

VISUALIZING A NEW METROPOLIS: EMBLEMATIC SHIFTS IN BALBUENA'S GRANDEZA MEXICANA

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Before filling out its birth certificate in legitimating acts of setting-forth, a nation must first exist as an "imagined community" of interests (Franco). This in turn requires a prior assertion of belonging that also springs from the imagination: the psychic election of cultural identity. I want to explore an instance of this willful realization of self through an emblematic reading of a poet who first imagined himself Mexican and then pictured his cultural homeland as the center of a new cosmos, swirling out of Nowhere to become Someplace in the language constructing his vision of *Grandeza Mexicana*.¹

Bernardo de Balbuena was born in Spain while his father was briefly visiting there, but by education and conviction he was in fact a *novohispano* whose loyalties and creative energies separated him from those other Spaniards he calls "cachopines" (Balbuena 13) and made him one of Mexico's earliest nationalist visionaries.² Balbuena follows an example set by conquistador Bernal Díaz del Castillo at the inception of the nation's literary culture; born in Spain, Bernal arrived in the New World at an impressionable 19, only a few years before the captain he followed imagined himself conqueror of Tenochtitlán's splendor and governor of a redefined state called New Spain. By the time Bernal died in 1584, while still amending his great *Historia verdadera de la conquista*, he had become guatemalteco by choice, Mexican by extension and a *novohispano* compatriot of Balbuena, who had lived most of his then 23 years in Mexico and begun a priestly career that would, like the soldier Bernal's before him, eventually acquire a literary aspect that overshadowed his workaday identity.

A contemporary of Luis de Góngora (both of them born 1561 and deceased 1627), Balbuena has been credited with writing the first American novel (Leal) and giving birth to a truly American poetry, conceived in the context of the "extraordinary spiritual tension" of the seventeenth century (Eco 178) and nurtured in the exuberant sensuality of the Mannerist mode (Rama 13-14), a style described as transitional between Renaissance classicism and the monumental gran-

diloquence of the Baroque (Carilla 21-25). Balbuena's long epistolary poem of 1604, *Grandeza Mexicana*, emphasizes three of the Mannerist lyric's themes: panegyric praise, the ornamentation of art-for-art's-sake and links with emblem-books.³ Julián Gállego's study of the seamless intertwining of symbolic imagery in painting, poetry and emblem books of the seventeenth century supports an emblematic reading of Balbuena's *Grandeza*, for, during the years of literary formation he spent in Spain, he would surely not have been immune to the "apasionamiento extraordinario" (Gállego 116) throughout Europe, but especially in Spain, for verbal hieroglyphs that insistently pointed to an invisible world of hidden and multifaceted allegory (188-91). As I hope to demonstrate here, Balbuena indeed does consistently found his discourse upon visual and concrete bases, favoring especially the painterly trope to create an overall impression of disproportion, paradox and polysemousness. *Grandeza Mexicana*'s emblematic traits include hyperbole (in this case exaggeration of symbolic features of a larger picture which cannot be seen entire with the naked eye), juxtaposition of the real and the fantastic, and the incongruity of a poem presenting simultaneously as epistle, autobiographical chronicle, history and journalistic report of Paradise Found.

