

In search of Mexica kings: current excavations in Tenochtitlan

Leonardo López Luján and Ximena Chávez Balderas

A FEW years ago, the local government of Mexico City ordered the demolition of two buildings in the historic centre that had been irreparably damaged by the 1985 earthquake. This decision aroused great hopes in archaeologists as both these buildings were situated on a plot in front of the ruins of the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlan. It was known that the funerals of at least three kings – Axayacatl (1469–81), Tizoc (1481–86) and Ahuitzotl (1486–1502) – had taken place right at the foot of the main façade of this pyramid.¹ Historical sources from the sixteenth century had revealed that the corpses of the Mexica kings were cremated here and their ashes were buried along with luxurious offerings and the bodies of the servants sacrificed for the occasion.

An archaeological dig undertaken in 2006 confirmed the enormous importance of this site, as it unearthed the biggest Mexica monolith discovered to date. This was a one-eyed sculpture carved out of pink andesite, measuring 4.17 x 3.62 x 0.38 m and weighing 12 tonnes.² This monument depicts Tlaltecuhltli (lady of the earth), a goddess who appears in the myths as the venerated mother who gives birth to all creatures (plants, animals, human beings, the sun and the moon), as well as the monster who devours them when they die.

In March 2007 a new phase of the Templo Mayor Project (founded in 1978) was initiated to explore this area with state-of-the-art technology and meticulous scientific techniques. A few months later, the monolith was temporarily removed from the ground with the help of a long-armed crane in order to be cleaned, restored and analysed. This work

Fig 89
The recently found earth goddess (Tlaltecuhltli) monolith. It was discovered broken into four pieces at the foot of Tenochtitlan's Templo Mayor in downtown Mexico City. Extravagant offerings have since been discovered beneath and around this monument.





revealed the rich colours used by the Mexica artists to paint the goddess. Meanwhile, geophysical radar studies and archaeological excavations were under way on the site occupied by the monolith. These revealed an entrance to the east of the monolith that may have led to a funeral chamber via a deep vertical shaft.

Thirteen offerings have now been recovered, featuring a wide range of gifts: plants (amaranth and cotton seeds, maguey stalks, bars of tree resin), sea animals (shells, snails, corals, fishes, crabs, prawns, sea urchins, sand dollars, sharks, sawfish), birds (eagles, herons, ibises), mammals (pumas, wolves, lynxes) and ritual objects (pottery jars and censers, wooden masks and sceptres, greenstone ornaments and beads, flint knives and a number of unprecedented gold pieces).

Fourteen of the gold pieces that were recently unearthed are now on display for the first time. Some of these objects were made with hammered, embossed and highly burnished gold sheets, while others were produced using the lost-wax technique. The first group of pieces comes from offering 123, found underneath the monolith of Tlaltecuhltli. They are representations of the pleated paper rosettes known as *ixcuateximalli* ('shield of the forehead') worn on the heads of gods and priests (fig. 92). These insignia were originally attached to personalized sacrificial knives with large fangs and eyes in the shape of a Maltese Cross – features associated with the four fire priests who

Fig. 90
Offering 125, a stone casket located to the west of the Tlaltecuhltli monolith. Dozens of gold ornaments come from this deposit, along with many sacrificial knives, remains of marine animals, two skeletons of golden eagles and one of a wolf or dog.

made offerings during the New Fire ceremony, as shown in plate 34 of the Codex Borbonicus (see cat. 73). The second group was discovered in offering 125, to the west of the monolith. It comprises one insignia in the form of a femur (*omitl*) and another in the form of a sectioned shell (*ehēcacozcatl*) (figs 93 and 94). Both were associated with the personalized sacrificial knives depicting Quetzalcoatl (Venus at dawn), Xolotl (Venus at nightfall) and Pahtecatl (the moon god of *pulque*, an intoxicating drink made from agave), as seen in fols 61r, 62r and 55r of the Codex Magliabechiano, respectively. The third group also comes from offering 125, apart from a nose ornament that was found during operation 4 in the building rubble fill supporting the monolith. All these objects are insignia belonging to the gods of *pulque*: an ornament for the forehead, two rectangular ear-spools with a central jewelled pendant, a moon-shaped nose ornament (*yacametzli*) and six pear-shaped bells (figs 95, 96, 97 and 98). Their position inside the offering indicates that some of these ornaments were linked to sacrificial flint knives, while others were associated with the remains of a spider monkey (*Ateles geoffroyi*) pelt, as shown in fol. 55r of the Codex Magliabechiano (fig. 91).

Fig. 91
A *pulque* god or his impersonator with a priest dressed as a Xochipilli spider monkey. From Codex Magliabechiano, fol. 55r. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence.



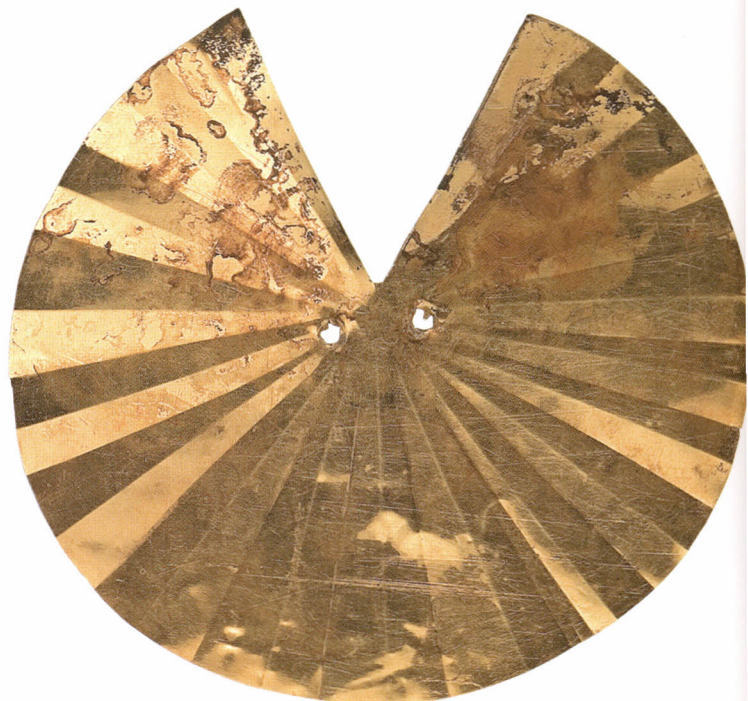


Fig. 92 *above*
Golden representations of pleated
paper rosettes, $6.3 \times 6.5 \times 0.05$ cm.
Offering 123, artefacts 88 and 102,
Templo Mayor (c. 1486–1502).

Fig. 93 *far right*
Golden insignia in the form of a
femur, $6.2 \times 2.4 \times 0.03$ cm. Offering
125, artefact 215, Templo Mayor
(c. 1486–1502).

Fig. 94 *right*
Golden pectoral in the form of a
sectioned shell, $2.9 \times 3.1 \times 0.03$ cm.
Offering 125, artefact 68, Templo
Mayor (c. 1486–1502).





Fig. 95 *left*
Golden ornament for the forehead,
5.6 × 6 × 0.03 cm. Offering 125,
artefact 13, Templo Mayor
(c. 1486–1502).

Fig. 96 *centre, left and right*
Golden rectangular ear-spools,
4.3 × 2.5 × 0.05 cm. Offering 125,
artefacts 11–12, Templo Mayor
(c. 1486–1502).

Fig. 97 *centre, middle*
Golden moon-shaped ornament,
1.5 × 1.9 × 0.04 cm. Offering 4,
artefact 113, Templo Mayor
(c. 1486–1502).

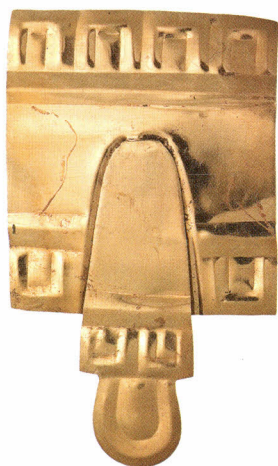


Fig. 98 *left*
Golden pear-shaped bells,
2 × 0.9 cm. Offering 125,
artefacts 475–479 and 578,
Templo Mayor (c. 1486–1502).

Introduction

- 1 Authored by native, *mestizo* and Spanish chroniclers. Among these early chroniclers are: Hernando Alvarado Tezozómoc, author of the *Cronica mexicáyotl*, Cristóbal del Castillo, author of the *Historia de la venida de los mexicanos*, and the indigenous authors of the Codex Boturini and the Codex Azcatitlan.
- 2 Aztlan is sometimes depicted graphically (for example in the Codex Aubin in the British Museum) as an 'archetypal' island or ancestral place in a 'world ocean' with four 'house' glyphs marking the cardinal directions.
- 3 The name Tenochca applied to the citizens of Tenochtitlan itself.
- 4 Family documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, located in the Archivo de Indias in Seville, spell the name either as 'Moteçuma' or 'Motezuma'. Nahuatl scholars prefer 'Motecuhzoma' or 'Motecuczoma' and it is perhaps most correctly pronounced in Nahuatl phonemes as mo – teuc – tzo(n) – ma. They note that much of the early confusion stems from the inability in Spanish to capture some of the sounds of Nahuatl, as well as other difficulties of translation and comprehension. Problems occur in the orthographic transcription of his name into Spanish phonemes, especially crossovers between 'u' and 'o', and the spirant consonant-vowel combination that appears in the middle part of his name, yielding both – teuhc – and – tecuh – in the sources.
- 5 Other variations include Motecuma, Motecuczoma or Motecuçoma (Motecuhzoma).
- 6 Following Moctezuma's death Cuitlahuac governed for 80 days only to die of smallpox and Cuauhtemoc, who relinquished independence on 13 August 1521, was later killed in Hibueras.

Chapter 1 Family histories

- 1 In the native Mexica Nahuatl language this term defines the highest political authority. 'Speaker or great lord' (Molina 1970, p. 140v); 'He who speaks well; hence, great lord, prince, ruler' (Siméon 1977, p. 674).
- 2 Muriá 1973, pp. 141–43.
- 3 The versions of events that is most widely accepted among historians specializing in the history of the Mexica people, and that on which the present account is based, is that by Francisco Javier Clavijero in his *Ancient History of Mexico* published in 1781–82.
- 4 Alvarado Tezozómoc 1949, p. 25.
- 5 Brotherston 1995, pp. 46–47.
- 6 Códice Boturini 1964; Barlow 1949.
- 7 Caso 1927, p. 10. In fig. 3, as in the Codex Boturini, a rectangular block can be seen in the upper section, which we assume corresponds to the location of the deity.
- 8 Alvarado Tezozómoc 1949, pp. 15–16, took his account from Alonso Franco, a *mestizo* who died in 1602. Franco not only claimed that Moctezuma ruled as king in Aztlan New

Mexico, but also that he had two sons: the eldest was destined to govern the Huastecos, and the youngest, Chalchiuhtlatonac, instructed his people to leave Aztlan and embark on their migration.

