INTERPRETATION OF ICONOGRAPHY AND ICONOGRAPHY OF INTERPRETATION:

UNCOVERING LA MALINCHE

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ABSTRACT

In historiography, the interpreters or translators who accompanied the principal actors in many historic events have little or no presence in written or visual accounts. La Malinche, an interpreter during the Spanish conquest of today's Mexico, is an exception to this. She is probably one of the most represented cultural icons in history. This thesis looks at La Malinche's representations in texts and images produced in the 16th century and from the 18th to 21st centuries. It puts those two semiotic modes in dialogue, exploring how they inform or contradict each other. To do so, I draw on Erwin Panofsky's *Three Level Iconology and Iconography Method* and María Calzada Pérez's *Three Level Method*. La Malinche's representation in texts and in images during the 16th century reflects how she was used as a symbol in the dominant Spanish discourse during that time. Her representation from the 18th century onwards speaks to how she was resignified and what purpose she served in the emerging nation building process in Mexico.

Key words: La Malinche, interpretation, history of interpreting, Art History, Translation Studies, Critical Discourse Analysis.

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Introduction

Colonial expansion or colonization was carried out under the crown of Castile, and its main purposes were to expand trade and spread Christianity. Western imperialism and economic rivalry among European countries gave impulse to explorations and establishment of permanent European settlements ("Colonialism", 2012, para.1-7). Portugal had already established trading routes with Asia and had found regions with which to trade and Spain was contemplating its own expansion possibilities.

After Columbus' fourth trip in 1502, mainland exploration started, and soon after that, first Spanish settlements in America were being organized. Initially, the process took place in the Caribbean, and later progressed towards what today are Mexico, Peru, Rio de la Plata and Paraguay.

In the present study, I refer mainly to the conquest of Mexico, especially the Spanish conquest of the Aztec Empire (1519-1521). In 1518, Hernán Cortés was selected to lead the third expedition to Mexico. He sold all his possessions and bought a few ships, assembled an army of 600 men for whom he bought all the necessary equipment, and sailed toward the Yucatán peninsula (Olson & Shadle, 1991, p.156-158).

Any trip to the unknown, especially for colonisation purposes, cannot be successful if there is no linguistic understanding between the coloniser and the colonised. Translation and interpretation have always been an indispensable channel of imperial conquest and occupation (Robinson, 1997, p.10). Since this was not their first expedition, the Spaniards were aware that they did not speak any of the native languages of Mexico. They needed interpreters or, as the Spaniards called them, *lenguas* (literally, "tongues"). Since it was not yet possible for the

colonizers to train Spaniards in the languages of the colonized (the so-called autonomous system), they had to resort to the heteronomous system (Cronin in Pöchhacker & Shlesinger, 2002, p.393), where local interpreters were recruited by force or through inducements. However, "it was found highly dangerous to employ the Indigenous people as interpreters, upon whose fidelity [the conquerors] could not depend" (Niranjana, 1992, p.16). Therefore, language, one of the main vehicles of colonization, was at the same time one of the main sources of powerlessness of the conquerors (Cheyfitz, 1997, p.6).

The Spaniards were well equipped for war, but Cortés knew that they would eventually be outnumbered. Also, in order to find all the gold that was to be sent to the king of Spain and to be able to evangelise those 'barbarous' people, they needed to understand them and, more importantly, to be understood.

Cortés did benefit from some interpreters, including Jerónimo de Aguilar, who learned Chontal Mayan after being shipwrecked in the area of the Yucatán. Aguilar rejoined the Spanish contingent when Cortés arrived in 1519. That same year, the conqueror received a 'gift' of 20 women from the *cacique* of Tabasco. Among these women was Malintzin, a fourteen year old noble Nahua girl who was sold to the Chontal Mayans by her mother after her husband died and she remarried. Malintzin spoke both Mayan and Nahuatl and, due to her noble condition, she was presumably taught the higher register of Nahuatl used for diplomatic purposes.[1] At first, she performed relay interpretation with Aguilar (she would interpret from Nahuatl into Mayan, and

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[1] This information can be found in many accounts (for example in, Adams, Jerome R. (1991). *Liberators and Patriots of Latin America: Biographies of 23 Leaders From Doña Marina (1505-1530) to Bishop Romero (1917-1980)*, Díaz del Castillo, Bernal, and David Carrasco. (2008). *The History of the Conquest of New Spain*, León-Portilla, Miguel. (1992). *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico*, etc.). It is reasonable to accept these, as all the accounts that are close in time and space to the conquest mention that Malintzin was the interpreter who facilitated communication between Cortés and Montezuma, who most likely spoke the higher register of Nahuatl.

he would interpret from Mayan into Castilian). She later became fluent in Spanish, according to all of the Spanish and Indigenous chronicles that were produced in the 16th century. Many historiographers mention that Aguilar was still present and would act in a supervisory role to ensure 'fidelity' in the interpretation process because, as Anthony Pym would put it, "everybody, on both sides had a reason to distrust the interpreters" (2000, p. 153). La Malinche would become the interpreter who never left Cortés' side and who would enable him to speak to his soon-to-be allies (the people of Tlaxcala, Acolhuacan, Chalco and Xochimilco) as well as to his enemies (Mexicas, Aztecs, Tlatelolcans, Cholulans, etc.).

Malintzin, also known as Malinalli, Marina or Malinche (c.1496- c.1527), is the subject of this research. It is believed that her pre-baptismal name had been "Malinalli",

> a Nahuatl word for grass one can twist into rope by rolling it on one's thigh. It is not particularly a lovely name, but part of one that a person might receive by being born on a certain day determined by the pre-Columbian Mexican calendar. (Karttunen, 1994, p.6)

After becoming part of the Spanish contingent she was baptized as Marina. Nahuatl speakers borrowed her new Spanish name and converted it into their own language and she became Malintzin, or literally "doña Marina", as the ending *-tzin* expresses respect and honor (Karttunen, 1994, p.6). Finally, her name is also Malinche or La Malinche, borrowed back from Nahuatl "Malintzin".

> Just as Nahuatl speakers could not pronounce Spanish *l*, Spanish speakers could not pronounce Nahuatl *tz* and changed it to *ch.* They didn't hear the often whispered Nahuatl *n* at the end of the word either, and the result was "Malinche".

> Something more than precision of pronunciation was lost in the reborrowing, because Spanish speakers had no idea of the politeness of Nahuatl -*tzin*. (Karttunen, 1994, p.6)

Each one of her names has a different set of values attached to it, as it will be made clear in Chapters 2 and 3. In the 16th century she was rather mentioned as "doña Marina" in the Spanish accounts or as "Malintzin" in the Native accounts. The Spanish deformation of "Malintzin"–"Malinche"–was used in Spanish accounts. In visual accounts, the interpreter was presented as a "noble savage". In this sense, she was not a "complete savage"–someone who can only learn the master's language but cannot learn the morals embedded in that language–but she was not completely "noble" or "civilized" either (Cheyfitz, 1997, p. 171-172). As a "noble savage" she would represent someone marvelous who is not deformed or "monstrous", but rather someone who was able to access "the full potency of language, that is, eloquence" (Cheyfitz, 1997, p.172). However, in the 19th century, "Malinche", or "La Malinche", became associated clearly with negative traits and she was viewed as "the ultimate traitor, the collaborator who betrayed the indigenous peoples of the New World to the Spaniards [...] the mistress of Cortés, a woman driven by lust for the white man, [...] she is also dangerous and linked with Eve and the ferocious Mesoamerican female deities" (Karttunen, 1994, p.2-3). So, being La Malinche implies a set of negative values that accompanied (and still accompany) this interpreter for decades, so much so that even the renowned Mexican historian and philosopher Miguel León-Portilla wrote, inaccurately, in 1992:

> The Spaniards and the messengers could communicate because Cortes had brought with him La Malinche and Jeronimo [sic] de Aguilar. La Malinche was a native of the Gulf coast who spoke both Nahuatl and Mayan. She joined the

Spaniards (who called her Dona Marina) **of her own free will and served them faithfully as interpreter**[2] throughout the Conquest. (León Portilla, 1992, p.31)

I will refer to the interpreter as "La Malinche". This is not meant to express acceptance of the values that this particular name carries, but it is rather meant to challenge the negative conception. Through the diachronic study of images and texts of La Malinche, my intention is to bring the interpreter as close as possible to being Malinalli, the person who is behind La Malinche's myth or symbol.

La Malinche is probably one of the most represented and studied cultural icons in history. In contrast with Aguilar and many other Indigenous or non-Indigenous interpreters, she was present in almost all pictorial and textual accounts that are close to her in time and space. But, this did not stop there, as she became a symbol that continues to be resignified even today.

There are many studies and accounts written about La Malinche, and her figure has been looked at from many angles and at the intersection of many disciplines (I expand on this in Chapters 1 and 2). Nonetheless, there is still a need to thoroughly revisit this subject through the lens of Art History and Translation Studies[3]. This would allow us to look at how textual and pictorial representations of La Malinche inform each other, diachronically. To do so, I will examine images and texts in which La Malinche is represented, focusing on those produced in the 16th century. I will also present a brief overview and analysis of a few selected texts, images and sculptures produced from the 17th century onwards, with the purpose of discovering if and how early representations may have informed later resignifications of La Malinche. Although

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[2] My emphasis.

[3] Translation Studies scholars appear to have adopted views of La Malinche that originated in post-independence Mexico. In this sense my thesis contributes to the field by focusing on the 16th century texts, and using the 18th-21st century sources to explain the resignification of La Malinche through time and space, since those sources produced later in time use ideas planted in the 16th century accounts.

less developed than my analysis of texts and images from the 16th century, this overview allows for a better understanding of La Malinche's representational power and points to areas for further research.

It is important to study La Malinche both from Art History and Translation Studies perspectives for several reasons. The visual and textual representations of this significant figure complement, support and sometimes even contradict each other, allowing for a better understanding of her role and representational power. The visual representations enable a clearer comprehension of her role as a figure living and working in the contact zone,[4] since she is often represented wearing the native gown, and, at the same time, European shoes (Frances Kartunnen, 1994, p.2). She is also represented as the pre-figuration of the Virgin Mary or the Virgin of Guadalupe – a *mestiza* Virgin who demonstrated the 'benevolence' of the new religion. On the other hand, the textual accounts speak less freely about her symbolic role, but allow for a better understanding of her performance as an interpreter and a cultural agent.

Visual representations have further importance. European literacy as a method of control and as the only valid "system for storing and transmitting knowledge" (Mignolo, 2003, p.129) is challenged when we learn that pictorial representations (as well as the spoken language, dance and rituals) were the main meaning-making method in the Amerindian world (Allan in Parodi *et al.*, 2013, p.38). Images would serve as a mnemonic organizing device that guided the *teomamaqueh* [those who would be in charge of remembering the past] (Allan in Parodi *et al.*, 2013, p.38). As Allan points out, during the colonial period, Indigenous pictorial representations were used in the colonial administration as they were considered to be a transparent sign that

[4] "Space of colonial encounters (...) in which people geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, racial inequality, and intractable conflict" (Pratt, 1992, p.2).

both cultures would interpret in the same way (2013, p.39). Of course, this could only be true on a superficial level, as both cultures had different systems and ways of representing the knowledge through images. European pictorial accounts were either supported by textual accounts or would represent one event at a time. Indigenous pictorial accounts usually contained several events distant in time and space on a same pictogram, and to be able to decode the meaning, one would have to 'read' the image counter clockwise (Magaloni Kerpel in Katzew, 2011, p.81). This would mean that the pictorial representations of La Malinche carried out by the Indigenous people, although under the colonizer's approval, would be more likely to contain traces of the native systems of knowledge.

However, it is also important to take into account textual representations, one of the European modes of meaning-making. By analysing texts that talk about La Malinche, it is also possible to discern a complex web of systems where visible and non-visible constituents are tied to various levels of meaning in a non-random manner. Furthermore, lexico-grammatical items are the key to a range of values, some of which are propositional whilst others are necessarily derived from context (Calzada Pérez, 2007, p.3-4). Linguistic structure is not arbitrary, and it is determined by the function it performs (Calzada Pérez, citing Birch in Weber, 1996, p.4). By analysing texts from the 16th century onwards, it is thus possible to grasp how La Malinche was portrayed by the Spaniards and how her representations have evolved in the textual accounts.

This research will seek similarities and differences among the textual and pictorial accounts. Looking at how images and narratives about the past are constructed and at their ideological effects is crucial to understanding how La Malinche was created as a historical subject, since

> the only way of gaining access to the truth is through representations of it, and all representations involve particular points of view, values and goals [...]. This does not entail a relativism which sees all representations as equal [as they can be] compared in terms of their partiality, completeness and interestedness.
> (Fairclough cited in Martin & Wodak 2003, p.92)

My research will be conducted from the point of view of postcolonialism understood as "a set of [...] practices and discourses that deconstruct the colonial narrative as written by the colonizer [by attempting] to replace it by narratives written from the point of view of the colonized" (Boaventura de Sousa Santos, 2002, p.13). This is especially relevant if we take into account that the history is written by the winners, and many of the images and texts that have survived were propagandistic accounts.

This is not an easy task, since there are no accounts linked directly to La Malinche, especially because her activity was centred on interpretation, not textual translation. As Alonso Araguás and Baigorri Jalón point out, “not until recently has it been possible to record voices, so we do not have the historical evidence of the interpreters’ work except through indirect inference. They are visible only through the words of others” (2004, p.130). Therefore, we can only know what others thought of her and how they used her through textual and pictorial accounts, both from her time period and later. La Malinche became visible only once she became part of the Spanish contingent; so anything we might learn about her is from the post-contact period.

Several questions arise while studying the importance of her figure: why was she chosen to become a symbol? Why was she depicted, the only woman alongside men, at the same level as

the conquerors? Why was she, a native interpreter, represented abundantly, while Jerónimo de Aguilar, another important interpreter who worked many times with her, was barely present in visual or textual accounts? What or who converted La Malinche into a palimpsest?

My hypothesis is that her power of language was her main asset. She spoke Nahuatl in its higher registers, and this language became a *lingua franca* in Mesoamerica during the conquest. She also spoke Mayan and was able to learn Castilian. She was able to convey "utterances [that were] not only signs to be understood and deciphered; they were signs of wealth, intended to be evaluated and appreciated, and signs of authority, intended to be believed and obeyed" (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991, p.66). La Malinche was the visible agent of verbal action at the contact zone. She spoke the languages that were "a locus of struggle for power and authority" (Jaworski and Coupland citing Bourdieu in Cobley, 2001, p.140). Castilian was emerging as the 'new Latin', a language that could serve an empire, and Nahuatl was chosen to be a language of prestige over the other local languages (Parodi in Parodi *et al*., 2013, p.104). Moreover, her power also may have resided in her ability to speak to both encountered cultures, and not only to negotiate political and economic issues, but also to represent a new reality, a new religion and a new world that was being implemented. She was the only one who was able to be on both sides.

This thesis is presented in four chapters that will be followed by a conclusion. Chapter 1 presents the Theoretical Framework and Methodology that I draw upon. I explain the two theories that I use: one from the realm of Translation Studies and the other one from the discipline of Art History. Firstly, I discuss María Calzada Perez's mixed methodological approach. This method combines the Descriptive Translation Studies method with Critical Discourse Analysis (as understood by Fairclough and Wodak) and a Cultural Studies approach. Secondly, I discuss Erwin Panofsky's Visual Art methodology used to analyse the visual

representations of La Malinche. I show that to certain extent Calzada Pérez's interdisciplinary approach mirrors Panofsky's methodology, and, together, they allow for a more accurate and evenly structured comparison of the two objects of this study: text and image. Both methods operate on three levels that first describe (visible and non-visible) elements, then explore how the message is conveyed, and finally explain the meaning and its consequences.

Chapter 2 is devoted to the textual representations of La Malinche. I focus on a selection of written accounts on the interpreter from the 16th century, and I analyse them through María Calzada Pérez's method. I also offer an overview and brief examination of selected texts produced from the 18th century onwards. These later works are presented in order to show how elements of early representations have been resignified through time and, more specifically, as part of post-independence discourse in Mexico. The analysed texts from the 16th century are: Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain,* Bernardino de Sahagún's *Florentine Codex* and Hernán Cortés' *Letters to Emperor Charles V*. From the 17th century, I examine Antonio de Solís y Rivadeneyra's *Historia de la conquista y progresos de la América septentrional, conocida con el nombre de Nueva España*[5] (translated as *The History of the Conquest of Mexico*). Finally, from the 20th century, I analyse Octavio Paz's *Labyrinth of Solitude.* The absence of texts from 18th and 19th centuries is also explained in the Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 draws on Erwin Panofsky's method and focuses on the iconographical representations of La Malinche, and deals with selected images from the 16th century onwards. In accordance with my methodology, Chapter 3 mirrors the preceding chapter. I will therefore focus my analysis on 16th century images; this will be complemented by an overview of representations (selected images and sculptures) produced from the 17th century onwards. The

[5] *History of the Conquest and of the progress in northern America, known as New Spain*.

analysed images from the 16th century are: The *Lienzo de Tlaxcala,* the image part of the *Florentine Codex* and *Codex Azcatitlán*. From the 17th century I explore a narrative panel on the conquest painted by two Spanish painters in Mexico. From the 19th century, I look at two images, an anonymous mural in which La Malinche and Cortés appear, and a painting by José Galofré y Coma. Finally, from the 20th century I analyse a wide selection of images that portray several different traits ascribed to La Malinche. They are paintings and murals by Juan Clemente Orozco, Armando Drechsler, Antonio Ruiz, and Rosario Marquardt. I also look at three statues of La Malinche by Jimmy Durham, Julián Martínez and an anonymous sculptor.

In Chapter 4 I look into the intersections, divergences and parallelism of the images and the texts. This Chapter deals with the ways in which meaning is made in texts and images, to conclude with how the meaning is made across those two. By determining what is represented, what is silenced, or what is told in images and not in text (or vice versa), it is possible to understand the importance of La Malinche in her time and space, as well as later on. Furthermore, the findings also accentuate the importance of looking into various semiotic modes, as it becomes clear that consulting both texts and images can result in a better informed knowledge about the examined subject. This allows for a deeper look into the modes of representation and systems of knowledge, ideological questions and power asymmetries.

In my Conclusion, I summarise the findings of this research. I also critically reflect on my study, explore its limitations and propose potential future research.

Chapter One: Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents the theoretical framework and methodology that I use in my thesis. I start by explaining how my study is situated in regards to Postcolonial Translation Studies. I then present a literature review, and outline my twofold research methodology and theoretical framework. In order to analyse the textual portion of the study, I follow María Calzada Pérez's *Three Level Method* which draws on Descriptive Translation Studies, Critical Discourse Analysis and Cultural Studies. For the visual part of this study, I draw on Erwin Panofsky's *Three Level Iconology and Iconography Method,* within the realm of Art History. While examining the theories within which I situate my study, I also explain why I chose these particular ones. Finally, I explain the methodology that I follow in this diachronic study of the visual and textual representations of La Malinche.

Translation Studies (hereafter TS) has developed significantly as a discipline from its beginnings in the mid-1970s. After an array of linguistic approaches to the study of the process and product of translation that strictly adhered to the text as a translation unit and focused on "painstaking comparisons between originals and translations" (Bassnett & Lefevere, 1990, p.1), it has moved away from simplistic dichotomies to allow for a more nuanced and richer research of this activity.

The so called *cultural turn* in TS, a term coined by Mary Snell-Hornby, Susan Bassnet and André Lefevere, revolutionized TS and allowed it to move from the consideration of a word or a text as the translation unit. Instead, culture became the new unit of translation. It is within this frame that I understand translation and translation unit.

Maria Tymoczko and Edwin Gentzler focused on the *power turn* that also helped avoid simplistic views on power relations that are at play in the exercise of translation (Tymoczko 2007, p.44-45). By pointing out that translation is a site for complex negotiations, they consolidated the idea that translation is a social activity. Subsequent developments have opened the door for translation to "explore the interaction between translational activity and the spatial and temporal context in which it occurs" (Hébert, 2010, p.2-3). What Tymoczko calls *Postcolonial Translation Studies* or PTS, "[includes] semiotic differences across cultures and languages, as well as the use of text for social construction and manipulation, thus revealing the debt of these approaches to earlier linguistic and functionalist theories of translation" (2007, p.45).

These approaches to translation–that are multiple but at the same time coherently "focus on translation as a feature of cross-cultural exchange" (Hébert, 2010, p.5)–have opened the door to focus on the relation "between translation and power, including political control and subversion, the power of the translators as agents, as well as ideological aspects of culture governing translation such as discourse structures and censorship, as well as on the effect of the imbalance of power relations between colonized and colonizer (Tymoczko, 2007, p.44-45). It is in the context of postcolonial translation theory that researchers such as Tejaswini Niranjana (1992), Vicente Rafael (1993), Erik Cheyfitz (1997), among others, operate. Their studies have addressed the issue of power relations, identity, agency and belonging, and at the same time, they have denounced that Translation Studies itself has privileged a particularly Western view of translation (Tymoczko, 2007, p.6). In order to carry out my study, I rely on some of the research produced by postcolonial scholars such as those mentioned above to examine the texts and images that were produced in the colonial context starting in the 16th century. I will take into

account ideas such as asymmetrical power relations, or the notion that translation is a channel and site of imperial conquest and occupation. At the same time, bearing in mind the role of the interpreter in colonial settings through the lens of postcolonialism, will allow for unsettling traditional assumptions on the object of my study: texts and images on La Malinche.

Writing from a historical moment that has declared itself as postcolonial, we have the possibility to ask various questions regarding a historical event from which we have gained perspective and distance. For example, it is important to ask whose history we have access to, or how this history is linguistically constructed. "Post-colonial discourse can be read as a new platform from which to launch critique, and as playing a key role in deconstructing the processes whereby modernity has naturalised its social order", all the while keeping in mind that "critique of this kind is itself a discourse" (Martin in Martin & Wodak, 2003, p.52). In this sense, translation becomes

> part of a larger picture, which includes the economic and political frameworks through which ideas are circulated and received. In other words, postcolonialism is about rethinking the ways in which cultures relate to one another, recognizing their internal differences and also questioning poles from which and to which cultural products travel. (Sherry Simon & Paul St-Pierre, 2000, p.17)

Re-constructing or re-visiting the past is never an easy task, not only because it is not enough to recount what happened, but because it is important to propose some explanations to those events. Of course, any type of interpreting involves a set of social values that can be viewed as a subjective stance, but if it is looked at from a critical point of view, and contextualized, and if "dialectics between [...] events, images and narratives, as well as

institutional conditions [involved]" (Martin & Wodak, 2003, p.10) are established and viewed from an interdisciplinary perspective, then the (re)construction of historical events can be made more transparent, and less subjective. As J.R. Martin and Ruth Wodak point out, "time, space and value are necessary elements for reconstructing the past. As history consists of discourses which are officially presented and debated in various genres (like recounts, accounts, explanations, expositions, discussions, etc.), linguistics offer a range of tools to analyse precisely how time and value are constructed" (2003, p.10-11). Thus, it is crucial to select those textual accounts that can be analysed and put in context, in order to comprehend how those textual discourses have been used to construct a historical subject like La Malinche.

In the context of TS, "the term 'postcolonialism' remains useful in suggesting two essential ideas. The first is the *global dimensions* of research in TS; the second is the necessary attention to the framework through which we understand *power relations* and relations of *alterity*" (Sherry Simon & Paul St-Pierre, 2000, p.13). In order to be able to address the complex issue of reconstructing and understanding the image that has been created diachronically around a particular historical figure such as La Malinche, it is necessary to establish a theoretical framework that allows for a thorough analysis of texts and discourse that operate on several levels and from different scholarly disciplines.

1.1 Literature Review

Many scholars have approached the subject of La Malinche from diverse perspectives and from within different disciplines. I will be looking particularly at works produced within the realms of Literary Studies, Feminist Studies, Translation Studies, Cultural Studies and Art History. These

are only some of the works in which La Malinche is mentioned, as a review of everything that has been written on this interpreter would constitute a book in itself.

Within Literary Studies, Sandra Messinger Cypess, in her *La Malinche in Mexican Literature from History to Myth* (1991), offers an extensive overview of what has been written about La Malinche and how her sign has evolved from the 16th century onwards. She analyses several novels, plays and essays that were written in the 19th and 20th centuries and explains quite convincingly how La Malinche was used to signify the first mother of the Mexican nation, the first woman in Mexican literature and the Mexican Eve, or in other words, part of her culture's myth system. She also analyses some of the modern murals produced by José Clemente Orozco and Diego Rivera to complement her ideas. This impressive study of La Malinche offers a helpful overview of how La Malinche's sign evolved as a palimpsest in the history of Mexico. Nonetheless, given the wide scope of her study, Messinger Cypess could not perform a detailed examination of the 16th century texts.

In her article *Traddutora, Traditora: A Paradigmatic Figure of Chicana Feminism* (1989), Norma Alarcón studies La Malinche from the standpoint of Feminist and Cultural Studies, researching mainly the influence of this interpreter in the development of Chicana feminism. She reviews the available literary and feminist studies approaches (mainly by Mexican authors who wrote after the Mexican Revolution) that have had an impact on how we perceive La Malinche today. Alarcón considers other feminist Chicana women writers (such as Carmen Tafolla and Cordelia Candelaria), who view La Malinche as a misrepresented and trivialized figure throughout history. They adopt her as a feminist prototype, stating that she defied traditional social expectations. Alarcón herself adds that "upon her [La Malinche's] body the Western culture has been built" (1989, p.78) and explores the correlate of the interpreter's figure

and that of the Virgin Mary (re-contextualized in the "New World" as the Virgin of Guadalupe, a *mestizo* version of the Christian mother). Tracing how her figure has evolved, she concludes that La Malinche has been objectified and silenced as a historical subject. She also acknowledges several Chicano male authors, such as Carlos Fuentes, who states that there was an asymmetrical relationship between Cortés and La Malinche, but nonetheless emphasizes her will to seek vengeance against her 'own people'. Fuentes concludes that her gift of speech made her a traitor. Alarcón's study of La Malinche would benefit from a thorough analysis of the texts in which her symbol is constructed, as well as from a pictorial analysis in which she appears.

Translation historians Delisle and Woodsworth briefly mention the figure of La Malinche in their *Translators through History* (1995; 2012). In this interesting historical account of her life and representations, they raise important questions and make statements such as "translators have no rights, only duties" and "the central power is aware of the translator only when something goes wrong" (Delisle & Woodsworth, 2012, p.127 & 129). These statements prove to be useful when examining the particular case of La Malinche, especially when analysing the official accounts in which she appears during her time, as will be seen in Chapter 2. Delisle and Woodsworth's description, although very compelling, fails to present a unified vision of La Malinche, since they mention her briefly in several different chapters. Furthermore, even though they present several images in which the interpreter appears, they serve only as anecdotal information. This is comprehensible since their study is an overview that encompasses many accounts on different translators and interpreters, but it could benefit from an analysis of those images which provide information that comes from native sources.

Edwin Gentzler in *Translation and Identity in the Americas* (2008) has also studied La Malinche as a border figure between two religions, cultures, languages, societies. She is viewed

as a raped woman who was a victim and not a traitor. Her main power is seen in her intelligent use of translation to negotiate between cultures. It is possible to contribute to this realm of study by combining an examination of texts and images of La Malinche diachronically, which will help understand her role as an interpreter and her emergence as a complex symbol.

Frances Kartunnen, in *Between Worlds: Interpreters, Guides and Survivors* (1994), goes a step beyond and analyses some of the images of La Malinche, acknowledging the fact that "she wears the native *huipil* but also the European shoes" (Kartunnen, 1994, p.2). But her study is an overview of several different interpreters and guides, and does not allow for a meticulous analysis of the texts she mentions or the images she uses to support her conclusions.

In *Negotiating the Frontier: Translators and Intercultures in Hispanic History* (2000), Anthony Pym looks at how cultures interrelate by examining closely the intermediaries and intercultures in Hispanic history. He organizes his study chronologically, putting special emphasis on the post 1492 developments. Pym is concerned with the general notion of how the conquerors managed to employ interpreters and translators rather than with specific examples. He mentions La Malinche in one sentence through a citation of Bowen and Bowen as "the Mexican woman [...] [who was] both an interpreter and lover of the conquistador Cortés, and is remembered as a traitor to her people". Given that Pym is interested in the work of cultural intermediaries, one would expect him to closely look at some examples, at least at the most relevant ones. While this very pertinent works gives us an insight on the historic elements in play in the Hispanic society pre and post the discovery of the 'New World', it would certainly benefit from a deeper exploration of the individuals who performed in intercultural settings.

It is also important to acknowledge one of the most recent and encompassing studies on La Malinche, carried out by Alonso Araguás and Baigorri Jalón in *Iconography of Interpreters in the Conquest of the Americas* (2004). They analyse, although not in depth, many of the images of La Malinche in both of the codices that were produced close to her time and space. Nonetheless, they fail to mention the connection of her figure to the Virgin of Guadalupe. And while they accurately connect her to TS (and to the topic of invisibility of the translator/interpreter), they still leave an open door for a deeper study of the ways in which she was discursively represented in these texts. In addition, there is still a need to examine later visual and discursive representation of La Malinche that are not only connected to her interpretation skills, or her power of language, but to today's perception of interpreters, as part of the *traduttore traditore* tradition.

In her masters' thesis entitled *The Myth of La Malinche: From the Chronicles to Modern Mexican Theatre* (2001), Rosario Pérez-Lagunes analyses "the changing image of La Malinche from a historical figure of the Conquest to a national myth" (Pérez-Lagunes, 2001, p.3). Pérez-Lagunes traces the textual accounts where La Malinche appears, from the conquest up to the 20th century. She performs an extensive analysis of contemporary Mexican theatrical works that address La Malinche. However, her theoretical framework and methodology are unclear.

In her doctoral thesis entitled *Silence through Representation: La Malinche as Christian, Mistress and Conquistadora* (2014), Colleen A. Sweet analyses La Malinche through a film, a novel and a play: Salvador Carrasco's *La otra conquista* (The other conquest), *Malinche* by Laura Esquivel, and *La Malinche* by Víctor Hugo Rascón Banda. Drawing on the work of Sandra Messinger Cypess, Sweet views La Malinche as a palimpsest. However, Sweet performs

a different type of analysis by inserting her study within Subaltern Studies. This very interesting doctoral thesis highlights the continuous interest of scholars in La Malinche.

In *Malinche, the Virgin and the mountain: the identity game in the tlaxcaltecas codices* (2007), Federico Navarrete, a pre-Hispanic historian, examines some of the imagery produced in the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*. He approaches La Malinche through her representation as a cultural intermediary, a New Virgin, and the representative of New Spain. What I believe would significantly enrich his study would be a comparison of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* to the *Florentine Codex*.

From an Art History's perspective, Adriana Zavala traces post-revolutionary Mexican art trends, as well as some Mexican cultural symbols, including La Malinche, in *Becoming Modern, Becoming Tradition: Women, Gender, and Representation in Mexican Art* (2010). Zavala researches the idea of *indigenismo*, a state policy that was meant to revisit the relationship between the State and the Indigenous community. Within this policy Zavala situates La Malinche's image as pertinent to the development of the idea of an Indian woman that stands as a sign of cultural authenticity. This is one of the few studies that look at La Malinche's image as part of a nation building process. But, it could still benefit from a research of the 16th century sources that are at the base of how La Malinche's image evolved.

Also, in *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World* (2011), a collection edited by Ilona Katzew, several art historians examine the representations carried out before and after the colonization process and the imagery from the codices described in my Introduction. This could be expanded and better understood by analysing the previous imagery of La Malinche, as well as by approaching the topic from an interdisciplinary angle.

Despite the abundance of work devoted to or dealing with La Malinche, it is rare to find this figure approached from an interdisciplinary point of view. There is still a need to diachronically examine visual and discursive representations, bringing them together into dialogue. This would open the possibility to better understand how La Malinche's interpretation skills were viewed, how her power of language was perceived, as well as to gain an insight on today's perception of interpreters. It is my intention to do so by examining the subject of this study from a joint viewpoint of Art History and Translation Studies.

1.2 María Calzada Pérez: Three-level methodology

María Calzada Pérez, has developed an interdisciplinary methodology as part of her interest in analysing the impact of TS on ideology and the role of ideologies in TS. Given that part of her study is centered on ideology in language, she situates it within the "relatively new trend of research [in applied linguistics]–Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)–whose primary aim is to expose the ideological forces that underlie communicative exchanges" (Calzada Pérez, 2003, p.2).

CDA was developed and is still being developed by diverse scholars in order to reveal "how users and authors use language and grammatical features to create meaning, to persuade people to think about events in a particular way, sometimes even to seek to manipulate them" (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.1). There are many tendencies within CDA,[6] and some scholars understand it is part of Applied Linguistics. For others, such as Michael Halliday, it is related to Critical Linguistics. In this thesis, I understand CDA as a tool that "propounds the existence of

[6] Such as: French Discourse Analysis; the Discoursal-Historical Method; Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive school; Fairclough's emphasis on Socio-cultural-Discursive change; Social Semiotics and Critical Linguistics (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p.19).

close links between all tangible communicative devices (such as words, grammar, images...) and the institutional and ideological setting in which communication takes place (Calzada Pérez, 2007, p.16).

CDA considers all language use as ideological. Therefore, language must be carefully analysed in search for overt and covert ideologies embedded in it. Defining ideology is a challenging task, since there are many possible ways to view it. Furthermore, ideology is many times confused with culture, so establishing how it differs from ideology is also important. Calzada Pérez understands ideology "in its widest sense as a set of ideas, beliefs and values that govern a community by virtue of being regarded as the norm" (2001, p.207), although she acknowledges other definitions such as those proposed by Thompson in 1984, Eagleton in 1991 and Van Dijk in 1998. It seems appropriate to cite Van Dijk's definition, since I believe it enriches Calzada Pérez's by stating that no one can be completely free from ideology and it acknowledges the fact that anyone writing about spatial and temporal issues should be aware of the ideology in which he/she lives. He states that "few of 'us' (in the West or elsewhere) describe our own belief systems or convictions as 'ideologies'. On the contrary, Ours is the Truth, Theirs is the Ideology" (van Dijk, 1998, p.2). It is also important to note that ideology, in the singular, does not exist. Ideology is multiple, some of its norms "become naturalized or common, whereas others are pushed aside" (Calzada Pérez, 2003, p.5) and I would add to this that, within a society, there can be many sub-communities that operate under different sets of norms and ideologies. Within this context it is important to note that a society is not a homogeneous unity within itself, and this is also true of the societies−Spanish and colonial Mexican−under study here.

Moreover, while it is challenging to define ideology and culture without definitions overlapping at some point, for the sake of clarity, culture will be understood as "the community

of people living in a particular country or region and having shared customs, laws and organizations" (Calzada Pérez, 2003, p.6).

