AZTEC ARCHITECTURE - Part 2

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION
   Symbolism

TYPES OF ARCHITECTURE
   General Construction of Pyramid-Temples
   Temples
   Types of pyramids
      Round Pyramids
      Twin Stair Pyramids
      Shrines (Adoratorios)
   Early Capital Cities
   City-State Capitals
   Ballcourts
   Aqueducts and Dams
   Markets
   Gardens

BUILDING MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

THE PRECINCT OF TENOCHTITLAN
   Introduction
   Urbanism
   Ceremonial Plaza (Interior of the Sacred Precinct)
   The Great Temple
   Myths Symbolized in the Great Temple
   Construction Stages Found in the Archaeological Excavations of the Great Temple
      Construction Phase I
      Construction Phase II
      Construction Phase III
      Construction Phase IV
      Construction Phase V
      Construction Phase VI
      Construction Phase VII
   Emperor’s Palaces
   Homes of the Inhabitants
   Chinampas
   Ballcourts
   Temple outside the Sacred Precinct

OTHER CITIES
   Tenayuca
The Pyramid
Wall of Serpents
Tomb-Altar
Sta. Cecilia Acatitlan
The Pyramid
Teopanzolco
Tlatelolco
The Temple of the Calendar
Temple of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl
Sacred Well
Priests' Residency
The Marketplace
Tetzcotzinco
Civic Monuments
Shrines
Huexotla
The Wall
La Comunidad (The Community)
La Estancia (The Hacienda)
Santa Maria Group
San Marcos
Santiago
The Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl Building
Tepoztlan
The Pyramid-Temple of Tepoztlan
Calixtlahuaca
Temple of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl
The Tlaloc Cluster
The Calmecac Group
Ballcourt
Coatepec
Malinalco
Temple I (Cuauhcalli) – Temple of the Eagle and Jaguar Knights
Temple II
Temple III
Temple IV
Temple V
Temple VI

Figures
Bibliography
OTHER CITIES

The Aztec empire was a large domain that extended from the Valley of Mexico to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec [Figs. 104 and 105]. Large portions of the empire were not occupied, but governed. Other cities of the empire were occupied and were important for military, religious or tribute purposes. Many sites such as Malinalco and the Hill of Coatepec were significant because the final breaks of the Aztecs occurred there during their migration history. In addition to Tenochtitlán, the more important cities of the Aztec world where archaeological remains can be visited are: Tenayuca, Sta. Cecilia Acatitlan, Teopanzolco, Tlatelolco, Tetzcotzinco, Tepoztlán, Huexotla, Calixtlahuaca, Coatetelco, and Malinalco. They are discussed below.

Tenayuca
Tenayuca, meaning the Place Where Walls Are Made, was a Chichimec city founded in 1224 C.E., and was located northwest of Mexico City. Tenayuca was an enclosed and fortified city founded by king Xolotl, and was the capital of the Chichimecs until a later king, Quinatzin moved to Tetzcoco. It had six major construction phases from 1224 to 1507 C.E. Aztec influence was visible by 1325 C.E. Although its temple was built during the Post-Classical period, archaeological materials found inside the temple indicate that Tenayuca was inhabited long before. The early phases of Tenayuca's pyramid construction began after the fall of Tula (1200 C.E.) and before the founding of Tenochtitlán. It is believed by some scholars that the Great Temple of Tenochtitlán was modeled after the great temple of Tenayuca. The double-pyramid was four-tiered, faced the plaza, and was ornamented with rows of serpents surrounding all three sides of the base, forming a coatepantli (serpent wall) inspired by the one in Tula. As the snakes in the coatepantli have a spiral-like crest in their heads, they are identified as xiuhcoatl,s, or fire serpents, the weapon of Huitzilopochtli. This symbol signified an association of Tenayuca with sun god cult and fire renewal. The gods Huitzilopochtli, Tlaloc, Mixcoatl, Itzpapalotl, Chicomecoatl, and Coatlicue were worshiped there.

The Pyramid
Tenayuca’s pyramid is composed of several superimposed layers [Fig. 106]. All layers follow the same system of construction, patterns of decoration, and layout. The earliest
structure has carved stone slabs facing a rock core. There after, the current pyramid would be used as a core for the next successive layering/construction phase [Fig. 107]. Slabs were coated with cement made from sand, lime, and crushed tezontle. Color would then be applied. Carved stone serpent heads, year glyphs, shields, knives, and other symbols were used for decoration. The low platform that projected from the pyramid was ornamented with bones and sculpted crossed skulls.

**Wall of Serpents**

Known as the *coatepantli*, the Wall of Serpents, covers all three sides of the pyramid's platform [Fig. 108]. It was found that there are 43, 50 and 45 serpent heads on the north, east and south walls [Fig. 109]. Greenish blue paint is visible on the snakes' bodies of the south side and half of the bodies on the east side. Their bodies’ scales were outlined in black. The north wall's serpents were garnished in black with white ovals. Snakes' rattles were detailed by carving three stepped planes at the tip of their tails. It is believed that the color schemes used on the bodies were related to the symbolism of sun worship.

On the north and south ground level of the pyramid, coiled serpents were positioned. The heads of stone are ornamented with a spiral crest that identifies the fire serpent as a *xiuhcoatl*, which is associated with fire renewal, sun worship, and the 52-year calendar [Fig. 110]. The stone heads were decorated with bulging dots that are believed to symbolize stars.

The rocky stairway has visible engravings from the last structural addition. A year glyph, a linked rectangle and triangle, banners, concentric circles, a knife, turquoise, *chimallis* or shields, and precious stones are still visible. The carvings do not appear to have a systematic order.

