

# **Stony Brook University**



OFFICIAL COPY

**The official electronic file of this thesis or dissertation is maintained by the University Libraries on behalf of The Graduate School at Stony Brook University.**

**© All Rights Reserved by Author.**

**Manufacturing Malinche:**

**Socio-sexual Narratives of Imperialism, Colonialism, and Nationalism**

A Thesis Presented

by

**Sibyl Gallus-Price**

to

The Graduate School

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements

for the Degree of

**Master of Arts**

in

**Hispanic Languages and Literature**

Stony Brook University

**August 2013**

**Stony Brook University**  
The Graduate School

**Sibyl Gallus-Price**

We, the thesis committee for the above candidate for the  
Master of Arts degree, hereby recommend  
acceptance of this thesis.

**Paul Firbas – Thesis Advisor**  
**Associate Professor, Hispanic Languages and Literature**  
**Director of Latin American and Caribbean Studies Center**

**Lou Charnon-Deutsch – Second Reader**  
**Professor, Interim Director of Graduate Studies, Hispanic Languages and Literature**

This thesis is accepted by the Graduate School

Charles Taber  
Interim Dean of the Graduate School

Abstract of the Thesis

**Manufacturing Malinche:  
Socio-sexual Narratives of Imperialism, Colonialism, and Nationalism**

Sibyl Gallus-Price

**Master of Arts**

in

**Hispanic Languages and Literature**

Stony Brook University

**August 2013**

Malinche's ever changing myth has contributed to the view that one woman is answerable for the legacy of conquest. This view, evoking worship and revile, operates more as a litmus test of the prevailing *weltanschauung* than as a claim of historical authenticity. In the context of imperialism, colonialism, and post-colonialism, this study seeks to examine the socio-sexual system as it defines the production of an enduring national mythic symbol. Exposing the ideological underpinnings of the narratives that have contributed to the Malinche myth, exemplar works will demonstrate the impact of: the ontological understanding of gendered models of imperialism; the historical instability of conflicting chronicles of the conquest; Creole definitions of nationalism articulated through normative control in the American Independence moment; the transhistorical, post-revolutionary attempt to delineate unifying archetypes of Mexican identity; and the rupture of female archetypes in favor of a discourse embracing ambiguity in the epic theater of the postmodern era.

El mito de Malinche, siempre cambiante, ha contribuido a la opinión de que una mujer sea responsable por la herencia de la conquista. Este punto de vista, en la que se invocaba culto y indignación funciona más como una prueba de fuego del *weltanschauung* imperante que como una reivindicación de autenticidad histórica. En el contexto del imperialismo, el colonialismo y post-colonialismo, este estudio pretende examinar el sistema socio-sexual, como define la producción de un símbolo mítico nacional perdurable. Al exponer los fundamentos ideológicos de las narrativas que han contribuido al mito de Malinche, obras ejemplares demostrarán el impacto de: la comprensión ontológica de los modelos de género del imperialismo, la inestabilidad histórica de las crónicas contradictorias de la conquista; definiciones criollos del nacionalismo articulados a través del control normativo en el momento de la independencia americana, el intento transhistórica, post-revolucionaria para delinear arquetipos unificadores de la identidad mexicana, y la ruptura de los arquetipos femeninos en favor de una que abarca la ambigüedad del discurso en el teatro épico de la era post-moderna.



Xipe Totec, Our Lord the Flayed One

I humbly dedicate this work to those who, like Xipe Totec, have endured, forging and rupturing the discourse of the skin we live in.

Preface.....	vi
Introduction.....	1-4
Modernity, Mercantilism, and, Malinche.....	5-28
<i>Gendered Narratives and Myths of Imperialism</i> .....	5-13
<i>Malinche: Between History and Myth</i> .....	13-28
Consolidating the National Narrative:	
Creating Exiles and Immortalizing Malinche .....	29-78
<i>Myths and Archetypes</i> .....	29-31
<i>The Creole Project of Writing the Nation</i> .....	32-47
<i>Socio-sexual Symbols of National Identity</i> .....	47-61
<i>Los hijos de la Malinche</i> .....	61-71
<i>Rupturing the Eternal Feminine</i> .....	71-78
Conclusion: Malinche, no eres tú.....	79-83
Works Cited.....	84-88

Preface

skin

hanging, hanging

clumsy

swaying and she trips

noticeable

sloshing and dripping

it leaves a trail

sounding off by itself

they pull it tight

straining, straining

tautly

rebounding with a snap

noticeable

peeling and curling

like a carcass

she shakes it off

the palpable

wrapper

and tosses it aside

## Introduction

Myth, at first glance, appears to be the answer to comprehending who we understand ourselves to be. Masquerading as the panacea for the identity crisis of the modern subject, it offers a convenient unifying cosmic *raison de'être*, while shared archetypes and collective roots serve as the *modus operandi* for the temporal and spatial pervasion of myth's rhetorical omnipotence. Theoretical and literary confirmation of mythically autochthonous archetypes come to be the evidential signpost of our identity, authenticated, not because they offer truth, but by the tautology of their persistent presence. In the grips of mythic time, history succumbs to the force of myth's narrative power, and communities collectively approach national myths as sacred effigies of meaning that have always existed.

Nations and communities arise dependent on the socially stabilizing, normative power of myth. The earliest western conceptions of normative control and political stabilization arise with gendered moral obligations to the common good. A divisive biological model, and the most ancient western definition of the self and the other, permeates the definitions of socio-sexual relations, a schemata that separates the active from the passive, the weak from the powerful, and the complete from the incomplete.

Implicit to social interaction and national narratives, the female/male pecking order arises from what Beauvoir (using Heidegger's definition) refers to as the "original *Mitsein*." Simone de Beauvoir in her seminal work, *The Second Sex*, describes the original act of "being with," or *Mitsein*. She argues that the female subject, fundamentally "the Other at the heart of a whole whose two components are necessary to each other" is ultimately bound by oppression (Beauvoir 9). For the female subject, "cleavage of society by sex is not possible," and therefore the "tie that



binds her to her oppressors is unlike any other” (9). In this context, the idea of unity -be it clan, tribe, nation, or family- for women, who “have no past, no history, no religion of their own” and “lack their own space,” is one of concurrent subjugation and assimilation (Beauvoir 9). Ironically it is this position as both Other and self that allows woman the ability to float within the hegemony as both foreigner and native.

The female social participant, perennially associated with lack, is forced to inhabit the role of passive receiver and social foundling. Only through her cleavage to the male sex does she become perceived as a fixed functioning social agent. This need to bind woman to the ideas of her oppressor places her in the role of constant suspect and traitor to both man and to herself. Fueled by the desire to escape ambiguity, the subject enters into social relations, relations ultimately bound by the repetition of dominance and submission. Nancy Bauer in her work, “Being-With as Being-Against: Heidegger meets Hegel in *The Second Sex*,” argues that the basis of this *Mitsein*, is in actuality grounded in the Cartesian cognition of ambiguity “that both men and women are endeavoring to avoid something fundamental about what it is to be a human being, namely, that one is always both a subject (or ‘for-itself’) and object (or ‘in-itself).” This ambiguity “of what horrifies us about our unstable subject and objects” is both threat and means to becoming *Mitsein* participants (Bauer 144-145). Engaging in the world, therefore, becomes a sexually defined act modeled on the unambiguous female/male, subject/object unit.

Gendered understanding of social participants, inscribed in or reacting to, the mythic archetypes, inform the modes of social interaction. The female subject is faced with the challenge of participating in the *Mitsein* not just as a way “to find *and* lose oneself,” but as the choice between either submitting to the domination or the destruction of the self. Attempts to

establish ontological clarity take the form of a series of socially and sexually dominant acts allowing manichean notions of dominator and dominated, oppressor and oppressed, insider and outsider, the other and the self, active and passive, female and male to be retooled ad infinitum.

Myth, a powerful unifying force, does so at the expense of concealing and dissembling, intentionally or otherwise, the fierce dichotomy and inequality inherent to social relations. Codified in the discourse of national narratives, myths assume the primary locus for the cultural and national archetypes necessary to engage the masses harmoniously in the hegemonic project of community. In the most simple terms, myth becomes ideological shorthand for the common good, a way to identify insiders and outsiders. Liminal subjects are asked to prove their allegiance through these newly imagined normative, moral categories. Failure to enter into or fulfill the agreement becomes grounds for exile. This gendered model becomes the vernacular for the narration of colonial encounters, where the invader seeks the means to justify personally and economically sponsored conquest of the Americas. In moments of political and economic change, the socio-sexual model serves as the justification for stratification and normative tests of gendered nationals necessary to draft the structure of stability.

Malinche, translator to Cortés in the conquest, becomes one such figure. Though records of her life are scant and lack corroboration, as a socio-sexual-ethno exemplar she has been mythologized as a site of premium ideology and canonized in the historical, literary, and national imagination. Long before her name is written, La Malinche, Malina, Malintzin, Malinalli, La Lengua, Doña Marina, or *La Chingada*,<sup>1</sup> the discovery of the Americas and its pursuant imperialist project approach the New World through a gendered narrative, presenting women as

---

<sup>1</sup> Malinche, known by many names, has been proven to be an ambiguous historical figure. Cristina González Hernández, in chapter 13 of *Doña María (La Malinche) y la formación de la identidad mejicana*, attempts to dissect the linguistic historical significance of Malinche's many aliases.

natural intermediaries in an unfamiliar world. The colonial encounter and the imperialist project, understood through a gendered lens, become the discursive parameters of Malinche's myth.

Malinche's name becomes a point of contention in the chronicles of Cortés and Bernal Díaz del Castillo. Their written works are the act of private and public speculation of modernity. A dispute among the chronicles that seek to testify to preserve personal wealth, Malinche moves from historical footnote to the beginnings of a historical legend as a significant actor in Bernal Díaz de Castillo's depiction of the conquest. She remains unvoiced until the tumult of the post-Independence period when the Creole Bourgeoisie invest in the post-enlightenment project of writing the nation. It is not until the post-Independence period that Malinche is truly mythologized. In an attempt to create a national unifying narrative, allegories of nationalism, proposed in conversant works like *Jicoténcal*, pretend to unite ideological purpose and history in the endeavor of creating an authentic America. Malinche, crucified on the lines of national borders bears the heavy load of national identity. For this she is both revered and defamed, and so like Xipe Totec<sup>2</sup>, she emerges from her rotting skin anew, century after century. Reimagined, through the literary work, as an ideological product, she comes to be the currency of nation. Her myth permeates time, as the convenient female archetype and construction. As an allegory for socio-sexual-ethno convergences she serves up the dialectic of nationalism as: native and exile, savior and traitor, mother and whore, *chingada* or *chingón*, with flair ad infinitum.

---

<sup>2</sup> Xipe Totec, an Aztec god, known as "Our lord the Flayed One" was often depicted as a man wearing the flayed skin of another. See the illustration on page iv.

## Modernity, Mercantilism, and Malinche

The narrative of imperialism and colonialism, from its inception, is steeped in a metaphor of socio-sexual conquest that depicts the unknown as female and the explorer and conqueror as absolute. The economic project of the male conqueror, justified by reigning ideologies from honor to religion, seeks to take absolute ownership and strip the New World of its commodities. Among these resources are the inhabitants themselves to be used to accumulate wealth or connaturalized to sustain the colonial presence. Malinche's *voice*, emerges not from a blank slate, but from the discourse of imperialism, an instance in itself, economically driven by the cloak of religious and civilizing ideologies. Collections of *probanzas* serve as evidence of a burgeoning mercantilism amidst clashing modes of production in Europe. Chronicles written as the justification for personal and public conquest are the fundamental platform from which Malinche's mythic ideological amalgamation begins to materialize. Not until the conflicting testimony of Bernal Díaz del Castillo, does Malinche, or Doña Marina, as she is called, appear as anything other than an incidental item in the many lists of commodities sent back to Spain. Premiering as a petty argument among men, through the voices of the colonizers, the infamous translator Malinche is born.

### *Gendered Narratives and Myths of Imperialism*

“Siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio: y de tal manera lo siguió: que juntamente començaro, crecieron, y florecieron, y despues junta fue la caida de entrambos [sic]” (Antonio de Nebrija a ii). -*Gramática histórica de la lengua castellana*

Long before Malinche enters the literary, national imagination, or the Spanish conquest of the Aztec empire transpires, a consciousness of the New World and the imperialist project to extract wealth is being modeled by men like Columbus. The intended conquest of a world strange and thus unknown to Europe, begins as a historiography calling upon personal and national narratives of speculation. Mermaids, monsters, and mystical light sightings that permeate the pages of explorers wick their way across the ocean. These accounts, already inaugurating the myth of the indigenous woman as an intermediary or an exotic entrance of accessibility are being promoted by the reciprocity of the explorer's merit, a means to prove fame and fortune. Columbian scholar Margarita Zamora, in *Reading Columbus*, approaches the power of the "act of writing," noting that the act of, setting ink to paper, was nearly "as momentous as the act of discovery itself" (9). These words, stamped with descriptions and an anamorphic world view, become the raw material for gendered accounts of an otherwise completely foreign terrain. Female allegoric descriptions of the mundane and the marvelous eclipse the Columbian narrative as an attempt to comprehend and contain the newly discovered islands. These allegories are strengthened by the explorers' distorted view of themselves as guardians or liberators engendered by what they imagined to be a dialogue with the women of the island. In an attempt to comprehend or rather to culturally extrapolate, the explorers rely heavily on a male/female dialectic. These metaphors, stories, and first person accounts are the basis for a newly forged relationship of oppressor and oppressed, one that creates a vernacular of imperialism firmly grounded in socio-sexual relations.

The nature of these writings of discovery, fabrications and exaggerations -often furthered by superstition and pre-existing religious and chivalric beliefs- surface in the wake of the

Spanish Reconquest. Spain, already fit for war and conquest, embarks on an internal project to homogenize and nationalize identity. The fall of Granada in 1492, the final chapter of the Reconquest, supplied the fuel, not solely by arms and ships, but through the narratives inscribed in the written word. Columbus sets forth on his first voyage from the city of Granada, May of 1492, steeped in the project of homogenization. In *El diario del primer viaje*, his first entry, Columbus discloses that as one of the “enemigos de la secta de Mahoma” and “después de aver echado fuera todos los judíos de todos vuestros reinos y señoríos, en el mismo mes de Enero” he is prepared for religious and ideopolitical conquest in “las dichas partidas de India” [sic] (44).

Antonia I. Castañeda, in her contribution to *Feminism, Nation and Myth*, a book dedicated to Malinche scholarship, notes that the women of New World inherit the “sexualization, eroticization, racialization, and devaluation,” already reserved for the non-Christian, non-European outsider developed during the Reconquest (85). The foreign female outsider in chivalric romance tales, most notably the characterizations of Queen Calafia, sets the stage for the gendered narratives of colonialism that would serve as the foundational mythology for Malinche. Castañeda notes that the lines between history and myth have already been blurred for female actors: “[l]iterary and historical fusions are evident in [other] female stock characters from chivalric novels, including *Las sergas de Esplandián*, the maga enamorada-the enamored woman...*La mora encantada*, the enticing Moorish enchantress” (85). Likewise, mythical accounts of “Amazons, and the quest for women reigning in a land of untold riches, ripe to be dominated, who offer themselves to their conquerors, existed not only in the novelas de caballería” but “these accounts persisted in the journals and reports of the Spanish explorers, conquistadores, and colonizing expeditions” (Castañeda 84).

The inability of the European to translate the New World preempts explorers to rely heavily on already existing gendered representations of the unknown or exotic. Louis Montrose in “The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery,” notes that, “[b]y the 1570’s, allegorical personifications of America as a female nude with feathered headdress had begun to appear in engravings and paintings, on maps and title pages, throughout Western Europe.”<sup>3</sup> Zamora supports the argument of European socio-sexual discourse in the documentation of the imperialism in the Americas, specifically in accounts of Columbus. She explains that by:

[c]ombining the rhetoric of testimony and interpretation, Columbus’ writings constitute a powerful act of representation, one whose effect on the development of Western notions of difference is still felt today. The interpolation of Amerindian reality presented in his text articulates a conceptual model of otherness manifested as a series of metaphors of disparity. When the Columbian texts are read as a unified discourse, instead of as discrete documents, these tropes reveal a coherent hermeneutical strategy of feminization and eroticization that ultimately makes gendered difference the determining characteristic of the sign ‘Indies’ (157).

The impact of Columbian writings on the vernacular of Europe’s historiography of the New World cannot be underestimated. America, what Zamora terms, “a semantic void,” is explained in term of European “dissimilarity,” the “marvelous,” and ultimately “lack or deficiency” (158-159).

This lack, which, “could *not* be valueless or value-neutral” becomes filled with a European project of socio-sexual and economic exploitation (160). Women, and by extension the New World, are viewed as incomplete subjects, associated with lack or inferiority. These descriptions of islands as a metaphor of the feminine Other, an object ontologically understood by the explorers in direct opposition to the male European subject, is imagined as virgin property

---

<sup>3</sup> Both Montrose and Zamora cite the example of Jan Van der Straet’s portrayal of Vespucci’s discovery of America with America personified as a nude “recumbent figure, now discovered and roused from her torpor” (Montrose 179).

to be acted upon by the colonizer. This world view stands out as a noteworthy thread in the early voyages, as Europeans attempt to verbalize the moment of imperialism.

Christopher Columbus in *Los cuatro viajes* makes a significant contribution to early vernacular of imperialism. Soil, envisioned and articulated through a male/female dialectic, where land and people are acted upon, becomes the discourse of the imperialist narrative. Columbus describes the New World as a place where “la tierra es tal, que deve procurar que se siembre, lo más que ser pudiere de todas cosas [sic]” (Varela 210). Land itself personified as woman, “the desirable object to be possessed,” (Zamora 161) as the discourse of imperialism invites the explorers to “probar la tierra, que parece muy maravillosa,” and wait for it to bear fruit (Varela 210). In a brief letter to Lord Rafael Sanchez, Treasurer to the King and Queen of Spain, Columbus names land as the female object of desire: “[q]uæ dicta Joanna et aliaë ibidem insulæ quam fertilissimæ existun; this said island of Juana is exceedingly fertile” (Major 4). Approaching the gynecomorphus unknown, an object to be conquered, penetrated, and capitalized by the male European absolute, Columbus envisions land as, “campi feracissimi, seri pascique et condendis ædificiis aptissimi; fruitful fields, admirably adapted for tillage, pasture, and habitation” (Major 5-6). Intimating the intentions of the explorers, “cimienta de lo que acá sembrare e plantare [sic],” the land sets the stage set for a socio-sexual narrative of conquest that would persist for centuries (Varela 209). Columbus adopts this vernacular as he continues naming the islands, “insulam Sanctæ Mariæ Conceptionis, aliam Fernandinam, aliam Isabelam, aliam Joannam; island of Santa Maria de la Concepción, another Fenandina, the third Isabella, the fourth Juana,” as female counterparts (Major 2).



