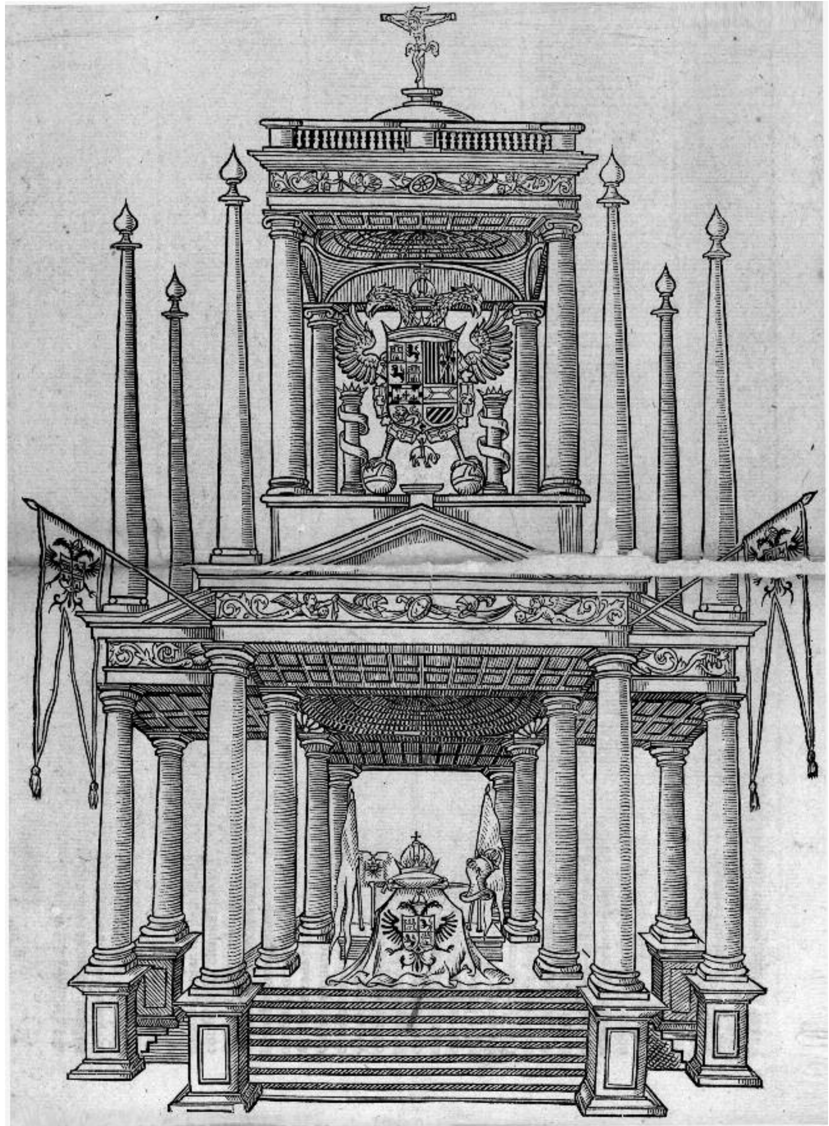
Monument constructed for Charles V in Mexico City. From Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo Imperial de la gran ciudad de Mexico* (1560). Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense, Madrid.



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An Artificial Mind in Mexico City (Autumn 1559)

BYRON ELLSWORTH HAMANN

> *He calls this theater of his by many names, saying now that it is a built or constructed mind and soul, now that it is a windowed one. He pretends that all things that the human mind can conceive and which we cannot see with the corporeal eye, after being collected together by diligent meditation may be expressed by certain corporeal signs in such a way that the beholder may at once perceive with his eyes everything that is otherwise hidden in the depths of the human mind. And it is because of this corporeal looking that he calls it a theater.*
>
> —Viglius Zuichemus to Desiderius Erasmus on the "memory theater" of Giulio Camillo (Venice, 1532)[1]

> *Hoc breui Tumulo reconditur memoria . . .*
>
> —Epitaph near the funerary monument for Emperor Charles V in the chapel of Saint Joseph of the Natives (Mexico City, 1559)[2]

This is a story of art, architecture, media, and politics in the middle of the sixteenth century.

From the fall of 1558 to the fall of 1559, towering black monuments were built throughout the Mediterratlantic world. They honored Charles V, former king of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor. Retired from public life since 1556, Charles had died at a monastery in southwest Iberia on September 21, 1558.

Official word of his passing was sent out in a royal decree twelve days later, on October 3.[3] In the weeks and months that followed, copies of this document slowly traveled across Charles V's former empire. When the news arrived, local governments began to plan memorial rites. In at least twenty cities spanning Europe and the Americas, massive funerary monuments were constructed.[4] These ephemeral *túmulos* served as centerpieces for two days of processions, masses, and mourning.[5]

Although none of the memorials built for Charles V survives today, many were richly documented in alphabetic and visual accounts. This article centers on one

such publication: Francisco Cervantes de Salazar's *Tvmvlo Imperial*, an illustrated book recording the commemorations held in Mexico City on November 30 and December 1, 1559. The book is one of several sources about Mexico City's monument, a monument itself generated from the words and images of printed books, and this movement (from textual inscriptions to three-dimensional installation to textual inscriptions again) will be tracked across the pages to come.

Túmulos and the rituals held around them were engines for social transition. They were endowed with the power to reorder societies decapitated by the death of their monarch.[6] This was certainly true of the monument in Mexico City. But its printed representation reveals particularly ambitious goals. Urban space was to become a medium for thought control: a concentric field of transformation radiating out from a towering artificial mind. This device was, for those caught within its lines of force, a kind of mental trap.

Histories of Spanish urbanism in the sixteenth-century Americas usually take one of two forms: stories of imposition and stories of resistance. The first tell how grid-plan settlements, built around a square main plaza, were imposed across the landscape of the New World: either on "virgin territory," or on the conquered remains of indigenous cities. This was often, literally, a *paper architecture*: Spaniards understood towns to be created by the election of officials and the drawing of plans, long before any construction in stone and plaster took place.[7] Stories of resistance, in turn, describe how indigenous people abandoned the grid-layout towns where Spanish officials forced them to resettle, or how indigenous forms and ideas of urban life constrained or reshaped European impositions (as in Barbara Mundy's splendid account of Mexico City's emergence from Aztec Tenochtitlan).[8]

But although this article is about urban space in Spanish America, its focus on an ephemeral intervention within Mexico City's built environment aligns it with a different tradition of scholarship: studies of early modern urban spectacles, such as processions and royal entries. This research has often argued that group participation in mass performance was a technique of social cohesion—yet a technique that, because of its focus on order and hierarchy, could easily lead to disagreement and violence.[9] Spectacles of participation are, cross-culturally, effective strategies of control.[10] The pages of *Tvmvlo Imperial* offer unique insights into the mechanics by which the media of early modernity were theorized to produce integration and transformation.

TVMVLO IMPERIAL
dela gran ciudad de Mexico.

EN MEXICO.
Por Antonio de Espinosa
1560.

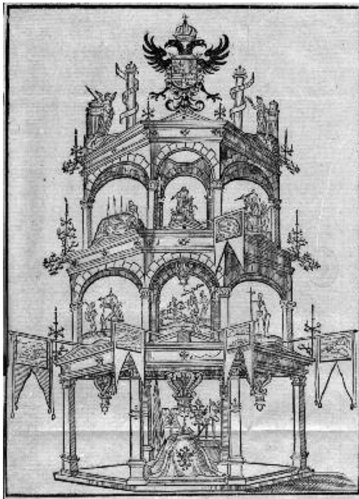
Right: Title page from Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvmlo Imperial* (1560). Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense, Madrid.

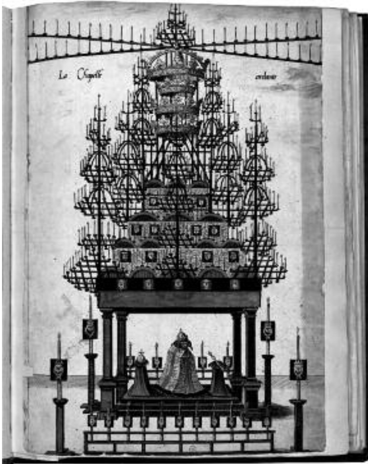
Opposite, top: Monument constructed for Charles V in Valladolid. From Christoual Calvete de Estrella, *El Tvmvlo Imperial, adornado de Historias y Letreros y Epitaphios en Prosa y verso Latino* (1559). Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

Opposite, middle: Monument constructed for Charles V in Brussels. From Christophe Plantin, *La magnifique et sumtueuse pompe funèbre faite en la ville de Bruxelles* (1559). Bibliothèque de l'Institut National l'Histoire de l'Art, collections Jacques Doucet, Paris.

Opposite, bottom: The imperial coffin and regalia in the monument constructed for Charles V in Augsburg. Title page of Friedrich Staphylus, *Aigentliche und warhaffte Beschreibung Weß bey der herrlichen Besingknuß* (1559). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

To explain how Mexico's *túmulo* was imagined to work as a social force, I situate it within two archives. The first is Mediterratlantic, and consists of published and manuscript accounts of similar monuments built in other cities. Four illustrated works are especially important: memorial books from Valladolid (rites held on December 2–3, 1558), Brussels (December 29–30, 1558), Augsburg (February 24–25, 1559), and Bologna (April 16–17, 1559). By studying this far-flung archive, we can see both how Mexico's *túmulo* participated in a shared moment of early modern visual culture, as well as how its creators hoped to make their own version distinct. Mexico City's majority-indigenous population presented specific challenges to *túmulo* designers.[11] How could the memorial's complex messages (and desired effects) be transmitted to a non-European audience? Given this site-specific concern with indigenous people, a second archive involves Native American accounts of the monument. Where European authors dedicated entire books to the specific memorials built by specific cities, references to Mexico's catafalque in Native American sources appear as but one detail *within* larger projects of community history. Striking contrasts appear when we compare *túmulo* descriptions by indigenous authors with *túmulo* descriptions by European authors—and these contrasts provide one way to evaluate the efficacy of the Mexican monument's intended social effects.





AIgentliche / vnnd
warhaffte Beschreibung / weß bey der herr-
lichen Besingknuß / so die Röm. Kay. May. Kaiser
Ferdinand rc. jrer May. lieben Brůder vnnd Herrn Kayser
Carlen dem fünfften / Hochlöblichster gedächtnus / am 24.
vnd 25. Februarij des 59. Jars zu Augspurg ordenlich vnd zierlich gehalten /
sich allenthalben verloffen vnd zůgetragen. Erstlich mit zůberaitung
in der Thůmbkirchen. Vnnd darn mit der Procession
auß dem Kay. Palatio. Letstlich auch durch
allerley Ceremonien in bemelter
Thůmbkirchen geůbet.
Alles auffs kürtzest doch mit grundt vermerckt.

15 59

PSAL. XVII.

Qui perfecit pedes meos tanquam Ceruorum: & super excelsa statuens me. Qui docuit manus meas ad praelium, & posuit, ut arcum aereum, brachia mea. Et dedit mihi protectionem salutis meae, Dextera eius suscepit me.

Cum Gratia & Priuilegio Imp.

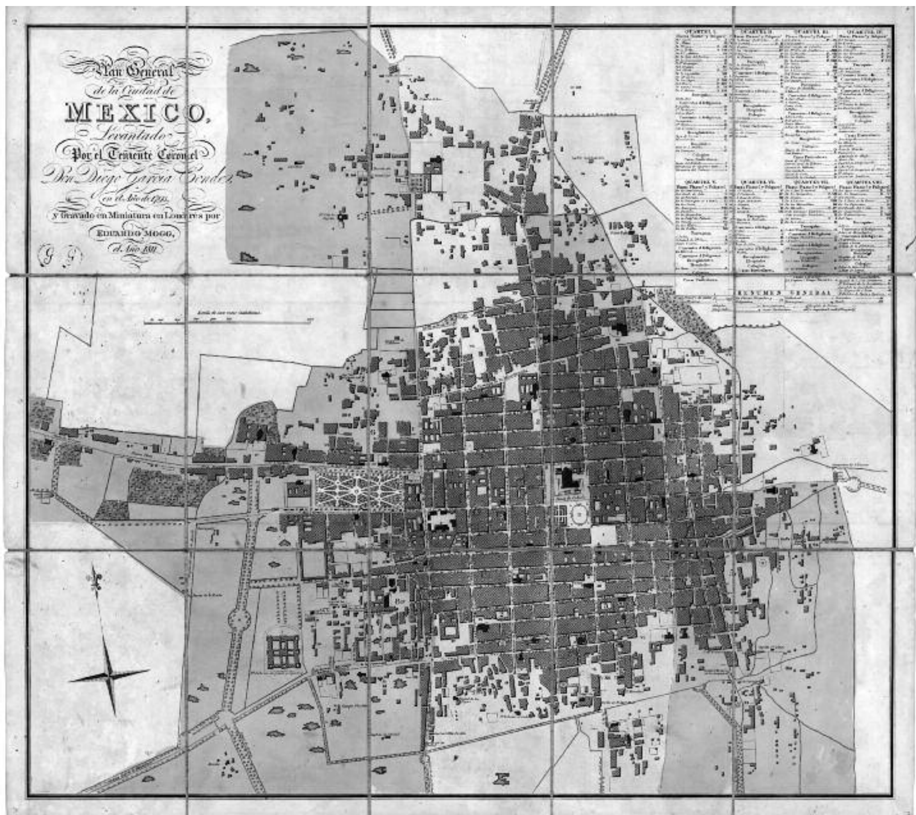
Four hundred years into the future, artificial memory and the media of thought control were central obsessions for William S. Burroughs, and their postwar manifestations have been explored several times in the pages of *Grey Room*.[12] This article does not argue for any direct genealogy between media techniques circa 1559 and media techniques circa 1959. But placing those moments in juxtaposition both defamiliarizes postwar history and makes oddly resonant the early modern history of four centuries past. And so I conclude by thinking about media writing over the long term, and fold the Mexico City of 1559 into the 1959 publication of *The Manchurian Candidate* and, two years after that, into Burroughs's fantasy of undergoing "the transfer operation" in Mexico City's Avenida

Cinco de Mayo—one block north of where most of this essay takes place—en route to the pre-Hispanic Yucatan circa 1059, there cutting up Maya codices to trigger a revolution of thought-controlled peasants.[13]

Order

Delays and time lags were inherent to early modern communication, and so news of Charles V's death in September 1558 traveled erratically. This was not simply a problem of transatlantic distances: it was a problem within Europe as well. Charles V's son and heir, Philip II (who was in Italy at the time) did not learn of his father's death until six weeks later, on November 1.[14] This structural belatedness of communications meant that although the Iberian memorials for Charles V were held from October to December 1558, cities elsewhere in Europe did not get around to honoring the emperor until the spring of 1559: Naples and Augsburg in late February, Rome in early March, Bologna in mid-April. Memorials in the Americas—Lima, Mexico City, Potosí—followed later that fall.

