convex surfaces. Thus, a dynamic visual space was randomly established which would later become an atmosphere divided into receding planes. In this self-portrait though, Siqueiros achieves this dynamism and depth exclusively through the masterly construction of the representational space.



David Alfaro Siqueiros, *Siqueiros por Siqueiros* (*Siqueiros by Siqueiros*), 1939. Pyroxylin on wood. 48 x 36 in (121.9 x 91.4)



Self-Portrait with Mirror shows the artistic efforts and innovative achievements of Siqueiros in the United States. After 80 years, its reappearance in the big stage of art, reminds us of the words said by Mexican writer José Revueltas at Siqueiros' funeral in January of 1974: "When a great artist dies his work becomes more discernible by the day: it will keep on working without end."²⁰

David Alfaro Siqueiros, *Retrato de Zapata (Portrait of Zapata)*, 1931, Oil on canvas
57 x 49 ¼ in (145 x 125 cm)
Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden,
Smithsonian Institution, Washington

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Mexico (www.somaap.com)

Endnotes

- ¹ Steven Naifeh and Gregory White Smith. *Pollock an American Saga*. Harper Perennial. New York, 1991. Chapter XIX p. 286. In Irene Herner, *Siqueiros, From Paradise to Utopia*, CONACULTA, Miguel Angel Porrúa, et. al., (2nd edition in Spanish, 1st English edition), Mexico, 2010, p. 169
- ² David Alfaro Siqueiros, Lecture at the Reed Club (The American Communist Party) in Los Angeles California in 1932. In Irene Herner, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
- ³ Walter Benjamin, “The Author as Producer”. Lecture at the Institute of the Study of Fascism. Paris, April 27, 1934. In Charles Harrison & Paul Wood editors. *Art & Theory. 1900-1990. An Anthology of Changing Ideas*. Blackwell Publishers, UK & Cambridge, Massachusetts USA, 1992, pp. 483-489. In Irene Herner, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
- ⁴ Bertold Brecht. “Popularity and Realism”. 1938. Never printed during his lifetime. In Charles Harrison & Paul Wood editors. *Art & theory*, *op. cit.* p. 489-493. In Irene Herner, *op. cit.* p. 152
- ⁵ Levy-Strauss developed the concept of *The effectiveness of symbols*. Chapter X, *Structural Anthropology*, Basic Book Publishers, New York, 1963, p.p. 186-205.
- ⁶ David Alfaro Siqueiros. *Cómo se pinta un mural*. ed. Taller Siqueiros. México, 1951 p. 20-21. Reprinted in 1979 by el Taller Siqueiros in Cuernavaca, Morelos and in 1998 by Ediciones la Rana and Instituto de Cultura del Estado de Guanajuato. In Irene Herner, *op. cit.* p. 138.
- ⁷ In his biography, Philip Stein remarks that Siqueiros and George Gershwin had previously met in Taxco. Philip Stein, *Siqueiros his Life and Works*, International Publishers, New York 1994. p. 71.
- ⁸ Donated later to the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New York
- ⁹ David Alfaro Siqueiros, Doc. Siqueiros/Berdecio Archive, Getty Research Institute (GRI), New York, 1934. Typed and handwritten pages in the back of the Delphic Studios letterhead (Alma Reed’s Gallery in New York). It is the draft of an “Open letter to the visual and graphic artists of the United States.” In Irene Herner, *op. cit.* p. 165.
- ¹⁰ David Alfaro Siqueiros, Manuscript text, Sala de Arte Público Siqueiros Archives. In Irene Herner, *op. cit.*, p. 165
- ¹¹ David Alfaro Siqueiros, Manuscript by Siqueiros about the starting point of the Siqueiros Experimental Workshop in Manhattan. Doc. SAPS, CNCA/INBA; in Irene Herner, *op.cit.*

¹² David Alfaro Siqueiros, “Carta a Angélica Arenal”. New York, June 25, 1936. In Raquel Tibol, *David Alfaro Siqueiros. Un Mexicano y su Obra*. Empresas Editoriales S.A., México 1969, p. 204-205.

¹³ A process Siqueiros described in many letters he wrote in New York to Blanca Luz Brum, María Asúnsulo, Angélica Arenal and Antonio Gutiérrez. This excerpt is an example. In Irene Herner, *op. cit.* p. 166

¹⁴ David Alfaro Siqueiros, “Carta a María Asúnsulo” New York, Monday april 6, 1936. In Raquel Tibol *David Alfaro Siqueiros*, Empresas Editoriales. México, 1969 p. 195-199.

¹⁵ David Alfaro Siqueiros. Doc. Archives of American Art. Smithsonian Institution. New York Branch. Jackson Pollock Papers. Letter to Harold Lehman, Sande and Jackson Pollock. I found this letter in 1994 when I was researching for the exhibition “Siqueiros/Pollock, Pollock/Siqueiros” in Dusseldorf, and it is quoted in my book, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ David Alfaro Siqueiros, doc. Siqueiros/Berdecio Archive, GRI. Unsigned letter to Mr. Kuniyoshi, April 10, 1936. In Irene Herner, *op. cit.*, p. 178-9.

¹⁷ David Alfaro Siqueiros, “Carta a Angélica Arenal”. New York, June 25, 1936. In Raquel Tibol *David Alfaro Siqueiros. Un Mexicano y su Obra, op. cit.*, p. 204-205.

¹⁸ I also saw that painting at Mary-Anne Martin Fine Art in New York.

¹⁹ David Alfaro Siqueiros, “¿Qué es ‘Ejercicio plástico’ y cómo fue realizado?”. Doc. SAPS Archive. In Irene Herner, *op. cit.* p. 262

²⁰ José Revueltas, “Diorama de la Cultura”, *Excélsior*, Mexico, January 13, 1974.