- 9 Chimalpáhin 1998, p. 85, even affirms that the chieftain Moctezuma who ruled in Aztlan also held the position of *huey tlatoani*.
- 10 These are described as three men, Cuauhcoatl, Apanecatl and Tezcacoatl, and a woman, Chimalma. Chimalpáhin 1998, p. 183.
- 11 Chimalpáhin 1998, pp. 329–31. The chronicler of Chalco-Amecamecan noted that 'on the death of Tozcuecuetxli, who led the Mexica for forty years ... the chieftain Huehue Huitzililhuitl ruled as the first *tlatoani* of the Mexica.'
- 12 Chimalpáhin 1998, p. 161. Chimalpáhin claims that he was the first *tlatoani* of the Mexica, even though officially, in the sequence of governors of Tenochtitlan, he links this investiture with Acamapichtli.
- 13 Chimalpáhin 1998, p. 361.
- 14 Códice Boturini 1964. In the lower section of plate 20, sexual union is expressed graphically with the image of the couple guiding a final journey through their footprints.
- 15 Durán 1995, pp. 84–87. This episode describes the confrontation between the Culhua under the leadership of Achitometl and the Mexica, following the sacrifice of Achitometl's daughter by the Mexica.
- 16 In the pictographs of this symbolic scene, a bird sometimes replaces the snake; see fol. 25v of the Codex Aubin. Lehmann and Kutscher 1981, p. 240.
- 17 *Anales de Tlatelolco* 1948, p. 51. According to the Tlatelolca, this happened the other way round; after the foundation of this city, Tenoch founded Tenochtitlan on an adjacent island.
- 18 Durán 1995, vol. I, p. 99. '...fearing his kingdom would be left without an heir, the councillors took his advice and determined that each of them should give him one of their daughters, for him to have as his wives, to bear him heirs to his kingdom and successors.'
- 19 A crown, mitre or diadem adorned with precious stones. Siméon 1997, p. 770.
- 20 A crown, similar to a mitre, used for coronations. It was tall and ended in a point in the middle of the forehead; the back section hung down the neck. Siméon 1997, p. 126.
- 21 Sahagún 1993, fols 53r–52r. Significantly, after Cuauhtemoc, the last *tlatoani*, the five governors who ruled over the conquered Mexica were depicted without a headdress, crown or nose-plug and with only a simple mantle, although they were still represented on the *icpalli*.
- 22 Washington 1983, p. 23.
- 23 Xaltocan, Tultitlan, Cuauhtitlan, Chalco, Tulantzingo, Otompan and Acolman.
- 24 Brundage 1982, pp. 61–64.
- 25 London 2002, p. 51. Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, the director of the Templo Mayor excavations, associates the calendar date with the year 1390.

- 26 Davies 1992, pp. 58–63.
- 27 Brundage 1982, pp. 106–07. Tlacochcalcatl, Tlacatecatl, Ezauauacatl and Tlillancalqui (Durán 1995, vol. I, pp. 152–53).
- 28 Sahagún 1977, vol. III, p. 209.
- 29 London 2002, p. 51.
- 30 London 2002, p. 51.
- 31 Durán 1995, vol. I, pp. 155–63.
- 32 Brundage 1982, p. 128.
- 33 Previously, the 52-year ceremony had been held in year 1 Rabbit, but since this sign was now considered unlucky, it was moved to year 2 Reed.
- 34 London 2002, pp. 48–55.
- 35 London 2002, pp. 51–52.
- 36 London 2002, pp. 52–53.
- 37 London 2002, p. 53.
- 38 Brundage 1982, p. 190.
- 39 Chavero 1958, pp. 774–76.
- 40 Chavero 1958, pp. 774–76.
- 41 Davies 1980, p. 158.
- 42 London 2002, p. 455, no. 223.
- 43 London 2002, pp. 53–54.

Chapter 2 The coronation of Moctezuma II

- 1 Central and southern Mexico including the Gulf Coast and Yucatan Peninsula, Guatemala and parts of El Salvador and Honduras.
- 2 Durán 1951, pp. 411–12.
- 3 The term *Tlacochcalcatl* corresponds to a high-level officer of the Mexica army.
- 4 Alvarado Tezozómoc 1980, pp. 572–73.
- 5 Durán 1951.
- 6 Durán 1951, p. 430.
- 7 *Casas Nuevas de Moctezuma*.
- 8 Cortés (undated), pp. 207–08.
- 9 Díaz del Castillo 1944, vol. I, p. 279.
- 10 Díaz del Castillo 1944, vol. I, pp. 276–77.
- 11 *Códice Mendoza* 1980.
- 12 Sahagún 1956, vol. II, p. 312.

Chapter 3 Images of Moctezuma and his symbols of power

- 1 Alvarado Tezozómoc 1944, pp. 408–09; Fernández de Oviedo 1946, p. 23; López de Gómara 1943, vol. I, p. 213; Alva Ixtlilxóchitl 1985, vol. II, p. 230.
- 2 Codex Mendoza 1992, vol. 3, fol. 69r; Codex Florentino 1979, Book 12, 26r–26v, 36r–36v, 40v.
- 3 Díaz del Castillo 1983, p. 248.
- 4 Aguilar 1977, p. 81.
- 5 Marcus 1992, pp. 191–96. A glyph is a sign or figure used in the Central Mexican writing system.
- 6 Nicholson 1961; Umberger 1981, pp. 147–51.
- 7 See Alvarado Tezozómoc 1944, pp. 408–09.
- 8 Museo Nacional de Antropología, inv. 10-0081548. See Caso 1927, p. 42; Graulich 1994, pp. 196–98; Olko 2005, pp. 361–62.
- 9 Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, inv. B.3763. See Gutiérrez Solana 1983, pp. 41–45; Washington 1983, pp. 64–66.
- 10 Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, cat. IV Ca 26921a-b. See Gutiérrez Solana 1983, pp. 54–55.
- 11 Museo Nacional de Antropología, cat. 11-3132.

- See Gutiérrez Solana 1983, pp. 51–54.
- 12 Dumbarton Oaks, cat. B.69.AS. See Gutiérrez Solana 1983, pp. 53–54.
 - 13 Museo Nacional de Antropología, inv. 10-0001123. See Umberger 1981, p. 199.
 - 14 See Beyer 1965.
 - 15 Museo Nacional de Antropología, inv. 10-0116583. See Klein 1987, pp. 324–31.
 - 16 López Luján 2009.
 - 17 Art Institute of Chicago, cat. 1990.21. See Washington 1983, pp. 41–42.
 - 18 Broda 1978, pp. 226–33, 251–54; Townsend 1987, pp. 390–405; Graulich 1994, pp. 68–96; López Luján 2006, vol. I, pp. 281–86; Olivier 2008, pp. 78–81.
 - 19 See López Luján 2006.
 - 20 See Obregón and Concepción 1985, pp. 32–39; Olko 2005, pp. 320–23.
 - 21 These leaders also wore a jaguar, coyote or wolf skin, or a coffee-coloured mantle.
 - 22 Noguez 1975; Obregón Rodríguez 1985, pp. 40–49; Olko 2005, pp. 113–36.
 - 23 The glyph of the diadem is read phonetically as *tecuhli* or lord.
 - 24 See Olivier 2008b.
 - 25 Heyden 1972; Sullivan 1980.
 - 26 Sahagún 1950–82, vol. 6, p. 41.
 - 27 Durán 1984, vol. 2, p. 400.
 - 28 On plate 23 of the Codex Borbonicus, 1991, we see a figure dressed as Xiuhtecuhtli accompanied by the footnote: '*Moctezuma q' salia cō los ornamentos de el dios mayor.*'
 - 29 Sahagún 1950–82, vol. 6, pp. 19–20.
 - 30 Sahagún 1950–82, vol. 6, p. 53.
 - 31 Suárez de Peralta 1949, pp. 57–58.
 - 32 Díaz del Castillo 1983, p. 377.
 - 33 Sahagún 1950–82, vol. 8, pp. 33–35.
 - 34 Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, cat. 43-380.
 - 35 Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, cat. 59.989; Museo Civico di Arte Antica, Turin, cat. 732; The Saint Louis Art Museum, 1978, cat. 275.
 - 36 Codex Ixtlilxóchitl 1996, fol. 106r.
 - 37 Hernández 1986, p. 133.
 - 38 Codex Vaticanus A.3738. 1996, fol. 85v.
 - 39 These are two very similar cylindrical monoliths which were used during the gladiator sacrifices in the Tlacaxipehualiztli festival, an annual rite signifying renewal. Both stones were found in the centre of Mexico City.
 - 40 Morgan 1876.
 - 41 Díaz del Castillo 1983, p. 249.
 - 42 See Durand-Forest 1967.
 - 43 Sahagún 1950–82, vol. 2, pp. 66–77; Olivier 2008, pp. 193–230.
 - 44 Cervantes de Salazar 1985, p. 334.
 - 45 See Lesbre 2008.
 - 46 Torquemada 1975–83, vol. 1, pp. 291–92; Alva Ixtlilxóchitl 1985, vol. 2, pp. 181–82.
 - 47 See Tait 1967. British Museum, London, M&ME 1966.10.1.1.
 - 48 Olivier 2008, pp. 240–68.
 - 49 Sahagún 1950–82, vol. 8, pp. 18–19.

Chapter 4 Moctezuma and the renewal of nature

- 1 Zantwijk 1963.
- 2 Matos Moctezuma 1988.
- 3 Sahagún 1950–82, Book 1, p. 9.

- 4 Sahagún 1950–82, Book 1, pp. 13–38.
- 5 Sahagún 1950–82, Book 6, pp. 44–45.
- 6 Townsend 1992 and Nicholson 2003.
- 7 Durán 1971, p. 156.
- 8 Durán 1971, pp. 157–58.
- 9 Durán 1971, pp. 160–65.
- 10 Elson and Smith 2001.
- 11 Sahagún 1950–82, Book 7, p. 4.
- 12 Sahagún 1950–82, Book 7, p. 6.

Chapter 5 Moctezuma's military and economic rule

- 1 Durán 1992, pp. 405.
- 2 Berdan *et al.* 1996, pp. 127, 148.
- 3 Durán 1992, pp. 477–81.
- 4 Hernández 1959, vol. I, p. 304; Coe and Coe 1996, p. 81.
- 5 Sahagún 1950–82, Book 10, p. 65.
- 6 Coe and Coe 1996, p. 22.
- 7 Anderson *et al.* 1976, pp. 208–13.
- 8 Berdan and Anawalt 1992, vol. 3, fol. 64r and *passim*.

Chapter 6 The overthrow of Moctezuma and his empire

- 1 León-Portilla 1962, p. 13.
- 2 Lockhart 1993, pp. 6, 18–19.
- 3 Fernández-Armesto 1992.
- 4 Gillespie 2008; Magaloni-Kerpel 2008.
- 5 Lockhart 1993, pp. 76–78.
- 6 See Carrasco 2000. For the evolution of the Quetzalcoatl myth, see Gillespie 1989, pp. 226–30.
- 8 Lockhart 1993, pp. 19–20; Clendinnen 1990, p. 93.
- 9 Todorov 1984.
- 10 Clendinnen 1990, p. 95.
- 11 Hassig 1994, p. 77.
- 12 León-Portilla 1962, p. 61.
- 13 Thomas 1993, p. 278.
- 14 López de Gómara 1964, p. 142.
- 15 Elliott 1989; Cortés 1986, pp. 467–69.
- 16 Thomas 1993, p. 307.
- 17 López de Gómara 1964, p. 143.
- 18 Cortés 1986, p. 48.
- 19 Gillespie 2008, p. 51.
- 20 Díaz del Castillo 1963, p. 294.
- 21 Durán 1964, p. 305.
- 22 See Chipman 2005.