News of the emperor's death probably reached Mexico City in January 1559, and planning his memorial took several months.[15] Its location was debated. Mexico City's cathedral (which had been the site of previous royal commemorations) was deemed too small to accommodate a properly imposing monument. A decision was finally reached to install the *túmulo* at the Chapel of Saint Joseph of the Natives, located in the Franciscan monastery five blocks west of Mexico City's main plaza. The memorial rites were scheduled for November 30 and December 1. These dates were chosen with care: November 30 was the feast day of Saint Andrew, divine patron of the Order of the Golden Fleece (a military society created by Charles V's Burgundian ancestor Philip the Good).[16] This calendrical symbolism is yet another reason for the "belatedness" of Mexico City's commem-



orations relative to Iberia and other lands north of the Mediterranean—“first in Europe, then elsewhere” does not adequately explain the temporalities at work in staging Charles V’s far-flung funerary rituals.[17]

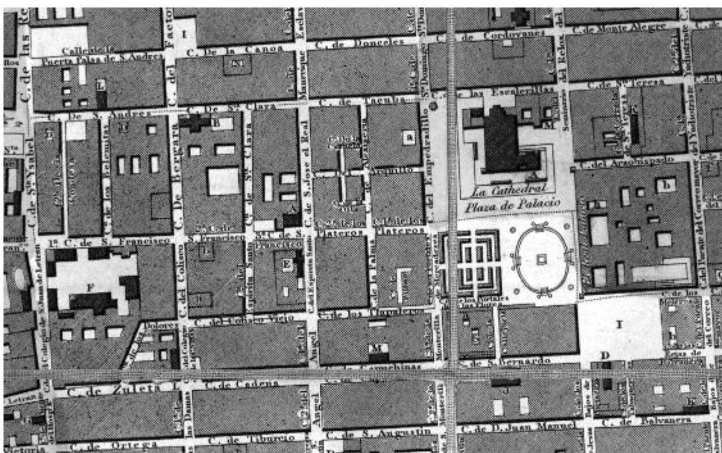
Perhaps the most striking feature of Mexico City’s memorial rites was their concentric structure, radiating ever-wider across space and time. A central kernel of empty imperial regalia was embedded within a ninety-foot-high catafalque, which was in turn framed by a specially decorated chapel, which was itself surrounded by a city whose inhabitants were carefully dressed and choreographed to honor the dead emperor. Regalia, monument, chapel, city: I will discuss each of these shells in turn and then consider the cumulative social effect—*order*—that this centrifugal engine was designed to bring about.[18]

At the center of everything was a set of symbolically hollow objects. They were brought together on November 30 and placed within the central space of a soaring wooden monument. These empty forms included a cloth-covered coffin (unoccupied), the royal standard, and imperial costume elements: tabard, crown, sword, and helmet.

Exactly how these objects arrived at the center of the *túmulo* is very important. Early in the afternoon of November 30, they were collected from a canopied table in the Hall of Agreement, a room on the upper floor of the viceroy’s palace on the city’s main plaza. Normally, the living body of the viceroy—as the embodiment and extension of the king—would occupy the place of honor beneath that (royal) canopy.[19] But on November 30, this space was occupied by another type of symbolic vessel for the imperial presence: replicas of royal regalia. That is, the tabard, crown, sword, and helmet functioned as surrogate vehicles for the absent body of Charles V.[20] Carried by men of rank through the streets of Mexico City and brought together around an empty coffin, they made the emperor virtually, visually present. And not just in Mexico City: the importance of the centrally placed coffin and regalia is stressed in memorial accounts from throughout the Mediterratlantic archive.

But like a relic within a reliquary, or the Host within a monstrance, these signs of the absent emperor were in turn placed within a larger frame to amplify their importance.[21] This was the *túmulo* itself. It was a concentric monument, with four staircased side chapels surrounding a central main chapel. The floor of the main chapel was eight feet above the ground, and measured twenty-four feet on each side. Here the empty coffin and imperial regalia were brought together on November 30.[22]

These hollow objects were surrounded by complex iconography. They rested under a column-supported dome painted with the heavens and planets and an



Opposite: Diego García Conde. *Plan General de la Ciudad de México*, mapped 1793, printed 1811. Constructed on an island, Mexico City’s urban footprint was constrained until the late nineteenth century, when the surrouding Lake Texcoco was drained. University of Texas at Austin, Perry-Castañeda Map Collection.

Left: Detail of García Conde’s *Plan General*. From right to left are the viceroy’s palace (occupying the entire block north of plaza I), the cathedral (the L-shaped building directly northwest of the palace), and the Franciscan monastery (far left; northern patio marked F).

image of God. Most of the flat surfaces of the *túmulo*—the eight-foot-tall column bases, the gables and moldings, the pointed "obelisks" above—were decorated with allegorical paintings and Latin texts. Each full gable was topped by an eight-foot-tall statue of Death personified. The upper-level chapel contained a twenty-foot-high gilded statue of the imperial eagle. At the summit of everything was a second dome, supporting a life-size statue of Christ crucified. Hundreds of candles provided illumination.[23] In total, the structure was ninety feet tall.

Just as the regalia of the emperor were embedded within this towering monument, the monument itself was embedded within the Chapel of Saint Joseph of the Natives. This brings us to yet another concentric layer radiating out from the empty imperial costume and coffin. The Chapel of Saint Joseph was located in the Franciscan monastery to the west of Mexico City's main plaza. The monastery took up several blocks of the city's real estate until the nineteenth century, when most of it was torn down. However, from early descriptions (including the one in *Tvmvlo Imperial*) we know that it included a walled rectangular patio to the north, perhaps five hundred feet long and three hundred feet wide. Entrances led out to the street on the patio's northern and western sides, and tall trees grew inside its perimeter. The colonnaded, open-design chapel was along the patio's eastern wall. Its space was modified and decorated to accommodate the *túmulo*.[24] Fourteen masonry arches were relocated so as not to block the view for seated dignitaries.[25] The chapel's walls and columns were draped in black cloth and hung with symbolic images: allegorical paintings, coats of arms, falling stars, a massive sun and moon each eclipsed by the emperor's death.[26] The intended effect was this: "so that he who looked at the *Tumulo*, especially when the candles were lit . . . should have presented to him, in whatever direction to which he should turn his head, the necessity of dying and the great power of death, who had vanquished such an unvanquishable monarch."[27]

The ornamentation of the chapel extended out into the patio as well: more black draperies hung on its walls, and forty temporary altars were specially built so that four hundred clerics could say mass on the days of the memorial rites.[28] Even the street along the northern side of the patio was affected:

> so that this should be without dust (which so much mourning drapery would attract), it was arranged that two days before [the

TVMVLO

DESCRIPCION DEL TVMVLO.

¶Era este Tumulo à manera de cruzero, conforme à esta demonstracion desta planta. Tenia quatro capillas colaterales, q̃ abraçauan la capilla mayor, donde estaua la tumba de su Magestad: todas fundadas sobre doze colunas de orden dorica. Tenia la capilla mayor veynte y quatro pies en quadro: y por cada vna delas quatro capillas subian con çatorze gradas ala capilla mayor donde estaua la tumba. Y no se les dio a estas capillas mas salida dela q̃ era menester para las gradas, como mas claramente se muestra por esta planta: porque enla montea no se puede entender tan enteramente, por causa que son muchos cuerpos, y por estar los vnos delante los otros, la prespetiua no da lugar.

Right: Overhead plan of the Mexico City *túmulo*. From Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo Imperial* (1560), 2v. Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense, Madrid.

Opposite: Reconstruction drawings of the Chapel of Saint Joseph of the Natives, 1527–1697. From George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture in the Sixteenth Century* (1948).

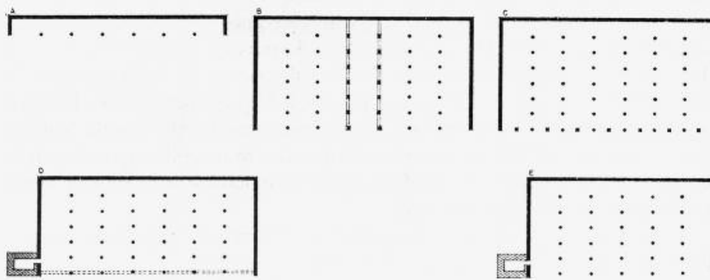
memorial rites] the entrance to Saint Francis street should be closed to people on horseback, and so that it should be cleaner it would be swept and watered many times during these two days.[29]

We have moved from regalia and coffin, to surrounding *túmulo*, to surrounding chapel, to patio, to street. But the radiating influence of the emperor's monument did not stop there. Mexico City's inhabitants were themselves caught up in the *túmulo*'s lines of force. And this brings us to the question of *order*, and to a first aspect of how the *túmulo* worked as an engine of social transformation.

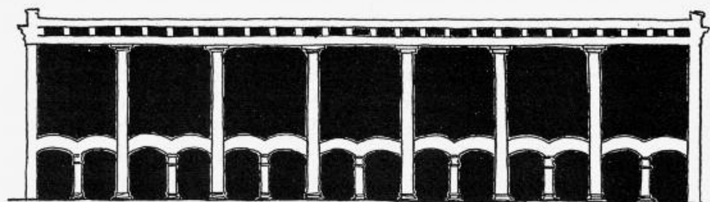
Twenty days before the memorial rites began, the viceroy of New Spain decreed that the inhabitants of Mexico City should begin to wear mourning dress. Apparently many did.[30] This effectively extended the black-draped decorations of chapel and patio to the city outside, to the bodies of its inhabitants. On Saint Andrew's Day itself, the appropriation of New Spain's population as raw materials in an organic work of art was pushed even further.

Early modern political theory often understood society in corporeal terms. Political units were bodies, with the ruler as the head and the subjects as the various limbs and organs.[31] The death of a monarch created a situation of extreme social and cosmic disorder, which is why the decorations of the Chapel of Saint Joseph included an eclipsed sun and moon and falling stars. One of the functions of royal funerary rituals—above all, the large processions they involved—was to combat potential anarchy by literally reordering society in a mass spectacle.[32] Funeral rituals did not just symbolize a reassertion of social order. They made that order tangible and visible through the manipulation of living human bodies in a carefully choreographed performance. As we will see, the word *order* (*orden*) is obsessively repeated in the memorial descriptions of *Tvmvlo Imperial*.

Mexico City's choreography of order began early in the afternoon of November 30, when a massive procession left the main plaza for the Franciscan monastery, five blocks away. The indigenous contingent came first. It was headed by leaders of the communities that once formed the Aztec Triple Alliance (Mexico, Tacuba, Texcoco) joined by the governor of Tlaxcala (one of Hernán Cortés's key allies in the conquest of the Aztec empire). Next, "four by four, each one according to his preeminence, there went more than 200 lords of indigenous towns, bedecked



251. Mexico City, various plans of San José de los Naturales. A. 1527–*ca.* 1547 B. 1559–74 C. 1574–87 D. 1590 E. 1697



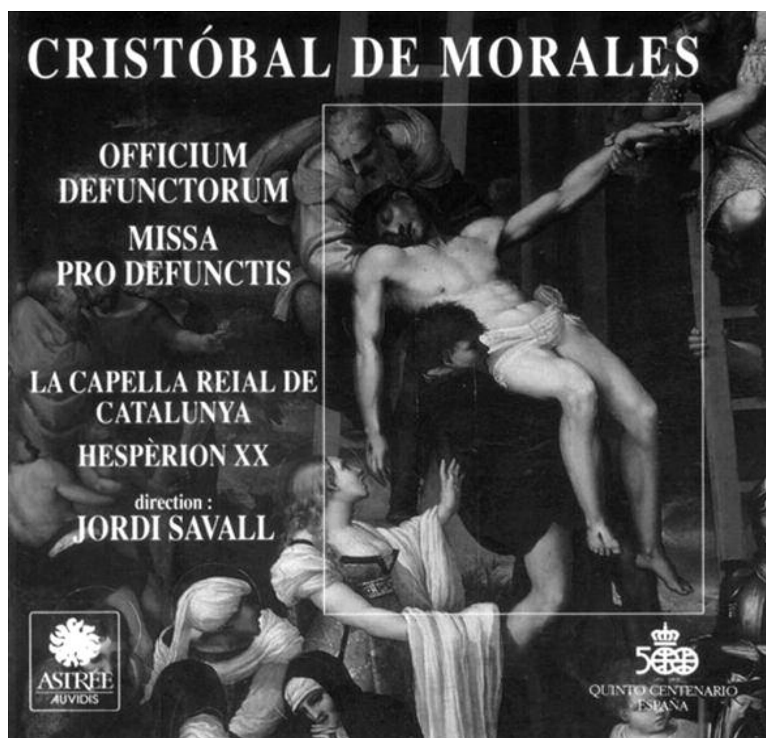
252. Mexico City, reconstruction of façade, San José de los Naturales, as of *ca.* 1547

in mourning dress."[33] Following these Native American nobles was the second section of the procession, composed of clerics: friars, priests, bishops. Third came members of civil society, including the viceroy, court officials, and staff from the city's new university. This section was where the imperial crown, sword, helmet, tabard, and standard were carried. Finally, the main procession ended with a corps of mounted cavalry. They separated official participants from the throngs of residents who incorporated themselves into the tail of the spectacle: "because the people who came afterward were many, so that they should not interfere with and break the order [*el orden*]."[34]

On arriving at the monastery, the indigenous representatives of Mexico, Tacuba, Texcoco, and Tlaxcala placed their own standards at the four corners of the *túmulo*. Next, the civil authorities carrying the crown, sword, helmet, tabard, and standard installed those objects beside the empty coffin at the monument's center. Participants then moved to their assigned seats, which were carefully ordered within the surrounding chapel and patio.[35] Once all were in their proper places, a funeral mass was held. The choral music, by Christóbal de Morales, had been composed in Iberia only a few years earlier.[36] When the ceremony was over, the archbishop walked up the monument's stairs, stood before its effigy coffin, and performed his oration. And then "was ended the vigil and office of this day, and leaving the standards and insignias at the *Tumulo*, the procession returned in the order [*orden*] by which it had come."[37]

The ordering of Mexico City's inhabitants continued the following day. A mass was held again, and then the previous afternoon's events were reenacted in reverse. The standards and imperial insignia were collected by those who had brought them, "and the procession returned by the same order." At least in theory. The procession's *order* on December 1 included one key variation—important enough for Cervantes de Salazar to mention it. The four main indigenous leaders changed their relative positions:

> On the departure [on November 30], Mexico and Tacuba were in the middle, with Texcoco and Tlaxcala on the sides: but the next day, when they returned, the order of the standards



CD cover for Hespèrion XX's 1992 recording of Cristóbal de Morales's *Officium defunctorum*.

