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## ECHOES OF A GLORIOUS PAST MEXICA ANTIQUARIANISM

More than three decades of archaeological excavations at the ruins of Tenochtitlan—the most powerful of the Triple Alliance's imperial capitals—have confirmed the enormous importance that the Mexicas attributed to civilizations of the past and to their material culture.<sup>1</sup> Since 1978, we members of the Proyecto Templo Mayor have set about uncovering a good part of the sacred precinct, a ceremonial quadrangle of approximately 460 by 430 meters that occupied the heart of this island city.<sup>2</sup> Our mission has not been easy, because the buildings, streets, and plazas of modern-day Mexico City completely cover the remains of ancient Tenochtitlan. Nevertheless, it has still been possible to locate some Mexica religious buildings that are mentioned in historical sources, including the Huey Teocalli (Great Temple), the double pyramid dedicated to the solar war god Huitzilopochtli and the Rain God, Tlaloc; the Huey Tlachco (Main Ballcourt), where ritual confrontations emulated the eternal battle between day and night; the Calmecac (temple-school), where nobles were trained in all fields of knowledge; the Temple of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl, a conical pyramid erected in honor of the wind god; the House of Eagles, a construction that served as the chamber for the wake held for deceased sovereigns and for penitential rites performed by their successors; and the Red Temples, small shrines consecrated to the veneration of Xochipilli-Macuilxochitl, a solar deity linked to music and dance. These splendid constructions today lie in ruins, but a substantial accumulation of associated sculptural monuments, mural paintings, offerings, and burials has been recovered, and these tell us about highly varied aspects of the Mexicas' economy, political situation, religion, and art that prevailed more than five hundred years ago.

In the following pages, I will focus on analyzing evidence from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that deals specifically with the allure that drew the Mexicas to the societies that preceded them in Central Mexico and, in particular, their fascination with archaeological vestiges. Special emphasis will be given to activities such as collecting relics, the emulation of ancient sculptures in ceramics and stone, and the re-creation of strongly archaic architectural settings.<sup>3</sup> As we shall see, the Mexica recovery of Olmec, Teotihuacan, and Toltec material expressions obeyed a political and religious agenda that

was highly profitable in the framework of the expansionistic system of the Triple Alliance.

### **The Buried Offerings and Relics**

Like many other peoples in Mesoamerica, the Mexicas were accustomed to burying lavish offerings in their principal spaces for veneration.<sup>4</sup> They generally did so for the purpose of marking important state events—such as the construction or remodeling of religious buildings, the presentation of major sculptural monuments, the end of long temporal cycles, rites of passage of dignitaries, the victories of their armies in war—and severe natural disasters. On these occasions, they propitiated the deities by offering them an unusual variety of raw minerals, plants, animals, and human sacrifices, as well as artifacts made of ceramics, stone, shell, bone, metal, textiles, wood, and many other materials. The fact that the vast majority of buried offerings came not from Tenochtitlan or its surroundings but rather from tributary provinces and regions beyond imperial borders is a reflection of Mexica power.

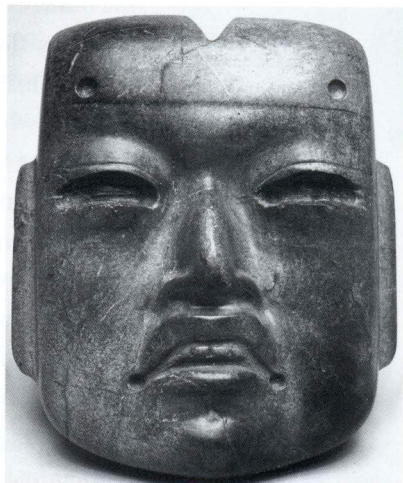
The painstaking archaeological excavations by the Proyecto Templo Mayor and the detailed records made in the field have revealed that the faithful carefully placed these offerings in cavities, stone urns, or masonry boxes, always following a strict ritual order marked by liturgy. Mexica offerings were veritable symbolic complexes that communicated a message through rules of spatial distribution. For example, the gifts to the gods were horizontally arranged following imaginary coordinates, clustered in groups with numbers of components (4, 5, 7, 9, 13, 18, 20, and 52) related to the cosmos, and placed in vertical layers of objects made of the same types of materials. This series of actions produced cosmograms that reproduced the Mexica image of the universe in miniature.

To date, we have explored a total of 168 offerings, from the simplest and most humble to the most complex and sumptuous. One of the most significant discoveries involves finds of highly prized objects that were produced not in Mexica times (Late Postclassic, 1325–1521 CE) but centuries earlier. Although it is true that previous archaeologists had come across relics in the ruins of Tenochtitlan (fig. 1),<sup>5</sup> over the course of the seven Proyecto Templo Mayor field seasons (1978–2013), we have found dozens of these pieces.<sup>6</sup> Generally speaking, we can see that the offerings that include antiquities are distributed homogeneously in all architectural sections of the Great Temple from building stages II to VI, as well as in some of the neighboring buildings, which suggests that the practice of interring them existed from at least 1390 to 1502 CE.<sup>7</sup>

The oldest relics reused by the Mexicas date back to the Middle Preclassic (1200–400 BCE) and pertain to the cultures of the Olmecs and their contem-



poraries.<sup>8</sup> What stands out from this group of objects is a spectacular human mask (fig. 2),<sup>9</sup> as well as fragments of figurines (a bearded man, a figure with a bird headdress), a feline fang-shaped pendant, and a spoon used for autosacrifice, all worked from metamorphic greenstones.<sup>10</sup> These are followed in time by Teotihuacan relics and Teotihuacan-style pieces from Guerrero, which date to the Classic (150–600 CE).<sup>11</sup> These pieces are principally masks (see pl. 10), full-length human figurines, small heads (fig. 3), nose plugs in the shape of



**Fig. 1.**  
Offering with a Teotihuacan mask found at Tenochtitlan, 1900.

From Leopoldo Batres, *Excavations in Escalerillas Street, City of Mexico: Year 1900* (Mexico City: J. Aguilar Vera, 1902), 19.

**Fig. 2.**  
Olmec mask from Offering 20 of the Great Temple of Tenochtitlan.

Middle Preclassic (1200–400 BCE), greenstone, 10.2 × 8.6 × 3.1 cm (4 × 3 3/8 × 1 1/4 in.). Mexico City, Museo del Templo Mayor.

**Fig. 3.**  
Head of a greenstone figurine and travertine pendant, Teotihuacan relics found in Offering 144 of the Great Temple of Tenochtitlan.

Classic (150–600 CE), greenstone and travertine, 2.7 × 2.8 × 1.5 cm (1 1/8 × 1 1/8 × 5/8) and 6 × 5.9 × 2.7 cm (2 3/8 × 2 3/8 × 1 1/8 in.). Mexico City, Museo del Templo Mayor.



rattlesnake rattles, and bowls made of metamorphic or sedimentary greenstones. A pair of Café Pulida (Polished Brown) ware vessels representing the Rain God and a Thin Orange vessel with the image of the butterfly-bird diety also pertained to the Teotihuacan civilization (see pls. 11, 12). Finally, we can mention production from the Toltec, or Early Postclassic, period (900–1200 CE) that has been found at Tenochtitlan. These include a Tohil Plumbate vessel from Soconusco, which represents a dog, and an imitation of this ware made in the Basin of Mexico, which shows the face of an old man.<sup>12</sup>

As for the significance the Mexicas attributed to these relics, two features are illuminating. The first is that the Mexicas regarded these pieces as extremely valuable, which is suggested by multiple types of evidence. These artifacts were antiquities undoubtedly extracted from old burials or offerings; consequently, they were scarce and did not reach Tenochtitlan in large quantities by the customary routes of tribute payment or trade. In addition, it would seem undeniable that the relics buried in the Great Temple were selected because they were crafted from raw materials highly esteemed for their physical properties and profound symbolism, such as metamorphic greenstone and luxury ceramics. Almost all of the pieces would have required many hours of intense labor by skilled craftsmen to produce, a fact reflected in their exceptional aesthetic qualities. As discussed below, the Mexicas also perceived magical powers in these pieces, because they came from cities that they claimed were the work of gods, giants, or powerful groups. This explains why broken and fragmentary relics were included in the rich votive and funerary offerings buried in the sacred precinct of Tenochtitlan. Notably, these antiquities tended to occupy positions of preeminence in their respective ritual deposits, underscoring the high regard in which they were held.