The main focus of Calzada Pérez's study is on European institutions and the translations that are carried out within that context. She has applied her method to the analysis of speeches uttered in Spanish and English before the European Parliament in the year 1993.[7]

For Calzada Pérez, TS is not unified or homogeneous. It is a conglomerate of dissimilar approaches or trends to which Snell-Hornby *et al.* (1994) have referred to as an "interdiscipline" (Calzada Pérez, 2003, p.7). She fosters this interdisciplinarity and through this channel aims to fight against the reduction of arguments within TS to polar opposites. Apart from the traditional dichotomies of free-literal or literary-non-literary translations, etc., she points out that "TS's ideological complexity has also been jeopardized by the latest of these academic simplifications: strands are either located within Cultural Studies or "pure" linguistics" (2003, p.7). These types of binary opposites would come from the idea that any approach based on linguistic analysis is merely descriptive and strictly text based; whereas Cultural Studies would analyse those issues that have no systematic framework of analysis. In this sense, she is in favor of fostering dialogue and fusion among approaches and disciplines, as she promotes work that "seeks to merge different traditions in order to give a richer, more dynamic view of ideological matters in translation" (2003, p.9). This aspect of Calzada Pérez's approach is precisely what made it valuable for my own study.

At the same time, she proposes to "draw on the interdisciplinarity of TS itself, rather than to resort to external disciplines" (2003, p.9). This statement might come as a surprise, given her

[7] It is part of her response to Koskinen's statement that the translated speeches at the European Parliament are "odd, out of place, strange, unusual (in short literal)" (María Calzada Pérez, 2001, p.1).

openness to interdisciplinarity. I suspect this is part of her effort to prove that TS has to deal with a wide array of disciplines as translation is a social activity, subjected to cultural, political, economic, and other forces, but that, at the same time, TS has its own set of tools to deal with those issues. She also accepts that Cultural Studies as a discipline is a close ally of TS and that it is paramount to overcome any divides between them (since TS theories and methods can be used to examine cultural issues, despite some critics).[8] This is also why Calzada Pérez's method is very useful for my thesis, as I employ TS tools to analyse colonial texts that are written in one linguistic code. I view them from a postcolonial lens, and search for cultural units and ideology behind the text that directly affects the image of the subject of my study, and even the image of translators and interpreters up to this day.

At the same time, while I agree that TS, and DTS in particular, have done a great deal of self-reflecting and have moved away from simplistic dichotomies, I do find it necessary to keep the door open to other disciplines that might enrich TS methodologies and theories and allow them to operate on deeper levels. That is what I hope to achieve with my use of tools from Art History for the analysis of images, combined with tools from TS, such as the method proposed by Calzada Pérez.

In order to penetrate textual and historical surfaces and reach "the (hidden) implicatures translations may convey [...] and the (un)expected consequences of the translating task [...]" (Calzada Pérez, 2001, p.206), Calzada Pérez proposes a model that describes the textual format, explains its illocutionary content and explores its socio-political perlocutionary[9] effects.

[8] For example in *Translating Culture vs. Cultural Translation*, Harish Trivedi states that TS tools are not effective in Cultural Studies, since Cultural Studies deals mainly with one language code (2007, p.282).
[9] These terms are defined on page 26.

Calzada Pérez proposes the following steps for a "three-level methodology for descriptive-explanatory Translation Studies":

1. *Descriptive component*. During this first step, the focus is on the tangible units that make up the text. She proposes to turn to multiple pointers such as transitivity, mood, modality, cohesion, thematization, negativity, etc. She also stresses one important facet of this step: the researcher should also focus on the 'silence', those non-visible constituents. In other words, what could have been said, but was not (it might have been implied).

2. *Exploration*. This is done on a pragmatic and semiotic level, since textual units are not isolated from contextual aspects. She calls this "observing the texture", which is the "relation of pragmatic and semiotic features [that] give rise to the (hidden) implicatures translations convey" (2001, p.208).[10] The previously described tangible units can indicate what is being conveyed at this pragma-semiotic level. She proposes to pay attention to components such as discourse, genre and text-type as well as politeness and relevance theory.[11] Furthermore, ideological operations are identified through Thompson's[12] five ideological moves: legitimation (i.e. when ideologies are presented as legitimate); dissimulation (i.e. when ideologies are hidden or blurred); unification (i.e. when various ideologies are merged together); fragmentation (i.e. when ideologies are separated from one another); and reification (i.e. when ideologies are portrayed as natural or inevitable).

[10] For this portion she draws mainly on Basil Hatim and Ian Mason's (1990) *Discourse and the Translator.*

[11] These concepts are explained extensively in Hatim and Mason (1990). **Politeness theory** draws on Brown and Levinson who state that co-communicants are "affected by two special features known as rationality and face, which are the definable mode of reasoning from ends to the means that will achieve those ends, and the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself, respectively (p.35). **Relevance theory** draws on Sperber and Wilson and is based on the idea that linguistic exchanges depend on the addressers and addressees and the "exchange is regulated by efficiency and the principle of relevance that assures that both ends of the exchange meet" (p.38). This would lead to asymmetrical communication, as it depends more on the addresser than on the addressee.

[12] John B. Thompson, sociologist, best known for his work *Ideology and Modern Culture* (1990), *Political Scandal* (2000) and *Merchants of Culture* (2010).

In this second step Calzada Pérez gives the scholar freedom to choose what types of tasks he/she will perform in order to analyse the text, depending on what type of text it is, or what type of "hidden implicatures" one expects to find.

3. *Explanation.* This last step is proposed to be carried out in a tentative manner, that is, to explore the potential consequences the text(s) have upon society. Her study is mainly quantitative, as she explores a vast corpus of texts from the European Parliament. My study is rather qualitative. This is why at this stage I also focus on who produced the text, why and for whom, which is part of text's intrinsic meaning and, therefore, is also part of its consequences (both expected and unexpected). Depending on who produced the text and for whom, several of the ideological issues that might be found in the text can be explained. Indeed, this last step ensures that the analysis of the text operates on a deeper level and avoids any possible superficiality of purely linguistic descriptions.

As it can be noted, Calzada Pérez draws somewhat on J.L. Austin and his *Speech-Act Theory*, since these three levels resemble to a certain extent Austin's levels of Speech Act. Austin talks about *locutionary* or surface meaning; *ilocutionary* or intended meaning (stated or unstated); and *perlocutionary* meaning which in linked to the consequences of the speech act. Therefore, this last level examines whether the intended message was successfully conveyed. While it is impossible to deny the connection between Calzada Pérez and Austin on the semiotic level, Calzada's method is much richer as it also operates within the realm of Translation and Cultural Studies. As a result, she expands on the expectations and functions at each level. She also adds new theories that could be useful to look at while researching each level of discourse.

1.3 Iconology and Iconography

The second part of my study focuses on the analysis of images that were produced during La Malinche's lifetime and continue to be produced to this day. La Malinche acted as an interpreter for Cortés, and "the interpreter is physically present in the moment of the linguistic exchange, whereas translators are not as visible as they operate through written texts" (Payás & Garbarini, citing Cronin 2012, p.350).[13] Therefore, images allow us to examine the corporeal aspect of interpretation. By doing so, one is able to examine aspects that are not necessarily present in textual accounts, such as the physical position of the interpreter, the placement of other interlocutors or spectators, gesticulation, etc.

It must be remembered that, "not until recently has it been possible to record voices, so we do not have the historical evidence of the interpreters' work except through indirect inference. They are visible only through the words of others" (Araguás & Baigorri, 2004, para.3). In this instance images are also particularly useful to examine how the interpreter was portrayed, as "meaning is generally communicated not only through language but also through other semiotic modes" (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.6). Just as the two CDA scholars (Machin and Mayr) suggest, other semiotic modes can give us a richer insight into how La Malinche was perceived both by the conquerors and the conquered who painted many of the post-contact codices.

It is also important to remember that visual representations are no more innocent or neutral than is language use. In order to properly contextualize and expose the meaning-making

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[13] My translation of the sentence in Spanish: "El intérprete impacta en las situaciones en las que opera por su corporeidad, a diferencia del mediador escrito, que es invisible".

processes in images, I have decided to use Erwin Panofsky's approach within the realm of Art History.

Art History, much like TS, has passed through different periods characterized by various scholarly approaches. Some of the researchers paid special attention to the "physical characteristics and visual characteristics, rather than contextual analysis or the search for meaning" (D'Alleva, 2012, p.17). Those theories that centered on the "pure form" (understood as composition, material, shape, line, color, etc.) were extensively developed by highly influential art historians, Heinrich Wölfflin, and Roger Fry, who stated that art has no connection to their creators or the cultures in which it is produced (D'Alleva, 2012, p.19-20).

During the first half of the 20th century, studies on iconography and iconology were blooming with scholars such as Aby Warburg and Erwin Panofsky. Panofsky developed his method of uncovering the meaning in visual arts from 1939 to 1955. It was widely used in mid-twentieth century. Panofsky argued that "in a work of art, 'form' cannot be divorced from 'content': the distribution of colours and lines, light and shade, volumes and planes, however delightful as a visual spectacle, must also be understood as carrying a more-than-visual meaning" (Panofsky, 1970, p.205). In other words, visual arts would be the reflection of a particular culture in a particular time and space. He advocates for a more narrative and symbolic view of visual arts. His method is still well respected, and many of the new approaches to iconology and iconography drawn upon it.

In the 1960s came the rise of the "New" Art History. Through it, the role of the viewer and the social context in shaping the work of art were emphasized as part of the partnership of Art History and Critical Theory. Art scholars believed that "art [is] not a neatly packaged

message delivered by the artist to the viewer, but a complex text that could be read (or misread) in any number of ways" (D'Alleva, 2012, p.26).

Art History, as informed by Cultural Studies is not as interested in the "pure form" but rather in the culture in which the work of art was produced. Questions like "Who is the intended audience?"; "How are cultural ideas about race, class, and gender played out here?"; etc., gain special importance in this context, and Art History scholars draw on writers such as Homi Bhabha, Edward Said, Antonio Gramsci, among others. Taking this into account, I add such questions to Panofsky's third level. Asymmetrical power relations, power dynamics, or which voices are silenced or overexposed will also be examined. To a certain extent, this will allow me to uncover ideologies embedded in depicted symbols.

Of course, we need to remember that "not all objects are equal in the amount of information they might reveal about their sources or maker" and "all such objects are time-factored [...], [and they link the object] to a particular vision of individual and collective history and development" (Preziosi, 2009, p.13). All objects that have been chosen for this study are selected and separated according to their time of production.

1.4 Erwin Panofsky: Three-Level Iconology and Iconography Method

Erwin Panofsky developed his theory in his best known work *Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art*.[14] In this book, Panofsky defines iconography and iconology (definitions that are still in use) and proposes his three levels to uncover meaning behind the symbols in images. In this thesis, I use and understand concepts such as image,

[14] Panofsky, Erwin. *Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art*. (New York, 1939). It was revisited in the Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art in his *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Garden City, New York, 1955).

iconology and iconography through Panofsky. *Image* "constitute[s] the point of intersection between reference in art to nature and reference to literature" (Hasenmueller, 1978, p.290), understanding "literature" in the broad sense of textual accounts. *Iconography* is "the analysis of systematic associations of motif and literary content" (p.291). And, *iconology* is "ascertaining those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion - unconsciously qualified by one personality and condensed in one work" (Panofsky, 1939, p.30).

Panofsky applied his method to the study of Renaissance art, a period in which paintings carried high levels of meaning encoded in symbols. Those symbols were also explained in a large number of literary texts, something that Panofsky took very much into account. For this reason his method involves close collaboration with literary texts. He contemplates art as a symbolic expression of the culture within which it was produced and gives specific relevance to its historical context, both ideas that I find crucial in order to understand the evolution of the subject of this study as a symbol. According to Hatt and Klonk, Panofsky was giving his own answer to the hermeneutic problem: because the mind is [for Panofsky] both universal and particular, we can understand art objects as historically and culturally specific, and yet interpret them from another historical vantage point (2006, p.96).

Even though it is difficult to talk about universals, I do subscribe to his idea of particularity, as well as the idea that we can interpret from different historical vantage points. I would add that this is possible if we have the right means and, if the context can be comprehended though additional texts and paratexts.

Panofsky's method is as follows:

1. *Primary or natural* subject matter, also known as *pre-iconographic level*. He subdivides this first phase into recognition of factual meaning, and empathetic apprehension of expressional meaning (Hasenmueller, 1978, p.290). This level is concerned with the formal elements of art (Hatt & Klonk, 2006, p.96), the 'pure form', and its description. This pre-iconographic level can be quite challenging to achieve, since the "innocent eye" needed is almost impossible to attain. Once a viewer who is coming from a particular set of ideas is confronted with an image, he/she is usually already 'jumping' to the second level. But, at the same time, if the eye of the observer is "too innocent", then he/she might not be able to grasp any of the levels (D'Alleva, 2012, p.22). This issue will be solved by describing the formal aspects of the image, which helps the viewer pause and reconsider any pre-established ideas. This will allow me to perceive differences among European and non-European traits in the visual account.

2. *Conventional* subject matter, also known as the *iconographic level*. This secondary stage is considered to be Panofsky's "semiotic" level, as it implies the interpretation of conventional meaning through a "signifying" gesture and "signified" message. This level works to retrieve the symbolic and allegorical meanings contained in works of art (D'Alleva, 2012, p.23). It is important to bear in mind, of course, that symbols are culture specific.

3. *Intrinsic meaning*, also known as *iconological level*, is the last level. This is the stage of interpretation. It investigates the meaning of motifs, symbols, and allegories in their cultural context (D'Alleva, 2012, p.23). It also implies a look at who painted the image, why and for whom.

Panofsky's work was criticized mainly because it was considered to portray Eurocentric ideas. One of these critiques comes from Panofsky's association with the aforementioned art historian Aby Warburg who had an anthropological and ethnographical approach to Art History, and who studied images produced in New Mexico, specifically those of the Hopi. Ernst Gombrich, another prominent art historian, stated that: "Warburg saw in Indians of New Mexico a stage of civilization which corresponds to the phase of paganism ancient Greece left behind with the dawn of rationalism" (Preziosi, 2009, p.193). It was assumed that Panofsky would most likely share such an opinion, since he was Warburg's student. Nonetheless, as far as I am aware, Panofsky never agreed with Warburg's statement in any of his writings. This type of thinking is precisely the one that I do not want to inscribe my study within, and it is certainly not what my research tries to show or pursue.

Ruth Phillips argued that Panofsky's methodology is limited as it reinforces both a cultural and political Eurocentric hegemonic framework, making it detrimental for the study of non-Western art forms. Although Panofsky's method was originally applied to European art, it can be re-appropriated for non-European contexts, especially if we are aware of ideological factors. In this sense, it is important to note that the documents that are analysed here were produced after the colonization process had begun and that the vast majority of texts, images or codices that have survived the colonization process were either created under the colonizers' strict supervision, or in collaboration with "Indigenous informants". In the case of the images, usually the Indigenous element comes from the fact that they were produced by indigenous artists adopting European forms as much as possible. But this study also deals with traces of Indigenous knowledge embedded in the selected images. Indigenous peoples recorded their

religious and astrological knowledge in pictographic manuscripts[15] (Escalante Gonzalbo, 2009, p.46) rather than in textual codices. In Chapter 3 this is discussed and analysed extensively.

Phillips also advocates for the use of "New Art History" that reacts against the German Idealist traditions (within which Panofsky started his studies) and "the notion of a universal history of art [that evolves] in a linear progressive fashion and [culminates] in the art of Western Europe" (1989, p.163). She clarifies, and reasonably so, that Indigenous Art-making has been subject only to superficial formal appreciations. In this particular case, I am able to explain some of the Indigenous elements that are embedded in images through the small amount of textual data that comes from hybrid sources (sources that were not destroyed during the colonization process, or that were created in collaboration with Indigenous peoples).

1.5 Methodology

The two methods I use mirror each other. They both have three levels, move from a more superficial level of analysis (or description) to a deeper level that helps uncover hidden meanings and end by proposing a consequence of the previous findings.

The following image illustrates the "mirror effect" of those two approaches:

PANOFSKY	CALZADA PÉREZ
1. Description of pure form	1. Description
2. Iconographical level ("semiotic level")	2. Exploration (pragmatic and semiotic level)
3. Iconological level (meaning of symbols in cultural context and consequences)	3. Explanation (social and cultural consequences)

[15] This is my translation of the original sentence in Spanish, found in: Escalante Gonzalbo, Pablo. *El México antiguo De Tehuantepec a Baja California.* Herramientas para la Historia, CIDE, Mexico, 2009.

The fact that these two interdisciplinary approaches mirror each other assures an evenly structured analysis of the two objects of this study: texts and images. Therefore, this combination of methodologies opens up the possibility to study the emblematic figure of La Malinche from different perspectives and yet arrive at conclusions that can be traced in a parallel manner. It also opens new doors for discussion on methodologies and interdisciplinarity, and the importance of analyzing different semiotic modes in TS.

Given that this is context-oriented research, a case study that tries to uncover "the complex social, political, cultural and ideological forces" (Saldanha & O'Brien, 2014, p.205), I rely on the flexibility this methodology allows, drawing on a wide range of data sources.

I start by analysing the four textual sources that are closest in time to La Malinche: the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, the *Florentine Codex*, *La historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España (The True History of the Conquest of New Spain)* and *Cartas de Relación* (*Letters*) of Hernán Cortés. As stated in the Introduction, the *Lienzo* and the *Florentine Codex* have both text and images, and the last two documents are purely textual sources. For this textual portion of my study, María Calzada Pérez's methodology is followed to discover how influential these sources were for later interpretations of La Malinche. To create a comprehensible analysis, the purpose of the source, its commissioner and time of creation are explored. After having analyzed the context of the production of the document, I move into the detailed study at the sentence level. I describe what is stated, but also what is not stated–what is silenced. Subsequently, overt and covert ideological matters are outlined, as they become clearer after the contextualization and the first level of description. Finally, I propose some possible consequence of such ideological implicatures.

Moving forward chronologically, I explore whether La Malinche appears in textual sources in the 17th century, and briefly analyse one of the most influential sources of the time: Antonio de Solís y Rivadeneyra's *Historia de la conquista y progresos de la América septentrional, conocida con el nombre de Nueva España (The History of the Conquest of Mexico.*

Finally, in order to be able to establish the extent to which the 16th century sources have influenced the evolution of La Malinche's symbolism up to nowadays, I briefly analyse a text that summarizes some of 19th and 20th century ideas on the interpreter: Octavio Paz's *Labyrinth of Solitude.*

Given the scope of this study, those sources produced after the 16th century are not examined in such detail as the earlier texts. This goes hand in hand with my argument, stated in the Introduction, that the 16th century texts are the ones that are reinterpreted to fit different ideas and claims about La Malinche.

As for the pictorial part of the study,[16] I proceed in the same manner as with the texts, only this time I follow Erwin Panofsky's methodology. I start by contextualizing the image, and then proceed with the first level of analysis: describing the formal elements of the art piece. At the second level I analyse the symbolic and allegorical meanings in the image. This implies that hidden and not-so-hidden elements that are embedded in symbols are uncovered. At the third and final level I propose my interpretation of these elements.

The procedure with the images is the same as with the text. Therefore, I analyse images produced in the 16th century and briefly examine images produced later on. Since the list of images is quite lengthy, a table is provided below:

[16] All images are found in Appendix A.

IMAGE	PAINTER/ SCULPTOR	DATE	SOURCE
1. The *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, Yliyocan	Indigenous painters from Tlaxcala	1552 (reconstruction made in 2010)	Mesolore: A Cybercenter for Research and Teaching on Mesoamerica
2. The *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, Tecoaccinco	Indigenous painters from Tlaxcala	1552 (reconstruction made in 2010)	Mesolore: A Cybercenter for Research and Teaching on Mesoamerica
3. The *Lienzo de Tlaxcala,* Quitlaqualma-caque	Indigenous painters from Tlaxcala	1552 (reconstruction made in 2010)	Mesolore: A Cybercenter for Research and Teaching on Mesoamerica
4. The *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, Temple scene (baptism)	Indigenous painters from Tlaxcala	1552 (reconstruction made in 2010)	Mesolore: A Cybercenter for Research and Teaching on Mesoamerica
5. The *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, Chololla (Cholula)	Indigenous painters from Tlaxcala	1552 (reconstruction made in 2010)	Mesolore: A Cybercenter for Research and Teaching on Mesoamerica
6. The *Florentine Codex*, Book XII, page 404	Indigenous painters from the School of Tlatelolco under Fray Bernardino de Sahagún	1540-1585	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence
7. The *Florentine Codex*, Book XII, page 421	Indigenous painters from the School of Tlatelolco under Fray Bernardino de Sahagún	1540-1585	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence
8. The *Florentine Codex*, Book XII, page 433	Indigenous painters from the School of Tlatelolco under Fray Bernardino de Sahagún	1540-1585	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence
9. The *Florentine Codex,* Book XII, page 452	Indigenous painters from the School of Tlatelolco under Fray Bernardino de	1540-1585	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence

	Sahagún		
10. *Codex Azcatitlán*	Indigenous Aztec painters	16th century	National Library of France
11. *Conquista de México*	Miguel and Juan González	1698	Museum of America, Madrid
12. *Cortés and La Malinche in front of Montezuma*	Anonymous	19th century	Exhacienda of San Antonio Chautla, Mexico
13. *Cortés and Montezuma's emissaries*	José Galofré y Coma	1854	General Archive of the Indies, Spain
14. *Mestizaje*	José Clemente Orozco	1926	School of San Ildefonso, Mexico City
15. *Mother of Modern Mexico*	Armando Drechsler	1930s	Not exhibited, on sale
16. *El sueño de la Malinche*	Antonio Ruiz	1939	Gallery of Mexican Art, Mexico City
17. *Monumento al mestizaje*	Julián Martínez y M. Maldonado	1982	Jardín Xicoténcatl, San Diego Churubusco, Coyoacán, Mexico City
18. *La Malinche*	Rosario Marquardt	1992	Gallery of Mexican Art, Mexico City
19. *La Malinche*	Jimmy Durham	1988-1992	Itinerary piece
20. *La Malinche*	Anonymous	n.d.	City of Oluta, Mexico

Images and texts are studied following the three levels that each one of the methods proposes. Given the structure of the abovementioned methods, the intertwinement of its three levels becomes necessary in order to avoid repetition and facilitate the reading flow. Nonetheless, the levels remain clearly visible and recognisable. The interpretation level, which is the third level in both methods, is slightly shortened in Chapters 2 and 3, as it is fully developed in Chapter 4.

This Chapter has focused on the presentation and explanation of the methodology and framework used to study both texts and images of La Malinche. I also present the state of the art of the two disciplines that interact in this thesis for the purpose of uncovering the complicated web of representations and resignifications of La Malinche since the 16th century. In the next two chapters I will apply the outlined methodology to texts and images respectively.

Chapter Two: Textual Representations of La Malinche

This Chapter looks at the textual representations of La Malinche. It focuses on the three main texts that were produced closest in time to La Malinche, texts that I will analyse using the tools outlined in Chapter 1. These works are: Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain,* Bernardino de Sahagún's *Florentine Codex* and Hernán Cortés' *Letters to Emperor Charles V.* Furthermore, I will look at other texts where La Malinche is mentioned, texts that were written during the colonial period and later on, during the Mexican independence period.

2.1. La Malinche in Text

All that is known about La Malinche comes from texts in which she is mentioned, and images in which she is depicted. She has no proper voice, since nothing that she might have written has been saved.[17] She is mentioned in textual sources after she became part of the Spanish contingent in 1519. Therefore, all our knowledge about her comes from post-contact sources. We know that she acted as an interpreter for Cortés, and depending on the source, she either appears to be an important figure during the conquest of Mexico, or a treacherous *mestizo* mother who betrayed 'her people'. Interestingly enough, this person who has been silenced by history is, at the same time, one of the most discursively represented individuals from the mid-16th century onwards. For some, she is even a sign that "functions as a continually enlarging palimpsest of Mexican cultural identity whose layers of meaning have accrued through years. With each generation the

[17] There is no evidence that she was taught to read and write in Spanish (or any other language), nor is this mentioned in any of the Indigenous and Spanish codices from the 16th century. Only her ability to quickly learn how to speak Spanish is underlined in various chronicles such as the one written by Bernal Díaz del Castillo, as well as her ability to speak Chontal Maya and Nahuatl.

sign "La Malinche" has added diverse interpretations of her identity, role, and significance for individuals and for Mexico" (Messinger Cypess, 1991, p.5).

Sources that are closest to La Malinche in time and space can be divided into those that were produced by Spaniards and those produced by Amerindians, under Spanish approval. Amerindian modes of representation were not primarily textual, but rather pictorial,[18] so anything that was written in the Latin alphabet by Indigenous people is necessarily a post-contact product. Even if written in Nahuatl, if it was alphabetized, it is a product that was developed after the contact, as Nahuatl was written with a pictographic script before the Spaniards arrived (Terraciano in Katzew, 2011, p.55).

Some of the Indigenous, post-contact texts in which La Malinche appears are the *Florentine Codex* also titled *Universal History of the Things of New Spain* by Bernardino de Sahagún, *History of Tlaxcala* by Diego Muñoz Camargo, *The History of the Indies of New Spain* (also known as *Duran Codex*) by Diego Durán or *The story of the Conquest* by Anonymous Authors of Tlatelolco.

La Malinche also appears in a number of Spanish accounts such as *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain* by Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Letters to Emperor Charles V* written by Hernán Cortés or *General History of Indies* by Francisco López de Gómara among others.

Those texts set the stage for the subsequent construction of La Malinche's symbol. In the 16th century she already served as a symbol, and those early texts are used as a source of knowledge for the construction of her paradigm later on. My reason for choosing these particular

[18] The issue of Indigenous modes of representations is further developed in Chapter 3 that deals with pictorial representations.

texts will be explained over the course of this Chapter, but it is equally important to address why I did not choose to analyse some of the latter works.

History of Tlaxcala by Diego Muñoz Camargo is separated into three different sections, two textual and one pictorial. It closely resembles the content of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* (Terraciano in Katzew, 2011, p.65), the pictorial account I analyze in Chapter 3. For this reason, and given the space constraints of my study, I chose to eliminate this work to avoid any repetition. *The History of the Indies of New Spain* (also known as *Duran Codex*) by Diego Durán, a Dominican friar, is a Codex that comes out of his contact with 'native informants' and their insight on the Aztec culture. It was not published until the 19th century, as he himself states in another one of his books, *Ancient Calendar,* "some persons (and they are not few) say that my work will revive ancient customs and rites among the Indians" (Diego Durán, trans. Heyden, 1993, p.30). Bernardino de Sahagún's *Universal History of the Things of New Spain* is richer in detail than Durán's account and it was written and painted by Indigenous peoples themselves. *The story of the Conquest* by Anonymous Authors of Tlatelolco was used by Miguel León Portilla in his book *The Broken Spears,* but it is an anonymous account, quite a brief one, and it is centred on the city of Tlatelolco (León-Portilla, 1992, p.130). In addition, since this is an anonymous account, it would not be possible to use all of the steps my methodology foresees. Finally, *General History of Indies* by Francisco López de Gómara, who was Cortés' official chronicler, was written in Spain, as Gómara never travelled to the 'New World'. He never met La Malinche; although he may have met the son she had with Cortés, Martín, whom Cortés brought to Spain on his trips. All his information was retrieved from secondary sources, other accounts and Cortés himself. I will be analysing Cortés' own writings, which will already allow us to hear the official account that he gave to King Charles V.

2.2 La Malinche in 16th century Texts

2.2.1 *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain*. Bernal Díaz del Castillo

Bernal Díaz del Castillo (c.1492 - 1584) wrote this account between 1520 and 1552, and it was published posthumously in 1632. He was a soldier who travelled to the 'New World' and settled in what today is Cuba. He travelled three times to mainland Mexico with three different expeditions, the last one with Hernán Cortés. And "no matter how biased it may be, [he] provides a relatively continuous first-person participant account of the events leading from the first expeditions to determine what lay at the other side of the Caribbean to the fall of Mexico" (Burke and Humphrey in Bernal Díaz del Castillo, 2012, p.xxiii). It is important to note that he undertook the task of writing this chronicle after becoming aware that the *encomienda*[19] that he got in Guatemala after the conquest could not to be held in perpetuity. He wanted to extend the rights to his *encomienda* to his heirs and, in order to show how valuable his contribution was, he decided to write *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain* as a supporting document to defend his right to land. And while it was an individual account that had a particular purpose, "individual memories are not independent of collective memories and collective narratives" (Martin & Wodak, 2003, p.11). Díaz del Castillo's work also serves the purpose of rescuing those who he thought were not recognized enough in other accounts on the conquest, thus those who were marginalized, yet were very important in the process.[20]

[19] As legally defined in 1503, an *encomienda* (from *encomendar,* "to entrust") consisted of a grant by the crown to a conquistador, soldier, official, or others of a specified number of Indians living in a particular area. The receiver of the grant, the *encomendero,* could exact tribute from the Indians in gold, in kind, or in labour and was required to protect them and instruct them in the Christian faith (Encomienda*,* 2014, para.1-3).

[20] Díaz del Castillo's work provides the names of many soldiers, interpreters and slaves who worked for Cortés, who are otherwise not mentioned in any other preserved account.

Díaz del Castillo's account has been revisited countless times, and he is one of the only soldiers-turned-historiographers who has been studied by scholars (Cunninghame Graham, 1915; Sandra Messinger Cypess, 1991; Oswaldo Estrada, 2009; etc.). Some have expressed doubts as to whether a soldier could have written such an account, and it has been argued that he copied many of the passages written by Gómara (Estrada, 2009, p.19). It is true that Gómara's account antedates that of Díaz del Castillo, but there are numerous differences among the two. We can clearly see stylistic differences and divergence in time and place of events. Most importantly, Gómara hardly mentiones La Malinche, whereas Díaz del Castillo frequently does. Not only does he mention her more frequently, but he also tends to write about La Malinche with admiration and praise. Also, unlike Gómara he occasionally criticises Cortés openly, and alludes to specific participants of the conquest, people who are not mentioned elsewhere. Furthermore, in 2012 Christian Duverger, a French anthropologist and historian, in his *Crónica de la eternidad* (Chronicle of eternity), argued that Díaz del Castillo would have written the last pages of his account at age 84, which he deems quite improbable. He suggests that the writer was a 'mere soldier' and, given the knowledge the 'real' writer seems to possess on Amerindian cultures (especially the Nahua one), Duverger concludes that it must have been an 'educated' person. He ends by speculating that it might have been Hernán Cortés himself who wrote the chronicle, or another 'educated' individual. This seems rather improbable once we compare Cortés' *Letters* to the Chronicle. What this shows is that Díaz del Castillo's account is still a current topic of study. Even though his work has been questioned and studied numerous times, never has his text been looked at through the eyes of TS using CDA tools.

Bernal Díaz del Castillo himself was not sure in what tradition or text type to insert his work. In his introduction he mentions *Amadís de Gaula,* a chivalric romance that was highly

popular in the 16th century, as he is perhaps trying to imply that his account was somewhat inspired by it. Also, he is aware that his work is, to a certain extent, a chronicle, and Gómara's and Cortés' chronicles and letters were already written and known to him (he mentions both). He tells the reader:

> *[...] y yo, como no soy latino, no me atrevo a hacer preámbulo ni prólogo de ello, porque ha menester para subliar los heroicos hechos y hazañas que hicimos cuando ganamos la Nueva España y sus provincias en compañía del valeroso y esforzado Capitán Don Hernando Cortés [...] y para poderlo escribir tan sublimadamente como es digno, fuera menester otra elocuencia y retórica mejor que no la mía; más de lo que yo ví y me hallé en ello peleando, como buen testigo de vista yo lo escribiré, con la ayuda de Dios, muy llanamente sin torcer a una parte ni a otra, y porque soy viejo de más de ochenta y cuatro años y he perdido la vista y el oír, y por mi ventura no tengo otra riqueza que dejar a mis hijos y descendientes, salvo esta mi verdadera y notable relación como adelante en ella verán.*[21] (Bernal Díaz del Castillo, ed. 1972, p.1)
>
> -
>
> But I, as I am not a student of Latin, venture to create neither preface nor prologue. To extol our heroic feats and exploits in conquering New Spain and its provinces in the company of the valiant and courageous captain don Hernando Cortés [...] and to write it with the loftiness it deserves would require an

[21] Note that Díaz del Castillo's text is written in 16th century Spanish, and therefore presents words and sentence structures that have fallen into disuse. He also uses the pre-normative spelling system that allows for words to be written in several ways (for example, the word "men" can be written both as *varón* and *barón*, and can appear with or without the accent).

eloquence and rhetoric greater than mine. But as a good eyewitness, with the help of God, I will write plainly what I saw and experienced fighting in it, without twisting it one way or another; and because I am an old man of more than eighty-four years and have lost my eyesight and hearing, and, unfortunately have no other wealth to leave to my children and descendents save this, my true and remarkable account.[22] (Bernal Díaz del Castillo, trans. Burke & Humphrey, 2012, p.1)

He writes in first person, thus he is not trying to conceal the fact that this account is subjective. By this, he is also not concealing his agency in the conquest, which fits perfectly the purpose his text should serve. In the Spanish text, we can discern Díaz del Castillo's style: his sentences are never ending, separated by multiple commas. This makes his account a bit difficult to read, but at the same time, it appears to be more spontaneous and almost oral.

By saying that he is "not a student of Latin" he is hinting that he understands the hierarchical relation of languages in the 16th century. By saying this, he is using what Wodak and Meyer call "strategies of perpetuation", maintaining and reproducing already established discursive artefacts (2001, p.122). Latin was considered the 'imperial' language, and for that reason the supreme vehicle of expression. Nonetheless, by 1492 Castilian was aspiring to take over the role of Latin. As Anthony Pym states, "Antonio de Nebrija [said that] since language has always accompanied empire, [...] just as Hebrew, Greek and Latin all had their rise and fall,

[22] There are several translations of *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain* available in English, such as the one done by Alfred Percival Maudslay in 1908, or J.M. Cohen's translation in 1963. There is another translation available through The Project Gutenberg published in 2010 and carried out by John Ingram Lockhart, and finally, another one done by Janet Burke and Ted Humphrey in 2012. I will be using the translation provided by Janet Burke and Ted Humphrey. This translation enables the reader to understand the Spanish text as closely as possible in English. Even though they have omitted (as have all the other translators) passages that they felt were repetitive or not important, the passages that are relevant for this study are rendered in English. The need for a close translation comes from the purpose of my thesis: to analyse Díaz del Castillo's text in Spanish, and not its translation. This task would be another study in itself, and it is also worth pursuing in the future.