> was changed [*los estandartes se trocaron*], because they [indigenous people] pay a great deal of attention to this, and they were given permission to do so by the viceroy.[38]

This is a significant detail because it shows how indigenous theories of politics (much concerned with the rotation of office and authority) asserted themselves within a spectacular enactment of New Spain's political and social structure.[39] This anecdote also underscores how any variation in the procession's carefully choreographed *order* had to be accounted for.

Readers of Alfred Gell's *Art and Agency* will have recognized much that is familiar here.[40] In chapter 7, "The Distributed Person," Gell explores the idea of the *concentric idol*. Cross-culturally, he argues, human beings often interpret the actions of social others in terms of a "homunculus effect" or "ghost in the machine."[41] That is, external, physical behaviors are understood to be caused by internal, animating forces. As a result, many societies have activated their "idols"—even nonrepresentational ones—by providing them with layers or interior spaces or by visually and physically marking distinctions between surface and depth. Holes or cavities (themselves filled with animating substances) may be drilled into the "idol's" body. Eyes might be painted on its face. The "idol" may itself be wrapped up in an outer "skin" or placed in an ark. Crucially, this concentric animating strategy does not require anthropomorphism. Animacy is conveyed not by mimetic resemblance but through spatial modeling. "Idols are not depictions, not portraits, but (artefactual) bodies."[42]

The animating layers of those bodies need not be small scale. They can extend to the built environment. Gell is particularly taken by the layers within layers of Egyptian temples:

> Besides the realistic form of the idols, [consider] their extraordinary and impressive surroundings. They were kept, except when being served by the priests, in a box or ark, which, in turn, was kept in the darkest and most central sanctuary of a vast temple complex, consisting of innumerable lesser sanctuaries, shrines, courtyards, barracks and workshops, etc. If we situate ourselves, not inside the innermost sanctuary, but outside in the courtyard, with the ordinary worshippers (who rarely if ever saw the idols themselves) then we may readily imagine that the idols (immured in the temple complex, and animating it like a giant body) come to stand for "mind" and interiority not just by physical resemblance to the human body, but by becoming the animating "minds" of the huge, busy, and awe-inspiring temple complex.

> Just as the "mind" is conceived of as an interior person, a homunculus, within the body, so the idols are homunculi within the "body" of the temple.[43]

A few pages later, Gell describes the Indian images of Jagganath and his companions in similar terms:

> The idols reside in the center of, and animate, this reverberating microcosmos, and are animated by the incessant flow of sacred words. Proceeding towards the centre we approach the idols through a "social skin," the throng of pilgrims and attendant temple servants and priests, who, by their attentions and devotions, animate the idols occupying the cynosure of a great assembly of souls. The idols themselves are enshrined at the centre, framed on their altars, adorned with masses of flowers and jewelry.[44]

The layers-within-layers structure of the memorials held for Charles V—all centered on empty coffin and unworn insignia—are an early modern variation of Gell's ideas. Charles V's body had been buried at the Spanish monastery of Yuste a few days after his death in September 1558. This meant that none of the subsequent memorials held for him in other places (from Valladolid to Augsburg to Mexico City) was able to display an actual corpse. To represent the emperor's presence, these other places relied on the concentric strategy Gell identifies, embedding empty objects within a larger encompassing frame.

This concentrism means that *túmulos* were designed to conjure more than (absent) flesh. Although the central spaces of monuments throughout the Mediterratlantic world were filled with hollow forms that above all seem to reference the emperor's missing *body* (empty coffin, empty tabard, empty crown, empty helmet), Gell urges us to understand their real goal as making the emperor's *mind* present. Among other things, this would have allowed the emperor to reflect upon his own memorial rites. Indeed, Charles V was said to have done this when still alive. A legend claims that he staged his own rehearsal funeral at the monastery of Yuste shortly before his physical death, creating the kind of virtual witnessing later replicated by *túmulo* concentricities.[45]

We can push Gell's "homunculus effect" even further. In the next two sections, I explore the ways in which Mexico City's *túmulo* was designed as an enormous artificial mind—not simply a mental model of the absent emperor, but a machine for memory that had the power to transform the minds of those who beheld it.

Hieroglyphica

Mexico City's *túmulo* produced *order* in its surrounding environment: ordered seating, ordered processions, ordered citizenry. The *túmulo*-centered memorial

rituals held for Charles V were a kind of *implicit* pedagogy, teaching—and instantiating—the importance of a structured society through the choreography of bodies. Space itself became a medium for reordering and transforming human beings.[46]

But Mexico City's *túmulo* was designed to produce social transformations through an *explicit* pedagogy as well, and this brings us to the monument's *decoration* and *structure*.

In addition to *order*, the other central themes in *Tvmvlo Imperial* are memory, pedagogy, and site specificity. Memorialization functioned on two levels: the need to remember the great deeds of the emperor himself; and the need to remember how the *túmulo* represented those deeds through text and image. In his opening contribution to the memorial book, New Spain's viceroy, Luis de Velasco, wrote,

> In this city of Mexico, in the monastery of the lord Saint Francis, in the chapel of the lord Saint Joseph which is within it, were celebrated the honors of the invincible Caesar Emperor don Charles, the king our lord, may he be in holy glory. For these a *Túmulo* was built, and other notable things. And by my command the things which were done in the said honors have been compiled, and because it is right that memory of them should endure [*que quede memoria dellas*], I have ordered that they be printed in type.[47]

This viceregal introduction was followed by a longer letter from Alonso de Çorita, a judge on Mexico City's royal court. He began by writing about pedagogy and memory, pointing out that the ancient Romans called their tombs *monumentos*, a word that also meant "memory" and "remembrance." He closed his introduction by stressing that the *túmulo*, by memorializing the king, was meant to instruct Mexico's indigenous population:

> So truly in all this they [the viceroy and city of Mexico] demonstrated the love and loyalty with which they have always served and love their lord and king, which was owed to no one else with more reason. In this way they fulfilled their obligations, and the natives [*naturales*] did the same by their imitation and example: so that by such clear signs they understood the loyalty which they owed to such a great lord, in death as well as life, and that the great distance which exists between these regions and Spain does not mean that such a great loss is felt any less in these kingdoms.[48]

Introductions completed, Cervantes de Salazar took over as author. He, too, stressed the theme of indigenous pedagogy, as well as the site-specific nature of Mexico City's *túmulo*:

> The care and concern with which Your Lordship arranged, in this New World, according to the possibilities of this land, for the Imperial honors to be held, so that by palpable signs its ancient inhabitants understand how much they owed to the invincible Charles V (now with God), and the reverence and love which they should have for his happy successor the king don Philip our lord. This was done by means of the industry and advice of Your Lordship, most advantageously, by knowing that which could be done here—as will be shown by this book—went well beyond anything that was done in the Old World, because in this Your Lordship found the bodies and hearts both of Spaniards and natives so willing that each one according to their talent, with great willingness, put themselves to work in that which they were commanded to do, and showed the necessary feeling which is owed at the death of such a great Monarch, as if to each one he were a true and most indulgent father.[49]

Mexico City's monument was inspired, in part, by the published account of memorial rites previously held in the Spanish city of Valladolid. The Valladolid *túmulo* was eighty-three feet high—which probably explains why Mexico City's monument soared to ninety feet.[50] Woodcut depictions of imperial standard, tabard, crown, and helmet in the Mexico City publication look like they are copied directly from the Valladolid publication. But if we carefully contrast the design of Mexico City's *túmulo* with descriptions from Valladolid and elsewhere in the Mediterratlantic archive, several points of difference emerge. Although drawing on established forms, the creators of Mexico City's monument adapted those forms to new ends. This is a key insight for understanding how this particular *túmulo* was intended to function as a site-specific social artifact. Only in Mexico City do we find the conceptual constellation linking *memory* to *pedagogy* to *place*. These themes were not simply featured in the opening rhetoric of *Tvmvlo Imperial*: they shaped the design of the monument itself.

Many of the other *túmulos* built for Charles V referred to the global scope of his empire, through symbols of his conquests in the Germanic states, North Africa, and the Indies.[51] But only in the monuments from Mexico City and Potosí (in the viceroyalty of Peru, to the south) was this global vision paired with the details of a local perspective; that is, with symbols of the particular town or region in which the *túmulo* was erected. Allegorical decorations in Mexico City included images of the Aztec emperor Moctezuma kneeling before Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, Hernán Cortés smashing the god-image of Huitzilopochtli (patron deity of the Mexica Aztecs), scenes of Christianized Native Americans at prayer, and a vista of

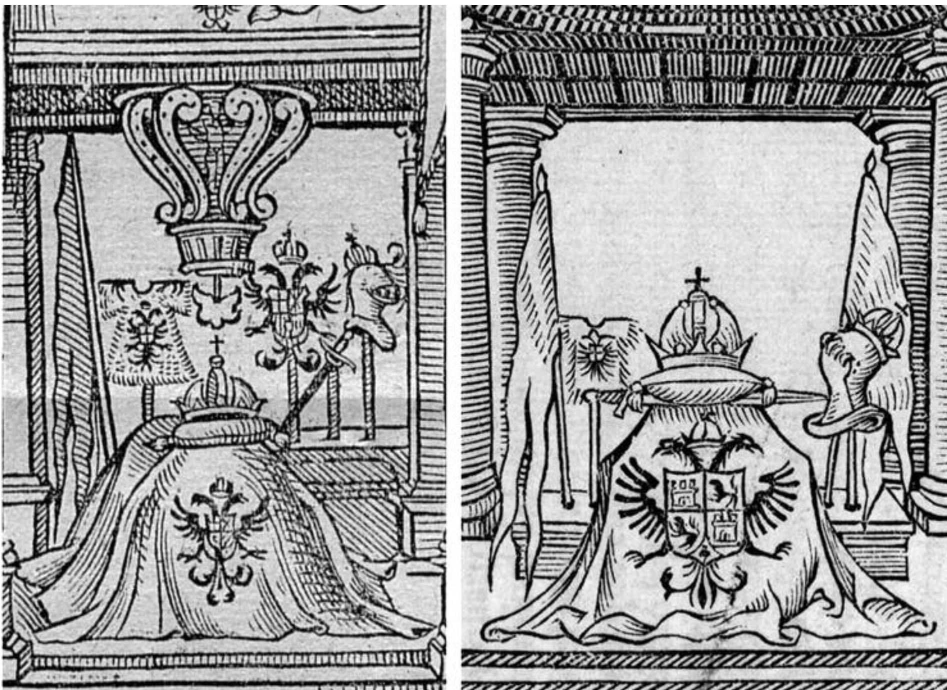
Representations of central coffin and imperial regalia in funerary monuments from Valladolid (left) and Mexico City (right).

Tenochtitlan (the Aztec capital on whose ruins Mexico City was built). The catafalque constructed in Potosí featured a three-dimensional model of the silver-filled mountain that towered above the town. But in Potosí, in contrast to Mexico City, the participation (and instruction) of Native Americans was not a major concern. Quite the reverse. Potosí's indigenous people were initially *banned* from the memorial procession, because the Spaniards feared that imported European rituals for the dead might trigger dangerous memories of pre-Hispanic mortuary cults ("participation was [initially] refused, so that they should not mix in their sorrows some ceremonies and superstitions which in similar events their lords and Inkas were in the habit of doing, because their holy faith and good customs were new").[52] In contrast, Mexico's indigenous people were not simply represented on the *túmulo*'s decorations: they were one of its key pedagogic targets ("so that by palpable signs its ancient inhabitants understand how much they owed to the invincible Charles V").

Those "palpable signs" provided a first mechanism for the *túmulo*'s strategy of explicit pedagogy. The surfaces of the monument—the eight-foot-tall column bases, the gables and moldings, the pointed "obelisks" above—were covered with allegorical images. Their subject matter encompassed a wide variety of topics, from the emperor's biography and virtues to events that took place in the New World during his reign.

Many of these painted images were inspired by printed sources. Those sources reveal that the surface decorations of Mexico's monument were not meant to be merely didactic pictures. They were, semiotically, a particular category of sign. They were *hieroglyphs*. The properties of hieroglyphic signs made them perfect instruments in the site-specific endeavor that was the Mexico City *túmulo*.