Chapter 7 The rebirth of ancient Mexico

- 1 Paz 1990, p. 4.
- 2 Paz 1970, pp. 110–18.
- 3 The indispensable source remains Icazbalceta 1954, *passim*.
- 4 Benavente 1971, p. 31; see also León-Portilla 2003, pp. 117–43.
- 5 Gruzinski 1992, pp. 141–69; Martínez 1982, *passim*.
- 6 López de Gómara 1979, pp. 361–67. For a succinct discussion of Las Casas see Brading 1991, pp. 59–101.
- 8 Acosta 1962, pp. 215–17, 230–35, 324–30, 373–77.
- 9 Torquemada 1975–83. Vol. 7 consists of editorial commentary and analysis of sources.
- 10 Alva Ixtlilxóchitl 1975, vol. II, p. 137.
- 11 Torquemada 1975–83 on Moctezuma II, vol. I

- pp. 267–72, 282–85; on Tetzco, vol. I, pp. 164–68, 230–40; on Cortés, vol. II, pp. 9–10, 39, 326–40.
- 12 *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 202–17.
- 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 408–21.
- 14 Solís y Rivadeneira 1838, pp. 171–75, 307–08, 457.
- 15 Sigüenza y Góngora 1960, pp. 230, 341–46, 350–53.
- 16 On Kircher see Evans 1979, pp. 433–42.
- 17 See Gerbi 1973, *passim*; Pauw 1771, vol. I, p. xii; vol. II, pp. 183–205.
- 18 Buffon 1747, vol. VII, pp. 27, 39.
- 19 Raynal 1798, see vol. II, p. 381, where Moctezuma is described as 'sunk in a state of effeminacy and indolence'; on Mexico City see vol. II, p. 398.
- 20 Robertson 1788, vol. III, pp. 176–77, 198, 386–88.
- 21 Clavijero 1964, pp. xviii, xxi, xxx. See also Ronan 1977, *passim*.
- 22 Clavijero 1964, pp. 86, 152–53, 426–31.
- 23 *Ibid.*, see his Third, Fourth and Fifth Dissertations, pp. 454–524.
- 24 León y Gama 1978, unpaginated introduction.
- 25 Lemoine Villacaña 1965, pp. 368–69.
- 26 Tena Ramírez 1967, pp. 31–35.
- 27 Prescott n.d., pp. 21, 33, 52, 91, 103, 223.
- 28 Prescott 1970, pp. 657–99.
- 29 Ramírez 2001. On Ramírez see Krauze 2005, pp. 63–74.
- 30 Orozco y Berra 1960, vol. I, p. 86; vol. II, pp. 426–30; vol. IV, pp. 366–82.
- 31 Martínez Assad 2005, pp. 33–39; Tenorio-Trillo 1996.
- 32 Riva Palacio 1884–89. Chavero asserted that the Nahuas descended from Basques who had migrated from Europe via Atlantis, whereas the Mayas and Otomis derived from Chinese migration. See vol. I, pp. 62–73.
- 33 Gamio 1916, pp. 6–8, 12. Gamio 1922, vol. I, pp. xvii–ix.
- 34 Gamio 1922, vol. I, pp. 546–48; vol. II, pp. 448–70. See also Brading 1988.
- 35 Gamio 1916, pp. 40–47, 50; Fernández 1972, pp. 495–526.
- 36 Paz 1970, pp. 140–48.

Chapter 8 Rethinking Moctezuma

- 1 Frías 1900, 1st series, nos 12, 17 and 28.
- 2 Frías and Martínez 1925.
- 3 See further Martínez 1988 and Rueda Smithers 1993.
- 4 Ce Acatl was the sacred calendar name of Quetzalcoatl.
- 5 Uchmany 1972, p. 12.
- 6 León-Portilla 1961, pp. 122ff.
- 7 López Austin 1973, pp. 178–81.
- 8 López Austin 1973, pp. 178–81.
- 9 Carpentier 1975, p. 11.
- 10 Noguez 1996.

Epilogue

- 1 López Luján, 2005, 2006; Chávez Balderas, 2007.
- 2 Matos Moctezuma and López Luján, 2007; López Luján, 2009.

Bibliography

Acosta 1590

José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de Indias*, Madrid 1590

Acosta 1962

José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, Edmundo O'Gorman (ed.), 2 vols, Mexico City 1962

Acuña 1981

René Acuña (ed.), *Diego Muñoz Camargo. Descripción de la ciudad y provincia de Tlaxcala de las Indias del mar océano para el buen gobierno y ennoblecimiento dellas* [1580–85], Mexico City 1981

Aguilar 1977

Francisco de Aguilar, *Relación breve de la conquista de la Nueva España*, Mexico City 1977

Aguilar-Moreno 2007

Manuel Aguilar-Moreno, *Handbook to Life in the Aztec World*, Oxford 2007

Aguilera 1983

Carmen Aguilera, 'El coxcoxtli y los crácidos mexicanos', in Proceedings of the 44th International Congress of Americanists, *Flora and Fauna Imagery in Pre-Columbian Culture*, Jeanette Peterson (ed.), Oxford, BAR International, series 171, pp. 69–83

Alcina Franch 1992

José Alcina Franch, *L'arte precolombiana*, Milan 1992

Alva Ixtlilxóchitl 1985

Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl, *Obras históricas 1600–1640*, Edmundo O'Gorman (ed.), 2 vols, Mexico City 1975

Alvarado Tezozómoc 1944

Hernando Alvarado Tezozómoc, *Crónica mexicana*, Mexico City 1944

Alvarado Tezozómoc 1949

Hernando Alvarado Tezozómoc, *Crónica mexicáyotl*, Mexico City 1949

Alvarado Tezozómoc 1980

Hernando Alvarado Tezozómoc, *Crónica mexicana*, Mexico City 1980

Alvarado Tezozómoc 1998

Hernando Alvarado Tezozómoc, *Crónica mexicáyotl*, Mexico City 1998

Amsterdam-St Petersburg 2002

Art Treasures from Ancient Mexico: Journey to the Land of the Gods, Felipe Solís Olguín and Ted Leyenaar (eds), exh. cat., Nieuwe Kerk, Amsterdam; State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, 2002

Anales de Tlatelolco 1948

Anales de Tlatelolco (1528) *Unos Anales Históricos de la Nación Mexicana y Códice Tlatelolco. Fuentes para la Historia de México 2*, Mexico City 1948

Anawalt 1981

Patricia Rieff Anawalt, *Indian Clothing Before Cortés*, Norman 1981

Anders and Jansen 1996

Ferdinand Anders and Maarten Jansen, *Libro de la Vida. Texto explicativo del llamado Códice Magliabechiano*, Mexico City 1996

Anderson et al. 1976

Arthur J.O. Anderson, Frances Berdan and James Lockhart, *Beyond the Codices*, Berkeley 1976

Anderson and Dibble 1982/1975

Arthur J.O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble (trans. and ed.), *Florentine Codex. General History of the Things of New Spain*, Santa Fe/Salt Lake City, Part 1 (1982), Part 13 (1975)

Anonymous 1968

'Recent Museum Acquisitions: The Magical Speculum of Dr Dee (British Museum)', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 110 (January 1968), pp. 42–43

Ávila Sandoval 2004

Santiago Ávila Sandoval, 'La vida cotidiana del último tlatoani mexica', in *Historia de la vida cotidiana en México*, Pablo Escalante Gonzalbo (ed.), Mexico City 2004, vol. I, pp. 279–300

Baquadano 1984

Elizabeth Baquadano, *Aztec Sculpture*, London 1984

Barlow 1949

Robert H. Barlow, 'El Códice Azcatitlán', *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, vol. XXXVIII (1949), pp. 101–35

Barlow 1987

Robert H. Barlow, 'Tlatelolco, rival de Tenochtitlán', in *Obras de Robert H. Barlow*, vol. 1, INAH-UDLA, Mexico City 1987

Barlow 1995

Robert H. Barlow, 'El código Moctezuma', in *Obras de Robert H. Barlow*, Jesús Monjarás-Ruiz, Elena Limón, María de la Cruz Paillés H. (eds), Mexico City 1995, vol. 6, pp. 359–69

Batalla Rosado 1996

Juan José Batalla Rosado, 'Prisión y muerte de Motecuhzoma, según el relato de los códices mesoamericanos', *Revista Española de Antropología Americana*, vol. 26 (1996), pp. 101–20

Batres 1902

Leopoldo Batres, *Excavaciones arqueológicas en las Calles de las Escalerillas, año de 1900*, Mexico City 1902

Batres 1976

Leopoldo Batres, 'Exploraciones arqueológicas en la Calle de las Escalerillas 1900', in *Trabajos arqueológicos en el centro de la Ciudad de México*, Eduardo Matos Moctezuma (ed.), INAH, Mexico City 1976, pp. 111–70

Batres 1979

Leopoldo Batres, 'Excavaciones en las Calles de las Escalerillas', in *Trabajos arqueológicos del Centro*, Mexico City 1979, pp. 61–90

Benavente 1941

Toribio de Benavente (Motolinía), *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España*, Mexico City 1941

Benavente 1971

Toribio de Benavente (Motolinía), *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España*, facsimile edition, Joaquín García Icazbalceta (ed.), Mexico City 1971

Berdan 1987

Frances F. Berdan, 'The Economics of Aztec Luxury Trade and Tribute', in *The Aztec Temple Mayor*, Elizabeth H. Boone (ed.), Washington DC 1987, pp. 161–84

Berdan and Anawalt 1992

Frances F. Berdan and Patricia Rieff Anawalt (eds), *The Codex Mendoza*, 4 vols, Berkeley 1992

Berdan and Anawalt 1997

Frances F. Berdan and Patricia Rieff Anawalt (eds), *The Essential Codex Mendoza*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1997

Berdan et al. 1996

Frances F. Berdan, Richard E. Blanton, Elizabeth Hill Boone, Mary G. Hodge, Michael E. Smith and Emily Umberger, *Aztec Imperial Strategies*, Washington DC 1996

Bernal 1967

Ignacio Bernal, *Museo Nacional de Antropología de México. Arqueología*, Mexico City 1967

Bernal and Simoni-Abbat 1986

Ignacio Bernal and Mireille Simoni-Abbat, *Le Mexique des origines aux Aztèques*, Paris 1986

Bernal et al. 1979

Ignacio Bernal, Román Piña Chan and Fernando Camara-Barbachano, *Tesoros del Museo Nacional de Antropología de México*, Mexico City 1979

Beyer 1921

Hermann Beyer, *El llamado 'Calendario Azteca', Descripción e Interpretación del Cuauhxicalli de la 'Casa de las Águilas'*, Mexico City 1921

Beyer 1965

Hermann Beyer, 'Algunos datos nuevos sobre el Calendario Azteca', *El México Antiguo*, vol. X (1965), pp. 261–65

Bilbao 2005

El imperio azteca, Felipe Solís Olguín (ed.), exh. cat., Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao 2005

Boone 1989

Elizabeth H. Boone, *Incarnations of the Aztec Supernatural: The Image of Huitzilopochtli in Mexico and Europe*, Philadelphia 1989

Boone 2000

Elizabeth H. Boone, *Stories in Red and Black. Pictorial Histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs*, Austin 2000

Both 2005

Arndt Adje Both, *Aerófonos mexicas de las ofrendas del recinto sagrado de Tenochtitlán*, Doctoral thesis, Berlin Free University 2005

Brading 1988

D.A. Brading, 'Manuel Gamio and Official Indigenismo in Mexico', *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, vol. 7 (1988), pp. 75–89

Brading 1991

D.A. Brading, *The First America. The Spanish monarchy, Creole patriots and the Liberal state 1492–1867*, Cambridge 1991

Broda 1978

Johanna Broda, 'Relaciones políticas ritualizadas: el ritual como expresión de una ideología', in *Economía política e ideología en el México prehispánico*, Pedro Carrasco and Johanna Broda (eds), Mexico City 1978, pp. 221–55

Brotherston 1995

Gordon Brotherston, *Painted Books from Mexico: Codices in the UK Collections and the World they Represent*, London 1995

Brotherston 2005

Gordon Brotherston, *Feather Crown. The Eighteen Feasts of the Mexica Year*, British Museum Research Publication 154, London 2005