**Tomb-Altar**

Located in front of the pyramid, there is a combined tomb and altar with colored paintings of crossbones and skulls inside. The outside has carved stone reliefs illustrating skulls [Fig. 111].
**Sta. Cecilia Acatitlan**

St. Cecilia Acatitlan, meaning between the canes, is located north of modern day Mexico City. This Chichimec city was occupied later by the Mexica-Aztecs and was transformed into one of the numerous religious enclaves that surrounded the Tetzcoco lake region. Sta. Cecilia Acatitlan has a double pyramid-temple that faces a cobbled stone plaza that may have been used as a public arena during ceremonies [Fig. 112]. In that plaza, in front of the pyramid, there is a small church built in late 16th century with stones taken from the Pre-Columbian site.

**The Pyramid**

The pyramidal platform is composed of a double stairway that faces west and is separated by a balustrade (*alfarda*) that is twice as wide as the other two balustrades that form the extremes of the platform [Fig. 113]. On top of it there are two temples. The North Temple was dedicated to Tlaloc [Fig. 114]. A sculpture of Chac Mool (messenger of the gods who carry the human sacrifice offerings) used to accompany Tlaloc inside his temple, but because the deterioration of this North Temple, the Chac Mool is placed in the contiguous temple. The South Temple was dedicated to Huitzilopochtli. The roof of this temple was made out of inclining *tableros* (panels) that were decorated with nail-like stones [Fig. 115]. The doorway of the shrine has a wood lintel. Next to the figure of the Chac Mool, there can be seen a *techcatl* (sacrificial stone) and a brazier [Fig. 116].

The dual pyramid-temple of Santa Cecilia Acatitlan, with some variants, follows the traditional Aztec pattern of twin pyramids dedicated to Tlaloc and Huitzilopochtli.

**Teopanzolco**

Teopanzolco is located in the northeast part of the city of Cuernavaca and was originally under Tlahuica control and later taken over by Aztec imperial forces. This site with early Aztec architecture has a main pyramid, believed to have served as a model for the Great Temple of Tenochtitlán located in one side of a big plaza [Fig. 117]. The pyramid had double shrines: one dedicated to Huitzilopochtli and the other to Tlaloc. The pyramid displays similar attributes with the one located in Tenayuca. It has several superimpositions; two have been found. The only remains of the exterior walls’ last
layer are the *talud* (sloping wall) and a staircase flanked by *alfardas* (balustrades) that is divided in two parts by a central double *alfarda* that forms the front of the pyramid which faces west and has a rectangular base that is 50 by 32 meters [Fig. 118]. The substructure is better preserved than the most recent layer. It also faces west and measures 32 by 18 meters. Its stairway is limited by *alfardas* and like in Tenayuca; they rise vertically in the upper section. This characteristic also occurs midway up the stairs, forming a type of pedestal [Fig. 119].

The South Temple dedicated to Huitzilopochtli on top of the pyramid is rectangular in form, measuring ten by seven meters and it has a wide entrance that is divided by a transversal wall with an opening leading to a room that has a bench. The North Temple dedicated to Tlaloc has a small rectangular room measuring seven by four meters with an ample clearing and a bench at the end. There are also pillars presumed to have supported the wood that sustained the roof.

Behind the main pyramid, to the right of a temple attributed to god Tezcatlipoca [Fig. 120], there is a small stone altar possibly utilized for human sacrifice rituals, as suggested by the mass sacrificial burial found in the site [Fig. 121].

At the opposite side of the great plaza, there is a temple dedicated to Quetzalcoatl that is circular in design, thus honoring the deity in his Ehecatl form representing the wind [Fig. 122].

**Tlatelolco**

Tlatelolco was founded 12 years after Tenochtitlán when a group of dissident Aztecs decided to move northeast to Xaltelolco, meaning On the Hillrock of Sand. Xaltelolco was one of the marshy islands located along Lake Tetzcoco. It had previously been inhabited by groups related to Teotihuacán and the Tepanecs. Overtime, this site came to be known as Tlatelolco. According to other scholars, its name is believed to have derived from the word *tlatelli* that means a built up mound of earth.

Tlatelolco and Tenochtitlán were contemporary cities that underwent parallel developments and were rivals until Tenochtitlán attacked and defeated Tlatelolco during
the reign of Axayacatl in 1473 C.E. Tlatelolco was then incorporated into Tenochtitlán.

The city originally covered an area of about 20 square miles. Tlatelolco today is a neighborhood of Mexico City and its core forms the so called Plaza of the Three Cultures. The reason behind this name is that Tlatelolco is a living testimony of the transculturation process that created the *mestizaje* in Mexico. There coexist remains of Aztec temples, the Colonial church, and the convent of Santiago built by Fray Juan de Torquemada, all among many modern Mexican constructions [Fig. 123]. Tlatelolco had a ceremonial complex that was dominated by a typical Aztec double pyramid similar to the Great Temple of Tenochtitlán and a very large market, in fact the largest in Mesoamerica [Fig. 124]. There were also smaller pyramids, temples, and markets scattered throughout various districts.

One of the anomalies of Tlatelolco is that it did not appear to have the type of monumental architecture found at other Aztec sites. One of the reasons for this is that it is believed that it was far from Coyoacan, the place where most of the Aztec monoliths were built. The other reason is the amount of time it was an independent city. Tlatelolco was incorporated into Tenochtitlán during the reign of Axayacatl, the emperor responsible for initiating the construction of large scale projects. Prior to Axayacatl, Aztec architecture was not as massive. Another factor to consider is that at Tlatelolco the main material used may have been wood. For example, it is an established fact that there were thousands of canoes, but only one has been archeologically found. The others have doubtless disintegrated. Other perishable materials may have been used, making it difficult to discern the architecture of the city prior to its incorporation into Tenochtitlán. Nonetheless, Tlatelolco was an integral part of the Aztec metropolis and continued to flourish after its annexation.

