

“Their Cortés and Our Cortés”: Spanish Colonialism and Aztec Representation

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Writing in Santiago de Guatemala (present-day Antigua) in the second half of the sixteenth century, the conquistador Bernal Díaz del Castillo (ca. 1495–1584) recalled one of his early encounters with the indigenous people of the Americas.¹ It occurred on Easter Sunday in 1519 near the port the Spaniards called San Juan de Ulúa, an island just off the Gulf Coast of Mexico. There, a man Díaz identified as the governor of a community loyal to the Aztec Emperor Moctezuma II arrived with his entourage to greet and exchange gifts with Hernán Cortés, the leader of the Spanish expedition.² After bowing to Cortés three times, the governor—whom Díaz calls “Tendile”—presented him with gold, woven cotton, fish, and other foodstuffs. Cortés responded with counter-gifts that included a wooden chair, glass beads, a necklace, and a crimson cap.³

Accounts of such ritual exchanges between Spaniards and the inhabitants of Aztec Mexico abound in Díaz’s memoir, published in 1632 as *La historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (*The True History of the Conquest of New Spain*), and in other sixteenth-century chronicles of exploration in the New World.⁴ The incident that follows this interaction, however, is more unusual:

Tendile brought with him the great painters that they have in Mexico, and he ordered them to paint [*pintar al natural*] an image of the face, body, and features of Cortés and of all of the captains, and the soldiers, and the boats and sails, and the horses . . . and even the two hounds, the artillery pieces, the cannon-balls, and the entire army he had brought, and he [Tendile] took it to his lord [Moctezuma].⁵

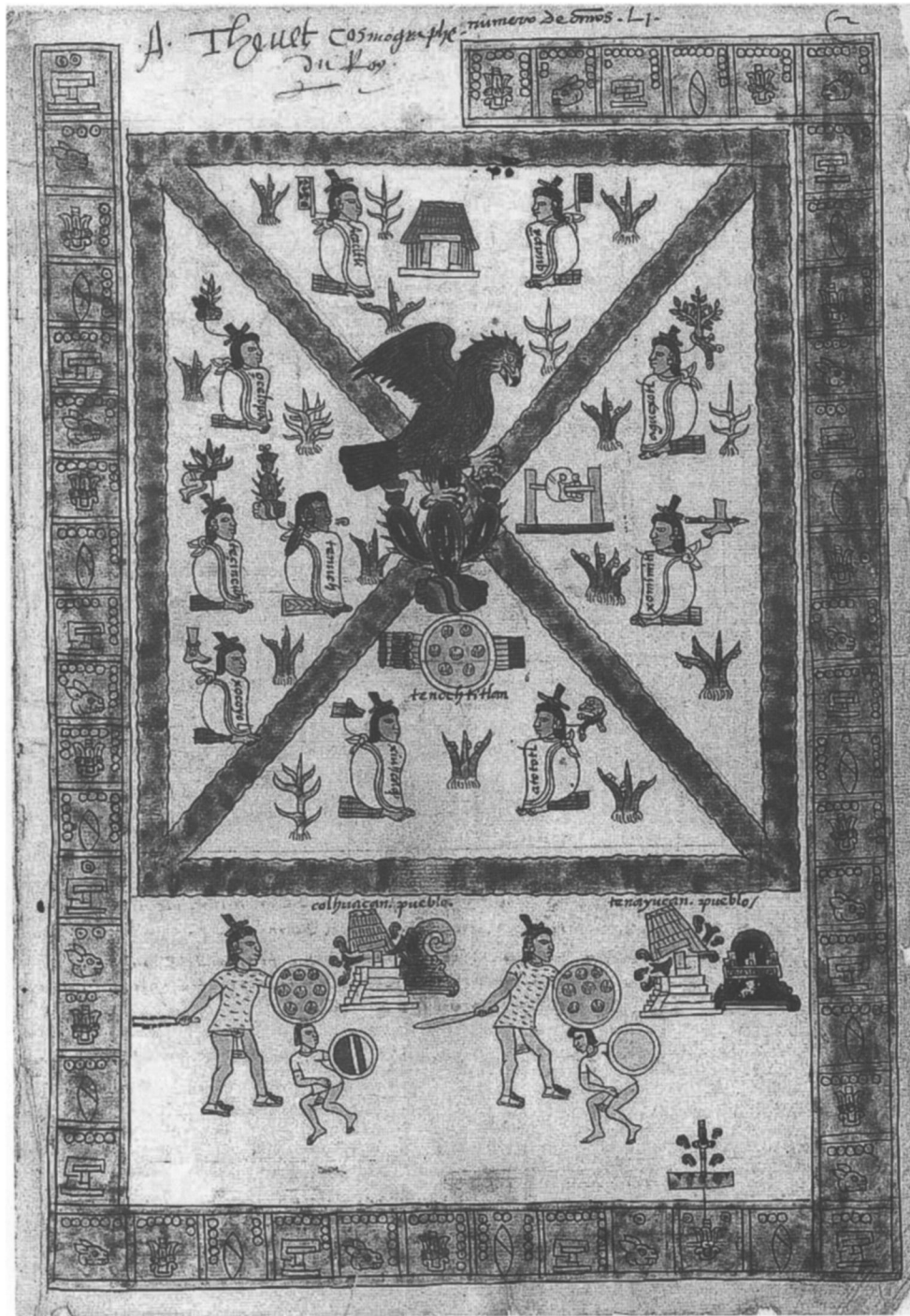
The author’s description of the Indians’ production of this painting is remarkable. If such an image truly existed, it would be of great interest to both the history of art and the history of perception, as one of the earliest documented pictures of Spaniards made by indigenous people in the Americas, and it could reasonably be called the first work of colonial art—or, alternatively, the last work of Aztec art—in Mexico. But since no painting that can be securely identified as the one produced on Easter Sunday of 1519 has survived, in order to imagine what such a picture might have looked like, the reader is inevitably left to rely on the passage. And in conjuring up that vision, the reader confronts the problems that ensued when sixteenth-century Spaniards attempted to convey the practices and products of visual representation in Aztec Mexico.

In examining some of those problems, I am not aiming to uncover new information about Aztec art, a subject that has been carefully researched through the use of archaeological data, ethnohistorical texts, and art historical methods.⁶ Nor do I intend to determine whether or not the episode re-

counted by Díaz actually occurred or to reconstruct the composition of the painting allegedly produced in 1519. Instead, I explore the ways in which early modern rhetoric and iconography—here, the text by Díaz, related texts by Francisco López de Gómara and Antonio de Solís, and a painting that depicts the incident said to have occurred at San Juan de Ulúa—constructed a distorted view of painting in Aztec Mexico and entangled it in the conventions of colonial historiography. This conclusion is rooted in the uncontroversial premise that representation—here, in the form of colonial-period texts and images—is not a transparent window onto the past. As such, the representation of Aztec painting potentially tells us less about that practice than it does about the anxieties and expectations of those who produced the texts and image under consideration.⁷ Recent scholarship suggests that painting—practiced by both Aztecs and Spaniards—provided a site for contact and compatibility between the two cultures.⁸ However, it was also a topos that gave shape to early modern conceptualizations of historiographic authority and cultural difference.

Bernal Díaz and the Aztec Painters

In writing about the production of the painting at San Juan de Ulúa in 1519, Bernal Díaz noted that Governor Tendile brought a group of “great painters” in his retinue, but that those artists had collaborated to make just one painting (“he took it”) displaying all of the people, animals, and things mentioned in the passage. Evidence from the history of art indicates that such a picture would have employed the graphic conventions seen in codices or painted cloths (*lienzos*) of the sort produced in pre-Hispanic and colonial Mexico.⁹ Those formats for painting served as vehicles for the visual representation of history, space, economic transactions, and ritual practice,¹⁰ and an examination of some extant works of this type demonstrates the style and artistic conventions indigenous painters working in the service of Moctezuma might have used in 1519.¹¹ Consider, for example, the first illustrated page in the Codex Mendoza (Fig. 1), a manuscript produced in or around Mexico City in about 1540.¹² It depicts the founding and early history of Tenochtitlan, the Aztec imperial capital whose invasion and conquest was narrated by Bernal Díaz. The artist identified the city by its name (drawn as a large hieroglyph at the center of the page) and rendered it as a rectilinear island surrounded and partitioned into quadrants by blue bands of water. His use of heavy contour lines, flat areas of color, a “scattered” two-dimensional spatial scheme, and standardized hieroglyphic icons is characteristic of the painting style scholars believe was prevalent in Aztec Mexico.¹³ But what is perhaps most helpful as an indicator of how the indigenous painters on the Gulf Coast might have portrayed Cortés and the men who accompanied him is the Codex Mendoza artist’s representa-

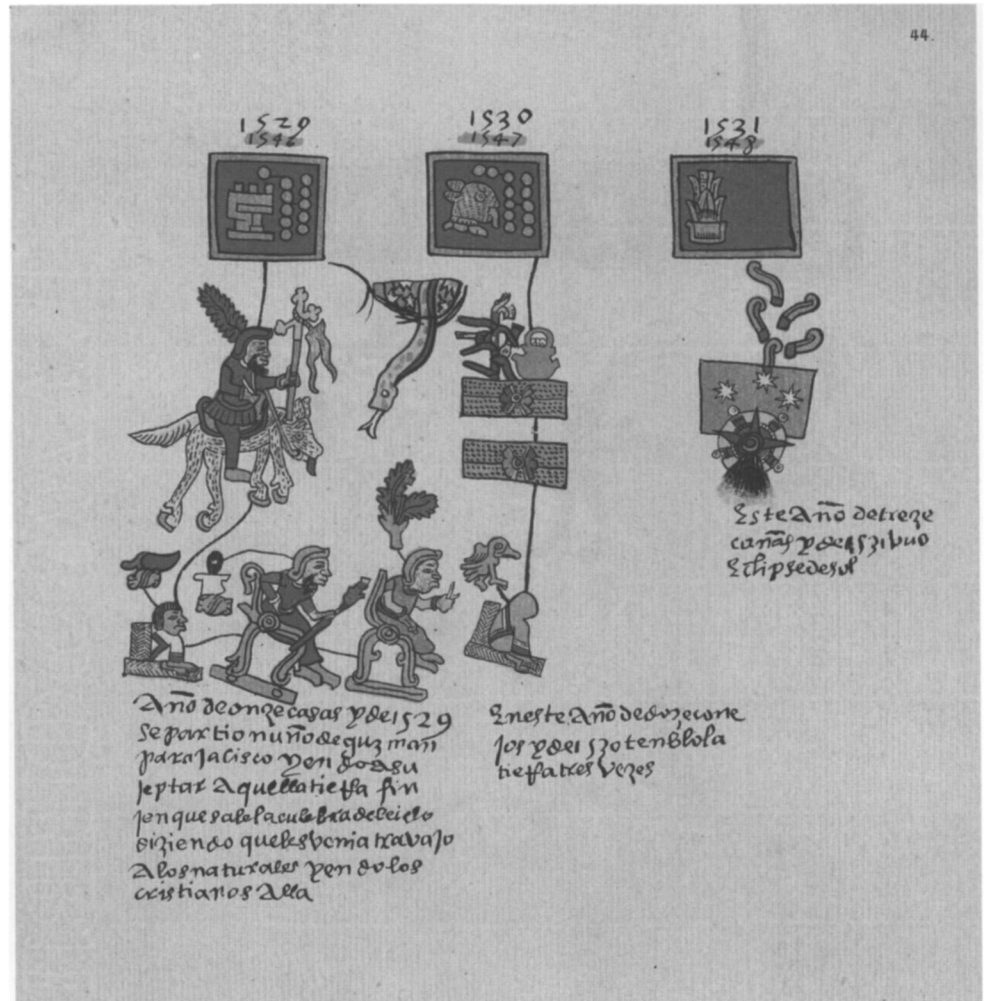


1 *Tenochtitlan*, from the Codex Mendoza, ca. 1540, ink and wash on paper, 12¾ × 8½ in. The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS Arch Selden A.1, fol. 2r (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Bodleian Library)

tion of the human figure. Placed throughout the city's four quarters are Tenochtitlan's ten founders, shown seated. Their faces drawn in profile and their bodies covered in cloaks, they are nearly identical in appearance and are distinguished from one another only by their names, rendered as hieroglyphs adjacent to or above their heads.¹⁴ Near the bottom of the page the artist employed similar conventions in his delineation of four additional men as pairs of warriors engaged in battle.¹⁵

This way of representing the human form recurs with some modifications throughout the corpus of visual imagery produced by indigenous painters in colonial Mexico. On a page in the Codex Telleriano Remensis (ca. 1560–70), a figure

resembling the founders of Tenochtitlan in the Codex Mendoza appears near the center of the left edge (Fig. 2).¹⁶ The artist used a similar graphic vocabulary in his depiction of three Spaniards in the same pictorial space. One of them, placed near the upper left corner of the page beneath a glyph representing the year 1529, is identified in the accompanying alphabetic text as the conquistador Nuño de Guzmán. Drawn with black contour lines and flat areas of color, Guzmán's face appears in profile, and he is distinguished as a Spaniard (rather than an Aztec) by his beard, his clothing, the horse he rides, and the cross he carries. Beneath him are two other Spaniards, and they, too, are depicted in the visual language of the Aztecs.¹⁷ Seated on curules, or hip-joint chairs, rather



2 *Events in the Years 1529–1531*, from the Codex Telleriano Remensis, ca. 1560–70, ink and wash on paper, 12¼ × 8½ in. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Mexicain 385, fol. 44r (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

than reed mats to symbolize their authority,¹⁸ the Spaniards are accompanied by hieroglyphic renderings of their names written next to them.