The second feature related to the Mexicas' reverence for the relics involves the way the objects were deliberately transformed by their new owners.<sup>13</sup> The archaeological objects recovered by the Mexicas and their contemporaries had been buried for three to twenty-six centuries, and it is logical to assume that the artifacts were eroded by the weather or by burial conditions, were damaged by roots, or had acquired a patina. Therefore, the Mexica must have polished and burnished them to restore their original color and luster. Scanning electron microscopy reveals traces of specific tools on the surfaces of the objects, and it seems that these tools were the ones normally used by Mexica artists.<sup>14</sup> In the case of the well-known Teotihuacan mask made of serpentinite<sup>15</sup> found in Great Temple Offering 82 (see pl. 10),<sup>16</sup> the Mexicas enhanced it in an unusual way: in addition to polishing its surfaces to obtain a noteworthy shine, they attached small pieces of *Spondylus princeps* shells to simulate the teeth and added *Turbinella angulata* snails and green obsidian appliqués in the eye



cavities to represent the sclera and the iris.<sup>17</sup> They might also have carved the round cavity on the back of the mask at the level of the nose and mouth, as well as the row of small perforations on the forehead.<sup>18</sup> Then they buried it with two large earplugs of light green metamorphic stone that did not correspond to the style that was in vogue in Classic-period Teotihuacan.<sup>19</sup>

Other pieces, including some masks, were transformed in a different way than the mask just described. The Mexicas covered a number of other antiquities with uniform layers of pigment or *chapopote* pitch or added painted symbols or glyphs, which enhanced the original religious significance of the pieces or conferred new meaning on them. Therefore, for example, covering Rain God vessels with *chapopote*, a black tar associated with aquatic and fertility deities, reinforced the original association, while drawing vertical red stripes on a human figurine—probably representing a dignitary—converted it into the image of the god of hunting, Mixcoatl.

The Mexicas also created imitations of ancient antiquities. However, unlike modern forgers, who produce fake antiquities to sell to collectors and museums, the Mexicas never made identical replicas for purposes of deception.<sup>20</sup> On the contrary, the artists of Tenochtitlan made revivals (that is, re-creations) in which they combined certain archaizing stylistic elements roughly inspired by old canons with new elements of their own design. They did not attempt to use the same raw materials or manufacturing techniques that their ancestors had employed, nor did they respect the artistic coherence and symbolism of the ancient models. In this way, their imitations served more as generic evocations of a remote past than as exact copies of a specific archaeological reality. The vessels with conical supports found in Great Temple Offerings 10 and 14 exemplify this phenomenon. It is obvious that these vessels were inspired by Silhó Fine Orange ware, which was produced in Toltec times on the Gulf Coast of Mexico.<sup>21</sup> However, they possess as well clear Late Postclassic iconographic and stylistic elements. Neutron activation analysis has recently confirmed they were produced locally, somewhere to the west of the Basin of Mexico.

### Archaizing Architectural Complexes

The Mexicas also expressed their awareness of the material culture of past civilizations through the construction of religious complexes that we might justly describe as *neo-Teotihuacan* and *neo-Toltec*. Located in the interior of the sacred precincts of the sister cities of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco, these complexes re-created settings from the past by means of architectural, pictorial, and sculptural reminiscences blended harmoniously with wholly Mexica artistic elements.

First let us consider the neo-Teotihuacan shrines.<sup>22</sup> To date, four have been unearthed in the ruins of Tenochtitlan at a level corresponding to stage VI of the Great Temple (1486–1502 CE): Structure H, located to the west of the Main Ballcourt; the shrine on modern-day Mexico City's República de Argentina Street, to the north of the House of Eagles; and the two Red Temples, to the northeast and southeast of the Great Temple. In Tlatelolco—the twin city of Tenochtitlan—there were at least two additional shrines: one to the northeast of the Great Temple of that city, which was destroyed when railroad tracks were laid there at the end of the nineteenth century, and another to the southeast, known as Structure L, or the Temple of the Paintings.

When compared to the main pyramids of their respective sites, these six archaizing buildings are tiny. They are shrines that lack roofs, and with the exception of one, each has a stairway on the east facade. They have very similar layouts and dimensions, which suggests the rigorous planning of the two architectural complexes, Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco, and the simultaneousness of their construction. In general terms, each shrine is composed of two sections that rise from a single base: a solid platform and a small atrium framed by two low walls topped with a row of stone rings (see pl. 13). The platform combines its Mexica-style main facade with staircase—which has double-slope balustrades and a simple knotted molding—with three secondary Teotihuacan-style facades, in which a squat *talud* (sloped base) supports a vertical *tablero* (rectangular panel) outlined with a narrow frame. The construction materials and technical solutions of these shrines at Tenochtitlan are completely different from those employed centuries earlier at Teotihuacan, so it is clear that the Mexica architects were interested only in achieving an archaizing appearance.

As for the iconographic program of the neo-Teotihuacan shrines, there was also an express desire to integrate present and past in the mural and sculptural decoration. The image of interwoven and knotted red-and-white bands, a symbol of the Postclassic Xochipilli-Macuilxochitl cult, appears on four of the shrines.<sup>23</sup> At the same time, several motifs known from Classic-period usage, such as cut shells, water currents, the face of the Rain God, trilobe glyphs, birds of prey, felines, and processions of figures, were also incorporated on some of the shrines.<sup>24</sup> We can see a very similar process in the neo-Teotihuacan basalt sculpture discovered in the vicinity of the Red Temple North, one of two Red Temples flanking the Great Temple in the sacred precinct of Tenochtitlan.<sup>25</sup> In this handsome revival of the most common effigies of the Teotihuacan Huehueteotl (the Old Fire God), the figure, holding an enormous brazier on his head, sits cross-legged with his hands resting on his knees; one open palm faces upward and the other hand is clenched, showing his knuckles. Interestingly,



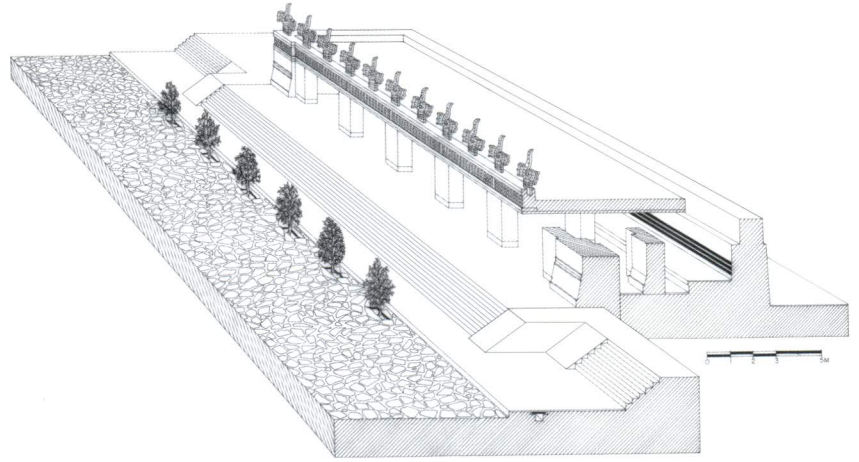


Fig. 4.  
Reconstruction of the  
Calmecac of Tenochtitlan.

this neo-Teotihuacan sculpture was carved in the rounded, naturalistic style that distinguished the art of Tenochtitlan at the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of sixteenth century, and it incorporates typically Mexica iconographic motifs related to deities of water and the earth.