Castilian was now being called upon to play the role of imperial language" (2000, p.136). Díaz del Castillo is inserting himself perfectly into the new rise of Castilian, maybe inadvertently, as he is excusing his lack of knowledge of Latin, but he is still writing an account in Castilian, and is calling his work *The True History*. From the very beginning he mentions Hernán Cortés and refers to him as "valiant" and "courageous". He is not mentioning the other two captains with whom he sailed to mainland Mexico before Cortés, thus using the authority of Cortés' sign to validate his own participation. He also speaks of "*heroicos hechos y hazañas que hicimos cuando ganamos la Nueva España*" ("our heroic feats and exploits in conquering New Spain"). By using the first person plural "*hicimos*" ("we did"), he is including himself within a "we", the makers of history, and immediately opening the question of the other side, "them" who would not have been all that "heroic". "They" were not the winning side, since the "we" is the group that "*ganamos*" ("won") New Spain. And even though Norman Fairclough suggests that "we" can be a slippery sign (Machin & Mayer citing Fairclough, 2012, p.84), as it may be used to denote different groupings, in this case it seems quite clear and unambiguous that Díaz del Castillo is referring to the Spaniards.

The first sentence in the passage keeps offering clues on how the work should be read, and Díaz del Castillo goes on to say that he was an "eyewitness" of the conquest, tackling two issues with one word. Namely, he is already implicitly stating that, unlike Gómara, he was actually present and that he was an active agent.[23] Moreover, he makes a powerful statement: "I will write plain [...] without twisting it one way or another." In other words, his account is sincere, and he is writing objectively, without adhering to either side. This is an interesting statement since he has already positioned himself as part of the "we" and is writing in first

[23] Throughout his account Díaz del Castillo keeps mentioning Gómara and criticizing his work, emphasizing that he never travelled to the ‘New World’.

person singular. Finally, he says that he will be writing with the "help of God", and therefore subtly states that he is Christian, another trait of the "we".

Although I am not implying that Díaz del Castillo strategically placed every single word of his text, he is indeed aware of the expectations of his readers. What is written is located within the ideological premises of his culture, and tackles all the necessary cultural norms for him to be taken seriously by his readers. From the first sentence he has positioned himself within a context through his linguistic choices. He is implicitly expecting his reader to be part of the Spanish "we". He is telling the reader that he will talk about past events, and he has naturalized that "past" as what "really" happened and has mentioned all of the institutions and power elements he aligns himself with. In this short preface he is putting his discourse in "dialectical relationship between [his] particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) that frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them" (Fairclough & Wodak in van Dijk, 1997, p.258). The consequences seem to be quite clear: he will be taken seriously, understood by his target audience. His account, by being personal yet "objective" and informative, is still to this day one of the most consulted works on the colonization process.

Díaz del Castillo writes a more or less chronological recount of "what happened". He mentions La Malinche on numerous occasions, and I have selected a few passages that are particularly interesting and important for understanding how Díaz del Castillo perceives her.

In Chapter XV, Díaz del Castillo says "*Y no fue nada todo este presente en comparación de veinte mujeres, y entre ellas una muy excelente mujer que se dijo doña Marina, que así se*

llamaba después de vuelta cristiana" (Bernal Díaz del Castillo, 1972, p.45).[24] This is a personal and subjective observation, as he presents La Malinche as a "particularly excellent woman" who was presented to them alongside nineteen others, who we must assume were 'not such excellent women'. It is impossible to determine if he is succumbing to the use of a hyperbole.

Díaz del Castillo always calls her "*doña* Marina". "*Doña*" is a "respectful way of addressing a woman" (*Diccionario de la lengua española de la Real Academia Española* –Dictionary of the Spanish Language of the Royal Spanish Academy–, the "DRAE") and he is most likely using what Wodak and Martin call a "destructive strategy", that is, he is demolishing an established situation or image. By using this honorific term, he is emphasizing her importance as a social actor, something that none of the other chroniclers did. This is one of the main reasons why Díaz del Castillo's account has been revisited so many times, as he is challenging some of the ideological paradigms of his culture through the use of "*doña* Marina". He is one of the few Spanish chroniclers to do so (and the only one in the 16th century), and he is also the only one to mention her as frequently.

Díaz del Castillo states that she was "*vuelta cristiana*" ("converted to Christianity"). This is not surprising since the Spaniards baptized all of their female and male slaves before accepting any service from them. What is interesting in this statement, however, is that he is making the action impersonal, he is not emphasizing who carried out the baptism; what is important is that it was performed.

He continues:

[24] "This present was nothing compared with the twenty women and among them a particularly excellent woman who came to be called doña Marina after becoming Christian" (Bernal Díaz del Castillo, trans. Burke & Humphrey, 2012, p.48).

Y luego se bautizaron, y se puso por nombre doña Marina (a) aquella india y señora que allí nos dieron, y verdaderamente era gran cacica e hija de grandes caciques y señora de vasallos, y bien se le parecía en su persona [...] Y las otras mujeres no me acuerdo bien de todos sus nombres, y no hace el caso nombrar algunas, más éstas fueron las primeras cristianas que hubo en la Nueva España, y Cortés las repartió a cada capitán la suya, y a doña Marina, como era de buen parecer y entremetida y desenvuelta, dio a Alonso Hernández Puerto Carrero, que ya he dicho otra que era muy buen caballero [...].[25] (Bernal Díaz del Castillo, 1972, p.46)

So, La Malinche was not only "excellent", she was also "a great *cacica*, daughter of great caciques and mistress over vassals". It should not be left unnoticed that in Spanish he indeed calls her "Indian", but also "*señora*", which, if translated as "woman" loses some of the information that the author is giving us. He does not say she is "*mujer India*" ("Indian woman"), but rather "*India y señora*" ("Indian and a lady"). He is recognising that, even though she is part of "them" – "India", she has a high social rank among "them", which, as he says, can truly be noticed. He is also turning to overlexicalization by saying "*doña Marina aquella india y señora*", as perhaps he feels the need to reassure the reader that she is not "any woman" and should not be seen as such. In order to explain that she and other women were baptized, he uses, once again, the impersonal verbal form "*se bautizaron*" ("they were baptized"). With it, he distances himself

[25] "They were then baptized, and the name doña Marina was given to that Indian woman they had given us there, and she was a truly a great *cacica*, daughter of great caciques and mistress over vassals, which clearly showed in her person. [...] I do not remember well the names of all the other women, nor is it relevant to name them. But these were the first Christian women in New Spain, and Cortés gave each captain his own. This doña Marina, because she was of good appearance, curious about things, and uninhibited, he gave to Alonso Hernández Puerto Carrero, who as I have said was a very fine gentleman" (Bernal Díaz del Castillo, trans. Burke & Humphrey, 2012, p.50).

from the action, although by mentioning it repeatedly, he is reassuring the reader that 'everything was done properly'.

Moreover, *doña* Marina, "was of good appearance, curious about things, and uninhibited". Truly remarkable traits for a woman, Díaz del Castillo must have thought, because no other woman mentioned in the account has deserved such a lively description. Even though Spanish ideology prepared Díaz del Castillo to perceive the Indians as pre-historic, primitive beings (Payás, 2006, p.51), he refuses to conceal his admiration for La Malinche. It is also very important to emphasize that "the conquest was treated mainly as a heroic deed in which women play only a supporting, anonymous and collective role" (Glantz, 2001, p.1)[26], and Indian women are "usually called simply that, Indians" (p.2). This is clearly confirmed by Díaz del Castillo when he refers to all the other Indian women who were not La Malinche: "I do not remember well the names of all the other women, nor is it relevant to name them".

Chapter XVI is titled "*Cómo doña Marina era cacica e hija de grandes señores de pueblos y vasallos, y de la manera que la dicha doña Marina fue traída a Tabasco*".[27] Not only does she have an important presence in Díaz del Castillo's account, but an entire chapter is devoted to her. In this Chapter he recounts the story of how La Malinche's father died and her mother sold her into slavery once she remarried. Díaz del Castillo says that she was sold to "some Indians from Xicalango" who gave her to the people of Tabasco. It is there that she also learned Chontal Mayan. He also says "*doña Marina en todas las guerras de la Nueva España y Tlaxcala y México fue tan excelente mujer y buena lengua, como adelante diré, a esta causa la*

[26] "La conquista tratada como un asunto heroico sólo se ocupa de las mujeres como personajes secundarios, anónimos y colectivos" [MT].
[27] "How doña Marina was a *cacica* and a daughter of important regional lords who had vassals, and how the aforementioned *doña* Marina was brought to Tabasco". I provide my translation [from now on MT] as in Burke & Humphrey, it is rendered as "Doña Marina, they spread it around that she had died", and for the purpose of my thesis, I needed a close translation of the title.

traía siempre Cortés consigo".[28] He uses the term "*lengua*" ("tongue") for "interpreter", a term usually used during the 16th century to refer to interpreters. It is used for both men and women, and Jerónimo de Aguilar, a Spaniard who served as an interpreter for Cortés, was also referred to as "*lengua*". "*Lengua*" is, of course, also the physical tongue, making this word quite explicit when used as "interpreter". This term is obsolete, as DRAE points out, but there is another interesting definition for "*lengua*" found in DRAE: a spy. Although the DRAE does point out that it is an obsolete term for "spy" as well, the definition of the term "spy" under the term "*lengua*" is particularly fascinating: a person who observes and listens to what happens in order to communicate it to others.[29] It is quite clear throughout the text that Díaz del Castillo does not use this word pejoratively; he is just using a common term embedded in his social-historical linguistic practices, a term that carries in itself an important cultural meaning and consideration of interpreters. Finally, it is important to underscore the gradable adjective used to describe La Malinche's interpreting skills: she was a "good interpreter". Although there are no examples of "bad interpreters" in Díaz del Castillo's account, he is making a quality statement on La Malinche's skills and on the satisfaction of her clients, the Spaniards.

At the end of his chapter on La Malinche, Díaz del Castillo continues constructing an impeccable image of her: in one of the missions, Cortés, his soldiers and La Malinche came to a village that she recognized as the place where she was born. She, of course, saw her mother and "*claramente era su hija, porque se le parecía mucho*".[30] During this episode, La Malinche

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[28] "As doña Marina was such an excellent woman and good interpreter in all the wars of New Spain, Tlaxcala, and Mexico, Cortés always had her with him" (Bernal Díaz del Castillo, trans. Burke & Humphrey, 2012, p.54).
[29] This latter meaning of the word "*lengua*" does not appear in the first etymological dictionary ever to be published in Spain. It does say that "*lengua*" is: "a person than intervenes between two languages" (MT). Covarrubias Horozco, Sebastián de. (1611). *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española.* Madrid: Luis Sánchez, impresor del Rey N.S.
[30] "Marina was her daughter because she looked very much like her" (Bernal Díaz del Castillo, trans. Burke & Humphrey, 2012, p.55).

forgives her mother and stepbrother all their sins (by using many verbs of affection), and happily reassures them that

> *Dios le había hecho mucha merced en quitada de adorar ídolos ahora y ser cristiana y tener un hijo de su amo y señor Cortés, y ser casada con un caballero como era su marido Juan Jaramillo; que aunque la hicieran cacica de todas cuantas provincias había en la Nueva España, no lo sería, que en más tenía servir a su marido y a Cortés que cuanto en el mundo hay.*[31] (1972, p.48)

This sentence is meant to create a positive identity for La Malinche in the eyes of Díaz del Castillo's reader. This is especially evident when in one of the last sentences of the Chapter, he compares her to Biblical characters.[32] He is using all the values and conventions under which his society operates (Wodak & Martin, 2003, p.61) for this 'correct' image-construction. La Malinche is now 'happy' to be a Christian who is not worshiping idols, she has a son with her "master and lord" Cortés, although she is married to Juan Jaramillo (with whom she had a daughter who is not mentioned at all).

During the 19th century, La Malinche was accused of collaborating with the Spaniards due to her 'thirst for power'. Since Díaz del Castillo says that "she said she would not want to be that [*cacica*], but would rather serve her husband and Cortés than anything else in the world", we clearly see that Díaz del Castillo does not support the idea of thirst for power. This statement also makes one wonder if some accusations were made against La Malinche, or if there was fear that

[31] "God had done her a great favor in getting her to give up idol worship and become a Christian, to have a son by her master and lord Cortés, and to be married to a gentleman like her husband Juan Jaramillo. Even were they to make her cacica of all the provinces of New Spain, she said she would not want to be that, but would rather serve her husband and Cortés than anything else in the world" (Bernal Díaz del Castillo, trans. Burke & Humphrey, 2012, p.55).

[32] Díaz del Castillo parallels La Malinche's behaviour to that of Joseph and his brothers in Egypt, something that helped raise her reputation among both Spaniards and Indigenous people even higher (Greene, 1999, p.60).

she was looking for power that could explain why Díaz del Castillo felt the need to provide this episode to deny it (it only appears in his account). It is difficult to guess why Díaz del Castillo added this, but at the very least it is possible to affirm that he informs the reader that she was a faithful interpreter to the Spaniards who, above all, believed in their evangelising cause. Reader expectations were once more met, as La Malinche remains an impeccable Christian through her actions.

What Díaz del Castillo never mentions is that Juan Jaramillo was apparently drunk when Cortés married him to La Malinche. Many scholars (Messinger Cypess, 1991; Glantz, 2001) read this omission as his disagreement with this Cortés' decision. This episode is only mentioned by Gómara.[33] The importance of this marriage scene becomes apparent when we look at the 19th century reappropriation of La Malinche, as it was used as yet another example of her submission to Cortés' desires and decisions.

Díaz del Castillo describes La Malinche as a positive, helpful, intelligent and uninhibited woman who "knew the language very well". On many occasions he praises her language skills, including when he says: "*y la doña Marina, que muy bien lo entendió, le contó [a Cortés] lo que pasaba*".[34] Even though Díaz del Castillo never explicitly states that La Malinche possessed both linguistic and cultural knowledge, he indeed implies it here. Cortés was confused by what he was seeing, but La Malinche was not. Not only did she understand it, she was also able to explain it to him.[35] Even though she was performing “continuous negotiation among radically heterogeneous groups whose separate historical trajectories have come to intersect; among radically heterogeneous systems of meaning that have been brought into contact by the

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[33] Gómara calls La Malinche "Marina", without the *doña* that Díaz del Castillo always uses.
[34] "And doña Marina, who understood very well, told him [Cortés] what was going on" (MT).
[35] Even though literally the Spanish "*contar*" means "to tell", in this context it is understood beyond the idea of recounting, as it hints that La Malinche also "explained" the concept to Cortés.

encounter; and within relations of radical inequality enforced by violence" (Pratt, 1996, p.6), she still managed to understand and make the communication between the two parties mutually understandable. It is important to bear in mind that the Spaniards were conveying a political, religious and economic message from their cultural system into another one that was, presumably, quite different.

Díaz del Castillo also tells us that Montezuma saw La Malinche depicted before meeting her in person, which is something that will be discussed in depth in Chapter 4. Apart from the fact that Montezuma wanted to see, through an image, the newcomers and their interpreters, this statement provides more information that helps understand the importance of painters as well as interpreters. Díaz del Castillo says:

> *y parece ser Tendile traía consigo grandes pintores, que los hay tales en México, y mandó pintar al natural la cara y rostro y cuerpo y facciones de Cortés y de todos los capitanes y soldados, y navíos y velas, y caballos, y a doña Marina y Aguilar, y hasta dos lebreles, y tiros y pelotas, y todo el ejército que traíamos, y lo llevó a su señor [Montezuma].*[36] (1972, p.51)

Díaz del Castillo is able to appreciate the Mexican art, but suspects that his readers might be surprised by his statement that Mexican painters can be great (hence the need to add: "for there are such in Mexico"). It is important to note that he mentions the interpreters after the horses in his list. We should also note that he almost always talks about La Malinche and Aguilar as an inseparable team. He only separates them when La Malinche is talking to Montezuma or

[36] "Tendile, it seems, brought with him great painters, for there are such in Mexico, and he ordered them to paint from life the face, expression, body, and features of Cortés and all the captains and soldiers, as well as the ships and sails, horses, doña Marina, and Aguilar, even the two hounds, the cannons and balls, and our whole army, and he carried the paintings to his lord" (Bernal Díaz del Castillo, trans. Burke & Humphrey, 2012, p.59).

other high dignitaries, when she is directly talking to someone on behalf of Cortés, or after Aguilar's death.

Díaz del Castillo also emphasizes that La Malinche was not fearful or apologetic when talking to Montezuma, whereas all the other Aztecs who approached him would not dare look into his eyes (Karttunen, 1994, p.11). This is something that none of the chroniclers deny, and it is one of the best hints we have to state that La Malinche truly had lost her reverence for her 'old' ruler. This gives the reader the hint that La Malinche was implicitly expressing her allegiance to the Spaniards.

Another revealing passage is where Díaz del Castillo states that

> *Doña Marina, con ser mujer de la tierra, qué esfuerzo tan varonil tenía, que con oír cada día que nos habían de matar y comer nuestras carnes con ají, y habernos visto cercados en las batallas pasadas y que ahora todos estábamos heridos y dolientes, jamás vimos flaqueza en ella, sino muy mayor esfuerzo que de mujer.*[37] (1972, p.81)

For Díaz del Castillo, the fact that La Malinche never abandoned them or her interpreting duties was an excellent example that she was 'more than a woman'. In this sentence, he producing and reproducing unequal power relationships between women and men" (Fairclough is clearly: "& Wodak in van Dijk, 1997, p.258). Moreover, by saying "even though she was an Indigenous woman, she had such manly strength and courage", he is making it clear that there is a hierarchical difference among "non-Indigenous" and "Indigenous" women (and, implicitly, all

[37] "Doña Marina, even though she was a native woman, had such manly strength and courage that, even though she heard each day that they wanted to kill us and eat our flesh with chiles and had seen us surrounded in the recent battles and saw that now we were all wounded and sick, we never saw weakness in her, but much greater strength than a woman's" (Bernal Díaz del Castillo, trans. Burke & Humphrey, 2012, p.125).

Indigenous people). Nonetheless, he is portraying it as something natural, what Calzada Pérez calls "reification", or ideology that is portrayed as natural or inevitable.

But this passage also contains a subtle statement, and that is Díaz del Castillo's idea that "we", the Spaniards, were being threatened, yet he is not including La Malinche in the threat, in the "we". He is stating that she could have fled (although she did not), but it never occurs to him that she might have considered herself as one of the "we". For Díaz del Castillo her strength comes rather from the fact that she had 'manly valor'. He clearly tries to praise her by explaining that she surpassed their expectations, she has done more "than what is expected from a woman".

Another pertinent description of events by Díaz del Castillo is the following:

> *En todos los pueblos por donde pasamos y en otros en donde tenían noticia de nosotros, llamaban a Cortés Malinche, y así lo nombraré de aquí en adelante, Malinche [...] Y la causa de haberle puesto este nombre es que como doña Marina, nuestra lengua, estaba siempre en su compañía, especial cuando venían embajadores o pláticas de caciques, y ella lo declaraba en la lengua mexicana, por esta causa le llamaban a Cortés el capitán de Marina, y para más breve le llamaron Malinche.*[38] (1972, p.87)

This is the only time Díaz del Castillo uses the word "Malinche" when referring to the interpreter he always calls *doña* Marina. He never explains that the Indigenous people called *doña* Marina La Malinche, nor does he appear to think that a reader could become confused by

[38] "In all the towns through which we passed and in other where they knew about us, they called Cortés "Malinche", and from here on, I will call him this, Malinche [...] The reason Cortés was given this name is that, as doña Marina our interpreter was always in his company, especially when ambassadors arrived or in discussions with caciques, and she spoke to them in the Mexican language, they called Cortés "Marina's captain", and for short they called him Malinche" (Bernal Díaz del Castillo, trans. Burke & Humphrey, 2012, p.146).

the two names: Marina-Malinche.[39] The fact that the Indigenous people called Cortés "Malinche" is quite potent. They were either 'laughing' at him for not being able to speak directly to them, or they dared not to address Cortés by his name, as the Aztecs first believed Cortés to be the return of their god Quetzalcoat. Another interpretation may be that they were always speaking to Cortés through La Malinche, and the interpreter and the "client" became one.

Díaz del Castillo is also underscoring that La Malinche never left Cortés' side, especially when he needed to address people in the "*lengua mexicana*" ("Mexican language"). He is referring here to Nahuatl, the language that the other interpreter, Aguilar, did not speak. This is important, since it further situates La Malinche in her historical context, given that

> Just as different dialects of Nahuatl were spoken in different strata of Mexican society, so too different styles of Nahuatl were used by members of different groups more or less correctly, and more or less appropriately. Membership in the traditional elite was indirectly but powerfully marked by mastery of distinctively elaborate, allusive, prestigious genres of "lordly speech", achieved only through long years of training and memorization. Fluency in this finely wrought language or poetry, oration, and ritual was thus a privilege and badge of those at the apex of an "extremely hierarchical society, in which an unbridgeable gap separated religious instruction for the rich and that for the poor". (de Alva cited in Errington, 2008, p.39)

If we take this into account, as well as the fact that La Malinche would interpret "especially when ambassadors arrived or in discussions with caciques", then we must assume that La Malinche was indeed of noble birth and able to speak the high register of Nahuatl quite

[39] La Malinche's different names have been discussed in the Introduction.

successfully. Her ability to speak Nahuatl was also one of the main reasons that Cortés always kept her at his side, as Nahuatl was a *lingua franca* in the Mesoamerican area even before the colonization process started. It was the language of commerce and legislation, as the Aztecs (the more dominant population group) needed to communicate with the other inhabitants of area (Parodi in Parodi, Pérez & Rodríguez, 2013, p.105). As Gertrudis Payás points out, Nahuatl was to New Spain what Latin was for Europe (2005, p.8). Also, "in 1570 [...] the Crown and the Pope had no alternative but to declare Nahuatl, not Spanish, the official language in Nueva España" (Arencibia Rodríguez, 2006, p.271). Precisely because the Aztecs had a great deal of power in Mesoamerica, the Spanish were able to gain some allies by assuring some of the other groups that Cortés was going to release them from tribute payment and delivery of women and man for religious ritual sacrifices. La Malinche was a key figure in this, as many of the groups spoke Nahuatl or some of its variants, and Aguilar was not able to communicate with them.

La Malinche's agency is particularly evident in Díaz del Castillo's description of what has become known as the "Cholula" scene. There she was offered salvation by an old Cholulan lady who confided in her that the Cholulans were going to ambush and kill the Spaniards. According to Díaz del Castillo, La Malinche not only lied to the old lady by giving her false hope that she would go with her, but she also "*disimuló con la vieja*"[40] and "[entró] *de presto donde estaba el capitán y le* [dijo] *todo lo que pasó con la india, la cual luego la mandó traer ante él*".[41] It may seem that she was helping the Spaniards but, as Frances Karttunen points out, "she was not herself a Cholulan, and moreover, according to the account of Bernal Díaz del Castillo, the offered deal involved union with yet another man she did not know. And [...] how could she [La

[40] "Deceived the old woman" (Bernal Díaz del Castillo, trans. Burke & Humphrey, 2012, p.169).
[41] "Went immediately to the captain and told him everything that happened with the Indian woman, whom Cortés immediately ordered to be brought before him" (Bernal Díaz del Castillo, trans. Burke & Humphrey, 2012, p.169).

Malinche] know if the offer was trustworthy or simply a ruse on the part of the Cholulans to separate Cortés from his interpreter?" (Karttunen, 1994, p.10). Indeed, she was not a Cholulan, but she was not a Spaniard either. What this indicates is that La Malinche trusted the Spaniards more than she did the Cholulans, or that she believed more in what the Spaniards were trying to accomplish. La Malinche's active agency can also be traced in another paragraph that reads

> *Y como doña Marina era muy entendida, le dijo: Señor Montezuma: lo que yo os aconsejo es que vais luego con ellos a su aposento, sin ruido ninguno, que yo sé que os harán mucha honra, como gran señor que sois, y de otra manera aquí quedaréis muerto [...].*[42] (1972, p.128)

This is the only instance where Díaz del Castillo is apparently letting La Malinche speak directly. She is not only speaking, she is saying "I counsel you", in first person singular. Her lexical choice suggests authority and conviction, as well as commitment to the Spaniards whom she trusts will treat Montezuma in accordance with his "lordly" position. Her message is clear and she is not 'softening' its impact on the receiver, as she clearly indicates that if Montezuma does not follow her indications, he will "be left dead here".

La Malinche and Cortés seem to have worked very closely, and this is made evident in one last instance in Díaz del Castillo's account where the Indigenous people seem to unite La Malinche and captain Malinche even more. He states that it was said that: "*andaban en los patios de Tezcuco unas cosas malas, y que decían los indios que era el ánima de doña Marina y la de*

[42] "Because doña Marina was very shrewd, she said to him "Lord Montezuma, what I counsel you is that you go right away with them to their lodging without making any noise, for I know that they will pay you much honour as the great lord you are; otherwise you will be left dead here [...]" (Bernal Díaz del Castillo, trans. Burke & Humphrey, 2012, p.225).

Cortés, y todas eran mentiras y traiciones".[43] The Indigenous people were uniting Cortés and La Malinche to call them "evil". They were not only "evil" but also "souls", ethereal subjects that were feared more than human beings. What also comes out of this sentence is that the Indigenous people were most likely starting to perceive La Malinche as part of "them", the Spaniards.

2.2.2 *The Florentine Codex*. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún

This encyclopedic work about the peoples and cultures of central Mexico was compiled by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1499-1590). It is "an outstanding example of graphic pluralism in early colonial Mexico [...]. The indigenous texts represent both new (alphabetic) and older (pictorial) forms of indigenous expression that coexisted and shared space with Castilian-language writing" (Terraciano, 2010, p.53-4). It was presumably written by those who studied in the Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco teaching centre, "the first major school of interpreters and translators in the New World [...], founded in 1573" (Arencibia Rodríguez in Bastin & Bandia, 2006, p.263). As Arencibia points out, it was "a training centre for the future native Mexican ruling elite" (2006, p.263). Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, a pioneer ethnographer, was interested in studying and documenting the Aztec culture. His work is presented as a bilingual dictionary, a product that Jesuit, Franciscan and Dominican friars created as they "attempted to standardize the indigenous languages and render them in written for with a roman alphabet" (Price in Benessaiah ed., 2008, p.132). The *Florentine Codex* was named after the Medicea Laurenziana Library in Florence where it was found and published in 1793. It consists of twelve volumes, the last of which deals with the conquest of Mexico. This is the book I will be looking at, as it is the one in which La Malinche appears. She is not as present as in Díaz del Castillo's account and the authors do not

[43] "Something evil was walking around the patios of Texcoco, and the Indians were saying that it was the soul of doña Marina and Cortés, but those were all lies and betrayals" (MT).

use such positive terms as he does.[44] The text in Nahuatl was first translated into English by Anderson and Dibble (1950) and later on by James Lockhart (1993). I will be looking at the Castilian text, as it is the one that I myself can attest to. Through the analysis of the Castilian text,[45] I will be looking at certain portions of the Nahuatl text[46] and comparing it to the Castilian for the purpose of determining how different names were transferred from one language to the other.

This codex is presented in two columns side by side, one in Castilian and the other in Nahuatl, both rendered in Latin script.[47] The column written in Nahuatl antedates the Castilian one that is meant to be its translation, although it does not follow the Nahuatl text fully, as "the translation of the Nahuatl text can be fast and loose, sometimes translating the Nahuatl closely but often presenting an approximation or summary that would be understood and digested more easily by the Spanish audience" (Terraciano, 2010, p.58). In the Spanish column there are also images that illustrate the text; images done by Indigenous painters from Tlatelolco.

The text has been written from the Indigenous perspective, more precisely from the Aztec viewpoint. This is in contrast with Díaz del Castillo's text, as the *Florentine Codex* only contains accounts of encounters that the Aztecs themselves witnessed. This work is much more centered on Montezuma and the fall of the city of Tenochtitlan.

[44] In Díaz del Castillo's account, La Malinche appears as "*doña* Marina" 88 times, whereas in this codex she is mentioned 11 times as "Marina" in the Castilian text, and equal number of times in the Nahuatl text as "Malintzin".
[45] I provide my translation of the text (MT) as there is no complete translation of the Castilian text into English.
[46] The Nahuatl portion of the text was translated into English by Arthur J.O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble in 1950.
[47] Nahuatl was written using logograms, phonetic signs, semagrams and auxiliary symbols for place names, personal names, and chronological information. For everything else Nahuatl used iconographic symbols. When the Spaniards arrived, they standardized the language and rendered it in Latin script (Museo de América).

The first time La Malinche appears in this Codex is in the following passage:[48]

> *Después de esto el Capitan don Hernando cortes les dixo por su interprete oid lo que os digo: an me dicho que los mexicanos son valientes hombres que son grandes peleadores: son grandes luchadores son muy diestros en las armas dizem me que un solo mexicano es bastante para vencer a diez y a veite de sus enemigos.*[49] (Bernardino de Sahagún, 1499-1590, p.415)

Through other sources such as Díaz del Castillo's text, we know that the interpreter mentioned is La Malinche, and, that in this episode, she is working alongside Aguilar. However, in the *Florentine Codex*, Jerónimo de Aguilar is never mentioned. Even more interesting is the fact that the Spanish text uses the word "*intérprete*" ("interpreter") and not "*lengua*" ("tongue"). Many names were used for interpreters such as "*trujamán, dragomán, lengua, ladino, naguatlato, lenguaraz, faraute, intérprete, traductir [...], mediador*" (Alonso, 2007, p.433), but Sahagún chose precisely the word "*intérprete*".[50] Given that Díaz del Castillo and Sahagún were operating in the same period, it is interesting that they chose different words. "*Intérprete*" emphasizes more the cognitive aspect of the professional activity, whereas "*lengua*" seems to focus rather on technical ability. In this instance, the interpreter is reduced to his/her role, as no name is mentioned.

[48] The Florentine Codex was written in 16th century Spanish.

[49] "After this, captain Hernán Cortés told them through his interpreter: listen to what I say; I have heard that Mexican people are brave men and great battlers that they are great fighters, highly skilled in handling of weapons, I have been told that just one Mexican man is enough to defeat ten or twenty of his enemies" (MT).

[50] In his dictionary, Covarrubias says that "*intérprete*" is: "the person who transforms words and concepts from one language to another. In this process, fidelity, prudence and sagacity are required, as well as equal knowledge of both languages to be able to understand what is said through metaphors and allusions and to find an adequate term in the other language" (MT). Covarrubias Horozco, Sebastián de. (1611). *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española.* Madrid: Luis Sánchez, impresor del Rey N.S.

The text uses the Nahuatl word for interpreter, which demonstrates that interpreting existed in Mesoamerica long before the colonization process. That said, we cannot affirm that it was understood in the same way it was in Spain, and this is due to the lack of pre-colonization sources, as well as to the fact that "interpretation is a purely oral activity [...] and in historic accounts interpreters remain usually anonymous and their voice is conspicuous by its absence" (Alonso, 2007, p.429).

La Malinche is mentioned occasionally by name:

> *Fue dicho a Motecuçoma como los españoles traian una india mexicana que se llamava Marina vecina del pueblo de Tetipac que es a la orilla de la mar del norte, y que trayan a esta por interprete que dezia en la lengua mexicana todo lo que el capitan don hernando cortes la mandava.*[51] (Bernardino de Sahagún, 1499-1590, p.420)

There is a play of individualization and collectivization here: Motecuçoma (Montezuma), Marina and Hernán Cortés are mentioned by name, whereas the other "*españoles*" ("Spaniards") are a collectivity. La Malinche is referred to as "*india mexicana*", which is an unusual explicitation. She was recognized as Mexican, that is, Nahua, but she is "*una india*" ("an Indian"), not known to them before. Finally, the use of the verb "*mandaba*" ("commanded") entails that they either perceived imposition or deemed logical that she collaborated with Cortés because she was being forced and commanded to do so. At the beginning of the sentence the use of passive conceals the agent who informed Montezuma of the arrival of La Malinche and Cortés, removing also any sense of time. It further focuses the action on the receiver of the

[51] "Motecuçoma was told that the Spaniards were bringing with them a Mexican Indian [woman] called Marina, from the neighbouring town of Tetipac that is located on the shore of the northern sea, and they were bringing her as an interpreter who said in Mexican language all that the captain Don Hernando Cortés commanded her to tell" (MT).

information rather than on the information provider. The use of the verb "*traer*" in "*traían una india*" ("they were bringing with them") entrails coercion, since "*traer*" implies that the subject that received the action of the verb was forced to come, she did not come of her own accord. It is impossible to tell whether Montezuma assumed that La Malinche was forced to come or if he had evidence that could confirm this. In any case we should also bear in mind that in the 16th century Spanish the use of this verb might have been a common choice instead of "*venir con*" ("come with").

In this account it is also confirmed that La Malinche spoke to Montezuma, as "*dixo a Marina dezildea a Motecuçoma que se consuele y huelque y no aya temor que yo le quiero mucho y todos los que comigo vienen, de nadie recibira daño*".[52] What is interesting is that in the Castilian text this interpreter is called "Marina" (as without Díaz del Castillo's honorific "*doña*") and in the Nahuatl column she is "Malintzin".

> In the speech of Nahuatl-speaking Indians her new name took the form "Malintzin", but for her Spanish-speaking contemporaries, and for her son and daughter, she was "Doña Marina". "Malintzin" does not seem much like "Marina", but it makes sense in terms of how Nahuatl replaces Spanish r with l, and "Marina" becomes Malina. To this is added an ending -tzin, which expresses respect and honor in much the same way as Spanish Doña does when it is put in front of a name. This, the equivalent of "Doña Marina" is Malina-tzin, and losing a vowel it becomes "Malintzin". (Karttunen, 1994, p.5-6)

[52] "[Cortés] told Marina to tell Motecuçoma to console himself and to relax, and have no fear, that I love him very much and all the others that come with me too, he will not be harmed by anyone" (MT).

If this is so, why was the clearly written "Malintzin" rendered as "Marina", without the "*doña*"? This could be either because the translator did not pay attention to the suffix -tzin, or because it was a conscious translation choice. Making La Malinche a "*doña*" would give her a different social status in the eyes of a Spanish reader, so the translator might have chosen to omit that. If this was the case, it would lead me to believe that the translator did not think highly of La Malinche, or did not consider her worthy of this honorific title.

In this account, the Cholula event is not discussed in as much detail as in Díaz del Castillo's chronicle, and La Malinche is not mentioned in relation to it. This is understandable given that it was written by Aztecs who were not present. There are other moments that depict La Malinche helping the Spaniards, episodes that were used later on to point out that she was a traitor.

> *Y luego mando el capitan Don Hernando Cortes por medio de Marina que era su interprete la qual era una india que sabia la lengua de Castilla y la de Mexico que la tomaron en Yocatan esta començo a llamar a vozes a los tecutles, y piles mexicanos para que viniesen a dar a los españoles lo necesario para comer, y nadie osava venir dellante dellos ni llegarse a ellos, yodos estaban atemorizados y espantados.*[53] (Bernardino de Sahagún, 1499-1590, p.435)

La Malinche's agency is emphasized here, as she is actively demanding goods for the Spaniards. Therefore, ideology is portrayed not through "usual" channels of presenting an action while concealing the agent or his/hers agency. Here, the agency is emphasized and the agent is

[53]"And then Captain Don Hernando Cortés, through Marina, who was his interpreter, an Indian who spoke the language of Castille and that of Mexico who was taken in Yucatán, and she started to yell to the *tecutles* (lords) and *piles* (nobles) of Mexico to come and provide the Spaniards with all the necessary food, and nobody dared to come before them or near them, they were all terrified and frightened" (MT).

personalised. The choice to use a verb such as "*tomaron*" ("that was taken") indicates, yet again, coercion. So, once again the reader gets the information that La Malinche was forced to work as an interpreter for the Spaniards.