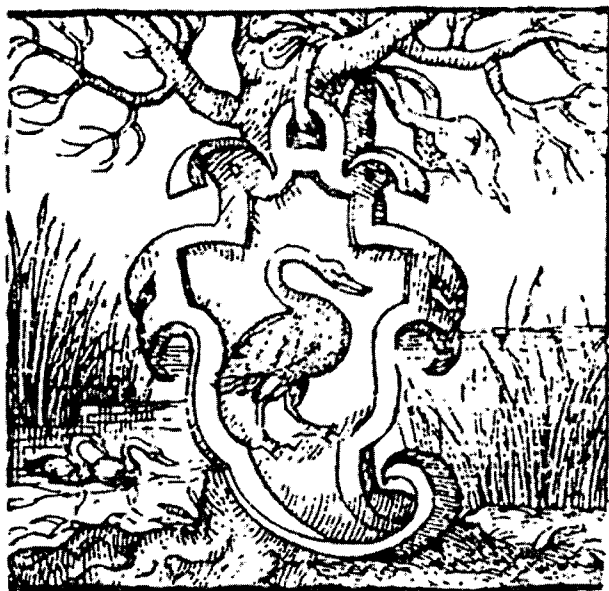
Grandeza most overtly declares itself to be a letter to a Mexican noblewoman who, on entering a nunnery, has begged a report from Balbuena on news of the capital. No request could be more pleasing to a university-educated cleric "quien tantos años arrimado estuvo / al solitario pie de un roble bronco," suffering "azares y desgracias" (Balbuena 66) as a rural priest: "Cansado de la soledad y la pobreza en que ha vivido como cura de pueblo durante más de cinco años, Balbuena quiere mostrar en toda su amplitud los conocimientos adquiridos en sus lecturas...[y] aplicarlos al elogio de una ciudad culta" (Monterde xi).

Balbuena will answer Isabel de Tovar y Guzmán in nine chapters of 11-syllable tercets, bracketing his description of Mexico's capital with lavish praise for his muse. He frequently assumes the referential stance of a narrator, referring to his letter as "este cuento" (Balbuena 21) and "una heroica historia" (23). However, in part because he tends to pair the real historical personalities he mentions with mythological figures and, in more general instance, because of his insistent reliance on icons and techniques of *emblemata*, Balbuena also constructs a poetic discourse running counter to the work's apparently transparent narrative goals. He asserts at the beginning and end, for example, that "todo en este discurso está cifrado" (3, 123), a phrase that warns us we should practice with him a style of "gimnasia mental" (Gállego 188) that will help us detect evidence of realities that extend beneath and beyond his words.

His preferred trope is himself as the painterly writer of meta-emblematic technique whose ekphrastic canvas importunes "el alma y pensamiento por los ojos" (Balbuena 49). He confesses to being a failed portraitist, however. Although Isabel de Tovar had asked him to write her "un perfectísimo retrato . . . de la Grandeza Mexicana" (9), he is constantly declaring his talent inadequate to represent the city's multifarious wonders. "¿Qué lengua habrá o pincel que le retrate?" he asks (35); "de qué cisne la delgada pluma / el valor contará?" (118); and, when challenged to describe a religious holiday's profuse drama, can a poet of tercets fit it all "en tres renglones" (119)? This stylized contrast eventually outlines an icon: Confronted with Mexico's superabundant riches, his impoverished Art assumes the shape of a swan with drooping neck, paddling in defeated circles in a lake of knowledges too vast to convey by words alone (Ill. 1).

Montero Vallejo 174 (Emblem 183)

Las armas de los Poetas.



Précianse de traer en sus blasones
 Algunas aves al Dios consagradas.
 Otros o traen serpientes o leones.
 Mas estas fieras no sean pintadas
 Para mostrar los blandos corazones
 De los poetas, en cuyas sagradas
 Armas un blanco cisne es recibido,
 Que (como fue) por rey aun es tenido.

Ill. 1

Balbuena clearly participated in the extremely popular emblem fad of his day; in *Grandeza* he is both user and creator of imagery based on the dialogic relationship between verbal and visual signs. From the Renaissance onward, emblems circulated in more or less openly plagiaristic and polylingual form throughout Europe and the New World.⁵ Departing from the discovery in 1419 of Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica*, a compendium of Alexandrian wisdom that had been lost in the Middle Ages, Renaissance intellectuals turned hieroglyphics into an antidiscursive, artistic mode encrypting classical mythology, neoplatonist hermetism, Kabbalah and other occult sciences in ways that fascinate Mannerists (Dieckmann 26-86) and baroque artists. These quickly incorporated the "mechanized thinking" of emblems, devices, medallions and hieroglyphics into their literary works (26). Andreas Alciati's *Emblemata*, circulating since 1521 and first published in 1531, is held to be the first emblem-book. This led to a proliferation of such dictionaries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially. A form of erudite entertainment and arcane moral philosophy, they were very widely read in every European country and soon translated from Latin into local languages. Pierio Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* of 1556 became one of the most widely quoted books of the day and helped spread the fad in New Spain.