As Stephanie Wood notes, suits of armor, beards, horses, and wooden chairs were adopted as standard elements in the iconography of Spaniards by early colonial Mexican manuscript painters.¹⁹ The twenty-first-century reader might reasonably suppose that the painters Díaz observed would have used these conventions or similar ones to produce the image of the Spaniards, their ships, and their weapons in 1519. Indeed, two images of Cortés made by native artists in the second half of the sixteenth century demonstrate this graphic vocabulary. Painted on a long strip of bark paper recording the pictorial history of Tepechpan, a central Mexican town, the conquistador first appears beneath the hieroglyphic symbol 1 Reed (1519) to mark the arrival of the Spaniards in Aztec Mexico (Fig. 3).²⁰ Like the warriors in the bottom register of the page from the Codex Mendoza (Fig. 1), Cortés stands with one foot in front of the other. His bearded face shown in profile, he wears a hat, tunic, and boots and holds a lance in his left hand. He is shown again on the same painted cloth, known as the *Tira de Tepechpan*, in association with the year 4 Rabbit (1522) (Fig. 4). In that image, however, the painter included the hip-joint chair and a plumed hat to mark him as a Spaniard.²¹

Might these images allow the reader to imagine the kind of

painting said to have been produced at San Juan de Ulúa in 1519? Díaz's account of what ultimately happened to the picture he described problematizes this view of the image and its likely formal characteristics. Díaz reported that six or seven days after the initial encounter with Cortés, Governor Tendile returned to the site of the original meeting with an addition to his entourage:

With them came a great Mexican chief who, in his face, features, and body, resembled Cortés. And Moctezuma had sent him intentionally; for, as they said, when Tendile took the rendering of Cortés, all of the important men who were with Moctezuma said that one of them—who was called Quintalbor—resembled the conquistador. And that was the great chief who came with Tendile. And since he resembled Cortés, we actually called the two “their Cortés” and “our Cortés.”²²

In light of the history of Aztec painting and its reliance on a glyphic representation of the human form, this part of the story is surprising. It describes the picture as being so realistic that it prompted the Aztec emperor and his courtiers to recognize the resemblance between the painted image of Cortés and a man known to them: Quintalbor, a “great Mexican chief.” Here it is crucial to emphasize that the story cannot be taken as reliable evidence about either formal



3 *Hernán Cortés in 1520*, detail, from *Tira de Tepechpan*, 16th century, ink and wash on bark paper. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Mexicain 13–14 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France)



4 *Hernán Cortés in 1522*, detail, from *Tira de Tepechpan*. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Mexicain 13–14 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

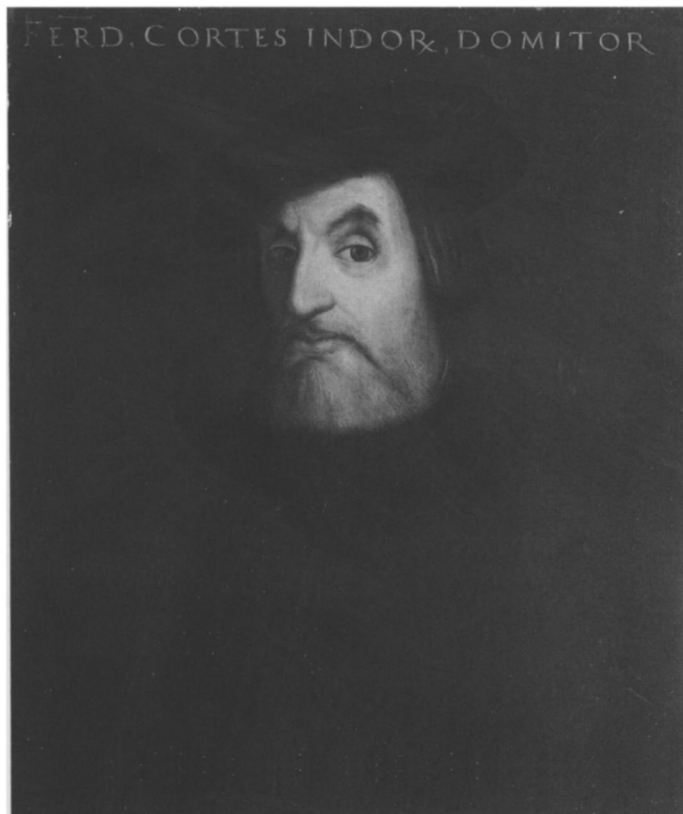
characteristics of Aztec painting or about Moctezuma's reception of such a painting. Díaz does not claim to have witnessed the emperor's recognition of this resemblance of the two men's faces, features, and bodies. He does, though, assert his own recognition of a physiognomic similarity between them, ultimately referring to them as "their Cortés" and "our Cortés." The implication of the story is that only a precise and realistic painting of Cortés could have enabled Moctezuma to identify Quintalbor as the Spaniard's double. Díaz does not use the word *retrato*, or "portrait," but his words evoke the



5 Titian, *Charles V with a Dog*, 1533, oil on canvas, 75 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 43 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (192 × 111 cm). Museo del Prado, Madrid (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Erich Lessing, provided by Art Resource, NY)

sense of those terms in referring to the production of a visual image of a person that faithfully imitates the appearance of its referent.²³ The passage resonates, for example, with the conventions of sixteenth-century state portraits like Titian's *Charles V with a Dog* (1533, Fig. 5).²⁴ That portrait features a realistic rendering of a man's face in a three-quarter view and a detailed representation of his body and features. Like the painting described by Díaz, it also shows him accompanied by a dog.

Some sixteenth-century European likenesses of Cortés manifest a similar degree of physiognomic specificity, which, one imagines, could have made possible the recognition of a resemblance between the picture and a living person (Fig. 6).²⁵ The history of art in colonial Mexico (or, as the Spaniards called it, "New Spain")²⁶ shows that indigenous painters would ultimately employ some of the conventions of this kind of illusionistic European imagery in combination with the



6 *Portrait of Hernán Cortés*, ca. 1575, oil on wood, 25¼ × 20¾ in. (65.3 × 52.9 cm). Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven. University purchase from James Jackson Jarves (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Yale University Art Gallery)



7 *Hernán Cortés*, detail, from the *Codex Azcatitlan*, late 16th century, ink and wash on paper, 9⅞ × 11⅞ in. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Mexicain 59–64, fol. 22v (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

long-standing hieroglyphic tradition to produce what modern viewers see as stylistically hybrid imagery. An example of such an image appears in the late-sixteenth-century native-style manuscript known to scholars as the *Codex Azcatitlan*.²⁷ The drawing, near the end of the document, illustrates a group of Spaniards accompanied by indigenous porters and their translator, a woman named Malinche (Fig. 7).²⁸ It includes many of the subjects mentioned by Díaz and presents elements of both the Aztec and the European graphic traditions. The full-length figures, most of them with their heads in profile, are drawn with contour lines and are set in an indeterminate space. Their clothing, hairstyles, armor, and skin color signal membership in distinct cultural and ethnic groups. At the same time, the draftsman used a three-quarter view to depict the faces of Cortés and Malinche, rendered shadows cast on the ground and the folds of the banner that billows above them in darker shades of color, and overlapped some of the figures to create a sense of pictorial depth. This distinctly colonial image demonstrates some of the visual cultural dynamics of early modern Spanish colonialism in Mexico,²⁹ but it is not the kind of picture the Indian painters would have produced at San Juan de Ulúa in 1519.

Díaz's story about that painting, then, poses a challenge to the history of Aztec and early colonial art in Mexico. For even in the images from the *Tira de Tepechpan* and the *Codex Azcatitlan*, produced decades after the events recounted by Díaz, the artist's rendering of Cortés would not have permit-

ted a viewer to recognize a striking physiognomic resemblance between a person and his representation in the picture. Acknowledging this contradiction, María Concepción García Sáiz proposes that the story in Díaz's chronicle should not be taken at face value but rather "should be understood as filtered by distance and by a Westernized interpretation of reality."³⁰ This is a reasonable reading of the passage, but a closer look at the process through which the story was "filtered" provides further insights into the ideological dimensions of the representation of Aztec representation.

"Pintar al natural"

The genealogy of the tale told by Díaz suggests that his emphasis on the painting's verisimilitude may have derived at least in part from an earlier version of the episode published in the mid-sixteenth century. The story first appeared in print in the *Historia de las Indias* (History of the Indies) by the Spanish historian and cleric Francisco López de Gómara (1511–1564). Published in Zaragoza, Spain, in 1552 and in other subsequent sixteenth-century editions,³¹ the *Historia de las Indias* includes a narrative of the conquest of Mexico in which the author presented a slightly different version of the encounter that occurred on Easter Sunday in 1519. He wrote that after Cortés and Governor Tendile (whom he calls Teudilli) exchanged presents, heard mass, and shared a meal, Indian messengers left to inform Moctezuma about all that had happened. Among the things those messengers took to the Aztec emperor, López de Gómara said, was a painting:

They took a painted image of the Horses . . . [and] the style of Weapons [and] what—and how many—firearms there were; and how many bearded men and ships there were. And in that way he [Tendile] informed him [Moctezuma] how he saw them, saying how many and how large they were. [Tendile] ordered that all of this be painted [*pintar al natural*] on woven cotton, so that Moctezuma might see it.³²

López de Gómara's text is briefer than that of Díaz, but it nonetheless contains enough detail that the reader might assume that its author had actually seen the picture. López de Gómara, however, had never been to the Americas, and his history of the conquest of Mexico was based entirely on information gleaned from other sources. Among these sources was Hernán Cortés himself. López de Gómara had served as the conquistador's personal secretary and chaplain in Spain from 1541 to 1547,³³ and in his account of the conquest he refers to a "report [*relación*]" sent by Cortés to the Holy Roman emperor that he claimed was in his possession. Scholars have speculated that this report may have been the one that subsequently came to be known as Cortés's "First Letter" to the king,³⁴ but the version of that text that has come down to us today makes no mention of the production of a painting during the encounter with Tendile.³⁵ Other sixteenth-century accounts of the conquest of Mexico also mention the episode at San Juan de Ulúa and the exchange of gifts between Spaniards and Indians, but they, too, omit any reference to the production of a painting.³⁶ What, then, was López de Gómara's source for the story?

It is possible that the episode actually happened and that Cortés personally witnessed it and related it to López de Gómara in the 1540s. It is also possible that the historian invented it, fusing aspects of sixteenth-century European painting practice with details from reports of indigenous painters and paintings in the works of other authors. For example, in Cortés's so-called "Second Letter" to the king—to which López de Gómara would have had access³⁷—the conquistador recounted a scene in which he had asked Moctezuma about the existence of rivers or inlets along the coast where his ships might safely put down their anchors. He noted that the Aztec emperor responded by commissioning something resembling a map for him. "They brought me a cloth [*pañol*]," he wrote, "on which the entire coast was depicted."³⁸ Cortés subsequently made another reference to the production of paintings in Aztec Mexico in his listing of the goods sold in Tenochtitlan's main marketplace, observing that "they sell as many pigments for painters as can be found in Spain."³⁹ Similarly, Peter Martyr, in the "Fifth Decade" of his *De orbe novo* (On the New World), refers to a "native painting representing the town of Temistitan [that is, Tenochtitlan] with its temples, bridges, and lakes."⁴⁰ Perhaps most closely related to the passage in López de Gómara's *Historia de las Indias* is one from the chronicle of Andrés de Tapia, who reported that in Tenochtitlan Moctezuma had shown Cortés "eighteen ships painted on a cloth [*manta*], with five of them wrecked on the coast and overturned in the sand." He continued: "This is the way they have of relaying news about the things that they really want to tell."⁴¹ López de Gómara relied on Tapia as one of his sources,⁴² and the two authors' descriptions of Aztec painting are similar in their inclusion of not only the subjects depicted (that is, Spaniards, horses, ships, and weapons) but also the quantities of those things they saw.

Having read Tapia's report, López de Gómara may have assumed that if Moctezuma's governor in San Juan de Ulúa wanted to inform the Aztec emperor about the Spaniards' arrival, then he would have done so by way of a picture painted on a cloth. For now, the genesis of this episode in the

Historia de las Indias must remain the subject of speculation. Its relation to Díaz's account, though, is clear, and its presence in that chronicle attests to Díaz's well-documented use of López de Gómara as a point of reference in his own narrative.⁴³ The affinity between the two texts is further demonstrated by both authors' use of the phrase "pintar al natural." The appearance of this terminology in both versions is noteworthy because while it seems to refer to a particular mode of image production, it is not widely seen in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish treatises on painting. In his *Arte de la pintura*, Francisco Pacheco does not employ the term even once. He does, however, use the substantive "el natural" a number of times to mean the living or real subject of a painting. In a passage concerning the images of saints in an altarpiece by Quentin Massys in Antwerp, for example, Pacheco remarked that "all of the figures are larger than life and very skillfully colored with oil paints [*todas figuras son mayores que el natural y muy diestramente coloridas a olio*]."⁴⁴ This usage of "el natural" supports the hypothesis that López de Gómara and Díaz were referring to painting "from life"—that is, with the painters observing the actual people and things they were representing rather than using a drawing, another painting, or a statue as their models.