Similar to other towns of the empire, Tlatelolco had its share of shrines, temples, palaces, gardens, markets, and canals. There is a Shrine, located near the north door of the colonial church of Santiago, which was built of human mandibles in a jewel like manner. Other altars similar to the above were found throughout the ceremonial complex. In addition, some other structures are reminiscent of Chichén Itzá and
Teotihuacán. One of the edifices that display Chichén Itzá qualities has four staircases facing the cardinal directions. It is believed to have been situated in the middle of a plaza and was used for religious ceremonies, during which time the priest would direct the smoke from his incense to the four cardinal points. For that reason this particular structure did not have an altar. Such influence is not surprising since Tlatelolco had been previously inhabited and had borrowed styles from other groups.

**The Temple of the Calendar**
The Temple of the Calendar is one of the most significant structures of Tlatelolco. It is a unique edifice whose décor deviates from the norm in that it is ornamented with elements of the *Tonalpohualli* calendar [Fig. 125]. During Aztec times two calendars were used: the *Tonalpohualli* and the *Xiuhpohualli*. The *Xiuhpohualli* was the civil calendar and it was used to determine festivities, record history, and to date tribute collections. The *Tonalpohualli* served as the ritual calendar. *Tonalpohualli* consisted of 260 days while the *Xiuhpohualli* consisted of 360 plus the five bad days. The Temple of the Calendar is a quadrangular edifice with representations of 39 days; thirteen on each wall painted in blues, reds, and whites [Fig. 126]. The base of the temple also has polychrome paintings with figures drawn similar to those found in the codices. These drawings correspond to early Tlatelolco and are intact in the front side of the temple due to a later superimposition. The temple was a very important religious structure because computing time was one of the primary duties of the priests: determining solstices, baptisms, rituals, festivals, commerce, tribute, etc. This is the only calendrical structure that has been found.

**Temple Of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl**
This round temple was dedicated to Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl, the wind deity. It consisted of a semicircular base that wound into a circular cone like *teocalli* roof, a staircase and a quadrangular platform [Fig. 127]. In general the temples dedicated to Ehecatl, the wind deity are of circular shape in order to not block the trajectory of the wind which could make whirlpools around the structure. Its entrance is characterized by a snake’s mouth symbolizing Quetzalcóatl. This temple is similar to that in Calixtlahuaca and underwent two construction phases. Its construction dates back to the early times of Tlatelolco. In
later times, other edifices were built over it. A rectangular enclosure decorated with polychrome paintings was found next to the temple. It is older than the temple itself.

**Sacred Well**
The sacred well is located next to the priests' residencies. It is a small monument that resembles a stairway swimming pool that leads to the sacred well. The well is approximately three meters wide on each side. Scholars believe that it may have been used for ablution practices by priests or as a sacred spring.

**Priests’ Residency**
The priests’ residency was located within the ceremonial precinct because they were responsible for the maintenance of the temples and shrines associated to the cult of the deity to which they belonged. Their residence was constructed of *tezontle* and wood. The structure consisted of an altar and two sections adjoined by a central corridor with a chimney-like area for burning wood. The structure also has wood wedges that supported lintels.

**The Marketplace**
Tlatelolco was best known for its immense and highly lucrative market place. Once Tlatelolco was incorporated into Tenochtitlán, its market became the principle market of the Aztec empire [Fig. 128]. According to Spanish chroniclers, the market housed approximately 25,000 people on a daily basis and 40,000 to 50,000 on special market days held every fifth day. The market was directed, administered, and organized by principal merchants called *pochtecas*. The *pochtecas* were responsible for assigning each type of merchandise to a particular section of the plaza and for determining prices. The market was very orderly, well run and very clean. The Spaniards were amazed at its organization and variety of goods. Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1963) described the market as an organized and well managed space where merchandise and the quality of people who sold goods were well administered [Fig. 129]. Each type of merchandise was kept by itself and had its fixed place marked out. The market was filled with luxury goods such as gold, silver, and precious stones, feathers, mantles, and embroidered goods, but it was also filled with the daily necessities, such as slaves, cloth and cotton and cacao. Every sort of merchandise that was to be found in the whole of New Spain
was sold in the market, including the skins of tigers and lions, of otters and jackals, deer and other animals and badgers and mountain cats, some tanned and other untanned. There were also buildings where three magistrates sat in judgment, and there were executive officers like Alguacils who inspect the merchandise [Fig. 130]. The great market place with its surrounding arcades was so crowded with people, that one would not have been able to see and inquire about it all in two days.

Tlatelolco was the last bastion of the Aztec resistance against the Spaniards in the Conquest war. Here ended the Mexica Empire with the capture of King Cuauhtémoc, as expressed by a dramatic sign located in the plaza next to the ruins [Fig. 131].

**Tetzcotzinco**
The Hill of Tetzcotzinco is an important Aztec site that is surrounded by agricultural terraces and is located east of Tetzcoco at the base of the Mt. Tlaloc foothills. It is associated with life giving rain rites and agriculture. Although there has been little archaeological excavation at this site, survey plans, surface explorations, and aerial views demonstrate its layout. The architecture of this site combines landscape, sculpture and ritual. Tetzcotzinco is a reenactment of the symbolic landscape of Mt. Tlaloc and has been a place of worship since the time of the Chichimecs [Fig. 132a].