Imperialist speculation, as naming and ownership, is imagined as a socio-sexual act, that by oppression or by force takes possession of property as commodity. The clash between the wonder of the exotic with need to capitalize it, Zamora notes, is “curiously dichotomized” throughout Columbian discourse; the “beauty of the indigenous element” is unapologetically juxtaposed with the “mercantilistic-imperialistic discursive modalities” of the text (162). The “earthly paradise,” one “que ninguna otra tierra que sol escaliente puede ser mejor, al parecer ni tan hermosa [sic]” (Varela 210) is juxtaposed with the European project of accumulating capital (Zamora 145).

Within this act of gendered conquest, female natives are already approached as intelligible through what the explorers perceive as universal subservience within a male/female dichotomy. The islands of the New World: fertile, beautiful, at the ready for cultivation are personified, while the indigenous women are imagined as willing receivers. The Amerindian women, as a subset, are already differentiated by the European explorers who recognize them as a requisite means of entrance whereby they can cultivate and navigate what they understand to be a savage land and people. Upon his meeting with the male Caribs, Columbus describes, “de los hombres ninguno se pudo tomar por fuerza ni por grado, salvo dos que se aseguraron é despues los trajeron por fuerza allí [sic]” (Major 27-28). In the case of the women, however, he points out, “Se tomaron mas de veinte mujeres de las cativas, y de su grado se venian otras naturales de la isla [sic]” (Major 28). Women are already viewed as a group distinct among the Indians, perceived within a context of the universality of gender for both the Spanish and the native populace: “[v]ienen aquí continuamente muchos indios é caciques con ellos, que son como capitanes dellos, é muchas indias [sic]” (Major 61). Columbian narrative and many other

chronicles consciously documents pre-conquest indigenous practice of gifting, trading, or taking female slaves in battle. In the male view, for women, conquest has always already existed. Females, therefore, are understood early on as natural intermediaries of conquest and colonialism. The women are presented as victims, not of the Spaniards, but of the Caribs.

Consequently, the Europeans view female natives as: willing participants, a cultural bridge for the foreigners, the point of colonial entrance, and accepting passive receivers of the imperialist agenda<sup>4</sup>. This dynamic is seen in later chronicles and literary texts, where Malinche, like other indigenous women, are beheld as both a literal and figurative opening to conquest. Though Malinche and the inhabitants of the continent differed culturally from the people of the Indies, the world view of the male conquerors is consistent in both cases. The explorer or the conquistador understood the male natives in terms of battle and force, while distinguishing women as submissive and even cooperative. For the conquistador, and later the Creole bourgeoisie of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, this perceived willingness is understood as woman's duplicity, where she is compelled to function simultaneously as insider/outsider.

Columbus paints the Europeans as the saviors, something he anticipates the women will readily recognize. It is largely due to the female socio-sexual position in both the indigenous and European cultures, that woman becomes the earliest conquest of the New World. The Columbian narrative, infused with the Caribs' brutal treatment of women, rather than its own barbarous imperialism recounts: "traen las mugeres que pueden haber, en especial mozas y hermosas, las cuales tienen para su servicio, é para tener por mancebas, é traen tantas que en cincuenta casas

---

<sup>4</sup> The women of Matinino, the counterpart of the Caribs are the exception. The Caribs who, "come carne humana," and the women of Mantinino, "que diz que era poblada toda de mugeres sin hombres, [sic]" offer a portrayal of grotesque gender extremes (Varela 175). The act of denouncing male society by the Mantinino, and the hyper-masculinity and violence of Caribs evidenced in cannibalism, make this a socio-sexually perverse dyad.

ellos no parecieron, y de las cativas se vinieron mas de veinte mozas. Dicen tambien estas mugeres que estos usan de una crueldad que parece cosa increible; que los hijos que en ellas han se los comen [sic]" (Major 31). The European authors himself redeemer and hero of the Amerindian people, women in particular, incapable of articulating his project of oppression. Despite the depiction of women as damsels in distress or willing participants, there is evidence that tells otherwise. In the presence of Columbus and his men, "[e]n la nao habia diez mugeres de las que se habian tomado en las islas de Cariby, [sic]" who "al primer sueño muy mansamente se echaron al agua é se fueron á tierra [sic]" (Major 57). These small details in the text, demonstrate the shallow truth being provided by Columbus.

Language presents another instance of perceived lack or complicity in the Amerindian woman. Columbus' text presents an unrealistic perception of communications with the inhabitants of the island. In speaking of his meetings with indigenous people, the text makes a clear distinction between male and female intelligibility. As evidence for the fabrication of a socio-sexual polemic, the Columbian text cites the impossibility of communication with the people native to the island where, "no hay lengua por medio de la cual á esta gente se pueda dar á entender [sic]" (Major 81). Yet upon recounting communication with women, a description of an intelligible dialogue appears: "[l]as indias que traíamos dijeron que no eran pobladas [sic]" (Major 37). The linguistic barriers instantly and mystically broken down, continue throughout the narrative. As a consequence, the text presents the unrealistic narrative of reciprocal communication between himself and the women with constant reference to women as the point of contact: "[p]reguntamos á las mugeres, que eran cativas en esta isla [sic]" (Major 29). Columbus, on several occasions, dubiously cites women as fountains of linguistic

competence: “segun se supo de las mugeres, [sic]” (Major 32), “dijeron las Indias que llevabamos, [sic]” (Major 33) and “segun ya sabemos por la relacion de las mugeres que traíamos [sic]” (Major 39). This interpretation, in its credulity, overlooks that impossibility of women miraculously overcoming linguistic barriers, or the fact that their oppression is not alleviated in their dealings with the Europeans.

Despite the harsh realities, early on in the conquest women are being written as cooperative participants of the European project. Perceived as a locus and tools of conquest, the female mind and body is manipulated in the testimonies of explorers and conquistadores. Women, already in the earliest narratives, are equated with the land itself, an allegory of conquest. The female is imagined as a translator of universal comprehensibility: physically, culturally, and linguistically. For the European, the indigenous female is approached as, and will continue to be understood, as a strategic point of entrance for the conquest.

### *Malinche: Between History and Myth*

Hispanicization, recorded in the words of the conquistadores, sets in motion the birth of a new history, a story of the beginning of what will become, the national seeds of myth. As these seeds disperse throughout Europe, they set in motion innumerable acts of conquest and subsequent narratives. The historical record and myth collide, as instantly nascent and divergent narratives of the conquest materialize. Within these narratives, a woman whose sinuous tale endures five centuries, begins to coalesce as myth. This happens incidentally; Malinche’s myth

emerges as: the legacy of the earliest imperialist encounters<sup>5</sup>; a result of a historical moment, an item in a list of mercantilist speculation, a commodity in the accumulation of Spain's wealth; and finally in the justification for national and personal claims to the treasures of the New World. Dueling narratives and conflicting accounts of the conquest that arise in a fight to secure the approbation of the crown create an environment for a variety of tales. Conflict is the means by which Malinche becomes fleshed out as an actor in the conquest, not for her personage or talent, but for her usefulness quelling in the scuffle among the many conflicting accounts.

Religion is an ideologically driving force in the project of conquest, as the conqueror continues to create a distinction between itself and the Other. Through efforts at self definition the Spaniard seeks a mode of identity that generates the mythos and persona of the Hidalgo, *hijo de algo*. These untitled nobility and men of leisure, appear as the contraposition to Jewish and Moorish dominated businesses and trades. Though these hidalgos, who neither payed taxes nor owned land, purported themselves worthy of respect, their economic stations were without foundation. Francisco López De Gómara, Cortés's hired biographer, describes Cortés in his *Historia de la conquista*, as this very type of hidalgo, born to parents who, "entre ambos eran hidalgos, ca todos estos cuatro linajes Cortés, Monroy, Pizarro y Altamirano son muy antiguos, nobles y honrados [sic]," and who "[t]enían poca hacienda, empero mucha honra [sic]" (43). Led by the quest to justify their station through wealth, these ambitious men ostensibly set out to prove themselves through heroic deeds in the New World. Men of leisure become, who though they themselves had no means to be, men of wealth. Ironically, these men of honor in the search

---

<sup>5</sup> Ross Hassig in *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest* notes that, "[T]he men who reached Mexico had already participated in the earliest Spanish exploration of what to them was the New World, and they built on their experiences of conquering and colonizing Arab Spain and the Canary Islands" (9), a narrative that would continue to play out in Mexico.

for personal wealth, would eventually put the feudalist mode of production out of business, as they strive to move back to a feudalist system in the Americas. Men of merit, approach the conquest not as inherently adventurous of spirit, but propelled by a need to carve out wealth in a society that has already moved to commerce and mercantilist structure without them. Upon their arrival, pen in hand, the Spanish begin to lay claim to everything in the New World. To secure their wealth, they rush to name both land and native as property.

Influencing the structure of the conquest is the subject's move from the public to the private, in which he manifests himself as an interior subject that claims universality. Matthew Restall, in his historical project, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*, concurs that it is through this shift that *men of merit* appear, named for their "probanza de mérito (proof of merit)," similar formats such as "relaciones (reports or accounts), cartas (letters), and cartas de relación" or "petition for rewards" (12). This new merchant class approaches the New World with the mission to claim, proselytize, and extract wealth by any means necessary. Short *probanzas*, "[I]terally thousands sit in the great imperial archives in Seville," as examples of written receipts for claimed wealth (Restall 12). This shift in subjectivity, Marx demonstrates, is linked to economic change, "the mediation of private property" which ushers in the interiorizing of the "ontological essence of human passions, in its totality and its humanity" (*Capital Volume I* 189).

The economically dependent relationship defining the indivisible public and private spheres allows for the private process of normalization, later affecting the idea of publication and overall literary production. Theorist and man of letters, Angel Rama uses Michel Foucault's words to cite this view in a *Latin America* context. In his work, *La ciudad letrada*, he contends, "[I]as ciudades, las sociedades que las habitarán, los letrados que las explicarán, se fundan y

desarrollan en el mismo tiempo en que el signo ‘deja de ser una figura del mundo, deja de estar ligado por los lazos sólidos y secretos de la semejanza o de la afinidad a lo que marca,’ empieza a “significar dentro del interior del conocimiento,’ y ‘de él tomará su certidumbre o su probabilidad”” (4). Men of the conquest, like Cortés, seek to invent themselves through deeds recorded in the New World. The “I” manifested by the chroniclers is an example of the private voice on the public stage, validated through conquest and the claim of wealth. Malinche, as a participant of history, is an incidental part of this wealth accumulation, one object among many. The idea of money validates the project of the conqueror and not the conquered, as Marx argues, “That which exists for me through the medium of money, that which I can pay for (ie. which money can buy), that I am, the possessor of money. My own power is as great as the power of money”(Marx *Capital Volume I* 191). Money as “the highest good” makes “detestable, dishonorable, unscrupulous and stupid” man “honored” by its very possession (Marx *Capital Volume I* 191).

These *cartas*, proof of speculation, literally serve as receipts of wealth. Stratified levels of literacy and illiteracy among the conquistadores meant that full fledged *relaciones*, like those of Hernán Cortés and Bernal Díaz del Castillo, were a rarity among legions of simple *probanzas* which were often accounts dictated by those who lacked the skills to write (Restall 37). Cortés’s *Cartas de relación* and Bernal Díaz del Castillo’s *La Historia verdadera de la conquista*, endure in large part due to their ability to appeal to audiences. Over several centuries these accounts have served as historical documents of the conquest and yet, they “obliged those who wrote them to promote their own deeds and downplay or ignore those of others” (Restall 12). Cortés, like Columbus, becomes a new figure of the *cult of personality* in his *Cartas de relación*, which, “sold

so well in at least five languages, that the crown banned the *Cartas*, lest the conqueror's cult status become a political threat" (Restall 12). The success of these personal deeds was impacted by publishing. Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, which explores the link between modernity and print notes that, "[o]ne of the earliest forms of capitalist enterprise, book-publishing [which] felt all of capitalism's restless search for markets" (38). This new *cult of personality* was both driven by and driving the machine of mercantilism and nascent capitalism gaining hold in Europe.

Early capitalism emerging throughout Europe was a burgeoning mercantilism fueled, not only by the separation of serf and land, but also the greater separation impelled by European conquest. Imperialism allowed for the extraction of raw materials that the emerging capitalism demanded. In an attempt to monopolize wealth and trade, Spain sought to expand its reach. This subsequent act was a final blow to a decaying feudalist system. As Marx proposed, "the discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonization of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development" (Marx *Communist Manifesto* 15). The Spanish crown becomes an early speculator of colonial wealth, an example of bullionism characteristic of the early mercantile systems and banking development. Public speculations by the Spanish monarchy are entrusted to explorers, regardless of national background. The access to mines and resources in the Americas supplied Spain with the necessary raw materials, while the narratives of the chroniclers vouchsafed and procured this



investment, as merchants engaged in private speculation as well, often investing and risking their fortunes on the voyage.

Hernán Cortés' *Cartas de relación*, five letters written to Emperor Carlos V, published in 1522, is a personal account of his deeds in the New World. In 1519, Captain Hernán Cortés is elected to lead a third expedition to Mexico. Entrenched in conflict with Diego Velázquez, Cortés ignores the governor's furlough even before leaving Cuba. Velázquez would later send men to arrest Cortés, and Velázquez's defeat would prompt Cortés to write to the king to justify his claim to wealth and property in Mexico. These letters, though an in depth account, demonstrate a dearth of reference to his infamous translator, Doña Marina. Instead they are dominated by a singular actor, Cortés.

In his first letter of *Cartas de relación*, Cortés gives an account of his levels of personal investment, “y visto por el dicho Hernando Cortés lo que Diego Velazquez le decia, movido con celo de servir a VV. RR. AA., propuso de gastar todo quanto tenia y hacer aquella armada, casi las dos partes della á su costa, asi en navios como en bastimentos de mar, allende de repartir sus dineros por las personas que habian de ir en la dicha armada, que tenian necesidad para se proveer de cosas necesarias para el viaje [sic]” (Cortés 8). Mercantilism and primitive accumulation set the stage for capital accumulation and production, though the primary goal of personal eye witness accounts was self-justification.<sup>6</sup> Restall notes that, “the justification of personal actions and roles [fit] within a larger context of imperial justification. The later writings of the chroniclers further developed the theme of justification into an ideology of imperialism” (14).

---

<sup>6</sup> Marx describes this process in *Capital Volume I*, “Chapter 26: The Secret of Primitive Accumulation.”

As these overblown accounts arrive in Europe, they precipitate an influx of men that would ultimately disenfranchise an entire continent. These self aggrandizing stories, not the acts themselves, launched the exponential growth in speculation and exploration that pushed the conquest forward. The competitive environment created by this influx of would-be men of merit, created a sea of narratives and counter narratives of truth and reality, evident in the portrayal of events and actors of the conquest. This public stage becomes a marketplace for the personal testimony of merit-worthy deeds. Authorship arises as a marker of personal merit. It is in this attempt to quantify personal deeds that the conception of Malinche as a historical character appears. Malinche, like the New World, is cited as ethnographic object of Spanish discovery in the writing of Cortés and other chroniclers in their battle for the accumulation and maintenance of personal wealth and power. Malinche and other Amerindians are viewed as a colonial commodity to be extracted like gold, silver, or iron, “first of all, an external object, a thing which through its qualities satisfies human needs of whatever kind” (Marx *Capital Volume I* 125). The work of the conquest, propelled by speculation, mercantilism, and the project of wealth accumulation; chronicled by a wealth of explorers vying for personal privilege on a public stage is defined by the reality of oppression, enslavement, female subjugation, and the extraction of wealth and raw materials, carried out in the guise of religious and civilizing decency.

When approaching the Malinche figure from her current mythical status, it is surprising to find that she is scarcely mentioned in Cortés’ *Cartas de relación*. Cortés makes almost no reference to the infamous Malinche, simply calling her “la lengua que yo tengo, que es una india desta tierra [sic]” (73). Her entrance to the historic record as, “la muger india [sic]” (Cortés 387) is not with fanfare, but as a tool or object. She fits almost unnoticed, “hallaron en ellas á sus

criados é caballos, é á doña Marina, muger del dicho tesorero [sic],” into a list of necessary supplies of horses and servants (Cortés 387). Malinche’s mention is incidental, “aquella lengua...que es Marina, la que yo siempre conmigo he traido, porque allí me la habian dado con otras veinte mugeres” [sic] (Cortés 429 ). Cortés mentions Malinche only as it is absolutely necessary to the retelling of his own accomplishments and deeds. She is whittled down to her bare purpose, “lengua,” and commodity as “mujer india,” a mere footnote and resource native to the New World. The Spanish colonial view of the non-European subject mirrors this world view. The Americas, like Malinche, are understood as a resource and tool for imperialist domination propelled by the budding economic system of mercantilism. For Cortés, Malinche is a means to build a colonial empire, a means to his own political end. The Spanish in their domination, Anderson argues, “acted out of an unselfconscious everyday pragmatism.” Conquest was not the project of Hispanicization, he explains, but “simply conversion of heathens and savages,” and the imperialist ideological cloak for the stripping of wealth (Anderson 83). It is not Cortés, but Bernal Díaz del Castillo that brings Malinche to the historical forefront.

Bernal Díaz de Castillo, writes with the purpose of securing status and wealth for himself and his progeny, rather than truth telling. Securing this status, as noted earlier, often meant discrediting the accounts of others. Both Cortés’ *Cartas de relación* and Gómara’s *Historia de la conquista de México* intended to ally the success of the conquest with the merit and deeds of Hernando Cortés. Threatened by the encroaching accounts of Cortés and López de Gómara (accounts of the conquest commissioned by Cortés and his children) Bernal Díaz, sets out to write a history that assures, “van declarados los borrones, é cosas escritas viciosas en un libro de Francisco Lopez de Gomara, [sic]” (12). The aging Bernal Díaz del Castillo, in *Historia*

*verdadera de la conquista de Nueva España*, tells his version of the history of Malinche. He truly becomes Malinche's Prometheus, as he spins her from mere item in a list, to a historical and would-be literary character.