La Malinche's closeness with the Spaniards is outlined again in the following two passages: "*otra vez dixo Marina el señor capitan, dize que busqueys docientos tesoros de oro tan grandes, como asi y señaló con las manos*"[54] and "*Don Hernando Cortés: y sentose en su silla. La india que era interprete que se llama Marina pusose cerca del capitan y de la otra parte el señor de Mexico Quauhtemoctzin cubierto con una manta rica que se llama Quetzal*".[55] In the first sentence La Malinche is actively showing the Mexicans the size of the treasures that they ought to find and bring to Cortés. This story is in sharp contrast with Díaz del Castillo's account, where Cortés pursues rather different interests, as everywhere they go he gives a speech about the Christian faith and places a crucifix (if possible even a figure of the Virgin Mary). In this codex, however, Cortés is more interested in the gold and treasures, than in religion. The hand gesture that La Malinche does also indicates that she knew exactly what the Spaniards were looking for, reinforcing the idea that they dealt with a great deal of golden treasures. It also emphasizes the visual component in the interpretation process which is studied in Chapter 3.

In the second sentence La Malinche's agency is even more highlighted, as the verb used is "*púsose*" ("she placed herself") near the captain. It is not that she was standing near him, she actively approached him and stood by his side. This sentence also speaks to allegiance since La

[54] "Again, the captain told Marina: tell them to search for two hundred golden treasures this size, like this, and she indicated it with her hands" (MT).
[55] "Don Hernando Cortés sat down in his chair. The Indian who was the interpreter, called Marina, placed herself near the captain, and on the other side, the Mexican lord Quauhtemoctzin who was covered with a sumptuous blanket called a Quetzal" (MT).

Malinche stands on Cortés' side and the Mexican lord, Quauhtemoctzin, "*de la otra parte*" ("on the other side"); he is part of the opposition, the "other".

With the *Florentine Codex* it is not easy to talk about the writer's positionality or identification with a particular group. At times the narration is in the first person, at others it is in the third person, and at others still impersonal verbs are used. This could be explained by the length of this project and by the fact that it was written by several people and translated into Castilian by several others.

2.2.3 *Letters to Emperor Charles V*. Hernán Cortés

Hernán Cortés (1458-1547) wrote five letters to Emperor Charles V between 1519 and 1526. In general, his letters present a higher register of Spanish than that of Díaz del Castillo. They are coherently structured in a chronological manner. To be able to place these texts properly within their context, we ought to point out that Cortés came from a family of *hidalgos*, a medium nobility rank that has its origins in the *Reconquista*.[56] *Hidalgos* did not possess a great fortune, but they did own horses at a crucial moment in Spanish history. Cortés and his family were born and lived in Medellín, a town in Extremadura, a province that was at the Muslim frontier of Spain (Hernández Sánchez-Barba in Hernán Cortés, 2013, p.xii). Cortés' father fought as a *hidalgo*. Hernán Cortés arrived to the 'New World' in 1504, to what today is known as the island of Cuba. At that time, Diego Velázquez, another conqueror who came with Christopher Columbus, was appointed as the governor of Cuba. It was Velázquez who sent Cortés on an

[56] Reconquest, "a long period in the history of Medieval Spain. It has been depicted as a war to eject the Muslims who were regarded as intruders wrongfully occupying territory that by right belonged to the Christians. Thus religious hostility was thought to provide the primary motivation for the struggle. [This process] persisted [...] throughout the Middle Ages until the final conquest of Granada and the inevitable union of Castile and Aragón under Ferdinand and Isabella" (O'Callaghan, Joseph F. (2003). *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).

exploratory and commercial mission to mainland Mexico on October 23, 1518 (Hernández Sánchez-Barba in Hernán Cortés, 2013, p.xxi). However, once Cortés arrived to Yucatán, he decided to change the purpose of his mission to colonization and act independently.

Cortés' letters are meant to be an explanation for his actions, a petition for the title of viceroy of Mexico and an atonement for his actions against Diego Velázquez, a close friend of the Spanish monarchy. Therefore, Cortés engages in flattering descriptions of what he found in "New Spain" and constantly repeats that he was conquering this "New land" for his majesty the Emperor.

Another important difference between Díaz del Castillo's and Sahagún's texts and these letters is that Cortés wrote during the conquest process itself. He writes about the action of colonization, and about the cities, culture and peoples he encountered on the way to Tenochtitlan. He also does an extensive recount of all the gifts that were given to him for his majesty the Emperor.

Cortés usually writes in first person singular, switching sometimes to first person plural. Furthermore, whereas Díaz del Castillo talks quite a bit about La Malinche and other interpreters who talked for Cortés, Cortés rarely mentions the intermediaries who helped him get understood. He usually states that he himself was speaking on behalf of the Emperor. In all of his five letters, he mentions Jerónimo de Aguilar and La Malinche only twice. The first to appear is Aguilar, as follows:

> *Y el dicho capitán les habló con la lengua y faraute que llevábamos y con el dicho Jerónimo de Aguilar, que había, como dicho es de suso, estado cautivo en Yucatán, que entendía muy bien y hablaba la lengua de aquella tierra, y les hizo*

entender como él no venía a les hacer mal ni daño alguno, sino a les hablar de parte de vuestras majestades.[57] (Cortés, 2013, p.19)

Here Cortés introduces yet another term for interpreters: *faraute*.[58] If we consult the normative dictionary of the *Real Academia Española*, we find that the first definition for "*faraute*" is: "person responsible for bringing and taking messages between distant people who trust him". "Interpreter" is the last meaning offered for this word. There is no doubt that Cortés believed Aguilar had more to offer than his linguistic skills. This is made evident in the rest of the sentence: "[Aguilar] who spoke and understood that language very well [...] made them understand [...]." By saying "he made them understand", Cortés is implying that there was a need for a cognitive process that went beyond the ability to convey the message in Mayan. He "had to make them understand", almost convince them, which turns Aguilar into an active agent who is using his own knowledge of the host culture to make them accept Cortés and his entourage. Aguilar had been held captive in the Yucatán for several years, where he learned the language and customs of the Chontal Mayans. Cortés started using Aguilar as an interpreter from the very moment he "rescued" him.

The first time Cortés mentions La Malinche, he says:

Y estando algo perplejo en esto, a la lengua que yo tengo, que es una india de esta tierra, que hube en Potochán, que es el río grande que ya en la primera relación a vuestra majestad hice memoria, le dijo otra natural de esta ciudad

---

[57] "The captain spoke with them through his interpreter and also through Jerónimo de Aguilar [who, as I already stated, was in captivity in Yucatán], who spoke and understood that language very well. He made them understand that he had not come to do them any harm but only to speak to them on Your Majesties' behalf" (Cortés, Hernán. trans. A.R. Pagden, 1971, p.19).

[58] In 1611, Covarrubias defines "*faraute*" as: "a person who bridges the meaning gap between two languages and brings messages between two people who did not understand each other. Each part trusts the interpreter, and if the interpreter turns out to be untrustworthy there are other bad names for it" (MT). Covarrubias Horozco, Sebastián de. (1611, 2nd ed. 2006). *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española.* Madrid: Luis Sánchez, impresor del Rey N.S.

cómo muy cerquita de allí estaban mucha gente de Mutezuma junta.[59] (Cortés, 2013, p.64)

It is in his second letter that Cortés mentions La Malinche for the first time. After calling Aguilar "*faraute*", Cortés uses the term "*lengua*" for La Malinche. We have to remember here that "linguistic structure is not arbitrary [...], [i]t is determined by the functions it performs" (Calzada Pérez, 2007, p.4), and Cortés seems to remember the function his text performs. By mentioning the Spaniard he rescued he is able to extol his own good deeds and make the Emperor understand that his performance in Mexico can be registered within a greater framework than that of his own ambition.[60] La Malinche is not mentioned by name, as Cortés suppresses her identity to reinforce his own agency. Cortés was aware that the Emperor was not likely to grant him the title of viceroy, and accusations against him were piling up,[61] as the Spanish royal administration was afraid of handing the government of the new territories to *hidalgos* (Rojas Mix, 1990, pp.103-108).[62] In this sense "the focus is far wider than the narrow confines of the clause [as] [i]ndividual moves [of the writer] are related at all times to the social context in which [he] operates" (Ian Mason in Calzada Pérez, 2007, p.xviii). Cortés' strategy can also be viewed in terms of the politeness theory, as the conqueror is using what Brown and

[59] "And being somewhat disturbed by this, my interpreter, who is an Indian woman from Putunchan [Potochán], which is the great river of which I spoke to Your Majesty in the first letter, was told by another Indian woman and a native of this city that very close by many of Mutezuma's men were gathered" (Cortés, Hernán. trans. A.R. Pagden, 1971, p.73).

[60] Hernán Cortés was accused of having his own agenda in Mexico as well as a thirst for power, especially by Diego Velázquez who sent him on this mission in the first place, but for a different purpose (Sánchez-Barba, 2013, p.xxxii).

[61] He was accused of killing his first wife, of stealing gold from the Crown (although later on it was found that the missing gold was intercepted by a Bishop before it got to the Emperor), of immoral conduct (as he had at least five illegitimate children), etc. (Rojas Mix, 1990, p.108).

[62] The Spanish Royal administration feared that by giving the government of the new territories to the conquerors, a feudal system could be installed and therefore, the Crown preferred to send their own supporters to fill those positions (Rojas Mix, 1990, pp.103-108).

Levinson call "face", namely "positive face". Cortés is constructing a positive self-image in order for it to be "appreciated and approved of" (Calzada Pérez, 2007, p.35).

Cortés is also saying "my interpreter", or even more precisely "the interpreter whom I have". In Spanish he could have said "*mi intérprete*" ("my interpreter"), but he wrote "*la intérprete que yo tengo*" ("the interpreter whom I have"). His word choice denotes possession. This is either to reassure the Emperor that she is, although Indigenous, loyal to him (Cortés), or to simply state that she "works" for him. Nonetheless, he never uses the possessive "my" when referring to Aguilar. Also, La Malinche has received information from "another Indian woman", so she is still part of that "homogeneous" group of "them", although she, La Malinche, is "his". Cortés also mentions La Malinche in his fifth letter.[63] This time she is named:

> *Y para que creyese ser verdad, que se informase de aquella lengua que con él hablaba, que es Marina, la que yo siempre conmigo he traído, porque allí me la habían dado con otras veinte mujeres; y ella le habló y le certificó de ello, y cómo yo había ganado a México, y le dijo todas las tierras que yo tengo sujetas y puestas debajo del imperio de vuestra majestad.*[64] (Cortés, 2013, p.354)

For the first and only time, La Malinche is mentioned by her Spanish name Marina, but without the title *doña*. By saying "if he wished to learn the truth he had only to ask the interpreter with whom he was speaking", Cortés is letting his reader know that La Malinche knew "the truth" and that she would be willing to inform the Tabascan lord of it. Cortés feels that it would

[63] There is a passing mention of a "*lengua*" in Cortés' third letter, but it is not clear if he is referring to La Malinche or to Aguilar, or to both of them.

[64] "[...] and that if he wished to learn the truth he had only to ask the interpreter with whom he was speaking, Marina, who traveled always in my company after she had been given me as a present with twenty other women. She then told him that what I had said was true and spoke to him of how I had conquered México and of all the other lands which I held subject and had placed beneath Your Majesty's command" (Cortés, Hernán. trans. A.R. Pagden, 1971, p.376).

be easier for the Tabascan lord to believe the word of his Indigenous interpreter, but at the same time he is sure that she, La Malinche, would give him information that would be beneficial for Cortés. He is implying that he trusts La Malinche. To further reassure the reader, Cortés says "[Marina] who traveled always in my company". This adverb of frequency "always", gives a strong message of stability and continuity of their relationship. He is also singling La Malinche out, among the "other twenty women", as the person who can be trusted to say the truth ("she then told him that what I said was true"). This is something that Díaz del Castillo also did, bringing us closer to La Malinche through this individualization among all the women that were given to the Spanish contingent.

One feature of Cortés' letters is that he rarely mentions the intermediaries that worked for him, as the purpose of his writing was to extol himself. When he mentions his main interpreter, La Malinche, he uses possessives, impersonalisation and genericisation to make sure that his reader will know that he, Cortés, was in charge at all times.

2.3 Textual Approaches: After 16th century

During the 17th century there are only a few accounts that mention La Malinche, and many of the existing texts are rewritings or new editions of previous codices. There are some famous works that deal with the conquest, all done by royal commission. One of them is *Historia de la conquista y progresos de la América septentrional, conocida con el nombre de Nueva España*[65] written by Antonio de Solís y Rivadeneyra in 1684. Solís became quite famous in the 17th century for this piece. He used Cortés', López de Gómara's and Bernal Díaz del Castillo's accounts to write his own. In it, La Malinche appears as *doña* Marina, a clear Bernalian influence. Solís mentions *doña* Marina extensively, but more or less in the same terms as in the

[65] *History of the Conquest and of the progress in northern America, also known as New Spain* (MT).

16th century. He states that "she proved very necessary in the Conquest" (Solís, trans. Thomas Townsend, 1753, p.91). Solís also recounts La Malinche's story, citing Bernal Díaz del Castillo, and specifies that "[...] as *Doña* Marina had learned Spanish, which was not long; for she had a very ready wit, and several natural endowments, which well agreed with the nobility of her birth" (Solís, trans. Thomas Townsend, 1724, p.113).

It was not until the 19th century that La Malinche was resignified, coinciding with the Mexican movement for independence from Spain. One of the first novels in which La Malinche re-appears, now as a scapegoat figure, is *Xicoténacatl* (1826), an anonymously published work. Other significant works are *Amor y suplicio* (1873; Love and torment) where the female character "rejects the Tlaxcalans as the weaker nation in favor of the more powerful Aztecs, only to disdain all the Indians in favor of the Spaniards as the braves and most powerful" (Messinger Cypess, 1991, p.47) and its sequel, *Doña Marina* (1888), by Ireneo Paz. Ireneo Paz represents La Malinche as someone who "acts falsely both to the Americans and to Cortés himself" (Messinger Cypess, 1991, p.48) and he also criticises her "for accepting so easily the ways of the European, which he [...] characterized as corrupt, filled with intrigue and guile" (Messinger Cypess, 1991, p.47). Octavio Paz's *El laberinto de la soledad* (The Labyrinth of Solitude), an essay from 1950, also presents La Malinche as a symbol of treachery. This work is examined in the next section.

After 1950 there was also an explosion in the number of plays that used La Malinche as one of the main characters, such as *Corona de fuego* (Crown of fire) in 1960 by Rodolfo Usigli, *Cuauhtémoc* by Salvador Novo in 1962, *La Malinche o La leña está verde* (La Malinche or The firewood is green) in 1958 by Celestino Gorostiza and *Todos los gatos son pardos* (All cats are gray) by Carlos Fuentes in 1970. In these plays,

> each author reconfigures the events of the conquest as a way of offering to his audience a positive view of the *patria*. At the same time, the presentation of La Malinche in these texts reproduces the patriarchal perspective described in Paz's essay, in which La Malinche is the image of the passive object manipulated by males in expression of patriarchal ideology. (Messinger Cypess, 1991, p.98)

Significant revisions of this vision of La Malinche appear by the end of the 20th century in works such as Rosario Castellanos' *El eterno femenino* (The eternal Feminine) in 1975, Willebaldo López's *Malinche Show* in 1997 or Sabina Berman's *Aguila o sol* (Eagle or sun) in 1984. They introduce a new perspective "by using satire, farce, and parody to criticize the authoritarian, patriarchal structures that have maintained the traditional restrictive paradigms [on La Malinche]" (Messinger Cypess, 1991, p.123).

Given the scope of this study, it is not possible to analyse thoroughly other sources that were produced in the 16th century and later on (especially from the 18th to the 21st century), but it is important to mention them and point out their significance in the creation and persistence of La Malinche as a symbol. Accounts written from the 18th century onwards are not the central part of this thesis and only serve the purpose of explaining and tracing La Malinche as a palimpsest. These 18th-21st century works also help trace how La Malinche became equated with the Virgin of Guadalupe. Many of the ideas on La Malinche that appear in these later sources come from the 16th and 17th century works, which emphasizes the importance of a thorough study of the accounts written during La Malinche's time and space.

The previously analysed accounts from the 16th century portray her as more than a woman (Díaz del Castillo), as a courageous Indigenous woman (Sahagún) as she spoke to

Montezuma with no reservations, and finally as a loyal and trustworthy companion (Cortés). All those traits can be viewed as positive, and many times La Malinche's actions are "equated with those of chivalric heroes from the Spanish literary tradition and biblical figures" (Messinger Cypess, 1991, p.9).

After the War of Independence (1810-1821), new interpretations were given to the signs of the colonizers. Many of the characteristics that the Spaniards considered positive were now resignified as negative (Messinger Cypess, 1991, p.9). A woman who helped bridge linguistic and cultural differences between the newcomers and the Indigenous peoples, and was portrayed as a positive symbol in the 16th century could not remain as such. If the Spaniards thought highly of her it must have been because she collaborated with them to a certain extent. In the nation building process of a newly independent Mexico in the 19th century, La Malinche could not be part of the positive system of values that Mexican political institutions sought to promote.

2.3.1 *Labyrinth of Solitude*. Octavio Paz

Many Mexican authors in the 19th and 20th centuries have talked about La Malinche, but it is Octavio Paz's work that sheds light on the resignification of this interpreter as a scapegoat. In his *Labyrinth of Solitude*[66] Paz has a chapter called *The Sons of La Malinche* in which he talks about modern Mexican society and its roots. La Malinche is, for him, *La Chingada*, the violated mother who has betrayed her sons (he does not mention any daughters). He believes she suffered, although he does point out that her suffering can be either metaphorical or real. By calling her *Chingada* (literally: the one who was fucked) he is pointing out that she was violated. The Spanish *macho* is, for Paz, *el gran chingón*, a term that carries in it the idea of aggression but also the idea of power (1962, p.72). Therefore, Mexicans are sons of the *chingón* and the

[66] First publication in Spanish in 1950. English translation by Lysander Kemp, published in 1962.

chingada, aggressive father and violated mother. They are *hijos de la chingada,* offspring of violation, abduction or deceit (Paz, 1962, p.71). The violated mother is La Malinche, whom the writer calls "the mistress of Cortés". He further compares her to the Virgin of Guadalupe and the Indigenous Tonantzin (Nahua goddess of fertility), the defeated goddess. The Virgin of Guadalupe is "the incarnation of purity, the consolation of the poor, the shield of the weak, the help of the oppressed"; *la Chingada* is a passive mother and she "does not resist violence, but is an inert heap of bones, blood and dust"; all the while she also "lose[s] her identity, [...] her name; she is no one; she disappears into nothingness [...] and yet she is a cruel incarnation of the feminine condition" (Paz, 1962, pp.76-77). This mother is viewed as "nothingness" because La Malinche is also accused of being a bad mother, one who looks out only for herself, not for the community–something that a 'real' mother would do. The violated mother is associated with the conquest, which is viewed also an act of violation, "not only in the historical sense but also in the very flesh of Indian women" (1962, p.77).

Paz concludes that

> When we shout 'Viva México, hijos de la chingada!' we express our desire to live closed off from the outside world, and, above all, from the past. In this shout we condemn our origins and deny our hybridism. The strange permanence of Cortés and La Malinche in the Mexican's imagination and sensibilities reveals that they are something more than historical figures: they are symbols of a secret conflict that we have still not resolved. When he repudiates La Malinche - the Mexican Eve [...] the Mexican breaks his ties with the past, renounces his origins, and lives in isolation and solitude. (Paz, 1962, trans. Lysander Kemp, p.77-78)

By renouncing their origins, Mexicans "[do] not want to be either Indian[s] or Spaniard[s]. Nor [do they] want to be descended from them. [They] den[y] them. And [they do] not affirm [themselves] as a mixture, but rather as an abstraction [...] [they] become son[s] of Nothingness" (Paz, 1962, p.78). Paz traces back the rupture with the father (Cortés) to the Independence movement and with the mother (La Malinche) to the Reform[67] that followed the War of Independence. Those socio-political movements define, for Paz, the moment in which Mexicans "decided to break with [their] traditions, which is a form of breaking with oneself, [...] [cutting] ties that bound [Mexicans] to Spain" and the Reform in particular "denied that the Mexican nation as a historical project should perpetuate the colonial tradition" (Paz, 1962, p.79).

This vision of La Malinche and Cortés prevailed during the 19th and 20th centuries in Mexico. It was only in the late 20th century that the efforts of feminist c*hicana* writers such as Norma Alarcón, Cordelia Candelaria and Carmen Tafolla revisited the symbolic meaning of La Malinche. They started to view La Malinche as a misrepresented and trivialized figure that needed to be revalued. *Chicana* writers stated that the mother, La Malinche, was repudiated as part of the hatred towards the origins, as a need to break with the past. They viewed the interpreter as more than a historical figure–she was a symbol of a historical conflict that was still unresolved (Alcarcón, 1989, p.62-3). As such, La Malinche "demanded we decolonize all facets of her legacy, and disassemble and reconstruct concepts of nation, community, agency, subjectivity, and social activism" (Amanda Nolacea Harris in Romero & Harris, 2005, p.ix).

Chicana writers set in motion a re-evaluation of La Malinche's figure, but many of the concepts developed during the Independence Movement and the Reform remain embedded in the

[67] The Reform (1854-1876) is the result of a long struggle between the Liberal and Conservative parties. The Liberal party wanted to reform the traditional Church and military power institutions. And even though the Reform was intended to unify Mexico's society (*criollos,* Indian and *mestizos*), it was primarily the *mestizos* who acquired the newly freed Church properties.

Mexican culture‒for example, the idea of *malinchismo*. This word, widely used in everyday situations, means "attitude of a person who shows closeness to that what is foreign while despising what is his/her own". This definition from the dictionary of the *Real Academia Española* is not marked as obsolete, but as a Mexican term. However, many writers and scholars have raised their voice against the widespread use of *malinchismo* stating, for example, that

> in any culture, outsiders or strangers have always been seen as potential traitors, and the Aztecs were no different in that regard. Malintzin Tenepal, having been sold into slavery by her mother at a young age, owed no loyalty to the Aztecs. They were her conquerors, as well as the conquerors of all of the other native tribes who inhabited the valley of Anahuac, and who eventually teamed up with the foreigners on horseback in a bloody insurrection" (Alicia Gaspar de Alba in Romero & Harris, 2005, p.54)

La Malinche and her evolving symbolism are still a topic of current interest. In July 2014, the Spanish magazine *Historia de Iberia Vieja* (*The History of Old Iberia*) published an extensive article on La Malinche. The journalist Mado Martínez dedicates 8 full pages to the interpreter and revisits her story characterizing it as a palimpsest. The article is inspired by and promotes a new book written on La Malinche and Cortés titled *Adonde quiera que te lleve la suerte* (*Wherever Your Luck Might Take You*) by José Luis Hernández Garvi. It is a fictional book that relies on historical facts, but most importantly it revisits La Malinche's case and gives her a new, refreshed voice that has nothing to do with her 19th and 20th century representations. In this work La Malinche stands tall and is not apologetic or victimized. Hernández Garvi revisits the conquest from the standpoint of the women who participated in it, those women who are rarely mentioned as key contributors.

Important player in the conquest, key cultural agent, supporting interpreter, traitor or mother of a nation are all notions that feature La Malinche as a symbol. This disparity in how she was portrayed has been analysed within the texts and contrasted with the socio-political context in which they were produced, which has given rise to a number of interpretations and hypothesis. In the next Chapter Panofsky's methodology is used to analyse images of La Malinche. This will enable me to further understand and position La Malinche as a historical subject and explore how her symbol evolves in the visual representations.

Chapter Three: Visual Representations of La Malinche

In this Chapter, I will analyse non-textual representations of La Malinche. The main focus is on three visual objects that are closest in time and space to La Malinche. These are: the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala,* the *Florentine Codex* and the *Codex Azcatitlán*. The images they contain will be analysed using the method outlined in Chapter 1. Since a large number of the images depict scenes that follow similar conventions of representation, I will analyse only those that provide new information. I will also look at images produced from the 17th century onwards, as they are important for understanding La Malinche's image and evolving symbolism.

3.1 La Malinche in Images

La Malinche is undoubtedly one of the most visually represented interpreters in history. All images in which La Malinche is depicted are post-contact creations. Those from her time and space can be found mainly in Indigenous codices[68] and pictorial accounts.

In pre-conquest Mexico meaning was made through "figurative murals, paintings on ceramics and codices" (Fane, 1996, p.29) that mainly served as mnemonic or organising devices to gain recollection of oral history (Boone 2000, p.20). This type of knowledge recollection and preservation goes hand in hand with Indigenous belief systems, as the Mexicas believed that a completely new event could not occur. It would be embedded in a past event that would be recounted by those who would be in charge of remembering the past‒the *teomamaqueh*‒(Allen in Parodi, 2013, p.43).

The Spanish chronicles "are usually without illustrations for strategic reasons, because

[68] They were painted by Indigenous people, although under Spanish approval. The majority of the pre-contact Indigenous artefacts were destroyed, as it was feared that they would incite pagan idolatry. Nonetheless, those same pieces were in high demand in Europe for their exoticism, and once displaced, they were considered curiosities, not dangerous artifacts (Trusted, 2007, p.162-163).

information about Indians and new discoveries was to be kept secret" (Sebastián, 1992, p.30,53 cited in Baigorri Jalón and Alonso Araguás, 2004, p.132). For this reason, "two principal sources of patronage in New Spain, the viceregal court and the church, did not finance artistic celebrations of the conquest in the 16th century" (Terraciano in Katzew, 2011, p.67). This is significant because, although there were no Spanish paintings or drawings of La Malinche, there were many images of Biblical scenes, both those that were painted in Mexico and those shipped from Spain for the purpose of indoctrinating of the Indigenous peoples.[69] This means that Indigenous peoples were in contact with European forms of art[70] which influenced their own work, creating a particular form of syncretism exclusive to the 'New World' (Fane, 1996, p.28). La Malinche appears in many paintings produced by Indigenous hand. In the 16th century, she is depicted in the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, in the *Florentine Codex*, in the anonymous *Texas Codex,* in the *Aubin Codex*, also anonymous, and in the *Codex Azcatitlán*¸ among others.

The only non-Indigenous pictorial account created in the 16th century, is that of Theodor de Bry, a Dutch engraver and goldsmith, based on Bartolomé de las Casas' descriptions.[71] Those images "fanned the flames of the *Black Legend*, the claim that the Spanish American empire had been born of excessive violence and greed, an accusation promoted by Spain's Protestants and rivals (Terraciano in Katzew, 2011, p.67). Also, "in some cases, images about the Spanish

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[69] This was further emphasized from the mid-16th century onward, "in the aftermath of the Protestant Reformation and the Counter Reformation, and some of the rulings set out by the Council of Trent (1545-63)" (Trusted, 2007, p.25). This meant that the imagery was fundamental for devotional and didactic purposes, since verbal communication was not easy and translating sacred words such as 'God' was not the perfect solution, since many Indigenous people might assume it was just a different word for a pre-existing deity.

[70] Mainly Spanish art, that during late 15th and early 16th centuries was influenced by Flemish and Italian styles, since Spain possessed domains in the Low Countries as well as in Italy. Queen Isabella I of Castile, and later on King Charles V, preferred to bring foreign artists or to send Spaniards to Italy and Flemish Region to learn the painting style.

[71] Bartolomé de las Casas (c.1474-1566) was a historian and Dominican friar. One of his most influential works was *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* where he presented his ideas on the atrocities committed by the colonizers against the Indigenous peoples and where he fought against the practice of *encomienda*. He was also designated to be the protector of the Indians, who turned to him to advocate for their rights.

conquest and colonization are used to illustrate a vision of the Spaniards as responsible for the crime of genocide, where the presence of the interpreter is anecdotal" (Baigorri Jalón & Alonso Araguás, 2004, p.132).

3.2 La Malinche in 16th century Images

I have chosen to focus on three visual accounts from the 16th century: the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala,* the *Florentine Codex* (its visual portion) and *Codex Azcatitlán*. The *Florentine Codex* is a hybrid work, composed of images and texts, and the textual component has been analysed in Chapter 2.

3.2.1 *The Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

It is believed that the original *Lienzo* was painted in 1552 and commissioned by the Tlaxcala (indigenous) city council (Bakewell & Hamann, 2010, para.1). Three originals of the *Lienzo* were carried out, but none remain. They were painted on a piece of cloth approximately 2 meters wide and 5 meters long (Bakewell & Hamann, 2010, para.1)–hence it was called *lienzo* or piece of cloth. This was a traditional format in which pictorial documents were prepared in pre-colonial America. In the late 16th century a copy was done by Diego Muñoz Camargo to accompany his *Historia de Tlaxcala* (*History of Tlaxcala*). He did his own ink drawings before writing the text, and it is certain that he copied many of the scenes from the *Lienzo*. In the 18th century a copy was painted in an updated artistic style–"shading was used extensively in this copy to give bodies and draped clothing an appearance of three-dimensionality" (Bakewell & Hamann, 2010, para.2). This copy is currently preserved in the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City. Yet another copy was done on paper and it was owned by the Mexican historian Alfredo Chavero. This work is now also lost, and all that remains are the lithographs made of it, now preserved at the University of Glasgow. In 2010, *Mesolore: A Cybercenter for Research*

and Teaching on Mesoamerica, a project carried out by Lisa Bakewell and Byron Ellsworth Hamann made a recreation of the *Lienzo* from digital scans of lithographs based on tracings taken from a cloth original (Bakewell & Hamann, 2010, para.11). This is the copy that I will be using for my analysis as it is the most complete and accurate reproduction of the original *Lienzo,* as much as such recreation is possible given the complicated life of the original cloth document. It also presents the images as they were put together originally, on a same piece of cloth, represented one next to another (Chavero's copy separated the images by pages, as it was represented in a book format, not a long scroll of cloth).

The *Lienzo* was commissioned by the Tlaxcalan government, who decided to "send a delegation to the king of Spain in 1552 to seek redress of grievances", by "highlight[ing] their role as loyal allies of the Spaniards" (Terraciano in Katzew, 2011, p.62). The Tlaxcalans were among the first and most loyal allies of the Spanish contingent. According to the textual chronicles, they were the first to get baptized (the baptism scene is actually the Christening of Tlaxcalan lords). Tlaxcala, a confederation of 4 republics was perpetually in war with the Triple Alliance states,[72] but the Aztec Alliance never actually conquered the Tlaxcalan territory, mainly because it was a nearby source of sacrifice victims and the continuous battle was a good way to test and train the Aztec warriors (León Portilla, 1992, p.XI). The Tlaxcalans allied themselves with the Spaniards in hopes of stopping this regime. But, when the conquest was over, it seems that the Spanish Crown was not treating them much differently than other territories that were not such close allies and the Tlaxcalans had to pay the same tribute as everybody else. Creating a painting to act as a legal document fits perfectly within the scope of Indigenous modes of

[72] The Triple Alliance was formed by Tenochtitlan, Tezcoco and Tlacopan (today Tacuba). Many other states feared this Alliance, since they possessed a great deal of military power. Their main goal was to conquer all other nations, as well as obtain victims for sacrifice (the main god, the Sun, would die unless fed with human blood) (León Portilla, 1992, p.XI-XII).

meaning making. Indeed, during the 16th and 17th centuries, the Indigenous pictorial manuscripts were used as legal documents, "containers of truth" for settling legal disputes such as property lines, inheritances and tribute quotas (Boone, 2000, p.248). Images were used by colonial administrators as they considered them to be "a transparent sign that both cultures would interpret in the same way, regardless of the language used to describe it" (Allen in Parodi, 2013, p.39).

The *Lienzo* recreated by the Mesolore project contains 1 large image at the beginning of the scroll and 87 smaller images (Fig. 1). The subsequent figures are enlargements from the reconstructed scroll. In 20 of these smaller images, La Malinche is clearly recognisable. The abundance of La Malinche's representations recalls Bernal Díaz del Castillo's account and the number of times he mentioned the interpreter.

La Malinche first appears (Fig.2) in the third image on the scroll. This is the scene of Cortés' reception in Yliyocan. The Spanish contingent occupies 2/3 of the image, and the Indigenous nobility bearing gifts takes up 1/3. In between the two parties, apart from the interpreter, there is a tree. This element could come either from the European tradition of placing a scene in an environment, or it could be a trace of the Indigenous tradition of placing a navel from which to start "reading" the scene in a circular, counter-clockwise manner (Magaloni Kerpel in Katzew, 2011, p.86). In this case I consider it to be the latter, as the scene is indeed to be read counter-clockwise from the middle. The first thing to notice is the encounter itself, hence the tree in the middle. The next action is the gift offering on behalf of the Indigenous group, and the last one is Cortés/Malinche speaking and accepting the gifts.

La Malinche stands on the Spanish side of this image, and her gown is the most colorful one. She is the only figure whose body is positioned towards the viewer. Her hair is loose, which

is an unusual way of representing female hair in Indigenous codices–it is usually represented bound. La Malinche is standing next to Cortés' horse with a peaceful expression on her face. Although she is physically closer to the Spanish contingent, she is positioned between the two parties. However, there are four Indigenous participants, and three Spaniards in the encounter, which would make La Malinche the fourth member of the Spanish contingent. She is pointing with her finger towards Cortés, indicating that she is talking to the Indigenous delegation on his behalf. To indicate that she is talking, the painter is using a European symbol of speech: a raised hand (Barasch, 1987, p.35). The Indigenous mode of representing speech usually entailed scrolls coming out of the mouth of person who was speaking. La Malinche is also larger in size than anybody else depicted. The Spaniards have short hair and trimmed beard, and they either wear a helmet or a hat. They are on horseback, so they are significantly elevated in the image. In this way, the image is constructed to show the power relations of the two groups, and La Malinche, although working between the two is physically closer to the Spaniards. Even though Cortés is elevated in the image, he seems rather absent from the scene, as he is looking away from the encounter. His hand is represented in speaking position, but he is not making eye contact with anybody.

The Indigenous participants remain confined to the left corner of the image and we can barely see the fourth member of the group. Their hair is bound and their ears are pierced. Each Indigenous group had its distinctive apparel, and dignitaries always wore the largest number of feathers or accessories. For example, the red and white headbands (which in this reproduction seem to be rather orange and white headbands) are associated with the Tlaxcala region (Terraciano in Katzew, 2011, p.62). "Signs and symbols of superhuman powers [that the rulers

had in Mesoamerica, especially Montezuma] were inscribed on the ruler's body and belongings by the state's most skilled artisans and architects" (Terraciano in Katzew, 2011, p.45).