The two neo-Toltec architectural complexes that have been found so far in the ruins of Tenochtitlan are much more spectacular. Each of these large-scale platforms has a portico supported by pilasters, through which one enters a series of rooms with long benches and mural paintings. One of these rooms has been identified as the Calmecac (fig. 4),<sup>26</sup> the school for Mexica nobles, located to the west of the round Temple of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl.<sup>27</sup> The other, dubbed by archaeologists as the House of Eagles, stands north of the Great Temple; it has been linked to the Tlacatecco-Tlacoachcalco, a building for royal rites of passage. Both architectural complexes consist of several construction stages that date back to the second half of the fifteenth century and the first two decades of the sixteenth.

As mentioned, the Calmecac was a religious institution that provided a comprehensive education exclusively for young noblemen. Its patron god was Quetzalcoatl, a fact that accounts for the numerous terra-cotta roof ornaments in the shape of a sea snail (*tecciztli*), the sculptures with the deity's calendrical name (7-Acatl or Reed), and the reliefs of his face painted with a vertical ocher band and a red mouth that were all discovered in the ruins. Several pictorial and sculptural elements evocative of Toltec art have also been recorded.<sup>28</sup> These finds include borders of blue and black horizontal bands painted on the walls and wall plaques that depict birds of prey and seated, roaring felines. Another sculptural group, composed of five basalt images (four male and one female), recalls the colossal sculptures (4.8 meters high) discovered at Tula, the Toltecs' capital city, once ruled by Quetzalcoatl, according to the Mexica myths. These

**Fig. 5.**  
**Neo-Toltec warrior from the**  
**Calmecac of Tenochtitlan.**

Late Postclassic  
(1325–1521 CE), basalt,  
119 × 48 × 34.5 cm  
(46 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 18 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 13 $\frac{5}{8}$  in.).  
Mexico City, Museo Nacional  
de Antropología.



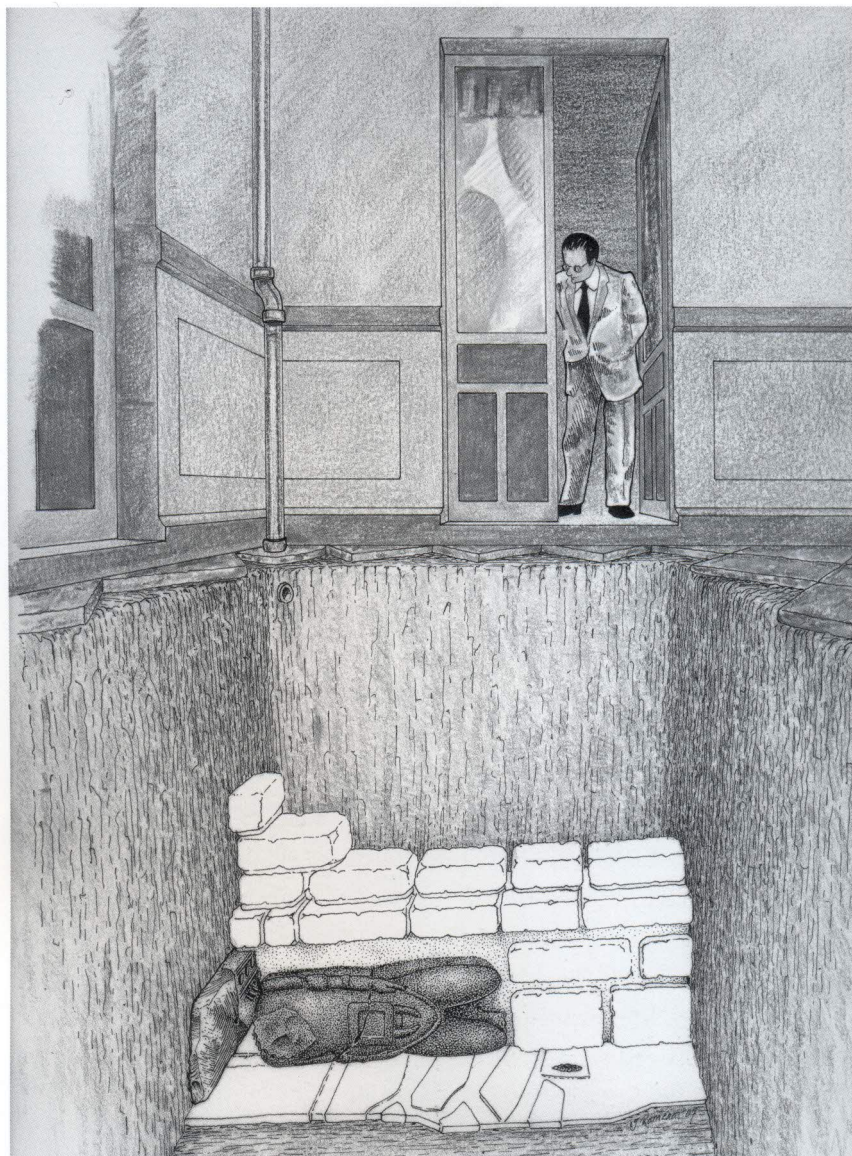


are deified warriors that display the fire and transformation emblem of the butterfly on their foreheads and chests and are armed with spear-throwers and darts (fig. 5).

The House of Eagles, however, is by far the most impressive archaizing religious complex at Tenochtitlan.<sup>29</sup> A rigorous study of the historical sources has made it possible to specifically identify this building as the stage for rites of dynastic transition: it was there that vigil was kept over the corpse of the dead king, and, a few days later, the successor to the throne performed rites of penitence there symbolizing death and rebirth prior to his accession.<sup>30</sup> The exterior elements of this building, particularly the stairways with their double-sloped balustrades and double-band molding, display the purest Mexica style. In contrast, at the top of the stairs and across the threshold marked by the portico pillars, there is an iconographic and decorative program that re-creates the full splendor of Tula three centuries after its turbulent collapse. The multicolored bands painted on the interior walls of the House of Eagles are noteworthy. Just as at Tula, they measure 40 centimeters in height and are composed of four horizontal bands that follow the same chromatic sequence: black, blue, red, and ocher, from bottom to top. The large-scale biconical braziers that are positioned in pairs in front of altars are also interesting. These pieces bearing the Rain God's face covered with tears are copies of *Abra Café Burdo*, *Variedad Tlálóc*, a ceramic type frequently found at Tula. However, they are smaller in scale than their Toltec models, and there are significant differences in the working of the appliqué decoration. Furthermore, based on petrographic and neutron activation analysis, they were produced with sand and clay obtained in the vicinity of Tenochtitlan. That means that these braziers are not antiquities brought from the ruins of Tula by the Mexicas, but local copies produced in the Late Postclassic.

The neo-Toltec program of the House of Eagles featured an extensive sequence of benches attached to the interior walls. Some 86 linear meters of these benches have been uncovered to date. Each bench was composed of two basalt panels roughly carved in bas-relief: the upper part is a frieze with images of undulating serpents, while the lower part shows a procession of warriors dressed in Toltec garb advancing toward a *zacatapayolli*, a grass ball pierced by awls bloodied during autosacrifice. Over the years, many scholars have proposed that the Mexicas brought the bench reliefs to Tenochtitlan from the Tula ruins. However, the evidence does not support this claim: petrographic, technological, and stylistic analyses indicate that the benches are archaizing copies made during the Late Postclassic. In fact, Mexica artists used local raw materials and their own construction techniques to create the benches. In addition, when it comes to style, the House of Eagles' reliefs display greater realism in

Fig. 6.  
Toltec *chacmool* found in  
the foundations of the Casa  
del Marqués del Apartado in  
Mexico City.



the treatment of forms, which are characterized less by geometric contours and more by subtle grooves than the reliefs at Tula.

A few meters to the west of the House of Eagles, the decapitated image of a *chacmool*, a hallmark of Toltec sculpture, was also discovered. It was not found in a Late Postclassic archaeological level but instead in a much higher level, forming part of the colonial foundations of the Casa del Marqués del Apartado (fig. 6). This piece, however, is not an archaizing sculpture like the neo-Teotihuacan Old Fire God mentioned above but an authentic Toltec sculpture—as revealed by analysis of its raw material, dimensions, proportions, and iconographic elements.<sup>31</sup> This means that the Mexicas transported a sculpture that



weighed about 500 kilograms (more than 1,100 pounds) more than 73 kilometers (45 miles), which is no minor feat.