Bernal Díaz del Castillo's story accounts, not only his own deeds, but the deeds of other important actors of the conquest. This approach, in its thoroughness, has given a lasting veracity to readers over the centuries, and provided potent fodder for disputing Cortés and Gómara after the fact. Díaz del Castillo often begins reinforcing his narrative by disputing Gómara, "[e]sto es lo que pasó, y no la relacion que diéron al Gomara, " [sic] (157), or "[a]quí dice el Coronista Gomara en su historia muy al contrario de lo que pasó [sic]" (188). Bernal Díaz Del Castillo approaches this work with the verisimilitude of an eye witness account in the first page, "[y]o Bernal Diaz del Castillo." He posits himself as an eye witness, "cómo puedo yo escribir en esta relacion lo que no vi, pues estaba en aquella sazón en las conquistas de la Nueva España [sic]" (248). Bernal Díaz's steady redress of Gómara throughout the text denotes both contest and testimony, "desta manera que he dicho hubo Aguilar, y no de otra, como lo escribe el Coronista Gomara, [sic]" (119)," and "no como lo dice el Coronista Gomara, [sic]" (156). These threads throughout the work, "no le informáron bien, que el primero que fué, es el por mí aquí dicho, y no otro, [sic]," and "por muy buen estilo que lo dice en su Corónica, pues en todo lo que escribe no pasa como dice" (226) engender Díaz del Castillo's text with authority by displacing other claims of authenticity. Bernal Díaz del Castillo's need to secure wealth and status keep the veracity of his text floating within the boundaries of impartial history and self serving *private mythology*.

Bernal Díaz Del Castillo positions himself as messenger of truth assuring that he will tell the “verdadera” story of the conquest as an eyewitness. He makes a subtle yet effective attempt to discredit Cortés, and in doing so gives Malinche a great deal of credit for the success of the conquest. It is with Marina, according to Bernal Díaz del Castillo, that the conquest begins, and unlike Cortés, he dedicates a large part of entire chapter XXXVII, “*Como Doña Marina era Cacica é hija de grandes señores, y señora de pueblos y vasallos, y la manera que fué traída á Tabasco [sic]*” to his account of Malinche (155). Despite her position as slave, Díaz del Castillo emphasizes the strategic importance of her entrance,”á los postreros del mes de Marzo de mil y quinientos y diez y nueve años [sic]” the caciques and leaders of Tabasco and nearby brought many gifts to present to the Spaniards, but that “fué nada todo este presente en comparacion de veinte mugeres, y entre ellas una muy excelente muger, que se dixo Doña Marina [sic]” (147-48). Among these twenty Indian woman who were baptized, Doña Marina stands out, for she was “verdaderamente [una] gran Cacica, é hija de grandes Caciques, y señora de vasallos, y bien se le parecia en su persona [sic]” (Del Castillo 150-151). Díaz del Castillo credits Malinche’s unusual innate leadership abilities, “Doña Marina tenia mucho ser, y mandaba absolutamente entre los Indios en toda la Nueva España [sic]” to her royalty (156). He gives a detailed account of Malinche’s personal history and noble heritage:

su padre y su madre eran Señores y Caciques de un pueblo que se dice Painala, y tenia otros pueblos sujetos á él obra de ocho leguas de la Villa de Guacacualco, y murió el padre quedando muy niña, y la madre se casó con otro Cacique mancebo, y oviéron un hijo, y segun pareció, querian bien al hijo, y segun pareció, querian bien al hijo que habian habido; acordáron entre el padre y la madre de dalle el cargo despues de su dias, y porque en ello no hubiese estorbo, diéron de noche la niña á unos Indios de Xicalango, porque no fuese vista, y echáron fama que se habia muerto, y en aquella sazón murió una hija de una India esclava suya, y publicáron, que era la heredera: por manera que los de Xicalango la diéron á los de Tabasco, y los de Tabasco á Cortés [sic] (Del Castillo 155).

Here, Malinche is not portrayed simply as a resource or a tool, but as a fleshed out woman of her own merit and history. Malinche's fame and merit, according to the Díaz del Castillo, begin to rival Cortés. Díaz del Castillo describes how Cortés and those who accompanied Marina become linguistic extensions of Malinche: "Marina nuestra lengua, estaba siempre en su compañía, especialmente quando venian Embaxadores, ó pláticas de Caciques, y ella lo declaraba en lengua Mexicana, por esta causa le llamaban a Cortés el Capitan de Marina, y para mas breve le llamaron Malinchi... y así le nombraré de aquí adelante Malinchi en todas las pláticas que tuvieramos con qualesquier Indios [sic]" (333-334). A pattern emerges in which Bernal Díaz, not only undermines the accounts of Gómara and Cortés, but elevates the status of Malinche. Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *Historia* is the source for what is considered to be Malinche's straightforward history despite inconsistencies and unlikely possibilities. In the narrative of Díaz del Castillo Malinche's story begins to demonstrate a synthesis between history and myth.

In Renaissance Europe and the concurrent cultures of the New World, women functioned as gifts or pawns for marriages that secured alliances and as a means to the progeniture of dynastic forms of government. To strengthen alliances, the female noble is given as gift. Throughout the conquest, the act of gift giving often includes prize females. Díaz del Castillo cites one such incident: "tenian concertado entre todos los Caciques de darnos sus hijas y sobrinas las mas hermosas que tenian, que fuesen doncellas por casar, y dixo el viejo Xicotenga: Malinche, porque mas claramente conozcais el bien que os queremos, y deseamos en todo contentaros, nosotros queremos dar nuestras hijas, para que sean vuestras mugeres, y hagais generacion, porque queremos teneros por hermanos [sic]" (340-341). Malinche's significance, like the daughters of the caciques, is determined by sex. It is not her royal demeanor that lands

her in the annals of the history, but her socio-sexual position. Díaz del Castillo relates Malinche's arrival with impassive detail, unsympathetic to the female reality: "[y] Cortés las repartió á cada Capitan la suya, y á esta Doña Marina, como era de buen parecer, y entremetida y desenvuelta, dió á Alonso Puertocarrero, que ya he dicho otra vez, que era muy buen Caballero, primo del Conde de Medellin: y deque fué á Castilla el Puertocarrero, estuvo la Doña Marina con Cortés, y della hubo un hijo, que se dixo Don Martin Cortés [sic]" (151). Malinche is gifted to Cortés, then handed off as a commodity for use to Puertocarrero, followed by her reappropriation as personal concubine and translator to Cortés, then enters into a marriage contract with Jaramillo, and ends as a progenitor of the male Spanish economic and ideological modes via the birth of her son. This cleavage allows her to gain a semblance of agency as she allegedly resists her own cultural identity. Only when she becomes yoked to Cortés, a powerful leader of the conquest, does she attain historical significance. She is always depicted in the presence of a man, even in the case of her role as translator where she is often teamed with Jerónimo de Aguilar. This is no less true in the narrative of Díaz del Castillo. It is his agenda, and not the importance of Malinche, that drives his architecture of her story. Malinche is oppressed by and pushed into forced dependency by her male counterparts. As a native woman playing a paltry role, due in large part to the diaspora of sexual subjugation, her story stands out.

Even in the compelling narrative of Del Castillo, accounts of Malinche's oppression contradict her noble, elevated status. In his discussions of Tendile's painting of the conquest, Díaz del Castillo lists Doña Marina in a manner similar to Cortés' items illustrating: "mandó pinto al natural rostro, cuerpo y facciones de Cortés, y de todos los Capitanes, y soldados, y navios, y velas, é caballos, y á Doña Marina, é Aguilar, hasta dos lebreles, é tiros, é pelotas, y

todo el ejército que traíamos [sic]" (59). In doing so, however, he manages to cleverly note that they are the power behind the man. In one instance he dehumanizes Malinche and the other soldiers while subverting the story of Cortés. Malinche's importance starkly contrasts with the experience of the majority of indigenous people of Mexico who were forced labor in *encomiendas*, "members of ethnic-kin groups 'entrusted' by the Crown to particular Spanish colonizers (encomenderos) <sup>7</sup>" or gifted as sexual property (Stern 850). Within the context of history, there is dissonance between the characterization of Malinche as a noble being and her situation as a female captive slave. Díaz del Castillo's narrative becomes more akin to story telling than to history. As personal claims, the documents of the *conquistadores* straddle history and personal myth. Malinche, as the testimony of Díaz del Castillo, is subject to the standard where women in particular act as commodities or gifts. Díaz del Castillo's portrayal Malinche as a willing, even guiding participant is questionable, even in the context of his own testimony. Despite her clearly illustrated position as slave and captive, he characterizes Malinche as rejecting her own values for greater opportunity offered by the Spanish, "que aunque la hicieran Cacica de todas quantas Provincias habia en la Nueva España, no lo seria, que en mas tena servir á su marido é á Cortés, que quanto en el mundo hay: y todo esto que digo, se lo oí muy certificadamente, y se lo juro, amen [sic]" (157). This dubious story is contradicted by her status as captive, which characterizes her as consistently powerless.

Ultimately she is free in neither instance, but the indispensable role of translator opens up a new world for the female native in narrative terms. Translators, who play a significant role in

---

<sup>7</sup> While woman is offered as gift, traded, enslaved, the male subject is forced into a subjugation using what is described as, "[t]heatrical and terrorizing techniques" in the form of "severing of the right hands (or sometimes arms) of [male] native prisoners, often by the hundreds" or the public seizure of rulers (Restall 24-25). Mutilated males, as was noted throughout the conquest, are equated with the female.



conquest, are forced labor, Malinche among them.<sup>8</sup> The first translators, two native prisoners Julianillo and Melchorejo, become inducted to the Spanish mission, even before the Spaniards fulfill the need for water or arms. The novelty of Malinche, and her historical emergence is linked to her sex. She is not just a translator, but an indigenous female translator who functions through socio-sexual markers of subservience and property. The unthreatening female portrayal is always already imagined as cleaved to the male conqueror's agenda, a view accepted unproblematically in the many chronicles. In discussing the female voice, or that of Malinche, it is important to note that it is assigned from a quilt of male voices which are in turn formed by the economic, political, and ideological forces at play in the conquest. Jean Franco in her essay, "La Malinche: From Gift to Sexual Contract," argues, it is gender "that accounts for her overdetermined position in the 'encounter,'" but that encounter is fueled by an interplay of complex forces beyond that (68). This is ultimately what makes Malinche and woman valuable commodities. Despite vast cultural differences, by both indigenous and European standards, the female resides at the bottom, a unifying symbol for human oppression. Malinche scholarship has disputed the possibility of royal lineage, however, it is through slavery, exchange and gift that she finds herself in the presence of Cortés. Though female nobles may have enjoyed greater rights and privileges, this perceived political control was not shared power. Conflicting documents of her life demonstrate an oppressive physical reality which leads to her premature death in her twenties, less than ten years after the arrival of the Spaniards (Restall 82-83).

---

<sup>8</sup> Matthew Restall in his book, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*, discusses what he calls, "a routine search for an interpreters," including, "two prisoners off the Yucatec coast in 1517...Mechor and Julián," and, "the native Jamican wound found on the Yucatec coast; a Nahuatl speaker captured by Grijalva, baptized by Francisco, and used by Cortés...the Spanish page Orteguilla, assigned by Cortés to Moctezuma during the emperor's captivity, who soon became bilingual; and Gerónimo de Alguilar, the shipwrecked Spaniard rescued by Cortés" (24).

Jean Franco, argues that: “slippage between metaphor and metonymy is a significant one for it conceals a crucial element, the fact that there could be no bridge, encounter or *compañera* without a prior act of violence which symbolic appropriation conveniently veils” (68). Franco criticizes Stephen Greenblatt, foundational scholar of New Historicism and author of *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World*, for his “emphasis on interpreters and go-between.” Malinche, according to Greenblatt, serves as a “human bridge” a cultural translator “between the invaders and the defenders.” The symbol for the native woman of the conquest, she is an “object of exchange, model of conversion, the only figure who appears to understand the two cultures, the only person in whom they meet” (Franco 67). This romantic notion, that unfortunately echoes Columbus and Bernal Díaz more than five hundred years later, presupposes woman as automatic intermediary, a view that denies acts of female subjugation by both invading and defending nations. Describing Doña Marina, Greenblatt holds that for, “virtually everyone in Bernal Díaz’s history--Indians and Spaniards alike--the site of the strategic symbolic oscillation between the self and other is the body of this woman” (67). This observation is accurate, not because the woman is the intermediary between the self and Other, but because she is Other to both the native and invading self. She is object, not subject for both cultures, solidifying her status as, what is believed to be, a universal commodity.

It is because Malinche is female, estranged from the social relations of both the indigenous and Spanish colonial male conceived societies, that she can exist as transitory in nature. Malinche’s manufactured archetype is born from the pages of a self-propelled conquistador *history*, cleaved to the male actor Cortés. Yet in the recounting of this glory, the acts of sexual subjugation are obscured by the project of civilization and conversion. *Conquistadores*

fueled by mercantilism, speculation, and trade, would become epic figures of their own narratives. It is significant that the conquistadores were male, and that the female played little role in the early imperialism<sup>9</sup>. Female gifts and sexual slavery existed without the restraint of social order. This pillaging of the New World is rooted ideologically in the idea of both economic and recreating the *Mitsein* of sexual domination. Impregnating the natives secured the future of the conquistadores. Malinche is swallowed into the economic and ideological product of Spanish conquest which renders the indigenous population: historically voiceless; a raw resource and commodity to be molded both ideologically and economically by the conquistadores; a cultural and historical footnote; a practical and useful means to economic domination. Malinche's emergence during the conquest, elucidates the discourses manufactured in her name and in the name of nascent national ideologies, political systems, and economies. The early accounts of the conquest presents her as detail within the attempt at literal accounts of largely uncorroborated facts. Her narrative and historical importance is as evidence to fact, and her *character* is manipulated thusly. Ricardo Herren, in his biographical account, *Doña Marina, La Malinche*, underscores that as a historical and literary figure, "Marina se desaparece silenciosamente y el silencio la cubra a lo largo de todo el período colonial: nadie se acuerda de ella, con la excepción de algunos historiadores de la Conquista y de sus propios descendientes" (158). This example, hardly a coincidence, demonstrates Malinche's birth, more akin to a conscious de facto manufactured resurrection than seamless historical reality.

---

<sup>9</sup> Maintaining or increasing a Spanish population in the New World was problematic: "An identified total of 5,481 people known to have come to the Indies prior to 1520...of these, only 308, or 5.6 percent, were women" (Hassig 16).

## **Consolidating the National Narrative: Creating Exiles and Immortalizing Malinche**

“History, then, can clarify the origins of many of our phantasms, but it cannot dissipate them” (73). -Octavio Paz

Inaugurating the early outsiders of nation, Julia Kristeva, in *Strangers to Ourselves*, reminds us, “[i]t is noteworthy that the first foreigners to emerge at the dawn of our civilization are foreign women-the Danaides” (42). In her analysis of the Greek myth, Kristeva remarks that Danaides’ passion for Zeus was defined by, [a] madness that lead[s] a woman not on a journey back to the self, as with Ulysses (who in spite of his meanderings, came back to the homeland), but toward a land of exile, accursed from the start” (43). On the surface, this myth reveals that female desire has been, and continues to be perceived as nationally and culturally corrupting. It is the Danaides’ “illegitimate desire” that exiles them, and is ultimately the basis for founding a foreign nation, albeit not in the modern sense. These myths and icons of female illegitimate desire are discernible as archetypal renditions. More than mere national, sexual allegories, and icons, they serve as narratives of the distinct social formations from which they arose and within which they continue to reappear.

### *Myths and Archetypes*

W.J.T. Mitchell in *Iconology*, attempts to define the icon approaching the idea that men’s existence is only meaningful when “seen as parts of a process, [as] agents in a historical development, or figures in narrative.” He asserts Marx would agree that, “we must ignore the narratives and thoughts of men in order to get at the truth about...the stories men tell about

themselves-their myths and legends, and even their histories-are irrelevant except insofar as they fit with the story of material, social, development that he wants to tell” (176). Myth’s discursive weight forges and heightens the subtle, intricate nature of social and material development that allow archetypes to endure as the corporal embodiment of myth. Personified aggregates of the social formation, manifestations like Malinche offer a lens through which one can glimpse the contradictions of national discourse.

Nations, built upon unity and symbolic, mythic value, adhere to these ideologically galvanizing forces. Just as the female metaphor serves as a grounding force of imperialist discourse at the onset of the conquest, so does it perdure as the test site defining nationalism in the post-independence period. As sustained outsider, woman is repeatedly subject to the test of moralization, a test which ties her to the pathways brought on by the ideological, economic, and political forces of material reality. She receives this test through a filter of physical difference, which allows for the movement within a liminal frontier of the imagined national boundaries; as woman she exists both inside the social and sexual material reality. Viewed as objects of commodity and wealth accumulation in the conquest, women are in the post-Independence movement, the site of reproducing the homogenizing, moralizing ideologies of a new nationalism that attempts to estrange itself from Spain and the internally foreign. Female failure to occupy this site of reproduction and the predetermined socio-sexual station is equivalent to the destruction of the social fabric destined to be hemmed into national boundaries. The exigency that woman remain fixed to the male bourgeois subject is reinforced in the national instance, where the force of ideology works in analogous opposition to the allegory of the traitorous female national outsider, scapegoat, and enemy to the common good. Malinche’s myth, a product

of conquest, immortalized in the European imagination and the chronicles of imperialism, does not spontaneously erupt from the Creole thaumaturgic tabula rasa. Neither is her myth solely historical, arising with the facts of her birth and death. Manufactured and pulled from the vague pages of history, Malinche becomes immortalized in the literary production of the transitional moment of post independence. The project of securing both public and private interests intersects with the growth of print and the simultaneity of the periodical which has the ability to fix ideology. The impact of meritocracy and nationalism as Latin America emerges from imperialism seeks to distinguish the foreigner, all of which contribute to a sense of progressive time.

The economic and political project of the Creole elite<sup>10</sup>, the driving force of the incipient national and moralist ideology, attempts to reify subjects in an ostensibly stable equanimous narrative. On the surface, nation writing becomes a logical step forward in a road paved by successful revolutions. The narratives that emerge from post-independence movements, are sewn with the apparent contradiction from: the philosophies of Europe and the terrain of the Americas; the struggle and coexistence between the politics of centralist and federalist agendas, and the unlikely syncretism of romanticism and rationalism. This struggle is acted out in the pages of *Jicoténcal*, a divisive dredging up of the colonial trauma of the conquest. Rewritten as historically synchronous to the present, this re-telling is driven at the heart by the dynamic fictionalized account of the historical figure Doña Marina, Malinche. Juxtaposed with moral and political figures she defines the ideological borders of the new national landscape.