Yet, when Pacheco discussed the practice of painting "from life," he used the terms "retratar del natural" or "pintar del natural,"⁴⁵ and in other early modern texts, "pintar al natural" has a slightly different sense. In chapter nine of part one of Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (1605), the author tells of his discovery in a marketplace in Toledo, Spain, of some notebooks that contained the original version of the story written in Arabic. Cervantes relates that after he purchased the notebooks from a silk merchant, he notes an image in one of them that he describes in great detail:

The first notebook contained an image painted very realistically [*pintada muy al natural*] of the battle of Don Quijote against the Basque, shown in the same way that the story says: with their swords raised, one of them protected by a shield, the other by a cushion; and the Basque's mule was so lifelike that even from a distance he looked like the kind of animal one could rent.⁴⁶

Here, the phrase "painted very realistically [*pintada muy al natural*]" characterizes a visual image whose relation to what it represents is so close that one of its elements—"The Basque's mule"—is described as "lifelike."⁴⁷ In this context, the phrase "pintar al natural," then, would seem to apply to not simply the practice of painting "from life" but rather the production of a mimetic image.⁴⁸

The question of whether López de Gómara and Díaz were referring to painting "from life," painting a "lifelike image," painting a "lifesize image," or the sum of all of these possibilities might be the subject of fruitful debate by art historians and scholars of the Spanish chronicles. What is clear is that the use of the term depends on a tenet of art theory from classical antiquity that conceived of painting as the "imitation of nature."⁴⁹ Among the disseminators of that principle in Renaissance Europe was Leon Battista Alberti, who in the early fifteenth century had recommended the study of nature as the way to paint images of faces and other complex sur-

faces: "There is no surer way than to look at Nature, and observe long and carefully how she, the wonderful maker of things, has composed the surfaces in beautiful members. We should apply ourselves with all our thought and attention to imitating her."⁵⁰ Alberti constructs a narrative of painterly practice in which the artist's careful observation of nature is followed by his or her similarly careful use of pigments and a brush to imitate what he or she sees.⁵¹ Attesting to the prevalence of these ideas in the sixteenth-century Hispanic world is the treatise on painting by Felipe de Guevara, a contemporary of both Díaz and López de Gómara.⁵² Entitled *Comentarios de la pintura* (Commentaries on Painting), the tract deals with the history of the medium, its practitioners in classical antiquity, and the materials and techniques they employed.⁵³ In it, Guevara—like Alberti and others—defined painting as "the imitation . . . of something that exists, or could exist, in nature."⁵⁴

The description of the Indians' painting in the chronicles of López de Gómara and Díaz thus presents painterly practice in Aztec Mexico as inherently similar to its counterpart in Renaissance Europe. This condition contrasts with modern views of Aztec painting,⁵⁵ but it partakes of a broader phenomenon in early modern colonial discourse that James Lockhart has called "double mistaken identity": "Each side takes it that a given form or concept is essentially one already known to it, operating in much the same manner as in its own tradition, and hardly takes cognizance of the other side's interpretation."⁵⁶ The use of the phrase "pintar al natural" by Díaz and López de Gómara might be explained as an example of this kind of "mistaken identity."⁵⁷ That is, the authors—like Cortés, Tapia, and other sixteenth-century Spaniards—may have conceived of the native painter's use of reeds to apply pigments to pieces of deer hide, paper, or cotton cloth as identical to the kind of painting Alberti and Guevara defined as the imitation of nature.⁵⁸ Just as there were "their Cortés" and "our Cortés," there were also "their paintings" and "our paintings."

Other sixteenth-century authors made clearer distinctions between the kind of visual imagery produced by the native people of the Americas and that of the artists of Renaissance Europe. Looking at what he called the "books" of the Indians, Peter Martyr concluded, "Their characters are entirely different from ours . . . they almost resemble the hieroglyphics of the ancient Egyptians. Among the figures may be distinguished those of men and animals, especially those of kings or great lords."⁵⁹ Guevara, too, compared the Indians' painting style to that of the Egyptians, and his description of an image produced in the Americas provides a striking counterpoint to the accounts by López de Gómara and Díaz:

When a chief [cacique] wanted to order some of his subjects to send him four hundred warriors, they painted a man with a weapon in his hand [and] one foot in front of the other as if he were walking, and above the head of this man they place a circle, inside of which they put four dots to signify [the number] four hundred. And in this way they represented in painting the expeditions that the vassals of His Majesty and the [cacique's subjects] made in the conquest of Mexico and other places.⁶⁰

Guevara's perception of the painter's representation of a group of four hundred warriors as "a man with a weapon in his hand [and] one foot in front of the other" evokes a hieroglyphic image like that in the lower register of the page from the Codex Mendoza (Fig. 1). His characterization of the painting emphasizes its difference from the mimetic imagery discussed in the rest of his treatise, and he remarks on that distinction in the text, asserting that the Indians' "imitative imagination" is "not very polished," but arguing that it eventually could be improved. "They would advance in this art," he wrote, "with ease and great benefit."⁶¹

These passages in the sixteenth-century texts of López de Gómara, Díaz, and Guevara demonstrate the complex play of similarity and difference that pervades the discourse of colonial encounter in the early modern Hispanic world,⁶² for the two historians' reference to pictorial naturalism clashes with their contemporary's suggestion that the Indians' "imitative imagination" is underdeveloped. Of the three texts in question, it is Guevara's that comes closest to conveying the kind of imagery a modern reader might expect to have seen in a picture produced by Tendile's painters in 1519. And strangely, it is the account by Díaz—the only one of the three writers who could have witnessed the event he related—that seems the most distorted.

The Eyewitness and the Description

The paradox that Díaz's should be the most distorted version may derive from the factors that motivated Díaz to record his memories of the conquest in the 1560s and 1570s. "I just saw what Gómara and [Gonzalo de] Illescas and [Paulo] Giovio write about the Conquests of Mexico. . . ." he remarked. "And from the beginning to the middle to the end, they don't speak of what really happened."⁶³ These statements and others scattered throughout his chronicle have compelled scholars to see the correction of the historical record as one of Díaz's aims.⁶⁴ Indeed, he repeatedly argues that his participation in the conquest of Mexico gave his version of the story a degree of authority that others could not claim: "We shall tell what we as eyewitnesses found to be true in those times."⁶⁵ Underscoring his belief in the interrelatedness of eyewitness testimony and truth, Díaz cites a number of cases in which López de Gómara's reliance on the reports of others had rendered his account false. His critique of his rival's representation of the Spaniards' preparations for a battle in the province of Tabasco, for example, relies entirely on the motif of the eyewitness and is heavy with sarcasm:

Here is where Francisco López de Gómara says that Francisco de Morla came out on a dappled gray horse before Cortés arrived with the cavalry, and that with him were the holy apostles Saint James [and] Saint Peter. . . . It could be that, as Gómara says, the glorious Saint James [and] Saint Peter were with him, and that I, as a sinner, was not worthy of seeing them. But what I saw and recognized was Francisco de Morla on a chestnut horse arriving together with Cortés. It seems to me that now, as I am writing, the entire war was represented to me with these sinners' eyes. . . .⁶⁶

Díaz's criticism of López de Gómara's version of the episode continues with his insinuation that the other four hundred

Spaniards who were with him had also failed to see the saints.⁶⁷

The conquistador's insistence that eyewitness testimony is a prerequisite to the writing of history is grounded in the works of scholars from classical antiquity⁶⁸ and anticipates the definition of history (*historia*) provided by Sebastián de Covarrubias, the royal chaplain to Philip III, in his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*: "History: A narration or exposition of past events. And in rigorous terms, it deals with those things that the author of the history saw with his own eyes and attests to them as an eyewitness."⁶⁹ Díaz employs a number of literary devices to stress his status as an eyewitness to the conquest of Mexico. These include his use of the first person and the quoted or reported speech of others as well as his frequent inclusion of personal names, the numbers of men killed or injured in battle, and vivid evocations of sounds, smells, and sights.⁷⁰ To this inventory of rhetorical devices can be added another: the detailed description of a painting.

Descriptions of real or imagined paintings (which many scholars refer to as *ekphrases*)⁷¹ were prevalent in the literature of western Europe in early modernity,⁷² and among those literary renderings of objects and images with which Díaz would have been familiar were those of the portraits of military heroes in Paulo Giovio's *Elogios o vidas breves de los cavalleros antiguos* (Eulogies or Short Biographies of the Ancient Knights), a work that he cites (as noted above).⁷³ His description of the painting produced on Easter Sunday of 1519 employs a number of interrelated topoi to evoke the immediacy and truthfulness of his vision.⁷⁴ One of these is his use of the phrase "pintar al natural"; another is his use of an anecdote to emphasize the verisimilitude of the image. This device—in which an eyewitness reacts in a remarkable or surprising way to a demonstration of convincing realism—is also prevalent in the writings of Philostratus and Giorgio Vasari. The latter, for example, remarks on a portrait of Pope Julius II by Raphael as "so lifelike and real that it made the onlooker shrink from fear, as if their Pope were truly alive."⁷⁵

Díaz's reference to Moctezuma's supposed "recognition" in the painting of Cortés's resemblance to Quintalbor also echoes a number of passages in Vasari's *Lives* in which the author records his own recognition of notable individuals in multifigural compositions.⁷⁶ In a passage concerning a fresco by Domenico Ghirlandaio depicting scenes from the life of Saint Francis, for example, he wrote that the painting included a number of figures who marvel at the saint's resuscitation of a dead child. "Among them are portraits of Maso degli Albizi, Messer Agnolo Acciaiuoli, and Messer Palla Strozzi, all important citizens who were very prominent. . . ."⁷⁷ That passage serves to illustrate a more general principle of pictorial perception that had been articulated by Alberti:

The painter who has accustomed himself to taking everything from Nature will so train his hand that anything he attempts will echo Nature. We can see how desirable this is in painting when the figure of some well-known person is present in a *historia*, for although others executed with greater skill may be conspicuous in the picture, the face that is known draws the eyes of all spectators, so great is

the power and attraction of something taken from Nature.⁷⁸

I cannot prove that Díaz had read the works of Philostratus, Alberti, and Vasari, but the history of ancient and contemporary art was certainly one of his points of reference, for near the end of his chronicle he praises the realism of paintings by Apelles, Michelangelo, and Berruguete.⁷⁹ Regardless of which particular texts or experiences might have informed his knowledge about aesthetics, Díaz clearly drew on that body of knowledge in writing about the Indians' painting of the Spaniards, and thus the content of the passage may have been shaped at least in part by its form.⁸⁰

Díaz's description of the painting and Moctezuma's (mis-)identification of one of its figures as Quintalbor might also be read in light of another of the chronicler's aims. In addition to criticizing López de Gómara's lack of firsthand knowledge about the Conquest, Díaz also had accused him of unjustly amplifying Cortés's role in the campaign and thus failing to appreciate the efforts of the many other men who fought for him.⁸¹ He believed that the historian had a motive for this bias: "It seems that Gómara was fond of speaking in such a flattering way about the valiant Cortés. And we can be certain that his palm had been greased [*le untaron las manos*], for it was to his [Cortés's] son, the Marquis, that he dedicated his chronicle."⁸² Giovio had similarly singled out Cortés for praise, asserting that "among the famous Spaniards who, by sailing the Ocean and discovering new lands, have attained distinction, the most famous and renowned, I believe, was Hernán Cortés."⁸³ Díaz's version of the story about the Indian's production of the painting in 1519 helps to undermine that vision of Cortés as a singular, exceptional conquistador, for it uses the motif of physical resemblance to assert that he was not, in fact, unique. There was, Díaz wrote, another Cortés in Mexico: an Indian chief who looked exactly like him.

This intriguing story about a mimetic portrait that resembled two different people might be taken as evidence for an epistemological shift in early modernity in which—employing Michel Foucault's terminology—"words" broke free from "things" and the "prose of the world" gave way to "classical representation."⁸⁴ But the episode also engages the concept of resemblance on another level. The practices of both historiography and painting in early modernity privileged vision as the key to the production of the true or faithful representation. The act historians defined as eyewitnessing is analogous to the practice of painting "from life," and therefore the concept of a "true" history was analogous to the visual imagery Pacheco (and others) referred to as the "true likeness [*retrato verdadero*]."⁸⁵ Moreover, as Anthony Grafton has noted, the term *historia* was central to both historiography and painting.⁸⁶ These multiple points of discursive intersection cast the Indians' painting of the Spaniards as a *historia* within a *Historia*. In turn, the story of the painting's reception underscores the fact that the eyewitness to its production (that is, Bernal Díaz) was able to correctly identify the figure of Cortés, while the later viewer of the image (that is, Moctezuma) misidentified him as Quintalbor. The story ultimately reinforces the primacy of eyewitness testimony through the topos of painting a mimetic image from life. At the same

time, it uses painting's ability to deceive (*engañar*) the viewer to demonstrate the unreliability of the testimony of those who are not eyewitnesses.⁸⁷ Díaz's story about the Aztec emperor's misidentification of Cortés's portrait thus illustrates the principle on which he asserts the inaccuracy of López de Gómara's secondhand account of the conquest.