Brown 2004

- Jonathan Brown, 'Spanish Painting and New Spanish Painting, 1550–1700', in *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521–1821*, exh. cat., Denver Art Museum 2004
- Brumfiel and Feinman 2008**
Elizabeth M. Brumfiel and Gary M. Feinman, *The Aztec World*, New York 2008
- Brundage 1979**
Burr Cartwright Brundage, *The Fifth Sun: Aztec Gods, Aztec World*, Austin 1979
- Brundage 1982**
Burr Cartwright Brundage, *Lluvia de dardos, Historia política de los aztecas mexicanos*, Mexico City 1982
- Brundage 1985**
Burr Cartwright Brundage, *The Jade Steps: A Ritual Life of the Aztecs*, Salt Lake City 1985
- Buffon 1747**
George-Louis Leclerc Buffon, *Natural History*, 10 vols, London 1747
- Bühl 2008**
Dumbarton Oaks: The Collections, Gudrun Bühl (ed.), Washington DC 2008
- Burland 1972**
C.A. Burland, *Montezuma: Lord of the Aztecs*, London 1972
- Bushnell 1906**
David I. Bushnell, Jr., 'North American Ethnographical Material in Italian Collections', *American Anthropologist*, new series, vol. 8, no. 2 (April–June 1906), pp. 243–55
- Carmichael 1970**
Elizabeth Carmichael, *Turquoise Mosaics from Mexico*, London 1970
- Carpentier 1975**
Alejo Carpentier, *Concierto barroco*, Mexico City 1975
- Carrasco 1998**
David Carrasco with Scott Sessions, *Daily Life of the Aztecs, People of the Sun and Earth*, Westport and London 1998
- Carrasco 2000**
David Carrasco, *Quetzalcoatl and the Irony of Empire: Myths and Prophecies in the Aztec Tradition*, Boulder 2000
- Carrasco and Matos Moctezuma 2003**
David Carrasco and Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, *Moctezuma's Mexico: Visions of the Aztec World*, Boulder 2003
- Caso 1927**
Alfonso Caso, *El Teocalli de la Guerra Sagrada*, Mexico City 1927
- Castañeda and Mendoza 1933**
Daniel Castañeda and Vicente T. Mendoza, *Instrumental Precortesiano*, vol. I, Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Etnografía e Historia, Mexico City 1933
- Cervantes de Salazar 1985**
Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Crónica de la Nueva España*, Mexico City 1985
- Chavero 1958**
Alfredo Chavero, *Historia antigua y de la conquista, México a través de los siglos*, Mexico City 1958
- Chávez Balderas 2007**
Ximena Chávez Balderas, *Rituales funerarios en el Templo Mayor de Tenochtitlan*, Mexico City 2007
- Chimalpáhin 1998**
Domingo Chimalpáhin, *Codex Chimalpáhin*, Las Ocho Relaciones y el Memorial de Colhuacan, 3 vols, Mexico City 1998
- Chipman 2005**
Donald E. Chipman, *Moctezuma's Children: Aztec Royalty under Spanish Rule, 1520–1700*, Austin 2005
- Clavijero 1964**
Francisco Javier Clavijero, *Historia Antigua de México*, Mariano Cuevas (ed.), Mexico City 1964
- Clavijero 1979**
Francisco Javier Clavijero, *Historia antigua de México*, facsimile edition from 1853, Mexico City 1979
- Clendinnen 1990**
Inga Clendinnen, 'Cortés, Signs, and the Conquest of Mexico', in *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe*, Anthony Grafton and Ann Blair (eds), Philadelphia 1990, pp. 87–130
- Codex Azcatitlan 1995**
Codex Azcatitlan, facsimile edition, Robert H. Barlow (ed.), 2 vols, Paris 1995
- Codex Borbonicus 1991**
Codex Borbonicus, facsimile edition, Mexico City and Austria 1991
- Codex Florentino 1979**
Codex Florentino, facsimile edition, 3 vols, Mexico City 1979
- Codex Ixtlilxóchitl 1996**
Codex Ixtlilxóchitl, facsimile edition, Mexico City 1996
- Codex Mendoza 1992**
The Codex Mendoza, facsimile edition, Frances F. Berdan and Patricia Rieff Anawalt (eds), 4 vols, Berkeley 1992
- Codex Telleriano-Remensis 1995**
Codex Telleriano-Remensis. Ritual, Divination, and History in a Pictorial Aztec Manuscript, Eloise Quiñones Keber (ed.), Austin 1995
- Codex Tudela 1980**
Codex Tudela, facsimile edition, Madrid 1980
- Codex Vaticanus 1964**
Codex Vaticanus, facsimile edition, in *Antigüedades de México*, Mexico City 1964
- Codex Vaticanus A.3738. 1996**
Codex Vaticanus A.3738., facsimile edition, Mexico City 1996
- Códice Boturini 1964**
Códice Boturini or Tira de la Peregrinación, facsimile edition, in *Antigüedades de México*, Mexico City 1964
- Códice Mendoza 1980**
Códice Mendoza, facsimile edition, Mexico City 1980
- Coe and Coe 1996**
Sophie D. Coe and Michael D. Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, London 1996
- Cortés (n.d.)**
Hernán Cortés, 'Segunda Carta de Relación', in *Cartas de Relación de la Conquista de América*, Mexico City (n.d.)
- Cortés 1986**
Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, Anthony Pagden (trans. and ed.), New Haven and London 1986
- Couch 1985**
N.C. Christopher Couch, *The Festival Cycle of the Aztec Codex Borbonicus*, BAR International Series 270, Oxford 1985
- Cuadriello 1999**
Jaime Cuadriello, 'El origen del reino y la configuración de su empresa: Episodios y alegorías de triunfo y fundación', in *Los pinceles de la historia: El origen del reino de la Nueva España 1680-1750*, Jaime Soler Frost (ed.), Mexico City 1999, pp. 50–107
- Cuadriello 2004**
Jaime Cuadriello, 'Moctezuma a través de los siglos', in *El imperio sublevado: Monarquía y Naciones en España e Hispanoamérica*, Madrid 2004, pp. 95–122
- Dahlgren et al. 1982**
Barbara Dahlgren, Emma Pérez-Rocha, Lourdes Suárez and Perla Valle, *Corazón de Copil*, Mexico City 1982
- Davies 1980**
Nigel Davies, *The Aztecs: a History*, Norman 1980
- Davies 1992**
Nigel Davies, *El imperio azteca, el resurgimiento tolteca*, Mexico City 1992
- Day 1992**
Jane S. Day, *Aztec: The World of Moctezuma*, Denver 1992
- Díaz del Castillo 1632**
Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, Madrid 1632
- Díaz del Castillo 1944**
Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España*, 2 vols, Mexico City 1944
- Díaz del Castillo 1963**
Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, J.M. Cohen (trans. and ed.), Harmondsworth 1963
- Díaz del Castillo 1983**
Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, Mexico City 1983
- Dryden 1670**
John Dryden, *The Indian Emperor, or, The Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards. Being the sequel of the Indian queen*, London 1670
- Durán 1951**
Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e Islas de Tierra Firme*, 3 vols, Mexico City 1951
- Durán 1964**
Diego Durán, *The Aztecs. The History of the Indies of New Spain*, Doris Heyden and Fernando Horcasitas (trans. and ed.), New York 1964
- Durán 1971**
Diego Durán, *Book of the Gods and Rites and The Ancient Calendar*, Fernando Horcasitas and Doris Heyden (trans. and eds), Norman 1971
- Durán 1992**
Diego Durán, *The History of the Indies of New Spain*, Doris Heyden (trans.), Norman 1992
- Durán 1995**
Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e Islas de Tierra Firme*, Mexico City 1995
- Durand-Forest 1967**
Jacqueline de Durand-Forest, 'El cacao entre los aztecas', *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, vol. VII (1967), pp. 155–81
- Easby and Scott 1970**
Elizabeth Easby and John F. Scott (eds), *Before Cortés: Sculpture of Middle America*, New York 1970
- Ellingson 2001**
Ter Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage*, Berkeley 2001

Elliott 1989

J.H. Elliott, 'The Mental World of Hernán Cortés', in *Spain and its World, 1500–1700: Selected Essays*, J.H. Elliott, New Haven and London 1989, ch. 2

Elson and Smith 2001

Christina Elson and Michael E. Smith, 'Archaeological Deposits from the Aztec New Fire Ceremony', *Ancient Mesoamerica*, 12 (2001), pp. 157–74

Escalante Gonzalbo 1997

Pablo Escalante Gonzalbo, 'Pintar la historia tras la crisis de la Conquista', in *Los pinceles de la historia: El origen del reino de la Nueva España, 1680–1750*, Mexico City 1997, pp. 25–49

Escalante Gonzalbo 2004

Pablo Escalante Gonzalbo, 'Antonio Rodríguez, Attributed', in *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521–1821*, exh. cat., Denver Art Museum 2004, pp. 171–78

Evans 1979

R.J. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1500–1700*, Oxford 1979

Feest 1990

Christian F. Feest, 'Vienna's Mexican Treasures: Aztec, Mixtec and Tarascan Works from Sixteenth-century Austrian Collections', *Archiv für Völkerkunde*, 44 (1990)

Fernández 1972

Justino Fernández, *Estética del arte mexicano*, Mexico City 1972

Fernández et al. 2007

Miguel Ángel Fernández et al., *Isis and the Feathered Serpent, Pharaonic Egypt/Pre-Hispanic Mexico*, Monterrey 2007

Fernández-Armesto 1992

Felipe Fernández-Armesto, '"Aztec" Auguries and Memories of the Conquest of Mexico', *Renaissance Studies* 6, nos 3–4 (1992), pp. 287–305

Fernández de Oviedo 1946

Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Sucesos y diálogos de la Nueva España*, Mexico City 1946

Fischer and Gaida 1993

Manuela Fischer and Marie Gaida, 'Die Geschichte der mexikanischen Sammlung im Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin', *Die Sammlung vorspanischer Kunst und Kultur aus Mexiko im Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin*, Veröffentlichung des Museums für Völkerkunde Berlin, n.s., 57; Abteilung, Amerikanische Archäologie, vol. 7 (1993)

Flores Gutiérrez 1991

J. Daniel Flores Gutiérrez, 'Venus y su relación con fechas antiguas', in *Arqueoastronomía y etnoastronomía en Mesoamérica*, Johanna Broda, Stanislaw Iwaniszewski and Lucrecia Maupomé (eds), Mexico City 1991, pp. 343–88

Frías 1900

Heriberto Frías, *Biblioteca del Niño Mexicano, ilustrado por José Guadalupe Posada*, Mexico City 1900

Frías and Martínez 1925

Heriberto Frías and Rafael Martínez, *Album Histórico Popular de la Ciudad de México*, Mexico City 1925

Galindo y Villa 1897

Jesús Galindo y Villa, *Catálogo del Departamento de*

Arqueología del Museo Nacional. Primera parte: Galería de monolitos, 2nd edition, Mexico City 1897

Gamio 1916

Manuel Gamio, *Forjando Patria*, Mexico City 1916

Gamio 1922

La población del Valle de Teotihuacan, Manuel Gamio (ed.), 2 vols, Mexico City 1922

García Icazbalceta 1896

Joaquín García Icazbalceta, 'La fiesta del Pendón en México', in *Obras de Joaquín García Icazbalceta*, Mexico City 1896

García Moll, Solís Olguín and Bali 1990

Roberto García Moll, Felipe Solís Olguín and Jaime Bali, *El tesoro de Moctezuma*, Mexico City 1990

García Sáiz 1999

María Concepción García Sáiz, 'La Conquista Militar y los Enconchados: Las peculiaridades de un patrocinio indiano', in *Las Pinceles de la Historia: el origen del reino de la Nueva España, 1680–1759*, Mexico City 1999, pp. 109–41

Garibay K. 1984

Angel María Garibay K. (ed.), *Fray Diego Durán. Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e Islas de la Tierra Firme*, 2 vols, Mexico City 1984

Gendrop 1970

Paul Gendrop, *Arte prehispánico en Mesoamérica*, Mexico City 1970

Gerbi 1973

Antonello Gerbi, *The Dispute of the New World. The History of a Polemic 1750–1900*, Jeremy Moyle (trans.), Pittsburgh 1973

Gillespie 1989

Susan D. Gillespie, *The Aztec Kings: the Construction of Rulership in Mexica History*, Tucson 1989

Gillespie 2008

Susan D. Gillespie, 'Blaming Moteuczoma: Anthropomorphizing the Aztec Conquest', in *Invasion and Transformation: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Conquest of Mexico*, Rebecca P. Brien and Margaret A. Jackson (eds), Boulder 2008, pp. 25–55