---

<sup>10</sup>White American born Europeans

### *The Creole Project of Writing the Nation*

At the end of the eighteenth century Latin America liberates itself economically from Spain, and intercolonial trade begins to flourish. Spain's trade agreements with France allow political and economic freedom to grow in the Americas, the legacy of which allows a wealthy, European, American born, landowning elite to become involved in financial speculation and trade agreements with other industrialized nations. The growing power of the Creole bourgeoisie and its ensuing independence is directly correlated to a growing industrialization directed by the economic forces of a globally expanding system of trade.

In the midst of Spanish political withdrawal, analogous to the idea of merit during the conquest, the Creole endeavors to justify personal wealth on the basis of managing land and trade. Benedict Anderson in his seminal work *Imagined Communities*, supports this assertion explaining, "evidence clearly suggests that leadership was held by substantial landowners, allied somewhat with a smaller number of merchants, and various types of professional (lawyers, military men, local and provincial functionaries)"(48). Bands of Creole functionaries begin to organize the seeds of nationalism, a project with the conspicuous aim of securing economic and political power. In the specific case of Mexican Independence the concurrent "liberalization of trade and colonization policies launched a new *entrada* (incursion), of single males-especially of Euro-American entrepreneurs, merchants, traders, and trappers" (Castañeda 85). Ultimately dominating the post-independence era, the political and economic apparatuses contribute to an environment of seemingly innate stabilizing national ideologies.

This struggle for a a national identity preempts the liberation of the American colonies' new found freedom. Amid an ensuing series of bourgeois revolutions, fledgling national

identities begin to materialize, identities that are reinforced by the political and economic solidarity of a Creole bourgeoisie group, that as Anderson argues, become invested in *writing the nation*. Latin American leadership and the academies, in an attempt to distance themselves from Spain, look to France, Great Britain, and the United States politically, economically, and ideologically. The Creole envisioned independent nations align themselves politically with their vested economic interest in industrialized nations, eventually supplanting the Spanish as a trade venue. Simultaneously they look to the philosophies of Jean Jacques, Rousseau, Locke, Hobbes, Montesquieu, and their contemporaries. These ever present influences in the American project for independence, begin to centralize collective beliefs and solidify the nation and the continent as a forcible ideological assembly. Locally “administrative units,” set up by Spain, enlist Creoles, “on the basis of talent rather than birth” (Anderson 56). This bourgeois meritocracy was limited both geographically and politically for the Creole, “his lateral movement was as cramped as his vertical ascent” (Anderson 57). Despite and because of this cramped political geography, the Creole finds “a sense of fellowship...on the shared fatality of trans-Atlantic birth,” demonstrating simultaneously a movement to centralize local and national power. (Anderson 57).

Coterminous to this political and economic agenda is the transnational project of writing a nation uniquely American. Creole intellectual Andrés Bello, born in Venezuelan enters the Chilean leadership in 1829 at the height of the Independence movement throughout the Americas. A man of letters, Bello was invested in transforming the education system in Chile into what Rama terms the *ciudad letrada*. Bello placed importance on formulating an education “that gave importance to the study of the past, by teaching directly and indirectly the first generation of Chilean and Argentinian amateur historians, by initiating public debates on how to



write the history of Chile and by implication of the newly independent Hispanic American nations” (Macintyre and Woolf 467)

Bello sets out to write history for a continent that, in the mind of transplanted Europeans, was essentially starting *ab initio*. Though it was the goal of these intellectuals to distinguish themselves from their ancestral homeland, they continue to embrace European ideological principles. In his work, Andrés Bello, taking cues from theorists like Rousseau, sees the act of writing history as a political call to action, “[t]oca a nosotros formarla por el único proceder legítimo, que es la inducción sintética” (12). In *Modo de escribir la historia*, Bello argues that the philosophy of Europe should serve as, “un modelo, una guía, un método,” but alone is not sufficient for writing a uniquely American history (12). The philosophies, though the sound basis of “operar una revolución en los espíritus y en el Estado,” are “mucho menos para escribir la historia”(1). Embracing this bourgeois view of the subject par excellence, as posited by philosophers like Rousseau, the Creole views this method as “a style adapted to all nations, or rather forgetting time and place” presupposing “the whole human race for audience” (Rousseau 2).

The syncretic product of Rousseauian philosophy and English empiricism in the context of Latin America becomes the conscious attempt to define a uniquely national subject. Bello himself describes this process as: “la exposición de los hechos y resultados generales,” which, “podría dar una especie de vida histórica a las masas de hombres como a los personajes individuales y que de esta manera en el destino político de las naciones hallaríamos algo de quel interés humano que inspiran involuntariamente los pormenores ingenuos de las vicisitudes de fortuna y las aventuras de un solo hombre”(2). Despite embracing this philosophy, the European

view of Latin America is problematic for the Creole national project. Though ideologically promoting the doctrine of free will, Rousseau describes the Americas as, the “most savage of nations,” which problematically equates American born Creoles with “the savages of America,” who Rousseau describes as, “dogs who lack foresight” (4-6). The philosophy of romanticism which proved problematic in its hierarchal view is supplemented by an empiricist historical approach to categorizing and essentializing the Americas.

Philosophies of Europe, while useful as a basis for the post-revolutionary political void, are nonetheless, not completely applicable to the Latin American national project. “[L]a filosofía general de la historia” argues Bello, “no puede conducirnos a la filosofía particular de la historia de un pueblo” (10). Though this approach was an attempt to differentiate and elevate the Americas, it ironically allowed Creole intellectuals to apply internally the same dichotomy of the artful European and the noble savage. Bello argues that the laws and principles of humanity are influenced by the spacial specification, illustrating: “¿De qué hubiera servido toda la ciencia de los europeos para darles a conocer, sin la observación directa, la distribución de nuestros montes, valles y aguas, las formas de la vegetación chilena, las facciones del araucano o del pehuenche? De muy poco, sin duda” (10-11). Bello essentializes what is strictly American or Chilean reifying the “araucano” or “pehuenche” as a national commodity, as one would a plant or a river. Simultaneously Bello collectivizes the hierarchy of its citizens and objectifies its people.

Before the conquest (1492), Miguel León Portilla in his study of pre-Columbian history in *Endangered Cultures*, states that the central region of Mexico, Gulf, Pacific, Oaxacan, and the Mayan region “were in possession of essentially one culture which they had developed over several thousand years” (97). Though these societies thrived many years preceding the conquest,

it is unlikely these cultures were hegemonic, though free of the destruction wrought by colonialism, or what León Portilla calls, “indescribable anguish” of cultural trauma (99). Spanish aspects of society took over indigenous ones, bestowing a cultural *mestizaje*, thus dividing society further into subjects of Creole, *mestizaje*, and indigenous. León Portilla describes the indigenous situation in pre-Revolutionary Mexico where their “social function was to serve, as cheap manual labor in conditions very similar to those of slavery” (114). The recuperation of a romanticized identity was a superficial and idealized creation of Creoles and later mestizos, not the indigenous themselves. Martin Lienhard in his book, *La voz y su huella: escritura conflictiva étnico-social en América Latina 1492-1988*, evinces this argument: “‘La independencia’, por ejemplo, no es un momento decisivo para la historia de las relaciones étnico-sociales; la consolidación de la República, en cambio, sí lo es, pero en un sentido negativo: es el momento de mayor ofensiva contra las comunidades indígenas tradicionales y su economía de autoabastecimiento” (56).

In an effort to wave the banner of national pride and assert independence, intellectuals like Bello attach themselves to the “tradiciones de las poblaciones menos conocidas y las antiguas poesías populares...muchas indicaciones acerca del modo de existencia, los sentimientos e ideas de los hombres en los tiempos y lugares a que trasporto al lector” (2). Similarly, novels like *Jicoténcal*, that emerge post-Independence, exemplify the type of fetishization proposed by Bello, as a signifier of national spirit. The characters of *Jicoténcal*, the Tlascalans, the Cempoalans, the Guazacoalcoans, the Tabascans, the Aztecs, and the Spanish conquistadors though historically disconnected from the post-Independence moment, maneuver eternally. Fixing the present moment to the past, American intellectuals begin to re-write history in, what

Walter Benjamin describes as Messianic time. Anderson argues that this view underscores the “idea of a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogenous, empty time.” The fabricated, unifying ideologies become precursors, acting as “a precise analogue of the idea of the nation, which is also conceived as a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history” (26).

Narrative form aids in the smooth temporal transition. According to Bello it is the duty of the historian to unite the realism of facts with the elevating effect of romanticism to realize the national project of the Creole intellectual. Though Bello is theorizing to unify a uniquely American history by homogenizing time, it essentially acts as the vehicle to silence “las disonancias que resultarían de fragmentos de crónicas” that he strives to avoid (Bello 2). The importance of facts, something that Bello emphasizes, is only paralleled by their presentation. Facts are swiftly transformed into ideology through narrative presentation, an act which impacts the constituents, “through a sociological landscape of fixity that fuses the world inside the novel with the world outside” (Anderson 30). Bello reinforces that the untold history of the many must be written. The novel, in realizing this project, rewrites the subject both politically and ideologically. Often blending realism and romanticism, *Americanismo* is supported by the fixed landscape where the moment of independence is temporally conflated with that of the conquest. Bello, as a Creole bourgeois voice writing the nation, explains the importance of distinguishing the national purpose of philosophy and history: “no es otra cosa que la ciencia de las leyes morales y de las leyes sociales, independientemente de las influencias locales y temporales, y como manifestaciones necesarias de la íntima naturaleza del hombre. La otra es, comparativamente hablando, una ciencia concreta, que de los hechos de una raza, de un pueblo,

de una época, deduce el espíritu peculiar de esa raza, de ese pueblo, de esa época; no de otro modo que de los hechos” (3). The bourgeoisie strives to maintain the philosophies that universalize “la íntima naturaleza del hombre,” as “el espíritu peculiar de esa raza,” while looking to realism to chronicle the specific case, “los hechos de la raza,” of the Americas. Narrative is meant to clarify rather than obscure despite succeeding in the later. While Bello and other Creole bourgeoisie look to France for the romantic philosophies of the individual and freedom, they look to England and the U.S. for the empiricist view of history. These competing epistemologies coexist, becoming the norm for *Americanismo* and American literature of the nineteenth century.

The primacy of capitalism, what Walter Benjamin coins the *Age of Mechanical Production*, becomes a defining ingredient in fixing this solid community. While the imperialist age of conquest was impelled by public and private speculation in the New World, the colonial age is driven by exchange. It is the exchange of wealth through trade, and the exchange of ideas through the explosion of the press that allows for what Anderson calls the “simultaneity of ideas.” The printing technology, which allows for a monoculturalist Creole bourgeoisie, simultaneously becomes a vehicle for the dissemination of ideology. This increasingly hegemonic machine which is capable of fixing not only the vernacular of the printed word, but also the language of ideology, creates the appearance of shared experience, history, political agenda, or a national symbol.

Prompted by the search for a national identity capable of uniting the Creole bourgeoisie economically and politically across an unlikely geography, would-be nations throughout Latin America engage in the act of simultaneously exalting, unifying and polarizing symbols. Within

this framework, the advent of a sentimental, historical novel like *Jicoténcal* is appropriately anticipated. Its discovery also makes it the first indigenous novel produced in the new world, and one of the first Hispanic literary works produced in United States (*Jicoténcal* xv-xxxvi). The novel *Jicoténcal*, a story of the Tlascalan republic's struggle to survive the domination of both Aztec monarchic rule and colonial destruction, is published in Philadelphia, a place where "populations were relatively linked by print as well as commerce" (Anderson 64). In 1826, at the dawn of Independence throughout Latin America, *Jicoténcal*, an anonymously authored novel appears. This work has been attributed by many to Felix Varela, a Cuban national living in the United States, though the authorship of and the impact of the text is debated. Cuban poet José María Heredia, who worked with Varela, is also cited by some as a possible source (xvii). In regards to authorship of the text, Luis Leal and Rodolfo J. Cortina in the introduction of *Jicoténcal* write, "La obra apareció en Filadelfia en 1826 en forma anónima y aunque se hayan limitado los críticos a discutir si el autor es español o hispanoamericano, no se ha propuesto más que un solo nombre, el de Felix Varela" (xv). Regardless of authorship, the simultaneity of ideas circulating abroad become internalized in some of the earliest national literatures.

Sandra Cypress, in her book *La Malinche in Mexican Literature: From History to Myth*, cites Luis Leal, who concludes that, because of the style of the text, Mexican authorship is ruled out. Despite this, Cypress explains, "it is possible to prove the work was well known in Mexico and a source of inspiration for subsequent works on the conquest theme." She provides as evidence the following plays: José María Moreno y Buenvecino's *Xicoténcal* (1828), Ignacio Torres Arroyo's *Teutila* (1828), and José María Mangino's *Xicoténcal* (1829) (43-44). Post-Independence literature becomes the stage for acting out and even re-imagining the complex web

of economic, political, and socio-sexual factors of emerging nations. The literary narrative, a locus of production and fixity for the symbols capable of representing the totality of nation, transforms figures like Malinche from historical to literary, pivotal symbols, myths, and national allegories. Malinche, through literature, dawns as a national symbol and myth of feminine traitorous infamy, providing the ontological cliff and mirror for normalcy that shapes a national space of the bourgeoisie. *Conquistadores* and their narratives are replaced and expounded upon by conterminous political writers triggered by Independence movements throughout the Americas. Rapid newspaper and press expansion, an impacting factor arguably analogous to the impact of the printing press during the age of exploration, intersect with emergent capitalism in the Americas and the Creole attempt to control the political and economic legacy. Beyond the fractured and segmented existence, induced by capitalist relations of production, lies the pressing socio-sexual reality of the indigenous, female subject. The falsity of progressive time demonstrates that nation is nothing more than borders of hegemony, an imaginary shared experience which strives to exist both in spite of and because of the legacy of slavery, disenfranchisement of the indigenous majority, and female subjugation. On the contrary, as Anderson and others argue, “*fear* of ‘lower-class’ political mobilizations: to wit, Indian or Negro-slave uprisings” remained a “key factor initially driving independence” (48). What on the surface appears to be a positive exaltation of the American revolutionary spirit are in reality cloaked mechanisms of moral normative and ideological control. Intimating ideological unity the character of Xicoténcal the elder advises, “cuando trata de la salud de la patria todos los demás afectos deben callarse” (Varela 9). The disingenuousness of Creole independence proves not to be a genuine independence, but rather one that reinforces the homogenizing ideologies

engendered by colonialism, and glosses over the gradients of difference in Latin America versus Europe.

The narrative of the post-Independence moment is acted out as the trauma of the conquest. Intellectuals who invest in writing the nations, emphasize the need to unite the temporal and spacial transcultural project, “que se le reproduzca y se le explique la existencia de las naciones en sus diversas épocas” (Bello 1). This project of writing the history and writing the foundations of the nation concurrently, employ facts as verisimilitude. As Bello illustrates: “[n]o he consultado nada más que los documentos y los textos originales, sea para individualizar la varias circunstancias de la narrativa para caracterizar las personas y las poblaciones que figuran en ella” (2). Documents of historiography are presented as a national, historical truth. This project to write Latin America’s history is demonstrated in the novel *Jicoténcal*, which closely approaches a narrative that adheres to “al lenguaje de los historiadores antiguos, contemporáneos de los hechos o cercanos a ellos,” including “reproduciendo los rasgos originales” (Bello 2).

Despite its discernible bias, *Jicoténcal* clearly presents itself with a verisimilitude through its attempt to be faithful to the historical documents of Antonio de Solís, whose prose is interwoven directly into the story and narration. In addition to the direct integration of Solís’ text, the narrative is re woven with summarized testimonies of the conquest. These tropes allow for Malinche’s resurrection as a historical figure to be seamlessly manipulated. The novel pretends to offer the truth about the players of the conquest, and here Malinche’s literary and historical representations are purposively conflated. Sandra Messenger Cypress, a forerunner of Malinche scholarship, explains in her book, *La Malinche in Mexican Literature*, that during the Mexican post-independence, political instability was “attributable to the influence of malignant foreign



interference, [and] the scapegoat theory approached by Edmundo O’Gorman in his discussion of meta-historical aspects of Mexican historiography. The pattern of identifying a scapegoat to blame for the sociopolitical problems of the country is clearly manifest in *Xicoténcal*...” In this case Malinche is chosen as the scapegoat for the fall of the pre-Hispanic, “Republican Amerindians” (43). Malinche acts as the symbol of “la traición, de la vendepatria...de la entrega, la madre violada del primer mestizo mexicano” (Messinger Cypress 161). Through Malinche, the social-sexual becomes the site of battle as a nation struggles to define itself. The diverse cultural landscape is called to unite in its enmity for Malinche. In *Jicoténcal*’s text the congress awakens these concerns affirming that: “[n]o puedo negaros que me ha puesto en gran cuidado lo que conforman estas señas con las de esos extranjeros que tenéis en vuestra vecinidad” (Varela 7).

The political, economic, and moral questions being pondered by the Creole elites are parceled out in the pages of *Jicoténcal*, where dynamics of royalist and republicans, federalists and centralists, are ultimately defined through the lens of morality. Political ramifications spurred by the battle of legitimizing fledgling governments in the midst of a search for identity, lead to a tension between transnational and national projects among Creole elites as they search for order and stability. Reminiscent of Bello, the text unites political, ideological, and transhistorical notions of past and present to theorize the current national climate: “[t]odas las naciones han tenido épocas de gloria y envilecimiento, y algunas veces han pasado de uno a otro de estos extremos con tanta rapidez que al volver una página de su historia le parece al lector que le habla de otro siglo y de otro pueblo. El filósofo que examina con imparcialidad estos grandes sucesos encuentra su causa en el influjo que ejercen sobre los pueblos las virtudes o los vicios” (Varela 49). Latin America, a budding capitalist transnational project at the inception of

its independence movement is defined by the political schism between the Creole bourgeoisie of the colonial autocracy and the absolutists.

Many post-independence nations devoid of centralized political control were subject to inflamed rivalries. Often these nations found themselves in an, “alternating grand stretch and particularistic localism” (Anderson 62). *Jicoténcal* opens as a historical analogue: “[e]staba escrita en el libro fatal del destino la caída del grande imperio de Motezuma, bajo cuyas ruinas debían sepultarse la república de Tlascala y otros gobiernos de una hermosa parte de la América” (3). As a woman with conflicted alliances, Malinche represents a political schism inherent to the conflict of patriots and royalists outfitted by Americans on both sides. The moralism of the text which vilifies her, reinforces the socio-sexual project of unifying geographical barriers within and among countries. Historically transplanting the reader in the urgency of the conquest, *Jicoténcal* reminds the reader that the, “pasiones presidieron en el consejo de la nación y los tlascaltecas fueron al fin víctimas de su discordia” (5). This overarching transnational political agenda and call for unity foment an already existent conflict between federalist and centralist ideologies, what Anderson calls, a “doubleness in early Spanish-American nationalism.” Manufactured to encompass this political schism, Malinche operates as an allegory for national duplicity.