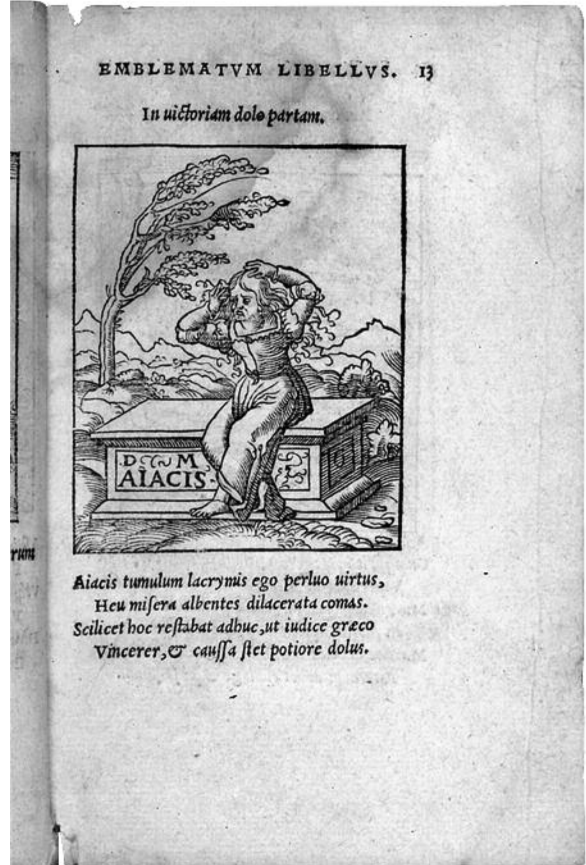
Images from at least two printed books were used for visual inspiration. One of these has been discussed extensively in previous scholarship. The other has, until now, escaped notice. Santiago Sebastián was the first to point out that some of the *túmulo*'s allegorical paintings were based on images from Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata liber*.[53] Originally published in Augsburg in 1531 (and reprinted dozens



of times in many languages, including Spanish), this *Book of Emblems* was a product of early modern Europe's fascination with the hieroglyphs of ancient Egypt.[54] Alciato even compared his emblems to "the Hieroglyphs of Horus."[55] Each page carried a motto at the top ("Prudence," "Temerity"), then a printed image dense with symbolism, and finally an explanatory poem. References to eight of Alciato's emblems decorated the *túmulo*.[56] For example, one of the column-base images "on the side of the staircase, in imitation of the emblem of Alciato, was Virtue at the tomb of Caesar, crying and pulling on her hair, feeling the absence of he who most had pursued her, and for this reason says *Never enough, for your merits*."[57]

If the images in Alciato's *Emblemata* were designed as modern hieroglyphs, another inspiration for the *túmulo*'s imagery claimed to record hieroglyphs that were both authentic and ancient. When Cervantes de Salazar died in 1575, an inventory was made of his possessions. Item 186 in his library was described as "Hierogliphica Pierii." This was a copy of the *Hieroglyphica* of Piero Valeriano, published in Basel in 1556.[58] Like Alciato's *Book of Emblems*, it was yet another text inspired by Renaissance Egyptomania. The influence of the *Hieroglyphica* on *túmulo* images can be seen in several places: a group of cranes, symbolizing defense; a lion surrounded by bees, meaning "in strength, judgment and sweetness."[59]

Allegorical images are not the only influence that Valeriano's book had on Mexico City's *túmulo*. *Hieroglyphica* did not simply present the reader with hieroglyphs for use in other contexts. It provided two woodcuts showing how to combine hieroglyphs on the surfaces of *obelisks*. These illustrations of hieroglyph-ornamented obelisks probably inspired the eight towering spires, covered


EMBLEMATVM LIBELLVS. 13

In uictoriam dolo partam.

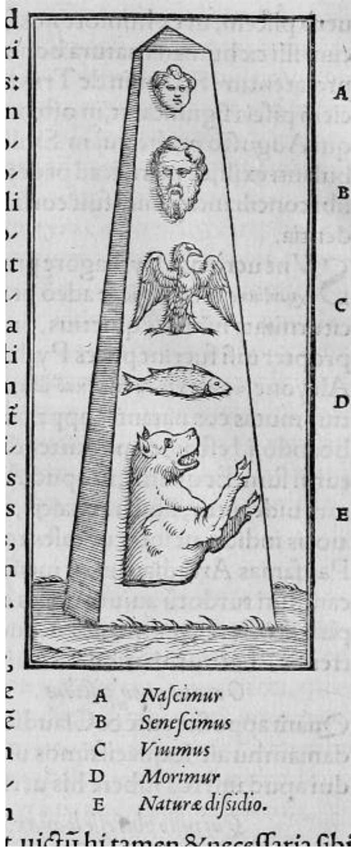
Aiacis tumulum lacrymis ego perluo uirtus,
Heu misera albentes dilacerata comas.
Scilicet hoc restabat adhuc, ut iudice græco
Vincerer, & caussa stet potiore dolus.

OBORTVS IN MOESTITIA
lepos.

Top: Virtue at the tomb of Ajax. From Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum libellus* (1534), 13. University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections.

Bottom: *Obortvs in moestitia lepos*. From Piero Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* (1556), 187v.

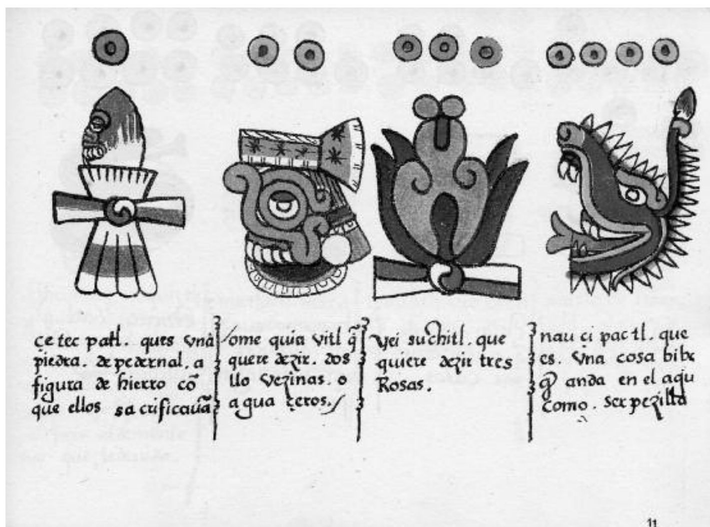
with allegorical images, that surrounded the second level of the *túmulo*. (No such features appeared on the Valladolid monument, Mexico City's direct model.) The Egyptianizing intent of these spires is made clear by Cervantes de Salazar's language. He describes them first as "obeliscos à manera de agujas piramidales" (obelisks like pyramidal spires), then as "obeliscos y agujas piramidales" (obelisks and pyramidal spires), and later as just "agujas piramidales."[60] The *Hieroglyphica* had been published in Europe in 1556, a mere three years before the *túmulo* was erected in New Spain. By appropriating images and obelisks from its pages, Cervantes de Salazar produced a monument that was cutting-edge, ancient, and timeless all at once.



And perhaps *local* as well. Indigenous writing from Mesoamerica was often compared to Egyptian hieroglyphs. In one of his 1554 dialogues about Mexico City, Cervantes de Salazar characterized Central Mexican writing as "in imitation of the Egyptians."[61] In the 1550s Cervantes de Salazar owned a Native American hieroglyphic book filled with brightly painted calendric glyphs and images of gods and goddesses.[62] He thus had firsthand familiarity with what Mesoamerican writing looked like, as well as a basic idea of how it conveyed information.

Early modernity's association of Egyptian and Mesoamerican "hieroglyphs" was not limited to visual comparison, as "picture writing." It implied a functional parallel as well. This brings us to the peculiar qualities of the hieroglyph as a category of sign. Hieroglyphic writing—wherever it came from—was seen by early modern Europeans as a universal communicative system, a unique medium that could convey ideas directly to the mind without recourse to spoken language.[63] By covering the *túmulo* with a supposedly universal (yet also locally Mesoamerican) "hieroglyphic writing," Cervantes de Salazar may have hoped to solve one of the monument's key challenges: how to transmit memories of the emperor, and moral models for emulation, to Mexico's indigenous population.

But hieroglyphic allegories were only one aspect of the *túmulo*'s pedagogic machinery. They were placed within a



Top: Hieroglyph-inscribed obelisk. From Piero Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* (1556), 219v. Cervantes de Salazar owned an earlier copy of this manuscript.

Bottom: Hieroglyphic day signs. From *Codex Magliabechiano* (ca. 1550), 11r. Cervantes de Salazar owned an earlier copy of this manuscript.

striking architectural frame, and this takes us from questions of iconography to questions of built form. The *túmulo* was conceptualized as a monument from Egypt, bedecked with obelisks and encrusted with hieroglyphs. At the same time, it was meant to evoke another kind of symbol-filled structure from the ancient world: the memory palace.

The Memory Palace of Cervantes de Salazar

Described in three texts from classical antiquity attributed to Cicero and Quintilian, the basic structure of the memory palace was the same as that of the *túmulo*: a unique building whose many rooms were ornamented with striking images chosen for their power to embed and trigger memories.[64] Quintilian's account of how to create such a virtual structure tells the user to begin by calling to mind an actually existing building as a model, and then fill that building with mnemonic symbols.

Cervantes de Salazar knew about memory palace theory. He taught as a professor of rhetoric at the University of Mexico, and the art of memory was above all connected to oratory: it was a method by which public speakers could remember the contours of long speeches.[65] From his library inventory we know that Cervantes de Salazar owned two, and probably all three, of the antique Latin texts in which the art of memory was explained. Furthermore, his copy of Quintilian, inventory item 185, is followed directly by item 186, the *Hieroglyphica*. Memory palace theory and hieroglyphic theory were placed side by side on Cervantes de Salazar's bookshelf.

By extension, the design of the 1559 *túmulo* brought these two bodies of theory together in an applied context. The memory palace as a tool for oratory was intended to exist as a virtual space only: an architecture of the imagination. The genius of Mexico City's *túmulo* was the dynamic of recursive pedagogy it brought into play. The three-dimensional monument was a physical memory palace into and around which visitors could walk. If those visitors paid attention to the lessons the *túmulo* conveyed, then a memory of that structure and its hieroglyphs would be constructed inside their heads, remaking the ephemeral but physical *túmulo* as a virtual memory palace, just like its classical forebears. To remember and learn from the deeds of Charles V, and to store them as models for emulation, visitors to the *túmulo* simply had to internalize the memorial-model already built in three dimensions. An ephemeral monument of wood and paint, itself a material re-mediation of the words and images of printed books, was to be re-mediated again as an immaterial architecture of the mind.

This brings us back to Gell, and his interest in tools, models, and artworks.[66] The description of "concentric idols" in *Art and Agency* is one aspect of Gell's exploration of how knowledge can be objectified in physical form. Another example is found in animal traps. To function—as Gell argues in "Vogel's Net"—many traps are not simply *tools*, but *models* as well. First, they are psychobehavioral models of their victims. Rat traps involve dark (if deadly) holes irresistible for rodent exploration. Chimpanzee traps use delicate trip-wires because intelligent primates will react cautiously to entanglement.

At the same time, traps are also models of their makers. They are physical models, of course: prosthetic representations of the hunter's body in the form of robotic limbs "holding" poised weapons. But traps are also mental models that record the hunter's knowledge of animal behavior:

> once the trap is in being, the hunter's skill and knowledge are truly located in the trap, in objectified form, otherwise the trap would not work. This objective knowledge would survive even the death of the hunter himself. It would also be (partially) "readable" to others who had only the trap, and not the animal lore that was reflected in its design.[67]

Bringing Gell's ideas to Mexico City, we can see that the *túmulo* was in many ways a representation of its hunter-patron Charles V. It depicted memories of his own actions as well as key events that had occurred during his reign. It modeled Charles's social role as the "head" of an imperial body composed of millions of subjects, a composite that Mexico's inhabitants performed into being through carefully ordered processions and masses on November 30 and December 1. Vertical social hierarchy was remade as concentric social hierarchy: the *túmulo* did not "crown" the imperial body, but was its core.

This royal representation was simultaneously a pedagogic trap. Victims caught in the *túmulo*'s net were brought from the surrounding city to the chapel to the monument itself, where their minds were ensnared and inscribed with new memories and renewed political loyalties. Although the *túmulo* itself was ephemeral, its effects were to be long-lasting.

All of which parallels the mechanics of Malangan funerary carvings from New Ireland, a final Gellian example of traplike tools that both gather and transmit remembrance. Malangan carvings "provide a 'body,' or more precisely a 'skin' for a recently deceased person of importance. On death, the agency of such a person is in a dispersed state." The carvings create a substitute body "which accumulates, like a charged battery, the potential energy of the deceased dispersed in the life

world."[68] But the "bodies" of Malangan carvings are not meant to last. Their real importance is not as physical artifacts, but as catalysts for the production of *memories* in the minds of surviving kin. "The Malangan are indisputably material objects, but the *socially relevant* Malangan are internalized images which New Irelanders carry about inside their heads. Being a material object is merely a transitional phase in the biography of a Malangan, most of whose existence is as a memory trace."[69]

An artifact that gathers memories of the deceased and transmits those memories to the minds of mourners, memories that will endure after their generating artifact has vanished: the *túmulo* built in Mexico City was designed, on several levels, as an early modern Euro-American Malangan.

But did it work?

Domolo

The *túmulo* was a machine for order and a machine for memorialization. A key target audience was Mexico's indigenous population. But theory is one thing and practice quite another. Did this artificial mind actually succeed? When Mexico City's indigenous inhabitants looked on the *túmulo*, what did they see? And what did they remember later?

The most obvious reaction to these questions would be to dismiss the *túmulo*'s pedagogic project—especially when directed at Native Americans—as hopeless on all counts. Egyptian hieroglyphs were not Mesoamerican ones, and the "hieroglyphs" that decorated the *túmulo* were neither Egyptian nor Mesoamerican but Renaissance confections. In any case, early modern media theories of the hieroglyph were based on fantasy, and not on the actual properties of how specific scripts (from Egypt, Mexico, even China) communicated. The "explanatory" captions for the *túmulo*'s hieroglyphic paintings, written in Renaissance Latin, would have been opaque to most of the monument's European viewers, and surely to all indigenous viewers.[70]

And yet things were not so simple.

Right: Malangan carving, late nineteenth century. From the collection of Serge Brignoni (1903–2002).