After the famine of 1454 C.E., the tlatoani of Tetzcoco, Netzahuacoyotl, decided to build a new ceremonial center, refurbish, and reconstruct the Hill of Tetzcotzinco. This became the site where Netzahuacoyotl erected his personal palaces. It had rock-cut baths known popularly as the "baths of Nezahualcoyotl" and canals, aqueducts, gardens, and over 300 rooms. Tetzcotzinco had a system of farming terraces extending northward from the hill, forming a huge natural amphitheater, and the hill and the neighboring towns that still exist today, were supplied with water by aqueducts from springs high on Mt. Tlaloc. The hydraulic works of Tetzcotzinco are considered one of the major engineering accomplishments of the Pre-Columbian times [Fig. 132b]. The aqueduct transported water over a distance of eight kilometers from springs at the slopes of Mt. Tlaloc through the Metecatl Hill to irrigate an extensive area of gardens, fountains, and baths carved in the rock of the Tetzcotzinco hill under the auspices of the great poet, engineer, and king Netzahuacoyotl [Fig. 133].
Most of the monuments of Tetzcotzinco were destroyed by the Spanish in 1539 C.E.; however, many pictorial manuscripts, texts, and related sculpture and architecture provide useful information to reconstruct what remains of the site. The archaeologist Richard Townsend mapped the area in 1979 and revealed that the upper hill was cosmologically designed. Approximately 55 meters below the summit, the ritual zone is demarcated by a walkway cut around the hill. On this path there are four baths or shallow basins oriented to the four cardinal directions. Their receptacles were manifestations of Chalchiuhtlicue’s aquatic domain and were used for ritual purification. Their water was supplied by an aqueduct built in a circular path that served processional circumambulation and divided the upper sacred zone from the profane space below [Fig. 134a, b].

**Civic Monuments**

Among the civil architectural features that can still be seen at Tetzcotzinco are: the Reservoir System H [Fig. 135] and the Fountain System A [Fig. 132b], a group of water deposits built on the northern skirts of Metecatl Hill with the intention to control the speed and flow of the water that descended to Tetzcotzinco; the Monolithic Room, a pool at the entrance of the hydraulic system that had a temple on top dedicated either to the wind god Ehecatl or to the Sun (Tonatiuh) [Fig. 136 and 137]; the aqueduct subsystem circuit with a series of channels every 50 meters to irrigate the gardens, the farming terraces and give services to the royal compounds [Fig. 138]; the so-called King’s [Fig. 139] and Queen’s baths [Figs. 140 and 141], a collection of rock-cut monolithic deposits of water with a magnificent view to the former gardens in the slopes of the hill and the Valley of Mexico; and finally, the Palace attributed to Netzahuacoyotl that is not yet excavated.

**Shrines**

The Tetzcotzinco Hill has a sequence of shrine stations along an east-west axis that follows the natural ridge of the hill. The alignment indicates the path of the sun, leading scholars to believe that Tetzcotzinco had calendrical and astronomical functions determined by the solstice and equinox [Fig. 134a]. In Tetzcotzinco’s summit there are remains of a temple built over a cave [Fig. 142]. There is also a goggle-eyed mask of
Tlaloc engraved on a bedrock boulder [Figs. 143 and 144].

There is an important shrine that is a cave below the circumscribing path next to the King’s bath and near a system of lower terraces where Netzahualcoyotl’s palace and botanical gardens stood [Fig. 145 and 146]. Caves are associated with the heart of the earth, mountains, and wombs related to fertility. The cave above is related to the ancestors and lineage of Netzahualcoyotl, recalling the genesis theme that people first emerged from the womb of the earth through caves (Chicomoztoc). By placing his compounds next to the cave, Netzahualcoyotl legitimized himself and his legacy.

Another shrine is located high on the western axis, it has two very damaged carved effigies on the living rock; they are of female divinities connected to the cycle of maize. The divinities are associated with the festivals of Huey Tozoztli, Huey Tecuihuitl and Ochpanitzli. Huey Tozoztli was dedicated to Chicomecoatl, the goddess of dried seed corn, and Cinteotl, the conflated male and female deity of the young corn, and was celebrated at the height of the dry season when corn was consecrated for the coming planting. Huey Tecuihuitl was dedicated to Xilonen, goddess of the mature corn, and it occurred during the middle of the rain season. Ochpanitzli was dedicated to the male and female earth and maize deities, and it was celebrated during the harvest to mark the start of the dry season.

The last shrines are Netzahualcoyotl’s personal commemorative monuments located on the eastern slope of the hill below the summit. There was an ample assembly plaza that was constructed facing an exposed rock-face where the sculptures were carved. The monuments have been destroyed, but from the writings of chronicler Fernando de Alva Ixtlixochitl, it is known that the first monument recorded the deeds of Netzahualcoyotl as a hero and founder of the Tetzcocan nation. Adjacent to this sculpture there was a seated coyote of stone with Netzahualcoyotl’s hieroglyphic name, which means fasting coyote. The monuments faced east toward the rising sun, associating Netzahualcoyotl with the daily appearance of light, heat, and the renewal of seasons.
Huexotla
Meaning “Place of the Willows,” Huexotla is located 5 km (3 miles) south of the city of Tetzcoco. It was an important city of the kingdom of Acolhuacan whose capital was the city of Tetzcoco. It consisted of an urban center surrounded by suburbs and scattered villages. Huexotla’s formal qualities are those of a military city suited for defense and attacks; it was protected by a wall on the west side. Scholars believe the main building of Huexotla is located directly below the Franciscan convent and church of San Luis that was built in the 16th century. The great atrio (churchyard) displays the unique characteristic of being formed by two levels connected by a staircase due to an underlying Pre-Columbian pyramid. It shows the deliberate intention of the missionaries to impose the Catholic religion physically and conceptually in the indigenous towns [Fig. 147].