### Activities at Archaeological Sites

We cannot dismiss the possibility that some of the relics that reached the Mexicas could have been transmitted from generation to generation for centuries. However, the concentration of antiquities among the offerings and the existence of architectural revivals in the ceremonial precincts of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco reveal that these Late Postclassic people were well aware of the archaeological sites in the region. Historical data make it clear that the Mexicas and their contemporaries regularly visited Central Mexico's principal ruins, abandoned sacred settings marked by silence and desolation. For example, in the case of Teotihuacan, a sixteenth-century bureaucratic questionnaire titled "Relación de Tequizistlán y su partido" tells us that these visits were more frequent than we might imagine: "the priests of Montezuma, lord of Mexico, came with this Montezuma, every twenty days."<sup>32</sup> And the fundamental reasons for these visits were to venerate the ancient divine images that still stood there, to seek responses from oracles, and to propitiate these sacred places with offerings and sacrifices.

On these and other similar occasions, they must have uncovered entire buildings from the rubble, revealing architectural elements, mural painting, and large-scale sculpture that would later serve as a model for Mexica artists. They also undertook premeditated excavations in search of images, burials, and all sorts of ritual deposits. However, these activities were not aimed at economic profit, as in the case of modern looters, but were instead intended to recover unique, precious, and sacred objects, which were therefore worthy of being reburied in the temples of Tenochtitlan.

In the *Códice Florentino* (*Florentine Codex*), the indigenous informants of Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún describe the magical procedures that had to be followed to acquire carved relics of precious stones:

And those of experience, the advised, these look for it [the precious stone]. In this manner, [they see,] they know where it is: they can see that it is breathing, [smoking,] giving off vapor. Early, at early dawn, when [the sun] comes up. They find where to place themselves, where to stand; they face the sun. . . . Wherever they can see that something like a little smoke [column] stands, that one of them is giving off vapor, this one is the precious stone. . . . They take it up; they carry it away. And if they are not successful, if it is only barren where the little [column of] smoke stands, thus they

know that the precious stone is there in the earth.

Then they dig. There they see, there they find the precious stone, perhaps already well formed, perhaps already burnished. Perhaps they see something buried there either in stone, or in a stone bowl, or in a stone chest; perhaps it is filled with precious stones. This they claim there.<sup>33</sup>

A more explicit reference comes from the same work, where one can immediately perceive the profound knowledge that the Mexicas had of ruins, in this case of Tula:

Because verily they [the Toltecs] there [in Tula-Xicocotitlan] resided together, they there dwelt, so also many are their traces which they produced. And they left behind that which today is there, which is to be seen, which they did not finish—the so-called serpent column. . . . And the Tolteca mountain is to be seen; and the Tolteca pyramids, the mounds, and the surfacing of Tolteca [temples]. And Tolteca potsherds are there to be seen. And Tolteca bowls, Tolteca ollas are taken from the earth. And many times Tolteca jewels—arm bands, esteemed green stones, fine turquoise, emerald-green jade—are taken from the earth.<sup>34</sup>

We know that other societies in Central Mexico were also involved in obtaining and reusing Toltec archaeological objects. In a brief passage from the *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas* (History of the Mexicans as told by their paintings), it is said that the Tlatelolcas moved a sculpture of Tlacahuepan, a Toltec deity connected to Huitzilopochtli, Tezcatlipoca, and Cuecuex, to their island city: “The year 99 [1422 CE] those from Tlatilulco went to Tula and as [the Toltecs] had died and left their god there, which was called Tlacahuepan, they took it and brought it to Tlatilulco.”<sup>35</sup> The people of Tlaxcala had undertaken similar expeditions. According to Franciscan friar Toribio de Benavente Motolinía, these bitter enemies of the Mexicas appropriated an archaeological mask and a small sculpture to use in rituals with the image of their patron god.

Then they dressed the statue of their god Camaxtle, which was three *estados* tall . . . and they had a small idol that they said had come from the old first people who inhabited this land; they put the idol next to the great statue of Camaxtle. . . . Here they offered to the devil after having dressed [it] in the vestments and insignia of the god of Chololla, whom they call Quezalcovatl: this they said was the son of Camaxtle himself, the vestments of which they brought from Chololla, which is five short leagues from here, for this festival; and those from Tlaxcalla did the same, they



brought the insignia of their devil to Chololla, when they were there the festival in his honor was held with great festivities and they dressed him with great ceremony, as they do for our bishops when they wear full dress. Then they said “today Camaxtle comes out as his son Quezalcouatl.” They also put a mask on him, that this and the small idol had come from Tulla and Puyahutla, from where it is said Camaxtle himself was from, and also these Tlaxcaltecs, who are from here at that place about twenty-eight leagues from there.<sup>36</sup>

### Archaeological Sites in Mexica Thought

After Teotihuacan collapsed in about 600 CE, the people who once lived in this great city and had knowledge of its past glories gradually faded from memory. By the thirteenth century, when the Mexicas reached the Basin of Mexico, little or nothing was remembered with any certainty. Stripped of all historicity, the builders of the pyramids at Teotihuacan took on a supernatural dimension for Late Postclassic peoples, surely as a result of the awe that the city’s impressive remains inspired. In some explanations, for example, the archaeological city is ascribed a mythical origin. In the *Códice Matritense del Real Palacio* (Codex of the Royal Palace of Madrid, a prototype of the *Florentine Codex*), Sahagún’s informants describe how, after the world had been created and destroyed in four *suns*, or previous eras, the gods met at Teotihuacan to undertake the fifth and final attempt: “It is said that even when it was night, even when there was no light, when dawn had not yet come, they say that they gathered, they called the gods together there at Teotihuacan.”<sup>37</sup> Among all the gods, Tecuciztecatl and Nanahuatzin were the two chosen to be immolated so their deaths would give life to the new era known as Nahui Ollin (Four Movement), or the Fifth Sun. For four days and nights, they fasted and performed autosacrifice: “A mountain was made for each one of them, where they stayed doing penance for four nights. Now it is said that these mountains are the pyramids: the Pyramid of the Sun and the Pyramid of the Moon.”<sup>38</sup> When the appointed night came, Nanahuatzin leaped into an enormous bonfire followed by Tecuciztecatl, and they both reappeared at dawn in the east, transformed into the sun and the moon, respectively. It is precisely this idea—of Teotihuacan as the birthplace of these divinities—that gave rise to the Nahuatl name of the city: Teotihuacan, or “place where gods are made.”

According to another contemporary explanation, giants built the city.<sup>39</sup> They were imagined as naked beings who had lived in former eras and who, because of their predilection for drunkenness and sodomy, had perished—either devoured by jaguars, crushed by the sky, or in earthquakes, floods, or

hurricanes.<sup>40</sup> Franciscan friar Juan de Torquemada mentioned in his *Monarquía indiana* (Indian monarchy) that deformed giants with long thin arms were seen at Teotihuacan when the Toltecs visited the site.<sup>41</sup> Conversely, Sahagún's informants are vague on the subject: "And they [the first men] built the pyramids of the sun and the moon very large, just like mountains. It is unbelievable when it is said they are made by hand, but giants still lived there then."<sup>42</sup> In another passage, the informants offered a different version of the origin of Teotihuacan; they referred to the city as an obligatory stop for the original peoples who were wandering in search of their final home:

And they departed from there, from Tamoanchan. Offerings were made at a place named Teotihuacan. And there all the people raised pyramids for the sun and for the moon; then they made many small pyramids where offerings were made. And there leaders were elected, wherefore it is called Teotihuacan. And when the rulers died, they buried them there. Then they built a pyramid over them. The pyramids now stand like small mountains, though made by hand. There is a hollow where they removed the stone to build the pyramids.<sup>43</sup>