The national subject is presented as an unhindered, individualistic, autonomous agent, the danger of which lies in the universalizing of persons both materially, socially, politically, and sexually unequal. The Creole writers, invested in the national narrative, make a conscious political attempt to unite a notion of progressive, empty time with political necessity. Point of view undergoes a dual metamorphosis as the story serves as an analogous cautionary tale for the

process of breaking with the colonial system, in which narrative lays out a meta-historical plan with fictional counterparts for post-Independence order and a roadmap for Latin American national identity. Realism which promotes the verisimilitude of history being told and retold, is the mouthpiece for the literary project of the liberal Creole, a socio-sexual, political agenda steeped in the ideology of morality. This factual style falsely chronicles and historicizes Malinche as a road map for moral reform, a characterization that contributes to her mythology. This fractured narrative is made whole by an attempt at historical verisimilitude and through the prophetic universalizing of philosophical truths. Nicos Poulantzas in his discussion of nationalism's ability to function as a class reifying force provides further evidence describing: "this need for unity is political and economic as well as ideological. The modern nation redefines 'inside' and 'outside' and imposes new 'historicity' of linear, progressive time to provide a goal and a meaning to human existence fractured and segmented by capitalist relations of production" (Resch 340).

The characters are created to concurrently Americanize and romanticize the Creole project, while creating a romanticized non-hierarchical societal view in *Jicoténcal*. The setting of the novel reflects this equalizing attempt narrating: "[l]os castillos, los torreones y los palacios no contrastaban con las chozas de los pobres, insultando pública y escandalosamente su miseria (Varela 4). This symbol of equality, is a clear centralist call to action for the geographically separate Americas, "un terreno desigual y montañoso," "situada sobre cuatro eminencias poco distantes unas de otras que se prolongaban de Oriente a Poniente," where "poblaciones separadas se comunicaban entre sí por diferentes calles de paredes gruesas, que les servían de murallas" (Varela 4). It brings the historical moment to a level of urgency by aligning it as an

allegory for conquest, while at the same time uniting the “espíritu nacional” of Latin American identity (Varela 5).

*Jicoténcal* is a blueprint for constructing what Anderson terms an intentional community. This transparent project of the Creole ruling class includes typical themes of populism and social utopianism, cornerstones of the ideological matrix of the petty bourgeoisie (Rodríguez 134). The city of Tlascala, and its countryside are described as a republican utopia where, “[l]as casas y demás edificios eran más sólidos que brillantes, y por todas partes se dejaba ver la igualdad que formaba el espíritu público del país” (Varela 4). The text describes Tlascala as a projected social utopia imagined as a nation with no exterior enemies, an endless food supply, the “[t]ierra de pan” (Varela 4). The government, a “república confederada” houses a balanced collective of a congress of elected members each representing a party of the republic. The executive power is described as a judicial system residing in districts or parties subject to congress (Varela 4). This anachronistic depiction of indigenous sixteenth century government intentionally unites it with the nineteenth century goals of Creole nationalism and political investment. The text alludes to the current divisions in the Americas as it describes a capital divided into four independent districts following the collapse of “un solo y poderoso cacique o rey,” that the “pueblo se sublevó contra los excesos de su autoridad” (Varela 4). *Jicoténcal* presents a world in which, the republic of Tlascala, if not for the consuming despotic effects of Moctezuma (Spanish rule) and the insatiable duplicity of Malinche’s sexual desire, (or independent American nations) would be an otherwise social utopia.

The Creole bourgeoisie novel, the stage for further entrenching the notion of social utopia, espouses the romantic exaltation of the soul. Taking its cues from the philosophy of

Romanticism and Rousseauian ideals, the bourgeoisie champions the idea of the social contract and the value of the common good. These ideals were linked to the nostalgic sentiment and the Chateaubriandian *vague des passions* which presupposed them as an innate human truth.

*Jicoténcal* presupposes a bourgeois sensibility which, manifested symbolically, further abstracts the soul from social, material reality. Juan Carlos Rodríguez, in his book, *Teoría e historia de la producción ideológica*, cites the tear and crying, “llanto, la imagen de las lágrimas,” as the symbolic epitome of sensibility; tears standing in as an allegory for the soul, “valor típico” in the petty-bourgeois imagination (133). The romantic novel, a work of bourgeois sensibility strives to relate the ideology of the social utopia and Rousseauian equanimity, while holding outsiders as the enemy of the state. Literature, a product not easily disambiguated from nations, becomes a tool and a product united in the ideological project of solidifying uniform identities. Concurrent to the ideological battle in the transition, a path is paved for the multiplying of bourgeoisie ideologies. While the bourgeoisie lobbies for political power with its newfound economic capabilities, the explosion of the periodical feeds this nascent bourgeoisie literature, an invaluable ideological product, a framework within which the newfound bourgeois ideology of social utopianism and sensibility can multiply.

*Jicoténcal* spends much of its time promoting and linking the greatness of a Tlascalan republican civilization prior to the conquest to that of the Creole national project in the nineteenth century as a way to differentiate the Americas from Spain. This contradicts the social reality of slavery and the mistreatment of indigenous people throughout Latin America. Indigenousness, purported as a national symbol, was fetishized and objectified (as seen in the emergence of interest in anthropology), though the socio-political and economic rights of

indigenous populations were not significantly addressed. The defining Creole political agenda of republicanism, rejecting oligarchic alliances, arguably reinforced the legacy of imperialism and colonialism, turning the political agenda into a legacy of conqueror.

### *Socio-sexual Symbols of National Identity*

Malinche as a national symbol appears on a trans-American stage in a narrative that effectively strives to aide in the process of forging boundaries and identities. Like the chroniclers of the conquest who engaged in the act of naming, defining, and narrating the unknown, Creole intellectuals must assert and justify their power before local and national arenas. Faced with the project of maintaining political and social moral order in the wake of new found independence, the Latin American bourgeoisie grasp for concrete defining symbols. The historical novel, *Jicoténcal*, as a platform of civic morality, spotlights Malinche or Doña Marina. Malinche's move from historical to literary manifestation aids in her mythic creation. Doña Marina is unique in that she stands both inside and outside of the hegemonic project of Creole nationalism as woman and Indian, a factor central to defining the morality of the characters and events throughout the novel. She is faced with the seemingly moral dilemma of whether to embrace the royalist project or align herself with the moral stabilizing forces necessary for the transnational project. The historiography of Malinche offers the Creole writer the opportunity to manipulate history and present the ideology of *Americanismo* and the conqueror/conquered dichotomy with little contradiction. Malinche, the romanticized Amerindian female who betrays the American

spirit in favor of colonialism, is mythicized as a counterpoint for the normative model of good behavior used to delineate American identity.

The female indigenous woman is bifurcated as ideal or abject, an ideological tool used to delineate the normalcy of a burgeoning class. Malinche, or Marina is associated with *patrodidio*, while Teutila is associated with patriotism, a “faithful patriot of the American cause” by refusing to become what Marina has become, “Europeanized” (Cypress 161). An important facet of Malinche’s Europeanization is her duality and two-faced nature. The rigid dichotomy of female models, on a national scale, asks women to choose between the libidinous greed of a treacherous whore in Malinche, and the national sacrifice of noble stoicism of Teutila. The extreme divisions of Amerindian characters as abject monster or noble savage in *Jicoténcal* is a response to racialized and sexualized manifestations of women. Sexual fidelity, a noble spirit, and sacrifice for the nation function as the indicators of morality. The character of Teutila is held to the highest standard, while Malinche’s libidinal greed serves as an allegory for the dangers of colonial greed. The female, inscribed by pattern and ideological reproduction via the archetype, serves as the material recognition of invented images, a mask that women are forced to wear in their attempts to pass for citizens.

As an archetype, Malinche serves as a foil to the republic. The novel, a product of liberal republicanism, is a clear enemy of the Spanish and to a lesser extent, the Aztecs who serve as an allegory for monarchic forms of government. However, as Sandra Cypress illustrates, the book’s narration focuses on the problematic disintegration of nationhood as it is exemplified by the Tlaxcalans, not only through the opposing forms of government (republican versus monarchic), but also through the concepts of “patriotism and what he [the narrator] calls patricidio-muder of

the patria or nation” (45). Malinche as a national traitor in *Jicoténcal*, is an attempt to concretely define the abstract idea of national loyalty. This indigenous woman, romanticized and conflated with the American, is simultaneously presented as a nationally consolidating and alienating force. Malinche is a cautionary tale that demonstrates how greed: libidinally, politically, and monetarily, endanger national integrity. Morality dominates the myth that exiles Malinche, while creating a defining space for the bourgeois subject; in other words, a subject outside the Spanish rule or authority.

Malinche and Cortés embody the American and Spanish socio-sexual extremes played by the male and female abject. Both characters represent the ultimate greed libidinally and economically as they act out against the common good for their own personal gain. Cortés exists in the text as a means to represent the royalist threat to the nation economically and politically, while Malinche represents the threat to nationalism morally and ideologically. Malinche embodies the female subject defined by openness, or sexual looseness; the site of moral, spiritual, and national contamination. For the male subject, it is defined as the gross domination of physical, sexual, and monetary violence. Though both defy morality, equanimity, and republican ideals, Malinche is equated with corruption of character and juxtaposed with the highest symbols of piety, the Virgin and the cross. She manifests as a Janus-like figure in the literary narrative, “[e]sta astuta sierpe” (36).

It is significant to remember that in its attempt to provide a framework for the uniquely American, *Jicoténcal* employs the imperialist chronicles of conquerors as the standard of fact, washing over all obvious contradictions. *Jicoténcal* mixes a faithful summary and a distortion of Bernal Díaz’s textualization of Malinche. Characters of the novel *Jicoténcal* function as active



agents in the post-Independent text, an imagining that ultimately inaugurates Malinche as an active agent of betrayal, as if resurrected from a long sleep:

Doña Marina era una americana, natural de Guazacoalco, que, después de varios accidentes de fortuna, vino a ser esclava del cacique de Tabasco. Este la pasó al dominio de Hernán Cortés, después de la sumisión de su país, con otras esclavas que le presentó de regalo. Los buenos talentos y las gracias de esta esclava llamaron la atención de su amo, el que, después de haberla hecho bautizar con el nombre de Marina, puso en ella su amor y su confianza, de manera que en pocos días pasó de su esclava a su concubina y confidente. Este último oficio lo desempeñó con grandes ventajas para Hernán Cortés; pues, no sospechando en ella los naturales las artes y el dolo de los europeos, supo emplear con más efecto la corrupción y la intriga, en que hizo grandes progresos (32).

This interpretation of Malinche's already-second hand story, is steeped in the tropes of romanticism where "las artes y el dolo de los europeos" or "la corrupción y la intriga," are associated with the ills of civilization and Europe by extension. Malinche, baptized as a European, doña Marina, is associated with deceit, something the text describes as "un arte desconocido en estos climas" of Tlascal (Varela 10). The ideal of the pure, uncorrupted civilization, embodied in the Tlascalan utopia and the characters of Jicoténcal and Teutila is contrasted with Malinche, the noble savage corrupted by civilization. Teutila diametrically opposes Malinche as unadulterated virtue. This virtue is closely aligned with national fidelity, and what Octavio Paz would later coin "impassive stoicism." Teutila is described as possessing "unos sentimientos tan puros y tan decididos sobre la práctica de esta virtud, como eran de esperar de un alma sencilla, no corrompida por las artes de la civilización" (14). Physically she is equated with classic beauty, "de extraordinaria hermosura...inmóvil como una estatua" (15). In her first interaction with Cortés, she is directly contrasted with Malinche, "[a] este precio no habrá condiciones duras para el enemigo que provocas, como no sean las que manchen su honor o las que venden a su patria" (29). The act of "manchar su honor" is strongly associated with

virginity. A “pajarillo en su jaula,” Teutila sustains a drawn out meeting with Cortés, which means jumping from a window to save her honor (29). This rewriting of an already ideologically adulterated history neatly coalesces within the text the history of several centuries. The passage glosses over both Malinche as indigenous at the outset, calling her “americana,” a description both false and anachronistic. A romantic notion of Malinche as an individualized free subject permeates this historical retelling.

Within this retelling Marina arrives at her circumstances, with the omission of the chroniclers’ description of women as sexual commodities. Rather than contextualize her commodification, he says, “pasó al dominio de Hernán Cortés.” In the text of Díaz del Castillo, she is gifted by the Tabascans like chattel among the long list of local commodities:

un presente de oro, que fuéron quatro diademas, y unas lagartijas, y dos omo perillos y ojeras, y cinco anades, y dos figuras de caras de Indios, y dos suelas de oro, como de sus cotoras, y otras cosillas de poco valor, que yo no me acuerdo qué tanto valia, y, truxéron mantas de las que ellos traian y hacian, que son muy bastas: porque ya habrán oido decor los que tienen noticia en aquella tierra sino de poco valor, y no fué nada todo este presente en comparación de veinte mugeres, y entre ellas unas muy excelente muger, que se dixo Doña Marina, que así se llamó despues de vuelta Christiana... Cortés recibió aquel presente con alegría [sic] (147-8)

This discernible omission is vital to Malinche’s mythic reconstruction. It exemplifies how evasion and historical manipulation of time further weave a fabrication and compilation of myth. Through the force of further historical manipulation in the novel, social reality becomes an accident of her fortune. Instead, Malinche is historicized through one woman’s predestined, personal fate. Ironically, despite being presented as possessing personal agency, Malinche is painted here as the innately damned, an eternal traitor like Judas, fated to betrayal.

Though the information being conveyed closely model that of Bernal Díaz, the slippery prose circumvents her commodification discussed earlier. Malinche, as described by Díaz del Castillo, is passed among many men before finally arriving in the hands of Cortés: “Y Cortés las repartió á cada Capitan la suya, y á esta Doña Marina, como era de buen parecer, y entremetida y desenvuelta, dió á Alonso Puertocarrero, que ya he dicho otra vez, que era muy buen Caballero, primo del Conde de Medellin: y deque fué á Castilla el Puertocarrero, estuvo la Doña Marina con Cortés, y della hubo un hijo, que se dixo Don Martin Cortés [sic]” (151). Though he does describe Malinche as “entremetida y desenvuelta,” Díaz del Castillo also demonstrates that it was commonplace for Amerindian women to be passed split up and passed around like found treasure. Díaz del Castillo in his description of Malinche, as noted earlier, mentions that she arrives in a group of twenty women but that, “las otras mugeres no me acuerdo bien de todos sus nombres, y no hace al caso nombrar algunas [sic]” (151). These women who were not linked to Cortés served the sole purpose of sexual slaves, and therefore their identity was of no importance. They remain nameless as, “la suya.” What is euphemised by the *Jicoténcal* as “varios accidentes of fortuna” is, in reality, a life spent in sexual slavery. Malinche, according to the Díaz de Castillo, has also already been gifted twice before falling into the hands of the Spaniards, first by her mother and stepfather, “diéron de noche la niña á unos Indios de Xicalango,” and then from Xicalango to Tabasco and from Tabasco to Cortés “los de Xicalango la diéron de Tabasco, y los de Tabasco á Cortés [sic]” (155). *Jicoténcal* glosses over and even dismisses the issue of forced sexual slavery for the female populace. Instead the work posits that Malinche moves from slave to concubine to confidant in the span of a few days, as if to say that through her sexual prowess she captivated Cortés. This mythology being spun is one that puts the

victim in the role of perpetrator. The female is not just complicit victim, but the perpetrator of the act. This statement assumes that her situation was unusual or limited to a few women. The passage further romanticizes her subjugation, in that it only lasted a few days. She quickly moves from concubine to equal. The narrative uses her talents and charms to shape her portrayal as a free subject, capable of acting. The juxtaposition of the noble savage and the corrupting artifice enters the female narrative, a synecdochic dichotomy of female morality drawn out by repetition throughout the text.

Malinche is, additionally, completely stripped of her royalty in the novel. She is simply “una americana, natural de Guazacoalco.” Bernal Díaz del Castillo, however, states, “Doña Marina, como desde su niñez fué gran señora de pueblos y vasallos; y es desta manera: que su padre y su madre eran Señores y Caciques de un pueblo que se dice Painala, y tenia otros pueblos sujetos á él obra de ocho leguas de la Villa de Guacacualco” [sic] (Díaz del Castillo 155). The chronicles recount Guazacoalco as one under the reign of Painala, and Malinche as royal. *Jicoténcal* strives to disassociate Malinche from royalty and the romanticized ideal of indigenous culture as it converts her from Díaz del Castillo’s royalty from Painala to americana from Guazacoalco. Ironically, Malinche’s royalty is modeled in her foil, the character of Teutila, “de continente noble” (Varela 14). Teutila recounts in the novel: “[yo] soy Teutila, hija de Ocambo, que fue cacique de Zocothlán y de Ozimba, hermana de Teutile, general de los ejércitos de Motezuma, del que yo tomé mi nombre. Mi nación ha deseado siempre la alianza con los tlascaltecas, porque casi nos son insoportables las exacciones y tributos con que nos grava el gobierno de Motezuma” (Varela 18). While gracing Teutila with royal status, he distances her from the corruption of Motezuma’s government and by extension the royalist project. Teutila, a

slave of the tlascaltecas, is a picture of virtue and virginity. In one instance she is approached by Spaniards, Diego de Ordaz and Bartolomé de Olmedo who arrive at “una gruta formada por la hendidura de unos peñascos.” Her stoic and beautiful archetypal form is described as “una extraordinaria hermosura, que apoyada una mano sobre su arco, los esperaba inmóvil como una estatua” (Varela 14). Though she is alone, she intimates it is the Spaniards who should fear her as she “también haberme defendido aquí, impidiendo que os acercaseis” (Varela14). Unlike Malinche, Teutila represents the noble, impenetrable, American.