The site consists of the following parts:

The Wall
The great wall erected by the people of Huexotla was 650 meters (2,130 feet) long and 6 meters (21 feet) wide. At present only part of the original huge wall remains [Fig. 148]. This defense mechanism covered the space between two gorges and completely enclosed the site. Evidence suggests that what appears to have been the main town area was accessed through several gates. Today two entrances remain: one in front of San Francisco Street which leads to La Estancia and La Comunidad buildings and one in front of the San Luis Church.

The wall was made of the volcanic tezontle. Spikes (stones cut into cones) were found on the first tier. At present, only the round part remains visible; the rest is embedded into the wall’s core. Building the wall was necessary because neighboring warring groups sought to extend their territories. Other towns of the region such as Tenayuca were also built with bulwarks as defense mechanisms.

La Comunidad (The Community)
La Comunidad is a staired structure that is superimposed on a previous building that faces a different direction and whose function is unclear. It consists of two tiers and is
believed to have been a palace with several rooms and a portico with four columns on top [Fig. 149]. In some of the rooms are found Tlecuiles (hearths). The floor has traces of red paint and is coated with plaster.

La Estancia (The Hacienda)
Las Estancia covers an older building. It consists of two tiers with a staircase in the front leading the first tier to the second tier [Fig. 150]. The front façade is a plaster-paved apron. Some of the original red paint is still visible.

Santa María Group
The Santa María Group consists of two structures. It is found past the San Bernardino Gorge over the colonial bridge. The first structure had two construction phases. The first was between 1150 and 1350 C.E. It consisted of a platform with a staircase on the west side [Fig. 151]. The second building phase (1350-1515 C.E.) was very crude, suggesting that the site lost importance during this time. The second structure is located east side of the first structure. A section of the west wall can be seen from this building.

San Marcos
Local people call this edifice the observatory, but its original function is unknown. This mound is a series of rooms with a small staircase that leads to a plastered room with an adobe that is unevenly shaped. A stone structure rests on top.

Santiago
The Santiago was a ceremonial platform in Pre-Columbian times. Because 16th century, evangelizing Spanish friars had a chapel built over it, its only remains are the columns that held up the chapel’s roof.

The Ehecatl-Quetzalcóatl Building
It is located east of the other Huexotlan pre-Columbian structures with a beautiful view of Mount Tlaloc in the background. The structure was built on a circular platform that is 19 meters (62 feet) in diameter. The building was fashioned in the traditional circular form so that it would not act as a barrier that could hinder the wind god’s entrance [Fig. 152]. The front of the structure indicates that there are two impositions. The first
building was erected with the small stones cut in a similar fashion as those from the Santa María building. The newest layer is the one that is presently visible [Fig. 153].

**Tepoztlan**

Tepoztlan whose name means “place of copper” is a town located south of Mexico City, near the city of Cuernavaca. Other meanings or names associated with the site are “place of split stones” or “place of axes”. In some records, the town is named Tepozteco because the spectacular and beautiful sierra with the same name surrounds it [Figs. 154 and 155]. The city was founded in the Late Post-Classic period by the Tlahuica people. Its pyramidal complex was dedicated to Tepoztecatl also known as Ome Tochtli, the *pulque* (alcoholic beverage from the maguey plant) god. He was a legendary cultural hero that after being a priest for the gods of *pulque* was deified. The intoxication with *pulque* was an important religious practice of alteration of consciousness with the purpose of communication with the gods. According to the *Mendoza Codex*, Tepoztlan was conquered by Motecuhzoma II Ihuilcamina, becoming tributary to Tenochtitlán.

**The Pyramid-Temple of Tepoztlan**

The pyramid was built on top of a mountain in the spectacular Tepoztlan sierra. The area where the pyramid was erected is rocky in nature and was artificially molded and cut [Fig. 156]. A 9.50 meter high platform was constructed there. The platform is accessed from the east side through stairs situated in the posterior part of the temple; there are other stairs in the southeast section of the edifice. On the back section of the platform, there is a raised base composed of two inclined sections separated by a passageway that has stairs on its west side leading to the temple [Fig. 157].

The temple consists of two rooms that are bordered by two meter wide walls. The first room or vestibule is formed by the extension of two side walls and two pillars [Fig. 158]. The room is six by 5.20 meters and has lateral benches and a depression at the center similar to some of the temples in Malinalco. Archaeological remains suggest that the roof was made of *tezontle*; door jambs and benches were made of stone. The benches have small cornices whose ornamentation is believed to represent the twenty day signs.
In the lower part of the pyramid there are two plaques; one has the hieroglyph of king Ahuitzotl, indicating a date of 1500 C.E. and the other has the date 10 Tochtli (rabbit) that corresponds to the last (final) years of Ahuitzotl’s reign. These plates indicate that this monument was constructed sometime between 1502 and 1520 C.E. The pyramid also consisted of 13 steps that symbolized the 13 levels of heaven.

_Ome Tochtli_, the _pulque_ god and patron deity of Tepoztlan is related to the earth goddess. Festivals at the temple were carried out after the crop season. In addition, when a person died of alcohol intoxication, the town members would have a celebration in honor of the deceased individual. At present, on December 8 every year coinciding with the Christian festival of the Nativity, there is a festival dedicated to the cultural hero Tepoztecatl, and people still climb the mountain to place offerings to him. Tepoztlan is a place loaded with ancient traditions, legends and magic practices of Pre-Columbian affiliation.

**Calixtlahuaca**

Dating back to the Early Post-Classic Period (900-1250 C.E.), Calixtlahuaca was located in the Valley of Toluca, southwest of modern day Mexico City. Calixtlahuaca, meaning Place of Houses on the Plain, was named by the Mexica-Aztecs who were impressed by the large quantity of towns that dotted the area of the Matlatzinca settlement. The city’s overall architectural style is a combination of Toltec and Aztec motifs. However, when the Matlatzincas were in power, they developed a style reminiscent of Teotihuacán and built joined stone slabs covered with mud. The city was founded along the Tejalpa River, bordering the emerging Aztec Empire from the Valley of Mexico and the Tarascan domain to the west. This was a highly vulnerable position. For that reason, the Matlatzincas had fortifications and granaries placed in protected areas in order to withstand a siege.