Glass 1964

John B. Glass, *Catálogo de la Colección de Códices*, Mexico City 1964

Glass and Robertson 1975

John B. Glass and Donald Robertson, 'A Census of Native Middle American Pictorial Manuscripts', in *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, Robert Wauchope (ed.), Austin 1975, vol. 14, pp. 81–252

Graulich 1994

Michel Graulich, *Montezuma ou l'apogée et la chute de l'empire aztèque*, Paris 1994

Graulich 1995

Michel Graulich, *Codex Azcatitlan*, Paris 1995

Graulich 2001

Michel Graulich, 'Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin, un gran reformador', *Arqueología Mexicana, el Norte de México*, vol. IX, no. 51 (September–October 2001), pp. 74–79

Gruzinski 1992

Serge Gruzinski, *Painting the Conquest. The Mexican Indians and the European Renaissance*, Deke Dusinberre (trans.), Paris 1992

Gutiérrez Solana 1983

Nelly Gutiérrez Solana, *Objetos ceremoniales en piedra de la cultura mexicana*, Mexico City 1983

Hajovsky 2009

Patrick Hajovsky, 'André Thevet's "true" portrait of Moctezuma and its European legacy', *Word and Image*, 25, no. 4 (July 2009)

Hassig 1994

Ross Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, London 1994

Heikamp 1972

Detlef Heikamp, *Mexico and the Medici*, Florence 1972

Hernández 1959

Francisco Hernández, *Historia natural de Nueva España*, 2 vols, Mexico City 1959

Hernández 1986

Francisco Hernández, *Antigüedades de la Nueva España*, Madrid 1986

Hernández Pons 1987

Elsa Hernández Pons, 'Una escultura azteca encontrada en el centro de la ciudad de México', *Antropología*, new series, no. 13 (March–April 1987), pp. 15–19

Hernández Pons 1997

Elsa Hernández Pons, 'El águila-cuauhxicalli', in *La antigua Casa del Marqués del Apartado*, Mexico City 1997, pp. 167–88

Hernández Sánchez 2005

Gilda Hernández Sánchez, *Vasijas para ceremonia*, Leiden 2005

Heyden 1972

Doris Heyden, 'Xiuhtecuhtli, investidor de soberanos', *Boletín del INAH*, second series, no. 3 (1972), pp. 3–10

Hildesheim-Munich-Linz-Humlebæk-Brussels 1986

Glanz und Untergang des Alten Mexiko: Die Azteken und ihre Vorläufer, Eva and Arne Eggebrecht (eds), exh. cat., 2 vols, Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim; Haus der Kunst, Munich; Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, Linz; Louisiana Museum, Humlebæk; Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, 1986

Honour 1975

Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time*, New York 1975

Hosler 1994

Dorothy Hosler, *The Sounds and Colors of Power: The Sacred Metallurgical Technology of Ancient West Mexico*, Boston 1994

Icazbalceta 1954

Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI*, 2nd edition, Mexico City 1954

INAH 1970

Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City, *Boletín*, 42 (1970)

Joyce 1912

Thomas Athol Joyce, *A Short Guide to the American Antiquities in the British Museum*, London 1912

Keen 1985

Benjamin Keen, *The Aztec Image in Western Thought*, New Brunswick 1985

Klein 1987

Cecelia F. Klein, 'The Ideology of Autosacrifice at the Templo Mayor', in *The Aztec Templo Mayor*, Elizabeth H. Boone (ed.), Washington DC 1987, pp. 293–370

Klor de Alva, Nicholson and Quiñones Keber 1988

- Jorge Klor de Alva, H.B. Nicholson and Eloise Quiñones Keber (eds), *The Work of Bernardino de Sahagún: Pioneer Ethnographer of Sixteenth-Century Aztec Mexico*, Texas 1988
- Krauze 2005**
Enrique Krauze, *La presencia del pasado*, Mexico City 2005
- La Niece and Meeks 2000**
Susan La Niece and Nigel Meeks, 'Diversity of Goldsmithing Traditions in the American and the Old World', in *Pre-Columbian Gold: Technology, Style and Iconography*, Colin McEwan (ed.), London 2000
- Lehman 1906**
Walter Lehman, 'Die Mexikanischer Grünsteinfigur des Musée Guimet in Paris', *Globus*, 90 (1906), pp. 60–61
- Lehman 1948**
Henri Lehman, 'Une statue aztèque en résine', *JSA*, new series, vol. XXXVII (1948), pp. 269–73
- Lehmann and Kutscher 1981**
Walter Lehmann and Gerdt Kutscher, *Geschichte der Azteken – Codex Aubin und verwandte Dokumente*, Berlin 1981
- Lemoine Villacaña 1965**
Ernesto Lemoine Villacaña, *Morelos*, Mexico City 1965
- León-Portilla 1961**
Miguel León-Portilla, *Los antiguos mexicanos a través de sus cónicas y cantares*, Mexico City 1961
- León-Portilla 1962**
Miguel León-Portilla, *The Broken Spears. The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico*, London 1962
- León-Portilla 2002**
Miguel León-Portilla, 'Mitos de los Orígenes en Mesoamérica', *Arqueología Mexicana*, vol. 10, no. 56 (July–August 2002), pp. 20–27
- León-Portilla 2003**
Miguel León-Portilla, *Códices. Los antiguos libros del Nuevo Mundo*, Mexico City 2003
- León y Gama 1978**
Antonio de León y Gama, *Descripción histórica y cronológica de las dos piedras*, facsimile of the 1792 and 1832 editions, Mexico City 1978
- Lesbre 2008**
Patrick Lesbre, 'Recuerdo colonial de la realeza prehispánica: el uso de cerbatanas por los señores de Tetzaco', in *Símbolos de poder en Mesoamérica*, Guilhem Olivier (ed.), Mexico City 2008, pp. 293–313z
- Lind 1994**
Michael D. Lind, 'Cholula and Mixteca Polychromes: Two Mixteca-Puebla Regional Sub-styles', in *Mixteca-Puebla: Discoveries and Research in Mesoamerican Art and Archaeology*, Henry B. Nicholson and Eloise Quiñones Keber (eds), Culver City, California 1994, pp. 79–99
- Lockhart 1993**
James Lockhart (trans. and ed.), *We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico*, Repertorium Columbianum, vol. 1, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1993
- Lomnitz 2006**
Claudio Lomnitz, *La idea de la muerte en México*, Mexico City 2006
- London 1965**
Henry Christie: A Pioneer of Anthropology: An Exhibition in the King Edward VII Gallery, exh. cat., The British Museum, London 1965
- London 2002**
Aztecs, Eduardo Matos Moctezuma and Felipe Solís Olguín (eds), exh. cat., Royal Academy of Arts, London 2002
- López Austin 1973**
Alfredo López Austin, *Hombre-dios: Religión e Política en el Mundo Náhuatl*, Mexico City 1973
- López Austin 1998**
Alfredo López Austin, 'Quetzalcóatl desdoblado: Religión mesoamericana y cerámica mixteca', in *Usos, apropiaciones y desviaciones de la imagen en México*, Mexico City 1998
- López Austin 2004**
Alfredo López Austin, *Cuerpo humano e ideología, las concepciones de los antiguos nahuas*, Mexico City 2004
- López Austin and López Luján 2004**
Alfredo López Austin and Leonardo López Luján, 'El Templo Mayor de Tenochtitlan, el Tonacatépetl y el mito del robo del maíz', in *Acercarse y mirar. Homenaje a Beatriz de la Fuente*, María Teresa Uriarte and Leticia Staines Cicero (eds), (Estudios y Fuentes del Arte en México LXXIV), Mexico City 2004, pp. 403–55, 486
- López de Gómara 1552**
Francisco López de Gómara, *La conquista de México*, Saragossa 1552
- López de Gómara 1569**
Francisco López de Gómara, *Histoire generale des Indes Occidentales, et terres nueves, qui lusques a present ont esté decouvertes*, Martin Fumée (trans.), Paris 1569
- López de Gómara 1943**
Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia de la conquista de México*, 2 vols, Mexico City 1943
- López de Gómara 1964**
Francisco López de Gómara, *Cortés: the Life of the Conqueror by his Secretary*, Lesley Byrd Simpson (trans. and ed.), Berkeley and Los Angeles 1964
- López de Gómara 1965–66**
Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia General de las Indias*, 2 vols, Barcelona 1965–66
- López de Gómara 1979**
Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia de la conquista de México*, Jorge Gurría Lacroix (ed.), Caracas 1979
- López Luján 1994**
Leonardo López Luján, *The Offerings of the Temple Mayor of Tenochtitlan*, Niwot 1994
- López Luján 2005**
Leonardo López Luján, *The Offerings of the Temple Mayor of Tenochtitlan*, revised edition, Albuquerque 2005
- López Luján 2006**
Leonardo López Luján, *La Casa de las Águilas: un ejemplo de la arquitectura religiosa de Tenochtitlan*, 2 vols, Mexico City 2006
- López Luján 2009**
Leonardo López Luján, 'Bajo el volcán: el memorial de Motecuhzoma II en Amecameca', *Arqueología Mexicana*, vol. XVII, no. 95 (2009), pp. 56–9
- López Luján 2009b**
Leonardo López Luján, 'Aguas petrificadas: las ofrendas a Tláloc enterradas en el Templo Mayor de Tenochtitlan', *Arqueología mexicana*, vol. XVII, no. 96 (March–April 2009), pp. 52–57
- López Luján 2009c**
Leonardo López Luján, 'La Tlaltecuhltli', *Escultura monumental mexicana*, Mexico City, Fundación Commemoraciones 2010
- López Luján et al. 2006**
López Luján et al., 'The destruction of images in Teotihuacan', *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 49/50 (spring–autumn 2006), pp. 13–39
- López Luján and Fauvet-Berthelot 2005**
Leonardo López Luján and Marie-France Fauvet-Berthelot, *Aztèques, La collection de sculptures de musée du quai Branly*, Paris 2005
- Los Angeles 2001**
The Journey to Aztlan: Art from a Mythic Homeland, Virginia M. Fields and Victor Zamudio-Taylor (eds), exh. cat., Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Austin Museum of Art; Albuquerque Museum, Los Angeles 2001
- McEwan 1994**
Colin McEwan, *Ancient Mexico in the British Museum*, London 1994
- McEwan 2009**
Colin McEwan, *Ancient American Art in Detail*, London 2009
- McEwan et al. 2006**
Colin McEwan, Andrew Middleton, Caroline Cartwright and Rebecca Stacey, *Turquoise Mosaics from Mexico*, London 2006
- Madrid 1992**
Azteca-Mexica, las culturas del México antiguo, José Alcina Franch, Miguel León-Portilla and Eduardo Matos Moctezuma (eds), exh. cat., Sociedad Estatal Quinto Centenario, Madrid 1992
- Magaloni-Kerpel 2008**
Diana Magaloni-Kerpel, 'Painting a New Era: Conquest, Prophecy, and the World to Come', in *Invasion and Transformation: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Conquest of Mexico*, Rebecca P. Brien and Margaret A. Jackson (eds), Colorado 2008, pp. 125–49
- Marcus 1992**
Joyce Marcus, *Mesoamerican Writing Systems. Propaganda, Myth, and History of Four Ancient Civilizations*, Princeton 1992
- Martínez 1982**
José Luis Martínez, *El 'Códice Florentino' y la 'Historia General' de Sahagún*, Mexico City 1982
- Martínez 1988**
José Luis Martínez, *Hernán Cortés*, Mexico City 1988
- Martínez 1990**
José Luis Martínez (ed.), *Documentos cortesianos*, Mexico City 1990
- Martínez Assad 2005**
Carlos Martínez Assad, *La patria en el Paseo de la Reforma*, Mexico City 2005
- Martínez Chiñas 1994**
Rosalino Martínez Chiñas, 'Curaduría de Tecnología y Armas', in *Tesoros del Museo Nacional de Historia en el Castillo de Chapultepec*, Mexico City 1994, pp. 208–12
- Martínez del Río de Redo 2006**
M. Martínez del Río de Redo, 'La conquista en una serie de tablas enconchadas', in *La imagen de los naturales en el arte de la Nueva España, Siglos XVI al XVIII*, Mexico City 2006
- Mateos Higuera 1979**
Salvador Mateos Higuera, 'Herencia arqueológica de México-Tenochtitlán', in *Trabajos arqueológicos en el Centro de la Ciudad de México (Antología)*,