I do not intend to seek perfect consonance between a given word-emblem in *Grandeza* and a particular graphic. Still, one can point convincingly to genres of emblems that Balbuena most probably had in mind as he shaped his linguistic images; hundreds of these symbolic constructs were available precisely to serve as "handbooks for poets" (Dieckmann 54).⁶ Although I provide some illustration of his iconographical models, more interesting to me is the way his pictorial imagination "translates" such found imagery to enunciate emblems of his own devising.

I will comment on emblematic word-pictures that in *Grandeza* are configured into three interrelated verbal icons: (1) the almost cinematic presence of Mexico City as modern, secular materialism; (2) the dramatically symbolic representation of all of Mexico as the locus of a New Time and New Metropolitan center, and (3) the more hieroglyphical representation of a process of transculturation that erects before us the bust of a Janus-faced nation. The generic hybridity of this discourse mirrors a semantic schism that we can just glimpse emerging as a fault line which predicts not only the seismic shifts of Mexican independence from Spain but also the more persistent war of images that would ensue between civilization and barbarism, long before nineteenth-century writers etched the image of Two Mexicos into the stone of history.

Balbuena's Mexico City, "esta ciudad famosa, / centro de perfección" (Balbuena 9), "llena de todas las grandezas y primores, / que el mundo sabe y el deleite ordena" (134), is at first glance a utopian dreamspace: an idealized garden of fragrant, flowering beauty (10-11), a "paraíso mexicano" in which God "quiso él mismo ser el hortelano" (80). This garden trope, evidence in the first place of the Ibero-Moorish sensibility's enchantment with fruit and flowers (Gállego 197), is related to "floreros y bodegones" (204), or flower and fruit motifs in Golden Age painting; these horticultural images insinuate themselves like perfume into all levels of Mexico City reality, planting a deep irony in this "sitio ameno" (Balbuena 87). For Balbuena's Eden is not a bucolic idyll enjoyed by a few idle shepherds; it is a huge metropolis of frenetic movement, dynamic capitalist creation and a vastness such that people "en esta gran ciudad desaparecen / de gigantes volviéndose pigmeos" (14). Next to "jacintos y narcisos" (87), prosperity is cultivated as profits grow; church, government and commercial buildings shoot up; horses of conquest, power and prestige trod the soil, imports are harvested, specializations propagate, foreign trade is grafted onto local stock and new investments are seeded. In this metropolitan idyll, a highly specialized work force ceaselessly produces and consumes a cornucopia of desirable goods and services. The manufactory center of this activity is characterized incongruously as the classical "flores de Amaltea" (10) (an allusion to the horn of plenty) and as a "máquina soberbia" (11)⁷ (Ill. 2); as though in an

López 432 (Emblem 118)



*Anguibus implicitis, geminis caduceus alis
Inter Amalthea cornua reclusus adest.
Pollentes sic mente viros, fandi que peritos
Indicat, ut rerum cepia mulca beet.*

III. 2

emblem combining tangible and intangible signs, Balbuena's stylized markers of a "primavera inmortal" (79, 91) enclose an urban garden thickly planted with jobs and employees who, like sunflowers, turn with their materialist desires to face the light: "ya cuanto se trata y se practica / es interés de un modo o de otro" (15), in "la ciudad más rica y opulenta, / de más contratación y más tesoro, / que el norte enfría, ni que el sol calienta" (40). For Balbuena, this striving spirit makes Mexico the "vivo retrato" of heaven.

If there is a subtle criticism, it is not with Mexico's obsession with wealth, "esta oculta fuerza, fuente viva / de la vida política" (19), but of the mother country's stubborn involvement in costly wars. For Balbuena, whose imagery on this subject is perhaps guided by Alciati's emblem #177 (López 604) (Ill. 3), war is a waste of money; peace is by

Montero Vallejo 99 (Emblem 177)



Aqueste yelmo que traxo el soldado
 En sangre de enemigos tan teñido,
 Con la paz, el sosiego y alcanzado,
 En colmena de avejas convertido,
 Nos da panar de miel muy apreciado.
 Cesen las armas, cese su ruido,
 No mueva guerra aquel que justo fuere,
 Sino quando sin guerra paz no ovriere.