According to the writings of Friar Bernardino de Sahagún (1951-69) in the 16th century, the Matlatzincas were called the net people because of their innovative use of nets. Because Calixtlahuaca was in a region surrounded by lakes, the use of nets was common and with nets they fished, trashed corn, carried their children, trapped birds,
and made sacrifices. The Matlatzincas were also referred to as *quaquatli*, a Nahuatl word alluding to use of slings for hunting small game. Slings were strapped to their heads.

Calixtlahuaca was conquered by the Aztecs during the reign of Axayacatl (1469–1481 C.E.). It is believed that approximately 11,000 Calixtlahuacan prisoners were sacrificed in temple rituals at Tenochtitlán. Aztec families moved to Calixtlahuaca to solidify the Aztec authority and to act as a buffer against the Tarascans. Major temples were added to the city. There are 17 visible mounds, with several of them lying on an artificially terraced hill. With the exception of the structures listed below, most of the monuments have not been excavated. It should be noted that a statue of Coatlicue was found at the top of the hill and is now at the Mexico City Museum of Anthropology.

**Temple Of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl**

The temple was built in four separate stages. Each stage added a new layer, though the structure always maintained its circular form indicating worship to the wind god Ehecatl [*Fig. 159*]. The original temple was plain, without much decoration. The second layer was added during the Toltec dominion (900–1200 C.E.). The third layer was erected at the time the Matlatzincas controlled the area (1200–1474 C.E.). The final layer was added after the Mexica conquest [*Fig. 160*]. The temple also has a single stairway facing east with 13 steps, a symbol of the thirteen heavens of the supernatural realm [*Fig. 161*]. Carved stones are embedded into the structure.

Next to the temple was found a stone image of the wind god Ehecatl wearing a *maxtlatl* (loincloth), sandals and a mask with a beaklike mouth indicating that he is an incarnation of Quetzalcóatl, the Feathered Serpent [*Fig. 162*].

**The Tlaloc Cluster**

A group of three structures are clustered together around a small plaza in the middle of the hill. Archaeological findings associate them with Tlaloc [*Fig. 163*]. The Altar of the Skulls (*tzompantli*) was erected in a cruciform fashion on the west side. The transverse part to the west is semicircular. The outside walls are covered with projecting skull-shaped carvings [*Figs. 164* and 165]. Rows of skulls, possibly heads of prisoners of
war were found in this building.

The other two structures in this plaza are rectangular platforms with a single staircase that face the plaza [Fig. 166].

**Calmecac Group**
The *calmecac* group is a series of clustered buildings around a courtyard on the lower part of the hill near the Tejalpa River. The word *calmecac* derives from the Náhuatl word *calli* for house and *mecatl* for rope. The name is a reference to a building with long narrow corridors [Fig. 167].

According to the Spanish chronicles, priests in charge of the education of the nobility’s children lived in *calmecac*. *Calmecac* were the elite schools where Quetzalcoatl was a patron god. Flowers, sugar cane, beverages, and food were offered to the god on the day *Ce Acatl*, “one cane” of their calendar. Trimmed snail shells, symbols of Quetzalcoatl, were found during the explorations of the rooms of the buildings.

**Ballcourt**
The site of Calixtlahuaca holds a traditional ballcourt used to play the Mesoamerican ballgame. The ballcourt has not been excavated.

**Coatetelco**
Coatetelco is an urban site of medium size built in the late Aztec period [Fig. 168]. The ceremonial center was excavated by the archaeologist Raúl Arana in the 1970s. It consists of a ballcourt [Fig. 169], a small pyramid-temple [Fig. 170], a building that seems to be a palace [Fig. 171], and a few other edifices all clustered around a public plaza [Fig. 172]. The ballcourt is one of the very scarce Aztec ballcourts that have been excavated [Fig. 173]. Under the stairway of the western ballcourt platform elite burials were found with a great amount of tomb artifacts, such as ceramic vessels, obsidian, jade, copper-bronze objects, and a pile of *manos* (stone tools for grinding corn on a flat stone, called *metate*). According to Michael Smith (2003), the residential areas of the site are buried today under the modern town of Coatetelco.
Coatetelco is important because it is one of the few surviving Aztec sites that were not destroyed deliberately by the Spanish Conquest. Thus, its sacred precinct has been widely excavated and studied. There is a group of small platforms aligned in the plaza adjacent to the ballcourt [Fig. 174]. One of the platforms is circular and that would suggest its use in the worship of the wind god Ehecatl, but in this case it is also possible that it was used for gladiatorial sacrifices [Fig. 175]. This is reinforced by the fact that in the site was found a temalacatl, a round stone utilized to tie the captive warriors in those practices [Fig. 176]. The temalacatl were used also as rings for the ballgame, but in this case the size is too big and the hole is too small to allow the passing of a ball. Those platforms besides being a unique feature in Aztec urban planning, they contained buried offerings that included long-handled incense burners similar to those shown in the codices and utilized by the priests in diverse rituals [Fig. 177]. The provincial town of Coatetelco has an interesting architectural feature. Its main pyramid-temple is relatively modest indicating that not all Aztec cities followed the pattern of building large, massive twin pyramids like those in Tenochtitlán, Teopanzolco, or Tenayuca. Excavations of the residential areas have not been conducted.