Antonio de Solís and "The Finer Points of Imitation"

The chronicle that Díaz had written in Guatemala in the late sixteenth century was first published in 1632 in Madrid as *La historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (*The True History of the Conquest of New Spain*).⁸⁸ In that posthumous publication, an editor had made changes to some parts of the autograph manuscript, but the story about the Indians' production of the painting on Easter Sunday of 1519 appeared without modification. It soon attracted the attention of Charles II's royal chronicler to the Indies, Antonio de Solís, who in Madrid in 1684 published his own account of the conquest as *Historia de la conquista de México* (*History of the Conquest of Mexico*).⁸⁹ Born in 1610, Solís had not participated in the conquest and, like López de Gómara, he had never traveled to the Americas. His chronicle, then, was based on those of his predecessors, and like them, he aimed to correct what he believed were the errors in the earlier reports. His version of the episode on Easter Sunday of 1519 is blunt in its criticism of Díaz:

There were at this time some Mexican painters who came in the retinue of the two Indian governors, and who went about making images on cloths they had brought with them, and which they had prepared and color primed for this mission. They very diligently copied the ships, the soldiers, the weapons, and artillery, and the horses with everything else that came to the attention of their eyes. From this variety of objects they made different compositions [*payses*] whose draftsmanship [*dibujo*] and use of color [*colorido*] was not at all bad. Our Bernal Díaz goes too far in describing the skill of these painters, for he says they painted likenesses of all of the captains, and that those likenesses truly resembled them. Let that pass as exaggeration that has little to do with the truth, because although they may have mastered the basics of the art of painting, they had little time to dwell on the details, or finer points [*prolixidades, o primores*] of imitation.⁹⁰

In general, Solís's version of the story follows those in the works of López de Gómara and Díaz. Among his additions to the narrative, however, are his comments on the skill [*habilidad*] of the painters, who, he says, had "prepared and color primed" their canvases, "diligently copied" the Spaniards, their horses, and their ships, and demonstrated good draftsmanship and use of color. These details add another dimension to the story, for they position the Indian painters within a narrative of painterly training and practice with which Solís must have been familiar. That narrative, codified in the seventeenth century in Pacheco's *Arte de la pintura*, posits three distinct stages of artistic ability and development: the *principiantes*, or "beginners"; the *aprovechados*, or "those who are advanced"; and finally, the *perfe[c]tos*, or "those who have perfected their skills."⁹¹ Pacheco characterized the "begin-

ners" as those who focus on copying the things they can see without "correcting" or otherwise improving on them. This first rank, he explained, "describes most painters."⁹² Those who progress to the second rank master skills of composition and the idealization of natural forms, and those who reach the state of perfection are able to "invent" figures and compositions "with only their genius and their hand. . . ."⁹³ Those who acquired that elevated status were rare, and they were regarded by Pacheco and others as "learned" or "erudite" painters and as the practitioners of a liberal art rather than a craft.⁹⁴ This sequence of artistic development was institutionalized in seventeenth-century Spain and the Americas through apprenticeships in which novices worked and studied under the direction of an established master and eventually took and passed an examination administered by the painter's guild of their city.⁹⁵

Imagining the story through the lens of painterly training and development, Solís may have believed that the Indian painters—like most of their peninsular counterparts—had not reached the elevated status of the *perfe[c]tos*. Instead, he locates them securely within the sphere of craftsmen, whose preparation and color priming of their canvases, "diligent copying," and good draftsmanship and use of color demonstrate their knowledge of techniques taught during apprenticeships.⁹⁶ Solís does not suggest that the Indians were bad painters, nor does he propose that they were incapable of mastering what he calls the "finer points of imitation." Instead, he says that they "had little time" to master such skills. This statement, which echoes Guevara's comment on the Indians' "not very polished" "imitative imagination"⁹⁷ might reasonably be interpreted to mean that the arrival of the Spaniards in Aztec Mexico has brought with it the possibility of the Indians' artistic transformation, but that in 1519, they had not yet had enough contact with Spanish paintings and painters to have advanced beyond the stage of being good copyists. Such a characterization of the Indian painters as incompletely developed partakes of a broader attitude in the seventeenth-century Hispanic world that cast the native people of the Americas as akin to children in need of the Spaniards' "parental" guidance. As Alejandro Cañeque has noted, this view is evident in the sixteenth-century writings of the Franciscan friar Gerónimo de Mendieta, who characterized the Indians as having "the ability and talent of children of nine or twelve years of age, in need of being governed like minors by guardians or tutors," and persists into the seventeenth century in the Spanish jurist Juan de Solórzano Pereira's *Política indiana*.⁹⁸

Moctezuma's Portraits

This examination of the various ways in which a story about Indian painters and paintings was represented in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts of the conquest of Mexico shows how ideas about visual representation—and, more specifically, mimetic representation—became intertwined with historiography and, simultaneously, with a discourse on colonial domination. But Antonio de Solís would not be the last to tell the story, for the events of Easter Sunday in 1519 surfaced once again in a late-seventeenth-century painting produced in or around Mexico City by Miguel González. Adorned with areas of mother-of-pearl mosaic and painted by

an artist who may have been the descendant of Asian immigrants in Mexico,⁹⁹ the image is the first in a set of twenty-four panels illustrating episodes from the conquest of Mexico (Fig. 8).¹⁰⁰ An ornately framed circular reserve at the top of the panel identifies the five scenes shown on it:

[1] Captain Cortés arrives with his fleet at the Port of San Juan de Ulúa. [2] The Indians go out in canoes to take a look at him. [3] Ambassador Tendile greets him with a present. [4] He orders him to paint a picture of him and his fleet in order to take it to his master. [5] Captain Cortés dines with the ambassadors of the great Moctezuma.¹⁰¹

González's rendition of these scenes proceeds from the top (or background) of the panel to the bottom (or foreground), and the episode about the production of the painting appears in the middle ground (Fig. 9). That scene depicts an Indian chieftain, identified as such by his robe and headdress, who points into the distance as he addresses a painter, identified by his large canvas, brush, and palette. Scholars have suggested that the painter and/or designers of the panels in this and other, similar suites of conquest imagery derived their visual narratives from the published accounts of López de Gómara, Díaz, and Solís, and this image supports that assertion, for it coincides with those texts in many ways.¹⁰² But while the texts of Díaz and Solís make their impressions of the Indian painters and their skills quite clear, the pictorial representation of the scene by González is more ambiguous. Is the painter here to be understood as one who, in the words of Solís, had "mastered the basics" but not the "finer points of imitation"? Or is this a representation of a learned practitioner of the "liberal art" of painting? Reading the pictorial passage is complicated by its affinity with other seventeenth-century images of painters at work such as that of Diego de Velázquez in *Las meninas* (Fig. 10). Scholarship on that painting has stressed Velázquez's status as the principal painter to King Philip IV, a position that might be seen as analogous to that of the "great Mexican painters" who produced an image of the Spaniards for Moctezuma.¹⁰³ The scene on the Mexican panel also calls to mind Johannes Wierix's *Apelles Painting the Portrait of Campaspe* (Fig. 11), in which Alexander the Great supervises his painter in the act of creating a convincing likeness of his nude mistress.¹⁰⁴ The Wierix drawing's similarity to the scene painted by González extends to the latter's inclusion of the incomplete canvas. At its center, a figure (perhaps Cortés dressed in a suit of armor) stands on a dark ground and is flanked by two other figures whose clothing is more difficult to identify.

I do not know if these European compositions would have been points of reference for Miguel González in late-seventeenth-century Mexico City, but his rendition of the scene echoes their portrayals of painters producing large, illusionistic images for their royal patrons. The outdoor painting practice shown on the Mexican panel, however, differs markedly from that of Velázquez, Wierix, and Miguel González himself, who would have worked in a studio with access to textual and iconographic sources. As I have proposed, González probably used the texts by Díaz and Solís as sources, and he might have known the image of Apelles painting the

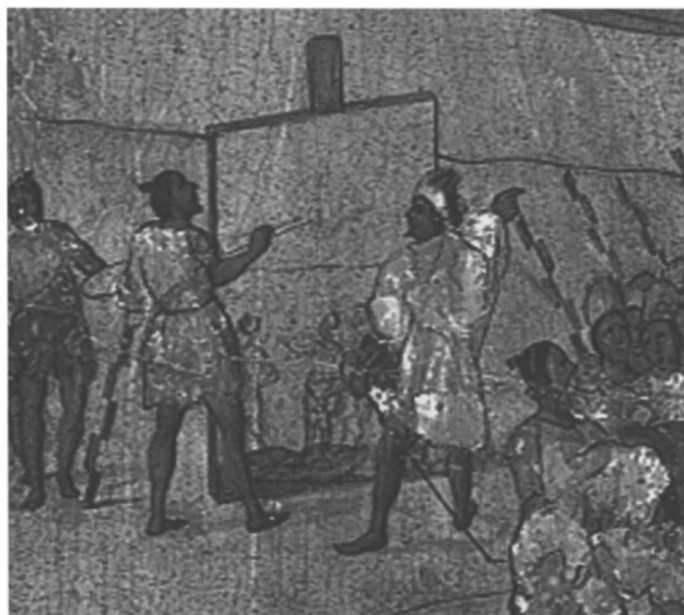
portrait of Campaspe. The painter likely based his representation of Cortés dining with Moctezuma's ambassadors in the foreground (or bottom) of the pictorial space on the same panel on a visual image of the Last Supper. González's use and transformation of such models would have entailed a degree of invention and composition, the skills that Pacheco specified as characteristic of the more learned practitioners of the art.

That Miguel González held his own work in high regard is suggested on another panel in the series that carries his name together with the term "*fat*"—presumably an abbreviation for the Latin *faciebat* or *fingebat* (Fig. 12). González's use of this terminology and the prominent placement of his name on the panel intimate that he conceived of himself and his work within an elevated sphere of artistic production that privileged ideas of originality and authorship.¹⁰⁵ What is also remarkable about the panel is its reliance on Aztec painting and, more specifically, the genre of portraiture in its representation of a key episode in the narrative of the conquest of Mexico. The text in the circular reserve narrates the scene: "Captain General Cortés visits the emperor Moctezuma in his royal palace, where he [Moctezuma] takes him [Cortés] by the hand and offers him his golden seats. He shows him his ancestors, the emperors whose portraits he had painted, and the soldiers admire them."¹⁰⁶ The portraits in Moctezuma's throne room are full-length, life-size likenesses of the Aztec emperors whose names appear on the walls beneath them. And while this encounter between Cortés and Moctezuma is recorded in the texts of all of the chroniclers, none of them makes any reference to the presence of this portrait gallery in the emperor's palace.

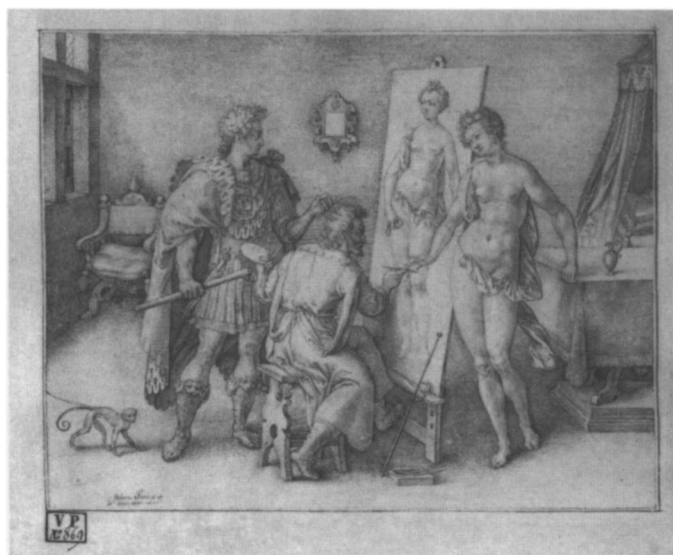
The inclusion and showcasing of the portraits of Aztec kings on this panel might be explained simply as an act of "mistaken identity"—the painter's projection of the architecture and ornament of the Hapsburg court into the world of Moctezuma.¹⁰⁷ Yet the portraits function as convenient devices for giving visible and material form to ideas about kingly succession and the continuity of rule, ideas that are also stressed in the textual accounts of the scene. Díaz, for example, notes that this meeting in Moctezuma's palace was the occasion at which the Aztec emperor told Cortés that "you are the ones our ancestors told us would come from where the sun rises, and to your great king, I am under his charge, and I will give him whatever I may have."¹⁰⁸ This passage reinforces what Matthew Restall has called the "apotheosis myth," the Aztecs' supposed belief that the Spaniards were gods whose arrival had been prophesied.¹⁰⁹ Such a conviction might have served as additional motivation for Díaz's insistence on the resemblance between Cortés and Quintalbor. At the same time, Moctezuma's proclamation substantiates the view of the conquest of Mexico as a *translatio imperii*, a transfer of power in which Moctezuma willingly abdicates his throne to Charles V, whom he believes to have been descended from the original inhabitants of the Valley of Mexico. This interpretation of the conquest is promoted in the "Second Letter" of Cortés and is subsequently endorsed by López de Gómara, Solís, and a number of the other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century chroniclers.¹¹⁰ In deciding to emphasize this part of the story in his pictorial conquest history, Miguel González could not rely—as his literary counterparts did—on the re-



8 Miguel González, *Captain Cortés Arrives with His Fleet*, from *Conquest of Mexico*, late 17th century, ink, paint, and mother-of-pearl on cloth mounted on wood, 39% × 19% in. (100 × 50 cm). Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes)



9 Detail of Fig. 8, showing the painting of the picture for Moctezuma



11 Johannes Wierix, *Apelles Painting the Portrait of Campaspe*, 1600, pen and brown ink on parchment, 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (25.1 × 31.6 cm). Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Michel Wuyts, provided by Musea Stad Antwerpen)