Ill. 3

far the more profitable investment in a multinational economy. Here in Mexico, "el furioso dios de las batallas / . . . no influye" (49). While "todos en gusto y en quietud dichosa / siguen pasos y oficios voluntarios" (49), Mexico

con todos se contrata y se cartea;
 y a sus tiendas, bodegas y almacenes
 lo mejor destos mundos acarrea.
 Libre del fiero Marte y sus vaivenes,
 en vida de regalo y paz dichosa,
 hecha está un cielo de mortales bienes
 ciudad ilustre, rica y populosa. (45)

Among the vast variety of goods imported or exported in trade with virtually every country in the world (listed 44-45), Spain figures as just one more supplier among many, queued up between Africa and Germany and, like everyone else, wanting to enter into agreement with Mexico, here seen as the central clearinghouse of an integrated global market. In this international hub of fertile exchange, "se pierde / el deseo de más mundo" (39). In fact, if Balbuena's exhaustive lists of buildings, trades, goods, art forms, horses, people, political and religious practices, and natural resources have not completely covered all bases, "si hay más que esto," then "aun más en...[esta ciudad] se encierra" (32). Mexico as the Container of All: Outside of Mexico City are only more things to fill it: "México al mundo por igual divide, / y como a un sol la tierra se le inclina / y en toda ella parece que preside" (44).

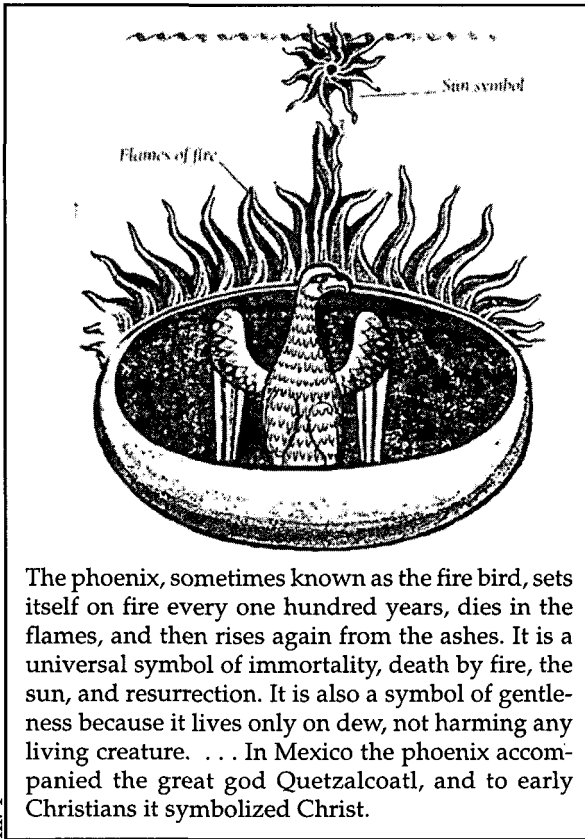
Balbuena's desire to add his drop of humanity to the capital's teeming population attests to the fact that Mexico City, today the largest and fastest growing metropolis in the world, was from its origin a highly urbanized and centralized space; well before the conquest it had become "one of the largest cities in the world" (Meyer 87).⁸ This mobile mass—in which "en todo tiempo y todas ocasiones, / se ven gentes cruzar [caminos] amontonadas" (12)—together with goods that circulate "a montones" (13), is a centripetal force that draws the edges of the human map inward:

Por éste el duro labrador sustenta
 el áspero rigor del tiempo helado,
 y en sus trabajos y sudor se alienta;
 y el fiero imitador de Marte airado
 al ronco son del atambor se mueve,
 y en limpio acero resplandece armado. (15)

Farmers and soldiers on the periphery sacrifice themselves to reinforce the center's magic. There, those who benefit from "el goloso interés [que] les da la mano" (18) inhabit a historical cosmos whose movement and transformative drive contrast with the "tiempo helado" of the obedient countryside. Uplifted by human desire and action,

Mexico City rises like the oft-depicted Phoenix⁹ (III. 4), signifying a new time of eternally increasing abundance: "Toda ella en llamas de belleza se arde, / y se va como fénix renovando" (29).