“Esta artificiosa mujer,” Malinche uses her duplicity to actively engage in betrayal throughout *Jicoténcal* (Varela 41). Her artifice and treachery place her at the lowest levels of morality. Hyperbolically positioned below the conquistadors, the text entreats, “¿Es posible tanta perfidia, y tanta doblez, y tanta falsedad, y tanto arte, y tanta infamia? Esa americana indígena, hija espúrea de estas sencillas regiones, mil veces más detestable que sus corruptores” (Varela 58). Her first act of betrayal portrayed in the novel is toward her moral antipode, Teutila. Upon Cortés’ orders, Marina is charged with gaining Teutila’s confidence, which she does successfully. Teutila is described as falling into, “las redes de su astuta y falsa amiga”(Varela 32). In juggling a sustained betrayal with Teutila, Marina meanwhile boldly attempts to seduce Diego de Ordaz on multiple occasions. One rendezvous with Ordaz, tantamount to a forcible violation, describes Marina locking Ordaz in a dark room: “conduce así sorprendido a Ordaz un pequeño aposento que apenas tenía más que una cama, y lo cierra con llave”(Varela 41). Malinche’s seduction of Diego de Ordaz a “pajarillo que había cogido en su red” is a scene that significantly contributes to Malinche’s characterization as a site of moral and national corruption (Varela 42). The consummation of the native woman and the male foreigner

through seduction designs a socio-sexual paradigm that simultaneously vilifies the indigenous Malinche and victimizes the male foreigner Ordaz. The text accomplishes this not solely through the force of the plot, but by employing standard romantic tropes like the caged bird, something usually reserved for female characters. Ordaz as the netted bird is envisaged as a noble spirit trapped within a corporeal “red” which morally defies him despite the depth of his reason or the purity of his soul. The “honrado Ordaz” is awakened from his seduction literally saturated in the very shame of the sexual act: “vino a sacar al honrado Ordaz de su letargo para cubrirlo de vergüenza.” Malinche’s licentious, corrupt mesmerizing powers, however, allow Ordaz, to emerge cleanly from the ordeal as the victim of “tardo desengaño” (Varela 42).

Later in the text Marina approaches a moral low as she entraps the most noble of the Americans, Jicoténcal. He starts asking her, “¿Eres -le dijo él- todavía americana?” Has her “amor patrio” suffered, “corrompido y contaminado las artes mágicas” (Varela 53). Malinche responds with the same disingenuousness, “el destino me ha hecho su esclava, pero mi razón los conoce y mi corazón los detesta. ¡Infeliz de mí! ¿Qué quieres que haga sin apoyo, sin defensores, sin amigos, sin parientes, sola y abandonada de todo el mundo?” (Varela 53). Through these repeated episodes of treachery, *Jicoténcal* denies the socio-sexual reality of women of the conquest. In his compassion, Jicoténcal, the symbol of Americanism and a native uncorrupted by the artifice of Europeans, falls victim to Marina’s treacherousness, “el bravo tlascalteca cayó poco a poco en las redes de su astuta y hábil compatriota. En una palabra: sin dejar de amar a Teutila, se enamoró de las gracias con que doña Marina se había embellecido en su trato con los europeos, y hablando con ésta de la otra, se explayaba su pasión a las dos” (Varela 53). Malinche in her salacious triumph is completely conscious of her acts, “[b]ien pronto conoció doña Marina

su conquista” (Varela 53). She is posited as the real conqueror, the lecherous conqueror of pure national ideals and morality.

Diego de Ordaz, despite his role as an invading Spanish conqueror, takes moral rank well above Malinche. Ordaz is introduced into the novel in a scene where Malinche professes her love to him. In her attempt, she betrays Cortés as well; she pleads that she is: “esclava y no amante de Hernán Cortés, aborrecía su soberbia dominación; que su afecto no había podido resistir al mérito y prendas de un hombre tan honrado como Ordáz; que si ella fuera libre, no dudaría un momento en la elección y abandonaría al instante a su opresor, para darse toda entera a sus inclinaciones; pero que no pudiendo en su condición de esclava obrar conforme a su libre voluntad, quería al menos robar a su tirano los instantes que pudiese, vengándose así de su opresión” (Varela 34). In contrast to Teutila, a slave who is imprisoned by Cortés, Marina is portrayed as a self-serving, duplicitous, manipulative agent. This passage, intended to be lies from Malinche’s own mouth, comments on her role in the conquest. When she says she is oppressed, a slave, lacking free will, there is the litotic understanding that she is indeed free, wielding political power, as an active agent of her own free will. Ordaz, the Spanish soldier who she prays upon, is on the contrary, honest and virtuous. Ordaz, “el honrado español,” characterized for his, “modestia,” and who is “detenido” (Varela 34), falls in love with the purity of Teutila. The Spanish invader, “Diego de Ordáz será siempre honrado” (Varela 34). Ordaz, a foreign invader occupies a moral station well above Doña Marina, described as “noblemente altivo por carácter y austero por educación, era justo y recto” (Varela 14), loyal to God and country.

In contrast with Doña Marina, even the leader of the conquerors, Cortés, lacks the level of moral responsibility as the enemy and source of colonial trauma. Despite his acts of greed and violence, he falls short of the moral poverty displayed by Malinche. Portrayed and romanticized with the extreme nature of the classic Byronic hero, he is incapable of self-control and abstention in his quest for wealth and adventure, Cortés is exonerated from fault. Closely following Gómara's description of Cortés, the text describes him as:

un joven de gallarda presencia, de talentos muy despejados y de un valor singular. Nació en Medellín, provincia de Extremadura. Dedicado a las letras, la impaciencia natural de su genio le hizo abandonar esta carrera por la de las armas, y en el año de 1540 se embarcó para Santo Domingo, recomendado a su gobernador. Mas la tranquila serguridad en que estaba la isla no convenía a su carácter, y pasó a Cuba dónde todavía estaba la gente en armas. Allí adquirió la opinión de un soldado valiente y de un hombre de consejo prudente y sólido; pero su grande reputación se fundó en su generosidad y en su carácter amable [sic] (Varela 26).<sup>11</sup>

In contrast to the bravery, genius, and talents of Cortés are his libidinous appetites and thirst for wealth. Despite his solid character, Cortés is jailed for fear of sexual impudent behavior leading up to the wedding of the “distinguished,” doña Suárez de Pacheco, another remodeling of accounts given in Díaz del Castillo's *La Historia verdadera de la conquista de España* (Varela 26). Cortés is defined more by largess of character than man of iniquity with a “gentileza de su persona” who spends freely on the “preparativos de su empresa” (Varela 27). So strong is Cortés “grande ambición” that he creates problems with Velázquez who seeks to strip him of his “capitanía general” (Varela 27). His “genio fecundo en recursos” is only abated by his passion (Varela 28). Omission of a scathing redressing of Cortés further crystalizes Doña Marina as the locus for immoral behavior. Following this logic, moreover, *Jicoténcal*, exonerates the conquistador and the Creole inheritors of colonial wealth.

---

<sup>11</sup> See pages 43-49 of Gómara's *Historia de la conquista de México*.



The novel then further conflates the idea of national identity with the symbol of the fragile female. This symbol, in other words the female subject, can be toppled or pulled down by the first imperious impostor of peremptory character willing to try. The Tlascalan republic is called an, “enemigo de la afeminación” (Varela 4). Whether through active or passive existence, the female subject is exposed as a national liability. “Los ejemplos enseñan mucho principalmente los que propenden a la licencia y por lo mismo debe ser tan circunspecto el que esté en situación de darlos” (Varela 12). Greed is juxtaposed with sexual behavior. The myth of sexual promiscuity, or “openness,” in conjunction with Malinche begins to take shape. The entire novel is an allegory to the mechanisms of social and sexual dominance that the Tlascalan (America) must ultimately escape. Most significantly, doña Marina’s characterization is the one retelling that varies greatly and negatively from the accounts of the chroniclers.

Ideas of nation and equality are masked in imagery that is simultaneously deeply rooted in the economic and socio-sexual realm. As the novel continues, the ideas of open and closed are reinforced as a narrative of national betrayal in the vernacular of morality. Cortés, having defeated Tabasco, due to divisions of loyalty to “la tiránica opresión de Motezuma,” burns his own boats. The meta-allegorical nature serves the didactic purpose of how nations open to infiltration can be brought to their knees. Although Cortés himself is willing to close the island and secure his troops, it is a forceful act and a means to the ends of personal glory and wealth. This is paralleled with Motezuma who is described as “la fama de sus inmensas riquezas eran el único objeto que llenaba su ambición y hacia el que encaminó todos sus planes” (Varela 28). Cortés who, burned his boats and upon arrival, is confronted with a stone wall, “la gran muralla de piedra que atravesaba un valle entre dos montes señalando y fortificando los límites de la

república de Tlascala, quedó Hernán Cortés admirado de la fortaleza y suntuosidad de la fábrica, que manifestaba el poder y prudencia de aquel Estado. Tan cierto es que el espíritu verdaderamente republicano jamás ha sido conquistador (Varela 28). In speaking with Cortés Jicoténcal asks that he “que respetes sus dioses, sus mujeres, y sus propiedades” (Varela 39). Women and property are linked to the wealth and health of nation. Jicoténcal the elder reaffirms the narrative of betrayal saying that the Tlascalans must, “reanimar las virtudes públicas y a paralizar la corrupción de los vendidos al interés particular” (Varela 49). Vice is the enemy of nation, “la corrupción y los vicios son la muerte de los estados, como las virtudes forman su vida y su vigor” (Varela 51). Vice is equated with vulnerability, “los pueblos cuya ignorancia los hace incapaces de mirar por sí mismos o cuyos vicios y envilecimientos los hacen insensibles a la opresión” (Varela 50). Malinche, as the character most associated with vice, becomes the space of national vulnerability. Female vice is ultimately a synecdochic representation of corrupt nations: “si la masa de la nación es justa y honrada, se desharán como el humo estos estorbos para su dicha; las diferencias producirán algunas escenas de movimiento, pero el primer peligro reunirá invenciblemente al pueblo que no se vea arrastrado por las pasiones y por los vicios a la parcialidades y a los bandos. Y si estos llegan a formarse, es una serial infalible de que la nación está más o menos enferma; pero no sucumbirá hasta después de haberse corrompido [sic]” (Varela 52).

*Jicoténcal* is one of the first literary textualizations of Malinche as a traitor, an image that Paz would later label in his essay, “Los Hijos de Malinche,” “La Chingada,” mother and traitor of Mexican national identity. Guillermo Castell-Feliú notes that, “La Malinche is perhaps the most interesting of all the characters in the entire work, for she alone seems

multidimensional” (3). He is right in that respect, because she is the object around which conflictive ideologies circle. He attributes this to the fact that she undergoes a spiritual transformation in the novel. She starts out as fueled by selfishness, lust and power, but after the birth of her “bastard son, however, awakens sentiments in her that seem, in part, to ennoble her and help her recognize her role in history as the symbolic mother of the nation” (4). This statement encapsulates how Malinche has been appropriated by critics. She conveniently fulfills the role that was written for her. Malinche is assigned a historical role de facto, woven with such verisimilitude that the myth becomes her legacy. After the birth of her son in the novel, Malinche undergoes a transformation. Her libidinal greed succumbs to maternal contentment and she takes on the metaphoric role of national mother to the nation of Mexico.

It is here that the writers and theorists of the Mexican Revolution and the post-revolutionary periods begin. Malinche is written as such, and is manifested as the traitor and mother to Mexico. It is in this novel that the Malinche figure is first capitalized on as national traitor. As the novel is consumed, her mythical status begins to solidify. Malinche serves as the perfect allegory for an emerging Latin American and Mexican identity because she encompasses both the colonized and the colonizer; she betrays the past while reaping the future. Although she is described as malicious during her betrayal of the republic, a utopian ideal, she is lauded for the birth of her son, a true Mexican subject, who is literally el hijo de la Malinche. The moral poles in the novel most significantly center on the female character Teutila and Malinche, Doña Marina. Broaching this manichean rupture of the female through “rules of good behavior,” the text clearly places Malinche in her fated role, a model of morality through which post-colonial national projects are reproduced. It is here that the male Creole intellectual again builds the

female narrative, where the female subject is the object of socio-sexual, political, and economic legitimization.

*Los hijos de la Malinche*

“[T]he female, as female, is passive, and the male, as male, is active, and the principle of the movement comes from him. Therefore, if we take the highest genera under which they fall, the one being active and motive and the other passive and moved, that one thing which is produced comes from them only in the sense in which a bed comes into being from the carpenter” (676).

-Aristotle, Generations of Animals

Octavio Paz, a writer with deep literary, political, and national roots and winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, is arguably the most prominent Mexican writer of the twentieth century. His most acclaimed work, *El laberinto de la soledad*, is a collection of essays where Paz approaches not only his own ontology, but a *Völkerpsychologie* (folk psychology) that delves deep into its foundational myths, language, history, and symbolic gestures that define *lo mexicano* and *la mexicanidad*. Paz’s confrontation of *mexicanidad* is guided by a need to merge his intellectual and ethnic identities. He explains: “en aquel medio cosmopolita -franceses, griegos, españoles, rumanos, argentinos, norteamericanos- respiré con libertad; no era de allí y, sin embargo, sentí que tenía una patria intelectual. Una patria que no me pedía papeles de identidad. Pero la pregunta sobre México no me abandonaba” (Paz 1992 14). The Latin American concept of identity has a rich rhetorical history rooted in the essay, as noted earlier with Bello (Santí 13). Continuing this tradition Paz, fuses history and the post-revolutionary

present, intentionally situates himself “dentro de la tradición francesa del ‘moralismo,’” revisiting the national project of the post-Independence bourgeoisie in a postmodern, postwar moment (Mario Santí 13). Paz’s attempt to create a *mexicanidad* has been the counterpoint of a Mexican, U.S., Chicana and feminist polemic since its publication in 1950. There is virtually no Malinche scholarship that does not engage the ideas presented in Paz’s controversial essay, “Los hijos de la Malinche.” Paz embarks on the task of creating epistemological clarity and balance, and in doing so he creates scales of inequality at every turn.

Malinche emerges from the moment of independence as a scapegoat for the tragedies of the conquest and colonialism as the nation of Mexico is born. Paz resurrects Malinche, in this light, explaining her embodiment of, “lo abierto, lo chingado, frente a nuestros indios, estoicos, impasibles y cerrados” (86).<sup>12</sup> George Yúdice, in his essay “Postmodernity and Transnational Capitalism, *On Edge: The Crisis of Contemporary Latin American Culture*,” notes that, Paz’s *El laberinto de la soledad*, contends with a “contradictory logic of modernity—which he labels a *tradición de ruptura*- [that] came to a grinding halt when the leading nations of imperialist capitalism found themselves decentered as ‘marginal’ as the periphery”(5). Paz is criticized for homogenizing “all those ‘particularisms’ in a generalized marginality, whose aesthetic he claims can be rooted in the immediacy of a timeless present”(5).

Like post-independence intellectuals need for unity, “Paz’s apocalyptic, messianic proposition not only purges the political dimension from the practices of new social movements (women, gays, and lesbians, ecology, ethnic and racial minorities) by assimilating their projects to a transhistorical aesthetic; it also aims to transcend the conditions set by modernity in one fell

---

<sup>12</sup> George Yúdice in “Postmodernity and Transnational Capitalism,” highlights Octavio Paz’s role as a forerunner, artist-intellectual in proposing “that Latin America had become contemporaneous with the decentered West -even before the term had been coined” (5).

swoop” (Yúdice 5). The modern status of the Mexican subject has been defined in terms of *mestizaje*, Angel Rama’s transculturation and Néstor Canclini’s hybridism, presupposing an equally conjoined subject in modern Mexican culture. These theories are equally problematic in the overvaluation of western culture. Critics like William Rowe and Martín Lienhard have refuted the advocacy of these beliefs with claims that the problem with terms like “mestizaje” and “hibridez” are “principalmente dos: que no escapan completamente de los efectos distorcionantes del pensamiento racista, y que a veces continúan produciendo un ambiente de organicismo, de mezcla feliz” (43). Instead he proposed a “diglossia cultural” (43) that consists of the unequal division of the pre-Columbian past and the peninsular, Creole legacy left by colonialism.

Malinche's' appropriation and re-mythification, as both traitor and mother, in Octavio Paz's "Los hijos de la Malinche," as well as her re-resurrection in Rosario Castellanos' *El eterno femenino*, underscore that female mythification not only effects the national society, but also its subparts. The mythification that begins after independence evolves with writers like Paz and Castellanos, who want to re-imagine the categories of nation. The latter denotes an agency that serves as a model, not only to re-imagine the nation, but to transform the political status of women in Mexico. Above all, these texts and their re-mythification of Malinche serve as a medium for understanding national identity while breaking down inscribed national categories.

If Benedict Anderson's assumption that a nation is imaged by specific groups is accepted, then it is important to determine and define the components of these groups. Politically dominant groups, on one level, help generate parameters of nation, however; something much greater is at stake, the agent cannot subsume a role completely independent of

the social formation. Myths are sustained by what Louis Althusser calls, “the ‘rules’ of good behavior,” the “established order,” and a “submission to the ruling ideology” (132). Althusser establishes that those who can “manipulate the ruling ideology correctly for the agents of exploitation and repression, [do so] so that they, too, will provide for the domination of the ruling class ‘in words’” (133).

Within nation those who resist the common good, although perhaps not consciously, are often employed as scapegoats in order reify the very ideological processes that they pretend to protest. One persisting scapegoat has been the female figure of illegitimate desire, rupturing the notion of the common good, and the constructed the harmonious identities of woman as they fit into the hegemonic hierarchy. The woman who disowns her role as a source of reproduction or a member of the nuclear family, is perceived as a threat to the conceived cohesion of nation. Nevertheless, others have manipulated Malinche’s myth as an act of resisting the hegemonic notion of nationhood. Conversely, some mythical figures have been appropriated as the discursive foundation of “imagining” the Rousseauian dialectic and “good.”

Octavio Paz, in his essay, “Los hijos de la Malinche,” uses this mythical platform as a springboard for his creations of the new Mexican identity and cosmological history. Mexican national identity becomes a quest to keep up with first world capitalism. The new nationalism is both insular and international in that it seeks to establish Mexico as a developed country- culturally, economically, and historically- within an environment of international capitalism. Accounting for Paz’s discussion of the outsider, Mexican identity must homogenize the social realities of indigenous and female disenfranchisement into a cosmological notion of Mexico.