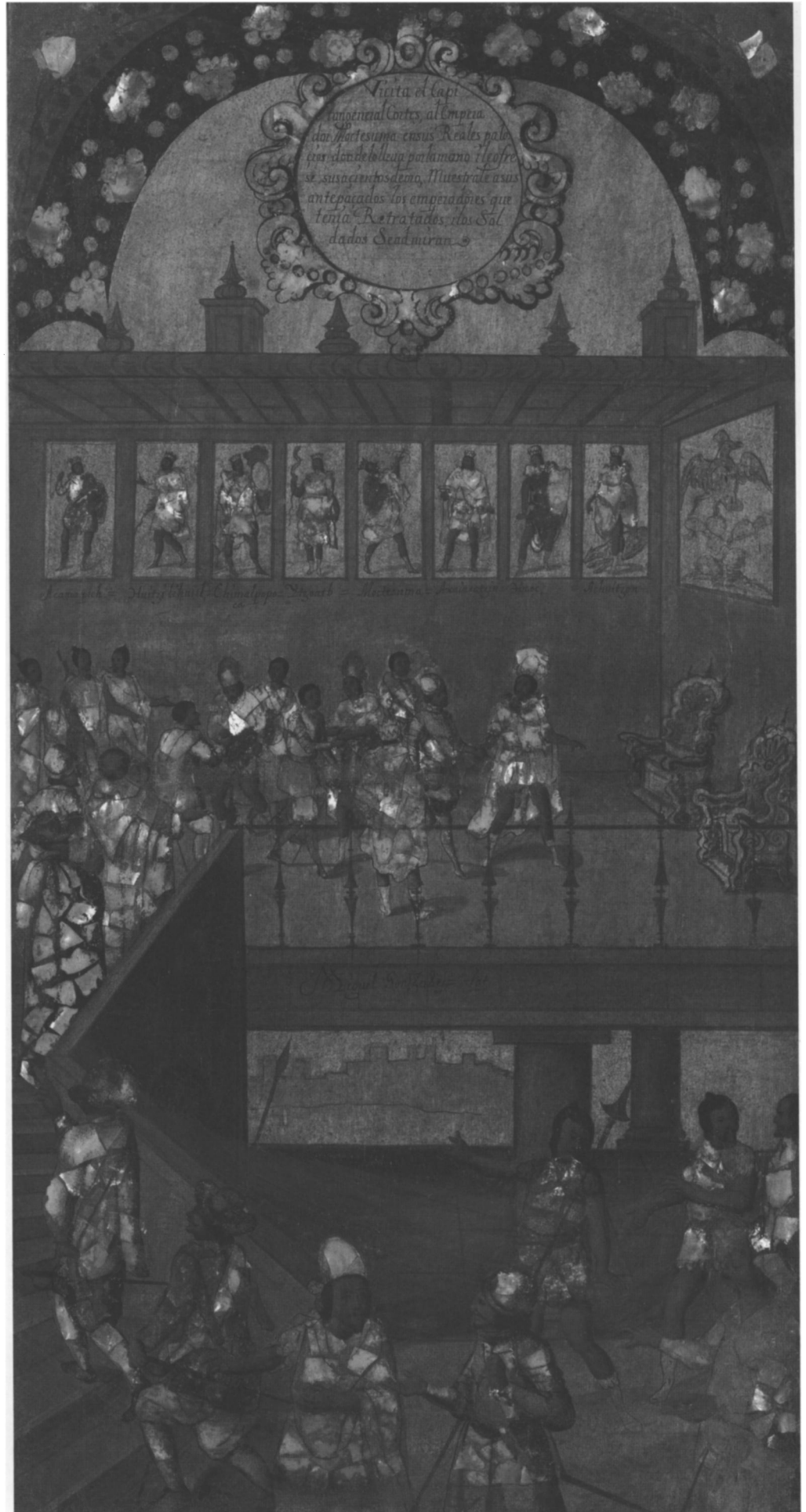
10 Diego de Velázquez, *Las meninas*, detail, 1656, oil on canvas, 108 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 125 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (276 × 318 cm). Museo del Prado, Madrid (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Erich Lessing, provided by Art Resource, NY)

ported speech of Moctezuma. Instead, he may have relied on an image whose form as well as its content strongly asserts that this meeting between Cortés and Moctezuma was, in fact, a *translatio imperii*. That image is a late-sixteenth-century print

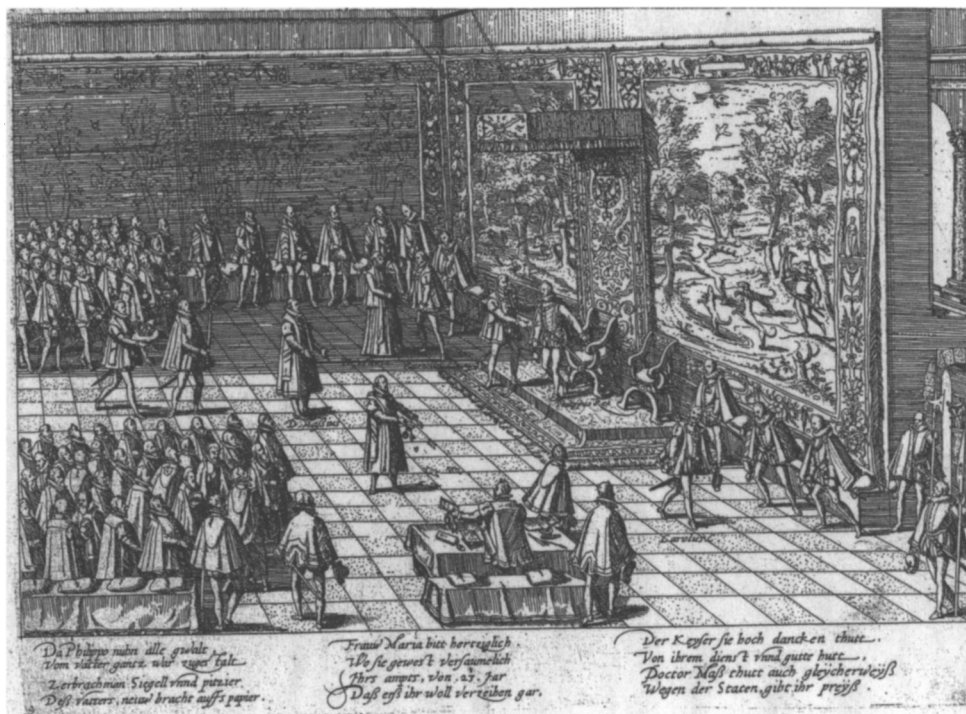
of the abdication of Charles V, in which the Holy Roman emperor offers his thrones to his son, Philip II (Fig. 13).

The panel by Miguel González, then, constitutes a historiographic intervention that is not unlike that of Díaz, who told the story about the Indian painters in a way that was more vivid than that of López de Gómara. Here, however, it is the visual (rather than literary) representation of painting that intervenes in the conquest historiography. Indeed, the artist's rendering of a fictive series of state portraits brings to the fore ideas about kingly succession and legitimacy, while painterly practice—that is, the artist's modification of a print—transforms the encounter between Cortés and Moctezuma into an image of the latter's abdication.¹¹¹ That González placed his own name so prominently in the pictorial field demonstrates that he, like López de Gómara, Díaz, and Solís, conceived of himself as an author whose use and revision of conventional forms shaped his own novel and persuasive vision of the past.

On one level, this survey of an interrelated set of representations of Aztec representation has examined the ways in which painting (as both a practice and an object) was a locus of both fascination and difference for those who told the story of the conquest of Mexico. As I have attempted to show, the differences in the ways painting was described reveal how techniques of representation entangled visual culture in the discourse of Spanish colonialism. In the case of Díaz, the concept of pictorial mimesis provided a way for the author to assert his status as an eyewitness to the events he recounted and, thus, as the trustworthy source of a true history. Yet his account of the episode and its incongruence with the history of Aztec painting reminds the modern reader of the gulf that separates rhetoric from reality and, simultaneously, of the problematic relation between memory and history. For Solís, the production of a true and faithful likeness was a skill that had been mastered by some Spaniards, but which he believed



12 González, *Captain-General Cortés Visits the Emperor Moctezuma*, from *Conquest of Mexico*, ink, paint, and mother-of-pearl on cloth mounted on wood, 39 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 19 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (100 × 50 cm). Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes)



13 Franz Hogenberg, *Abdication of Charles V in Brussels*, 1570–90, ink on paper. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Fotógrafos Oronoz)

could not have been practiced at that same level by the people they encountered at San Juan de Ulúa. This conviction was not rooted in the author's knowledge of art history. Instead, it was informed by ideas about cultural and educational difference. For him, the omission of that difference was, in his words, "exaggeration that has little to do with the truth." Finally, González's portrayal of the scene—like its counterparts—also employs the topos of painting to convey more than simply an event that occurred in San Juan de Ulúa in 1519. In his visual representation of Aztec representation, the practice of painting and the genre of portraiture are vehicles that drive the narrative of the conquest of Mexico. González presents a view of conquest and political transition that, like Díaz's description of Cortés's portrait, elides differences between "theirs" and "ours" and, in so doing, challenges the modern viewer's conception of colonial history.

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Notes

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1. The manuscript Bernal Díaz del Castillo produced in Guatemala was the basis for the posthumously published *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (Madrid: Imprenta del Reino, 1632). Scholars believe his writing and revision of the manuscript occurred from about 1552–53 to 1568 or later. For the complex history of the manuscript, its production, and its variants, see Carmelo Sáenz de Santamaría, *Historia de una historia: La crónica de Bernal Díaz del Castillo* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1984); and Guillermo Serés, "Los textos de la Historia verdadera de Bernal Díaz," *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 71 (1991): 523–47. My citations of Díaz's text in this article come from the "Guatemala manuscript" (rather than from the 1632 publication) as transcribed in Díaz, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (Madrid: Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, C.S.I.C., 1982).
2. Díaz, *Historia verdadera*, 72, says he later learned that the men were "governors of some provinces that are called Cotustan, Tustepeque, Guazpalteque, Tatalteco, and some other towns they had recently subjugated [governadores de unas provincias que se dizen Cotustan, e Tustepeque, e Guazpalteque, y Tatalteco, y de otros pueblos que newamente tenían sojuzgados]." I use the term "Aztec" here and throughout this paper very loosely to designate the Nahuatl-speaking people of central Mexico who were the subjects of Moctezuma II at the time of the Spaniards' arrival at San Juan de Ulúa. In a similar vein, I use the terms "Aztec art" and "Aztec representation" to refer to visual imagery produced by natives in the Mesoamerican empire of Moctezuma II and his predecessors. Problems with the meaning and use of "Aztec" are discussed throughout the scholarship in the field. See, for example, Frances Berdan, "Concepts of Ethnicity and Class in Aztec-Period Mexico," in *Ethnic Identity in Nahua Mesoamerica: The View from Archaeology, Art History, Ethnohistory, and Contemporary Ethnography*, by Berdan et al. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2008), 113–16; Alfredo López Austin, "Aztec," in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Mesoamerican Cultures*, ed. David Carrasco, 3 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), vol. 1, 68–72; and Michael E. Smith and Frances F. Berdan, introduction to *Aztec Imperial Strategies*, by Berdan et al. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996), 4. Problems with the use of the term underscore the potential rifts between rhetoric and reality that are the subject of this essay.
3. Díaz, *Historia verdadera*, 72. "Con mucha umilldad hizo tres reverencias a Cortés, a su usança . . . y luego sacó de una petaca . . . muchas piezas de oro, y de buenas labores e ricas, y mandó traer diez cargas de ropa blanca de algodón y de pluma, coasa muy de ver, y otras coasa que ya no me acuerdo, y mucha comida, que eran gallinas, y fruta, y pescado asado . . . y luego Cortés mandó traer una silla de caderas con entalladuras de taracea, y unas piedras margajitas, que tienen dentro de sí muchas labores, y enbueeltas en unos algodones que tenían almizquele, porque oliesen bien, e un sartal de diamantes