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III. 4

The phoenix, sometimes known as the fire bird, sets itself on fire every one hundred years, dies in the flames, and then rises again from the ashes. It is a universal symbol of immortality, death by fire, the sun, and resurrection. It is also a symbol of gentleness because it lives only on dew, not harming any living creature. . . . In Mexico the phoenix accompanied the great god Quetzalcoatl, and to early Christians it symbolized Christ.

In the poem's last two chapters, especially, Balbuena praises Spain as author of Mexico's grandeur and at one point explicitly acknowledges the geopolitical reality of their relationship: "(Oh España valerosa, coronada / por monarca del viejo y nuevo mundo, / de aquél temida, déste tributada!)" (142) Coming at the end of the poem, that image, however, is by now a pro-forma gesture masking other meanings "ciphered" into the discourse. If the found emblem of Hercules's column stands as a rigid reminder of Charles V's imperial majesty (141),¹⁰ a constructed emblem of Mexican horsepower throws a rope over that column and threatens to pull it over. So fantastically, inimitably, marvelously powerful, skilled, brave and beautiful are "México y su gran caballería" (34) that, "si el gran Faetón estos caballos viera /

nunca los de su padre codiciara, / que por menos gallardos los tuviera" (36). Popular engravings of Phaeton provide Balbuena an easy symbol of rebellion whose subversive potential is not entirely deferred with light humor (Ill. 5). Just as Bernal does in his *Historia*, Balbuena

López 258 (Emblem 56)



*'Aspicias aurigam currus Phaetonta paterni.
 Igniuomos ausum flectere Solis equos.
 Maxima qui postquam terris incensata sparsit,
 Est temere in seffo lap'us ab axe miser.
 Sic plerique rotis fortuna ad sidera Reges
 Ere Eli ambitis quos iuuenilis agit.
 Post magnum humani generis clademque suamque,
 Cunctorum penas denique dare scelerum.*

Ill. 5

devotes long pages to construction of an equestrian icon of power and conquest. Horses figure mythically and pragmatically as a tool of imperialism; they embody the power of a nation to imprint its imagination on history's pages. In *Grandeza Mexicana*, that implicit power is no longer associated with Spain, but only with Mexico, where "se pierde / el deseo de más mundo, que es muy justo / que el que éste goza de otro no se acuerde" (39): Mexico has all the horses it needs to grab the reins and drive away with the Father's power.

But this latent *criollismo* is also underlaid with latent subversion. Balbuena's European imagination, perhaps fed by an Alciati emblem depicting the streets of a university city as a grid (Alciati 117) (Ill. 5), at one point likens Mexico City streets to "las del ajedrez bien comparadas, / cuadra a cuadra, y aun . . . pieza a pieza" (27). The trope suggests the power of an imperial force to checkmate opposing powers and impose its imagination—imagined nation—upon the vanquished. The overlain Indian culture of New Spain, however, asserts

Alciati 117



Vana palatinos quos educat aula clientes
Dicitur auratis neclere compedibus.

Ill. 5

itself throughout *Grandeza Mexicana* like a palimpsest which puts into play “tantos negros . . . como blancos” (27); prehispanic Mexico survives “entre yerba, flor, sombra y descansos” of *Grandeza Mexicana*’s cultivated center. Balbuena’s urban dream carries a groaning burden of Western mythological figures that authorize his vision; these are countered by but one allusion to native Mexican mythology, but this is the one that will eventually emblemize a Mexico triumphantly independent, “sus armas una águila engrifada / sobre las anchas hojas de una tuna” (127) (Ill. 6). Balbuena may want to refunction the an-