Paz uses Malinche to delineate the line between the national and the foreign, where women continue to play the paradoxical role of both nationals and foreigners, Malinche personifying both. She is both the origin of lo *Mexicano*, and a representation of what is foreign. Paz does not speak historically, but spiritually, echoing the trans-temporal voice of the Creole project. Malinche is a paradigmatic symbol for a type of woman, just as the virgin of Guadalupe is another. Paz affirms “[a]nte todo, es la madre. No una Madre de carne y hueso, sino una figura mítica (212). According to Paz’s ideas of constructed gender roles, women are mothers; wives that fit neatly into the production of a patriarchal reality. He illustrates, “las deidades indias eran diosas de fecundidad, ligadas a los ritmos cósmicos, los procesos de vegetación y los rito agrarios” (222-223). Emulating Jungian archetypes of the mother, the mythologies of gender serve as an ideology contemporary to the post-independence period, and as cloaks of economic domination and oppression. The narrative of Malinche is bound by her adherence to or deviation from the definition of this Jungian archetype.

Even if women are supporters of the common good, as wives, mothers, and saints, they are always a threat to the nation for their open weakness, or physical passivity. The concept of female passivity goes back to the earliest western imaginings of insider and outsider. The Aristotelian sexual dichotomy of active and passive, open female vessel and the male generative powers of the phallic, persist as Paz’s model for what he posits as a Mexican ontological understanding. Woman is defined as the vessel of controlled femininity to serve a male hegemony.

Malinche is imagined as a subject whose physical violation creates the first Mexican subject. Women become responsible for colonialism as producers of its legacy. Therefore, Paz



perpetuates a division that both hails and shuns the woman as the creator of the ambivalent Mexican resistance. While Paz chooses Malinche as the mother of this cosmological Mexican history, he may as well have chosen her to be the Mother of the human race. What Paz is really contemplating is the mystery of human existence and localizes that to a Mexican existence.

Paz theorizes man and consciousness, both of which are clearly categories handed down through the history of the male absolute. Rather than question these categories, he etherializes them. Paz contrasts consciousness and man to the unknown, which is for him, the woman. For Paz: “[I]a mujer, otro de los seres que viven aparte, también es figura enigmática. Mejor dicho, el Enigma. A semejanza del hombre de raza o nacionalidad extraña, incita y repele. Es la imagen de la fecundidad, pero asimismo de la muerte” (203). Paz conceives of women as both a concrete object and an abstract essence to be appropriated and contained. The roots of women in every man represent their strange side, what Julia Kristeva calls the abject, the side of themselves that they cannot know.

Octavio Paz’s essay has impacted the Malinche myth to such an extent, that her name has been internalized in the Mexican lexicon as an adjective associated with the foreign and self hatred. “Malinchismo,” the term to describe Mexicans who are open to foreigners, Paz writes was already in use in the press of Paz’s Mexico, “recientemente puesto en circulación por los periódicos para denunciar a todos los contagiados por tendencias extranjerizantes. Los malichistas son los partidarios de que México se abra al exterior” (224). Though that definition does not appear in *El diccionario de Mexicanismos*, until the edition published in 2010<sup>13</sup>, it was

---

<sup>13</sup> *El diccionario de Mexicanismos* defines *malinchismo* as the, “[A]ctitud de quien muestra apego a lo extranjero con menosprecio de lo propio,” and *malinche* as an adjective “referido a alguien, que muestra apego a lo extranjero con menosprecio de lo propio” (345).

clearly used and understood in political circles as Paz demonstrates. Paz's essay not only solidifies the idea of Malinche as *traidora* and opening to foreign corruption, a project that emerged with the Independence movement, but with his essay, he ingrained the myth of Malinche as a literary and political term in the Mexican lexicon.

It is not only because Malinche historically aided foreigners to infiltrate precolonial Mexico, but because she is the woman who is by nature foreign and strange, “[c]ifra viviente de la extrañeza del universo y de su radical heterogeneidad” (203). This heterogeneity is not one that represents the nation as Paz perceives it. As such, “¿esconde la muerte o la vida?, ¿en qué piensa?, ¿piensa acaso?” (203). Paz chooses woman as a symbol of the abject, as the ultimate outsider to himself, to Mexico, and to man. Not only is woman characterized as strange, but also as a “conocimiento que no poseeremos nunca, la suma de nuestra definitiva ignorancia: el misterio supremo” (204).

The notion of woman, for Paz, characterizes the ultimate outsider, while supplanting women as possessors of knowledge, romanticizing the female psyche into an abstract, nonexistent reality, “se confunde con la nada, es la Nada” (224). Women for Paz are all dangerous, but it is the desirous woman who complies to the invitation of outsiders that is the most dangerous to the nation. Paz illustrates the function of Malinche as: “[I]a Chingada es aún más pasiva. Su pasividad es abyecta: no ofrece resistencia a la violencia, es un montón inerte de sangre, huesos y polvo. Su mancha es constitucional y reside...En su sexo. Esta pasividad abierta al exterior la lleva a perder su identidad: es la Chingada. Pierde su nombre, no es nadie ya, se confunde con la nada es la Nada. Y, sin embargo, es la atroz encarnación de la condición femenina” (223). Paz's incarnation of Malinche is both cogent and appalling. He continues her

portrayal as abjectly passive, to the point of mere flesh and sex. Her sin is in her sex, for allowing herself to be dominated. Benedict Anderson makes a racial analogy to this idea in his chapter “Patriotism and Racism.” While arguing a similar point in Vietnam, Anderson states that racism (in this case sexism) is more than just a political enmity, it “erases nation-ness by reducing the adversary to his biological physiognomy” (135). In the case of the woman, she constitutes the hole and the void of nation-ness. Perhaps it is when woman, facing that void, that she awakens. She looks into Paz’s magic mirror and sees not the void, but a mirror that lacks reflection. She experiences what Frantz Fanon has described in racial terms as *depersonalization*.

What Paz perceives as the abject passivity of the feminine condition is labeled by others as resistance or more appropriately a rebirth. It is only when the female faces the void that she can see the atrocity of the “condición femenina,” allowing her, not just the ability to transgress the predominantly male societal codes, but to create her own. In losing her name, she becomes confused with nothing, literally becoming nothing. In one sense she does become the nothing as a subject of limbo; it is this limbo that confronts and re-enters the boundaries of the hegemonic bubble of nationalism, no longer confined to a single code. Ironically, Paz succumbs to this paradox in his inability to define her, and yet he is unable to deny her perseverance as historical, national mythical foundation.

It is this “opening” or void, whether sexual organ or the acts of disparaging power, that invokes fear in male intellectuals, leaving holes in their discourses. Paz contrasts this to the “nuestros indios, estoicos, impasibles y cerrados,” unlike “las indias, fascinadas, violadas o seducidas por los españoles” (224). Here, just as the Creoles did more than a one hundred years before, he romanticizes indigenous as one cosmic entity that he can define, taking care to once

again ostracize Malinche. If an indigenous person disallows the essentialized nature that Paz assigns him or her, s/he becomes “la nada.” (216). When a Mexican says, “[v]ete a la chingada” he sends his “interlocutor a un espacio lejano, vago e indeterminado. Al país de las cosas rotas, gastadas. País gris, que no está en ninguna parte, inmenso y vacío” (79). The *chingada* is truly the status of all lascivious women and those who align themselves with her. She represents a place outside of nation, a land of exiles.<sup>14</sup> This Oedipal interpretation strips those who enter into the mother of their national identity. That mythical paradigms of the female traitor have existed across cultural and temporal boundaries only evince this fact, a manufactured fact. Because it has neither temporal nor spacial boundaries, not only is this place outside the nation, but it can never be imagined as nation, denied by those who create the discourse of nation. Those women of illegitimate desire have created an exiled homelessness in nowhere. They don’t exist as national subjects, and therefore cannot constitute a nation. Malinche, explains Moraga, “serves as the signifier of betrayal, through which the historical experience of domination is spoken in the language of sexuality (349). This socio-sexual system of *chingón/chingada*<sup>15</sup>, active/passive that simultaneously produces and is produced by colonialism “locks women into subordinate roles, inscribed inflexible definitions of masculinity and femininity, and on a larger scale, becomes the surveillance test of true nationalism” (Roman 349). The passive subject therefore signifies that which is “open to sexual betrayal and therefore a threat to nation” (Roman 349).

---

<sup>14</sup> Women’s roles often dichotomized as the non-sexualized, mother role (the Virgen de Guadalupe or the Virgin Mary) and the role of sexual betrayal and transgression in the *chingada* (Malinche or the Christian Eve). Here the focus is on the production of the role of Malinche as the *chingada* and sexual transgressor in an ideological, political, economic, and socio-sexual context.

<sup>15</sup> *Chingón* refers to the one who fucks, the sexual aggressor, the dominant role. *Chingada* refers to the one being fucked, the phallic destination, the submissive role.

Even in the face of waves of re-imagining Malinche and the female subjects, the questions of the female resonate as eternal. Mexican and Chicana feminist writers co-opt the male intellectual idea of transgression and rewrite Malinche back into nation, attempting to assign her an active role as transgressor, subverting the socio-sexual roles of man and woman. The passive is defined as the penetrated, *la chingada*. Women then, in all forms, are a threat to the nation. As a passive subject, she threatens the entrance of the foreign through violation. As the subject of illegitimate, unsanctioned desires, she is a threat to the male construct of nation.

The Malinche figure serves as a historical, mythical foundation appropriated both as scapegoat and threat to nation, and also as foundation for outsiders to re-imagine the nation from the perspective of the ambiguously socio-sexual roles espoused by outsiders. In the face of a hegemonized national discourse, powerful counter-narratives emerge. Malinche symbolizes perfectly the distinct layers of the Mexican self. As Enrique Dussel neatly summarizes in his book *The Underside of Modernity: Apel, Ricoeur, Rorty, Taylor, and the Philosophy of the Liberation*, “The conquering masculinity (which is epitomized in Hernán Cortés) rapes the Indian woman (Malinche); Oedipus is the Latin American mestizo child. Phallocracy becomes conquest, plutocracy and social domination” (9). In both cases, the woman problematically remains the victim.

Within the limits of the post-colonial landscape, women attempt to re-write the nation. José Piedra in his essay, “Nationalizing Sissies,” illustrates the example of feminist movements reclaiming the word “Malinche” as an attempt to “empower those who mediate power” (187). He speaks to Gloria Anzaldúa’s empowerment of Malinche through her own personal narrative. Here Anzaldúa, a Chicana lesbian writer and theorist, in her writing is “upgrading the notion of

the receptive agent of colonialism, presumably passive females and males, into a subversive force capable of transforming libidinal taps into political trenches with a touch of nationalism” (Piedra 187). Piedra gives an alternative foundation for another kind of nation: “out of ostensibly desperate and disparate nationals who propose to break singly or together through traditionally subjugated, critically secondhand, and/or second-class identities built from within, against, and beyond the borders of dominant nations and national paradigms” (187). This notion of national identity, not only subverts Paz’s interior poetic definition, but re-imagines gender as ambiguity. Since, “Malinche is the reference point for the performative gender roles of masculinity as *chingón*, active and femininity as *chingada*, passive” (183), this notion of “‘repositioning’ of cultural icons” is a tool to reconstruct the idea of nation, allowing space for renegotiation of the socio-sexual as a tool of ontology.

### *Rupturing the Eternal Feminine*

“Como el mago inexperto, sus creaciones ya no le obedecen. Está solo entre sus obras, perdido en un ‘páramo de espejos’” (42). -Octavio Paz, *El laberinto de la soledad*

Jean Franco explains in her essay, “Going Public: Reinhabiting the Private,” that many female Latin American writers were not as concerned with “confronting dominant patriarchy with a new feminine position,” but instead rupturing the position that “supports gender power/knowledge as masculine,” a peeling back of the layers of ideology (75). This rupture of traditional gender roles is, as Franco explains, often accomplished through “parody and pastiche, by mixing genres, and by constituting subversive mythologies” (75). Works that incorporated

this project of “displacing the male-centered national allegory” exposed “the dubious stereotyping that was always inherent in the epics of nationhood that constitute the Latin American canon” (75). Rosario Castellanos, in her play *El eterno femenino*, undertakes this project through parody and subversive mythologies, rupturing a unified time and space, in order to reconstruct history and the position of the female national subject. Re-imagining the historical and mythological figure Malinche, she confronts the dichotomy of gender and race.

*El eterno femenino*, published in 1973 by Mexican writer Rosario Castellanos, a contemporary of Paz, attempts to forge a new female space in Mexican society. Brechtian influences serve the didactic purpose of renovating the life stories of several mythical and historical figures from Eve to Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. Within this list of famous women resides la Malinche. Castellanos greets the situation from her own historical position in order to farcically recreate the voice of Malinche. *El eterno femenino* opens in a beauty shop. In moments, the female character lets out the sound “-AAAAAAH!!!” twice at the onset of the play, as if to say, stop! Look! Listen! The jarring onomatopoeic Brechtian gesture immediately breaks down the wall between the audience and the actors, theory and reality. Soon after, the clerks “emiten sonidos guturales,” a Brechtian trope to alienate and communicate the message beyond the language of the play (20). The Brechtian social gesture is directed toward inciting disidentification and depersonalization, while displaying the influences of Artaudian temporal disjunction<sup>16</sup>. More generally these gestures seek, not represent the world, but to present it. The *Verfremdungseffekt* of Castellano’s opening puts the spectator in the place of the Other. The uneven development of ideological interpellation produces new contradictions at the same time

---

<sup>16</sup> This term, disidentification, that Resch, using Michel Pêcheux’s interpretation, describes an interpolation that functions as an “overthrow-rearrangement,” and ideological ping-pong so to speak.

that it reproduces the contradictions of the existing relations of domination. Ideology must, therefore, be defined in terms of the transformations as well as the reproduction of social relations where the conflict between identification and disidentification in discourse, like all ideological conflicts, is determined by relations of power outside its local terrain (Resch 268). Disidentification (alienation effect) like Fanon's depersonalization serve as the aesthetic of Castellano's theater. Brecht's "new aesthetic," as De Toro explains in his book, *Brecht en el teatro hispanoamericano contemporáneo*, functions to "crear un nuevo arte" and serves to "reemplazar la estética artística Aristotélica no por corresponder a la realidad presente ni al momento histórico correspondiente" (17). Classical Aristotelian aesthetics are replaced with an aesthetic that corresponds to the contemporary social and historical moment not as ideology, but as a rupture of ideology. This rupture leaves an ontological hole, forcing the subject to fill it with the material, social reality. The alienating act of depersonalization is paired with the epistemological rupture presented in epic theater. The artist then incorporates and reproduces this gesture to speak to and awaken the viewer from the illusion.

The first act begins in a "salón de belleza en una colonia residencial de la clase media mexicana dentro el Distrito Federal," setting the temporal, historical situation of its characters and the work itself. The plot which erodes all space and time is driven by the character, Lupita whose *dreams* are induced by the farcical *deus ex machina* of a "pequeño dispositivo electrónico" plugged into the hair dryer (23). Set in a beauty shop, "[I]t is often women and postcolonial voices who really test these borders seeking to apply deconstructed notions of history and literature to their daily lives" (De la Campa 756). Castellanos does exactly that in her farcical liquidation and reconstruction of history. In a dream induced state, Lupita enters a wax museum,



when the figures of Sor Juana, Adelita, Josefa, Rosario, Malinche, and Carlota come to life. Malinche is personified as a mysterious figure. From the beginning of the act she never speaks until her opportunity in the spotlight, “la Malinche, que no ha abierto la boca se ha limitado únicamente a observar” (88), a characteristic ironically given to Malinche who is usually labeled “la lengua” comments on her historical muteness, affirming that although her presence is felt, she is silent. She doesn’t speak for herself, but as the mouthpiece of others. Her words are not her own. Castellanos portrays Malinche as deceptively submissive, and manipulative twice over. That is to say that Malinche makes herself appear submissive to Cortés, while criticizing him and instructing him in political strategies.

This tone of the work functions as a critique, not just of Malinche’s story, but of the entire category of history. The historical *fact* that Cortés burned the boats turns into a farce. Facts of the story are modified, conveying that the boat was burned down by a sleeping sailor who had recently acquired the American custom of smoking tobacco. This is an opportunity for her to dismember the historiography and autobiographies of the conquest. History as a practice, fetishizes Cortés and Malinche’s role in the *conquista*, but often overlooks inaccuracy of chronicles and the apparatus of colonialism. Her story is a farcical illustration of the absurdity of accepted history. At some point the attempt to tell the truth with history becomes absurd.

Malinche, seeing the opportunity, then says to Cortés, “¿Por qué no aprovechas esta circunstancia para hacer correr el rumor de que tú, tú quemaste las naves?”. Establishing random made-up facts as the mechanism of history, Malinche is exonerated from the status of *traidora* or *chingada*. Malinche clearly sees her defined gender role and rejects it. When Cortés asks her to take off his “coraza” she responds, “[N]o,” rejecting his orders at will. Incensed, he says, “Eres

mi esclava, mi propiedad, mi cosa!” Malinche quips, “Soy tu instrumento, de acuerdo. Por lo menos, aprende a usarme en tu beneficio” (89). As Malinche becomes Cortés’ “instrumento” Castellanos evokes, not only her own brand of farce and humor, but the disidentification of Malinche’s socio-sexual position moving her from passive/*chingada* to active/*chingón*. As Malinche speaks, she blurs the lines between history and myth, theater and reality. The *doble entendre* and absurdity of the conversation is not lost on the audience as Malinche, through the words of Castellanos, as the “instrumento” of Cortés, speaks to and for Mexico, women, men, Cortés, and Castellanos. She is the instrument of all these people, but entreats the viewers to, at the very least, use her to their benefit. It becomes clear that Malinche as auto/biographical subject is manipulated by the desires of those who wish to use her story as a socio-sexual instrument.

Malinche is portrayed by Castellanos as usurper to conquest. She is not the passive woman as she has been characterized by Paz and others. She does not “submit” to Cortés because of the openness and vulnerability of her sex, but uses Cortés. She has Moctezuma drink “una taza de su propio chocolate” (90), but neither does she align herself ideologically with Cortés, rejecting the role of translating male histories and agendas. She says to him, “ahora te pertenezco a tí,” because she accepts that alone she is powerless. Although she is presumably the “tool,” it is she who is fucking and simultaneously being fucked by Cortés. Malinche is envisioned as the first Mexican historical female figure to appropriate her own status as an object or tool, and utilize it to break her way into the nation that had discounted her, and yet it is clear that she is trapped. The phallic tool is vulnerable to the envelopment of the vagina, in a confluence of roles. This gender assimilation also androgenizes Malinche. By reconstructing

history and de-mythologizing and rupturing the history of Malinche, Castellanos recreates woman's foundational, as well as current, role in the nation. Malinche is not a traitor to her nation, but her nation is traitor to her. Castellanos, however, does not simply question or reverse the role of women, she fractures it, alienating audiences who are forced to re-imagine it as farce. Through this farcical re-imagining she mutilates the entire socio-sexual structure and its historical legacy.