- Eduardo Matos Moctezuma (ed.), Mexico City 1979, pp. 205–68
- Matos Moctezuma 1986**
Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, *Vida y muerte en el Templo Mayor*, Mexico City 1986
- Matos Moctezuma 1988**
Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, *The Great Temple of the Aztecs*, London and New York 1988
- Matos Moctezuma 1988b**
Eduardo Matos Moctezuma (ed.), *Obras maestras del Templo Mayor*, Mexico City 1988
- Matos Moctezuma 1989**
Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, *Los aztecas*, Mexico City 1989
- Matos Moctezuma 1993**
Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, 'Tenochtitlan', *Arqueología Mexicana*, vol. 1, no. 4, (October–November 1993), pp. 18–21
- Matos Moctezuma and Solís Olguín 2003**
Eduardo Matos Moctezuma and Felipe Solís Olguín (eds), *Azteken*, Cologne 2003
- Matos Moctezuma and López Luján 2007**
Eduardo Matos Moctezuma and Leonardo López Luján, 'La diosa Tlaltecuhltli de la Casas de las Ajaracas y el rey Ahuítzotl', *Arqueología Mexicana*, vol. XIV, no. 83 (2007), pp. 22–29
- Matrícula de Tributos 1997**
Matrícula de Tributos o Códice Moctezuma, Ferdinand Anders, Maarten Jansen and Luis Reyes García (eds), Graz and Mexico City 1997
- Matsumoto et al. 2007**
Ryozo Matsumoto, Ken-ichi Shinoda and Masahiro Ono (eds), *The Three Great Civilizations of Mesoamerica and the Central Andes. The World of Maya, Aztec and Inca*, exh. cat., Japan 2007
- Mena 1927**
Ramón Mena, *Catálogo de la colección de objetos de jade*, Talleres gráficos del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía, Mexico City 1927
- Mendoza and Sánchez 1885**
Gumesindo Mendoza and Jesús Sánchez, *Catálogo de las colecciones del Museo Nacional*, Mexico City 1885
- Meslay 2001**
Oliver Meslay, 'Murillo and Smoking Mirrors', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 143 (February 2001), pp. 73–79
- Miller and Taube 1993**
Mary Miller and Karl Taube, *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya: An Illustrated Dictionary of Mesoamerican Religion*, London 1993
- Miller and Taube 1997**
Mary Miller and Karl Taube, *An Illustrated Dictionary of the Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya*, London 1997
- Molina 1970**
Alonso de Molina, 'Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana y mexicana y castellana', *Biblioteca Porrúa*, 44 (1970)
- Montanus 1671**
Arnoldus Montanus, *De nieuwe en onbekende wereld, of, Beschryving van America en 't Zuid-land...*, Amsterdam 1671
- Monterde 1947**
Francisco Monterde, *Moctezuma II: señor del Anahuac*, Mexico City 1947
- Monterrey 2007**
Isis y la Serpiente Emplumada. Egipto Faraónico/México Prehispánico, Magali Tercero (ed.), exh. cat., Centro Expositivo Nave Lewis, Parque Fundidora, Monterrey 2007
- Montes González 2006**
Francisco Montes González, 'Apuntes iconográficos a la sere mayor de enconchados de la Conquista de México del Museo de América de Madrid', in *La multiculturalidad en las artes y en la arquitectura*, Las Palmas 2006, vol. I, pp. 803–11
- Morgan 1876**
Lewis H. Morgan, 'Montezuma's Dinner', *North American Review*, vol. 132 (1876), pp. 265–308
- Mundy 1998**
Barbara E. Mundy, 'Mapping the Aztec capital: The 1524 Nuremberg map of Tenochtitlan, its sources and meanings', *Imago Mundi*, 50 (1998), pp. 11–33
- Muriá 1973**
José María Muriá, *Sociedad Prehispánica y Pensamiento Europeo*, SEP – Setentas 76, Mexico City 1973
- Nahmad and Besso-Oberto 1993**
Daniel Nahmad and Humberto Besso-Oberto, 'Las joyas del pescador: orfebrería prehispánica', *Arqueología Mexicana*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1993), pp. 56–63
- New York 1940**
Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art, exh. cat., Museum of Modern Art, New York in association with the Museo Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City, New York 1940
- New York 1970**
Before Cortes: Sculpture of Middle America, Elizabeth Kennedy Easby and John F. Scott (eds), exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1970
- New York 1976**
Aztec Stone Sculpture, Esther Pasztory (ed.), exh. cat., Center for Inter-American Relations, New York 1976
- New York 2004**
The Aztec Empire, Felipe Solís Olguín (ed.), exh. cat., Guggenheim Museum, New York 2004
- Nicholson 1961**
Henry B. Nicholson, 'The Chapultepec Cliff sculpture of Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin', *El México Antiguo*, vol. IX (1961), pp. 379–444
- Nicholson 1988**
Henry B. Nicholson, 'The Iconography of the Deity Representations in Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's *Primeros Memoriales*: Huitzilopochtli and Chalchiuhtlicue', in *The Work of Bernardino de Sahagún, Pioneer Ethnographer of Sixteenth-century Aztec Mexico*, Jorge Klor de Alva, Henry B. Nicholson and Eloise Quiñones Keber (eds), New York 1988
- Nicholson 2003**
Henry B. Nicholson, 'The Annual "Royal Ceremony" on Mt. Tlaloc: Mountain Fertility Ritualism in the Late Pre-Hispanic Basin of Mexico', in *Mesas and Cosmologies in Mesoamerica*, Douglas Sharon (ed.), San Diego Museum Papers 42, 2003
- Noguera 1945**
Eduardo Noguera, 'El Atlatl o Tiradera', *Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía*, 5th series, vol. III (1945)
- Noguera 1968**
Eduardo Noguera, 'Ceremonias del Fuego Nuevo', *Cuadernos Americanos*, vol. 3, no. 158 (1968), pp. 146–51
- Noguez 1975**
Xavier Noguez, 'La diadema de turquesa (xiuhuitzolli) y las alianzas de los señoríos prehispánicos: acercamiento iconográfico', in *XIII Mesa Redonda de la Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología*, Jaime Litvak and Noemí Castillo (eds), Mexico City 1975, pp. 83–94
- Noguez 1996**
Xavier Noguez (ed.), *Códice García Granados*, facsimile edition, Mexico City 1996
- Noguez 2009**
Xavier Noguez, 'Códice Moctezuma', *Arqueología Mexicana*, vol. XVI, no. 95 (2009), pp. 84–85
- Núñez Ortega 1885**
Angel Núñez Ortega, *Apuntes históricos sobre la rodela azteca conservada en el Museo Nacional de México*, Brussels 1885
- Nuttall 1891**
Zelia Nuttall, 'The atlatl or spear-thrower of the ancient Mexicans', *Archaeological and Ethnological Papers of the Peabody Museum*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1891)
- Obregón Rodríguez 1985**
María Concepción ObregónRodríguez, *El atavío de los tlatoque mexicas*, BA dissertation, Mexico City 1985
- Ogilby 1671**
John Ogilby, *America: being the latest, and most accurate description of the new world...*, London 1671
- Olivier 1997**
Guilhem Olivier, *Moqueries et métamorphose d'un dieu aztèque. Tezcatlipoca, le 'Seigneur au miroir fumant'*, Paris 1997
- Olivier 2003**
Guilhem Olivier, *Mockeries and Metamorphoses of an Aztec God. Tezcatlipoca, 'Lord of the Smoking Mirror'*, Boulder 2003
- Olivier 2004**
Guilhem Olivier, *Burlas y metamorfosis de un dios azteca*, Mexico City 2004
- Olivier 2008**
Guilhem Olivier, *Mockeries and Metamorphoses of an Aztec God. Tezcatlipoca, 'Lord of the Smoking Mirror'*, Boulder 2008
- Olivier 2008b**
Guilhem Olivier, 'Las tres muertes simbólicas del nuevo rey mexica: reflexiones en torno a los ritos de entronización en el México Central prehispánico', in *Símbolos de poder en Mesoamérica*, Guilhem Olivier (ed.), Mexico City 2008b, pp. 263–91
- Olko 2005**
Justyna Olko, *Turquoise Diadems and Staffs of Office. Elite Costume and Insignia of Power and Early Colonial Mexico*, Warsaw 2005
- Olmedo Vera 2002**
Bertina Omedo Vera, *Los templos rojos del recinto sagrado de Tenochtitlan*, Mexico City 2002
- D'Olwer 1987**
Luis Nicolau D'Olwer, *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún 1499–1590*, Mauricio J. Mixco (trans.), Salt Lake City 1987
- Orozco y Berra 1960**
Manuel Orozco y Berra, *Historia Antigua y de la conquista de México*, Miguel León-Portilla (ed.), 4 vols, Mexico City 1960

