and returned to establish a wildly successful bottega by means of the innovative burin technology he brought back with him over the Alps. The bulk of his prints, moreover, were religious engravings based directly on existing Florentine models, and our knowledge of Roselli as a draftsman remains entirely speculative. The assignment of authorship, then, for the drawing rather than engraving and printing of a work like the panorma is a less certain proposition than it might at first appear. A print historian can, it is to be hoped, be forgiven for fixating on what are fascinating avenues for further inquiry rather than serious criticisms of this project. For while this book is of obvious importance to scholars of print and cartography, it is surely of equal significance for art and architectural historians concerned broadly with the central early modern problem of the ways in which pictures both reflect and construct space. Maier’s admirable interdisciplinary engagement with these maps situates this study within reconsiderations of urban experience evident, for example, in Niall Atkinson’s examinations of Florentine space and time. Perhaps most refreshingly, Rome Measured and Imagined is also, at its core, both a study of absent objects and a model for how art historians might approach them. Many of Maier’s crucial case studies have disappeared. Some, like Alberti’s proposed plan, were never produced in the first place, while others, like the first printing of Buffalini’s map, seem to have met the same precarious fate as so many monumental prints. But it is not only chance survivals and losses with which this book grapples. For it is ultimately the referent itself that is, and always was, absent. That the Rome of the ancient past could be made present only through the images of those like Ligorio and Cartaro is obvious. These deftly chosen case studies remind us too that the views of the supposed present were likewise fictious, never unabstructed even from the heights of the Capitoline and Janiculum. Early modern conceptions of Rome were not recorded but constructed and negotiated by the burins and knives of printmakers.

BARBARA MUNDY
The Death of Aztec Tenochtitlan, the Life of Mexico City
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A wise colleague once informed me that the very best academic book titles iterate the text’s central thesis. In the field of Latin American colonial studies, Camilla Townsend’s Melinitz’s Choices: An Indian Woman in the Conquest of Mexico, Matthew Restall’s The Black Middle Africans, Mayors, and Spaniards in Colonial Yucatan, and Jeanette Peterson’s Visualizing Guadalupe: From Black Madonna to Queen of the Americas immediately come to mind. Barbara Mundy, in selecting The Death of Aztec Tenochtitlan, the Life of Mexico City as her title has turned this adage on its head. The title’s two simply conjoined phrases force scholars of pre-Columbian and colonial Mexico to contend with the field’s long-lasting assumption of New World colonization: namely, that the conquest wars of the 1520s signaled a kind of death for the urban spaces and cultural institutions of the precontact era and, at the same time, the birth of Spanish colonial society. Once readers turn the first page, however, they discover that they are in for a treat: the entire book is devoted to outwitting the logic of the title itself, demonstrating once and for all that rather than experiencing a social death, indigenous traditions and spatial practices both survived and thrived, proving instrumental in the development of Mexico City as a colonial entity. Over the course of the last decade, the field has waited in anticipation for this publication, having heard snippets of its core arguments delivered as conference papers and invited lectures, or having read a few choice sections in various journals. As we have come to expect from Mundy’s past work, namely, her seminal 1996 The Mapping of New Spain, this book is exceptional, poised to make an immediate and permanent impact on the discipline of art history and beyond. The carefully argued, eloquently written, and beautifully illustrated text was well worth the wait. It takes the expansive analysis of her first monograph and deftly focuses its lens, centering on the multivalent and multivocal urban development of the viceregal capital of New Spain. As such, Mundy’s monograph exhibits the process of academic maturation in the very best light; she presents herself as a scholar whose sound early work provides a firm foundation for her own midcareer fluorescence, much like the renewal of Mexico City itself.

Mundy opens her book with an insightful introduction, familiarizing readers with her project’s larger theoretical frame. Unlike other scholars who rely on critical theory as a kind of forced intellectual buttressing, Mundy appropriates the work of two well-known urban theorists, Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre, to help readers conceptualize the processes by which all cities are made and activated by the people who inhabit them. In her selection, Mundy allows the audience to reframe a “non-Western” and perhaps unfamiliar landscape, the Mexican capital city of Tenochtitlan, within a more familiar frame of “Western” spatial and urban theory. While some might protest the apparent universalistic nature of this choice, in Mundy’s hands it does larger conceptual (and, dare I say, humanitarian) work than she may have intended. With this rhetorical choice, Mundy forces an unfamiliar readership to decenterize the Amerindian populations of the Western Hemisphere, a task that should be at the forefront of concerns for scholars of indigenous culture. In doing so, she fully historicizes the “lived space of the indigenous city” (p. 18).

While definitive dates have been assigned (when known) to the maps, monuments, manuscripts, and processions described in each chapter, Mundy is forthright in her attempt to “avoid a periodization that posits a definitive break between the pre-Hispanic and post-Conquest city” (p. 15). Such an approach would contradict the book’s argument. Regardless, the body of the monograph runs roughly chronologically, beginning with chapters 2 and 3, which deal with various aspects of the pre-Columbian city, and moving through chapters 4 to 9, which start with the conquest wars of 1519–21 and end with the late sixteenth century.