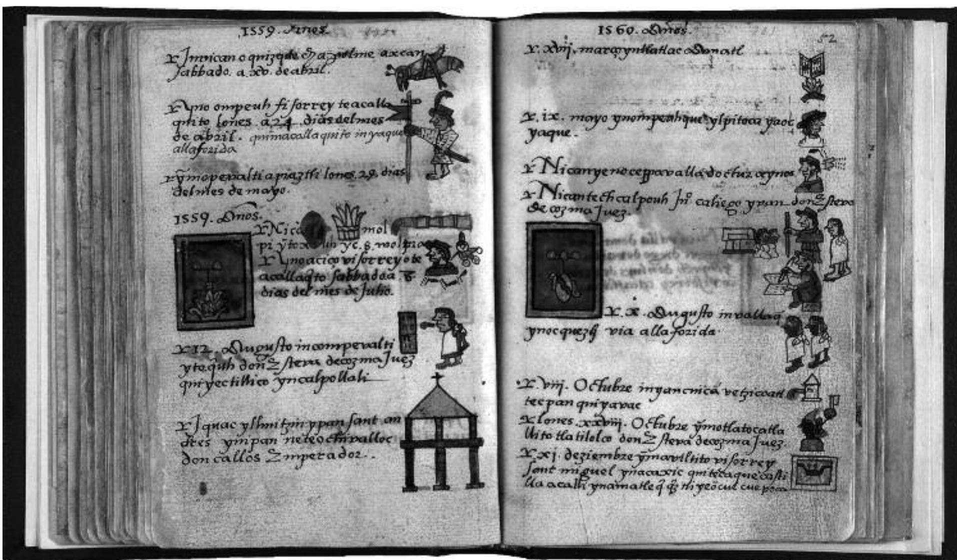
Opposite, top left: The *túmulo* in the *Codex of Tlatelolco* (ca. 1565). Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico.

Opposite, top right: The *túmulo* (*domolo*) in the *Codex en Cruz* (ca. 1569).

Opposite, bottom: Folios 51v and 52r of the *Codex Aubin* (1576). British Museum.

Connected to the *túmulo*'s Chapel of Saint Joseph was an innovative Franciscan school for (male) indigenous youth. Founded in the late 1520s, the school taught its students, among other things, Latin.[71] By 1559, Mexico City's population of indigenous Latinists would have been surprisingly large. The monastery of Saint Francis itself had an extensive library, and surviving works of art from throughout Central Mexico reveal how indigenous artists adapted classicizing symbols from European books—including Alciato.[72] The *túmulo*'s Latin inscriptions and Renaissance hieroglyphs were not as opaque to Native American audiences as we might assume. The Latinate indigenous students and teachers at the school of Saint Joseph would have been able to read the monument's Latin texts, and were probably familiar with much of its classical-hieroglyphic imagery. They could have explained these images and inscriptions to other indigenous visitors to the chapel. Indigenous viewers might have understood the complex symbolism of the *túmulo* far better than their less-educated, non-Latinate counterparts from European backgrounds.

The cultural and linguistic contexts of the Chapel of Saint Joseph provide one way to approach the question of how indigenous people understood and interacted with the towering monument. But we have another source of information as well: representations of the *túmulo* in indigenous-authored histories. Four such representations survive. Three are roughly contemporary with the construction of the monument. A depiction in the *Codex of Tlatelolco* (ca. 1565) is captioned "Carlos" (for Charles V) and "Francisco" (for the Monastery of Saint Francis). A depiction in the *Codex en Cruz* (ca. 1569) is labeled "domolo": the Spanish word *túmulo* reinterpreted by Nahuatl speakers. A depiction in the *Codex Aubin* (1576) has a Nahuatl caption

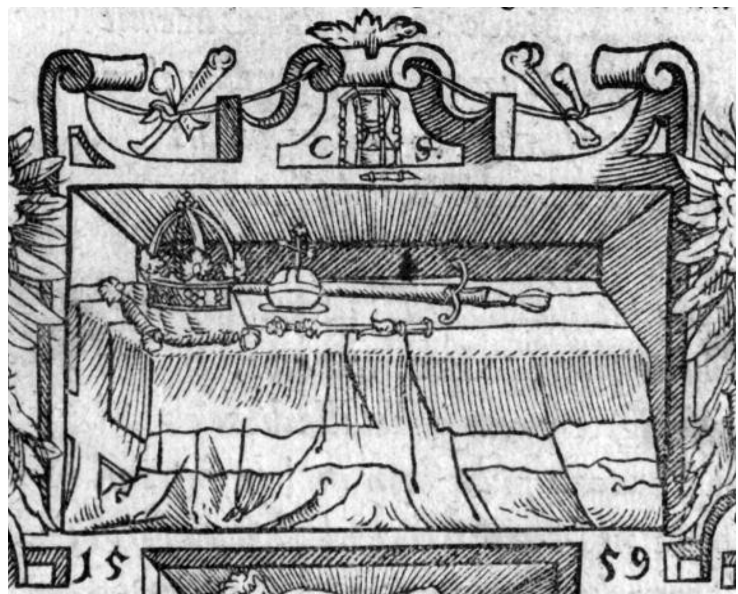


that reads, "At the festival of Saint Andrew it was when prayers were said for Don Carlos the Emperor." Decades later, the alphabetic *Annals* of Mexico City resident Chimalpahin remember that "it was 50 years ago, in the year 2 Reed, 1559, that a wooden church, a monument [*munumento*] was erected in [the chapel of] Saint Joseph, because prayers were offered for the great ruler don Charles V, the emperor."[73]

Considered together, what do these four accounts reveal about indigenous understandings of Charles V's monument? Both of the extended alphabetic accounts (from the *Codex Aubin* and Chimalpahin) focus on the prayers offered *to* the emperor. The actions *of* the emperor (painstakingly detailed in the *túmulo*'s hieroglyphs) are not mentioned directly. What is remembered are actions performed *for* him.

Turning to the visual record, striking differences emerge if we compare the three indigenous-authored *túmulo* images with European-authored images from Mexico City and beyond. The first difference involves the role of these memorials as reliquaries. The *túmulos* as architectural forms were centered on empty spaces into which a coffin and hollow regalia would be inserted during memorial rites. European-authored representations of *túmulos* in Valladolid, Brussels, Bologna, and Mexico City show their monuments with coffin and regalia placed inside. The account from Augsburg shows *only* coffin and regalia, and omits their monumental frame. In contrast, none of the indigenous visual representations depicts the embedded central artifacts. Only the monument is illustrated.

This absence is striking, because cultural parallels to the *túmulo* rites can be found in pre-Hispanic customs. Indigenous burials involved wrapping the dead in layers of cloth (thus concealing the body) and putting offerings of food and clothing before and on the bundled form. That is, displaying the regalia of the deceased alongside a hidden corpse was something indigenous people were familiar with from their own mortuary traditions. Another pre-Hispanic analogy to *túmulo* ceremonies is the installation of sacred bundles within buildings. Indigenous images of Central Mexican temples often show the structure in profile, with a cloth-wrapped bundle inside to indicate the resident divinity. According to indigenous histories, sacred bundles arrived at their temples after long migrations, and were sometimes taken out again in processions.[74] The ceremonial transport of Charles V's regalia through the streets of Mexico City, and its installation at the heart of a temple-like structure, surely seemed familiar to indigenous witnesses who remembered pre-Hispanic traditions. But



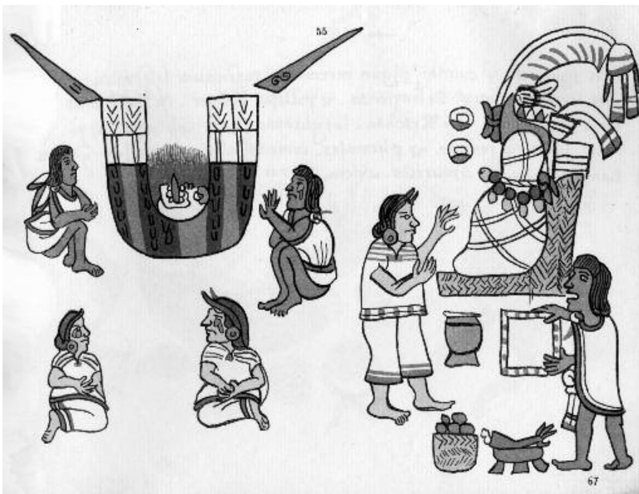
Imperial coffin and regalia in Augsburg. Detail from the title page of *Aigentliche und warhaffte Beschreibung Weß bey der herrlichen Besingknuß* (1559).

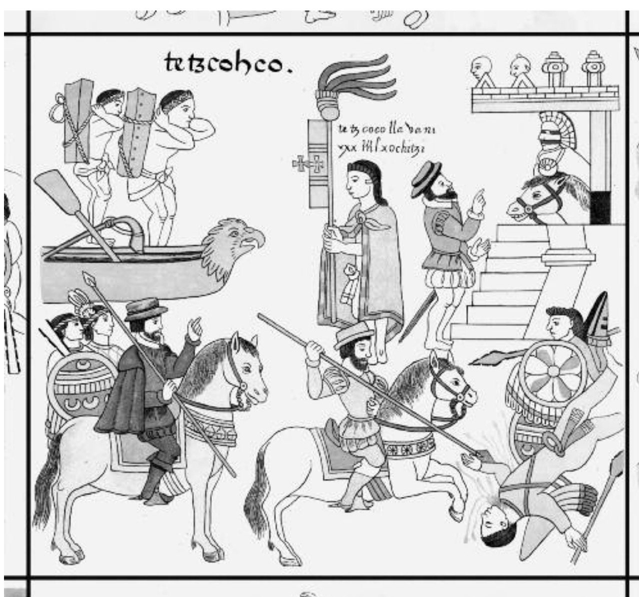
these formal parallels were not evoked by the artists who depicted the *túmulo* as an empty frame. The *túmulo* was a European practice for which native people could have recognized similarities to their own traditions, but apparently did not.

The other, more subtle contrast between European- and indigenous-authored *túmulo* depictions has to do with ornamentation. European-authored images show both the architectural frame and its surface decorations (or at least gesture to them). In contrast, the *túmulos* depicted in the *Codex Aubin* and *Codex en Cruz* focus on the structure of the monument alone. The *Codex of Tlatelolco* does represent the monument's *sculptural* ornamentation: Death, a coat of arms. But no reference is made to the dense hieroglyphic pictography that covered the *túmulo*'s walls. Admittedly, the images in the *Codex Aubin* and *Codex en Cruz* are small, so perhaps they do not include surface ornamentation because space was not available. However, if we consider how the *túmulo* was constructed, a more interesting possibility emerges.

The text of *Tvmvlo Imperial* explains that the dozens of allegorical paintings ornamenting the monument and its surrounding chapel were outsourced to artists throughout the Valley of Mexico.[75] The text also mentions, several times, how long the *túmulo*'s framing architecture took to be erected. But exactly *who* provided the labor and materials for the construction is never mentioned.

Other sources, however, reveal that materials and labor for building the monument's towering structure were extracted at a community level. In Mexico City in the spring of 1564, several indigenous residents filed a lawsuit against their own (indigenous) city council. The paperwork survives in Mexico's Archivo General de la Nación. Council members were accused of abusing their power and demanding excessive tribute in labor and materials from Mexico City's indigenous population. In their defense, the accused claimed that most of the labor and materials had





Top: Burial rites for an indigenous ruler (enthroned mortuary bundle at right). From *Codex Magliabechiano* (ca. 1550), 67r.

Bottom: Cell 41 of *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* (ca. 1552). In the upper right corner is an image of the sacred bundle of Tezcatlipoca displayed alongside a horse's head within a temple at the lakeside city of Texcoco.

been requested by the viceroy himself. They provided year-by-year lists of extracted labor and supplies, lists that contain references to the building of Charles V's funerary monument. These documents explain how the monument was constructed and suggest why indigenous sources depict it the way they do.

The tribute tally for 1559 includes the following entries:

> Beams . . . Item, in this year 52 thick beams were brought, some of them very long, for the *túmulo* which was made in the Chapel of Saint Joseph for the honors of the Emperor our Lord, by order of the illustrious viceroy, by the four main neighborhoods of this city, as public work and tribute [*coatequytl*]
>
> Planks . . . Item, in this year for the said *túmulo* 94 planks (nearly six feet long and two feet wide) were brought, and some more besides, by order of the illustrious viceroy, by the four main neighborhoods of this city, as public work.[76]

The tribute tally for the following year, 1560, includes two more references to the *túmulo*—one of which suggests that it remained standing for a month or more after the memorial rites were completed on December 1:

> Stone . . . Item, in this said year was spent, for the foundations of the pillars which were put in the work of the *túmulo*, a certain amount of stone, and it is not known the quantity that was brought. . . .
>
> Item, in this said year the said Indians worked on the said *túmulo* up to two months, more or less, in patching it and repairing it.[77]

None of these tribute accounts of beams, planks, stone, and labor, strategic though they are, makes any reference to labor for the dozens of paintings that decorated the *túmulo*'s surface. Those dense hieroglyphic allegories were not communally contracted, in contrast to the work and materials needed for their architectonic frame.

This returns us to the differences separating how Europeans and Native Americans represented *túmulos* as monuments. European-authored images included references to the embedded effigies of the emperor, as well as to the painted iconography covering monumental surfaces. Native American–authored images ignored those details and focused, above all, on architectural form. Perhaps this is because the *túmulo* was remembered by indigenous people in the Valley of Mexico as a public works project that required community labor to build, and community prayers to feed, but not as an artificial mind transmitting memories of the dead emperor evoked at its center.

"On March 17 the books were burned." ***Codex Aubin*** **(1576), 52r. British Museum.**

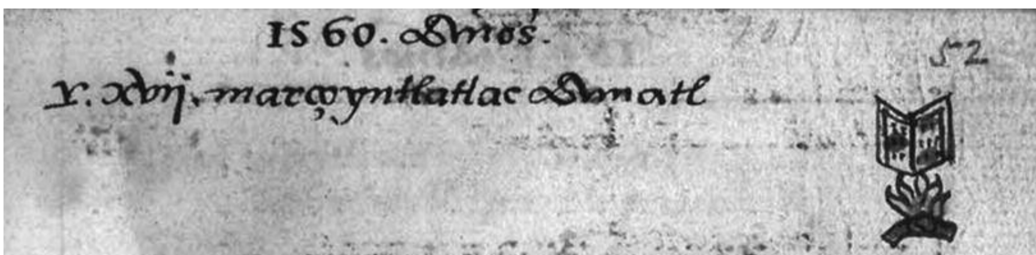
In the Ruins of the Memory Palace

Most of this article has been concerned with virtually reconstructing the Mexican *túmulo* of Charles V. In this, it has much in common with Frances Yates's *The Art of Memory*, which also proposed reconstructions of lost sixteenth-century architectures (the Memory Theater of Giulio Camillo; London's Globe Theater).[78] But the *túmulo* was never designed to last, and a main goal of Cervantes de Salazar's 1560 publication was to extend the monument's life span. The *túmulo* is therefore a fascinating temporal paradox: an ephemeral structure created to produce long-term remembrance.