The list of other groups highly revered by Late Postclassic people goes on. Torquemada also tells of how the Totonacs left the mythical place of origin, Chicomoztoc, advanced toward the Basin of Mexico, and stopped "where Teotihuacan now stands and they claim to have made those two Temples that were dedicated to the Sun and the Moon."<sup>44</sup> At the beginning of his work, however, the Franciscan states that Teotihuacan was a Toltec settlement,<sup>45</sup> an idea that was shared by a historian from Texcoco, Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl. The latter reports: "I want to tell of the state where the Toltec nations were, and it was already by this time that they had settled almost a thousand leagues and built towns and cities, towns, and places. Among the most outstanding was Teotihuacan, city and place of god. This city was larger and more powerful than that of Tula for being the sanctuary of the Toltecs."<sup>46</sup>

With respect to Tula, we should recall that the Mexica vision of this archaeological site was less contradictory than that of Teotihuacan, surely because it was closer in time. In Mexica descriptions of Tula, the vague memory of the militaristic capital that culminated between 950 and 1150 CE is intermingled with the deeply rooted myth of Tollan, the archetypal city. The texts exalt its richness and are full of admiration.<sup>47</sup> They tell us that the Toltecs harvested squashes measuring "a *braza* [1.8 meters] around"; the ears of corn were so tall that they had to be hugged to be carried; men could climb the amaranth bushes like branches of trees; cotton of all colors sprouted naturally; and cacao also



grew in its fields. Beautiful songbirds with multicolored plumage flew across the city's skies. Its ruler, Quetzalcoatl, was wise, virtuous, and the owner of immense riches. He had four palaces: that of the east was covered in gold; that of the west, in emeralds (greenstones) and turquoise; that of the south, in shells and silver; and that of the north, in red stones, jasper, and shells.<sup>48</sup>

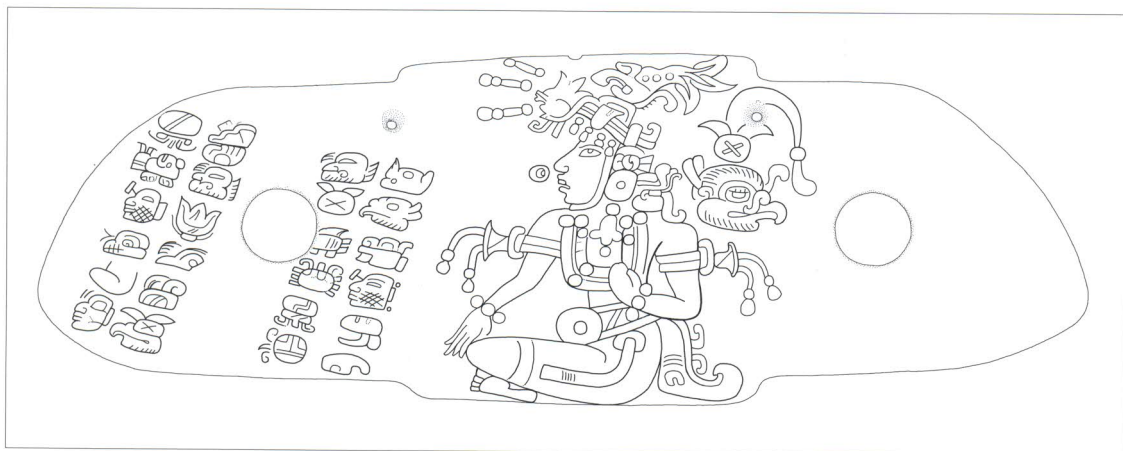
The inhabitants of Tollan belonged to all of the human races and they all spoke the same language. They were great artisans, skilled in all the "mechanical trades," because they had been invented by Quetzalcoatl himself.<sup>49</sup> The written sources also refer to them as "magical people," because in their history, fantastic beings such as wizards, giants, and even a magician who used to make people dance in the palm of his hand appear.

However, as we have come to expect, the harmony and paradisiacal wealth of this mythical place could not last forever. They came to an end when, according to the documentary sources, the Toltecs sinned. The accounts offer no further details. The Toltecs had to abandon Tollan at the dawn of the world, before the sun rose. They departed in groups, and, little by little, they dispersed all over the face of the earth. By leaving the marvelous city, they became differentiated, each people acquiring their own language, their patron god, their divine images, their sacred bundle, and their particular trade among the diversity of arts.<sup>50</sup>

### **Motives for the Reuse and Imitation of Antiquities**

As works of art supposedly created by extraordinary beings, Olmec, Toltec, and Teotihuacan relics were surely regarded as receptacles of remarkable, magical powers. Sixteenth-century historical documents do not indicate whether these objects were carried as amulets by Mexica dignitaries, as seems to be the case with some Olmec pendants reused by the Mayas in the Protoclassic and Classic periods (figs. 7a, 7b).<sup>51</sup> All we know is that many of them were finally deposited in the sacred precinct at Tenochtitlan. We can speculate, however, that the burial of these relics in the deepest recesses of the Great Temple may have been intended to transmit the power of the ancestors to Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc, gods whose powers contributed to Mexica military success and to abundant harvests.

Political and religious motives seem to be more evident in archaizing imitation. As discussed above, the neo-Teotihuacan shrines at Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco were dedicated to the cult of Xochipilli-Macuilxochitl, the god of music and dance. This deity incarnated the rising sun, a restoring force, together with the musical sound of time in the world.<sup>52</sup> Convincingly, Mexican archaeologist Bertina Olmedo Vera has proposed that the so-called Red Temples—with their solar color symbolism, their orientation toward the dawn, their images



**Fig. 7a.**  
Olmec winged plaque  
with Maya inscriptions  
on the back recording the  
ruler "Sky-Moon Bird."  
Middle Preclassic (1200–  
400 BCE), quartzite,  
8.9 × 26.7 × 2.9 cm  
(3½ × 10½ × 1⅛ in.).  
Dumbarton Oaks,  
Pre-Columbian Collection,  
Washington, D.C.

**Fig. 7b.**  
Maya inscriptions on the back  
of the Olmec winged plaque  
shown in figure 7a.

and symbols of Xochipilli-Macuilxochitl, and their offerings of musical instruments—celebrated the beginning of a new era. According to Olmedo Vera, "the Teotihuacan style of the temples was chosen intentionally, because... they evoked the sacred place where the Fifth Sun was created, the archetypal place of dawn for the Mexicas."<sup>53</sup>

A similar process seems to have been operative in the case of the neo-Toltec buildings. The Calmecac, as we have seen, was an educational institution for the nobility that regarded Quetzalcoatl, the legendary ruler of Tula, as its patron deity, whereas the House of Eagles was the ritual setting for the transmission of power from the deceased ruler to the recently elected king. For the Mexicas, the legitimacy of power was based on two postulates: on the one hand, the ruling lineage claimed to have been created by the god Quetzalcoatl;<sup>54</sup> on the other, this same lineage was the legitimate heir of Toltec nobility, thanks to the blood ties of the ruler Acamapichtli. Shortly after they settled on the island in Lake Texcoco, the Mexicas, who lacked sufficient legitimacy to be



ruled by their own lords, launched a search for a ruling lineage that would allow them to incorporate themselves into the political hierarchy of the region. After some failed attempts, they received a noble from the reigning lineage in Culhuacan, Acamapichtli, whom they made king in 1352. Beginning in his reign, all the Mexica sovereigns and nobles proudly flaunted their Culhua ancestry, which was linked with ancient Tula, because Culhuacan was a Toltec settlement in the Basin of Mexico.<sup>55</sup>



In conclusion, we can say that the Mexicas recovered a past that was never theirs, but one that made their late arrival in the Basin of Mexico seem to be less of a chance event. Their mythical ties with the builders of Teotihuacan rid the Mexicas of anonymity, and their indirect descent from the Toltec people made them feel integrated into the world that they had appropriated. Both the historical sources and the archaeological vestiges reflect this desire to establish the historical connection of legitimacy, from the origin of humanity in Tamoanchan, passing through Teotihuacan—the place of grandeur—and Tula—the foundation of political power—to the hegemony of Tenochtitlan.

### Notes

This essay is dedicated to the memory of Virginia M. Fields. It was translated from the Spanish by Debra Nagao; unless otherwise noted, quotations from foreign-language sources were also translated by Debra Nagao.