The forth image on the scroll (Fig. 3), is located in Tecoaccinco. An attempt to achieve perspective, something commonly pursued in European art during Renaissance and afterwards, has been made through the use of architecture that covers La Malinche and Cortés–a building that corresponds to those found in Tlaxcala. Perspective is also achieved by depicting the figures from smaller to larger. In the Indigenous codices, as already mentioned, the images would be read counter-clockwise, and there would be no need to differentiate time and space through perspective. Once again there are four members on each side. La Malinche is standing in a less prominent position than in the previous image, behind the hands of the interlocutors. She is pointing with her finger, thus she is interpreting. She is also standing between Cortés and the Indigenous lord who is putting a bracelet on the conqueror's arm, a typical way of offering friendship. As elsewhere in the *Lienzo*, La Malinche is standing.[73] Cortés is sitting in his *silla de caderas* (hip-joint armchair) made of wood, bone and leather, which was a typical Spanish folding chair with an X-frame. The fact that he is sitting elevates his rank vis-à-vis those who stand while talking to him. Cortés' chair is also on a dais, which makes the hierarchical disposition in this image even clearer: without a dais the Indigenous chief would have had to look down at Cortés to greet him, and Cortés would have to look up at the chief. This Indigenous delegation is clearly differentiated from the previous one by their clothing and accessories, although their hair is bound in the same manner as in the previous image. They are also bearing different gifts.

[73] She is never represented in a chair, on a horse or talking for anybody else than Cortés, yet there is evidence that "she interpreted for the friars and taught others to interpret. In 1597 a daughter of one of the soldiers who accompanied Cortés claimed that in addition to everything else, Doña Marina tutored her father, Juan Pérez de Arteaga, in Nahuatl, so that he was the first of the Spaniards to understand it for himself" (Karttunen, 1994, p.22).

The seventh image on the scroll (Fig. 4) has the inscription Quitlaqualmacaque. In the lower left corner is the Indigenous delegation. In the centre is Cortés, next to him La Malinche, and on the right side of the image, the Spaniards. La Malinche stands on Cortés' left side; she is wearing a different *huipil* than in the previous images. She is interpreting, and clearly pointing towards the Spanish contingent, but she is looking at the Indigenous delegation. This would indicate that she is telling them something about the Spaniards or on behalf of the Spaniards. She is significantly larger than all other figures and she is rather expressionless. What is new in this image are Cortés' pose and body position, which remind us of Flemish inspired images carried out by Spanish painters of resurrected Jesus (Fig. 5) and of the prophet Ezekiel (Fig. 6). These images could have been carried by Spanish friars for indoctrination purposes and might have inspired the Indigenous artists. Whether they were exact copies of the images the friars carried or similar ones is less relevant, because Biblical representations were quite repetitive for consistency purposes, and therefore followed the same representational canon. This attests to the influence that the Indigenous artists received from the European art and shows how they incorporated it into their own paintings. The Indigenous lord is also sitting in a Spanish style chair, on Cortés' right side. The lord in question is most likely Tlaxcalan, since he is wearing the red and white headband. His access to the Spanish chair and such closeness to Cortés would undoubtedly indicate friendship and alliance. The Indigenous delegation is presenting food supplies to the Spaniards, and everybody is talking in this image, since they are all using the hand gesture for speech. What is also important to note is that "La Malinche, although wearing an Indigenous *huipil*, has European shoes on her feet" (Karttunen, 1994, p.2). The Tlaxcalan lords are wearing Indigenous sandals with tassels, and the rest of the Spaniards, European shoes. This is an interesting way to represent La Malinche's hybridity. But, there is also another aspect to take into account: the idea of clothes as an evolutionary process.

> This evolutionary process of translation is translated here by another commonplace: that of clothing, the most popular figure in history of rhetoric for figuration. The movement from muteness to eloquence is translated as the progression from nakedness, through the bare necessity of clothing as protection, to the pinnacle of clothes as a sumptuous sign of social rank (Cheyfitz, 1997, p.11)

Indeed, the male Indigenous subjects are wearing capes and skirts to conceal their nakedness. Since these images were made by Indigenous artists, this can either mean that the Spaniards gave La Malinche shoes to wear and the painters were mimicking what they saw or that they truly wanted to represent her as belonging to both worlds or to neither–a figure in the contact zone. Either way, the images of La Malinche visually represent her *in betweenness* for the post-colonial viewer.

The ninth image on the scroll is quite different from the previous ones. Here (Fig. 7), we see the baptism scene of the Tlaxcalan lords carried out inside a church. In the foreground is the priest baptizing the kneeling Tlaxcalan lords. I view this image as indicating that La Malinche was interpreting what the priest was saying during the baptism. This picture shows clear influences of European art styles, with the baptized kneeling and holding their hands together in prayer. Also, the Indigenous painters have provided an interesting detail: while the Spaniards are usually depicted in hats, in this sacred space, they do not wear any. It seems appropriate here to underscore another recurring feature of these images: "Tlaxcalan warriors were always drawn with their faces in profile, following prehispanic traditions. Malinche, the indigenous translator of Hernán Cortés, was always drawn with her face in a 3/4 view imported from Europe" (Bakewell & Hamann, 2010, para.2). It is clear in this image that at least three of the Indigenous

people are represented in a 3/4 view. Might this mean that the Tlaxcalan elite was also becoming more "in-between", and therefore the 3/4 view, used to portray Europeans, could be applied to the Indigenous elite as well?

La Malinche stands behind Cortés who is sitting in his chair holding a crucifix. Her hair is down and she seems to be wearing a cloak over her *huipil*. She is interpreting, thus she is pointing towards Cortés with her index finger. Next to La Malinche stands a man who could be Jerónimo de Aguilar, another interpreter, as he is also depicted with the "speaking hand". There are no identifiable attributes that could allow the current viewer to determine whether this is Aguilar, or not. The rest of the Spanish contingent stands on the left side of the image, observing the baptism. One of them is holding a spear, which is a rather unusual object in the depiction of ecclesiastical scenes. This raises the question of how free was the will of the Indigenous delegation to get baptised. The Indigenous nobles being baptized are presented on the right side of the image whereas those who have already been baptised are standing on the left. An important detail to note is that those already baptised have no ear piercings, an accessory still worn by those who are just being baptised.

Another significant element in this image is the portrait of the Virgin Mary which is situated in the middle of the scene. There are similarities in her depiction and that of La Malinche. The Virgin is wearing a different gown and has a more "European face", but La Malinche has similar facial features to those of the Virgin (especially if we take a look at the faces of the other Indigenous people depicted). Whether this subtle similarity helped spark the comparison between La Malinche-Virgin of Guadalupe (Tonantzin) in the 19th century is

unclear.[74] But if La Malinche spoke on behalf of friars about the Christian religion, walked always with Cortés (the potential god Quetzalcoatl), and, even though she was Indigenous, was always on the Spanish side,[75] she might have been perceived as a messenger for the divine. If we look at any sculpture of the Virgin by one of the most acclaimed Spanish sculptors from that period, Juan Martínez Montañés (Fig. 8),[76] we can clearly see the similarities. We can also compare La Malinche's appearance to some of the paintings of Pedro de Berruguete. For example his *Annunciation* (Fig. 9), is an image that the Spaniards who sailed to Mexico might have viewed or brought with them in multiple copies or that could have been among the imagery that the priests used in their evangelisation process. The Virgin Mary's features are quite similar in all her representations, and they seem to have been transmitted to Doña Marina. We can trace this similarity only in the *Lienzo*, as in other sources that are analysed below, she does not resemble the Virgin.

Finally, the last image from the *Lienzo* that I will analyse is the tenth one on the scroll. This image (Fig. 10) depicts the massacre in Cholula. This particular image can only be comprehended in conjunction with the texts that inform us about that event. It is during this scene that Díaz del Castillo says that La Malinche discovered the plot and decided to inform Cortés. Here, Spaniards and Cholulans are depicted in the centre of the town, where the pyramid of Quetzalcoatl, the feathered serpent god, stood. There are two Spaniards raising their spears

[74] This was especially prompted by Octavio Paz who spoke about the duality between the Virgin Mary-La Malinche, in which the Virgin would represent the caring mother, and La Malinche would be the raped mother who gave up on her children.
[75] This is described in *The Florentine Codex* when Montezuma hears of La Malinche's existence and that she is an Indigenous woman. He seems to be a bit confused about the fact that she was serving the strangers 'faithfully'. (*The Florentine Codex,* Book XII, p.420).
[76] This sculpture of Virgin Mary is the one that stands in the altar piece of the Cathedral of Seville. I have chosen this one particularly as Seville became the main port from which ships would sail to the 'New World' and one of the most bustling cities for art exchange. Many Sevillian artists copied the existing pieces that were sent to the Americas later on, and Montañés' Virgin was a very popular one.

and attacking the Cholulans, and two Tlaxcalans with no weapons, apparently talking to the Cholulans. There are many Cholulan warriors either fighting with obsidian knives or falling down from the pyramid and lying on the ground. Finally, there are four priests talking to the Tlaxcalan representatives. La Malinche is present and she is speaking, as indicated by her hand gesture. She is standing in the right corner of the image, but she is clearly present and larger than anyone else. Her shoes are still European, her hair is down, and she wears the *huipil*. La Malinche is the only woman depicted here. She also seems to be raising her eyebrow for the first and only time in all of her representations in the *Lienzo*. It is not clear that Cortés is the Spaniard on horseback, as this representation does not have the same features as other images in the *Lienzo*. Given the prominence of the figure, it is most likely one of his more faithful captains, Pedro de Alvarado.

Visual representations also silence important information. Although both Cortés' *Letters* and Díaz del Castillo's account provide descriptions of Jerónimo de Aguilar who did relay interpretation with La Malinche during this encounter, he does not appear in this image.

3.2.2 *The Florentine Codex*. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún

This hybrid encyclopedic work (1540-1585) contains images in addition to the texts in Castilian and Nahuatl. As in the textual portion of the analysis, I will be focusing on images in Book XII, which deals with the history of the conquest.

Book XII is divided into 41 chapters and includes 158 illustrations. La Malinche appears in 8 images, all of which are clearly influenced by European art styles in their attempt to depict three-dimensional images and in their use of hatching and shading techniques. Therefore, in their training, the artists must have been exposed to European images (Terraciano, 2010, p.55). In

order to understand and analyse some of these representations it is necessary to read the text, especially to be able to grasp the sequencing of events.

The front page of Book XII is an image that can only be read if one is acquainted with Indigenous modes of representation, since several events that occurred at different times are depicted at once and must be read counter-clockwise. This first image (Fig. 11) appears to have been painted by one of the artists sent by Montezuma to the Yucatán (Magaloni Kerpel in Katzew, 2011, p.81). The scene is set in a coastal area and it is framed by a rainbow. This latter element is the focus of scholarly debate, as some art historians think it has to do with water and fire symbolizing a sacred war (Magaloni Kerpel citing Espinosa Pineda in Katzew, 2011, p.86), whereas others relate it to the Christian idea of Christ's second coming[77] and the Last Judgement (Magaloni Kerpel in Katzew, 2011, p.86). I do not see a clear relationship to those images, unless the Indigenous painters reinterpreted those European images and created their own version of it.

The center of this image is occupied by a tree on a pedestal that could represent the navel of the earth, the centre of time (Magaloni Kerpel in Katzew, 2001, p.85). Indeed, the image is meant to be read counter-clockwise from the tree. Above and to the right of the tree there is an Indigenous person standing on the shore, pointing to Spanish ships. This would correspond to the moment at which the Spanish ships were seen for the first time near the coast. In the *Florentine Codex* these ships are called "floating white towers", in the words of Montezuma's messenger, sent to confirm the stories about newcomers. Once the strangers are discerned, we see the Spaniards disembarking and unloading animals, guns, artillery, boxes, etc. from a ship. Finally,

[77] In some images Christ sits on the rainbow during his second coming with the images of hell and heaven beneath (Fig. 12).

we see La Malinche. She is talking on behalf of the Spaniards who are behind her, and she is touching the Indigenous person to whom she is speaking. This is quite different from La Malinche's portrayal in the *Lienzo*, where she was always clearly on the Spanish side, never coming that close to the Aztecs. Montezuma's emissary, who is speaking to La Malinche, seems to be asking about the Spaniards since he is pointing at them. This image encompasses events that occurred over several months and, even though it has some European features such as the use of shadow, the depiction of horses and quasi-Renaissance drawing style, the most important aspects, such as the depiction of groups or the reading of the image remain embedded in the Indigenous modes of representation. This could mean, for example, that the Indigenous painter is showing that La Malinche did not interpret upon the Spaniards' arrival, but as part of the last temporal segment, once the Spaniards had already taken possession of part of the Mexican land. This image has not been clearly understood yet by art historians, and one must wonder whether some of the embedded symbols could be only understood by an Aztec initiated reader.

The next time La Malinche appears it is on page 421 (Fig. 13 and enlargement in Fig. 13.1). This rather small image features only four interlocutors. This scene is much more minimalistic than the ones from the *Lienzo* and we are not able to determine the scenario or the context unless we use the text.[78] On the right side of the composition, La Malinche is standing beside a Spaniard[79] who is seated. On the left side two Aztecs are standing. All of the interlocutors have their hand positioned in the "talking mode", including La Malinche, who is turned towards the Spaniard. She seems to be talking directly to the Spaniard which would confirm that she spoke Spanish. La Malinche is wearing the *cacica* gown, an upper class

[78] Contextualizing an image in a space by painting buildings or nature was also a trait of European art.
[79] It is not clear if it is Cortés, since he would be usually represented wearing his armour and with long beard, as in Fig. 15 and 15.1. Different images have been painted by different hands, and some images present more European influence than others, so both times it could be Cortés, or another Spaniard.

woman's gown. Her hair is up "bound in the way of Aztec women" (Karttunen, 1994, p.2). It is important to note here that La Malinche is not wearing shoes, just as the two Indigenous interlocutors. The Spaniard has his shoes on. In this image, he is sitting on a low backless chair that is not on a dais. Also, as in the previous visual representations, the interpreter Jerónimo de Aguilar is nowhere to be found.[80]

The text that appears before and after the image talks about an encounter between Montezuma's emissaries and Cortés. The questions asked to the emissaries concern Montezuma's appearance, age, etc. Although it is not possible to know whether La Malinche's interpreting was assessed on notions such as omission, error, accuracy, faithfulness, fidelity or consistency with the original message (Pöchhacker & Shlesinger, 2002, p.4), we do know that Cortés was able to recognize Montezuma since, in the next image, La Malinche is seen speaking directly to the Aztec ruler.

The most elaborate image in which La Malinche appears (Fig. 14 and enlargement in Fig. 14.1) is on page 433 of the Codex. The scene is contextualized by an Aztec-looking building. This image features another way of indicating speech, closer to the Indigenous modes, through speech scrolls. On the left side are the Spaniards. On the right side are four Aztecs led by Montezuma. La Malinche stands in the middle, although physically closer to the Spaniards, but larger in size than anyone else. La Malinche is facing the viewer while standing in a 3/4 position. In this image she is not interpreting, but she is looking at and listening to the Aztecs who are talking to the Spaniards, given the directionality of the depicted scrolls. La Malinche wears an embellished *huipil* and once again her hair is bound. Her hands are crossed, and her face denotes

[80] In Chapter 2 it was also pointed out that Jerónimo de Aguilar did not even appear in the textual portion of the codex.

concentration. The Spaniards are barely present, as they occupy less than 1/3 of the image. They are clad head to toe in metal armour and they are holding their metallic spears. Cortés is not present in this scene, as none of the depicted Spaniards have lordly feathers on their helmet. Feathers represented power in Mesoamerican art (Terraciano in Katzew, 2011, p.60), and Cortés was always depicted with them in this Codex. The Spaniards are represented in strict profile, and so are the Aztecs. Montezuma, recognizable through his richly ornamented garment and his headdress, is leading the group. He is speaking to the Spaniards through La Malinche who is looking straight into his eyes.[81] She is not only looking fiercely into Montezuma's eyes, but she is also taller and calmer than he is. If Díaz del Castillo is to be believed, Montezuma was surprised at her irreverence and he preferred a young male interpreter called Orteguilla who was learning Spanish. But Cortés could not rely on Orteguilla, as he would burst into tears when he would hear bad news. Montezuma nonetheless requested to have him at his side at all times (Bernal Díaz del Castillo, 1972, p.129). This rare representation of La Malinche working without Cortés by her side might either mean that Cortés trusted her to persuade the Indigenous people on her own, or that she had her own agenda. This latter interpretation would be exploited in the 19th and 20th centuries to present La Malinche in a negative way.

The last image of La Malinche (Fig.15 and enlargement in Fig. 15.1) is on page 452. It is inserted between two other images. The first one shows Cortés sitting on his Castilian chair receiving gifts. The third one represents two Spaniards playing instruments. In the middle is the picture where La Malinche appears (Fig.15), standing next to Cortés, this time on the left side of the drawing. She is interpreting and one of the Aztecs is speaking. To represent this; the painter has used both the scrolls coming out of their mouths and the hand gestures. This shows that the

[81] As noted before, Montezuma enjoyed a god-like position among his citizens and it was deemed impolite to look directly into his eyes, which would be a sign of irreverence.

Codex painters were much more embedded in the Indigenous art tradition than those of the *Lienzo*, and that they were just starting to introduce European art traits in their compositions. Recognizing this also makes the viewer wonder if this image should be read counter-clockwise, or if we are unable to fully decipher some of the elements on this image.

Cortés is seated in his chair and fully clothed in his armour. He is recognizable because of the feathers on his helmet. On the right side of the image are three Aztecs pointing towards Montezuma, who is on a hill, imprisoned in front of a building. For the first time in the Codex, La Malinche is depicted wearing European shoes. The rest of the Aztecs stand barefoot. An inevitable question arises: did the Indigenous *tlacuilome* (painters) decide to represent her with shoes once she met Montezuma and proved to be 'faithful' interpreter to the Spaniards?

3.2.3 *Codex Azcatitlán*

This codex was created in the late 16th century in the Valley of Mexico and it depicts the history of the Mexicas from their departure from Aztlán, through their settlement in Tenochtitlan, and until after the conquest. It was made by and for Mexicas from the city of Mexico-Tlatelolco, and therefore presented their version of the history of Mexica people. This document was also simultaneously addressed to other Mexicas from the dominant twin city of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, and thus it overtly followed their own official version of history. Finally, the document was meant to be seen and accepted by a European audience, consisting mostly of bureaucrats and priests, with authority and power over the Mexicas, whom its creators sought to please and convince through the use of European conventions and techniques (Navarrete, 2004, p.145). This codex also had a message addressed to the Indigenous audiences that was more or less hidden to

the European eye.[82] This would imply that only a person who was able to read the Indigenous composition of time and space would be able to comprehend the totality of the message.

The conquest part of the Codex is the shortest component and it appears to be incomplete. For the conquest scenes, the Indigenous painters used a more Europeanized style (Navarrete, 2004, p.155). In this representation (Fig.16) one page is devoted to the arrival of the Spaniards and the next page, which is lost, presumably features the Mexicas headed by Montezuma. It is believed it included a depiction of the massacre at the temple of Tenochtitlan, the most represented scene in Indigenous codices (Navarrete, 2004, p.145). I will analyse the first image, the one that was preserved, which features La Malinche.

In this image (Fig.16), La Malinche and the Spanish soldiers are represented similarly as in the *Florentine Codex*. La Malinche has her hair up, she is wearing her *cacica* gown and, in contrast with the *Florentine Codex*, she is wearing European shoes from the first moment she appears. Once again, La Malinche is facing the viewer, so the eye is drawn to her. What is important about this image is La Malinche's position in it: she is leading the Spaniards towards Montezuma (presumably). Her arms are open, one towards Cortés on her right, the other one towards Montezuma on her left. This is the first time she appears to be touching Cortés, showing him the way with a very determined expression on her face. This representation confirms that, at least in the Aztec world, the image of La Malinche was consistent, as far as her physical appearance goes. She is always Nahua-like, even though before coming to the Spanish contingent she was sold to the Chontal Mayas. What also seems to be a constant is that she, at some point, wears European shoes.

[82] Navarrete argues that there was an overt message sent to the elite of Tenochtitlan, and a private, hidden one for the Tlatelolca audience (2004, p.146).

Cortés is talking, but his facial expression denotes a certain reluctance or even fear. He is holding his hat in his hand, which in the *Lienzo* happened only in the baptism scene, and never in the *Florentine Codex*. The rest of the armoured Spaniards are marching towards Montezuma, holding their spears. A horse is depicted, although on this occasion, even Cortés is dismounted. The Spaniards are holding a red flag with the Holy Spirit in form of a dove clearly visible and represented as in any contemporary European image. At the back of the procession are three Indigenous slaves carrying Spanish food supplies. They may be Tlaxcalan, as they are wearing the red and white headband. It is not clear if the artists here implied that the Tlaxcalans were actually enslaved by the Spaniards, or if the Tlaxcalans gave Cortés slaves as part of the alliance.

3.3 Visual Approaches: After 16th century

During the 17th century, there are not many representations of La Malinche. In the course of this century there were continuous conflicts over "ministry and control of indigenous peoples" (Mexico and Central America, para.1). Peninsular discrimination contributed to "a growing sense of Mexican national identity of which the artistic manifestations are numerous" (Mexico and Central America, para.3). This led to the creation of multiple representations of the "apparition of the miraculous brown Virgin of Guadalupe, seen by Indians and *criollos* (American-born people of European descent) alike as a sign of divine ratification of Mexican identity" (Mexico and Central America, para.3). This period also saw a proliferation of "depictions of the Conquest of Mexico and fictional portraits of the Aztec emperors, whose history they coopt to ennoble the ancestry and identity of New Spain" (Mexico and Central America, para.3). Other forms of arts such as carved wood sculptures of the crucified Christ, the Holy Family, and numerous saints were also popular, along with different ceramic creations, inspired by Chinese porcelains (Mexico and Central America, para.3). However, we can see La Malinche in one of Miguel and

Juan González's "narrative paintings", or in an anonymous New Spain artist's painting entitled "Montezuma is made prisoner on November 14th, 1519", but these images are among the few testimonials in which she appears during this period.

In the 18th century, images of La Malinche were still scarce. It was much more popular to commission caste paintings that depicted the hierarchy of classes or castes based on race and national origin (Fane, 1996, p.70). In the 19th century we find more paintings that include La Malinche as one of its subjects. These images are either part of the neoclassic movement or history paintings, and the artists are rather difficult to identify, since their work was mainly made for the private residences of secular patrons. Among these images are a mural in the *Ex Hacienda de Chautla* in the city of Puebla, Mexico, José Galofré y Coma's painting from 1854, titled "Hernán Cortés and Montezuma's emissaries", and an anonymous Mexican painting made from feathers titled "Marina". Since the origin of many of these images is unknown, such works cannot be fully analysed.

It is in the 20th century that there is a boom of artwork featuring La Malinche. Painters such as the Argentinean Rosario Marquardt, the Mexican surrealist painter Antonio Ruiz, Mexican painter Armando Drechsler, and Mexican painter José Clemente Orozco, among others, have devoted at least one major work of art to La Malinche. There is also a proliferation of public statues and sculptures in Mexican cities, such as the one in the borough of Coyoacán called *Monumento al mestizaje* and the Monument to Malinche in Villa Oluta, Veracruz.[83] There are other sculptures such as that of the Arkansas-born Jummie Durham, whose work, *La*

[83] This is a very rare monument, since it is devoted exclusively to La Malinche. She usually appears in sculpture groups alongside Cortés or other participants in the Conquest.

Malinche, has been updated several times since its creation. During the 20th century there is a clear tendency to represent La Malinche in the Americas, but less so in Europe.

3.3.1 Visual Representations during 17th and 18th century

In the 17th century two brothers, Miguel and Juan González, who lived and worked in New Spain produced a large body of work. Not much is known about them except that they were quite famous because they used the technique of *enconchado* (shellwork),[84] an oriental method that was further developed in Mexico (García Sáiz, 1996, para. 1).

Among their works are 24 panels that narrate the conquest of Mexico. These were made in 1698 and are currently held in the *Museo de América* in Madrid. Even though they were painted in the Spanish baroque style, the fact that one image encompasses several events that are marked by numbers indicates that some Indigenous modes of representation were also used. These panels were commissioned and destined for the Spanish King Charles II to form part of his royal collection (González Miguel y Juan, 2014, para.1).

La Malinche appears in one of these panels. This image (Fig. 17) is entitled *Conquista de México: Exhibición ante los embajadores*. *Doña Marina lengua de Cortés. Elección de alcaldes*.[85] The title appears at the bottom of the panel and La Malinche appears under event number 4. These paintings were influenced by Solís' account[86] (Terraciano in Katzew, 2011, p.70), but Solís himself warned the viewer that there was "a danger of misrepresenting the past especially in the case of indigenous paintings (*lienzos*) of the conquest. He dismissed the

[84] In this technique, parts of the background were produced with paints containing fragments of mother-of-pearl, giving a shine to the transparencies and glazes (Oxford Art Online, 2014, n.d.).
[85] Conquest of Mexico: Exhibition in front of the ambassadors. Doña Marina, Cortés' interpreter. Mayoral elections (MT).
[86] Solís' account is described in Chapter 2.

credibility of indigenous histories" (Terraciano in Katzew, 2011, p.74-75). It is not known whether Solís was able to view these panels and "approve of them".

This panel represents several non-synchronous events that are framed by ornamental natural elements. Representing several events at once is a common trait of Indigenous art, but this image is not read counter-clockwise. The number scheme clearly indicates that is should be read clockwise, which shows that both European and Indigenous ideas about art have been fused into a different and unique conception of art. At the bottom, Cortés is seen shaking hands with other emissaries who are wearing Spanish-like clothes. In the middle of the panel there is a leafless tree that separates the events and, in the top right corner, we see La Malinche. She is depicted in the same way as in Aztec Indigenous codices, wearing the *huipil* and with her hair up. What is unique about this image is that La Malinche is leading an Indigenous delegation by herself.[87] This delegation is presumably led by Montezuma given his apparel and feathers in the hat. La Malinche appears to be talking in an animated manner, showing the way towards the Spanish contingent. Also unusual is that she is represented on the Indigenous side of the image, physically closer to Montezuma than to Cortés. She seems to be acting alone in bringing the Indigenous group closer to the Spanish one. One possible interpretation for this could be that she was perceived as "one of them", part of "the other", thus she was represented on the Indigenous side, as opposed to the Spanish one. However, given La Malinche's body posture and hand gestures, she seems to be the link between the two sides, extending her arms towards the Spaniards and encouraging the Indigenous delegation to come closer.

[87] In the *Codex Azcatitlán* La Malinche is seen leading the Spaniards, but never leading an Indigenous delegation.

3.3.2 Visual Representations during 19th and 20th century

It is in the 19th and especially in the 20th century that La Malinche starts to appear in many pictorial accounts. As in textual sources, her image was revised during the Mexican revolution and independence process, when Montezuma[88] regained importance, as he "embodied the glorious past of New Spain [to Creoles]. [...] Creoles found [in Montezuma and other] pre-Hispanic ruling elite a past comparable to that of the Greeks and Romans in Europe that would create a magnificent genealogy for their homeland" (Terraciano in Katzew, 2011, p.73). At the same time La Malinche was increasingly viewed as a traitor, a *chingada* mother, the one who sold out to foreigners. Indeed, "the negative images associated with La Malinche/Doña Marina in the 19th century evidently have prevailed, not only in literary texts but in both popular cultural forms and the plastic arts" (Messinger Cypess, 1991, p.92). It was not until the late 20th century that La Malinche was "rescued" by *Chicana* writers and also by some local governments that commissioned sculptures, murals or paintings in which she appeared. This was part of the *indigenismo* political movement aimed at reframing the state's relationship with the Indian minority. Within that concept, a prototype of an Indian woman was created as a "sign of cultural authenticity" (Zavala, 2010, p.3). A beauty contest was promoted in Mexico for Indigenous women, and the winner would be a Euro-Mexican woman (Zavala, 2010, p.21).[89]

I will briefly describe the images created in this time period, as a longer analysis would surpass the scope of this thesis.

[88] In the Indigenous paintings he is usually viewed as a weak leader, and in *The Florentine Codex* his body is thrown away into a river without giving him a proper lordly burial. The Nahua accounts "depicted [him] as an indecisive, ineffective ruler who never managed to put up a fight" (Terraciano in Katzew, 2011, p.73).
[89] Such a mixture would consist of having long black hair as well as adopting a Western dress style (Zavala, 2010, p.21).

During the 19th century most paintings of La Malinche were commissioned by private secular clientele and were mainly exhibited in private *haciendas*. For example, she is represented in an anonymous history painting in the *Ex hacienda of San Antonio Chautla.* In this highly romanticized image (Fig.18), La Malinche is standing in the middle of the composition, in front of Cortés, who is looking at her. She is avoiding eye contact with Montezuma, something that contradicts all the previous images of her. She is richly dressed in Indigenous clothes, but her face is almost as white as that of Cortés, and her facial features are rather European. The man standing behind La Malinche could well be Jerónimo de Aguilar, possibly taking note of the encounter. In this mural, La Malinche is portrayed as an Indian princess who follows the usual practices of a "good" Christian woman, acting with "great humbleness". She can once more be compared to the figure of the Virgin, looking down in an introspective manner (see Fig.8).

To illustrate the different manners in which La Malinche was portrayed in the 19th century, I have chosen yet another image that was painted in 1854 by José Galofré y Coma.[90] Galofré y Coma, a Barcelona-born painter, studied history paintings and portraits in Rome and returned to Spain as an acclaimed artist. He also wrote a treatise in which he critiqued the Spanish Academy of Fine Arts' pedagogical system. The painting titled "*Hernán Cortés y los embajadores de Moctezuma*"[91] (Fig. 19) is one of his late creations, as well as one of his least known works. The scene unfolds in a tent, and the viewer is able to see the scenery outside the enclosure. On the left side of the image stands the Indigenous delegation. On the right side stands Cortés and the Spanish contingent that includes a friar. La Malinche stands in the middle of the scene. She is wearing a white Roman toga and a headdress with feathers, which could mean that the painter was distinguishing her as an important or even authority figure. Her gown is quite

[90] In Catalan Josep Galofré i Coma.
[91] "Hernán Cortés and Montezuma's emissaries".

confusing, since she is the only one wearing such a garment, as all the other participants are wearing historically appropriate costumes. La Malinche seems to be speaking, as Galofré uses the speaking hand gesture, yet at the same time she seems to be listening to the words of the man standing next to her. This man could be Jerónimo de Aguilar, as he seems to be explaining Cortés' words to her. La Malinche also has an exceptionally white complexion, whiter than any of the Spaniards. Whether the painter wanted to imply that La Malinche was becoming Spanish is not clear, as, despite her complexion, she is shoeless, just like the rest of the Indigenous delegation. Cortés is clad head to toe in his armour and he wears two prominently depicted feathers. He is standing tall and decisively pointing out towards the outside area, while looking directly at the emissaries. The Indigenous group is bringing presents, but they seem to be looking at Cortés with distrust. La Malinche almost seems absent from this intense eye contact between the two groups.

José Clemente Orozco's mural was painted in 1926 on the ceiling of *Colegio San Ildefonso* (Fig. 20) in Mexico. It represents Hernán Cortés and La Malinche as the prefigures of *mestizaje.* Two worlds are holding hands and coming together, but there are several significant details that distinguish this work from the images analysed thus far. First, La Malinche, Cortés and the dead body on the ground are represented fully naked. Second, their skin colours are clearly differentiated, and La Malinche's skin is darker than in any of the previously examined images. Third, below La Malinche and Cortés, there is a dead Indigenous person, laying face down. Cortés's left foot is resting on the body of this person whose skin is darker than his, while La Malinche is sitting still, with her legs tightly tucked together–she is not touching the body. La Malinche's eyes are almost closed, and she has furrowed brows. Cortés is holding her left hand gently, while with his other hand he is stopping her from something or protecting her from

something. This mural has been interpreted from a Eurocentric perspective, where La Malinche is "Eve in the positive sense [...] not the negative icon [...] responsible for original sin and the fall from paradise projected by [...] Octavio Paz [among others]. She is the submissive Indian woman representing the American land's fertility" (Messinger Cypess, 1991, p.92). Yet Cortés' portrait is viewed as positive, he is "the conqueror, a superb figure of a man, [who is extending] his protective hand toward [La Malinche], and their union clearly represents the union of Spanish and Indian elements in a new Mexican synthesis" (Messinger Cypess citing Keen, 1991, p.94). Hands are indisputable protagonists in this mural representation, but I would argue that Cortés' hands show ambiguity, rather than gentleness. His left hand seems to grasp that of La Malinche with a certain gentleness, but his right hand, read as a gesture of protection, seems to be stopping La Malinche's right hand, depicted in a tense position, from moving. The passiveness of La Malinche's figure comes also from her lack of possibility to move, as Cortés seems to be restricting her arms and body in general.

The work titled *Mother of Modern Mexico* (Fig. 21) was painted by Armando Drechsler in the 1930s. It is the representation of La Malinche through the figure of Anna May Wong, a controversial Chinese American actress, who was the first Asian woman to get a leading role in a Hollywood movie in the 1920s. Anna May Wong was considered to have "the most beautiful hands in filmdom" (Hodges, 2013, p.116). Nonetheless, in this particular image, her hands are not shown. Several levels of comparison can be made between these two women, as they both were considered exotic, strong and charismatic, yet both were still considered "the other" and were displaced.[92] In this lithograph, Wong or La Malinche is represented as a Eurasian woman,

[92] "To her fans and film critics in the United States, Europe, and much of the rest of the world [Anna May Wong] [...] personified Chinese womanhood. This supranational image angered [...] Chinese leaders, who regarded her as a

with a short fringe−Anna May Wong's signature hair style. She is wearing prominent earrings with red and yellow circles, ending in five dangling pearls. Her neck is embellished with a necklace with motifs related to pre-Columbian art. On her head she is wearing colourful feathers, just as La Malinche does in some of the images analysed previously. Therefore, this image brings together two historically separated personas who shared a very similar case of otherness.

El sueño de la Malinche (*La Malinche's dream*) was painted by Antonio Ruiz, a Mexican surrealist painter, in 1939 (Fig. 22). The background of the image is a deep blue sky, interrupted by a lightning bolt above La Malinche's head and a brick wall that is starting to show. In the foreground is La Malinche, sleeping on a bed with an elaborate metal frame. Her hair is long and curly and she is presumably naked. On her sleeping body sits a colonial Mexican village. A church, the archetypical symbol of the conquest (Eder in Medina, 2006, p.98), sits atop the hill formed by her hips. Some scholars have identified the village as Cholula, the emblematic site where a massacre occurred (Eder in Medina, 2006, p.98). As previously mentioned, it is during that scene that La Malinche allegedly helped the Spaniards by uncovering a plot against them. The painter is suggesting that the nation has been built upon the ground laid by Malinche's actions (Panting: The Dream of Malinche, 1996-2015, para.1). La Malinche is therefore responsible both for conserving that union of two worlds (the *real* and the *dream* one) and, should she wake up, for ruining them. The painter seems to hint that "upon [La Malinche's] body the Western culture has been built" (Alarcón in Gutmann *et al.*, 2003, p.42), but upon her unconscious body, negating her active agency.