Indeed, the dilemma of forgetfulness was explicitly evoked in two of the *túmulo*'s allegorical images. A painting on one of the gables showed "a column, covered with letters, in the middle of the River Lethe; this image gave to understand that against the force of forgetfulness the memory of the singular virtue of Caesar will endure in full." The image's Latin motto read "Against oblivion, the antidote of virtue."[79] One of the monument's arches carried a painting of Memory personified: a woman crowned with laurel, her feet trapped in a mountain peak, her dress covered with Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Chaldean letters. Before her was Antiquity, old and wrinkled, "trying to erase with a sponge the letters with which, against all antiquity, the deeds of princes are preserved, and because those of Caesar had to have an immortal memory."[80]

At least some indigenous people remembered the *túmulo* (and the prayers it demanded) long after the physical structure had disappeared. Chimalpahin wrote about the monument in 1608. But other indigenous memories, recorded alongside references to the *túmulo*, connect us to another, more disturbing, aspect of Cervantes de Salazar's career in New Spain. Across the page from the depiction of the *túmulo* in the *Codex Aubin* is a small painting of a bonfire. Above it hangs an open book, suspended. The Nahuatl text reads, "Year 1560. On March 17 the books were burned."[81]

This refers to the effects of the arrival, a few months earlier, of an *Index of Prohibited Books* in New Spain. In late August 1559, an updated edition of the *Index* was printed in Valladolid (the Spanish city whose *túmulo* was one source of inspiration for Cervantes de Salazar's memory palace). A copy of this *Index* reached Mexico City three months later. On December 6, 1559—five days after Charles V's memorial rites ended—Mexico City's archbishop decreed "that all persons who had books should present them before us, in order to see if among them there were any of those prohibited in the catalog."[82] The 1560 book burning shown in the *Codex Aubin* probably represents the first harvest of confiscations. But not



the last—and this returns us to Cervantes de Salazar.

In December 1560 he was in Guadalajara, an important town to the northwest of Mexico City. There he was reviewing libraries and removing works "prohibited by the catalog of the Lord Inquisitors."[83] That is, a few months after publishing a text designed to foster remembrance, Cervantes de Salazar was actively involved in a campaign of textual forgetting: confiscating, and sending for destruction, books seen as dangerous.

The arts of memory and the arts of oblivion are closely linked, and they were certainly connected in the sixteenth century. In his 1513 *The Prince*, Niccolò Machiavelli describes ancient Roman colonization as a process through which remembrance was eclipsed by forgetting: "As long as their [conquered peoples'] memory [of pre-Roman freedom] lasted, the Romans were always uncertain of their possession, but when their memory was eliminated with the power and long duration of the empire, the Romans became secure possessors of them."[84] Five years later, in 1518, Baldesar Castiglione made parallel observations about memory and oblivion in *The Book of the Courtier*:

> Therefore, when the sun of our life enters the cold season and begins to go down in the west, divesting us of such pleasures, it would perhaps be well if along with them we might lose our memory too; and, as Themistocles said, discover an art that could teach us to forget.[85]

This brings us back to a vexing feature of *Tvmvlo Imperial* as a text. Despite its illustrations and detailed descriptions, reconstructing the monument's overall visual layout is difficult. Spatial cues are often vague ("In the front panel of those which were in the pedestal of the other column which was on the other side . . ."). Some parts of the monument seem to have more hieroglyphic images than available surfaces, and other parts of the monument leave available surfaces empty. As Francisco de la Maza wrote in the late 1960s, "No es nada claro todo esto" (None of this is very clear).[86]

The descriptive partiality (and confusion) of *Tvmvlo Imperial* has several possible explanations. Perhaps Cervantes de Salazar's account is incomplete because the *túmulo* was incompletely decorated. Or perhaps when he was writing his account the monument had already been taken down, and his partial chronicle reveals he had already forgotten what the *túmulo* displayed.

Or perhaps this incomplete, often hard to follow description was an intentional, reflexive commentary on the limits of memorialization, the impossibility of truly transmitting and remembering the emperor's greatness. Such limits were

directly raised in one of the monument's images:

> In the other space which was on the left-hand side there was that famous painter Timantes casting away his paintbrush and holding a veil, giving to understand that since one cannot paint nor write of the deeds of Caesar, it was good to leave them beneath said veil, so that each one could consider them as best they could. The caption said: *Anything that a paintbrush cannot express, cover up with a veil.*[87]

If intentional, the partial description of the *túmulo* is a message about the fragmentation caused by time. Cervantes de Salazar provides the future reader with a record of his memory palace as an already crumbling ruin.

1059, 1559, 1959

Media histories of the long term have taken a variety of forms. Genealogies of disjunction are perhaps the most famous.[88] Their pendants are histories of forgotten repetitions. As *The Archaeology of Knowledge* reminds us, "the problem for archaeology is not to deny such phenomena, nor to try to diminish their importance; but, on the contrary, to try to describe and measure them: how can such permanences or repetitions, such long sequences or such curves projected through time exist?"[89] A third suite of approaches leaps from the present to a specific moment in the past, through "strategic anachronisms" or "constellations"[90]—or the "fold-in" method of time travel imagined by William S. Burroughs in "The Mayan Caper."

> When I fold today's paper in with yesterday's paper and arrange the pictures to form a time section montage, I am literally moving back to the time when I read yesterday's paper, that is traveling in time back to yesterday—I did this eight hours a day for three months—I went back as far as the papers went—I dug out old magazines and forgotten novels and letters—I made fold-ins and composites and I did the same with photos—.[91]

In this story, Burroughs's surrogate moves from circa 1961 New York to Mexico City to Mérida, and then back in time to a Maya city in the Yucatan Peninsula just before its destruction—say, Chichén Itzá in the middle of the eleventh century, circa 1059.[92] Burroughs—like Cervantes de Salazar five centuries later (or four centuries prior)—is very specific in his imagination of the intersections of architecture, space, bodies, and the media of thought control. Out to jungle-encroached milpas, the Maya priests broadcast a "continuous music like a shrill insect frequency

that followed the workers all day in the fields." This "sound track" was generated from the "image track" of Maya codices, fed into a broadcasting "control machine" in one of the temples at the center of the Maya community. The content of these books, significantly, mapped a model of the mind: "the Mayan control system depends on the calendar and the codices which contain symbols representing all states of thought and feeling possible to human animals living under such limited circumstances—These are the instruments with which they rotate and control units of thought."[93]

But this correspondence of books and minds meant that if codex sound and image tracks were scrambled by cut-ups, workers who had been controlled as a group would instead rise up in mass rebellion. A disruption of textual-visual order would disrupt lived social order—a perfect reversal of the ordering strategies so carefully outlined by Cervantes de Salazar. And so Burroughs's reporter submits to priestly sodomy ("Most distasteful thing I ever stood still for") in order to access the central temple:

> Using the drug the doctor had given me, I took over the priest's body, gained access to the room where the codices were kept, and photographed the books—Equipped now with sound and image track of the control machine I was in position to dismantle it—I had only to mix the order of recordings and the order of images and the changed order would be picked up and fed back into the machine—I had recordings of all agricultural operations, cutting and burning brush etc.—I now correlated the recordings of burning brush with the image track of this operation, and shuffled the time so that the order to burn came late and a year's crop was lost—Famine weakening control lines, I cut radio static into the control music and festival recordings together with sound and image track rebellion.[94]

Burroughs's fable of mind control and media resonates in many ways with Cervantes de Salazar's account of Mexico City's *túmulo*: the emphasis on spatial

concentrism, on hieroglyphic coding, on mass communication and mass transformation. But these points of connection between Burroughs's short story and Cervantes de Salazar's history also contrast with other fantasies of mind control being written by Burroughs's contemporaries. Fantasies, literally: the most influential accounts of "brainwashing" in U.S. discourses circa 1959 were, in fact, undisguised fictions.[95] Communist programming of sleeper agents was not imagined as a broadly social process; it was a technique performed on individuals, a nefarious (and ideologically predictable) attack on "liberal individualism" and the freethinking consumer of postwar capitalist economics.[96] This is one of the strange narrative features of *The Manchurian Candidate*, at least in its 1962 cinematic adaptation: a whole platoon of U.S. soldiers is captured and sent to Manchuria, and while all are made to forget their captivity, only one, Raymond Shaw, is programmed to kill.

Compared to what we find in Cervantes de Salazar, or even "The Mayan Caper," Cold War narrators of Communist mind control are vague about its architectures. A small room or enclosure seems to be involved; therein, victims are bombarded with signals.[97] The mental models behind such brainwashing techniques circa 1959 were simplistically (and explicitly) Pavlovian. The repetition of sensory inputs engrained responses at the physiological level, a stimulus-response system in which the meat of the body, in the end, seems more important than the mind. In the *Manchurian Candidate*, a sweating Shaw remembers his captivity: "We were worked on for three days, by a team of specialists from the Pavlov Institute in Moscow. They developed a technique for descent into the unconscious mind—part light-induced and part drug . . . we were drilled for three days. We were made to memorize the details of the imaginary action."

But even as these individually targeted fantasies of Pavlovian, placeless mind control were being created, mid-century authors also recognized their uncanny similarity to another technology of persuasion, one that (like the media strategies of 1059 and 1559) tangibly occupied public space (as per the 1965 Highway Beautification Act) and affected people en masse: advertising.[98] Yet although spatial and public, advertising theory circa 1959—like Manchurian brainwashing and Burroughs's thought-control broadcasting—aimed to make people act without being conscious of their motivations. "So Ad Men Became Depth Men," Vance Packard writes in *The Hidden Persuaders* (1957). Madison Avenue's psychoanalytic theory targeted consumer minds not at "the conscious, rational level" but at the "preconscious and subconscious" and a deeper "third level . . . where we not only are not aware of our true attitudes and feelings but would not discuss them if

The pyramid of El Castillo at the site of Chichén Itzá, Mexico. Photograph by Scott R. Hutson.

we could."[99] Advertising, like brainwashing, was imagined as a pedagogic system in which the mechanics of pedagogy had been forgotten, if they were ever noticed at all. This "archaeological" model of the mind circa 1959, with its stratigraphic levels and buried influences, is quite different from the palatial memory modeled by the *túmulo* in 1559, where the catafalque and its hieroglyphs were to be rebuilt inside visitors' heads as conscious frameworks for emulation.[100]

And yet, in the end, the *túmulo*'s strategy for memorialization seems to have been (like Chrysler's attempt to sell compact cars in 1953) a *failed* campaign for its indigenous "target audience." The phrase originates (so sayeth the *Oxford English Dictionary*) in the 1956 *United States Air Force Dictionary*: "*target audience*. In psychological warfare, the people at whom propaganda is directed."[101]

toys and housewares; expansion of other non-food sales in supermarkets; the increase in milk, cheese and oleomargarine consumption while butter sales have lagged badly (to name just a few) and, of course, advertising.

The competition at the retail level is reflected in advertising expenditures since 1948. In 1948, a 57¢ for each $100 of sales was spent in advertising; in 1952 advertising expenditures jumped to 75¢ for each $100 of sales.

Olin eyes leaders with a new battery

In 1931 when Olin Industries, Inc., took over the failing Winchester Repeating Arms Co. it inherited among other things the business of manufacturing and selling flashlight batteries. Five years later Olin got deeper into the field when it purchased the Bond Electric Co.

Olin sold both brand name batteries with great success in foreign markets, where they captured and held the number one spot; with small success in the U.S., where they ranked a poor sixth. In order to take the play away from domestic competitors, figured Olin, it would require a dynamic innovation in the battery field. Almost from the beginning it searched for a technical improvement which would give Olin batteries the edge.

After 15 years of research, Olin is now satisfied it has found the answer: a chemical sealant which prevents battery leakage under conditions of normal use. Called Solinite, the development eliminates the need for thick insulation, will not damage flashlight cases and at the same time results in longer battery life.

The Winchester and Bond brands will be dropped domestically in favor of the new battery, brand named Olin. A new organization is being set up headed by new sales manager R. V. Bennett. R. A. Ostberry, vice-president for production for all of Olin, is now assigned the task of getting production geared and the job of building demand to Robert Cole, young ad director of all Olin Industries, who was brought into the company last June from Grant Advertising.

The ad schedule, just getting under way, is probably the biggest ever in a concentrated period in national consumer magazines for flashlight batteries (via D'Arcy). Between now and the end of the year, Olin will blanket consumer publications with fractional page ads, some in full color, most in black & white. A total of 66 solid pages in four months will pre-sell retail dealers in the business press.

Is it the end of the "big fat car"? Chrysler Corp. thinks so

It's planning a style revolution for all makes which could anwer a raft of industry problems.

Even this early, it's pretty clear that there won't be much of a style change for most 1954 automobiles. For next year, you can probably count on still more horsepower, still more gadgets and still more wire wheels. If the Chrysler Corp. is any sort of industry bellwether, though, there's a style revolution due for 1955, and one that may be the most significant for a raft of reasons since the stream line.

For one thing, it could come at a time when auto sales need a real hypo. For another, it would put a major firm in the field atop a trend only the smaller Studebaker Corp. has really pioneered in since the war. Finally, unless Ford and General Motors have their own secrets on drawing boards, it could conceivably make the Chevrolet, Ford and Plymouth race a little closer.

Virtually since Chrysler's "Airflow" design fell flat on its face in the 1930's, the firm has backed away from a style theme in its advertising, rebuilding sales by stressing the engineering features of its car. First indications that this policy would be modified came last year when president L. L. Colbert said Chrysler "will not get into a horsepower race."

Last spring, the firm began to push the elegance of Chrysler cars in women's service and fashion magazines—a campaign, incidentally, that admanager

STYLING DIRECTOR EXNER
"The public wants a slim car"

John Caron calls "the best the division has had since 1949." Two months ago, it became apparent that if Chrysler were shifting to more style emphasis, it would do so in a big way. It hired tall, spare, quiet Virgil M. Exner, the man who designed the 1946 Studebaker, as director of styling.