Malinalco
Malinalco is a city located in the east-central part of the state of Mexico, south of the modern city of Toluca. It is believed that the site was founded by the Matlanzincas and was taken by the Aztecs in 1469-1476 C.E., during the reign of King Axayacatl. Malinalco is best known for its rock-cut temples (similar to those of Ajanta and Ellora in India, the Longmen caves of China, the city of Petra in Jordan, and the temple Abu Simbel in Egypt) and for being a fortress city of the Aztecs. Called the Eagle’s Nest (Cuauhtinchan) by the Aztecs, it served military-religious society purposes and was the headquarters for the Eagle and Jaguar Knights, the Aztec military castes of prestigious warriors.

Malinalco’s ceremonial center is located on a mountain cliff called the Cerro de los Idolos (Idols mount), and it resembles an eagle’s nest amid a mountainous region [Fig. 178a]. Malinalco was a strategic location, allowing the Aztecs to control the Valley of Toluca (Matlatzinca region), northern Guerrero and the Tlahuica region. Its name
means “place where Malinalxochitl (grass flower) is adored,” or more simply, “Place of the Grass Flower” [Fig. 178b].

The temples of Malinalco are usually described as sculpture-temples or sculptural architecture. They were carved on a sloping hill, oriented southeast for ritual purposes [Fig. 179a]. According to the Aztecs, Malinalco was one of the most important architectural sites because of its association to Aztec religious history and for its military nature. Malinalco is the place where the three levels of the Cosmos unite: the sky, the earth, and the underworld [Fig. 179b]. It is well known for its shamanism and as the place where Copil, nephew of Huitzilopochtli and son of Malinalxochitl, fought Huitzilopochtli. Copil was defeated and his heart was thrown over the lake of Tetzcoco and landed on the island that would later become Tenochtitlán.

Temple I (Cuauhcalli) - Temple of the Eagle and Jaguar Knights
The major structure of Malinalco is a temple called the cuauhcalli, meaning house of the eagles, by the archaeologist José García Payón (1974). The circular cuauhcalli pyramidal base and balustraded staircase is a rock-cut structure carved in the mountain side and is oriented south. It has two bodies in talud, with one superimposed on the other with a height of four meters [Fig. 180].

The staircase, located in the front façade of the building, is two meters wide and has 13 steps. The staircase has two balustrades with changing slopes at the top, each becoming almost vertical. On the left and right sides of the stairs, two squatting jaguars are found. On the fourth and seventh steps, there are remains of a damaged sculpture of a sitting standard (pantli) bearer similar to ones that once stood on top of the balustrades of the Great Temple of Tenochtitlán [Fig. 181].

At the top of the stairs there is low platform that functioned as an antechamber for the shrine of the temple. The platform floor has a rectangular perforation that is believed to have had an embedded Techcatl (sacrificial stone). Three-dimensional figures of a serpent head with an Eagle Knight sitting on top (east side) and a huehuetyl (vertical drum) covered with ocelotl (jaguar) skin surmounted with remains of a Jaguar Knight on the west side, flank the doorway [Fig. 182]. The doorway of the shrine is the open
mouth of a serpent, with fangs on each side and a bifid tongue sculpted on the floor [Fig. 183]. García Payón believed that this architectural sculpture represented Tlaltecuhtli, the earth monster, but it is now more widely accepted that it is Coatlicue, the mother earth goddess. This characteristic makes the Cuauhcalli, to be a cave-temple, the entrance to the womb of the earth.

The interior structure has a painted, raised ledge cut from rock which follows the circular contour of the wall and is almost six meters (19 feet) in diameter. The east and west sides have sculptures of flat eagles and the north side has an extended jaguar. The sculptures were zoomorphic thrones. The extended jaguar was used by the king and the eagles by his imperial officers. In the center of the shrine there is a sculpture of an eagle facing the doorway [Fig. 184]. Behind the eagle there is a circular hole, approximately 30 cm (12 inches) wide and 33 cm (13 inches) deep. It is believed that it was a cuauhxicalli (repository for the hearts of sacrificed victims) that served as offerings that were needed to maintain the movement of the Sun and human existence. The eagle is the nahual (disguise) of the Sun and is the terrestrial form taken by god Huitzilopochtli-Tonatiuh. The carved circular wall was completed with an extension of tezontle to support the thatched roof.

Like most Aztec architecture, the cuauhcalli is a re-enactment of historical and religious beliefs. As stated above, to some scholars it simply honors Tlaltecuhtli or Coatlicue, the earth monsters through its function of a sanctuary that represents the earth itself on which Aztec Warriors struggled in warfare and perished fighting, offering their lives to the sun. To other scholars (including the author of this work) the temple represents, like the Great temple of Tenochtitlán, the mount of Coatepec (Snake Mountain) that is a transitional place on the surface of the earth (tlalticpac) connecting the middle world with the heavens and underworld. It is the mythical house of Coatlicue, represented by the serpent’s mouth door. When the interior chamber is entered, it leads to a cave, the womb of the earth. It is a metaphor for the mythical places of creation and origin Tamoanchan-Aztlan-Chicomoztoc. Coatepec, as we have seen before, is the place where Huitzilopochtli was born from the womb of Coatlicue. There are physical elements referring to the myth of Coatepec in the cuauhcalli. The cuauhtehuanitl
(ascending eagle) or rising Sun is represented by the carved eagle in the center of the shrine that faces toward the portal of the earth cave (Coatlicue) [Fig. 185]. It symbolized Huitzilopochtli’s victory over his siblings. The battle was re-enacted everyday symbolizing a new day for human beings. This is exactly the same meaning that appears in the huehuetl of Malinalco discussed in the section of Art. When the Sun rose from the east, it was carried from the zenith by warriors that died in war or on sacrificial stones. When it sets on the west, it is taken by the Cihuateteo, deified women who died in child birth. It was believed by warriors, that the hearts placed in the circular hole of the shrine’s floor aided Huitzilopochtli in his nightly quests. In the exterior, next to the portal, on the southeast side, there is a xiuhoatl, the weapon used by Huitzilopochtli when he traveled everyday from east to west [Fig. 186]. The archaeoastronomical measurements of Javier Romero-Quiroz (1980) and Jesús Galindo-Trejo (1989) confirm that the day of the winter solstice (December 21st) at noon, the light of the Sun coming from a cleft in a mountain located in front of the cuauhcalli, enters through the doorway of it, illuminating exactly the head of the eagle that is the embodiment of Huitzilopochtli, the Sun himself [Fig. 187]. We know through Sahagún, that on the solstitial day the Panquetzaliztli was celebrated, a festival dedicated to honor the flags of sacrifice because this was the day of the descent of Huitzilopochtli to the earth. It means that the orientation of this temple was built with this solsticial effect in mind (see section on the Great Temple in this article for further information).