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puppet of Hollywood. Her family considered her at varying points a devoted daughter, a breadwinner, or a disgrace" (Hodges, 2013, p.xv-xvi).

In 1982, the Mexican borough of Coyoacán commissioned a group sculpture (Fig. 23) entitled *Monumento al mestizaje (Monument to mestizaje)*. In this public sculpture created in bronze we see Hernán Cortés, a very young La Malinche, and their son, Martín. Next to Cortés is a lion, and next to La Malinche, an eagle. She is sitting in a chair that resembles a wheelchair, decorated with Aztec motifs. La Malinche is extending her arm, although her face and body language are expressionless, almost paralyzed. Martín's features are European and he is naked. He points to something in the distance with his right hand. Cortés, on the other hand, is portrayed in greater detail; he looks like an authority figure. He is also looking in the distance. He is also extending his hand, perhaps towards La Malinche. None of the figures is interacting with the others. If we did not know that this was meant to be a group sculpture, we would almost certainly think of them as independent characters that have come together at the same time and place by accident. The sculpture was designed to stand in the main square in Coyoacán, but it had to be relocated to a corner of the Xicoténacatl gardens due to citizen protests. This clearly shows the public opinion in the late 20th century towards those characters and what they represent to the modern Mexican viewer. However, the Spanish newspaper ABC declared in 2011 that this happened because Mexicans did not want to see Cortés in the main square again (Cascante, 2011, para. 2). Would this imply that they did want to see La Malinche? Did they ask the public in Mexico? It is not to be forgotten that the term *malinchismo* is still ingrained in the everyday language in Mexico, and it is emphatically derogatory.

In 1992, La Malinche is represented by the Argentinean painter Rosario Marquardt (Fig. 24). Here she is depicted as having 'two faces.' Both mouths are producing the native symbol for speech. The two faces make La Malinche resemble Janus, the Roman god of beginnings and transitions, gates, doorways and endings. This figure is often used to depict interpreters as

individuals who are not to be trusted, who possess "two faces". Here, La Malinche is cradling a lizard, a European symbol of infidelity, but at the same time a symbol of a "tormented person with unfulfilled passions" (Hall, 2008, p. 193). However, and given the use of a native symbol for speech–scrolls–Marquardt might be referring to the so-called *ixipitlayotl* or "representation", which is a two-headed, two-faced Mesoamerican figure who can be seen bearing a lizard and snakes on its cheeks and brows (Karttunen in Schroeder *et al.*, 1997, p.294). In Aztec religious practice these figures are

> chosen human beings [that] served as temporary embodiments of deities, providing them with a conduit through which to speak and act in the world inhabited by humans. [...] Perhaps the Aztecs and their neighbours perceived the Nahuatl-speaking woman as the *ixiptla*, "representative" (Karttunen in Schroeder *et al.*, 1997, p.294)

Whichever of the two inspired Marquardt's Malinche, the outcome is quite similar: it is a figure that acts for and on behalf of someone else, be that a god or a client. And in both instances the interpreter, the conduit, can have his or her own ideas, represented as the other face. Finally, this image can be the representation of past and present views of interpreters, as Marquardt's work generally proposes "encounters between stories and spaces, navigating the areas between the intimate and the monumental" (Behar and Marquardt, 1996-2015, para.2). La Malinche would be the representation of the *traduttore, traditore* tradition that views interpreters as two-faced figures who cannot be fully trusted.

The American sculptor, Jimmie Durham, kept remodeling his wooden creation titled *La Malinche* (Fig. 25) from 1988 to 1992.[93] In my view, this representation encompasses all of the previous Malinches: she is seated on a wooden chair that is darker at the top, and lighter at the bottom. One of her feet has a shoe on, the other one is bare; one hand is gloved, the other bare; on one side of her face she wears a mask that emulates reptile skin, the other side is bare; she has a necklace that is colorful and has all her usual symbols of representation, including the talking sign. This sculpture is somewhat childish in its composition, but at the same time a woman's bra is hanging from her shallow upper body. She is both dark-skinned and white, clothed and naked, reptilian and human, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, empty on the top, full on the bottom. There is just one feature that does not have a duality: her facial expression. She is sad.

On March 25th, 2014, the village of Oluta in Mexico, where La Malinche was supposedly born, established a new festivity: La Malinche Day. The village's *Casa de Cultura* announced that every year conferences and cultural activities would be organized in order to "give to this beautiful woman the importance she deserves" (Reyes Grajales, 2014, para. 1). The village has also commissioned a statue of La Malinche (Fig.27), the only public sculpture dedicated solely to the interpreter. Here, she stands on a double pedestal and is looking upon the Mexican landscape. She is wearing her Indigenous clothes and holds the coat of arms of the village. While the artistic value of the sculpture is arguable, what is sure is that this gesture is opening the doors for La Malinche's symbol to change, and be re-evaluated.

Visual representations have allowed me not only to better understand La Malinche's evolving symbol, but also to find traces of Indigenous knowledge that is not observable in textual

[93] Durham has also a very interesting sculpture of Cortés (Fig. 26) that could be compared productively to his sculpture of La Malinche.

representations. This enriches the study, since through images it is possible to better access the viewpoint of the conquered. La Malinche is yet again an important player in the conquest, an active agent or a traitor in the late 19th century representations. However, in the images La Malinche is linked to the Virgin Mary or the Virgin of Guadalupe, which gives another dimension to her status as the mother of the nation. There are many similarities but also several divergences between the texts and the images, an aspect that will be further discussed in the next Chapter. This will allow me to address the interpretations and hypotheses introduced in the present Chapter, as well as to bring together the two semiotic modes and answer my research questions and draw my final conclusions.

Chapter Four: La Malinche across Images and Texts

In this Chapter, I discuss the importance of the use of images and texts together, in order to comprehend the representations and re-symbolisations of La Malinche. I begin by analysing separately the meanings conveyed in the texts, and those conveyed in images. I then examine the meaning made across texts and images. It is here that we gain insight into what meaning was omitted or even conveyed in a contradictory manner, and how this affected current views of La Malinche. Therefore, in this Chapter I answer my research questions: Why was La Malinche chosen to become a symbol? Why was she depicted, the only woman alongside men, at the same level as conquerors? Why was she represented abundantly, while other important interpreters who worked with her were barely present in visual or textual accounts? And finally, what or who converted her into a palimpsest?

4.1 Meaning Made in Texts

In historiography, the interpreters who accompanied the principal actors in many historic events have little or no presence in written accounts. In the case of the Americas during the colonial period, it is rare to find a record of the interpreters. La Malinche is an exception to this.

In Chapter 2, I showed that La Malinche appears often in texts. It is through Díaz del Castillo that we learn the most about her, due to the number of times he includes her in his description. The fact that he mentions La Malinche to such an extent might indicate that he thought her agency was not recognized or valued enough (so much so that he devotes an entire chapter to her). He gives the reader information about the quality of her work, about her looks, her bravery and her noble bearing. Díaz del Castillo is also the first to write about La Malinche's family and to include the scene in which she forgives her mother for selling her as a slave. It is

unclear whether this is a true story, since it "paralleled that of Joseph and his brothers in Egypt" (Greene, 1999, p.60), but it shows Díaz del Castillo's interest in constructing meaning in a way that would be recognisable and acceptable for his intended Spanish readership. So, even though he mentions that La Malinche's interpreting skills were excellent and that she had a deep understanding of all matters related to cultural knowledge, he is mostly concerned with constructing a Christian image for her.

Díaz del Castillo's work is one of the most cited by writers interested in La Malinche. His text, even though a marginal creation in his time, became the main source of knowledge about the conquest precisely because it was not used as an authoritative, official account in his time period, and did not serve state propagandistic purposes. Paradoxically, the work of this writer –the only one who wanted to rescue La Malinche from oblivion– was used precisely as a support for the later negative visions of the interpreter.

The *Florentine Codex* was produced by Nahuatl writers and Castilian translators, so there are several levels of possible intentions and purposes. In this account, La Malinche appears less frequently than in Díaz del Castillo's. Nonetheless, she is the only interpreter mentioned in the Castilian translation of the Nahuatl text, though it is known through other chronicles that there were many more interpreters working for both sides. In the Nahuatl text she is called "Malintzin", with the honorific "-tzin" added. A Nahuatl reader would immediately perceive that La Malinche had a certain social status and might conclude that she managed to conserve a higher social status among the Spaniards. In the Castilian text La Malinche is not treated as a *doña.* Sahagún, who was believed to have translated that text, ignored the meaning made in the Nahuatl text and translated the interpreter's name as "Marina". Most likely he did not consider La Malinche to be an important figure for his work, thus he did not pay much attention to the

conveyance of the original meaning. Mentioning her was just part of his ethnographic project. In this case it seems that the Nahuatl writers were far more impressed with La Malinche's performance and social position within the Spanish contingent than Sahagún was. The native writers mention her several times, and, for them, she was not marginalized, nor did her activity lack legitimacy. In Sahagún's account, there are no Christian values added to La Malinche (nor to Cortés for that matter)[94], nor it is mentioned that she spoke of any Christian matters. Precisely because of this, Sahagún's work was considered suspicious by the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition, and this work was shipped to Spain (Magaloni Kerpel in Katzew, 2010, p.79).

In his *Letters* Cortés hardly mentions La Malinche or any other interpreters although he was undoubtedly aware of La Malinche's value to the conquest in terms of communication and cultural understanding, as he never parted from her. When Cortés mentioned La Malinche by her Spanish name, he had already received his coveted Coat of Arms from Charles V. At this point he did not need to underscore the idea that he was the only active agent during the conquest process. From Cortés' writing I observe that he most likely perceived La Malinche as a tool, a means to an end. Although many writers claim that "it was found highly dangerous to employ the natives as interpreters, upon whose fidelity they could not depend" (Niranjana, 1992, p.16), it seems that Cortés was sure of La Malinche's fidelity. He also knew it was not easy to find reliable interpreters, so, according to Díaz del Castillo, he promised to give La Malinche an estate in return for her services, which he did.

Until the 18th century, the symbolism of La Malinche remained more or less the same as in the 16th century's accounts. As seen in Chapter 2, Solís' admiration for her even surpassed

[94] In Díaz del Castillo's account Cortés would install crosses everywhere he went, whereas, in the *Florentine Codex,* he is more concerned about gold and other goods.

Díaz del Castillo's, as he called her an indispensable asset for the conquest. Therefore, it is safe to say that, at least nominally, La Malinche was usually praised in the Spanish accounts.

Since I view all language use to be ideological, these statements should not be taken as mere products of personal sentiments. They should be understood in their historical context: La Malinche appeared after many failed attempts to find a native interpreter and she did her job well. By doing so she appears to have set the standard for 'good interpreting', for both sides, since at no point was the quality of her performance questioned.

In the 19th and 20th centuries her figure is resignified as part of the independence process of Mexico from Spain. La Malinche was criticized for speaking and bearing the enemy's children and she is still a source of revision and appropriation (Alarcón, 1989, p.85). She was perceived as a first *mestizo* mother who talked on her own behalf rather than for her community (a mother should talk on behalf of her children, not herself) (Alarcón, 1999, p.62-3). Nonetheless, "community" in this sense would mean the entire Indigenous community, treated as a homogeneous entity−which it was not. The mere fact that La Malinche was sold into slavery within that community speaks to its heterogeneity. Another important factor is the verb used to express disagreement with La Malinche's actions: according to Paz, she "talked", more precisely "talked on behalf of". This implies, as Carlos Fuentes noted in his *Todos los gatos son pardos*, that La Malinche's gift of speech led to her being regarded as a traitor. Her power of language made her the perfect scapegoat, as she was not only an interpreter whose clients were Spaniards, but also because "language itself, as mediator, is our first betrayal" (Alarcón citing Pacheco in Gutmann, Rodríguez *et al*., 2003, p.37).

During the 19th and 20th centuries, 16th and 17th century chronicles were used to document, support and promote negative ideas about La Malinche. By the end of the 19th century, she had become a traitor, a monstrous mother and a *chingada* violated by the oppressive "father". It was Díaz del Castillo's personal account that mostly influenced 19th century writers as his work was deemed to be a sincere testimony of La Malinche's value for the Spanish contingent. She was not taken into account as a female slave who was traded (historical object), but as a historical subject (Alarcón, 1989, p.85) who acted out of her own will against "her people".

It was not until the end of the 20th century that La Malinche was resignified by Chicana writers who deemed her to have been misrepresented and trivialized. For Alarcón, "once [La Malinche's] usefulness [is] over, she is silenced, and disappears from the record, because she is Indian and a woman. She crosses over, but there is no legitimized space for her" (Alarcón in Gutmann, Rodríguez *et al*., 2003, p.46). While La Malinche may have been silenced as a historical subject, she was certainly not silenced as a historical object, that is, someone whose figure is used to personify an action or a sentiment. La Malinche's activity was used to introduce "the notion of historical, sexual, and linguistic agency at the beginning of the Mexican colonial period" (Alarcón in Gutmann, Rodríguez *et al*., 2003, p.46), and as such, she was used to personify treachery and violation. The 16th and 17th century texts helped consolidate such a view insofar they emphasized the worth of La Malinche's language skills during the conquest.

4.2 Meaning Made in Images

As shown in Chapter 3, the images contain more traces of Amerindian ways of meaning making than do texts. Even though the paintings in which La Malinche appears were post-contact

creations, they were done by native hand and often contained hidden messages for Amerindian readers. Federico Navarrete goes as far as to suggest that images were probably the only way of resistance that the natives had during the colonial period, since the native painters would create different levels of meaning for different readers (2004, p.146). Therefore they were also able to preserve part of their history embedded in the paintings that were created in mixed Amerindian and European artistic styles. A European reader unfamiliar with Amerindian modes of knowledge representation would not be able to grasp that meaning, so those post-contact images survived, as they were not considered to be harmful.[95] It is possible to recover much of this hidden meaning by comparing the images and symbolic conventions to other pre-contact images. Unfortunately, many other symbols and messages most likely remain undiscovered as many native knowledge sources were lost or destroyed.

In the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, La Malinche is depicted either by Cortés' side or alone, usually in scenes of diplomatic talks (Figs. 2, 3, 4), but also in the battlefield (Fig. 10). In one scene only she is in a temple, most likely interpreting for the priest, but standing next to Cortés (Fig. 7). This scene depicts La Malinche and the Virgin Mary as sharing similar physiognomy, which will be further discussed later in this Chapter.

The Tlaxcalans adopted many of European art features in the *Lienzo*, and this is the only native depiction where La Malinche's hair is not bound. It is reasonable to think that many Tlaxcalan painters got their inspiration from European images that circulated during that time, and those images were mainly of a religious nature.[96] La Malinche's resemblance to the Virgin

[95] Unlike the native codices and artefacts that were massively destroyed (when they were not shipped to Europe for sale as exotic curiosities) as they were understood as harmful and potentially damaging to the Christianisation process.
[96] As mentioned in Chapter 3, Tlaxcalans were the first to get baptized as part of their alliance with the Spanish, so they probably had early access to European religious imagery.

Mary becomes understandable also within the scope of mimicry of European art (see Fig.8 and 9). It is not clear whether the artists also had in mind the idea that La Malinche's image should convey all the meaning that was behind Virgin Mary's representation. The fact that they portrayed the Aztec warriors usually in profile–a feature of Amerindian art–may indicate also that they clearly separated what was European and what was native. In the baptism scene (Fig. 7), however, those Tlaxcaltecas who were already baptised and were standing behind the priest, were already represented in the 3/4 view. This is also a clear indication that those baptised were now 'different'. The painters perceived these baptized noblemen as hybrid figures, not entirely Indigenous nor entirely European. To be able to visually represent this new reality they chose the 3/4 position and the removal of the earrings on those baptised. It is not clear why the 3/4 view was chosen to represent the foreign element, but I would argue that such a body position was the most unusual one for the Indigenous painters. In Indigenous art, the most common body position seems to be either the frontal or the profile one, so the 3/4 view, even though not entirely unknown in the pre-Colombian art, was still the least used. The lack of the ornamental element such as the earrings can be correlated to the loss of part of one's identity; a symbolic representation of the alteration of someone's set of beliefs.

In all the images La Malinche is represented larger in size than all other figures. Did the Tlaxcaltecas think of her highly, or did they believe the Spaniards thought highly of her and that it would please them to see the interpreter magnified? La Malinche also constantly wears the *huipil* and European shoes. This representation of hybridity is even stronger than the loss of Indigenous earrings, since she not only lost her Indigenous sandals, but changed them for European shoes. I believe this to be a visual representation of La Malinche's closer proximity to the Spaniards and a possible foreshadowing of the *mestiza* image.

The *Florentine Codex* was painted by native painters as well, and it presents more Amerindian traits than the *Lienzo.* La Malinche's hair is always bound in the traditional manner. She is also slightly bigger than the rest of the interlocutors (Fig. 13.1 and 14.1), but the difference in size is not as great as in the *Lienzo.* This might indicate that she was the centre of attention at a given time and represented as such. It is also possible that she had a central role while speaking, which would also put language and communication in focus. Indeed, what made the encountered parties powerless was the lack of linguistic knowledge, and therefore the impossibility to communicate. It is in that powerlessness of otherwise powerful social figures that La Malinche's power resided. Her power of language is physically represented through the centrality and size of her figure.

There is also a stylistic difference among the images. Fig.15, for example, presents a style of drawing closer to the European one, and it is precisely in this image that La Malinche is represented wearing shoes. But this variation may be attributable to the fact that it was painted by a different artist, or it may be that attitudes toward La Malinche had changed (she wears shoes after having talked to Montezuma).

In the *Codex Azcatitlán*, La Malinche is represented in the same way as in the *Florentine Codex*: she has her hair up, she maintains her centrality or leading role, and she wears shoes.

In all three pictorial accounts La Malinche undoubtedly has a central role and she is the only recognisable interpreter represented. No other women are depicted in a similar position. All this indicates how intriguing her figure was for the native painters. These images can also be seen as dealing with questions of identity, ideology, power, hierarchy and gender. The hybrid representation of La Malinche clearly indicates that the painters were exploring the

representation of the contact zone and the changes in Indigenous and Spanish identity through this contact. They could not represent clearly any change in the Spanish identity, since it was new to them, but they were able to explore and observe the post-contact hybridity in the familiar customs of the Indigenous people. The painters also represented the shift in power and hierarchy through the usual means, such as centrality and size, but also through clothing. Finally, the gender issue in the Indigenous society is difficult to discuss, especially since scholars seem not to have a conclusive idea on the male-female roles in pre-contact societies (Burkhart in Schroeder, Wood *et al*., 1997, p.25-54). Nonetheless, it does seem that "women in Aztec Mexico occupied a symbolic and social domain that was separate from and complementary to that of men. Mexica women were junior to men in status and had limited political authority" (Burkhart in Schroeder, Wood *et al*., 1997, p.25).

In the 17th century La Malinche appears in the panels painted by Juan and Miguel González (Fig. 17). She is represented in the same manner as in the *Codex Azcatitlán*, although this time she is not leading the Spaniards to the encounter with Montezuma, but taking Montezuma towards the Spaniards. This reversal of roles implies a different direction of vectors of communication. Here, La Malinche is almost acting alone. This time it is not the Spaniards who are looking to bridge the communication gap, but it is either La Malinche or Montezuma with other Aztecs who want to approach them. This could indicate a different vision of the native role in the conquest, or the need of the *mestizo* to balance out their own duality struggle (Alarcón, 1999, p.59). I believe that emphasizing the Indigenous role in the conquest could be part of the interiorization process of the consequences of the conquest, and once again, La Malinche serves as a link between the two torn parts of a *mestizo*. Her role would be precisely to bring the two parts together and facilitate the understanding process.

In the early 19th century, meaning in visual representations is made through a romanticized historical approach. There is a visible change in the representation of La Malinche as in certain images (Fig.18) she is also depicted with her hair loose and European features. She is not looking directly into Montezuma's eyes anymore as she is represented as a 'good' Christian woman looking down in modesty. This coincides with the revival of the image of Virgin of Guadalupe as part of the Mexican national identity vis-à-vis the Spanish one. It may have influenced Mexican painters, especially those in the rural areas where this movement was especially strong.

By the 20th century, artistic conventions had opened to many different schools and influences, and La Malinche is presented in numerous ways. What remains the same is that she is still frequently represented. She has the same traits, colour, position, hair, and clothing but she is no longer the central figure. She is either held tightly by Cortés (Fig.19) or her body is used to metaphorically represent her as an ambiguous foundation for her culture (Fig.21). The two-faced image by Rosario Marquardt (Fig.24) gives La Malinche a resemblance to Janus. This figure is widely (and controversially) used to represent interpreters as two-faced figures that cannot be fully trusted and inserts La Malinche into the *traduttore*, *traditore* tradition. As the Mexican national identity struggled to form, La Malinche became the epitome of betrayal through language and was the most represented figure portraying that tradition. In a public monument, popular opposition was so great that the sculpture had to be moved to a less prominent location (Fig.23). In the 20th century "relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control" (Wodak, 2003, 6-7) are interpreted and represented differently than in the 16th century. La Malinche loses her dominance to Cortés who, even though considered a transfigured, false god, obtains the function of the dominant father (of the Mexican nation). This indicates that La

Malinche's role was re-evaluated from a new perspective and those elements that constituted her image in the 16th century were now used to represent something new. She becomes the passive element, the raped mother, the weeping woman (*La Llorona*).

4.3 Meaning Constructed Across Images and Texts

It is not possible to understand La Malinche unless we view her through more than one form of knowledge preservation. Since the "[m]aking of history is always a struggle between different groups for the more relevant and convincing interpenetration of events" (Wodak, 2003, p.9), having the possibility to hear "the other side of the story" or to see history reinterpreted through time and space enriches immensely our knowledge on this interpreter.

By looking separately at images and texts produced in the 16th century, I have shown what was presented and what was omitted in them. By comparing the two, it is possible to see that in La Malinche's time and space she appears abundantly in both Indigenous and Spanish textual and visual accounts. It is also possible to find similarities as well as differences among the images and the texts. The same is true for images and texts produced later in time.

La Malinche's presence is documented in both semiotic modes that I have looked at. In the 16th century texts, she is mentioned many times either by Cortés' side, or with Jerónimo de Aguilar. Although Aguilar frequently appears in the texts as the "other interpreter", the "supporting interpreter" and gradually fades away once La Malinche did not need his help to understand Spanish, he does not appear in the images at all (in the 16th century or later on). In addition, La Malinche also appears interpreting alone in the images, something rarely acknowledged in texts. La Malinche's numerous visual representations go beyond the mere physical presence. Her figure gains centrality and many of the images are about her. La Malinche

is meticulously observed and depicted as the symbolic representation of hybridity, which shows that she was, indeed, a pre-figuration of *mestizaje*.

Through texts we receive information on La Malinche's eloquence, faithfulness, background (never described in detail) and baptism, which is never represented visually. There may be several explanations for the absence of information on her baptism. First, at the time of her baptism she was one of the slaves that Cortés had received and had no further significance. Second, the paintings that are preserved were made by painters who either met La Malinche at a high point of the conquest or heard about her afterwards, so they could not know or recall this information. Finally, for the Indigenous painters it was not important to emphasize La Malinche's religiousness, especially not in relation to Catholicism, except in one scene in the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* (Fig. 7). It is reasonable to affirm that the Tlaxcalans were most influenced by religious indoctrination since they were Spaniards' allies. To prove their friendship they overemphasized their willingness to accept the new religion and its symbols. However, by doing so, they decided to visually present La Malinche in a similar manner as the Virgin Mary. During the 16th century devotion to the Virgin was on the rise, especially after the Council of Trent in 1545, prompted by the Protestant Reformation (El Concilio de Trento, n.d., para.1). The aforementioned Council not only highlighted the importance of worship of the Virgin Mary but it also emphasized the crucial role of the images in religious indoctrination (Gruzinski, 2010, p.43). Among these images, the figure of the Virgin of Guadalupe, venerated in Extremadura, "the land of the conquistadors", was one of the most popular images brought to the Americas (Gruzinski, 2010, p.43). Even Cortés carried a banner of the Immaculate Conception on his journey to Tenochtitlan (Donahue-Wallace, 2008, p.141). In 1555 the Virgin of Guadalupe, the dark skinned Virgin, appeared to the Indigenous Juan Diego Cuauhtlatoatzin (later canonized) on the Tepeyac hill where the

Indigenous goddess Tonantzin has been worshiped (Gruzinski, 2010, p. 103-105). Since that time, the Virgin of Guadalupe became a symbol of the new religion and of *mestizaje*. In the Tlaxcalan baptism image (Fig.7), La Malinche is the pre-figuration of *mestizaje,* as she resemles the Virgin.

During the late 19th and at the beginning of 20th century Mexico was experiencing a rise in independence movements. Between 1926 and 1929, an insurrection, called the Cristero Wars,[97] occurred in Mexico. The use of religious imagery was central to it, especially the image of the Virgin, a new benevolent mother. La Malinche, who in Mexican popular mythology was already seen as a tripartite figure (a violated mother, *La Llorona* weeping for the loss of her children, or the Virgin-like *mestizo* mother), could no longer be equated to the emerging symbol of a nation. The Virgin of Guadalupe, first a Spanish symbol of Christianization then a symbol of *mestizaje*, was now being resignified as part of an effort to form an independent nation that could not renounce its religious symbols. The "new Virgin" could no longer be equated with La Malinche, since La Malinche was part of a conflictive past that was to be overcome. Spanish symbols or collaborators could not be "on the good side", so La Malinche became "Guadalupe's monstrous double" (Alarcón, p.58), the "originator of Mexican people's fall" (Alarcón, p.58-59). These historical events are crucial to understand La Malinche's changing symbolism, and are worth mentioning, despite the risk of oversimplification.

[97] *La rebelión de los cristeros* or the Cristero Wars, 1926-1929, a period of conflict between the State and the Church due to the adoption of public policies designed to restrict the autonomy of the Catholic Church in Mexico. "Catholic citizens formed the National League for the Defense of Religious Freedom in March 1925. Their goal was to achieve freedom of cult by legal means, but it was declared illegal and [...] became an underground movement. In January 1927, the first guerillas, formed by farmers, began to gather weapons. These armed forces were known as *cristeros* and grew by proclaiming Long Live Cristo Rey! and Long Live Santa María de Guadalupe! An efficient way to add followers to the cause was the use of symbols profoundly rooted in Mexican culture, such as the Virgin of Guadalupe, formerly used with the same goal by leaders of the Independence and Revolution struggles" (The Cristero War, 2000-2015, para. 1-12).

By the 19th and 20th centuries, La Malinche lost her 16th century status. What Gruzinski calls "the war of images" that started in the 16th century with the first Christian religious imagery introduced to the New World seems to have culminated with the 20th century twist that centered on *mestizaje* (2010, p.205). Images played an important role in the conquest process and certain symbolic elements were transmitted only through them. The images were used for indoctrination purposes, but also for the construction of national symbols.

Texts allow us to grasp all of La Malinche's names, something that is not obvious through her images. In some instances the name "Marina" or "Malintzin" appears as a glyph, but this does not give us access to the other names attributed to her, such as Malinalli, *doña* Marina or Malinche. Only texts enable us to know who called her *doña* or used the Nahuatl suffix "-tzin" and who did not, as part of a specific context-bound power discourse structure. Finally, although La Malinche always has a central position in the images, this is not enough to understand the nuanced differences among official and unofficial accounts. In those unofficial records−such as that of Díaz del Castillo−, she becomes more human, a historical subject, and less of historical object being portrayed as a symbol. In the unofficial accounts, La Malinche is eulogised for her strength and valor, which is not as obvious in images or in the official textual accounts (for example Cortés' *Letters*).

It is also in texts that we learn that La Malinche was Cortés' mistress and that she bore him a son. We also learn that she was married to Juan Jaramillo, and that she had a female child with him. None of this is depicted in the 16th century images. Therefore, I would argue that it was either not an important fact for the native painters, or that they did not consider it to be extraordinary or worth representing. In the 20th century, however, La Malinche's personal relationship with Cortés became one of the main visual explanations of her submissiveness to

Spaniards (Fig.19). This was also portrayed in the 20th century texts, as she was called *la chingada*. This tells us that, in the 16th century, La Malinche's immediate activity, presence and collaboration with the Spaniards was prioritized. In the 20th century, however, the emphasis was placed on her part in the conquest and in the creation of a new nation.

For the Spaniards, the textual documents were the main source of knowledge exchange, and they used images for indoctrination purposes. For them, images were supposed to mimic what was seen, and religious imagery was supposed to convey an inner devotion that always followed the same established pattern (Gruzinski, 2010, p.41-90). However, as discussed in Chapter 3, Indigenous images were not necessarily mimicking reality, but giving it yet another dimension and introducing several time-space coordinates. So, even though the Spaniards thought an image could not be a source of misunderstanding, my analysis shows that it could.

It would be impossible to completely understand why La Malinche was the only interpreter represented visually if we did not have the textual sources. In them we find that she spoke both Nahuatl and Chontal Mayan, which explains her special status in the Spanish contingent. Jerónimo de Aguilar only spoke Mayan, and could not communicate in Mesoamerica's *lingua franca*: Nahuatl. La Malinche spoke both languages and learned Spanish. This information is presented solely in texts, as in images we can see La Malinche speaking to different Indigenous groups, that are not distinguishable. Therefore, texts explain partially La Malinche's power, and provide some insight on why she was so often represented in images.

Texts also deal with visual information. For example, both Díaz del Castillo and Cortés describe the cities they visit, especially Tenochtitlan. Díaz del Castillo also gives his opinion on Mexican paintings and painters, and points out in several instances that La Malinche showed

something though gestures while interpreting (as mentioned in Chapter 2). I believe this indicates that gestures formed part of La Malinche's interpretation process, and it might also signify that she would occasionally deal with interlocutors whose language she did not speak fluently–and thus she resorted to the use of gestures. While this is only conjecture, as the texts do not speak to this matter, it seems probable, especially if we take into account that all of the languages in Mesoamerica had several dialects (Parodi in Parodi *et al.*, 2013, p.104-5).

Another divergence between images and texts is the representations of La Malinche's agency in the conquest process. In texts, she appears by Cortés' side, interpreting for him. On rare occasions she conveys a message on Cortés' behalf by going to speak to the client alone. In most images, she also appears by Cortés' side (Figs. 2, 3, 4, 7, 15, 16). In some images, however, she is either leading the Spanish contingent (and Cortés is behind her; Fig.16), alone (Fig.17), or interpreting for someone other than Cortés (Figs.10, 13, 14). Therefore, in images she appears to be more of an active agent then in texts. Not only does she interpret for other Spaniards, but she also acts alone or leads the Spanish contingent, taking over Cortés' role, one reserved for him alone in texts. Of course, texts served several purposes, such as self-promotion (as in Cortés' *Letters*) or promotion of Christian values (as in Díaz del Castillo's work). I would argue that the images are representing what the Indigenous painters saw or what was transmitted to them orally by those who witnessed the events. This helps us better understand La Malinche's role and agency during the conquest, as well as the nature of her interpretation work for the Spaniards. Through images we can see that she was not always by Cortés' side, and that, on occasions, she also acted alone. What this might indicate is that the Spaniards either trusted La Malinche fully, or that she helped other Spaniards communicate and therefore had multiple clients within the Spanish contingent. Her interpreting services for others are not recorded in texts, but it is most

likely that La Malinche's duty was also to accompany other conquerors in Cortés' group and sometimes also friars (Karttunen, 1994, p.22). This can also mean that she was the only trustworthy interpreter that the Spaniards had, since she is also the only interpreter who is represented visually.

It was this autonomous aspect of La Malinche's work, alongside her role as a "mother of a nation" or "mother of a race", that spurred the 19th and 20th century reinterpretations. Speculations regarding her fidelity and the trust that the Spaniards seem to have placed in La Malinche, as represented in images and reinforced in texts (especially Díaz del Castillo's work), supported the idea that her agency was voluntary. Even more so, her possible position as diplomat or guide strengthened the idea that she participated voluntarily in the conquest against "her own people".

My analysis of both images and texts provides evidence that La Malinche was used, as a person and as a symbol. Throughout the centuries she has been used by both the conquerors and Mexican nation builders, giving her the status of a palimpsest that is written and rewritten according to the particular needs of each historic moment. The fact that she was a female interpreter who spoke several languages relevant to the conquest and gave birth to two *mestizo* children made her a "perfect" iconic figure. Each new century activated the most "useful" and exploitable features of La Malinche's figure, creating an endless slate of possibilities for further reinterpretations and resignifications. La Malinche was transformed from a hybrid Virgin Mary to a *chingada* mother, a whore and a traitor of a nation. Such opposite symbolisms within one figure makes explicit the fact that La Malinche was used through time and space. This Virgin-Whore dualism keeps La Malinche's symbol alive, as it still contains dynamic tensions. Symbols

continually attached and detached from the collective imaginary created around this interpreter keep the iconic figure alive, while constraining the person who is behind it: Malintzin.

After looking at the similarities and differences presented in images and texts, it becomes clear that each of these two semiotic modes brings a specific set of information into play. Even when they present similar information, we can encounter nuanced differences that enrich our knowledge on La Malinche.

Conclusions

This thesis is a case study of La Malinche, an interpreter who is probably one of the most studied cultural icons in history. Her role, representations and re-representations as a symbol have been looked at from many different perspectives, but not that frequently through the lens of Art History and Translation Studies together. In her time and space–as well as after that–, La Malinche was represented abundantly both visually and discursively. As many scholars have noted (Messinger Cypess, 1991; Karttunen 1994; Baigorri Jalón & Alonso Araguás, 2004), important information about her and her role can be found in both semiotic modes of representation. This led me to think that researching similarities and differences between texts and images could provide further understanding of this iconic figure. My goal was to better understand why La Malinche, the only woman alongside men, was depicted at the same level as the conquerors, why she was the only interpreter represented and why she was chosen to become a symbol.

For this purpose I consulted and studied both texts and images from 16th to 20th century. I addressed in detail texts and images made in the 16th and 17th centuries, as they are the closest to her in time and space, and therefore crucial to understanding the establishment of her representational power and historic value as a symbol. Texts and images made from the 18th to the 20th century were analysed in less detail due to space constraints. Despite this, the study of these works served its purpose of diachronically tracing the resignification of La Malinche as a symbol.