THE TREND IS DEFINITE: Exner, whose desk is perennially cluttered with the latest auto magazines, both U.S. and European, is in the vanguard of auto stylists convinced that the American public no longer wants to buy "a big fat car." Says Exner, who persuaded Chrysler to put wire wheels on experimental models well ahead of the trend; "The public wants a slim car, one that not only is easy to maneuver, but one that looks that way." Exner won't tell, of course, what's on his drawing boards now or how far he'll be influenced by the foreign car rage, but the slender, round-domed 1946 Studebaker is as good a clue as any to his auto avant-gardism.

Chrysler re-tooled for its 1953 models, won't produce another re-tooled model until next year, but Exner's hand is already apparent on 1954 models. All Chrysler Corp. cars will be big on color. Both Exner and Chrysler think that color is turning into an increasingly saleable item. For example, last year, the company dressed the Chrysler Imperial's brown, one of the poorest selling colors in the automobile business, into a combination of cinnamon and beige. While the brown had previously accounted for 5% of sales, the two-toners accounted for 48%.

Chrysler, of course, wants to make sure that nobody thinks it will slacken its efforts toward engineering improvements, now that it's stressing style hard. It recently mailed stockholders a pamphlet titled "Leadership in Engines," which emphasized that "new engine designs are under continuous study for further development to keep their leadership in the years ahead."

Exactly how Chrysler will talk about engineering features of its cars in ad copy is still a secret, but style will be pushed, starting now.

Exner puts it this way: "In previous years, the scales have been weighted toward the mechanical excellence of Chrysler cars. The change now underway will right the scales, placing the two factors in balance." For 1954, says he, "it's better styling through emphasis on color harmony. For 1955, its better styling through change in contour to a more slender car."

22 September 26, 1953 • Tide

Top: Advertising billboards on 44th Street. From Antony Balch and William S. Burroughs, *The Cut-Ups* (1965).

Bottom: "Is it the end of the 'big fat car'?," *Tide* 27 (26 September 1953).

Notes

1. Zuichemus as cited in Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 132.

2. "In this humble tomb is stored the memory of one who after famous victories, known throughout the world. . . ." Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo Imperial de la gran ciudad de Mexico* (Mexico City: Antonio de Espinosa, 1560), 19v. Thanks to Stuart M. McManus and Erika Valdivieso for their Latin expertise.

3. Surviving copies of this document include one sent to the town council of Málaga, another to Trujillo, and another to the count of Benavente: Pedro J. Arroyal Espigares and María Teresa Martín Palma, "Colección Diplomática del Concejo de Málaga: Documentos correspondientes al Reinado de Felipe II (1556–1598)," *Baética: Estudios de arte, geografía e historia* 8 (1985): 204; María Luisa López Rol, *Archivo municipal de Trujillo: Catálogo, 1256–1599* (Badajoz, Spain: Indugrafic, 2007), 106; and Archivo Histórico Nacional, Spain, Nobleza, Osuna C.426, D.17.

4. In Iberia: Peñaranda (October 1558), La Coruña (23–24 October 1558), Barcelona (28–29 October 1558), Toledo (13–14 November 1558), Alcalá de Henares (16–17 November 1558), Zaragoza (26–27 November 1558), Santiago de Compostela (27–28 November 1558), Valladolid (2–3 December 1558), Madrid (3–7 December 1558), and Seville (4–5 December 1558). Beyond Iberia: Florence (8–9 December 1558), Piacenza (20–21 December 1558), Brussels (29–30 December 1558), Naples (23–24 February 1559), Augsburg (24–25 February 1559), Rome (3–4 March 1559), Bologna (16–17 April 1559), Lima (11–12 November 1559), Mexico City (30 November–1 December 1559), and Potosí (December 1559).

5. María Adelaida Allo Manera, "Origen, desarrollo y significación de las decoraciones fúnebres: La aportación española," *Ephialte: Lecturas de Historia del Arte* 1 (1989): 88–104; María Jesús Mejías Álvarez, *Fiesta y muerte regia: Las estampas de túmulos reales del AGI* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 2002); and Maria Adelaida Allo Manero and Juan Francisco Esteban Lorente, "El estudio de las exequias reales de la monarquía hispana: Siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII," *Artigrama* 19 (2004): 39–94.

6. Stephanie Schrader, "'Greater than Ever He Was': Ritual and Power in Charles V's 1558 Funeral Procession," *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 49 (1998): 69–93; Alejandro Cañeque, "Imaging the Spanish Empire: The Visual Construction of Imperial Authority in Habsburg New Spain," *Colonial Latin American Review* 19, no. 1 (2010): 44–50; and Mark Meadow, "Ritual and Civic Identity in Philip II's 1549 Antwerp *Blijde Incompst*," *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 49 (1998): 43.

7. Dan Stanislawski, "Early Spanish Town Planning in the New World," *Geographical Review* 37, no. 1 (1945): 94–105; George Kubler, "Open Grid Town Plans in Europe and America, 1500–1520," in *Studies in Ancient American and European Art*, ed. Thomas F. Reese (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 102–10; Ángel Rama, *The Lettered City* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996); Tom Cummins, "Forms of Andean Colonial Towns, Free Will, and Marriage," in *The Archaeology of Colonialism*, ed. Claire L. Lyons and John K. Papadopoulos (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2002), 199–241; and Jesús Escobar, *The Plaza Mayor and the Shaping of Baroque Madrid* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 194–96.

8. Cummins, "Forms," 209–13; Mary Van Buren, Peter T. Burgi, and Prudence M. Rice, "Torata

Alta: A Late Highland Settlement in the Osmore Drainage," in *Domestic Architecture, Ethnicity, and Complementarity in the South-Central Andes*, ed. Mark S. Aldenderfer (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1993), 136–46; Nathaniel Parker VanValkenburgh, "Building Subjects: Landscapes of Forced Resettlement in the Zaña and Chamán Valleys, Peru, 16th and 17th Centuries, C.E." (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2012); Jeremy Ravi Mumford, *Vertical Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012); Barbara Mundy, *The Death of Aztec Tenochtitlan: The Life of Mexico City* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015); and Tom Cummins, "A Tale of Two Cities: Cuzco, Lima, and the Construction of Colonial Representation," in *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America*, ed. Diana Fane (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1996), 157–70.

9. Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450–1650* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1984), 7; L.A. Curcio-Nagy, "Giants and Gypsies: Corpus Christi in Colonial Mexico City," in *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexi*co, ed. William Beezley (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1994), 1–26; Susan Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); Edward W. Osowski, *Indigenous Miracles: Nahua Authority in Colonial Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), 42, 137, 146; Víctor Mínguez Cornelles, "Routes and Triumphs of Habsburg Power in Colonial America," in *Festival Culture in the World of the Spanish Habsburgs*, ed. Fernando Checa Cremades and Laura Fernández-González (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2015), 161; Alejandra B. Osorio, "The Ceremonial King: Kingly Rituals and Imperial Power in Seventeenth-Century New World Cities, in *Festival Culture in the World of the Spanish Habsburgs*, ed. Cremades and Fernández-González, 177; and Sabina de Cavi, "Corpus Christi in Spanish Palermo: Two Baroque *Apparati* by Giacomo Amato for the Duke of Uceda (Viceroy of Sicily, 1687–1696)," in *Festival Culture in the World of the Spanish Habsburgs*, ed. Cremades and Fernández-González, 220. Mark Meadow's research on the entry of Charles V and his heir Philip II in 1549 Antwerp stands out for its attention to the symbolics of space as proclaimed by the ephemeral monuments constructed along the processional route: Meadow, "Ritual and Civic Identity"; and Mark Meadow, "'Met Geschickter Ordenen': The Rhetoric of Place in Philip II's 1549 Antwerp *Blijde Incompst*," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (1999): 1–11. David Sánchez Cano details physical interventions into the streets and buildings of Madrid in preparation for festival processions in "Festival Interventions in the Urban Space of Habsburg Madrid," in *Festival Culture in the World of the Spanish Habsburgs*, ed. Cremades and Fernández-González, 69–86.

10. David Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

11. Architect Claudio de Arziniega was named as designer, and Bernaldino de Albornoz was placed in charge of construction. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 1v. The monument's ornamentation and the overall theoretical framework for how it would act on visitors were probably thought up by Cervantes de Salazar.

12. Alexander Etkind, "Hard and Soft in Cultural Memory: Political Mourning in Russia and Germany," *Grey Room* 16 (2004): 36–59; Andrew S. Weiner, "Memory under Reconstruction: Politics and Event in Wirtschaftswunder West Germany," *Grey Room* 37 (2009): 94–124; Andreas Killen and Stefan Andriopoulos, "On Brainwashing: Mind Control, Media, and Warfare," *Grey Room* 45 (2011): 7–17; Timothy Melley, "Brain Warfare: The Covert Sphere, Terrorism, and the Legacy of the Cold War," *Grey Room* 45 (2011): 19–40; Andreas Killen, "*Homo pavlovius*: Cinema, Conditioning, and

the Cold War Subject," *Grey Room* 45 (2011): 42–59; Rebecca Lemov, "Brainwashing's Avatar: The Curious Career of Dr. Ewen Cameron," *Grey Room* 45 (2011): 61–87; Stefan Andriopoulos, "The Sleeper Effect: Hypnotism, Mind Control, Terrorism," *Grey Room* 45 (2011): 88–105; Alison Winter, "Manchurian Candidates: Forensic Hypnosis in the Cold War," *Grey Room* 45 (2011), 106–27; and Xiao Liu, "Magic Waves, Extrasensory Powers, and Nonstop Instantaneity: Imagining the Digital Beyond Digits," *Grey Room* 63 (2016): 42–69.

13. William S. Burroughs, "The Mayan Caper," in *Word Virus: The William S. Burroughs Reader* (New York: Grove Press, 1998), 193–99. See also William S. Burroughs, "Electronic Revolution," in *Word Virus*, 295–303; and William S. Burroughs, "Control," in *Word Virus*, 313–19. On the specifics of cut-ups and fold-ins (and the latter's connection to time travel), see William S. Burroughs, "The Cut Up Method of Brion Gysin," in *A Casebook on the Beat*, ed. Thomas Francis Parkinson (New York: Crowell, 1961), 105–6; William S. Burroughs and Brion Gysin, "The Cut-Up Method of Brion Gysin" in *The Third Mind* (New York: Viking Press, 1978), 29–33; and William S. Burroughs and Brion Gysin, "Fold-ins," in *The Third Mind*, 95–124.

14. Schrader, "'Greater than Ever He Was,'" 70.

15. This estimate is based on analogy to the transit, a decade later, of the letter announcing the royal deaths of Prince Charles (son of Philip II; on 24 July 1568) and Isabel de Valois (third wife of Philip II; on 3 October 1568). Both were announced in a royal decree written in Madrid on 20 October 1568. Three months later, on Monday, 17 January 1569, the minutes of Mexico City's city council make their first mention of preparations for memorial rites to be held in honor of the Prince. The next day, 18 January, orders were given for the construction of a catafalque inside Mexico City's cathedral. Luis Reyes García, *¿Cómo te confundes? ¿Acaso no somos conquistados? Anales de Juan Bautista* (Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 2001), 179.

16. Schrader, "'Greater than Ever He Was,'" 85, 92n39.

17. Not least because no unified "Europe" was involved. And so instead of a before/after binary mapped onto the West versus the Rest, the inherent belatedness of early modern communications means we should see these commemorations (from Peñaranda to Piacenza to Potosí) as participating in a shared moment of "staggered simultaneity." On Europe/elsewhere, see Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 7–8.

18. The viceroy of New Spain, Luis de Velasco, describes the concentric structure as follows: "en esta ciudad de Mexico, en el monesterio del señor Sant Francisco, en la capilla del señor Sant Ioseph, que esta en el, se hizieron las honras del ynuictissimo Cesar Emperador don Carlos." (For translation, see the "Hieroglyphica" section of my article). Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, unfoliated recto of the title page.

19. Cañeque, "Imaging," 42. See also Michael J. Schreffler, *The Art of Allegiance: Visual Culture and Imperial Power in Baroque New Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007).

20. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 23r; and Cañeque, "Imaging," 41.

21. On *túmulos* as monstrances, see Antonio Bonet Correa, "Túmulos del emperador Carlos V,"

Archivo español de arte 33 (1960): 63; Maria Adelaida Allo Manero, "Exequias del emperador Carlos V en la monarquía hispana," in *Carlos V y las artes: Promoción artística y familia imperial* (Valladolid, Spain: Universidad de Valladolid, 2000), 268; Manuel Varas Rivero, "Sobre la orfebrería y la arquitectura efímera: Apuntes sobre su conexión formal a través de algunos ejemplos sevillanos del siglo XVI y primer tercio del XVII," *Laboratorio de arte* 19 (2006): 101–21; and Cañeque, "Imaging," 41.

22. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 4r.

23. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 22v.

24. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 1v, 2r, 15r-v, 16v. On the chapel's modifications, see George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, vol. 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), 330, 466–68.

25. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 1v.

26. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 14r.

27. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 15r.

28. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 15r.

29. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 16r.

30. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 21v.

31. See Alejandro Cañeque, *The King's Living Image* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 19–26; and Cañeque, "Imaging," 32.

32. Schrader makes a parallel argument for the memorials held in Brussels. Schrader "'Greater than Ever He Was,'" 85. See also Cañeque, *The King's Living Image*, 123–24 (on viceregal entry processions), 129–31 (on funeral processions, which presented "a perfect microcosm of colonial Mexican society").

33. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 23v.

34. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 24v.

35. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 15r.

36. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 25r–v; and George Grayson Wagstaff, "Music for the Dead: Polyphonic Settings for the *Officium* and *Missa pro defunctis* by Spanish and Latin American Composers before 1630" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1995), 320. For a partial recording of the four-voice *Officium defunctorum*, see Jordi Savall, La Capella Reial De Catalunya, and Hespèrion XX, *Cristóbal de Morales: Officium Defunctorum/Missa Pro Defunctis*, compact disc, Astrée Auvidis, E 8765, 1992.

37. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 25v.

38. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 23v.

39. James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 21–23. Cañeque, *The King's Living Image*, 132, 136–41, discusses more generally the issues of why "any change in the processional order was considered a grave matter."

40. This book was finished during the final months of Gell's life. Its themes of distributed personhood and materialized intelligence are not incidental.

41. Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1998), 127, 133.

42. Gell, *Art and Agency*, 98.

43. Gell, *Art and Agency*, 136.

44. Gell, *Art and Agency*, 147.

45. Carlos M. Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory: The Art and Craft of Dying in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 276; and Schrader, "'Greater than Ever He Was,'" 69–70.

46. On the ways in which space (architectural, urban, or engineered) can function as a medium, see Lucia Allais, "Integrities: The Salvage of Abu Simbel," *Grey Room* 50 (2013): 6–45; and Brian Larkin, "Techniques of Inattention: The Mediality of Loudspeakers in Nigeria," *Anthropological Quarterly* 87, no. 4 (2014): 989–1016.

47. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, unfoliated verso of the title page.

48. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, A2r.

49. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, A2v.

50. Christobal Calvete de Estrella, *El Tvmvlo Imperial, Adornado de Historias y Letreros y epitaphios en Prosa y verso Latino* (Valladolid, 1559), 3r.

51. In addition to Mexico City, allegorical references to the global scope of Charles V's empire are documented at Valladolid (Calvete de Estrella, 18r–27v), Toledo (Sebastián Horozco, *Relaciones históricas toledanas*, ed. Jack Weiner [Toledo: Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos, 1981], 171), Alcalá (Fernando Checa Cremades, "Un programa imperialista: El túmulo erigido en Alcalá de Henares en memoria de Carlos V," *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos* 82, no. 2 [1979]: 378–79); Seville (Alfredo J. Morales, "Gloria y honras de Carlos V en Sevilla," *Seminario sobre arquitectura imperial*, ed. Earl J. Rosenthal [Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1988], 152–54), and Bologna (Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Madrid, II/4453, folio 30r [references to HISPANIA and OBIS NOVVS] and folio 31r [reference to EVROPA]).

52. Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*, vol. 1, ed. Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza (Providence: Brown University Press, 1963), 111.

53. Strong, *Art and Power*, 24–25; Santiago Sebastián, "Origen y difusión de la emblemática en España e Hispanoamérica," *Goya: Revista de arte* 187–88 (1985): 6–7; Santiago Sebastián, "El empleo y actualización de los modelos europeos en México y América Latina o la emblemática en México," in *Simpatías y diferencias: Relación del arte mexicano con el de América Latina: X Coloquio Internacional de Historia del Arte* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1988), 111–28; and Santiago Sebastián, *Iconografía e iconología del arte novohispano* (Mexico City: Grupo Azabache, 1992), 139–42. Alciato is commonly referred to as "Alciati."

54. For a bibliographic overview, see "Alciato's Book of Emblems: List of Early Editions," n.d. (last revised 20 November 1997), *Alciato's* Book of Emblems*: The Memorial Web Edition in Latin and English*, ed. William Barker, Mark Feltham, and Jean Guthrie, with Allan Farrell, Memorial University of Newfoundland, http://www.mun.ca/alciato/bibl1.html; as well as "Alciati at Glasgow," University of Glasgow Emblem Website, http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/. On a 1577 edition published in Mexico City, see Karl Ludwig Selig, "The Spanish Translations of Alciato's Emblemata," *Modern Language Notes* 70, no. 5 (1955): 354–59; and Ignacio Osorio Romero, "Tres joyas bibliográficas para la enseñanza del latín en el siglo XVI novohispano," *Nova tellus: Anuario del Centro de Estudios Clásicos* 2 (1984): 165–200.

55. Erik Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and Its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 74.

56. See debates in José Pascual Buxó, "La presencia de los Emblemas de Alciato en el arte y la literatura novohispano del siglo XVI," in *La literatura novohispana: Revisión crítica y propuestas metodológicas*, ed. José Pascual Buxó and Arnulfo Herrera (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1994), 241–53; José Pascual Buxó, "Francisco Cervantes de Salazar y Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz: El arte emblemático en la Nueva España," in *Tres siglos: Memoria del Primer Coloquio "Letras de la Nueva España,"* ed. José Pascual Buxó (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2000), 47–65; José Quiñones Melgoza, "El Túmulo Imperial de la gran ciudad de México: Propuesta para una edición actual," in *La cultura literaria en la América virreinal*, ed. José Pascual Buxó (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1996), 401–7; and José Quiñones Melgoza, "Redux Vindex o la influencia que los emblemas de Alciato ejercieron en el *Túmulo Imperial de la gran ciudad de México*," in *Pensamiento novohispano*, ed. Noé Esquivel Estrada (Toluca: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, 2001), 111–19.

57. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 5v.

58. Agustín Millares Caro, *Cuatro estudios biobibliográficos mexicanos: Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, fray Agustín Dávila Padilla, Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren, José Mariano Beristáin de Souza* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1986), 90. On Spanish editions of the *Hieroglyphica*, see Antonio Rojas Rodríguez, "Los 'Hieroglyphica' de Piero Valeriano y su recepción en España durante el siglo XVI," in *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico: Homenaje al profesor Antonio Fontán* (Madrid: Ediciones del Laberinto, 2002), 1607–12. On the use of this book in European spectacles, see Strong, *Art and Power*, 27–28.

59. Piero Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica, sive De sacris Aegyptiorum literis commentarii* (Basel, 1556), 128v, 232r, 146v, 122r; and Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 5v, 12r, 14r.

60. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 3v, 12v, 13r.

61. Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Mexico en 1554 y Tumulo Imperial*, ed. Edmundo O'Gorman (Mexico City: Editorial Porrua, 1963), 290v.

62. Elizabeth Hill Boone, *The Codex Magliabechiano and the Lost Prototype of the Magliabechiano Group* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1983), 5, 93–101; and Juan José Batalla Rosado, "Nuevas hipótesis sobre la historia del *Códice Tudela* o *Códice del Museo de América*," *Revista española de antropología americana* 31 (2001): 131–63.

63. On hieroglyphic theories in the early modern world, and New Spain in particular, see Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 64–69, 305–34; Byron Ellsworth Hamann, "How Maya Hieroglyphs Got Their Name: Egypt, Mexico, and China in Western Grammatology since the Fifteenth Century," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 152, no. 1 (2008): 1–68; Andrew Laird, "Renaissance Emblems and Aztec Glyphs: Italian Humanism and Mexico (I): 1520–1590," in *Studi umanistici piceni: Atti dei Congressi (26)* (Sassoferrato, Italy, 2006), 227–39; and Andrew Laird, "Pagan Symbols and Christian Images. Italian Humanism and Mexico (II): 1590–1750," in *Studi umanistici piceni: Atti dei Congressi (28)* (Sassoferrato, Italy, 2008), 167–81.

64. English translations of the relevant sections can be found online at the Memoria Romana Project, University of Texas at Austin, http://www.utexas.edu/research/memoria/.

65. Miguel León-Portilla, "Introducción," in *México en 1554: Tres diálogos latinos de Francisco Cervantes de Salazar* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2001), vii–x. See also, Zelia Nuttall, "Francisco Cervantes de Salazar: Biographical Notes," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 13, no. 1 (1921): 60.

66. For Gell's passing references to tools, see Gell, *Art and Agency*, 6, 37.

67. Alfred Gell, "Vogel's Net: Traps as Artworks and Artworks as Traps," *Journal of Material Culture* 1 (1996): 27–28.

68. Gell, *Art and Agency*, 225.

69. Gell, *Art and Agency*, 228.

70. Javier Varela, *La muerte del rey: El ceremonial funerario de la monarquía española (1500–1885)* (Madrid: Turner, 1990), 132; Serge Gruzinski, *Images at War: Mexico from Columbus to Blade Runner (1492–2019)* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 150; and Cañeque, "Imaging," 50. But see also, Strong, *Art and Power*, 27–28.

71. On the indigenous implications of the *túmulo*'s construction in front of the Chapel of Saint Joseph, see Francisco de la Maza, *La mitología clásica en el arte colonial de México* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1968), 23–24; and Pablo Escalante Gonzalbo, "Humanismo y arte cristiano-indígena: La cultura emblemática entre colegiales, artistas y otros miembros de las elites nahuas del siglo XVI," in *Arte cristiano-indígena del siglo XVI novohispano y sus modelos europeos*, ed. Pablo Escalante Gonzalbo (Cuernavaca, Mexico: Centro de Investigación y Docencia en Humanidades, 2008), 16. On the teaching of Latin at the school of Saint Joseph, see Ignacio Osorio Romero, *La enseñanza del latín a los indios* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1990), xx–xxii; Tomás Zepeda Rincón, *La educación pública en la Nueva España en el siglo XVI* (Mexico City: Editorial Progreso, 1999), 51–62; and Andrew Laird, "Latin in Cuauhtémoc's Shadow: Humanism and the Politics of Language in Mexico after the Conquest," in *Latinity and Alterity in the Early Modern World*, ed. Yasmin Haskell and Juanita Ruys (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 2010), 177–78.

72. Escalante Gonzalbo, "Humanismo y arte cristiano-indígena." See also Serge Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 95.

73. Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Cuauhtlehuanitzin, *Annals of His Time: Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin*, ed. James Lockhart, Susan Schroeder, and Doris Namala (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), 138.

74. Elizabeth Hill Boone, "Migration Histories as Ritual Performance," in *To Change Place: Aztec Ceremonial Landscapes*, ed. Davíd Carrasco (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1991), 121–51.

75. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 1r–2v.

76. Luis Chávez Orozco, ed., *Códice Osuna, reproducción facsimilar de la obra del mismo titulo, editada en Madrid, 1878, acompañada de 158 paginas inéditas encontradas en el Archivo General de la Nación* (Mexico City: Ediciones del Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, 1947), 132.

77. Chávez Orozco, *Códice Osuna*, 135–36.

78. On the Memory Theater, see Yates, *Art of Memory*, 129–72 (as well as the fold-out design reconstruction between 144 and 145). On the Globe, see Yates, *Art of Memory*, 342–67 (as well as plate 20 for reconstruction drawing).

79. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 11r.

80. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 14r–v.

81. Angela Marie Herren, "Portraying the Mexica Past: A Comparison of Sixteenth-Century Pictorial Accounts of Origin in Codex Azcatitlan, Codex Boturini, and Codex Aubin" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, New York, 2005), 205.

82. Francisco Fernández del Castillo, *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982), 5.

83. Fernández del Castillo, *Libros y libreros*, 46.

84. Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince* (1513), trans. Harvey C. Mansfield Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 19.

85. Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* (1518), trans. Charles S. Singleton (New York: Doubleday, 1959), 90.

86. Maza, *La mitología clásica*, 27.

87. Cervantes de Salazar, *Tvmvlo*, 13v–14r.

88. Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1964); Friedrich A. Kittler, *Discourse Networks 1800/1900* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990); and Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007).

89. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 174. See also, Jeffrey Sconce, *Haunted Media: Electronic Presence from Telegraphy to Television* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); Lisa Gitelman, *Always Already New: Media, History, and the Data of Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006); Mark Wigley, "Network Fever," *Grey Room* 4 (2001): 82–122; Bernhard Siegert, *Cultural Techniques: Grids, Filters, Doors, and Other Articulations of the Real* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015); and Noam Elcott, "The Phantasmagoric *Dispositif*: An Assembly of Bodies and Images in Real Time and Space," *Grey Room* 62 (2016): 42–71. Siegert's juxtaposed vignettes of philosophers on talking animals in "Parlêtres" probably fits in this family as well. Siegert, *Cultural Techniques*, 53–67.

90. William Warner, "Transmitting Liberty: The Boston Committee of Correspondence's Revolutionary Experiments in Enlightenment Mediation," in *This Is Enlightenment*, ed. Clifford Siskin and William Warner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 109–10; Neal Stephenson, *Quicksilver*, vol. 1 of *The Baroque Cycle* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003); Neal Stephenson, *The Confusion*, vol. 2 of *The Baroque Cycle* (New York: Harper Collins, 2004); Neal Stephenson, *The System of the World*, vol. 3 of *The Baroque Cycle* (New York: Harper Collins, 2004); and Walter Benjamin, "On the Concept of History," in *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, vol. 4*, *1938–1940*, ed. Howard Eiland and Michael Jennings (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2003), 389–400.

91. Burroughs, "The Mayan Caper," 194. Fold-ins are linked to time travel both in this story and in Burroughs and Gysin's 1978 "Fold-ins," published in *The Third Mind*. "The fold-in method extends to writing the flashback used in films, enabling the writer to move backward and forward on his time track—For example I take page one and fold it into page one hundred—I insert the resulting composite

as page ten—When the reader reads page ten he is flashing forward in time to page one hundred and back in time to page one."

92. On the occupation history of Chichén Itzá, see Susan Milbrath and Carlos Peraza Lope, "Revisiting Mayapan: Mexico's Last Maya Capital," *Ancient Mesoamerica* 14 (2003): 1–46. Thanks to Scott R. Hutson for his archaeological expertise.

93. Burroughs, "The Mayan Caper," 198.

94. Burroughs, "The Mayan Caper," 199.

95. Melley, "Brain Warfare," 31; and Winter, "Manchurian Candidates," 119.

96. Melley, "Brain Warfare," 27.

97. Lemov, "Brainwashing's Avatar," 76.

98. Killen and Andriopoulos, "On Brainwashing," 12; and Andriopoulos, "Sleeper Effect," 96–99. The first page of Vance Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders* (1957; New York: Ig Publishing, 2007) describes "the use of mass psychoanalysis to guide campaigns of persuasion." Thanks to Amanda Gluibizzi for recommending Packard.

99. Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders*, 46–47. Packard simultaneously refers to Pavlovian (32, 56, 172) and psychoanalytic (31, 54, 56, 208) models. Mark Crispin Miller's introduction to the 2007 reprint argues that the former was being replaced by the latter in postwar advertising theory (12).

100. On Sigmund Freud's antiquarianism, see Griselda Pollock, "The Image in Psychoanalysis and the Archaeological Metaphor," in *Psychoanalysis and the Image* (New York: Blackwell, 2006), 1–29; Rubén Gallo, "Freud's Mexican Antiquities: Psychoanalysis and Human Sacrifice," *October* 135 (2011): 70–92; and Allais, "Integrities," 26.

101. Woodford Agee Heflin, ed., *The United States Air Force Dictionary* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1956), 513. On Chrysler, see Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders*, 40–41.