- Ortiz Ceballos 1990**
Ponciano Ortiz Ceballos, *Las joyas del pescador: Museo Baluarte de Santiago*, Mexico City 1990
- Ortiz Ceballos and Torres 1978**
Ponciano Ortiz Ceballos and G. Manuel Torres, 'Dictamen judicial sobre las joyas de Río Medio, Municipio de Veracruz, México', Xalapa 1978
- Pagden 1983**
Anthony Pagden, 'The Savage Critic: Some European Images of the Primitive', in *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 'Colonial and Imperial Themes', London 1983, pp. 32–45
- Palacios 1918**
Enrique Juan Palacios, 'La Piedra del Sol y el primer capítulo de la historia de México', *Memorias de la Sociedad Científica 'Antonio Alzate'*, vol. 38 (1918)
- Pasztory 1983**
Esther Pasztory, *Aztec Art*, New York 1983
- Pauw 1771**
Cornille de Pauw, *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains*, 3 vols, London 1771
- Paz 1970**
Octavio Paz, *Posdata*, Mexico City 1970
- Paz 1990**
Octavio Paz, 'Introduction', in *Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1990
- Peñafiel 1910**
Antonio Peñafiel, *Destrucción del Great Temple de México antiguo y los monumentos encontrados en la ciudad, en las excavaciones de 1897 y 1902*, Mexico City 1910
- Pérez de Ribas 1968**
Andrés Pérez de Ribas, *My Life Among the Savage Nations of New Spain*, Tomas Antonio Robertson (trans.), Los Angeles 1968
- Prescott (undated)**
William H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, New York (undated)
- Prescott 1970**
William H. Prescott, *Historia de la conquista de México, anotada por Don Lucás Alamán y con notas y esclarecimientos de Don José Fernando Ramírez, Juan A. Ortega y Medina* (ed.), Mexico City 1970
- Ramírez 1846**
José Fernando Ramírez, 'Descripción de cuatro lápidas monumentales conservadas en el Museo Nacional de México, seguida de un ensayo sobre su interpretación', in *Historia de la Conquista de William H. Prescott*, 2 vols, Mexico City 1846, pp. 106–24
- Ramírez 1864**
José Fernando Ramírez, 'Antigüedades mexicanas conservadas en el Museo Nacional', in *México y sus alrededores*, Mexico City 1864, pp. 48–57
- Ramírez 2001**
José Fernando Ramírez, 'Tira de la peregrinación mexicana', in *Obras*, Ernesto de la Torre Villar (ed.), 5 vols, Mexico City 2001
- Raynal 1798**
Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Travels of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, J.O. Justamond (trans.), 6 vols, 3rd edition, London 1798
- Reyero 1978**
Manuel Reyero, *Colección Prehispánica Fundación Cultural Televisa A.C.*, Paris 1978
- Riva Palacio 1884–89**
México a través de los siglos, Vicente Riva Palacio (ed.), 5 vols, Mexico City and Barcelona 1884–89
- Robertson 1788**
William Robertson, *The History of America*, 3 vols, 5th edition, London 1788
- Robles Castellanos 2007**
José Fernando Robles Castellanos, *Culhua Mexico, una revisión arqueo-etnohistórica del imperio de los mexica-tenochca*, Mexico City 2007
- Ronan 1977**
Charles E. Ronan, *Francisco Javier Clavijero S.J. (1731–1787). Figure of the Mexican Enlightenment*, Rome 1977
- Rueda Smithers 1993**
Salvador Rueda Smithers, 'De conspiradores y motógrafos: entre el mito, la historia y el hecho estético', *Revista Historias*, 29 (1993)
- Sahagún 1950–82**
Bernardino de Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: A General History of the Things of New Spain*, Arthur J.O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble (ed. and trans.), 12 vols, Salt Lake City 1950–82
- Sahagún 1956**
Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, 4 vols, Mexico City 1956
- Sahagún 1977**
Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España*, vol. III, Mexico City 1977
- Sahagún 1979**
Bernardino de Sahagún, *Códice Florentino: Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, 3 vols, Mexico City 1979
- Sahagún 1993**
Bernardino de Sahagún, *Primeros memoriales*, facsimile edition, Norman 1993
- Sahagún 1997**
Bernardino Sahagún, *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España*, 9th edition, Mexico City 1997
- Sanders, Parsons and Santley 1979**
William T. Sanders, Jeffrey R. Parsons and Robert S. Santley, *The Basin of Mexico: Ecological Processes in the Evolution of Civilization*, New York 1979
- Saunders 1990**
Nicholas J. Saunders, 'Tezcatlipoca: jaguar metaphors and the Aztec mirror of nature', in *Signifying animals: human meaning in the natural world*, Roy Geoffrey Willis (ed.), London 1990
- Saunders 2001**
Nicholas J. Saunders, 'A Dark Light: Reflections on Obsidian in Mesoamerica', *World Archaeology*, vol. 33, no. 2 (October 2001), pp. 220–36
- Saville 1920**
Marshall H. Saville, *The Goldsmith's Art in Ancient Mexico*, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York 1920
- Saville 1922**
Marshall H. Saville, *Turquoise Mosaic Art in Ancient Mexico*, Indian Notes and Monographs, no. 8, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York 1922
- Saville 1925**
Marshall H. Saville, *The Woodcarver's Art in Ancient Mexico*, Indian Notes and Monographs, no. 9, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York 1925
- Schlesinger 1993**
Roger Schlesinger, *Portraits from the Age of Exploration*, Urbana and Chicago 1993
- Schlesinger and Stabler 1986**
Roger Schlesinger and Arthur P. Stabler, *André Thevet's North America: A Sixteenth-Century View*, Kingston, Ontario 1986
- Seler 1902**
Eduard Seler, 'Das Pulquegefäß der Bilimek'schen Sammlung im k.k. naturhistorischen Hofsmuseum', *Annalen des k.k. naturhistorischen Hofsmuseums*, Vienna 1902
- Seler 1960–61**
Eduard Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde*, 2nd edition, 5 vols, Graz 1960–61
- Seler 1990–98**
Eduard Seler, *Collected Works in Mesoamerican Linguistics and Archaeology* (translation of *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde*, 1904), 6 vols, Culver City 1990–98
- Serra Puche and Solís Olguín 1994**
Mari Carmen Serra Puche and Felipe Solís Olguín (eds.), *Cristales y obsidiana prehispánicos*, Mexico City 1994
- Serrato-Combe 2001**
Antonio Serrato-Combe, *The Aztec Templo Mayor: A Visualization*, Salt Lake City 2001
- Seville 1997**
Felipe Solís Olguín and Martha Carmona, *Tesoros de México, oro precolombino y plata virreinal*, exh. cat., Fundación el Monte, Seville 1997
- Sigüenza y Góngora 1660**
Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, 'Teatro de virtudes políticas', in *Obras históricas*, José Rojas Garcíadueñas (ed.), Mexico City 1960
- Siméon 1977**
Rémi Siméon, *Diccionario de la lengua Náhuatl o Mexicana*, vol. XXI, Mexico City 1977
- Smith 2003**
Michael E. Smith, *The Aztecs*, 2nd edition, Oxford 2003
- Smith and Heath-Smith 1980**
Michel E. Smith and C.M. Heath-Smith, 'Waves of influence in Postclassic Mesoamerica? A Critique of the Mixteca-Puebla Concept', *Anthropology*, IV, vol. 2 (1980), pp. 15–50
- Solís 1684**
Antonio de Solís, *Historia de la Conquista de Mexico. Población y progresos de la América Septentrional, conocida por el nombre de Nueva España*, Madrid 1684
- Solís 1704**
Antonio de Solís, *Istoria della conquista del Messico, della popolazione, e de' progressi nell' America Settentrionale conosciuta sotto il nome di Nuova Spagna*, Brussels 1704
- Solís Olguín 1976**
Felipe Solís Olguín, *La escultura de Santa Cecilia Acatitlán*, Mexico City 1976
- Solís Olguín 1990**
Felipe Solís Olguín, 'Escultura antropomorfa, cabeza de guerrero-águila', in *Arte Precolombino de México*, Madrid 1990, pp. 108, 114–15

Solís Olguín 1991

Felipe Solís Olguín, *Gloria y fama mexicana*, Mexico City 1991

Solís Olguín 1991b

Felipe Solís Olguín, *Tesoros artísticos del Museo Nacional de Antropología*, Mexico City 1991

Solís Olguín 1993

Felipe Solís Olguín, 'Aztekische Steinplastik', in *Die Sammlung vorspanischer Kunst und Kultur aus Mexiko im Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, Veröffentlichung des Museums für Völkerkunde Berlin*, n.s., 57; Abteilung, Amerikanische Archäologie, vol. 7, Berlin 1993

Solís Olguín 1998

Felipe Solís Olguín, *Tesoros Artísticos del Museo Nacional de Antropología*, Mexico City 1998

Solís Olguín 2004

Felipe Solís Olguín, *The Aztec Empire*, New York 2004

Solís Olguín 2004b

Felipe Solís Olguín, 'La Imagen de Ténoch en los monumentos conmemorativos de la capital azteca', in *Acercaarse y mirar, homenaje a Beatriz de la Fuente*, María Teresa Uriarte and Leticia Staines Cicero (eds), Mexico City 2004, pp. 357–75

Solís Olguín and Carmona 2004

Felipe Solís Olguín and Martha Carmona, *Oro Precolombino de México*, Mexico City 2004

Solís Olguín and Carmona 1995

Felipe Solís Olguín and Martha Carmona, *El oro precolombino de México, colecciones mixteca y azteca*, Mexico City 1995

Solís Olguín and Morales Gómez 1991

Felipe Solís Olguín and David Morales Gómez, *Rescate de un rescate: colección de objetos arqueológicos de El Volador, Cuidad de México*, Mexico City 1991

Solís Olguín and Morales Gómez 1992

Felipe Solís Olguín and David Morales Gómez, 'La cerámica policroma de Cholula, Puebla', in *Miniguía*, Mexico City 1992

Solís Olguín, Velázquez and Velasco Alonso 2005

Felipe Solís Olguín, Verónica Velázquez and Roberto Velasco Alonso, 'Cerámica policroma de Cholula y de los otros Valles de Puebla', in *La gran pirámide de Cholula*, Mexico City 2005, pp. 79–129

Solís y Rivadeneira 1838

Antonio de Solís y Rivadeneira, *Historia de la conquista de Méjico*, Paris 1838

Soustelle 1961

Jacques Soustelle, *The Daily Life of the Aztecs on the eve of the Spanish Conquest*, Patrick O'Brian (trans.), London 1961, pp. 59–71

Soustelle 1969

Jacques Soustelle, *El arte del México antiguo*, Barcelona 1969

Spranz 1993

Bodo Spranz, *Los dioses en los Códices mexicanos del Grupo Borgia*, Mexico City 1993

Suárez de Peralta 1949

Juan Suárez de Peralta, *Tratado del descubrimiento de las Indias*, Mexico City 1949

Sullivan 1980

Thelma D. Sullivan, 'Tlatoani and Tlatocayotl in the Sahagún Manuscripts', *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, vol. 14 (1980), pp. 225–39

Tait 1967

H. Tait, 'The Devil's Looking Glass: the Magical Speculum of Dr. John Dee', in *Horace Walpole: Writer, Politician and Connoisseur*, Warren Hunting Smith (ed.), New Haven 1967, pp. 195–212

Taube 1993

Karl A. Taube, 'The Bilimek Pulque Vessel: Starlore, calendrics, and cosmology of late Postclassic central Mexico', in *Ancient Mesoamerica*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1993), pp. 1–15

Taube 1993b

Karl A. Taube, *The Legendary Past: Aztec and Maya Myths*, London 1993

Tena Ramírez 1967

Felipe Tena Ramírez, *Leyes Fundamentales de México*, Mexico City 1967

Tenorio-Trillo 1996

Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World Fairs. Crafting a Nation*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1996

Thevet 1584

André Thevet, *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres grecz, latins, et payens, recueillez de leurs tableaux, liures, medalles antiques, et modernes*, Paris 1584

Thevet 1671

André Thevet, *Histoire des plus illustres et scavans hommes de leurs siècles*, Paris 1671

Thomas 1993

Hugh Thomas, *The Conquest of Mexico*, London 1993

Todorov 1984

Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: the Question of the Other*, Richard Howard (trans.), New York 1984

Torquemada 1975–83

Juan de Torquemada, *Los veinte y un libros rituales y Monarquía Indiana*, 3 vols (Seville 1615, Madrid 1723); 3rd edition, Miguel León Portilla *et al.* (eds), 7 vols, Mexico City 1975–83

Toscano 1944

Salvador Toscano, *Arte precolombino de México y de la América Central*, Mexico City 1944

Toussaint, Gómez de Orozco and Fernández 1990
Manuel Toussaint, Federico Gómez de Orozco and Justino Fernández (eds), *Planos de la ciudad de México. Siglos XVI y XVII*, Mexico City 1990

Townsend 1979

Richard Townsend, *State and Cosmos in the Art of Tenochtitlan*, Studies in Pre-Colombian Art and Archaeology, vol. 20, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC 1979

Townsend 1982

Richard F. Townsend, 'Malinalco and the Lords of Tenochtitlan', in *The Art and Iconography of Late Post-Classic Central Mexico*, Elizabeth H. Boone (ed.), Washington DC 1982, pp. 111–40

Townsend 1987

Richard F. Townsend, 'Coronation at Tenochtitlan', in Elizabeth H. Boone (ed.), *The Aztec Temple Mayor*, Washington DC 1987, pp. 371–409

Townsend 1992

Richard F. Townsend, 'The Renewal of Nature at the Temple of Tlaloc', in *The Ancient Americas, Art from Sacred Landscapes*, Chicago 1992, pp. 170–85

Townsend 1995

Richard F. Townsend, *The Aztecs*, London

and New York 1995

Townsend 2000

Richard F. Townsend, *The Aztecs*, revised edition, London and New York 2000

Turin 1978

Africa America Oceania: Le Collezioni Etnologiche, Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, Turin 1978

Uchmany 1972

Eva Uchmany, *Moteczuhzoma II Xocoyotzin y la conquista de México*, Mexico City 1972

Umberger 1981

Emily Umberger, *Aztec Sculptures, Hieroglyphs, and History*, Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, New York 1981

Umberger 1984

Emily Umberger, 'El Trono de Moctezuma', *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, 17 (1984), pp. 63–87