Townsend 62



Ill. 6

cient sun cult and affirm that secular greed "es el sol que al mundo vivifica" (15), but he cannot entirely cast in shadow the fact that, like the emblem of a ragged old woman (54), poverty cohabits his idyllic world in "lugares . . . pobres y mendigos" (55). Balbuena knew firsthand the "mundo horrura, de su hez las heces" of the countryside, where "gente mendiga, triste, arrinconada, / que como indigna de gozar el mundo / está dél y sus bienes desterrada" (55). Far from the glittering capital, Mexico hides its "pueblos chicos y cortos [donde] todo es brega, / chisme, murmuración, conseja, cuento, mentira . . . [y] envidia" and Balbuena is fervently grateful to escape its confines: "al cielo gracias que me veo cercado / de hombres [en la capital] y no de brutos, bestias fieras" (57). The shameful reality of "chozas humildes, lamas y laguna" was, "no ha cien años" (141), the world that Spanish conquerors hoped to dismantle. There is tragic irony, thus, in Balbuena's decision to keep silent about the splendor and capitalist bustle of Tenochtitlán, the spiritual and material foundation of the vigorous creativity he adores in the hispanicized city built upon Indian ruins (Ill. 7):

Dejo . . . el áspero concurso,
y obscuro origen de naciones fieras,
que la hallaron con bárbaro discurso;
el prolijo viaje, las quimeras
del principio del águila y la tuna
que trae por armas hoy en sus banderas;
los varios altibajos de fortuna,
por dónde su potencia creció tanto,
que pudo hacer de mil coronas una.
_Esto es muy lejos, yo no basto a tanto;
sólo diré de lo que soy testigo,
digno de Homero y de la fama espanto. (25)

Aphatic, Balbuena denies what he affirms. He is familiar with enough details of Aztec Tenochtitlán's history to cite the parts that he chooses to hide under a blanket of opposing mythology, the homeric epic of conquest. Thus does Balbuena legitimate Europe's fantastic genealogy and strip indigenous Mexico's of authority.

Balbuena's nation-building gesture is not a product of European hubris but of human nature: Aztec Mexico, as aware as Spain was of "la historia como un instrumento de dominación" (León-Portilla 90), authorized its ascent to power by burning Toltec predecessors' historical emblem-books and exacting tribute from towns on the periphery of its imperial center (90). Official Aztec migration stories "manipulated history" to legitimate the *mexica* invasion and conquest of Toltec territory, interweaving legends with actual happenings, some-

times narrating supposedly unique events in terms directly borrowed from much earlier peoples and places. In great measure these efforts reflect the longing of the incoming peoples for an acceptable ancestry (Townsend 51).

Balbuena manipulates both European and indigenous histories in the same way, reflecting an emerging nation's scarcely imagined longing for "an acceptable ancestry." The one Balbuena sketches acknowledges desirable spiritual qualities in Spain "de cuyo noble parto... / nació esta gran ciudad como de nuevo / en ascendiente próspero y fecundo" (23); it also appropriates Mexico's glorious weather, botanical treasures and natural resources as "the material enclothing" (Hoffman 10) of new meanings stamped onto the "tierras miserables" (Balbuena-58) of the "campo torpe y pueblo rudo" (60). In the hands of Europeans of the capital, the land is beautiful and fruitful beyond compare. In the hands of "el indio feo" (148) out in the country, it is merely a warehouse for trading goods (148). The physical space of Mexico is constructed as a "teatro de fortuna" (141) for the European imaginary: mere scenery for the literate man's action (Hoffman 10). Paradoxically, the emblem of the utopian Garden of Eden in *Grandeza Mexicana* grafts Mexico's vigorous living body onto an aggressively edited historical utopia. Nonetheless, the spiritual heart of monumentally centralist Tenochtitlán (Broda, *et al*) beats on in *Grandeza's* omnivorous capital, in whose compressed vastness Balbuena's emblematic imagination detects a "perfect language" (Eco 144-77) to express as-yet inchoate meanings. Torrential lists of nouns pile streets, buildings, objects, persons, plants and animals onto an iconographic pyramid of desire, which here speaks with chiseled irony about a cultural tradition that would threaten at every future moment to topple the new nation's imagined *grandeza*. Balbuena ignores his chosen homeland's autochthonous history at its peril. The "nueva Roma . . . en trato y talle" (Balbuena 120) that he prefers to see in "grande México" would be destined to fall in 1821, in 1862, in 1910, again in 1968, and in 1994,¹¹ and again and again for so long as the motto summing up his poetic emblem—"como México no hay dos"—is explained by the graphic of Two Mexicos facing each other on timelessly opposed ends of society's patterned grid.