- torcidas y una gorra de carmesí, con una medalla de oro de San Jorge. . . .” Anthony Pagden notes that the encounter with Tendile is also recorded in other sixteenth-century sources. It is mentioned, for example, in Cortés’s “Second Letter” as well as in the account of the conquest in Bernardino de Sahagún’s “Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España” (bk. 12, chap. 2, fols. 3v–5v), Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence. There, however, he is referred to as “Tentlil.” Pagden cites the native Mexican historian Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl’s identification of Tendile/Tentlil as the “governor of Cotozta (Cotaxtla) or Cuertlaxtlan.” See Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, trans. Pagden (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 455 n. 30. Cuertlaxtlan, or Cuertaxtlan, as described as an “Outer Province” and a “Tributary Province” along the Gulf Coast in Berdan et al., *Aztec Imperial Strategies*, 243, 286, 324. Berdan and Michael Smith refer to the “governor” as Teniltzin and characterize him as a “tribute collector placed by the Mexica ruler Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin.” See Smith and Berdan, “Appendix 4,” in Berdan et al., *Aztec Imperial Strategies*, 286.
- For a study of colonial encounters in early modernity and the kinds of objects exchanged and collected, see Edward J. Sullivan, *The Language of Objects in the Art of the Americas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 1–57; Serge Gruzinski, *Images at War: Mexico from Columbus to “Blade Runner” (1492–2019)* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001), 39–42; and Steven Mullaney, “Imaginary Conquests: European Material Technologies and the Colonial Mirror Stage,” in *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England*, ed. Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 15–43.
 - Díaz, *Historia verdadera*, 73: “Y pareçe ser, el Tendile traía consigo grandes pintores, que los ay tales en México, y mandó pintar al natural la cara, y rostro, e cuerpo, y façiones de Cortés, y de todos los capitanes, y soldados, y navíos y velas e cavallos, y a doña Marina e Aguilar, y hasta dos lebreles, e tiros y pelotas, y todo el exercito que traíamos, y lo llevó a su señor. . . .” Díaz’s use of the phrase “pintar al natural” is discussed in detail below. Here, as throughout, I refer to the Aztec emperor in 1519 as Moctezuma. He was the second Aztec ruler to use that name, which is spelled in the scholarly literature in a number of ways (including Moctezuma and Motecuhzoma). I use the present spelling because it is the one that appears most frequently in the scholarship.
 - See, for example, Richard Townsend, *State and Cosmos in the Art of Tenochtitlan* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1979); Esther Pasztor, *Aztec Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1983); Emily Umberger, “Art and Imperial Strategy in Tenochtitlan,” in Berdan et al., *Aztec Imperial Strategies*, 85–106; Eduardo Matos Moctezuma and Felipe Solís Olguín, *The Aztec Calendar and Other Solar Monuments* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2004); Elizabeth H. Boone, *Cycles of Time and Meaning in the Mexican Books of Fate* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007); and Cecelia F. Klein, “A New Interpretation of the Aztec Statue Called Coatlicue, ‘Snakes-Her-Skirt,’” *Ethnohistory* 55 (Spring 2008): 229–50.
 - The rift between representation and reality has been a central theme in recent scholarship on the genre of the chronicle in colonial Latin America. See, for example, Rolena Adorno, *The Polemics of Possession in Spanish American Narrative* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); and Gonzalo Lamana, *Domination without Dominance: Inca-Spanish Encounters in Early Colonial Peru* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008).
 - Elizabeth Hill Boone and Thomas B. F. Cummins, “Colonial Foundations: Points of Contact and Compatibility,” in *The Arts in Latin America, 1492–1820*, by Joseph J. Rishel et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 11–21; and Cummins, “From Lies to Truth: Colonial Euphemism and the Act of Crosscultural Translation,” in *Reframing the Renaissance*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 152–74.
 - On painting in Aztec and colonial Mexico, see Donald Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting of the Early Colonial Period: The Metropolitan Schools* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 27–29; Jeanette Peterson, “The Florentine Codex Imagery and the Colonial *Tlacuilo*,” in *The Work of Bernardino de Sahagún: Pioneer Ethnographer of Sixteenth-Century Aztec Mexico*, ed. J. Jorge Klor de Alva (Albany Institute for Mesoamerican Studies; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988), 285–86; idem, *The Paradise Garden Murals of Malinalco: Utopia and Empire in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), 46–50; Elizabeth H. Boone, *Stories in Red and Black: Pictorial Histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 24–27; and idem, *Cycles of Time*, 49–51.
 - Surveys of the pictorial manuscripts and *lienzos* produced in pre-Hispanic and colonial Mexico include Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*; John B. Glass and Donald Robertson, “A Census of Native Middle American Pictorial Manuscripts,” in *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 14, ed. Robert Wauchope and Howard F. Cline (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975), 3–80; Pablo Escalante, *Los códices* (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1998); Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*; Miguel León Portilla, *Códices: Los antiguos libros del nuevo mundo* (Mexico City: Aguilar, 2003); and Boone, *Cycles of Time*.
 - Given that the painters are described as working in the service of a governor appointed by the Aztec emperor and that, in addition, Aztec-style sculptures and ceramics have been found in the province of Cuertlaxtlan, I believe it is reasonable to suggest that the painters mentioned by Díaz would have painted in the Aztec style. On the presence of this style outside Tenochtitlan, see Emily Umberger, “Aztec Presence and Material Remains in the Outer Provinces,” in Berdan et al., *Aztec Imperial Strategies*, 159, 161. Scholarship on the possible production of pictorial manuscripts around the Gulf Coast is surveyed in Boone, *Cycles of Time*, 225–27.
 - The manuscript of the Codex Mendoza is held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, MS Arch Selden A.1. A facsimile was published as *Codex Mendoza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). The manuscript’s attribution to an indigenous painter was made on the basis of style. See Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 46; and Frances F. Berdan and Patricia Rieff Anawalt, *The Essential Codex Mendoza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), xii. My description of the image draws on the analysis in Berdan and Anawalt, *ibid.*, 3–5.
 - Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 59–67. See also Boone, “Towards a More Precise Definition of the Aztec Painting Style,” in *Pre-Columbian Art History: Selected Readings*, ed. Alana Cordy-Collins, 2nd ed. (Mountain View, Calif.: Peek Publications, 1982), 153–68; Boone, “Manuscript Painting in the Service of Imperial Ideology,” in Berdan et al., *Aztec Imperial Strategies*, 182–83; and idem, *Cycles of Time*.
 - Those names have also been translated into alphabetic texts that fill the space at the front of their cloaks. One of the ten, the figure labeled within the name Tenuch, is depicted with a darker face than the others.
 - Rather than representing named individuals, however, those figures function as symbols for Tenochtitlan’s conquest of two neighboring polities, whose names are indicated by the accompanying hieroglyphic symbols. Berdan and Anawalt, *Essential Codex Mendoza*, 5, identify them as Colhuacan and Tenayucan.
 - The manuscript is held in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (hereafter BNF) in Paris, where it is catalogued as Manuscrit Mexicain 385. A facsimile was published, along with a study and commentary by Eloise Quiñones Keber, as *Codex Telleriano Remensis: Ritual, Divination, and History in a Pictorial Aztec Manuscript* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995).
 - Quiñones Keber, *Codex Telleriano Remensis*, 233–34.
 - On the use of this type of folding chair in fifteenth-century peninsular Spain and the colonial Americas, see Grace Hardendorff Burr, *Hispanic Furniture from the Fifteenth through the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Archive Press, 1964), 11–13, 102; and Luis M. Feduchi, *El mueble español* (Barcelona: Ediciones Polígrafa, 1969), 74–76. The appearance of the chair in colonial Mexican manuscripts is examined in Stephanie Wood, *Transcending Conquest: Nahua Views of Spanish Colonial Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 54–55; and Lori Boornazian Diel, “Painting Colonial Mexico: The Appropriation of European Iconography in Mexican Manuscript Painting,” in *Painted Books and Indigenous Knowledge in Mesoamerica: Manuscript Studies in Honor of Mary Elizabeth Smith*, ed. Elizabeth H. Boone (New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, 2005), 301–17.
 - Wood, *Transcending Conquest*, 23–59. See also Florine Asselbergs, *Conquered Conquistadors: The Lienzo de Quauhquechollan; A Nahua Vision of the Conquest of Guatemala* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004), 137–97; and Diana Magaloni Kerpel, “Imágenes de la conquista de México en los códices del siglo XVI: Una lectura de su contenido simbólico,” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 82 (2003): 5–45.
 - The painting is known to scholars as the *Tira de Tepechpan*. It is held today in the BNF, MS Mexicain 13–14. On the *Tira*, see Lori Boornazian Diel, *The “Tira de Tepechpan”: Negotiating Place under Aztec and Spanish Rule* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008).
 - This image of Cortés may be depicting him with black skin to signify priestly status. See Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 232.
 - Díaz, *Historia verdadera*, 74: “Vino Tendile una mañana con más de cien indios cargados. Y venía con ellos un gran caçique mexicano, y en el rostro, y façiones, y cuerpo, se pareçia al capitan Cortés, y a rede lo embió el gran Montezuma; porque, según dixerón, que cuando a Cortés le llebó Tendile dibujado su misma figura, todos los principales questavan con Moctezuma, dixerón que un principal, que se dezia Quintalbor se le pareçia a lo propio a Cortés, que así se llamava aquel gran caçique que venía con Tendile; y como pareçia a Cortés, así le llamávamos en el real, Cortés acá, Cortés acullá.” An-

- other possible translation of the last part of the passage might emphasize location rather than possession: "The Cortés from here and the Cortés from there." In his recent translation of an abridged version of Díaz's text, David Carrasco glosses it as "our Cortés" and "the other Cortés." See Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *History of the Conquest of New Spain* by Bernal Díaz, trans. and ed. Carrasco (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 56.
23. The meaning of this terminology in sixteenth-century Spain is examined in Juan Miguel Serrera, "Alonso Sánchez Coello y la mecánica del retrato de corte," in *Alonso Sánchez Coello y el retrato en la corte de Felipe II* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1990), 38.
 24. Scholarship on the painting by Titian includes Maria Kusche, "A proposito del Carlos V con el Perro de Tiziano," *Archivo Español de Arte* 77 (July–September 2004): 267–80; Fernando Checa, "Titian, Charles V with Dog," in *Carolus* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2000), 267–69; Diane H. Bodart, "La codification de l'image impériale de Charles Quint par Titien," *Revue des Archéologues et Historiens d'Art de Louvain* 30 (1997): 61–78; Luba Freedman, *Titian's Portraits through Aretino's Lens* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 120–24; and Harold E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, vol. 2, *The Portraits* (London: Phaidon, 1971).
 25. On the portrait of Cortés, see George Kubler, "The Portrait of Hernando Cortés at Yale," *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* 35 (1975): 2–7.
 26. The viceroyalty of New Spain, however, encompassed a territory larger than that of the modern nation of Mexico. See Peter Gerhard, *Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993).
 27. The manuscript is held in the BNF, MS Mexicain 59–64. Recent sources on the Codex Azcatitlan include Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 208–34; and Federico Navarrete, "The Hidden Codes of the Codex Azcatitlan," *Res* 45 (Spring 2004): 144–60.
 28. Colonial-period chronicles describe Malinche, also called Doña Marina and Malintzin, as an indigenous woman who spoke both Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs, and a Maya language. She was therefore able to translate the Nahuatl speech of the Aztecs into the Maya language, which, in turn, was translated into Castilian by Gerónimo de Aguilar, a Spaniard who had been held in captivity for some years in the Maya area. A recent source on visual representations of Malinche is Constance Cortez, "Now You See Her, Now You Don't: Memory and the Politics of Memory Construction in Representations of Malinche," in *Invasion and Transformation: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Conquest of Mexico*, ed. Rebecca Parker Brienen and Margaret A. Jackson (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2007), 75–89.
 29. Scholars have described these dynamics in a number of ways. They include, for example, Serge Gruzinski's model of the "colonization of the *imaginaire*" and the emergence of what he calls the "mestizo mind," as well as Walter Mignolo's characterization of cultural production in Spanish America as "colonial semiosis." See Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico: The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th–18th Centuries*, trans. Eileen Corrigan (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993); idem, *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization*, trans. Deke Dusinberre (London: Routledge, 2002); and Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995). Views of these phenomena seen more specifically through the lens of colonial visual culture include Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*; Constantino Reyes-Valerio, *Arte indochristiano: Escultura del siglo XVI en México* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1978); Peterson, *The Paradise Garden Murals of Malinalco*; Samuel Y. Edgerton, *Theaters of Conversion: Religious Architecture and Indian Artisans in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001); and Pablo Escalante Gonzalbo, Maite Málaga Iguñiz, and Ana Pulido Rull, "The Sovereign and His Palace: Tlacuilos and Portraiture, History, and Allegory," in *Images of the Natives in the Art of New Spain, 16th to 18th Centuries* by Elisa Vargas Lugo et al. (Mexico City: Fomento Cultural Banamex, 2005), 190–209. The concept of "hybridity" as it is often invoked in the art historical literature is examined in Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, no. 1 (June 2003): 5–35.
 30. María Concepción García Saiz, "Portraiture in the Viceregal Era," in *Retratos: 2000 Years of Latin American Portraits*, ed. Elizabeth Benson et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 84–85. Similar to this interpretation of the story is that of Jesse Alemán in "The Other Country: Mexico, the United States, and the Gothic History of Conquest," *American Literary History* 18, no. 3 (2006): 418–19. A different view of the passage is offered by Boone and Cummins, "Colonial Foundations," 12–14, who emphasize the story's demonstration of how the Spaniards, their horses, and their weapons entered into the Aztecs' consciousness in the early 1500s and became subjects for visual representation. The story of Cortés and Quintalbor is mentioned as an example of the conquistador's love of duplicity by Carlos Fuentes in *Valiente mundo nuevo: Épica, utopía y mito en la novela hispanoamericana* (Madrid: Mondadori España, 1990), 253.
 31. The literature on the publication and banning of this work in the sixteenth century is discussed in Glen Carman, *Rhetorical Conquests: Cortés, Gómara, and Renaissance Imperialism* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 2006), 85–86. See also Cristián Roa-de-la-Carrera, *Histories of Infamy: Francisco López de Gómara and the Ethics of Spanish Imperialism*, trans. Scott Sessions (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2005); Robert Earl Lewis, "The Humanistic Historiography of Francisco López de Gómara (1511–1559)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, Austin, 1983); Lesley Byrd Simpson, introduction to *Cortés: The Life of the Conqueror by His Secretary, Francisco López de Gómara*, trans. and ed. Simpson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), xv–xxvi; and Henry R. Wagner, "Francisco López de Gómara and His Works," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 52 (1948): 263–82.
 32. Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia de las Indias, y Conquista de México* (Zaragoza: Agustín Millán, 1552), 27: "Llevaron pintado la hechura de los Caballos, i del Caballo, i Hombre encima, la manera de las Armas, que, i quantos eran los Tiros de fuego, i qué numero havia de Hombres barbudos; de los Navios, iã avisó asi como los viò, diciendo, qué tantos, i qué tan grandes eran. Todo esto hiço Teudilli, Pintar al natural en Algodon texido, para que Motecpuma lo viese."
 33. A recent biography of López de Gómara is Nora Edith Jiménez, *Francisco López de Gómara: Escribir historias en tiempos de Carlos V* (Zamora: Colegio de Michoacán; Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2001).
 34. See H. R. Wagner, "The Lost First Letter of Cortés," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 21 (1941): 669–72. The argument is summarized in Anthony Pagden, "Translator's Introduction," in Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, lvi–lvii.
 35. Hernán Cortés, "Primera relación," in *Cartas de relación* (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1993), 71–80, 133–34. Cortés, however, describes the production of a maplike image of the Gulf Coast in his second letter.
 36. Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, "The Fourth Decade," in *De Orbe Novo: The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghiera*, trans. and ed. Francis Augustus MacNutt (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), vol. 2, 36–38; Andrés de Tapia, "Relación de Andrés de Tapia," in *Crónicas de la conquista* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1963), 36–37; and Francisco de Aguilar, "Chronicle of Fray Francisco de Aguilar," in *The Conquistadors: First-Person Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico*, trans. and ed. Patricia de Fuentes (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 138.
 37. On the sixteenth-century publication history of the letters, see Ángel Delgado Gómez, "Introducción" and "Noticia bibliográfica," in Cortés, *Cartas de relación*, 71–80. On their reception in sixteenth-century Europe, see Elizabeth Wright, "New World News, Ancient Echoes: A Cortés Letter and a Vernacular Livy for a New King and His Wary Subjects (1520–23)," *Renaissance Quarterly* 61 (2008): 711–49.
 38. Cortés, *Cartas de relación*, 222: "Me trujeron figurada en un paño toda la costa. . . ." The passage is discussed briefly in Barbara Mundy, "Mapping the Aztec Capital: The 1524 Nuremberg Map of Tenochtitlan, Its Sources and Meanings," *Imago Mundi* 50 (1998): 25.
 39. Cortés, *Cartas de relación*, 236: "Venden colores para pintores cuantas se pueden hallar en España."
 40. Peter Martyr, "The Fifth Decade," in *De orbe novo*, 201.
 41. Tapia, "Relación," 71: "Le mostró en una manta pintados diez y ocho navios, e los cinco dellos a la costa quebrados e trastornados en el arena; porque ésta es la manera que ellos tienen de hacer relación de las cosas que bien quieren contar. . . ."
 42. Simpson, introduction to xx; and Carman, *Rhetorical Conquests*, 80.
 43. Studies of the relation between the conquest history of Díaz and that of López de Gómara include Ramón Iglesia, "Las críticas de Bernal Díaz a la historia de la conquista de México de Francisco López de Gómara," *Tiempo: Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Sociales y Letras* 6–7 (1940): 23–38; Robert Brody, "Bernal's Strategies," *Hispanic Review* 55, no. 3 (Summer 1987): 323–36; Verónica Cortez, "Los modelos de Gómara y Bernal" in *Crisis, apocalipsis y utopías: Fines de siglo en la literatura latinoamericana*, ed. Rodrigo Cánovas and Roberto Hozyen (Santiago: Instituto de Letras, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 1998), 454–58; John A. Ochoa, "The Paper Warrior: Education, Independence, and Bernal Díaz's War to Stop Time," *MLN* 114 (1999): 341–56; Ángel Delgado Gómez, "Escritura y oralidad en Bernal Díaz," in *Lecturas y ediciones de crónicas de Indias: Una propuesta interdisciplinaria*, ed. Ignacio Arellano and Fermín del Pino (Madrid: Iberoamericana;