To be able to answer my research questions, I chose a twofold methodology. For the textual portion of the study I used María Calzada Perez's mixed methodological approach within

the realm of Translation Studies, that combines the Descriptive Translation Studies method with Critical Discourse Analysis (as understood by van Dijk and Fairclough) and a Cultural Studies approach. This method fosters dialogue and fusion among approaches and disciplines and, it was the decisive element that made it pertinent for my own study. For the images, I drew on Erwin Panofsky's Visual Art methodology. This method was particularly appealing for this case study as, although without stating it clearly, it also encompasses several disciplines and puts them into dialogue. Panofsky's levels operate between History, Art History and Iconology, with special emphasis on the context. This last aspect was crucial for the understanding the images as well as for comparing them effectively to the texts. Its iconological component helped specially in understanding which elements of the 16th century images were closer to the Indigenous meaning making processes. In this sense, these two methodologies were employed as they mirror each other. By unraveling the meaning in both semiotic modes by following three similar levels of analysis, it fully made the comparison feasible.

I decided to commence with the texts, since the information they provide on La Malinche has been frequently looked at by scholars. By applying a new methodology, never used before to analyse these works, I was able to better describe and explain La Malinche's status among the Spaniards. The three levels allowed me to dissect the meaning making process in detail, which was followed by my interpretation of those findings. La Malinche was seen differently by different writers, especially in the 16th century. The differentiation between official and unofficial accounts shed further light on her value as the interpreter for the Spaniards. She was undoubtedly considered as a powerful individual by all, as she spoke the three most influential languages in Mesoamerica at the time. In the unofficial documents, however, we learn much more about La Malinche's activity and agency. This analysis allowed me to document how La Malinche became

a symbol as well as to uncover more information on her quotidian activities as part of the Spanish contingent.

The next step was to analyse the images. Although they have been studied either separately, or in comparison to the texts, the novelty in this thesis is encountered in the number of images studied as well as in the methodology. At the beginning, I did not have a clear idea on what I might find through images. I suspected that it would lead me to uncover more information, complement the textual information and probably emphasize La Malinche's central role. The unexpected element came through the realization that 16th century images are much closer to the voice of the Indigenous community than that of the Spaniards. Although understanding all the embedded elements was not possible, as the information on the meaning making processes in Prehispanic codices was not entirely preserved, it still allowed me to retrieve important visual elements that explain the Indigenous vision of La Malinche in her time and space. This added value to the study, as it helped incorporate elements such as hand gestures, the interpreter's physical presence, locate more elements that made La Malinche a *mestizo* prefiguration and also open the door to further research.

I also briefly examined a selection of images and texts from the 17th century onwards with the goal of verifying my hypothesis that works produced in 16th century served as foundations for the resignification of La Malinche's image through time. Although my analysis of these later works is still in its initial stages, the information presented here confirms my hypothesis. The fact that La Malinche was perceived as a faithful interpreter by the Spaniards, spurred the use of her figure as a symbol for treachery. Of course, this is not true in all texts and images, since there are voices that do not vilify La Malinche, but they are not numerous, nor were they able to balance the works that viewed La Malinche's contribution as negative.

Rethinking and revisiting La Malinche was a very useful exercise, as I was able to retrieve new information and look at existing data from a different angle. Uncovering the symbols that were attached to La Malinche helped "desymbolize" her, that is, understand what was beneath the historical construction of her figure. Getting different disciplines in dialogue proved to be a fruitful endeavour since it made it possible to "hear" more than one voice or part to the history. This has also opened the door for further research, as along the process new questions emerged. For example: why is there a pause in La Malinche's representations at the end of the 17th century and during the 18th century? Did any other female work for the Spanish or the Indigenous groups? Why was Jerónimo de Aguilar underrepresented and forgotten in history? Are any other interpreters represented in images, but not as recognisable as La Malinche?

My hope is that this research has underscored the importance of interdisciplinarity and dialogue between disciplines, as well as the benefit of consultation and employment of several semiotic modes, when available. I also trust that it has helped shed light on La Malinche's existence as a historical object and subject, capable of becoming a multifaceted symbol.

In the current century, critical studies on La Malinche and Cortés−studies that aim to rethink and reposition these figures−have become frequent, especially in Spain, where there was a certain lack of such inquiries. Prior to this, texts, and especially images that dealt with La Malinche and Cortés, were produced in Latin America−especially in Mexico. Revisiting La Malinche and Cortés surely means that there has been sufficient temporal distance from the conquest and the Independence of Mexico and their consequences, for societies to be able to look at certain historical players from a different angle.

At the time of writing, Madrid's *Centro de exposiciones Arte Canal*, is hosting an exhibition on Cortés, titled "Cortés itinerary". A significant part of this carefully crafted exhibition is devoted to Indigenous artifacts found in the 16th century Mexico and to replicas of accounts and images from codices. It also emphasizes La Malinche's role as a faithful interpreter through the images in which she appears in what the organizers call "Indigenous accounts". In the organizers' words, these accounts are used to balance history and make the exhibit as neutral as possible, giving voice to "both sides". While visiting this otherwise beautifully designed and well thought out exhibition, I understood that studies that highlight the nuanced and subtle observation of historical texts and images are needed to help prevent the binary and homogenizing canonical models of understanding both history as well as its players.

> The woman shrieking along the littered bank of the Rio Grande is not sorry. She is looking for revenge. Centuries she has been blamed for the murder of her child, the loss of her people, as if Tenochtitlan would not have fallen without "her sin".[98]
> (Alicia Gaspar de Alba in Romero & Harris, 2005, p.5)

[98] The quotes are my addition.

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Appendix –Images

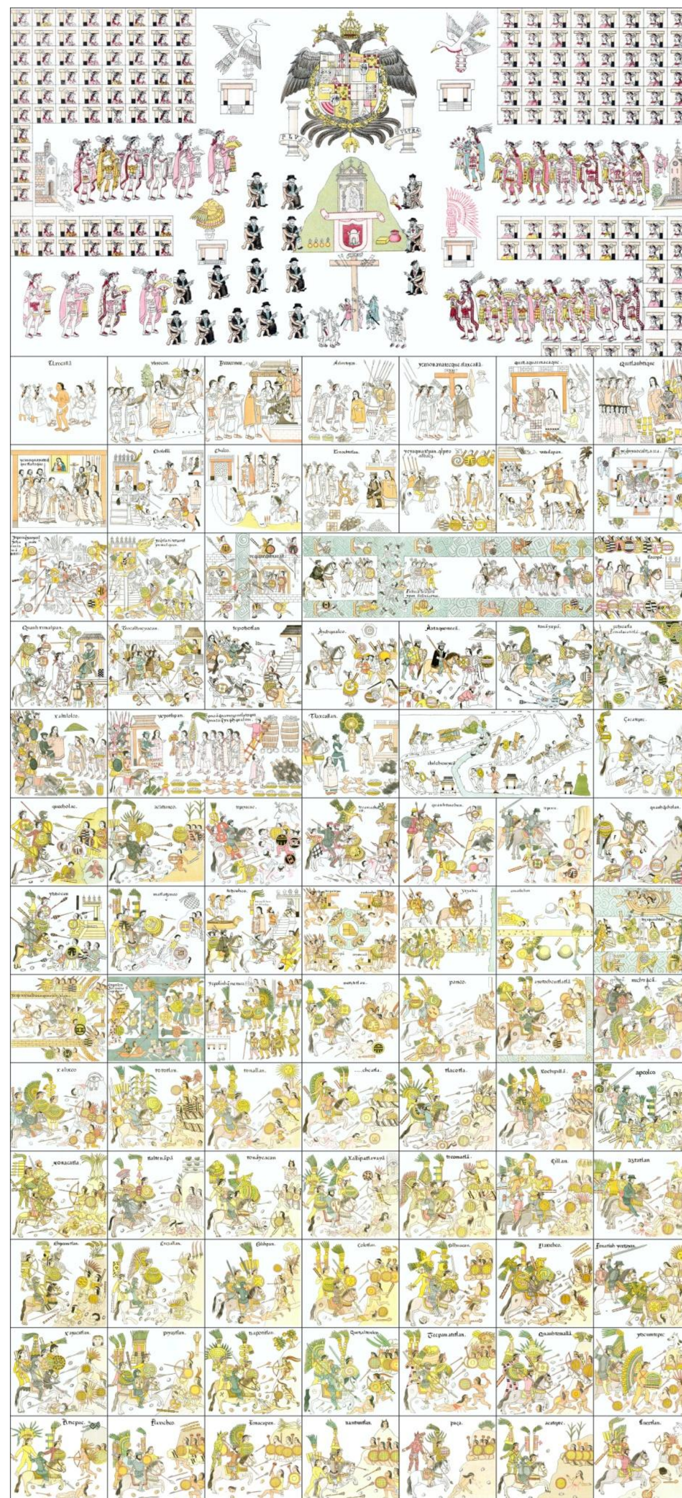

Figure 1. Liza Bakewell and Byron Ellsworth Hamann. (2010). The Lienzo de Tlaxcala. Overall view. *Mesolore: A Cybercenter for Research and Teaching on Mesoamerica.* Portland, Maine, United States of America: Prolarti Enterprises, LLC and Providence, RI: Brown University. Image retrieved from http://www.mesolore.org/viewer/view/2/The-Lienzo-de-Tlaxcala Ink and color on paper.

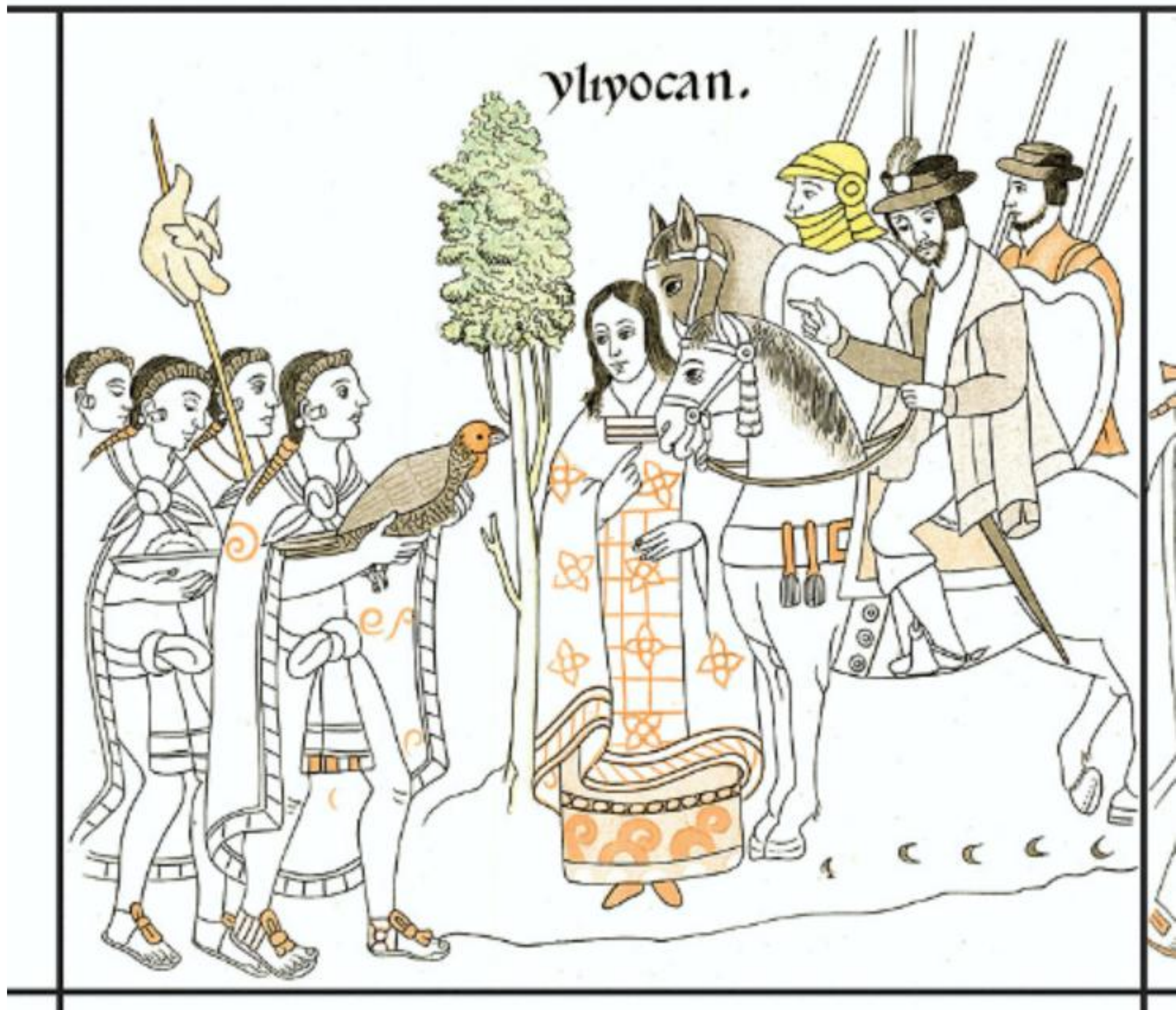

Figure 2. (Enlargement) Liza Bakewell and Byron Ellsworth Hamann. (2010). The Lienzo de Tlaxcala. Yliyocan. Image No.3. *Mesolore: A Cybercenter for Research and Teaching on Mesoamerica.* Portland, Maine, United States of America: Prolarti Enterprises, LLC and Providence, RI: Brown University. Image retrieved from http://www.mesolore.org/viewer/view/2/The-Lienzo-de-Tlaxcala
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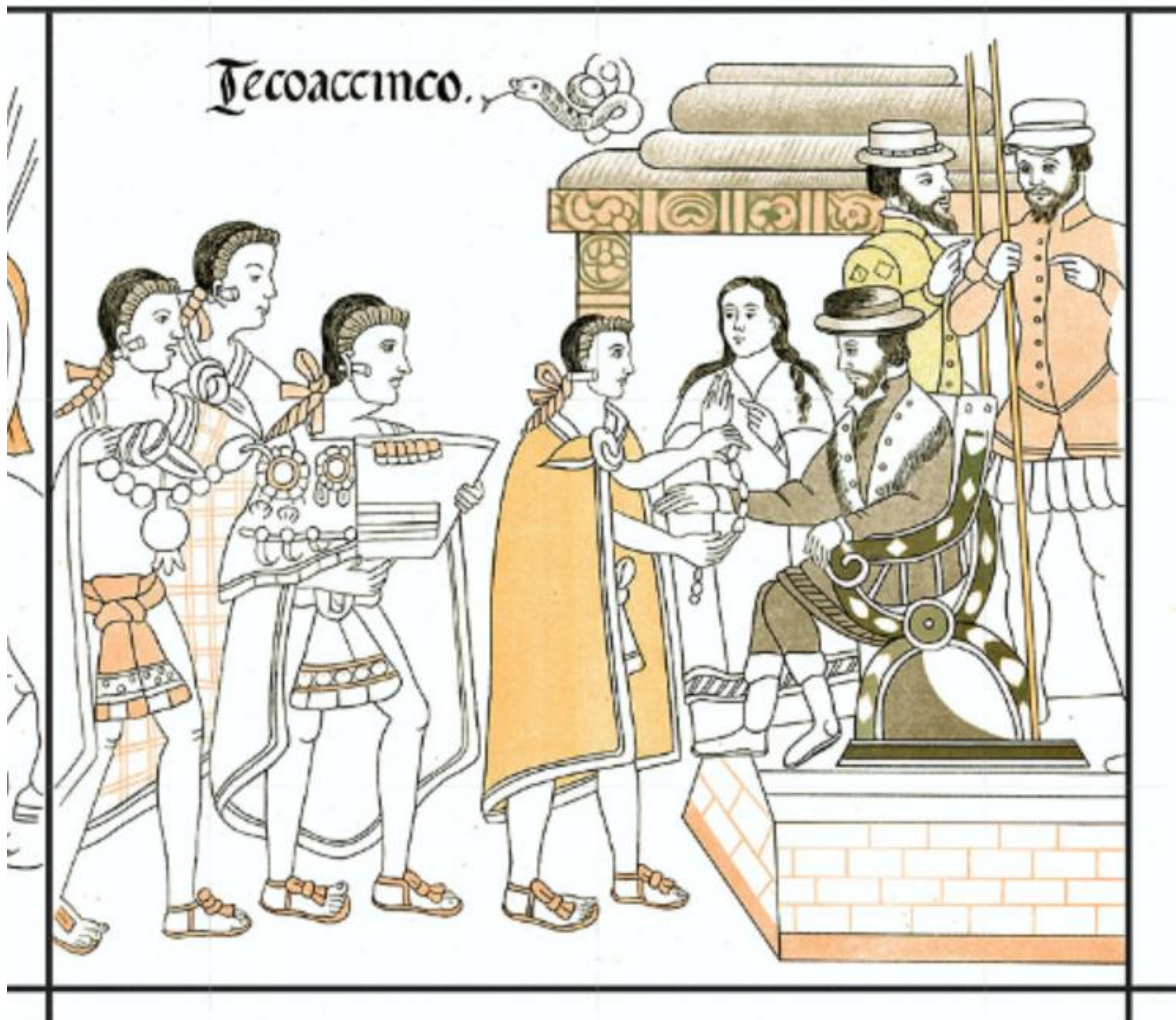

Figure 3. (Enlargement) Liza Bakewell and Byron Ellsworth Hamann. (2010). The Lienzo de Tlaxcala. Tecoaccinco. Image No.4. *Mesolore: A Cybercenter for Research and Teaching on Mesoamerica.* Portland, Maine, United States of America: Prolarti Enterprises, LLC and Providence, RI: Brown University. Image retrieved from http://www.mesolore.org/viewer/view/2/The-Lienzo-de-Tlaxcala
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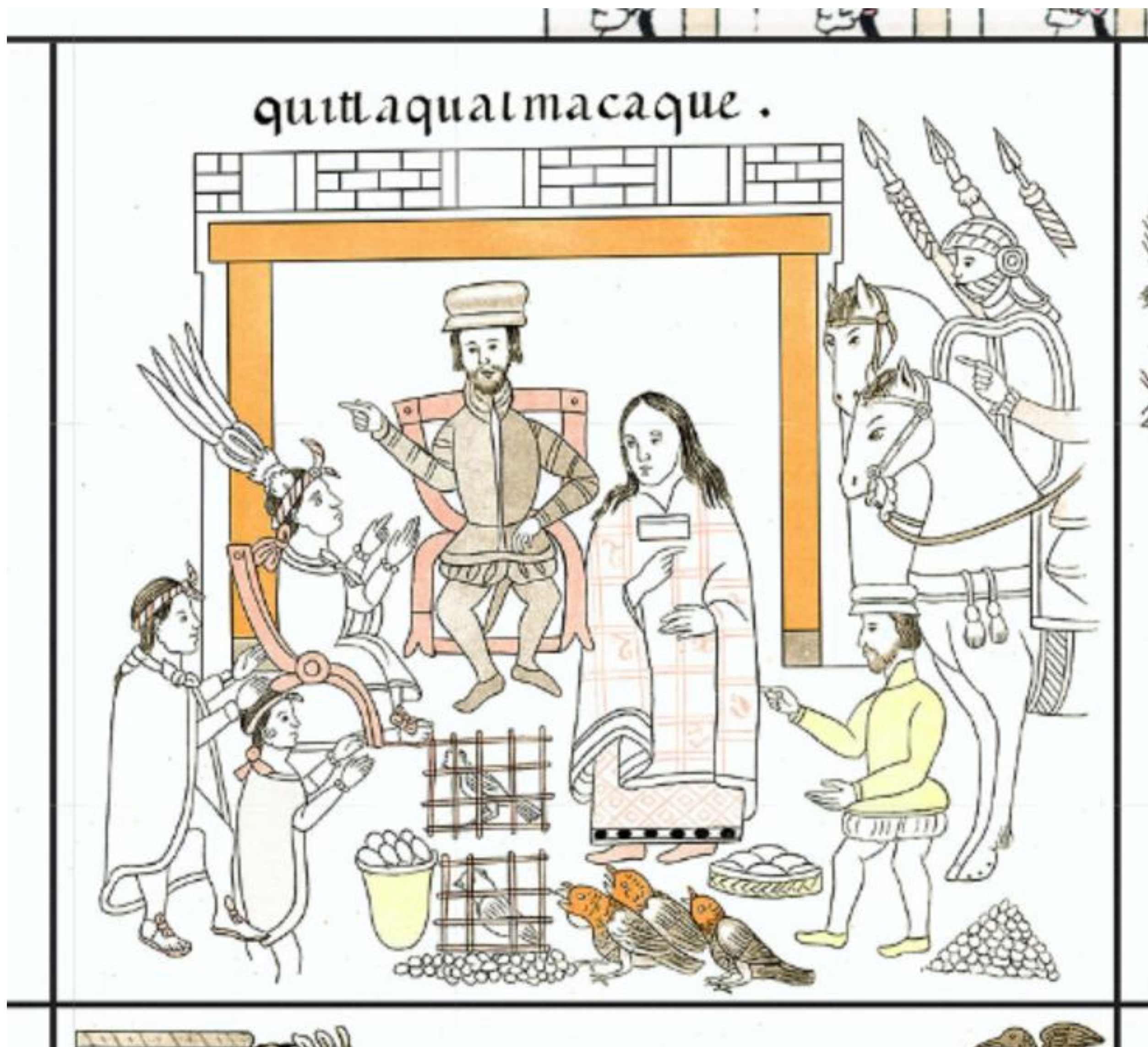


Figure 4. (Enlargement) Liza Bakewell and Byron Ellsworth Hamann. (2010). The Lienzo de Tlaxcala. Quitlaqualmacaque. Image No.7. *Mesolore: A Cybercenter for Research and Teaching on Mesoamerica.* Portland, Maine, United States of America: Prolarti Enterprises, LLC and Providence, RI: Brown University. Image retrieved from http://www.mesolore.org/viewer/view/2/The-Lienzo-de-Tlaxcala
Ink and color on paper.

Figure 5. Juan de Flandes. (16th century). *Resurrection*. Cathedral of Palencia, Palencia, Spain. Oil on panel.

Image retrieved from García, Vicent. (2013). Resurrección. *Primitivos Flamencos en España y Portugal.* http://losprimitivosflamencos.blogspot.ca/2013/12/cristo-resucitado-de-juan-de-flandes-en.html

Figure 6. Pedro de Berruguete. (15th century). *Prophet Ezekiel.* Museum of Santa María, Becerril de Campos, Palencia, Spain. Oil on panel.

Image retrieved from Bejnar. (2006). Painting by Pedro Berruguete. *Wikipedia*. http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Archivo:Berruguete-Pedro-Ezequiel.jpg

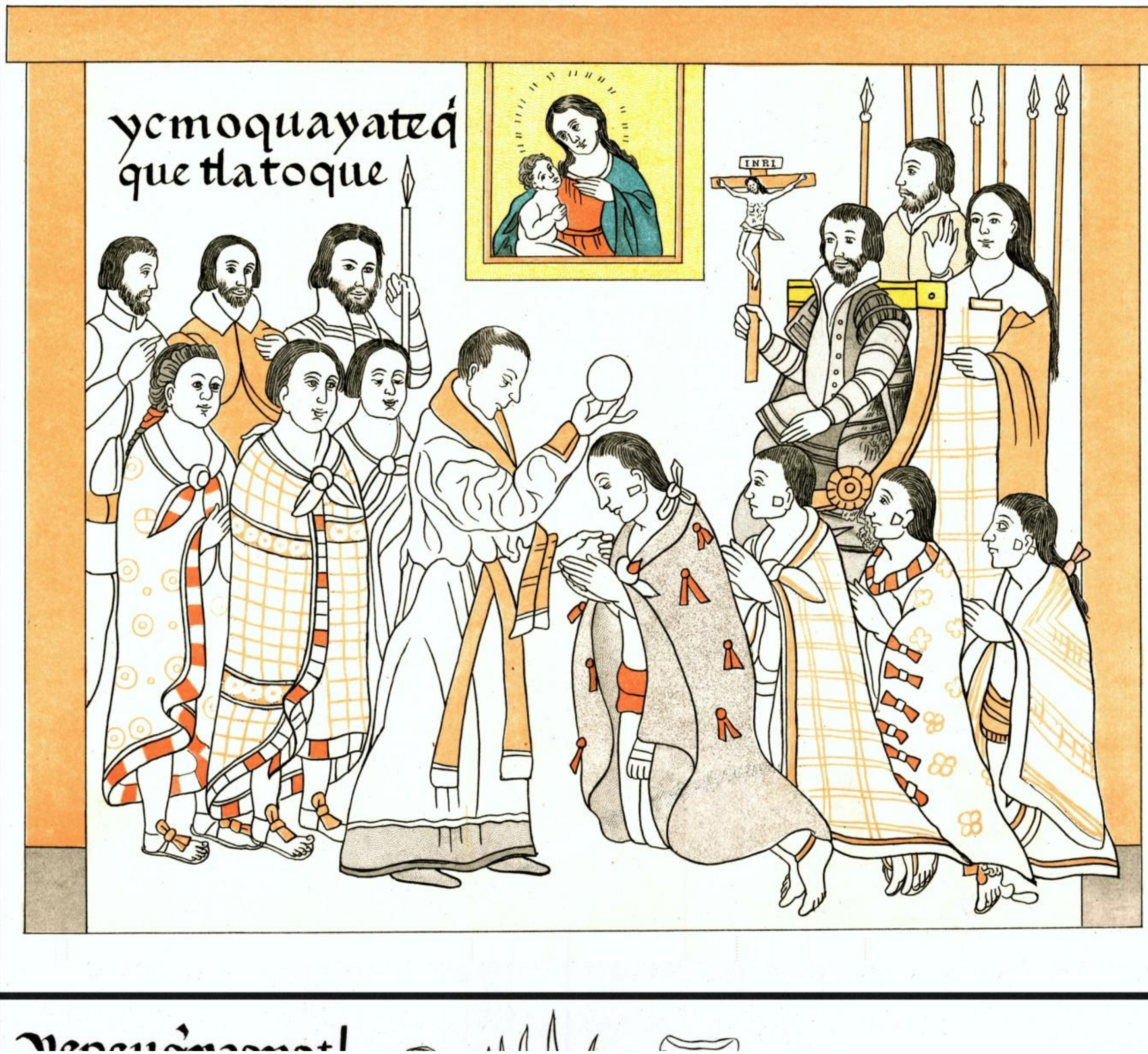


Figure 7. (Enlargement) Liza Bakewell and Byron Ellsworth Hamann. (2010). The Lienzo de Tlaxcala. Temple scene (baptism). Image No.9. *Mesolore: A Cybercenter for Research and Teaching on Mesoamerica.* Portland, Maine, United States of America: Prolarti Enterprises, LLC and Providence, RI: Brown University. Image retrieved from http://www.mesolore.org/viewer/view/2/The-Lienzo-de-Tlaxcala
Ink and color on paper.

Figure 8. Juan Martínez Montañés. (1603). *Virgin Mary.* Cathedral of Seville, Seville, Spain. Wood, gold leaf, color pigment, bronze.

Image retrieved from Herranz Adeva. (n.d.). Arte Escultura XVII Martínez Montañés Inmaculada Concepción Catedral Sevilla. *Adeva Herranz. Arte España Moderna.* http://www.adevaherranz.es/ARTE/ESPANA/MODERNA/SIGLO%20XVII%20ESCULTURA%20y%20AM/

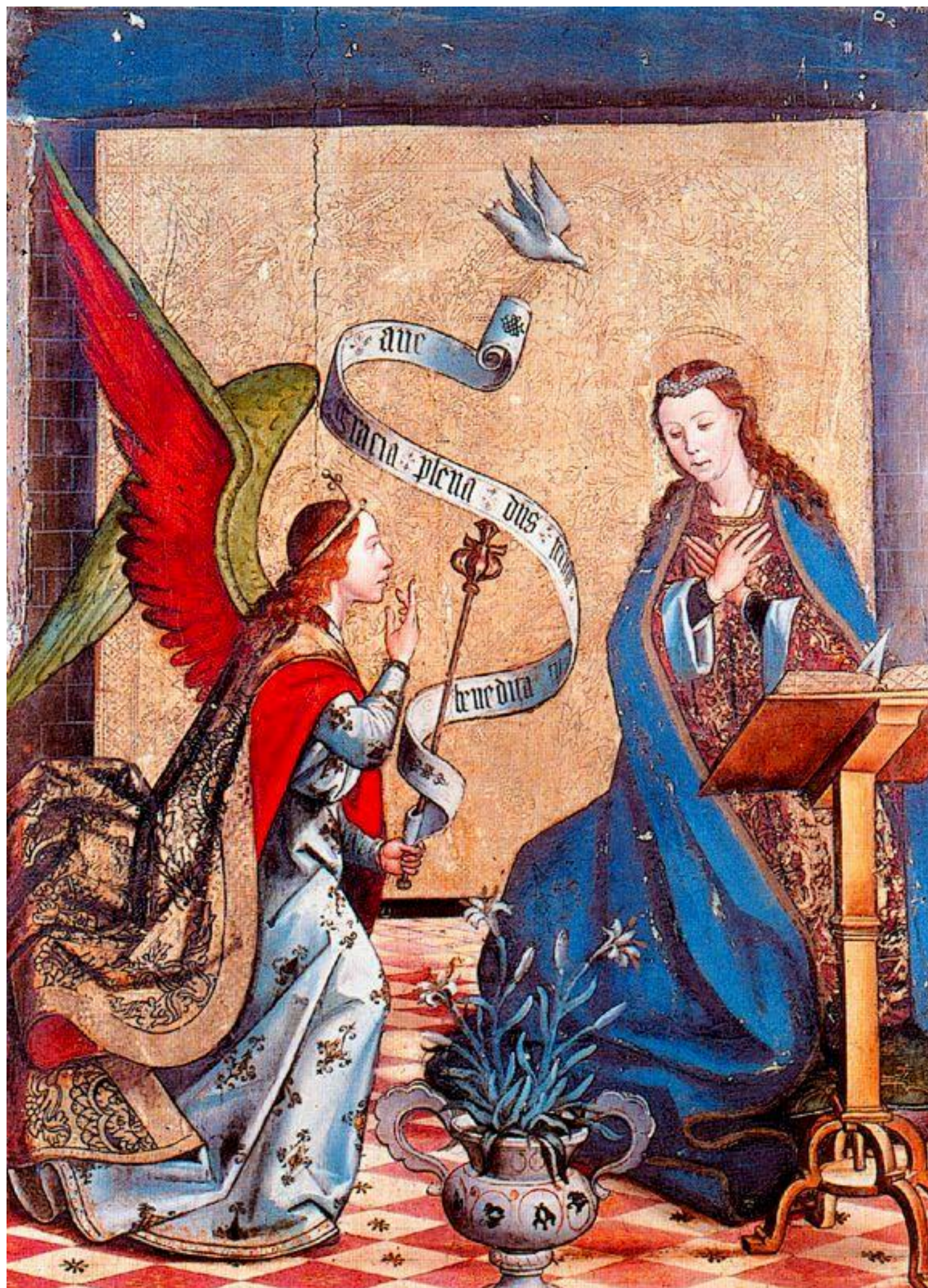


Figure 9. Pedro de Berruguete. (c.1485). *Annunciation*. Museum of Santa María, Becerril de Campos, Palencia, Spain. Oil on wooden panel.

Image retrieved from Pedro de Berruguete. (n.d.). *Mariología.* http://www.mariologia.org/arte/images/berruguete01.jpg

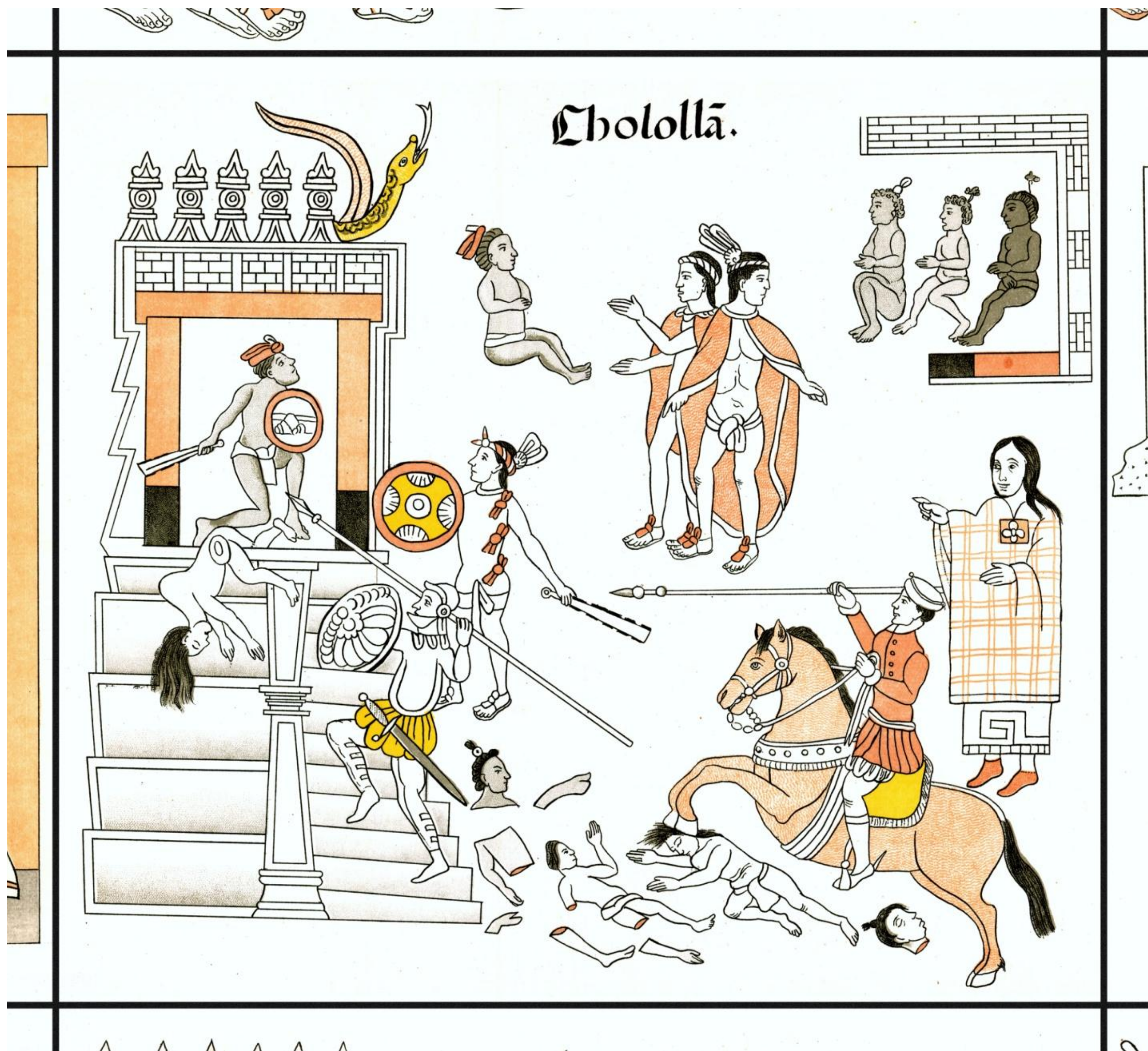


Figure 10. (Enlargement) Liza Bakewell and Byron Ellsworth Hamann. (2010). The Lienzo de Tlaxcala. Chololla (Cholula). Image No.10. *Mesolore: A Cybercenter for Research and Teaching on Mesoamerica.* Portland, Maine, United States of America: Prolarti Enterprises, LLC and Providence, RI: Brown University. Image retrieved from http://www.mesolore.org/viewer/view/2/The-Lienzo-de-Tlaxcala

Ink and color on paper.