Following the introduction, chapter 2 takes on the fundamental role of water and its management in the early historical development of Tenochtitlan. Mundy maintains that pre-Columbian rulers self-consciously displayed a palpable control over the dangerous waters that define the Basin of Mexico’s lake system. These men’s religio-political
authority was demonstrated to their vassals via their symbolic and actual taming of the dramatic powers of Chalchiuhlticue, the female deity of lakes and streams. This control was confirmed in a variety of public acts, perhaps most visibly in the orchestration of complex engineering projects of water reclamation, canal building, and dyke construction. To support her argument, Mundy also includes a brilliant rereading of the well-studied Teocalli Stone; she convincingly posits that the complex iconography carved on the sculpture's back "celebrates the defeat of Chalchiuhlticue" (p. 47). The chapter ends with a similarly new reinterpretation of the infamous Nahua glyph for town (altepetl), reifying the sacred animation of physical geography according to an indigenous worldview. In this first chapter after the introduction, Mundy taps into the recent "environmental turn" of history and its related disciplines, a theoretical school in which art history has yet to find sure footing.

From this environmental overview, Mundy moves on to physically place Mexico rulers within the sacred space of Tenochtitlan, focusing on their decorated bodies and corporeal movements. She presents an overview of the import of feathers in royal costume, such as the vibrant blue hues of the quetzal plumes used in ceremonial capes, fans, and the like. It is her contention that the foreign exotism of this medium enabled the empire's periphery, the local, and the supernatural to be made manifest in the materiality of the ruler's physical form. He could then be transformed into a "deity delegate" (inspxiptl), physically embodying a divine presence within the very real lived urban expanses of his capital city (p. 56). Mundy shows how these costumed bodies, as they engaged in significant processions and other rituals, interacted with the urban fabric, charting symbolically meaningful axes. Her discussion centers on commemorative festivals of some of the engineering projects mentioned above, notably, the great aqueducts of Chapultepec and Acuacuexco and their (now fragmentary) associated sculpture. Both feature monumental stone portraits of the rulers, Motecuzoma II and Ahuitzotl, who oversaw these projects. It is revealing that they adorn themselves with iconographic motifs of two deities (Xipe Totec and Chalchiuhlticue), thereby imaging themselves as tecpilpilx and proclaiming their seemingly supernatural ability to bring fresh water to the marshy lands of Tenochtitlan.

With Chapter 4 we enter a city into which Europeans have arrived as Mundy analyzes "The City in the Conquest's Wake." Art historians have long ignored the decades immediately subsequent to the official "surrender" of Motecuzoma II, primarily due to the dearth of reputable archival sources. Mundy challenges this documentary lacuna, garnering all available textual and visual sources (most important, the maps from 1563 and 1565) to construct a narrative in which native contributions to the development of the colonial metropolis are undeniable. Above all, Mundy highlights the role of indigenous elites, particularly don Juan Velázquez Tlacotzin, who was instrumental in resurrecting the quotidian activities of the city, such as mercantile activities and crafting, following the brutal war, via his construction and oversight of Mexico City's primary market, the Tianquiz. She also persuades readers that indigenous understandings of legitimate rulership did not end with the arrival of Spanish administrative authority.

This last thread is picked up in the subsequent chapter, exclusively dedicated to the acts of a single native gobernador, don Diego de Alvarado Huamitzin. Of royally legitimate indigenous heritage, Huamitzin emerges center stage in 1537 or 1538 when the viceroy, don Antonio de Mendoza, bestowed his administrative title. During Huamitzin's tenure, he commissioned the famous featherworked wood panel Mass of Saint Gregory (1539), a gift sent to Pope Paul III. Mundy provides the most accurate reading of this object to date, situating it not only within its indigenous mode of production but also within the larger global context of the Franciscan missionary effort. Like her re-reading of the Teocalli Stone, this analysis is one of the true gems of the book. It is also unexpected in a work purportedly dedicated to urban development. She illuminates the largely ignored text that surrounds the center composition, recognizing the importance of the named individuals, Pope Paul III, the Franciscan Pedro de Gante, and Huamitzin, and also the toponym used to describe the city, "the great city of the Indies, Mexico" (p. 105). In the choice combination of textual frame, artistic medium, and subject, the gifted artwork offered the pontiff "a vision of decented Christianity, with the Christ as equally present in Mexico as in Rome." A profound declaration for an indigenous elite directly related to the last great Mexica tlatoani (ruler), Motecuzoma II (p. 105). The chapter ends with an analysis of Huamitzin's role in constructing the government palace for the indigenous populace, as he tapped into pre-Columbian conceptions of these kinds of urban spaces.