- Frankfurt: Vervuert, 2004), 137–38; and Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 149–52.
44. Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura: Edición del manuscrito original acabado el 24 de enero de 1638*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, 1956), vol. 2, 162. See also *ibid.*, 387: “Hay otro crucifijo antiguo, mayor que el natural. . . .”
 45. Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, vol. 1, 129, 188, 263, 458, vol. 2, 52, 80, 344.
 46. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha, Primera Parte*, ed. Vicente Gao (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1987), 195: “Estaba en el primero cartapacio pintada muy al natural la batalla de don Quijote con el vizcaíno, puestos en la misma postura que la historia cuenta: levantadas las espadas, el uno cubierto de su rodela, el otro del la almohjada, y la mula del vizcaíno tan al vivo, que estaba mostrando ser de alquiler a tiro de ballesta.”
 47. This passage is examined with respect to the concepts of “naturalistic” and “lifelike” images in William Worden, “The First Illustrator of Don Quixote: Miguel de Cervantes,” in *Ekphrasis in the Age of Cervantes*, ed. Frederick A. de Armas (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 2005), 144–55; and *idem*, *Quixotic Frescoes: Cervantes and Italian Renaissance Art* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 138. This way of describing visual imagery is studied in the context of Renaissance Italy in Fredrika Jacobs, *The Living Image in Renaissance Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
 48. The phrase appears in inventories of paintings cited by Serrera, “Alonso Sánchez Coello,” 38, 44. It also appears in an inventory of paintings sent to Luis de Haro by the count of Fuensalida, cited in Jonathan Brown and John Elliott, eds., *The Sale of the Century: Artistic Relations between Spain and Great Britain, 1604–1655* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 296. See also Luke Syson, introduction to *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance*, ed. Nicholas Mann and Syson (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 9, 185 n. 3; and Joanna Woods-Marsden, “*Ritratto al naturale*: Questions of Realism and Idealism in Early Renaissance Portraiture,” *Art Journal* 46, no. 3 (1987): 209–16.
 49. See, for example, Georges Didi-Huberman, “The Molding Image: Genealogy and the Truth of Resemblance in Pliny’s *Natural History*, Book 35, 1–7,” in *Law and the Image: The Authority of Art and the Aesthetics of Law*, ed. Costas Douzinas and Lynda Nead (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 71–88; and Jacobs, *The Living Image in Renaissance Art*, esp. 16–60.
 50. Leon Battista Alberti, “On Painting,” in *On Painting and On Sculpture*, trans. and ed. Cecil Grayson (London: Phaidon, 1972), 73.
 51. “Painting,” he writes, “aims to represent things seen.” *Ibid.*, 67.
 52. On Felipe de Guevara, see José Miguel Collantes Terán, “Felipe de Guevara, humanista: ‘Ostentador de sobrados títulos para ocupar un lugar de privilegio’ en la cultura hispana del siglo XVI,” *Anales de Historia del Arte* 10 (2000): 55–70; and Juan Allende-Salazar, “Don Felipe de Guevara, coleccionista y escritor de arte del siglo XVI,” *Archivo Español de Arte e Arqueología* 1 (1925): 189–92.
 53. This sixteenth-century text was first published with a prologue and notes by Antonio Ponz in Madrid in 1788. A second edition of that work was published with revisions and a preface by Rafael Benet as Felipe de Guevara, *Comentarios de la pintura* (Barcelona: Ediciones Bibliófilas, 1948).
 54. Guevara, *Comentarios de la pintura*, 154–55: “La pintura es imitación, como en lo principio habemos dicho, de alguna cosa natural que es, ó que puede ser.” Painting is also defined this way in Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, vol. 1, 12–13, 16.
 55. Thomas Cummins characterizes this difference in terms of mnemonics (in Aztec art) versus mimesis (in early modern European art). That is, while Aztec paintings in manuscripts and on *lienzos* functioned as cues to narratives recited or performed by knowledgeable readers, most European paintings in early modernity instead aimed to reproduce their subjects and the three-dimensional space of their surroundings in a way that approximated human vision. See Cummins, “The Madonna and the Horse: Becoming Colonial in New Spain and Peru,” *Phoebus* 7 (1995): 67–68; and *idem*, “From Lies to Truth,” 172. This is not to say, however, that Aztec art was never mimetic. Some Aztec sculptures represented the forms of the natural world in a way that could be described in such terms. But here I am suggesting that the kind of realism indicated in Díaz’s account is incompatible with what is known about the representations of human beings in Aztec and early colonial painting. It is noteworthy with respect to this issue that the term “portrait” has been used to describe a stone relief sculpture of Moctezuma I in Chapultepec Park, Mexico City. It is likely, however, that the figure’s identity was signaled by his regalia and hieroglyphic name rather than by the features of his face. See H. B. Nicholson, “The Chapultepec Cliff Sculpture of Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin,” *El México Antiguo* 9 (1961): 379–442; and Pasztory, *Aztec Art*, 127–29.
 56. James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 445; and *idem*, “Some Nahua Concepts in Postconquest Guise,” *History of European Ideas* 6 (1985): 477. Similarly, Anthony Pagden has described a historiographic tendency in the literature of colonial encounters he calls “the principle of attachment.” “What is familiar,” he writes, “is employed to ‘attach’ one unfamiliar action with a familiar one.” Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 21.
 57. The description of the picture’s genesis and its final destination in the texts by López de Gómara and Díaz, too, resonate with the economy of portraiture in early modern Europe. Just as a lifelike image of Cortés was said to have been produced so that it could be sent to the Aztec emperor, mimetic state portraits were painted and dispatched to places where European monarchs could not appear in person. See, for example, Serrera, “Alonso Sánchez Coello,” 53; and Rosemarie Mulcahy, “Judging by Appearances: Portraiture at the Court of Philip II and Philip III,” in *Philip II of Spain, Patron of the Arts* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), 265–308.
 58. Cummins, “From Lies to Truth,” 152–53, 172, suggests that Spaniards in the colonial Americas conceived of visual imagery as “a mutually recognized and transparent site for crosscultural translation” and assumed an “unproblematic relationship between image and its object of imitation.” This idea is reiterated in Boone and Cummins, “Colonial Foundations,” 11–21.
 59. Peter Martyr, “The Fourth Decade,” in *De Orbe Novo*, 41.
 60. Guevara, *Comentarios de la pintura*, 342–43: “Queriendo un Cazique mandar á alguna tierra de sus súbditos le acudan con quatrocientos hombres de guerra, pintan un hombre con las armas en la mano, el un pie adelante para caminar, y encima de la cabeza de este hombre ponen un círculo, dentro del qual ponen quatro puntos que significan quatrocientos; a así tiene figuradas en pintura las Jornadas que los vasallos de V.M. y ellos hicieron en la conquista de México y otras partes.”
 61. Guevara, *Comentarios de la pintura*, 343: “Y creo cierto que si la imitativa imaginaria, no tan pulida, que el hábito de la continua vista de sus cosas les acarrea, no lo impidiese, que se adelantarian en esta arte con facilidad y aprovechamiento grande.”
 62. See, for example, Benjamin Keen, *The Aztec Image in Western Thought* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1971), 49–172; Humberto E. Robles, “The First Voyage around the World: From Pigafetta to García Márquez,” *History of European Ideas* 6, no. 4 (1985): 405–20; Peter Mason, *Deconstructing America: Representations of the Other* (London: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, 1990); Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (London: Routledge, 1993); Mignolo, *Darker Side of the Renaissance*; and Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
 63. Díaz, *Historia verdadera*, 33–34: “Acaso vi lo que escriben Gómara, e Illecas, y Giovio, en las conquistas de México . . . y desde el principio y medio ni cabo no hablan lo que pasó en la Nueva España.” Excerpts from the different versions of this chapter that appear in the various manuscripts of the *Historia verdadera* are compared in Guillermo Serés, “La crónica de un testigo de vista: Bernal Díaz del Castillo,” in Arellano and del Pino, *Lecturas y ediciones de crónicas de Indias*, 129–35.
 64. For example, Rolena Adorno, “History, Law and the Eyewitness: Protocols of Authority in Bernal Díaz del Castillo’s *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*,” in *The Project of Prose in Early Modern Europe and the New World*, ed. Elizabeth Fowler and Roland Greene (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 170. Other possible motivations are discussed by Adorno in “Discourses on Colonialism: Bernal Díaz, Las Casas, and the Twentieth-Century Reader,” *MLN* 103, no. 2 (March 1988): 239–58; *Polemics of Possession*, 149–52, 154–58; and “Bernal Díaz del Castillo: Soldier, Eyewitness, and Polemicist,” in Carrasco, *History of the Conquest*, 389–98.
 65. Díaz, *Historia verdadera*, 34: “Diremos los que en aquellos tiempos nos hallamos como testigos de vista ser verdad.”
 66. *Ibid.*, 63. “Aquí es donde dize Francisco López de Gómara, que salió Francisco de Morla en un caballo ruído picado, antes que llegase Cortés con los de cavallo, y que eran los santos apóstoles señor Santiago, o señor San Pedro. . . . y pudiera ser que los que dize el Gómara fueron los gloriosos apóstoles señor Santiago o señor San Pedro, e yo, como pecador, no fuese di[gn]o de lo ver. Los que yo entonces vi y conoscoí fué a Francisco de Morla en un cavallo castaño, que venía juntamente con Cortés, que me paresçe que agora