After the scene between Cortés and Malinche, the eterno femenino is shattered as each woman verbalizes a distinct and incomprehensible *Weltanschauungs*, “Carlota es despectiva; la Adelita, fascinada; la de Josefa, respetuosa; la de Sor Juana, irónica” (92). Rosario and Lupita's faces express “la más completa frustración.” The scene is as follows:

LUPITA: ¿Y el romance?

MALINCHE: ¿Cuál romance?

LUPITA: Usted estaba enamorada de Cortés, del hombre blanco y barbudo que vino de ultramar.

MALINCHE: ¿Enamorada? ¿Qué quiere decir eso?

SOR JUANA (Didáctica): Probablemente la señorita se refiere al amor, un producto netamente occidental, una invención de los trovadores provenzales y de las castellanas del siglo XII europeo. Es probable que Cortés, a pesar de su estancia en Salamanca, no lo haya conocido ni practicado.

MALINCHE: Por lo pronto, no lo exportó a América. Y en cuanto a nosotros....

SOR JUANA: Ya lo sabemos. El amor es algo que no tiene nada que ver con la cultura indígena.

Castellanos in her theater scene illuminates many of the problems of historical representation and the idea of speaking for and about the other, prescient to and foreshadowing Spivak's essay, “Can the Subaltern Speak.” There are obvious temporal, historical and cultural differences among the women, through which Castellanos is trying to dispel the notion of a the solid, unified category of women, *mexicanidad*, nation, or ontology.

Lupita, for example, who is a bourgeois middle class woman, demands the love story, that to her is central to Malinche's life story. She is so eager for a love story that she begins to narrate Malinche's own life story to her. When Malinche asks, what is meant by the word "enamored," Sor Juana, a sexually ambiguous figure, responds for her, and continues with a lengthy, theorized and intellectualized explanation of what she thinks Lupita is referring to. Malinche responds saying that they didn't "export" love to America and begins to explain the concept as she understands it in respect to her people. Sor Juana, however, cuts her off, and answers for her saying "ya sabemos." In this moment she not only speaks for the subaltern, Malinche, but also for the collective group of women. Sor Juana represents the Creole intellectual who speaks about and for the other. Malinche, the supposed Other, is barely given a chance to speak and when she does she is misunderstood, and she is accused of not telling the *true* story. In this case, the true story is the story Lupita and Carlota desire. This leaves the denouement close to its starting point, but the simultaneity of time has been ruptured. Castellanos, through her farce, poses the absurdity of speaking for the Other reconstructing lost subjects or histories.

Her perspicacity in recognizing the distortion of the female, indigenous subject, allows her to open up the polemic of historicity and the complications of representing imagined subjects and nations. Women represent a sliver of marginal groups that have not only been denied a history, but a voice in creating history. Within the discourse of national foundations, Castellanos' theater reminds us of the primary role of ideology as it manifests itself in social and material reality. This destruction of the *Historia verdadera* shatters the status quo for audiences. The reformulation of these concepts not only illuminates the fragile construction of history, but of

nation as well. Through her manipulation of historical facticity and preconceived national identity Castellanos' epic theater demonstrates the incongruities of Mexican identity, promoting instead *la mexicanidad* as a series of discursive fragments. In this sense the Brechtian theater negates the creation of false images of reality, thus alienating the viewer who is accustomed to an entertaining evening of illusory theater. The Brechtian gesture ruptures the illusion of the artistic gesture and thereby elucidates social and ideological realities.

Castellanos and others set out to dissolve national ideological boundaries in an attempt to include women in the discussion of *lo mexicano*. Malinche's violation is not seen as active or passive, but ambiguous. Through ambiguity she actively violates her own historical narratives. Only as a corrosive and grotesque threat is she able to dissolve the ideological walls that deny her access to the social reality of national identity. The female presence in the national voice is not merely a political maneuver, but an epistemological rupture. It leaves us questioning the fragility of nationhood and the seemingly odd phenomenon of patriotism and nationalism that is so often taken for granted.

## **Conclusion: Malinche, no eres tú**

### POESIA NO ERES TÚ

Porque si tú existieras  
tendría que existir yo también. Y eso es mentira.

Nada Ha más que nosotros: la pareja  
los sexos conciliados en un hijo,  
las dos cabezas juntas, pero no contemplándose  
(para no convertir a nadie en un espejo)  
sino mirando frente a sí, hacia el otro.

El otro: mediador, juez, equilibrio  
entre opuestos, testigo,  
nudo en el que se anuda lo que se había roto.

El otro, la mudez que pide voz,  
al que tiene la voz  
y relcama el oído del que escucha.  
El otro. Con el otro  
la humanidad, el diálogo, la poesía, comienzan. -Rosario Castellanos

### RIMA XXI

¿Qué es poesía?, dices mientras clavas  
en mi pupila azul,  
¡Qué es poesía! ¿Y tú me lo preguntas?  
Poesía...eres tú” -Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer

Malinche’s myth, an ever changing ideological product, has contributed to the view that, occupying a unique position of political power, one woman claims responsibility for the success or failure of the conquest. This view, evoking worship and revile, operates more as a litmus test of the concurrent ideological climate than as a claim of authenticity for the woman in question. After more than five hundred years, her iconic status remains ingrained as a seemingly romantic and harmless confabulation, one which serves to undermine the realities of oppression and the complexly woven legacy of colonialism. Forced into the role of commodity and subjugation, like

countless others who have marched unmarked through history, Malinche emerges with specificity, though her singular voice is ultimately silent in the narrative of the conquest.

Malinche's myth presumably lingers as a bandage for a fractured view of postmodern reality, at the heart of which, myths are understood as the means to fill the ontological cracks that absolve our failure at self-definition. Even before Malinche's name is recorded in the chronicles, her fate is being determined as Europe is debating the value of exploration, foreshadowing an imperialism that would create the European socio-political-economic environment ripe for opportunists like Cortés and Díaz del Castillo. As a mere mortal moves from historical footnote to fully fleshed actor in the works of Díaz del Castillo, Malinche becomes ripe for the foundational myths of the post-independence movement. Through a conscious act to merge space and time, Malinche becomes an actor and fodder for myths.

In the Mexican post-revolutionary period, Malinche serves as national traitor, both the allegory for Mexican national identity and the archetype of apostasy. *Lo mexicano* serves as a generic one-size-fits-all ideology, unmistakably erected in a phallo-Eurocentric view of Mexico. Through the act of negation, or the denial, one becomes Mexican, naming oneself as, "one among many of the same kind as himself," who "therefore could, in principle be a traitor" (Anderson 82). The negation of existence reaffirms the solidarity and coherence of national identity by its employment as a scapegoat for the woes of nation. Through the denial of existence, however, the Malinche archetype, both indigenous and female, is reinforced as myth and national humiliation. Myth, an influential tool in revitalizing and re-imagining nations, is often masked behind the guise of a conceived common good or scapegoat, who serves society's manichean impulse for constructing opposites that construct the social order. Malinche persists,

offering hope for some and inspiring contempt in others. Her history is, I would argue, irrelevant, and our attempt to assign her one, as Castellanos teaches us, a farce. Malinche's significance is as a socio-sexual-ethno exemplar; she reminds us that the cost of order is exile. Steadily women are the exiles that emerge from the chaos to create a sound national economic, political, and ideological order. To maintain the order within ourselves and within nation, we are compelled to believe the lie. Men who break rules are the heroes of legacy; women who break rules are the whores of heresy. Like Xipe Totec, Malinche endures, absorbing the wreckage of colonialism and the post-colonial legacy.

After five centuries Malinche endures as a uniting controversial polemic. Be it object of scholarly investigation or fetishization by popular culture, Malinche's myth captivates our attention. She confronts us with a seemingly endless complex web of questions: how do we *really* feel about women? Race? Sexuality? History? Nation? Ourselves? As I conclude this investigation, I am faced with the paradox of both the constraints of gendered narratives of phallocracy and the western constraints that pretend to speak for the Other. Malinche's myth lies in the paradox: How do we talk about Malinche's myth without re-mythifying her? What purpose does any investigation of her serve? The semblance of an answer may lie in Rosario Castellano's poem, "Poesía, no eres tú" (her response to romantic poet Gustavo Bécquer's Rima XXI) (198). The language and message of her poem, a heuristically symbolic rupture, strips the dichotomy of *chingón/chingada*, male/female in favor of ambiguity.

Malinche does not entreat us with treachery to fill the void with who we think she is, it forces us to ask the questions of who we are. Malinche acts as what Castellanos' poetically calls, "[E]l otro: mediador, juez, equilibrio / entre opuestos, testigo, / nudo en el que se anuda lo que se



había roto.” As Malinche is contorted throughout history she alerts us to the falsity underlying her myth. Attempts to stamp out her ambiguity, to give her a voice, are what ultimately fuel the myth and write the lie. In a never ending series of dominance and submission she is re-imagined. This presents us with two specific problems. Firstly, as Malinche/woman asserts herself she becomes Cortés/man’s tool. Whether gender is or is not performative, it is ultimately trapped in the mirror of the male paradigm. Secondly, as we disempower or empower Malinche, we fail to confront ourselves, “[N]ada hay más que nosotros: la pareja. los sexos conciliados en un hijo.” The paradox of seeing ourselves alone and united in the same instance “las dos cabezas juntas, pero no contemplándose” / (para no convertir a nadie en un espejo) / sino mirando frente a sí, hacia el otro” is the path that will allow for an equanimous rise from the *Mitsein*. Rosario Castellanos in *El eterno femenino*, dismantles history, offering a completely different socio-sexual model through epic theater. Her model does not just subvert history as a notion, it destroys it and rebirths it with ambiguity.

In following Malinche back through history, it is clear that there is no straightforward path to understanding her myth. Malinche’s story, more akin to endless tributaries, winds and straightens, waxes and wanes into a single river. At times the points of convergence are so many that the river is barely visible. In moments of transition the path becomes more discernible. At the end of this investigation I am struck, somewhat unexpectedly, by the poignancy of one thread that weaves throughout through: time, space, governments, race, and concepts of the self. It is socio-sexual determination. Sex as it relates to communities is relevant, not just to Malinche’s history and myth, but to a human history that begins in our most ancient communities, in short the *Mitsein*. Gender is the factor that determines the foundation of Malinche’s myth, but

economic and socio-political factors determine the meaning. As I conclude I move away from the “historia verdadera”, the myth, the false dialogue of a gender dichotomy, and toward the rupture. Malinche, “no eres tú” sounds in my mind. ¿Qué es Malinche? Malinche, no eres tú.

## Works Cited

- Academia Mexicana de la lengua. *Diccionario de mexicanismos*. México: Siglo XXI Editores, 2010. Print.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. 2nd ed. London; New York: Verso, 1991. Print.
- Aristotle. *The Basic Works of Aristotle*. Ed. Richard McKeon, New York: Modern Library, 2001. Print.
- Bauer, Nancy. "Being-With as Being-Against: Heidegger meets Hegel in *The Second Sex*." *Continental Philosophy Review* 34 (2001): 129-149, 2001. Print.
- Beauvoir, Simone de. *The Second Sex*. Trans. Constance Borde and Sheila Malovany-Chevallier, New York: Vintage Books, 2011. Print.
- Bécquer, Gustavo Adolfo. "Rima XXI." *Litgloss*. Comp. Casado, Cristina. University of Buffalo. 1999. Web.
- Bello, Andrés. *Modo de escribir la historia*. Biblioteca virtual universal, 2003. Web.
- Benjamin, Walter. Ed. Hannah Arendt. *Illuminations*. Trans. Harry Zohn., New York: Schocken Books, 1969. Print.
- Campa, Román de la. "On Latin Americanism and the Post-Colonial Turn". *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 22 (1995): 745-771. Print.
- Castañeda, Antonia I. "Malinche, Calafia, Toypurina: Of Myths, Monsters, and Embodied History." *Feminism, Nation and Myth: La Malinche*. Eds. Romero, Rolando, and Amanda Nolacea, Houston: Arte Público Press, 2004. Print.
- Castellanos, Rosario. *El eterno femenino*. Mexico: Fondo de cultura económica, 1975. Print.

- \_\_\_\_. *Meditaciones en el umbral: Antología poética*. Comp. Julian Palley. Mexico: Fondo de cultura económica, 1985. Print.
- Columbus, Christopher. Ed. R.H. Major. *Four Voyages to the New World*. New York: Citadel Press, 1992. Print.
- Cortés, Hernán. *Cartas y relaciones de Hernan Cortés al Emperador Carlos V*. Imprenta Central de los Ferro-Carriles: Paris. 1866. Archive.org. Web.
- Cristóbal Colón. Ed. Consuelo Varela. *Los cuatro viajes testamento*. Madrid: Alianza, 1986.
- Cypress, Sandra Messinger. *La Malinche in Mexican Literature: From History to Myth*. Texas UP 1991. Print.
- Díaz del Castillo, Bernal. *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*. Madrid: En la Imprenta de Don Benito Cano, 1795. Web.
- Dussel, Enrique. *The Underside of Modernity: Apel Ricor Rorty Taylor and the Philosophy of Liberation*. Trans. Eduardo Mendieta. New Jersey: Humanities Press 1996. Print.
- Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin White Mask*. Trans. Richard Philcox. New York: Grove Press, 2008. Print.
- Franco, Jean. "Going Public: Reinhabiting the Private." *On Edge: The Crisis of Contemporary Latin American Culture*. Eds. Yúdice George Jean Franco and Juan Flores. Minneapolis: Minnesota UP, 1992. 65-84. Print.
- \_\_\_\_. "La Malinche." *Critical Passions: Selected Essays*. Eds. Pratt, Mary Louise, and Kathleen Newman. Durham: Duke University Press, 1999. 66-82. Print.
- Gómara, Francisco López de. *Historia de la conquista*. Ed. Rogelio Carvajal Dávila. Mexico, D.F.: Océano, 2003. Print.

- González, Cristina. *Doña Marina (La Malinche) y la formación de la identidad mejicana*. Madrid: Encuentro, 2002. Print.
- Hassig, Ross. *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*. Norman: Oklahoma UP, 2006. Print.
- Herren, Ricardo. *Doña Marina La Malinche*. Barcelona: Planeta, 1992. Print.
- Jung, Carl. *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*. New York: Princeton UP, 1990. Print.
- Kristeva, Julia. *Strangers to Ourselves*. New York: Columbia UP, 1991. Print.
- Leal, Luis, and Rodolfo J. Cortina. Introduction. *Jicoténcal*. By Felix Varela. Eds. Luis Leal and Rodolfo J. Cortina. Arte Público Press, 1995. Print.
- Liendhard, Martin. *La voz y su huella: escritura y conflicto étnico-social en América Latina 1492-1988*, Hanover: Ediciones del Norte, 1991. Print.
- Macintyre, Stuart, Juan Manguashca, and Atilla Pók, Eds. *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Volume 4: 1800-1945*. 5 vols. New York: Oxford UP, 2011. Print.
- Marx, Karl. *Capital Volume One*. Trans. Ben Fowkes, New York: Vintage Books, 1977. Print.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*. 1848. *The Essential Left: Four Classic Texts on the Principles of Socialism*. London: George Allen and Unwin. 14-47. Print.
- Mitchell, W.J.T. *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996. Print.
- Montrose, Louis. "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery New World Encounters." (2006):177-217. Rpt. in *New World Encounters*. Ed. Stephen Greenblatt. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press Berkely, 1993.

- Nebrija, Antonio de. *Gramática Castellana: Reproducción fototípica de l'édición princps.* N.p., 1492. Max Niemeyer. 1909. Archive.org. Web.
- Paz, Octavio. *El laberinto de la soledad y otras obras.* Ed. Enrico Mario Santí. Madrid: Catedra, 2002. Print.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *El laberinto de la soledad y otras obras.* New York: Penguin Books, 1997
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Labyrinth of Solitude: Life and Thought in Mexico*, Trans. Lysander Kemp. New York: Grove Press, 1961.
- Piedra, José. "Nationalizing Sissies." *Entiendes: Queer Readings, Hispanic Writings*. Eds. Bergman, Emile L., and Paul Julian Smith. Durham: Duke UP, 1995. 370-411. Print.
- Rama, Angel. *La ciudad letrada.* Hanover: Ediciones del Norte, 1984. Print.
- Resch, Robert Paul. *Althusser and the Renewal of Marxist Social Theory.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. Print.
- Restall, Matthew. *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest.* Cary, North Carolina: Oxford University Press, 2004. Print.
- Rodríguez, Ileana. *House/Garden/Nation.* Durham: Duke UP, 1994. Print.
- Rodríguez, Juan Carlos. *Teoría e historia de la producción ideológica.* Madrid: Ediciones Akal, S. A., 1990. Print.
- Román, David. "Teatro Viva!: Latino Performance and the Politics of AIDS in Los Angeles." *Entiendes: Queer Readings, Hispanic Writings*. Eds. Bergman, Emile L., and Paul Julian Smith. Durham: Duke UP, 1995. 346-370. Print.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *The Confessions of Jean Jacques Rousseau.* London: Aldus Society, 1903. Project Gutenberg. Web. March 2013.

- Rowe, William. Hacia una política radical: ensayos de hermenéutica cultural.” Guaraguao 2.4 (1996): 92-94. Print.
- Sajinés, Javier C. (1992) *Literatura contemporánea y grotesco social en Bolivia*, La Paz: La Papelera, S.A. Print.
- Santamaria, Francisco J. *El Diccionario De Mejicanismos*. 3rd ed. Mexico: Porrúa, 1978. Print.
- Santí, Enrico Mario Introducción. *El laberinto de la soledad y otras obras*. Ed. Enrico Mario Santí. Madrid: Catedra, 2002. Print.
- Stern, Steve J. “Feudalism, Capitalism, and the World System in the Perspective of Latin American and the Caribbean.” *The American Historical Review* 93.4 (1998): 829-872. Print.
- Toro, Fernando de (1987) *Brecht en el teatro hispanoamericano contemporáneo*. Buenos Aires: Galerna. Print.
- Varela, Felix. *Jicoténcal*. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1995. Print.
- Xipe Totec*. Nd. *Latin American Studies.Org*. Comp. Antonio Cova. Indiana University. 2004
- Yúdice, George. “Postmodernity and Transnational Capitalism.” *On Edge: The Crisis of Contemporary Latin American Culture*. Eds. Yúdice, George, Jean Franco and Juan Flores. Minneapolis: Minnesota UP 1992. Print.
- Zamora, Margarita. *Reading Columbus*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993. Print.