1. The last Excan Tlahtoloyan (Triple Alliance) from Central Mexico was a hegemonic confederation of city-states. It was founded in 1430 CE by the Mexicas from Tenochtitlan, the Acolhuas from Texcoco, and the Tepanecs from Tlacopan. In the second half of the fifteenth century, this Triple Alliance formed an expansionistic empire that conquered a good part of Mesoamerica and that was later defeated by the Spaniards in 1521 CE. Even though the Mexicas are also known as Aztecs, we prefer to call them by the name they used to designate themselves.
2. Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, *The Great Temple of the Aztecs: Treasures of Tenochtitlan* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1988); Leonardo López Luján, "Water and Fire: Archaeology in the Capital of the Mexica Empire," in Warwick Bray and Linda Manzanilla, eds., *The Archaeology of Mesoamerica: Mexican and European Perspectives* (London: British Museum, 1999), 32–49; and Leonardo López Luján, "Tenochtitlán: Ceremonial Centers," in Susan T. Evans and David L. Webster, eds., *Archaeology of Ancient Mexico and Central America: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland, 2001), 712–17.
3. Emily Umberger, "Antiques, Revivals, and References to the Past in Aztec Art," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 13 (1987): 79–80; Leonardo López Luján, *La recuperación mexicana del pasado teotihuacano* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1989); Eduardo Matos Moctezuma and Leonardo

- López Luján, "Teotihuacan and Its Mexica Legacy," in Kathleen Berrin and Esther Pasztory, eds., *Teotihuacan: Art from the City of the Gods* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1993), 156–65; Leonardo López Luján, "The Aztecs' Search for the Past," in Eduardo Matos Moctezuma and Felipe Solís, eds., *Aztecs* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2002), 22–29; and Leonardo López Luján and Alfredo López Austin, "The Mexica in Tula and Tula in Mexico-Tenochtitlan," in William L. Fash and Leonardo López Luján, eds., *The Art of Urbanism: How Mesoamerican Cities Represented Themselves in Architecture and Imagery* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2009), 384–422. See also Byron Hamann, "The Social Life of Pre-Sunrise Things: Indigenous Mesoamerican Archaeology," *Current Anthropology* 43 (2002): 351–81. Overholtzer, Lisa, and Wesley D. Stoner, "Merging the Social and the Material: Life Histories of Ancient Mementos from Central Mexico," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 11 (2011): 171–93.
4. Debra Nagao, *Mexica Buried Offerings* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1985); and Leonardo López Luján, *The Offerings of the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlan* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005).
  5. Leopoldo Batres, *Excavations in Escalerillas Street, City of Mexico: Year 1900* (Mexico City: J. Aguilar Vera, 1902); and Jordi Gussinyer, "Un adoratorio dedicado a Tláloc," *Boletín INAH* 39 (1970): 8–11.
  6. This project is financed by the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) and the Mesoamerican Archive (Harvard University).
  7. The Great Temple was enlarged at least thirteen times by the Mexicas: seven times in its four facades, and six in only one or two of them.
  8. The Mayas and other societies during the Classic period (150–900 CE) also reused Olmec antiquities: see Alfred V. Kidder, *The Artifacts of Uaxactun, Guatemala* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1947), 48, figs. 37t, 74; Philip Drucker, *The Cerro de las Mesas Offering of Jade and Other Materials* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1955), 25–68; Michael D. Coe, *An Early Stone Pectoral from Southeastern Mexico* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1966); Carlos Navarrete, "Algunas piezas olmecas de Chiapas y Guatemala," *Anales de Antropología* 8 (1971): 69–82; William L. Rathje, Jeremy A. Sabloff, and David A. Gregory, "El descubrimiento de un jade olmeca en la isla de Cozumel, Quintana Roo," *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 9 (1973): 85–91; Jordi Gussinyer and Alejandro Martínez Muriel, "Una figurilla olmeca en un entierro del horizonte clásico," *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 10 (1976–77): 69–80; Román Piña Chan, *Los olmecas antiguos* (Mexico City: Gobierno del Estado de Tabasco, 1982), 232; E. Wyllys Andrews V, "A Cache of Early Jades from Chacsinkin, Yucatan," *Mexicon* 9 (1987): 78–85; Colin McEwan, *Ancient Mexico in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1994), 22; Mark Miller Graham, "Mesoamerican Jade and Costa Rica," in Julie Jones, ed., *Jade in Ancient Costa Rica* (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1998), 46–48, 51–52, 105; Richard A. Diehl, "The Olmec Legacy in Stone: A Mesoamerican Alpha and Omega," in Kathleen Berrin and Virginia M. Fields, eds., *Olmec: Colossal Masterworks of Ancient Mexico*, exh. cat. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2010), 76–85; and Michelle Rich et al., "Una figurilla de estilo olmeca del entierro 39, El Perú-Waká, Petén," in Bárbara Arroyo, Lorena Paz, and Héctor Mejía, eds., XXV



*Simpósio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Guatemala* (Guatemala: Instituto de Antropología e Historia and Asociación Tikal, 2012).

In the Postclassic (900–1521 CE), the Mayas and groups in Costa Rica often reused Preclassic and Classic Maya jades: see Tatiana Proskouriakoff, *Jades from the Cenote of Sacrifice, Chichen Itza, Yucatan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 1974), 14–15; Moisés A. León, “Origen de dos colgantes de jade encontrados en Costa Rica según análisis de sus inscripciones,” *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 14 (1982): 227, 235–36; Alfred L. Smith and Karl Ruppert, “Excavations in House Mounds at Mayapán: II,” *Current Reports of the Carnegie Institution of Washington* 1 (1953): fig. 9c; and Carlos Navarrete, “Anotaciones sobre el reuso de piezas durante el Postclásico mesoamericano,” *Utz’ib* 3 (1995): 22–26.

9. Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, “Una máscara olmeca en el Templo Mayor de Tenochtitlan,” *Anales de Antropología* 16 (1979): 11–19.
10. Leonardo López Luján, “Arqueología de la arqueología: De la época prehispánica al siglo XVIII,” *Arqueología Mexicana* 52 (2001): 24.
11. López Luján, *La recuperación mexicana*, 26–33; Leonardo López Luján, Hector Neff, and Saburo Sugiyama, “The 9-Xi Vase: A Classic Thin Orange Vessel Found at Tenochtitlan,” in David Carrasco, Lindsay Jones, and Scott Sessions, eds., *Mesoamerica’s Classic Heritage: From Teotihuacan to the Aztecs* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2000), 219–49; Leonardo López Luján, *La Casa de las Águilas: Un ejemplo de la arquitectura religiosa de Tenochtitlan* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2006), 1:132–37; and Leonardo López Luján, Amaranta Argüelles, and Saburo Sugiyama, “Más reliquias teotihuacanas en ofrendas de Tenochtitlan,” *Arqueología Mexicana* 118 (2012): 18–21.
12. López Luján, *La Casa de las Águilas*, 1:137–39; and Ximena Chávez Balderas, *Rituales funerarios en el Templo Mayor de Tenochtitlan* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2007), 233–39.
13. The famous Malinaltepec mask is a well-known example of a Teotihuacan masterpiece embellished in Postclassic times in order to confer new functions and meanings on it; see Sofía Martínez del Campo, ed., *La máscara de Malinaltepec* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2010).
14. Emiliano Melgar Tisoc, personal communication, 27 March 2010. We have to take into account, however, that this proposal remains hypothetical since archaeologists have not yet discovered a lapidary workshop in the ruins of Tenochtitlan.
15. This petrographic identification made by geologist Ricardo Sánchez is cited in Bertina Olmedo Vera and Carlos Javier González, “Presencia de estilo Mezcala en el Templo Mayor: Una clasificación de piezas antropomorfas” (B.A. thesis, Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1986), 68. Contrary to what happened in Tenochtitlan, the artists of Teotihuacan regularly used serpentinite in lapidary work. The closest sources of this stone are located within the area dominated by this civilization: in the zone of Tehuiztingo-Tecomatlán (state of Puebla) and in the foothills of the Sierra Madre del Sur (states of Guerrero and Oaxaca). A good example is the anthropomorphic sculpture of serpentinite mosaic found in the Moon Pyramid; see Laura Filloy Nadal, María Eugenia Gumi, and Yuki Watanabe, “La restauración de una figura antropomorfa teotihuacana en mosaico