- que lo estoy escribiendo se me representa por estos ojos pecadores toda la guerra. . . ."
67. *Ibid.*, 63–64.
 68. Guillermo Seres, "Crónica de un testigo de vista," 104–10. See also Rolena Adorno, "The Discursive Encounter of Spain and America: The Authority of Eyewitness Testimony in the Writing of History," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd. ser., 49 (1992): 210–28.
 69. Sebastián de Covarrubias y Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (1611; reprint, Madrid: Ediciones Turner, 1984), 692: "Es una narración y exposición de acontecimientos passados, y en rigor es de aquellas cosas que el autor de la historia vió por sus propios ojos y da fee dellas, como testigo de vista."
 70. Adorno, "Discursive Encounter," 210–28; María E. Mayer, "El detalle de una 'historia verdadera': Don Quijote y Bernal Díaz," *Cervantes* 14 (1994): 93–118; Adorno, "History, Law, and the Eyewitness," 154–75; Cortínez, "Los modelos," 456; Ochoa, "Paper Warrior," 343–44; Seres, "Crónica de un testigo de vista" 104–10; and Gómez, "Escritura y oralidad," 137–56.
 71. Sources on the meaning of the term *ekphrasis* and the history of the tradition include Murray Krieger, *Ekphrasis: The Illusion of the Natural Sign* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 7–8; James A. W. Heffernan, *The Museum of Words: The Poetics of Ekphrasis from Homer to Ashbery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 9–45; and Frederick A. de Armas, "Simple Magic: Ekphrasis from Antiquity to the Age of Cervantes," in de Armas, *Ekphrasis in the Age of Cervantes*, 13–31. Objections to many uses of the term in modern scholarship are voiced in Ruth Webb, "Ekphrasis, Ancient and Modern: The Invention of a Genre," *Word and Image* 15, no. 1 (January–March 1999): 7–18.
 72. See, for example, Svetlana Alpers, "Ekphrasis and Aesthetic Attitudes in Vasari's Lives," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 23 (1960): 190–215; Emilie L. Bergmann, *Art Inscribed: Essays on Ekphrasis in Spanish Golden Age Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979); Heffernan, *Museum of Words*, 47–90; de Armas, *Ekphrasis in the Age of Cervantes*; and *idem*, *Quixotic Frescoes*.
 73. In Paulo Giovio's description of a portrait of Hernán Cortés, for example, he writes that "you see him with a gilded sword, a gold necklace, [and] clothed in exquisite furs"; Giovio, *Elogios o vidas breves de los cavalleros antiguos y mundos illustres en valor de Guerra*, trans. Gaspar de Baeza (Granada: H. de Mena, 1568), 196. Kubler, "Portrait of Hernando Cortés," believes the woodcut portrait of Cortés that accompanied the 1575 publication of Giovio's *Elogios* was derived at least in part from a lost 1547 portrait sent to the author by the conquistador himself. He argues that the Yale portrait (Fig. 6) is a copy of that lost original.
 74. This effect demonstrates the concept of *enargeia*, which Krieger (*Ekphrasis*, 68) defines as "the capacity of words to describe with a vividness that . . . reproduces an object before our very eyes."
 75. Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, trans. Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter E. Bondanella (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 317–18. In Philostratus the Elder's *Imagines*, the author praises the naturalism of a painting of a boar hunt, noting that "I was deluded by the painting into thinking that the figures were not painted but were real beings. . . ."; Philostratus the Elder, *Imagines*, trans. Arthur Fairbanks (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931), 108–9. Another example of this motif in Vasari's *Lives* is an episode in which Giotto is said to have painted on the nose of a figure a fly that "looked so natural that . . . his master [Cimabue] tried more than once to drive it away with his hand, convinced that it was real"; Vasari, *Lives*, trans. Bondanella, 35.
 76. Díaz's assertion of the verisimilitude of the portrait of Cortés, however, relies not on his own judgment but rather on that of a third party—Moctezuma—whose encounter with the image is cited in support of its naturalism. As such, it parallels a number of similarly structured passages in Vasari's *Lives*. See, for example, his account of an ambassador who took some portraits by Giovanni Bellini to the Grand Turk. "They caused the emperor so much wonder and amazement that . . . [he] endlessly praised the man who made them and the mastery he displayed"; Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Artists*, trans. George Bull (London: Penguin Books, 1987), vol. 2, 66.
 77. Vasari, *Lives*, trans. Bondanella, 211.
 78. Alberti, "On Painting," 101.
 79. Díaz, *Historia verdadera*, 644, 649.
 80. The passage's status as stylized rhetoric is underscored in that it parallels another scene of recognition that Díaz says occurred at that same meeting between Cortés and Tendile. The Indian governor, he wrote, noticed that the helmet worn by one of the Spaniards resembled that worn by an illustrious ancestor of the Aztecs. As such, he sent it to Moctezuma so that he, too, could see it. When he was presented with the helmet, Díaz continued, the Aztec emperor confirmed its resemblance to that worn by the Aztecs' ancestors. See Díaz, *Historia verdadera*, 73: "Y parece ser, un soldado tenía un cacxo medio dorado, aunque mohoso. E bióle Tendile . . . y dixo que le quería ver, que paresçia a uno que ellos tenían, que les avian dexado sus antepasados e linage donde venían, lo qual tenían puesto a sus dioses Huychilobos, e que su señor Moctezuma se holgará de lo ver. . . . E díz que el gran Moctezuma, desde lo vio, quedó admirado y rescibió por otra parte mucho contento, y desde vió el cacxo y el que tenía su Huychilobos, tuvo por cierto que éramos de los que les avian dicho sus antepasados que vernían a señorear aquella tierra."
 81. The relation between Díaz's *Historia verdadera* and that of López de Gómara's *Crónica* has been examined by numerous scholars. See, for example, Ramón Iglesia, "Las críticas de Bernal Díaz del Castillo a la Historia de la Conquista de México de Francisco López de Gómara," in *Dos estudios sobre el mismo tema* (Mexico City: Revista Tiempo, 1940), 23–35; Robert Lewis, "Retórica y verdad: Los cargos de Bernal Díaz a López de Gómara," in *De la crónica a la nueva narrativa mexicana*, ed. Merlin H. Forster and Julio Ortega (Oaxaca, Mex.: Oasis, 1986), 37–47; Adorno, "Discourses on Colonialism"; and Ochoa, "Paper Warrior," 341–56.
 82. Díaz, *Historia verdadera*, 35: "Se parece que el Gómara fué aficionado a hablar tan loablemente del valeroso Cortés. Y tenemos por cierto que le untaron las manos, pues que a su hijo, el marques que agora es le eligió su coronica. . . ."
 83. Giovio, *Elogios o vidas breves de los cavalleros antiguos*, 196: "Entre los famoso españoles, que nauegãdo por el Oceano, y descubriendo nuevas tierras, an alcãçado nombre illustre, el mas famoso y nombrado a lo que creo, fue este Hernán Cortés. . . ."
 84. Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Random House, 1970).
 85. Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, vol. 2, 353, 356.
 86. Anthony Grafton, "Historia and Istorica: Alberti's Terminology in Context," *I Tatti Studies* 8 (1999): 37–68; and *idem*, *Leon Battista Alberti: Master Builder of the Renaissance* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000).
 87. On painting and deception (*engaño*), see Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, vol. 1, 72.
 88. Díaz, *Historia verdadera*.
 89. Antonio de Solís, *Historia de la conquista de México* (Madrid: Imprenta de Bernardo de Villa-Diego, 1684). On Solís and his *Historia*, see Frédéric Serralta, "Nueva biografía de Antonio de Solís y Rivadeneyra," *Crítica* 34 (1986): 51–157.
 90. Solís, *Historia de la conquista*, 76: "Andavan a este tiempo algunos Pintores Mexicanos, que vinieron entre el acompañamiento de los dos Governadores, copiando con gran diligencia (sobre lienzos de algodón, que traían prevenidos, y emprimados para este ministerio) las Naves, los Soldados, las Armas, la Artilleria, y los Cavallos, con todo lo demás que se hazia reparable a sus ojos: de cuya variedad de objetos, formavan diferentes Payses de no despreciable dibujo, y colorido. Nuestro Bernal Diaz se alarga demasiado en la habilidad de estos Pintores: pues dize, que retrataron a todos los Capitanes, y que iban muy parecido a la verdad, porque dado que poseyessen con fundamento el Arte de la Pintura, tuvieron poco tiempo, para detenerse a las prolixidades, o primores de la imitación."
 91. Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, vol. 1, 237–53. On this treatise, see Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 44–62.
 92. Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, vol. 1, 241: "Y esto baste al primer estado de los que comienzan, que ordinariamente encierra en sí el mayor número de pintores. . . ."
 93. Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, vol. 1, 247: "Se viene a inventar y disponer la figura o historia que se les pide . . . con solo su ingenio y mano."
 94. Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, vol. 1, 237–53.
 95. On the training of painters in seventeenth-century Spain, see Juan José Martín González, *El artista en la sociedad española del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1984); Peter Cherry, "Artistic Training and the Painters' Guild in Seville," in *Velázquez in Seville* (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1996), 67–75; and Zahira Véliz, "Becoming an Artist in Seventeenth-Century Spain," in *The Cambridge Companion to Velázquez*, ed. Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 11–29.
 96. Cherry, "Artistic Training," 68–69.
 97. Guevara, *Comentarios de la pintura*, 343. See n. 61 above.
 98. Gerónimo de Mendieta, quoted in Alejandro Cañeque, *The King's Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico* (London: Routledge, 2004), 189–90.
 99. On Miguel González and his brother (and collaborator) Juan Gonzá-

- lez, see Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, "Documentos sobre 'enconchados' y familia mexicana de los González," *Cuadernos de Arte Colonial* 1 (1986): 97; idem, "Los artistas y las pinturas de incrustaciones de concha nácar en México," in *La concha nácar en México* (Mexico City: Grupo Gutsa, 1990), 106–34; and María Concepción García Saíz, "Precisiones al estudio de la obra de Miguel González," in *Manuel Toussaint: Su proyección en la historia del arte mexicano* (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1992), 105–16.
100. This panel and the others in the set of twenty-four panels are often referred to in the scholarly literature as *enconchados* ("shell-encrusted objects"), because their painted imagery is adorned in places with mother-of-pearl mosaic. For catalogs and analyses of the *Conquest of Mexico enconchados*, see María Concepción García Saíz, *La pintura colonial en el Museo de América*, vol. 2, *Los enconchados* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1980); Marta Dujovne, *La pinturas con incrustaciones de nácar* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1984), 117–218; Dujovne et al., *Los enconchados de la Conquista de México* (Buenos Aires: Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1998); García Saíz, "La conquista militar y los enconchados: Las peculiaridades de un patrocinio indiano," in *El origen del reino de la Nueva España, 1680–1750* (Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Arte, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1999), 108–41; Marita Martínez del Río de Redo, "La conquista en una serie de tablas enconchadas," in *Imágenes de los naturales en el arte de la Nueva España, siglos XVI al XVIII*, ed. Elisa Vargaslugo (Mexico City: Fomento Cultural Banamex, 2005), 62–93; and Michael Schreffler, *The Art of Allegiance: Visual Culture and Imperial Power in Baroque New Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 81–105.
 101. "Llega el Capitan Cortes con su armada Al Puerto De San Juan de Ulua. Salen en Canoas a Reconocerle los indios. Recibe El Embajador Tendile Con un preçente. Mandale Retratar a el y a su armada Para llevarle a su Señor. Come el Capitan Cortes Con los Emvaxadores Del gran Moctecuma."
 102. In its depiction of a single canvas depicting the Spaniards and their ships, the account corresponds more closely to those of López de Gómara and Díaz than it does to that of Solís, who suggested that the Indian painters produced several images.
 103. Brown, *Images and Ideas*, 109; and idem, *Velázquez, Painter and Courtier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 261.
 104. Jan van der Stock and Marjolein Leesberg, eds., *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts 1450–1700*, vol. 69, *The Wierix Family, Introduction and Guide to the Catalog* (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Publishers; Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2004), xxiii, xl. The images by Velázquez and Wierix are discussed in relation to each other in Madlyn Millner Kahr, "Velázquez and *Las Meninas*," *Art Bulletin* 57, no. 2 (March 1975): 225–46.
 105. The use of this terminology is discussed in Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, vol. 2, 177. Clara Bargellini comments on the presence of such terminology in relation to other paintings in late-seventeenth-century Mexico City, noting that Cristóbal de Villalpando described himself as "inventor" on some of the works he produced there. See Bargellini, "Originality and Invention in the Painting of New Spain," in *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521–1821*, by Donna Pierce et al. (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2004), 83. On the use of *faciebat* and *fingebat* in early modern European painting, see Vladimir Juren, "Fecit Faciebat," *Revue de l'Art* 26 (1974): 27–30; Louisa C. Matthew, "The Painter's Presence: Signatures in Venetian Renaissance Pictures," *Art Bulletin* 80, no. 4 (December 1998): 616–48; Rona Goffen, "Signatures: Inscribing Identity in Italian Renaissance Art," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 32 (2001): 303–70; and Patricia Rubin, "Signposts of Invention: Artist's Signatures in Italian Renaissance Art," *Art History* 29, no. 4 (September 2006): 563–99.
 106. "Viçita el Capitan general Cortes, al Emperador Moctesuma en sus Reales palacios donde lo lleva por la mano i le ofrese sus açientos de oro, Muestrale a sus antepaçados los emperadores que tenia Retrattados, i los Soldados Se admiran."
 107. This phenomenon is also related to that of "assimilation" as discussed by Fuchs in *Mimesis and Empire*, 99–117.
 108. Díaz, *Historia verdadera*, 182: "Tenemos por cierto que sois los que nuestro antecesores nos dijeron que vendrían de adonde sale el sol, e a ese vuestro gran rey yo le soy en cargo, y le daré lo que tuviere." See also Solís, *Historia de la Conquista*, 164–65; "Volvió a referir a la dependencia y obligación que tenían los mexicanos al descendiente de su primero rey, y se congratuló muy particularmente de que se hubiese cumplido en su tiempo la profecía de los extranjeros, que tantos siglos antes habían sido prometidos a sus mayores" (He referred again to the dependence and obligation that the Mexicans had to the descendant of their first king, and he congratulated them in particular for having fulfilled the prophecy about the foreigners, who so many centuries ago had been promised to their elders).
 109. Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 108. See also Olivia Harris, "The Coming of the White People: Reflections on the Mythologisation of History," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 14, no. 1 (1995): 9–24; and David Carrasco, "Spaniards as Gods: The Return of Quetzalcoatl," in Carrasco, *History of the Conquest*, 466–73.
 110. Carman, *Rhetorical Conquests*, 146–67.
 111. This phenomenon is similar to one that occurred in the eighteenth-century viceroyalty of Peru, where images of the Spanish kings were appended to sequences of images of the Inca kings in order to create a visual image of continuity from the Inca past into the Spanish colonial present. See Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte* (La Paz: Gisbert y Cía, 1980), 117–24; Gustavo Buntinx and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, "Incas y reyes españoles en la pintura colonial peruana: La estela de Garcilaso," *Márgenes: Encuentro y Debate* 4 (1991): 151–210; Thomas B. F. Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 282–86; and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, "La descendencia real y el 'renacimiento inca' en el virreinato," in *Los incas, reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005), 175–251.