Valero de García Lascuráin *et al.* 1994

Valero de García Lascuráin, Ana Rita, and Rafael Tena (eds), *Códice Cozcatzin*, Mexico City 1994

Valle 1994

Perla Valle (ed.), *Códice de Tepetlaoztoc (Códice Kingsborough)*, Estado de México, Toluca 1994

Valle 1994b

Perla Valle (ed.), *Memorial de los indios de Tepetlaoztoc o Códice Kingsborough*, Mexico City 1994

Vargasluglo 1994

Elisa Vargasluglo, 'Comentarios sobre pintura y escultura del arte religioso novohispano', in *Tesoros del Museo Nacional de Historia en el Castillo de Chapultepec*, Mexico City 1994

Velasco Alonso 2007

Roberto Velasco Alonso, 'El Palacio de Moctezuma, Crónica de las Entrañas del Palacio Nacional', in *El Palacio Nacional de México*, Mexico City 2007, pp. 28–57

Vienna 1992

Das Altertum der Neuen Welt: Voreuropäische Kulturen Amerikas, Christian F. Feest and Peter Kann (eds), exh. cat., Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna 1992

Vienna 1997

Gold und Silber aus Mexiko: Präkolumbisches Gold und koloniale Silber aus dem anthropologischen Nationalmuseum und anderen bedeutenden Sammlungen Mexikos, Wilfried Seipel (ed.), exh. cat., Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna 1997

Wake 2002

Eleanor Wake, 'Codex Tlaxcala: New Insights and New Questions', *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, 33 (2002), pp. 91–140

Washington 1983

Art of Aztec Mexico: Treasures of Tenochtitlan, Henry B. Nicholson and Eloise Quiñones Keber (eds), exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington DC 1983

Zantwijk 1963

Rudolph van Zantwijk, 'Principios Organizadores de los Mexicanos: Una Introducción al Estudio del Sistema Interno del Régimen Azteca', *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, vol. 2 (1963)

Zantwijk 1985

Rudolph van Zantwijk, *The Aztec Arrangement. The Social History of Pre-Spanish Mexico*, Norman 1985

MOCTEZUMA

AZTEC

RULER

EDITED BY COLIN MCEWAN AND
LEONARDO LÓPEZ LUJÁN

THE BRITISH MUSEUM PRESS
in collaboration with



Consejo Nacional
para la
Cultura y las Artes



Instituto Nacional
de Antropología
e Historia

In memory of Felipe Solís Olguín

This book is published to accompany the exhibition at the British Museum from 24 September 2009 to 24 January 2010.

The exhibition is supported by ArcelorMittal.

Additional support for the exhibition has been given by the airline partner Mexicana.



Text © 2009 The Trustees of the British Museum except for the chapters by Felipe Solís Olguín, Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, Leonardo López Luján and Guilhem Olivier, John H. Elliott and David A. Brading and the entries by Eleanor Wake which are © 2009 the authors in each case, and the chapter by Salvador Rueda Smithers and the entries by Miguel Báez, David Morales Gómez, Carlos Javier González, Ethelia Ruiz Medrano, Felipe Solís Olguín, Salvador Rueda Smithers and Roberto Velasco Alonso, and the epilogue by Leonardo López Luján and Ximena Chávez Balderas, which are © 2009 Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia in each case.

The partial or total, direct or indirect reproduction of the contents of the present work is prohibited without the prior express authorization in writing of the publishers and the authors under the terms of applicable national law and international treaties. Infringement may be liable to corresponding legal sanctions.

First published in 2009 by The British Museum Press
A division of The British Museum Company Ltd
38 Russell Square, London WC1B 3QQ

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN (cased) 978-0-7141-2586-2
ISBN (paperback) 978-0-7141-2585-5

Designed by Price Watkins
Copyedited by Kate Bell
Translation by First Edition and Univerba

Printed in Italy

Half title: Moctezuma's name glyph from the Codex Mendoza (detail of fig. 52)
Frontispiece: portrait of Moctezuma (detail of cat. 130)
Opposite: tripod plate (see cat. 55)
p. 9: Moctezuma travels to meet Cortés (detail of cat. 111).

Contents

Editors and contributors 6

Lenders 7

Forewords 8

Acknowledgements 12

Chronology 14

Map 16

Introduction *Colin McEwan and Leonardo López Luján* 18

1 Family histories: the ancestors of Moctezuma II *Felipe Solís Olguín* 24
Catalogue entries 1–13 42

2 The coronation of Moctezuma II *Eduardo Matos Moctezuma* 56
Catalogue entries 14–20 68

3 Images of Moctezuma and his symbols of power *Guilhem Olivier and Leonardo López Luján* 78
Catalogue entries 21–55 92

4 Moctezuma and the renewal of nature *Richard F. Townsend* 124
Catalogue entries 56–80 144

5 Moctezuma's military and economic rule *Frances F. Berdan* 182
Catalogue entries 81–101 196

6 The overthrow of Moctezuma and his empire *John H. Elliott* 218
Catalogue entries 102–118 236

7 The rebirth of ancient Mexico *David A. Brading* 256
Catalogue entries 119–131 274

8 Rethinking Moctezuma *Salvador Rueda Smithers* 288

Epilogue

In search of Mexica kings:
current excavations in Tenochtitlan

Leonardo López Luján and Ximena Chávez Balderas 294

Glossary 300

Notes 304

Bibliography 306

Illustration acknowledgements 313

Index 315



Acknowledgements

This project originated in an innovative collaboration between Mexico and the British Museum when, in January 2007, Mexican Ambassador Juan José Bremer and Director Neil MacGregor agreed that 'Moctezuma' would make a fitting finale for the Museum's exhibition series on renowned rulers.

From its inception the initiative enjoyed a remarkable spirit of collegial goodwill. In July 2007 our three principal Mexican curatorial colleagues Eduardo Matos, Leonardo López and Felipe Solís were invited to join John Elliott, David Brading, Hugh Thomas and Felipe Fernández-Armesto in London. All contributed thoughtfully to a lively seminar at the British Museum that did much to stimulate our ideas about how the life of the enigmatic and complex figure of Moctezuma II might be addressed afresh. Subsequent curatorial meetings in Mexico City helped advance our thinking about the themes and content of the exhibition. In particular Leonardo López Luján's deep knowledge of the subject and extraordinary generosity have made telling contributions at every turn in the development of the exhibition and the book. It has been a singular privilege to renew our collaboration with such an outstandingly gifted scholar and friend.

We owe a huge debt of gratitude to our institutional partners CONACULTA–INAH in Mexico, especially Consuelo Sáizar (President of CONACULTA) and Alfonso de María y Campos (Director-General of INAH) and his staff: Rafael Pérez Miranda, Luis Ignacio Sáinz Chávez, María del Perpetuo Socorro Villarreal, Miriam Kaiser (National Director of International Exhibitions), Alejandra Barajas (Project Coordinator), Gabriela López, Patricia Real, Leticia Pérez, Erasmo Trejo, Ileana Peña and Miguel Báez. All have generously hosted our visits and worked tirelessly in support of the exhibition and catalogue. In addition, we thank José Enrique Ortiz Lanz, Juan Manuel Santín, Teresa Aguirre, Jesús Álvarez, René Castellanos, Erika Gómez, Héctor Ceja, Trinidad Rico, Diego Sapién, Itzia Villicaña, Ana San Vicente, Ernesto Rodríguez, Alejandro Sarabia. In London, Ambassador Bremer, Minister for Cultural Affairs Ignacio Durán and Jimena Gorráez-Belmar have given unstinting support to promote the project and related events.

International exhibition projects call upon the expertise and goodwill of many individuals and institutions. We gratefully acknowledge the support of all the lenders to the exhibition who are listed on p. 7. We have counted time and again on museum Directors and curatorial colleagues who have received visits, advised us on object selection and guided us through often complex negotiations.

In Mexico, we thank the late Felipe Solís, Diana Magaloni Kerpel, Patricia Ochoa, Roberto Velasco (Museo Nacional de Antropología); Carlos Javier González and Fernando Carrizosa (Museo del Templo Mayor); Salvador Rueda, Juan Salvador (Museo Nacional de Historia); Cecilia Genel, Ana San Vicente (Museo Nacional del Virreinato); Juan Contreras (Museo Cuauhnahuac); Marco Antonio Carvajal, David Morales (Museo Baluarte de Santiago);

Ernesto Rodríguez (Dirección de Salvamento Arqueológico); Antonio Gasca, Victor Angel Osorio (Instituto Mexiquense de Cultura); Mauricio Maillé (Fundación Televisa).

In Europe, we thank Ilaria Bartocci, Alexander Brust, Maria Paolo Rufino, Ana Rita Fantoni, Ana Cassaza, Claudio Cavatrunci, Maria Antonietta Fugazzola, Maria Gaida, Christian F. Feest, Viola Koenig, Gerard van Bussel, Wolf Koepke, Paz Cabello Caro, Concepción García Sáiz, Ana Castaño Lloris, Christophe Pallez, Thierry Delcourt, Fabienne de Pierrebourg, Anne-Sophie Delhay, André Delpuech, Milagros del Corral Beltrán, María Luisa López-Vidriero and Elena García. In the UK we thank Carole Holden, Bruce Barker-Benfield and David Weston and at the Spanish Embassy in London Ambassador Carles Casajuana, Juan José Mazarredo Pamplo and Beatriz Mérida Balcázar.

In the United States, we thank Richard Townsend, Nancy Rosoff, Mark Dimunation, James H. Billington, Miriam Doutriaux, Juan Antonio Murro, Jay and Jean Kislak, Arthur Dunkelman, Charles Spencer and Edward Widmer.

At the British Museum, the Moctezuma 'Core Team' under Carolyn Marsden-Smith's overall guidance originally comprised Emma Kelly and Susan Dymond, and we were sorry to lose both when they moved on to other positions. In February 2008 Elisenda Vila was appointed Assistant Curator and, amid myriad demands, her enthusiasm and passion have shone through all aspects of her organizational and intellectual involvement in the project. Sarah Scott, ably supported by Neil Casey, picked up the reins as Project Manager and we have especially appreciated her intelligent and thoughtful handling of the complexities and pressures. Paul Goodhead has contributed graphic skills of the highest order and Olivia Buck continued seamlessly seeing the interpretation through to completion. The exhibition designers Karl Abeyasekara and Bill Kerridge of Studio A have risen to the challenge and brought their combined creativity, skills and experience to bear to produce an exceptional outcome. The project has benefited greatly from the talents and expertise of colleagues in different departments throughout the Museum. Limited space precludes us from thanking everyone individually. We extend our sincere appreciation to all in International Loans; Conservation and Scientific Research; Photography and Imaging; Information Systems; Development; Marketing; the British Museum Company; Communications; Learning and Audiences; Human Resources; Finance; and Legal Services. In the Dept of Africa, Oceania and the Americas, Keeper Jonathan King, the Centre for Anthropology library team and curatorial staff Leonora Baird-Smith, Jack Davy, Julia Zumstein and Rosario (Charo) Rovira Guardiola have all provided dedicated assistance, supported by intern Delphine Cano and volunteers Juliana Holhauer-Conti, Margarita Luna, Andrea Kiernan, Maria Fernandes and Mariela Juarez.

An edited volume faces particular challenges of integrating very different kinds of material and individual writing styles not to mention translation. All the contributors (credited on p.6) have found time to deliver amid other pressing commitments and often at very short notice. Their diverse range of expertise and distinctive approaches reflect the interdisciplinary nature of the undertaking, interweaving archaeological, pictorial and textual sources. A great deal of credit must go to our copyeditor Kate Bell who has worked assiduously to help us achieve what we trust readers will find to be an accessible and coherent outcome. Her efforts have been matched by the book designer Ray Watkins and all at British Museum Press, in particular Rosemary Bradley, Coralie Hepburn and Melanie Morris.