- de serpentina,” in Saburo Sugiyama and Leonardo López Luján, eds., *Sacrificios de consagración en la Pirámide de la Luna* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2006), 61–75.
16. Every detail of this mask fits perfectly in the Classic Teotihuacan style. It presents an almost symmetrical distribution of facial features articulated through a succession of planes and horizontal lines, framed by a contour curved into a U shape. Anatomical elements are well defined: two slanted, rectangular plaques simulate ears; the forehead is a flat, smooth, narrow band; eyebrows are marked by a fine, slightly curved ridge, while eye cavities are elliptical and totally framed by a carved line representing the eyelids; the nose has a wide base with perforations for nostrils and a narrow ridge that indicates the space between the eyebrows; the mouth has well-delineated, half-opened lips; and the cheeks and chin are represented by shallow planes. See Beatriz de la Fuente, *Peldaños en la conciencia: Rostros en la plástica prehispánica* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1985), 28–30. We can say something similar about the dimensions and proportions of its facial features, which strictly follow the canons that were in vogue throughout the time of Teotihuacan splendor; this can easily be tested following the methodology proposed by Josefina Bautista Martínez and Mirsha Quinto-Sánchez, “Caracterización morfométrica y comparación de la máscara de Malinaltepec,” in Sofía Martínez del Campo, ed., *La máscara de Malinaltepec* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2010), 111–22.
  17. Archaeologist Adrián Velázquez Castro and biologists Belem Zúñiga-Arellano and Norma Valentín kindly identified the mollusk species used to make this mask’s inlays. Thanks to their scanning electron microscope analysis, they were able to distinguish traces of tools typically seen in Mexica shell ornaments.
  18. See Jane M. Walsh, “Máscaras teotihuacanas: De Teotihuacan a Filadelfia en 1830,” *Arqueología Mexicana* 64 (2003): 62–64. These small perforations are very similar to those on the forehead of Mexica skull masks, probably made for inserting curly hair or feathers. Another Teotihuacan mask that features the same kind of perforations, with extremely polished surfaces, and originally with appliqué in the eye cavities and mouth, is owned by the Soprintendenza alle Gallerie in Florence; see Detlef Heikamp, *Mexico and the Medici* (Florence: Edam, 1972), 25, 53, pls. 54–55.
  19. López Luján, *The Offerings*, 328–30. We must note that the two Teotihuacan masks buried in the Great Temple that were not polished in Postclassic times are incomplete and were found among other fragmentary relics.
  20. As Thierry Lenain says, “Nothing before the Italian Renaissance would clearly and definitely qualify as art forgery. We must wait for the dawning of ‘modern times’ to hear the first stories of artworks made to deceive as to their own origin by means of stylistic mimicry, artificial ageing, and the setting up of a spurious context of reception.” See *Art Forgery: The History of a Modern Obsession* (London: Reaktion, 2011), 13, 46–73.
  21. Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, “Notas sobre algunas urnas funerarias del Templo Mayor,” *Jahrbuch für Geschichte, von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 20 (1983): 17–31; Henry B. Nicholson with Eloise Quiñones-Keber, *Art of Aztec Mexico: Treasures of Tenochtitlan*, exh. cat. (Washington,



- D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1983), 94–97; Umberger, “Antiques, Revivals, and References,” 79–80; and Chávez Balderas, *Rituales funerarios*, 288–91.
22. Jordi Gussinyer, “Un adoratorio Azteca decorado con pinturas,” *Boletín INAH* 40 (1970): 30–35; Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, “El adoratorio decorado de las calles de Argentina,” *Anales del INAH* 17 (1965): 127–38; López Luján, *La recuperación mexicana*, 37–42; and Bertina Olmedo Vera, *Los templos rojos del recinto sagrado de Tenochtitlan* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2002), 27–96.
  23. The dedication of neo-Teotihuacan temples to the cult of Xochipilli-Macuilxochitl was corroborated in three of their offerings, which contained a proliferation of effigies of this god as well as votive representations of musical instruments. See Batres, *Excavations in Escalerillas Street*, 47–49; and Olmedo Vera, *Los templos rojos*, 97–245.
  24. Frédéric Gerber and Eric Taladoire, “1865: Identification of ‘Newly’ Discovered Murals from Teotihuacan,” *Mexicon* 2, no. 1 (1990): 6–9.
  25. Nicholson and Quiñones-Keber, *Art of Aztec Mexico*, 34–35; Alfredo López Austin, “The Masked God of Fire,” in Elizabeth H. Boone, ed., *The Aztec Templo Mayor* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1987), 252–92; and López Luján, *La recuperación mexicana*, 32–33.
  26. It was found at numbers 91 and 97 on Donceles Street, property now occupied by the Pasaje Catedral and the Centro Cultural de España en México, respectively. See Raúl Barrera Rodríguez and Gabino López Arenas, “Hallazgos en el recinto ceremonial de Tenochtitlan,” *Arqueología Mexicana* 93 (2008): 18–25; and López Luján and López Austin, “The Mexica in Tula,” 403–4.
  27. The Temple of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl was recently discovered on a lot located at number 16 on present-day Mexico City’s Guatemala Street, which means that this pyramid in the shape of a truncated cone was south of the Calmecac and north of the Main Ballcourt. See Eduardo Matos Moctezuma and Raúl Barrera Rodríguez, “El Templo de Ehécatl-Quetzalcóatl del recinto sagrado de México-Tenochtitlan,” *Arqueología Mexicana* 108 (2011): 72–77.
  28. Henry B. Nicholson, “Major Sculpture in Pre-Hispanic Central Mexico,” in Gordon F. Ekholm and Ignacio Bernal, eds., *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), 10:111, 119; Carlos Navarrete and Ana María Crespo, “Un atlante mexicana y algunas consideraciones sobre los relieves del Cerro de la Malinche, Hidalgo,” *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 9 (1971): 13–15; Salvador Mateos Higuera, “Herencia arqueológica de Mexico-Tenochtitlan,” in Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, ed., *Trabajos arqueológicos en el centro de la ciudad de México (Antología)* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1979), 213–14; Umberger, “Antiques, Revivals, and References,” 75–76, 96; Felipe Solís, “Un hallazgo olvidado: Relato e interpretación de los descubrimientos arqueológicos del predio de la calle de Guatemala núm. 12, en el Centro Histórico de la Ciudad de México, en 1944,” in Leonardo Manrique and Noemí Castillo, eds., *Homenaje al doctor Ignacio Bernal* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1997), 81–93; and Beatriz de la Fuente, “Escultura en el tiempo: Retorno al pasado tolteca,” *Artes de México* 9 (1990): 46–49.

29. De la Fuente, "Escultura en el tiempo," 40–46; and López Luján and López Austin, "The Mexica in Tula," 404–11.
30. López Luján, *La Casa de las Águilas*, 1:257–94.
31. López Luján and López Austin, "The Mexica in Tula," 401–2.
32. Quoted in Francisco de Castañeda, "Relación de Tequizistlán y su partido," in René Acuña, ed., *Relaciones geográficas del siglo XVI: México* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1986), 6:235–36.
33. Bernardino de Sahagún, *Florentine Codex* (Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research, 1950–82), 11:221.
34. Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, 10:165.
35. Anonymous, "Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas," in Angel María Garibay K., ed., *Teogonía e historia de los mexicanos: Tres opúsculos del siglo XVI* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1965), 60.
36. Toribio de Benavente, *Memoriales* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1971), 78.
37. Bernardino de Sahagún, *Códice Matritense*, 161v–162r, quoted in Miguel León-Portilla, *De Teotihuacan a los Aztecas: Antología de fuentes e interpretaciones históricas* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1971), 57–61.
38. Sahagún, *Códice Matritense*, 161v–162r, quoted in León-Portilla, *De Teotihuacan a los Aztecas*, 57–61.
39. Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, "Los portadores de la cultura teotihuacana," *Historia Mexicana* 24, no. 1 (1974): 1–4.
40. See Guilhem Olivier, *Mockeries and Metamorphoses of an Aztec God: Tezcatlipoca, "Lord of the Smoking Mirror"* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2008), 137–40.
41. Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1968), 1:37–38.
42. Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, 11:192.
43. Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, 10:191–92.
44. Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, 1:278.
45. Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, 1:37.
46. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl, *Obras históricas* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1975), 1:272.
47. *Anales de Cuauhtitlán*, in Primo Feliciano Velázquez, ed., *Códice Chimalpopoca* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1945), 8; and Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, 3:13–14; 10:165–70.
48. Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, 10:166.
49. Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, 3:13; 10:167–68.
50. Alfredo López Austin and Leonardo López Luján, "Tollan y su gobernante Quetzalcóatl," *Arqueología Mexicana* 67 (2004): 38–43.
51. Coe, *An Early Stone Pectoral*.
52. Olmedo Vera, *Los templos rojos*, 248–53, 261–62.
53. Olmedo Vera, *Los templos rojos*, 268.
54. Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, 6:17–82; 8:1–5.
55. Nigel Davies, "The Aztec Concept of History: Teotihuacan and Tula," in Jacqueline de Durand-Forest, ed., *The Native Sources and the History of the Valley of Mexico* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1984), 209.