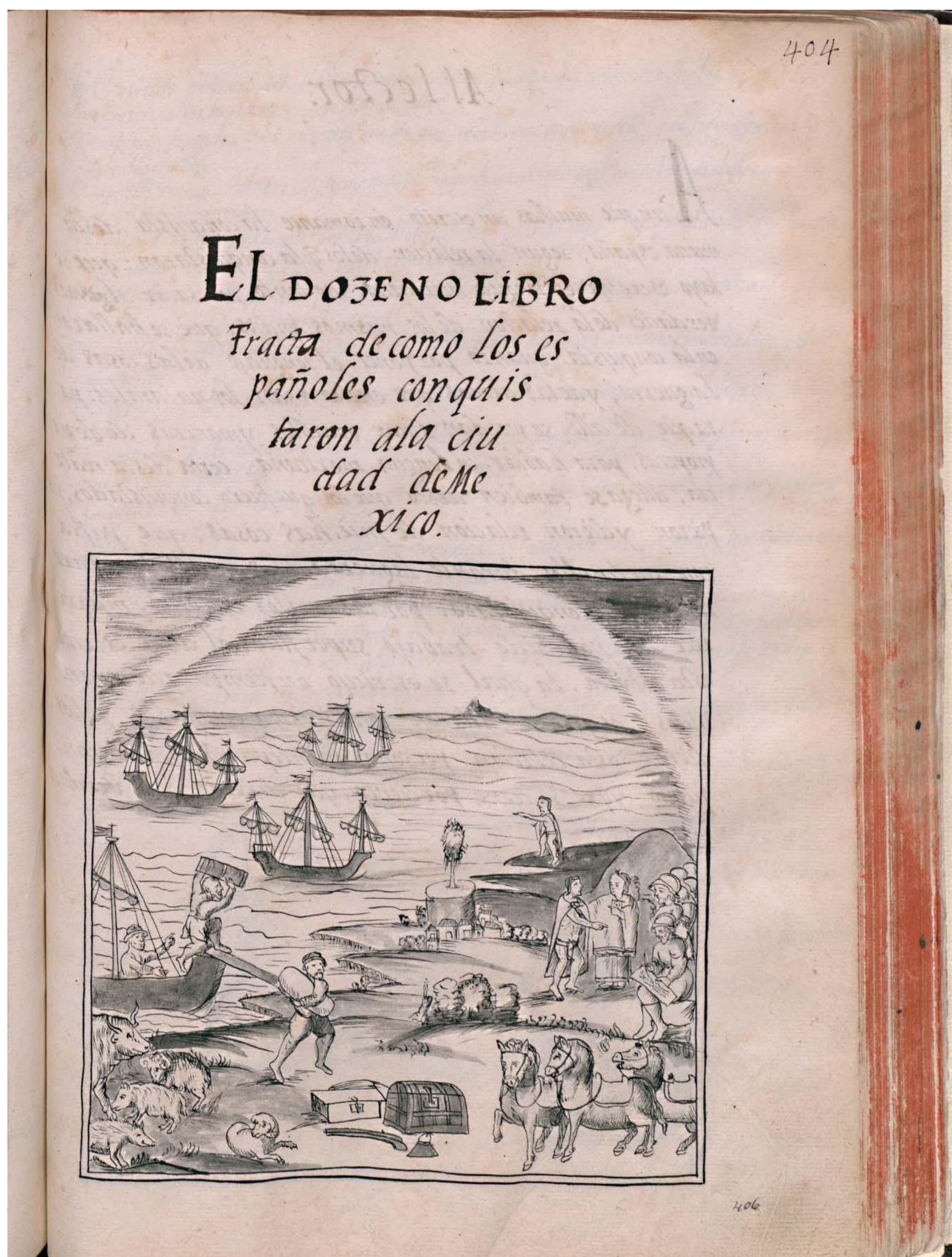
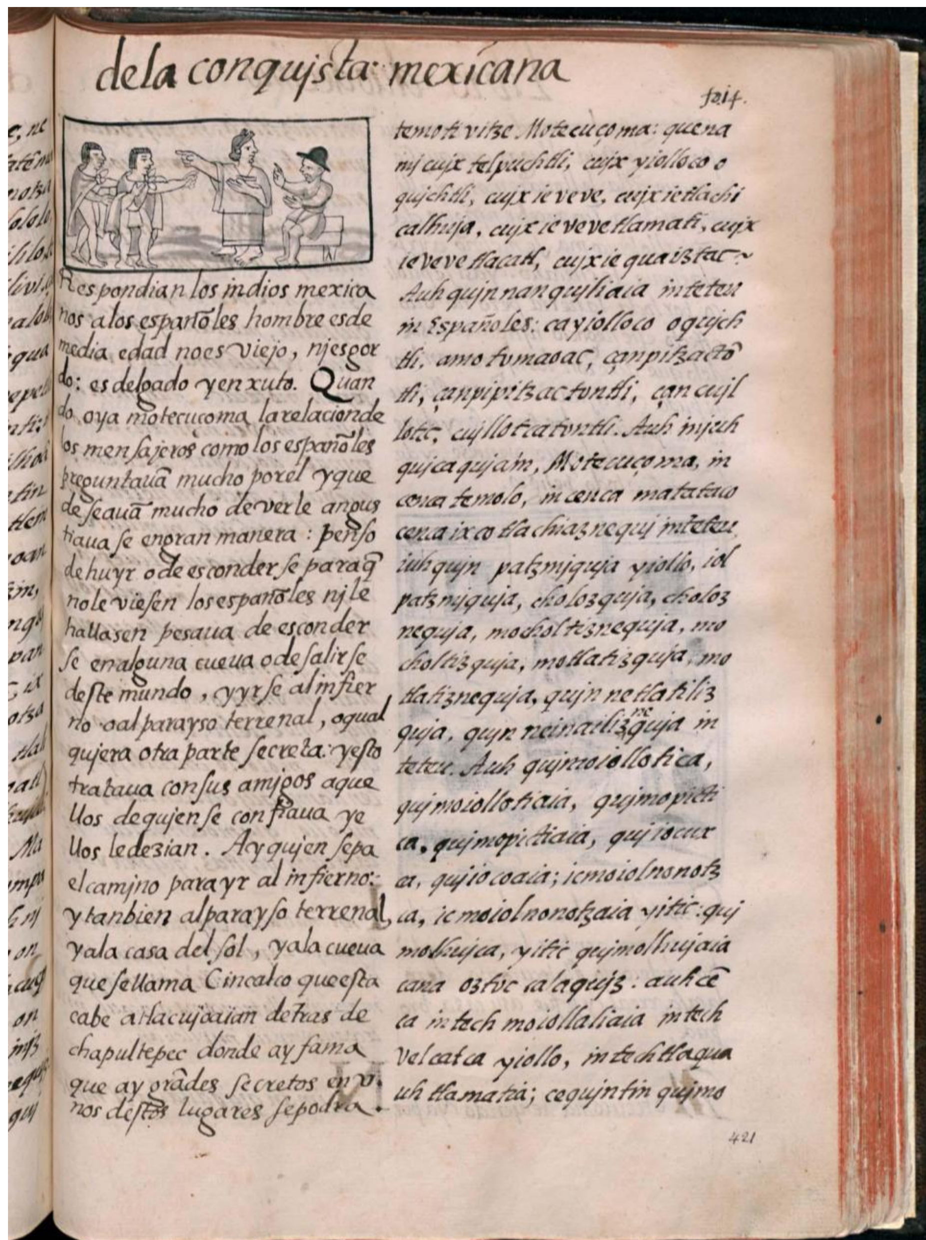


Figure 11. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún. (1540-1585). The Florentine Codex. Book XII, page 404. *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana,* Florence, Italy. Ink on paper.

Image retrieved from Codice Fiorentino. (2001-2015). *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.* http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0001502569#page/1/mode/thumb

Figure 12. Hans Memling. (1466-1473). *Last Judgement*. Central panel. National Museum of Gdańsk, Gdańsk, Poland. Oil on wooden panel.

Image retrieved from Hans Memling. (2005-2015). *Art and the Bible*. http://www.artbible.info/art/large/309.html


dela conquista mexicana

214.

Respondian los indios mexica
nos a los españoles hombre es de
media edad no es viejo, ni es gor
do: es delgado y enxuto. Quan
do oya motecuçoma la relacion de
los mensajeros como los españoles
preguntauã mucho por el y que
deseauã mucho de verle angus
tiaua se en gran manera: penso
de huyr o de esconder se para q̃
no le viesen los españoles ni le
hallasen pesaua de esconder
se en alguna cueua o de salir se
deste mundo, y yr se al infier
no o al parayso terrenal, o qual
quiera otra parte secreta: y esto
trataua con sus amigos aque
llos de quien se confiaua y e
llos le dezian. Ay quien sepa
el camino para yr al infierno:
y tanbien al parayso terrenal,
y a la casa del sol, y a la cueua
que se llama Cincalco que esta
cabe atlacuiuaian detras de
chapultepec donde ay fama
que ay grãdes secretos en u
nos destos lugares se podra.

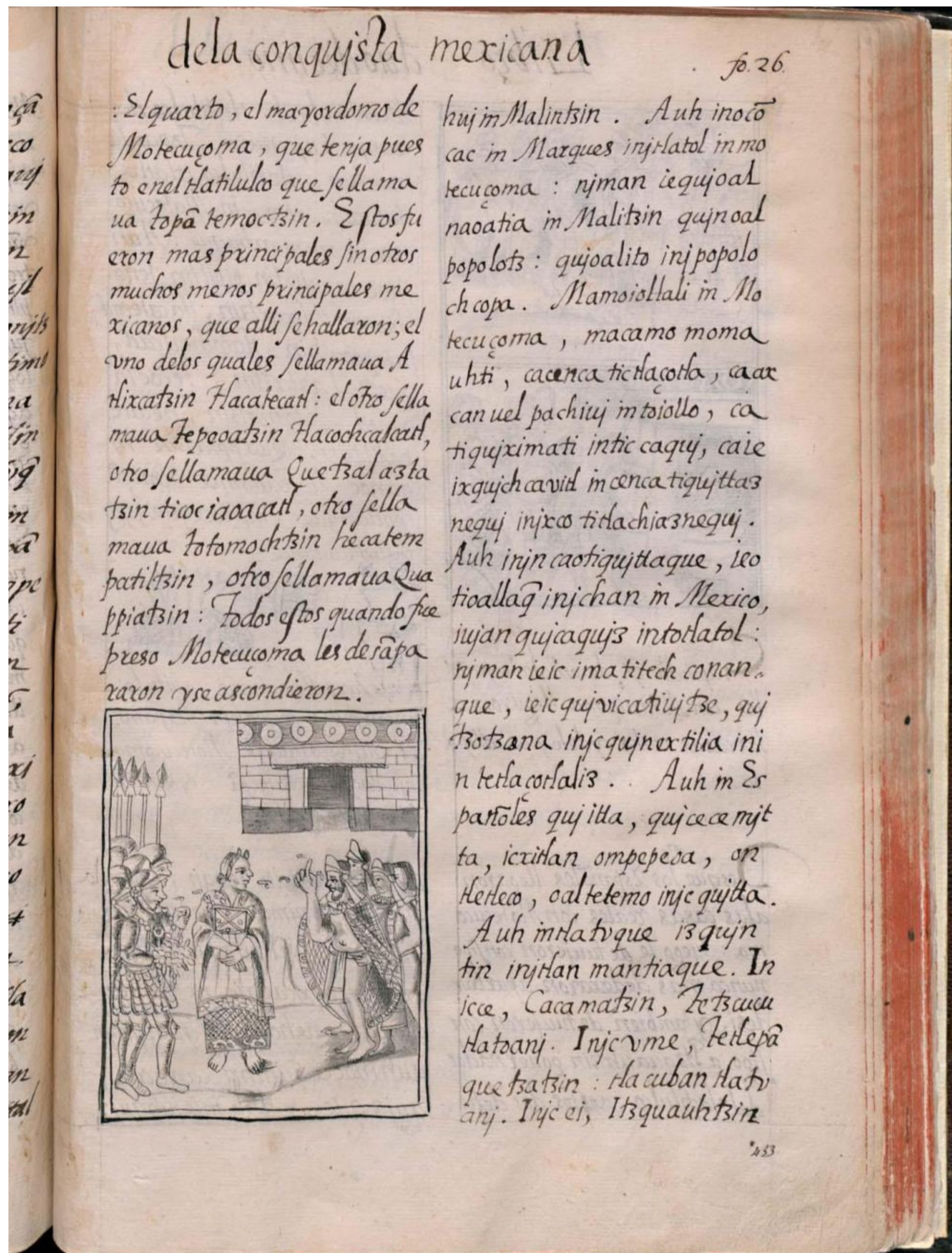
421

Figure 13. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún. (1540-1585) The Florentine Codex. Book XII, page 421. *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana,* Florence, Italy. Ink on paper.

Image retrieved from Codice Fiorentino. (2001-2015). *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.* http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0001502569#page/1/mode/thumb

Figure 13.1. (Enlargement) Fray Bernardino de Sahagún. (1540-1585). The Florentine Codex. Book XII, page 404. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Italy. Ink on paper.

Image retrieved from Codice Fiorentino. (2001-2015). *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.* http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0001502569#page/1/mode/thumb


dela conquista mexicana fo. 26.

: El quarto, el mayordomo de Motecuçoma, que tenja puesto en el tlatilulco que se llamaua topā temoctzin. Estos fueron mas principales sin otros muchos menos principales mexicanos, que alli se hallaron; el vno delos quales se llamaua Atlixcatzin tlacatecatl: el otro se llamaua tepeoatzin tlacochcalcatl, otro se llamaua Quetzalaztatzin ticociaoacatl, otro se llamaua totomochtzin hecatempatiltzin, otro se llamaua Quappiatzin: Todos estos quando fue preso Motecuçoma les desaparecieron y se ascondieron.

huj in Malintzin. Auh in ocōcac in Marques in jtlatol in motecuçoma: njman ic quijoalnaoatia in Malitzin quinoalpopolotz: quijoalito in jpopolochcopa. Mamoiollali in Motecuçoma, macamo momauhti, ca cenca tictlaçotla, ca axcan uel pachiuj in toiollo, ca tiquiximati intic caquj, ca ic ixquich cavitl in cenca tiquijttaznequj injxco titlachiaznequj. Auh in jn caotiquijttaque, ie otioallaq in jchan in Mexico, iujan quijcaquis in totlatol: njman ie ic imatitech conanque, ie ic quijvicatiuj tze, quijtzotzana injc quinextilia ini n tetlaçotlaliz. Auh in Españoles quijitta, quijceceṁjtta, icxitlan ompepeoa, ontletleco, oaltetemo injc quijtta. Auh in tlatoque iz quijntin injtlan mantiaque. In ice, Cacamatzin, tetzcucu tlatoanj. Injc vme, tetlepā quetzatzin: tlacuban tlatoanj. Injc ei, Itzquauhtzin

433

Figure 14. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún. (1540-1585). The Florentine Codex. Book XII, page 433. *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana,* Florence, Italy. Ink on paper.

Image retrieved from Codice Fiorentino. (2001-2015). *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.* http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0001502569#page/1/mode/thumb

Figure 14.1. (Enlargement) Fray Bernardino de Sahagún. (1540-1585). The Florentine Codex. Book XII, page 433. *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana,* Florence, Italy. Ink on paper.

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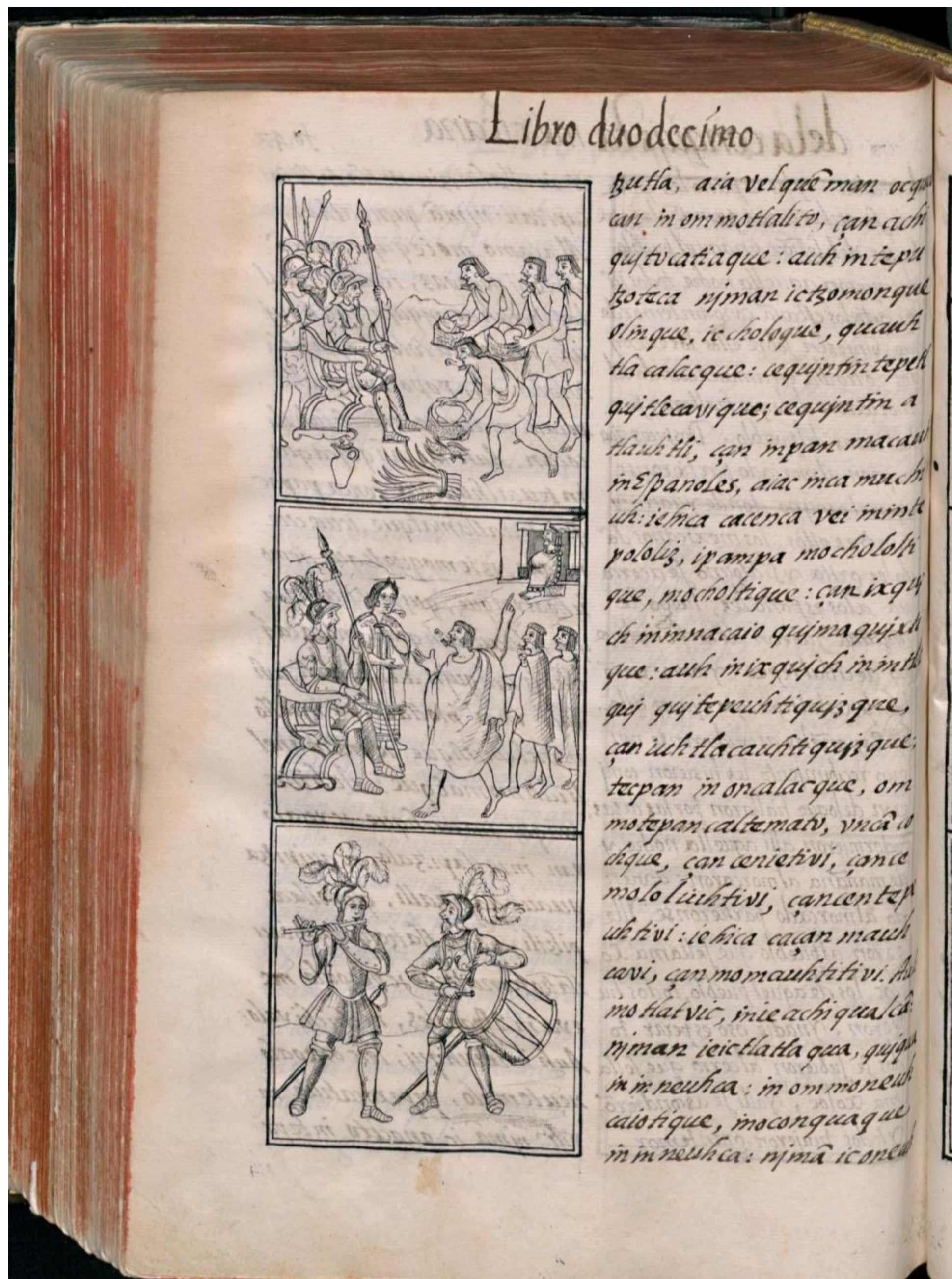

Figure 15. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún. (1540-1585). The Florentine Codex. Book XII, page 452. *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana,* Florence, Italy. Ink on paper.

Image retrieved from Codice Fiorentino. (2001-2015). *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.* http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0001502569#page/1/mode/thumb

Figure 15.1. (Enlargement) Fray Bernardino de Sahagún. (1540-1585). The Florentine Codex. Book XII, page 452. *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana,* Florence, Italy. Ink on paper.

Image retrieved from Codice Fiorentino. (2001-2015). *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.* http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0001502569#page/1/mode/thumb

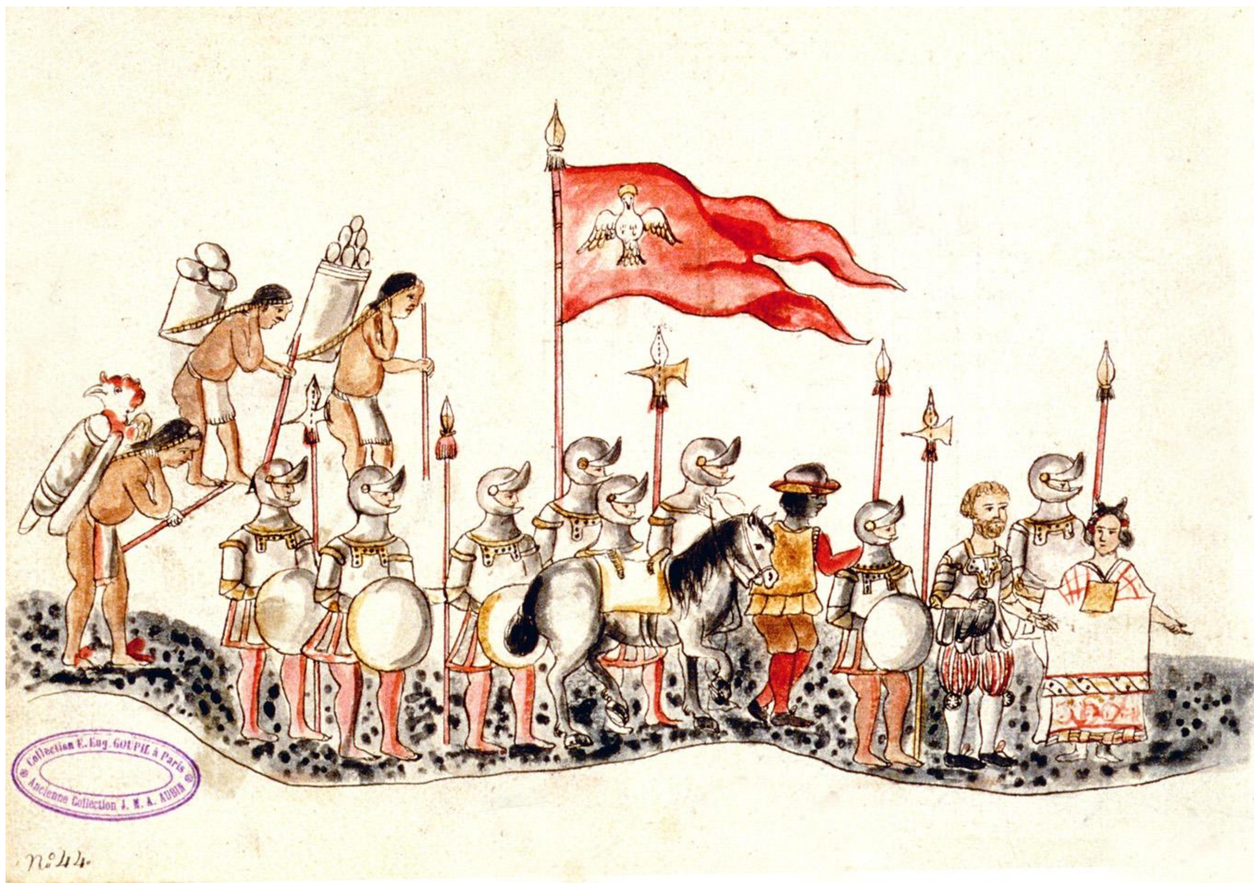

Figure 16. Anonymous. *Codex Azcatitlán. Cortés' arrival to Huitzillan.* (16th century). National Library of France. Paris, France. Ink and color on paper.

Image retrieved from Códice Azcatitlán (copia). (n.d.) *Amoxcalli códices.* http://amoxcalli.org.mx/zoom.php?ri=codices/090_1/laminas/090_1_44.jpg

Figure 17. Miguel and Juan González. (1698). *Conquista de México: Exhibición ante los embajadores. Doña Marina lengua de Cortés. Elección de alcaldes.* Museo de América, Madrid, Spain. Nacar inlays on panel.

Image retrieved from Miguel y Juan González. (2007-2015). *Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Museo de América.* http://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Viewer?accion=4&AMuseo=MAM&Museo=MAM&Ninv=00102

Figure 18. Anonymous. (19th century). *Cortés and Malinche in front of Montezuma*. Exhacienda of San Antonio Chautla, Puebla, Mexico. Unknown technique.

Image retrieved from Vargas, José Manuel. (2013). Malinche, la fiel doncella de Hernán Cortés. *Sobre México.* http://sobre-mexico.com/2013/04/19/malinche-la-fiel-doncella-de-hernan-cortes/

Figure 19. José Galofré y Coma. (1854). *Hernán Cortés y los embajadores de Moctezuma.* General Archive of the Indies, Seville, Spain. Oil on canvas.

Image taken at the exhibition *Chronicles of the conquest. Hernán Cortés' route* (2014). Exhibition Centre of Arte Canal de Madrid, Madrid, Spain.

Figure 20. Juan Clemente Orozco. (1926). *Cortés y la Malinche*. School of San Ildefonso, Mexico City, Mexico. Fresco.

Image retrieved from Cortés y la Malinche. (n.d.). *Washington and Lee University.* http://home.wlu.edu/~barnettj/Holding/01/phillipsg/sigloX-XV_cronicas.htm

Figure 21. Armando Drechsler. (1930s). *Mother of Modern Mexico*. Not exhibited. Lithograph.

Image retrieved from Durian, Dave. (2010). Anna May Wong: La Malinche. *Soft Film*.
http://softfilm.blogspot.ca/2010/12/anna-may-wong-la-malinche.html

Figure 22. Antonio Ruiz. (1939). *El sueño de la Malinche*. Gallery of Mexican Art, Mexico City, Mexico. Oil on canvas.

Image retrieved from Dream of Malinche. (n.d.). *Art History Reference*. http://arthistoryreference.com/cgi-bin/hd.exe?art2=a53516

Figure 23. Julián Martínez and M. Maldonado. (1982). *Monumento al mestizaje.* Jardín Xicoténcatl, San Diego Churubusco, Coyoacán, Mexico City, Mexico. Bronze.

Image retrieved from Delgado Rosas, Javier. (2009). Monumento al mestizaje. *Wikimedia Commons.* http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Monumento_al_Mestizaje.jpg

Enlargement retrieved from Making herself Indispensable, Condemned for Surviving: Doña Marina. (2011). *Aztecs at Mexicolore.* http://www.mexicolore.co.uk/aztecs/spanish-conquest/dona-marina-part-1

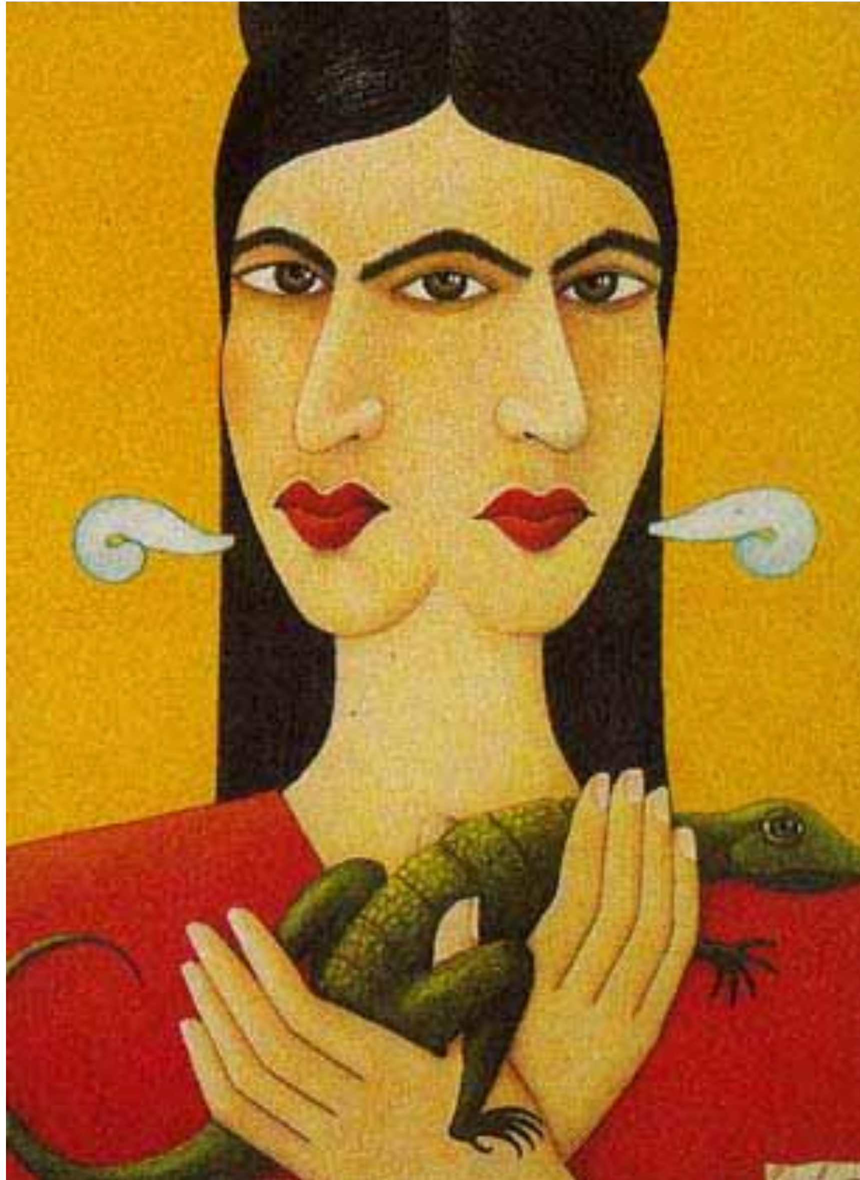

Figure 24. Rosario Marquardt. (1992). *La Malinche*. Gallery of Mexican Art, Mexico City, Mexico. Oil pastel on paper.

Image retrieved from Godínez Rivas, Gloria Luz. (2014). Mujer-serpiente en México. De Cihuacóatl a Lukas Avedaño. *America* [Online]. http://amerika.revues.org/5314?lang=en

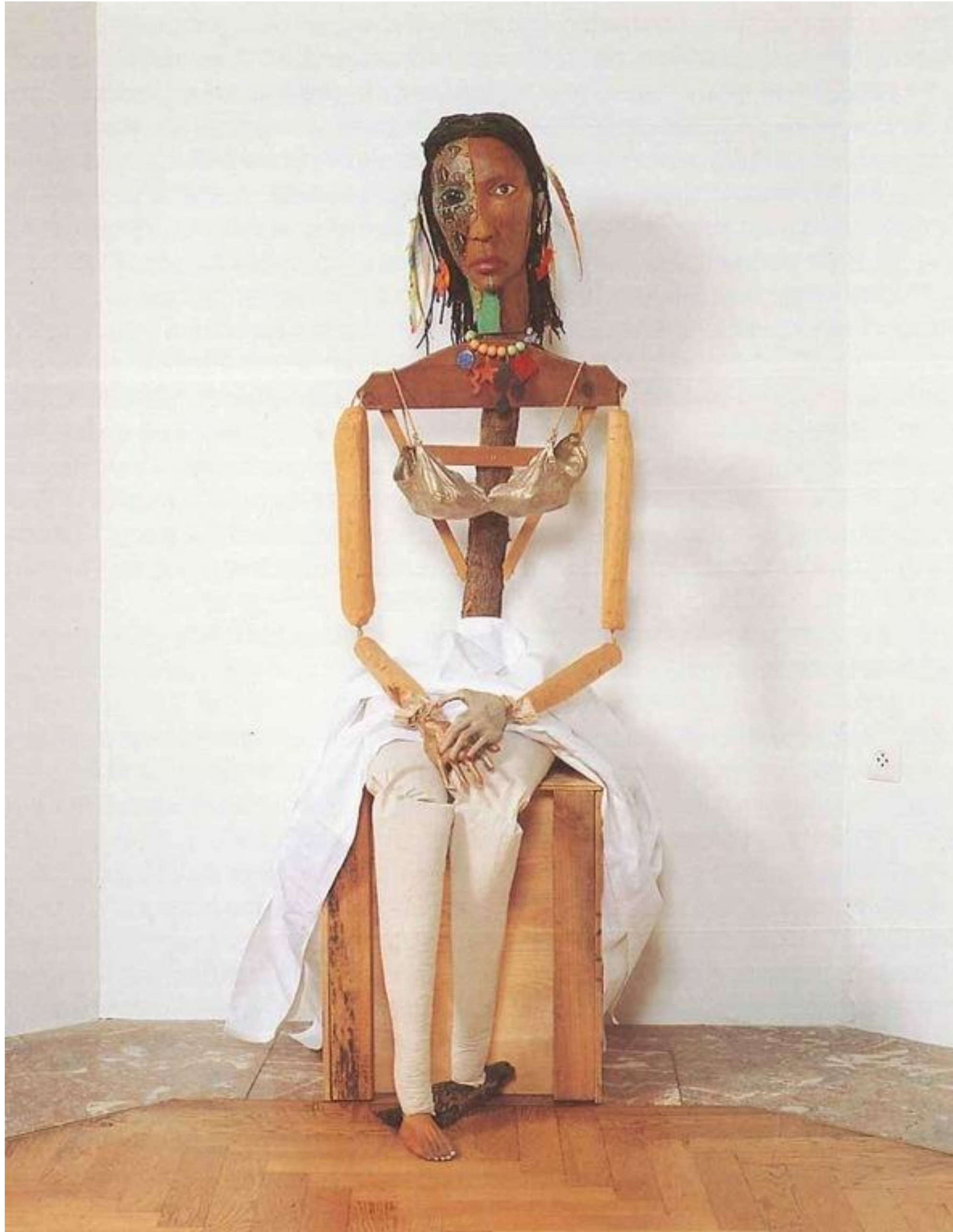

Figure 25. Jimmy Durham. (1988-1991). *La Malinche.* Itinerary piece. Wood, cotton, snakeskin, watercolor, polyester, metal.

Image retrieved from La Malinche. (2011-2014). *M HKA Ensembles*. http://ensembles.mhka.be/items/551?lang=en

Figure 26. Jimmy Durham. (1991). *Cortés.* Metal, wood, PVC, paper.

Image retrieved from Cortés. (2011-2014). *M HKA Ensembles*.
http://ensembles.mhka.be/items/551?lang=en

Figure 27. Anonymous. (n.d.). *La Malinche*. City of Oluta. Painted stucco.

Image retrieved from Reyes Grajales, Enrique. (2012). Hasta que se le hizo a la Malinche. *El diario del sur.* http://www.diariodelsur.mx/?p=50611