Chapter 6, "Forgotten Tenochtitlan," directly engages in the Franciscan evangelical campaign, analyzing how the paired rhetorical strategies of forgetting and remembering were used during the process of religious conversion. Mundy utilizes Fray Diego Valadés's tome, the Historica christiana, as her primary evidentiary line to understand how this mendicant order attempted to refashion Tenochtitlan as a model of Christian Rome. To reinforce this point, Mundy, as she did in earlier chapters, again gives us a fresh rereading of an overly studied image, Valadés's engraving of the idealized monastery of San Francisco, the primary seat of the Franciscan evangelical effort in New Spain. She argues that the image's pivotal moment (one largely ignored by other scholars in favor of the vignettes of catechism that surround it) rests in the center of the composition: twelve robed and tonsured friars process alongside a litter bearing a model, an "architectural maquette" (p. 114), of the newly established American church. Valadés's intentional Romanizing of the model's architectural style visually draws a parallel between the Franciscan missionary endeavor and the primitive Roman Catholic church, led by Jesus and the twelve apostles. In this remaking, Mundy demonstrates how the twinned mnemonic concepts of natural and artificial memory resonated with these early friars, primarily Pedro de Gante, as a means to supplant native religion in favor of the Christian godhead and, perhaps more significantly, in an effort to have the indigenous population forget the city's pre-Columbian history and meaning.

With the next chapter, readers are taken from an overview of historical processes to the ostensible minutiae of urban experience, an analysis of place-names used in the early colonial metropolis. Mundy traces the context-specific uses of particular appellations, both textual names and those represented in native sources that rely on traditional Nahua graphic systems, charting divergent name use against the multifaceted social and political motivations of the city's diverse residents. This tracing reveals that Spanish residents intentionally omitted the native place-name Tenochtitlan early in colonial history, but indigenous elites continued to deploy it, along with other pre-Columbian references. The practice of place naming itself thus became its own volatile landscape, as the semantic choices of various colonial actors constituted veiled forms of power negotiation. It also became a primary mode of collective memory formation. Mundy's analysis reveals ongoing tensions between the Nahuan of Tenochtitlan and those seated in Tlatelolco, upholding the dominant model of colonial society as primarily a power contest between a cohesive Spanish group and a homogeneous indigenous one. Her later chapters complicate this model further. Moreover, she convinces us that due to the inherent complexities of the indigenous writing system, even a singular graphic sign was open to multivocal interpretations.

The end of chapter 7 and the entirety of chapter 8 take on Mexico City's publicly enacted rituals. The former makes a case for the sociological import of public feasting in the pre-Columbian era and how its possible continuation postcontact resulted in a further fraying of a cohesive indigenous body. Chapter 8, "Axes in the City," illuminates how urban residents corporeally engaged with Mexico City's organizational scheme to various political ends. Spanish processions tended to highlight landmarks that were locales of recent conquest history, thus generating a kind of narrative history via kinetic...
movement. Indigenous processions, by contrast, established a form of "social geography" within the city, emphasizing native governmental and religious organization (p. 189). Mundy provides overviews of the public ceremonies enacted during the Catholic calendar's principal feast days and secular rites, insightfully charting the physical routes taken by these large public parades. She also highlights the use of visual culture, primarily in the form of religious statuary, as well as elaborate traditional costumes. These processions served to display the indigenous city's social hierarchy, creating meaningful axes of movement that resonated with significant rites of the pre-Columbian era, reifying the links between central spaces and those of the periphery. This chapter concludes with a fascinating reexamination of the pre-Columbian tradition of festival dance, what the Spaniards would rename mitote, as a means for Mundy to verify the hybridized nature of seemingly pure Spanish events such as the jura, the oath of allegiance taken on the coronation of a new Spanish king.

The book's last full chapter lands readers at the end of the sixteenth century and asks them to contend with the shifting conceptions of water and the indigenous notion of the alipetl. Here, Mundy reanimates themes she has woven throughout, serving as a kind of coda beyond the short conclusion that formally ends the text. She follows the actions of key players in these last decades, to argue that native governor don Antonio Valeriano's building of a water canal that led into the Tanguis market conceptually restored indigenous authority, despite his close relationship to the highest levels of the Spanish administration, namely, the viceroy and prominent Franciscans. By tapping into pre-Columbian modes of power consolidation, in this case, the construction of communally beneficial public works, Valeriano remained in power for an impressive twenty-six years.

By the end of Mundy's book, what has emerged is a vision of a city not simply divided into the expected spatial divisions of two distinct repúblicas (that of the Spaniards and that of the indígenas) but as a complex social web of cultural, religious, political, and spatial negotiations. Mexico City-Tenochtitlan was (and continues to be) a locale where the desires of various groups are played out on the ground floor of urban sprawl, where the city itself remains as much a protagonist in its own historical development as the men and women who built, inhabit, and activate it on a daily basis. Mundy has demonstrated, once and for all, that to view the repurposing of pre-Columbian urban space as a kind of social death or physical testament to Spanish victory is to blind oneself to the cultural realities that resulted in one of the world's greatest urban creations.

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Notes