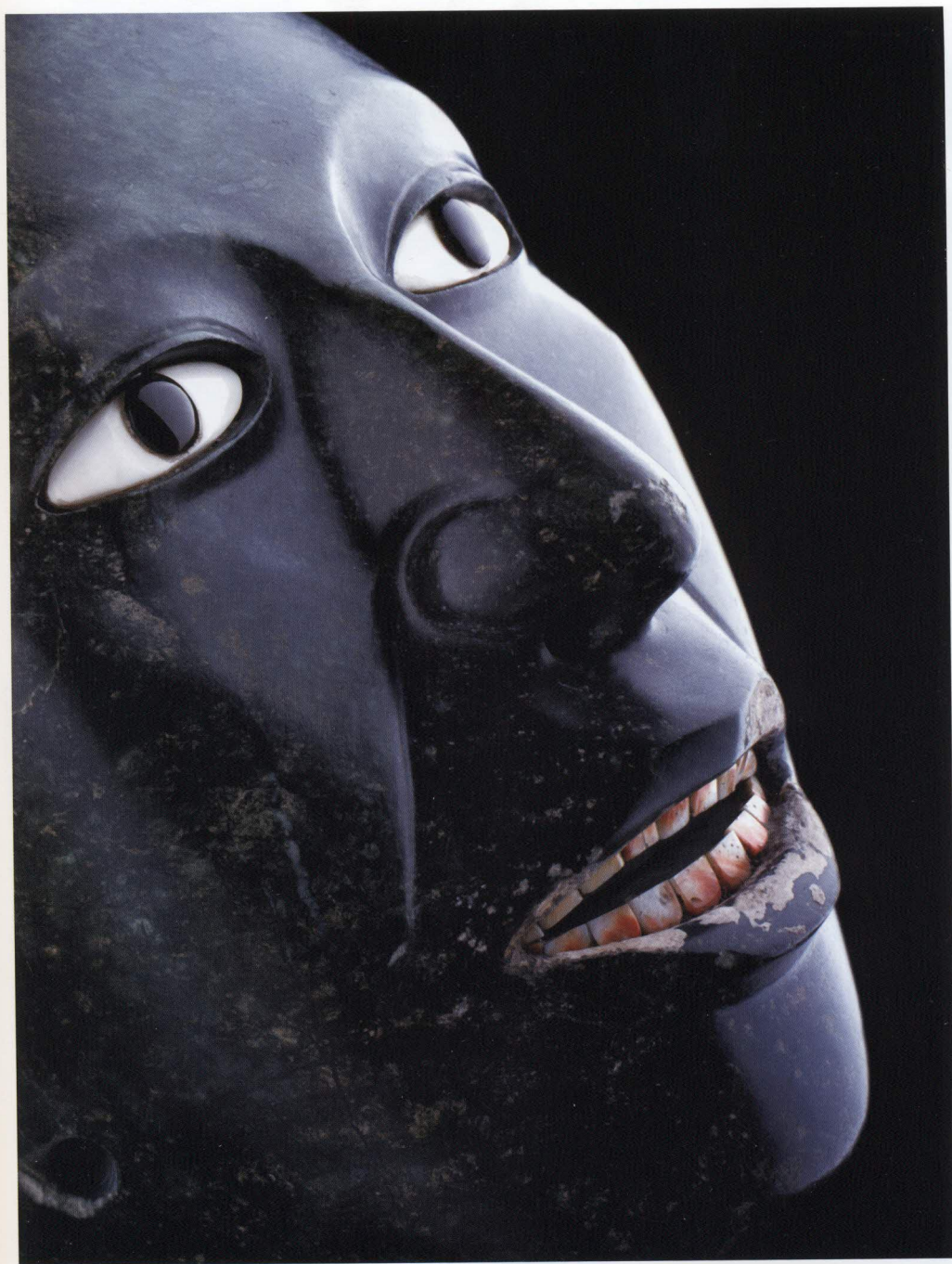


Plate 10. Teotihuacan mask from Offering 82 of the Great Temple of Tenochtitlan. Classic (150–600 CE), serpentine, 21 × 20.5 × 14 cm (8¼ × 8⅞ × 5½ in.). Mexico City, Museo del Templo Mayor.





Plate 11. Offering V in the House of Eagles of Tenochtitlan. Great Temple's building phase VI (1486–1502 CE).

Plate 12. Thin Orange Teotihuacan vessel with image of the butterfly-bird diety found in the interior of the House of Eagles of Tenochtitlan. Classic (150–600 CE), ceramic, 20.2 × 28.2 cm (8 × 11 1/8 in.). Mexico City, Museo del Templo Mayor.



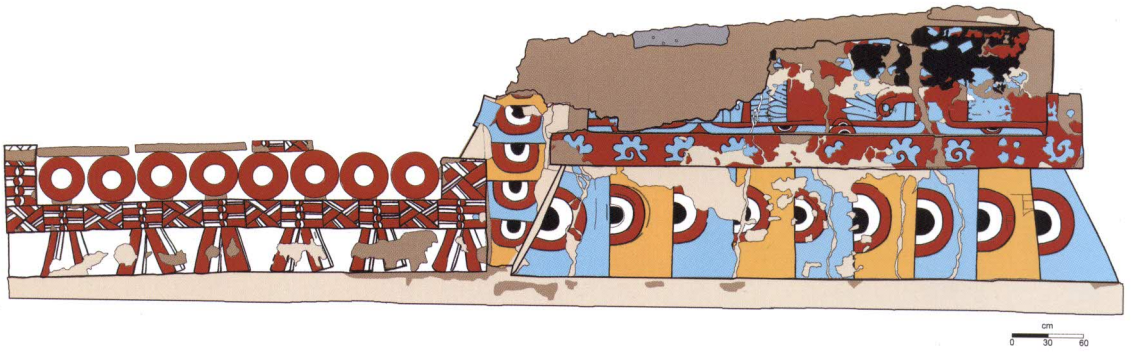


Plate 13. Drawing of Red Temple North (northern facade), a neo-Teotihuacan shrine.

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# World Antiquarianism

COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

EDITED BY

ALAIN SCHNAPP

WITH

Lothar von Falkenhausen, Peter N. Miller, and Tim Murray



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*Front cover:* Pair of four-panel screens showing bookcases with scholar's books and objects (*chaekkōri*).

See pp. 90–91, pl. 2.

*Back cover:* Stele of Ashurbanipal. See p. 129, fig. 6.

*Frontispiece:* Benjamin Strachovsky (Polish, ca. 1728–89). *Portrait of Christian Stieff (1675–1751), Professor in Breslau*, ca. 1750–60, engraving, 36.5 × 29 cm (14½ × 11½ in.). The antiquarian is shown in front of his cabinet of curiosities. Books are arranged in the following categories, from left to right: History, Poetry, Philology, Natural Sciences, and Theology. On the right, a pyramidal cupboard exhibits "silesian urns." Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu.

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