Notes

¹My reference is to *Nusquama*, or *Nowhere*, an early title that Thomas More reportedly gave his perennially influential *Utopia* (1516) (Baker-Smith 35). The allusion implies a desire to find in utopia a reality that in fact exists "someplace."

²Alfonso Méndez Plancarte considers Balbuena "el español más novohispano, por no decir íntegramente nuestro" (xxxii). Balbuena was born in Valdepeñas, Spain, because his father, a businessman from Michoacán, pursued legal matters that kept him there until 1564. Balbuena would have been about three, then, and rapidly acquiring language and culture skills, when his family settled him in his true homeland, Guadalajara. In 1580 he went to Mexico City to study theology at the university; by 24 he was an ordained priest who eventually obtained a doctorate in theology from a university in Spain, and was promoted to abbot of Jamaica and then bishop of Puerto Rico, where he died in 1627.

³The novel, *El siglo de oro en las selvas de Erifile* (1608), was written while Balbuena was studying theology in Spain. His epic poem on Bernardo del Carpio, *Bernardo, o la victoria de Roncesvalles* (1624), is the most florid instance of Balbuena's Mannerist aesthetic, but *Grandeza Mexicana* is better known and most often analyzed in terms of its highly decorative language. Andreas Alciati's *Emblemata*, its universal appeal bolstered by a Mexican edition in 1577, enjoyed wide use among clerics of New Spain (Carilla 437, Gállego 81-82, 92, 116). There were, as well, many other sources of emblem study for Balbuena, including the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid and the *Adages* of Erasmus, on which Alciati had himself styled many of his emblems.

⁴See, for a vision of swans on a lake representing poetry, Andreas Alciati's emblem #87, shown and explicated by a Spanish translation of Alciato's emblems published in 1655 by Diego López (622).

⁵Julián Gállego's annotated compendium of Renaissance and baroque symbol books is the most complete I have examined. See especially his chapter 3, pages 80-115.

⁶Gállego very convincingly demonstrates that they served as inspiration to renaissance and baroque painters, as well (see 153-232, especially).

⁷The contrast of nature and machine that Balbuena implicitly traces in 1604 is explicitly described some four hundred years later in Kirkpatrick Sale's study of the Columbian legacy. In a chapter that relates ecological destruction in medieval Europe to its imperialist and capitalist will (74-91), Sale alludes to "Europe's technophilia, its unchecked affection for the machine" (89) and its relentless drive to systematically replace nature with material progress (91).

⁸Only four European cities (Paris, Venice, Milan and Naples) had populations of 100,000 or more at the time of the conquest in 1521. The largest city in Spain then was Seville, and it counted only about 40,000 souls. Tenochtitlán, soon to become Mexico City, was home to between 80,000 and 250,000 citizens, depending on the source of data one chooses to follow (Meyer 87).

⁹See, for example, hieroglyphic #20 in Pierio Valeriano's compendium (247-48).

¹⁰For a detailed look at Herculean iconography and the concept of a monarch as a column, as well as emblem-book sources of the image, see Sider.

¹¹I refer to the "fall" of Spanish colonial power in the year of Mexican independence (1821); the end of Mexican home rule when France's "emperor" Maximilian began a short-lived reign in 1862, the ouster of dictator Porfirio Díaz at the start of the Mexican Revolution in 1910, the "fall" of popular support for Mexico's longtime postrevolutionary government after President Díaz Ordaz attempted to cover up a massacre of students and other unarmed civilians who had marched to Mexico City's Tlatelolco Square seeking democratic freedoms in 1968, and the end of self-deception regarding southern Mexico's oppressed indigenous populations after the outbreak of armed rebellion in Chiapas, in 1994.

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