Flanking the door are images of the Cuauhtli and Ocelotl warriors who were the guardians of the temple and worshippers of the Sun [Fig. 182]. Archaeologist Richard Townsend (1982, 2000) points out that Cuauhtli and Ocelotl warriors’ ritual practices and ceremonies such as initiation and graduation were celebrated in this temple.

Although Temple I is circular, it is not associated with the cult of Quetzalcoatl (many circular structures in Mesoamerica honor the deity). This temple was erected in honor of the Sun god Huitzilopochtli and that is proven by all the iconographic motifs already discussed.
**Temple II**
Temple II is a truncated pyramid that is located a few feet southeast of Temple I. It has a squared floor plan and a staircase on the west side of the façade. The balustrades were constructed with carved stones and were built with stucco plaster [Fig. 188]. Altar carvings and a platform were incorporated into the building. The building is consolidated, but it shows a state of deterioration.

**Temple III**
Temple III was used to celebrate the funerals of warriors who died in war or captivity and were worthy of going to *Tonatiuh Ilhuicac* (the paradise of the Sun) [Fig. 189]. The rock-cut structure holds two chambers, a circular and a rectangular one. The eastern portion of the building faces south and is part of a natural *talud* (slope) of the mountain. It is constructed of stone joined with soil and lime mortar. The temple’s entrance consists of three doors that are separated by two columns [Fig. 190]. The rectangular chamber has a fire pit in the middle of the room. The room contains a bench that runs through the east, west, and north sides. It is interrupted at the center of the north side and gives access to the circular chamber. The rectangular chamber originally had a mural that represented the *mimixcoua*, the deified eagle and jaguar warriors who lived in the Heaven of the Sun [Fig. 191]. Unfortunately, this mural no longer exists.

**Temple IV**
Temple IV is partially carved into the living rock, faces east, and is considered to be a *Tonatiuhcalli*; Temple of the Sun. Half of the edifice is carved out of rock, while the other half, the front façade, is made of ashlars of stone. The building is raised from a platform and has a central staircase [Fig. 192]. The interior consists of two rectangular pedestals that served as column bases that supported the roof. There is an altar carved out of the rock that lies along the main wall [Fig. 193]. Some scholars believe that an image of the sun, similar to the Aztec Calendar of Tenochtitlán was embedded in the main wall due to the fact that the Temple wall was designed to receive the light rays of the rising Sun (*Cuauhtehuanitl*), illuminating every morning the face of the god.
**Temple V**
This monument has a circular floor plan of 2 m. of diameter and is built of stone ashlers over a platform [Fig. 194]. Even though it is very dilapidated, its limited space and round form are similar to the Kivas of the Southwest of the United States, an area located beyond the north border of Mesoamerica. The hole that this structure has in its center could have been used to hold the flags or banners of war and sacrifice.

**Temple VI**
Temple VI was under construction at the time of the Spanish conquest, and so it was never completed. Its platform is identified as that of a *temalacatl* (wheel of stone) [Fig. 195]. The chroniclers and the codices show that on that particular type of stone, brave enemy captives were exposed to the gladiatorial sacrifice (*tlauauanaliztli*) [Fig. 175]. Some *temalacatl* were also considered to be *cuauhxicalli* (vessels that contained the hearts of the sacrificial victims).
The Aztec Empire at the Time of the Triple Alliance

Figure 104. Map of the Aztec Empire (drawing Lluvia Arras).
Figure 105. Map of the Valley of Mexico (drawing Lluvia Arras).
Figure 106. Pyramid of Tenayuca (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 107. Superimpositions in the Pyramid of Tenayuca (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 108. Coatepantli of the Pyramid of Tenayuca (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 109. Coatepantli of the Pyramid of Tenayuca (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 110. Xiuhcoatl of Tenayuca (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 111. Tomb-Altar with Skulls (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 112. Pyramid of Santa Cecilia Acatitlan (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 113. Pyramid of Santa Cecilia Acatitlan (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 114. Pyramid of Santa Cecilia Acatitlan (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 115. Temple of Huitzilopochtli in Santa Cecilia Acatitlan (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 116. Chacmool, Sacrificial Stone and Brazier at Santa Cecilia Acatitlan (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 117. Plaza of Teopanzolco (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 118. Pyramid of Teopanzolco (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 119. Dual Temples of the Main Pyramid of Teopanzolco (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 120. Temple of tezcatlipoca in Teopanzolco (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 121. Altar #14 of Teopanzolco (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 122. Temple of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl at Teopanzolco (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 123. Tlatelolco (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 124. Main Pyramid with Dual Temples in Tlatelolco (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 125. Temple of the Calendar (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 126. Detail of the Temple of the Calendar (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 127. Temple of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl in tlatelolco (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 128. Tlatelolco Market (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 129. Tlatelolco Market (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 130. Tlatelolco Market (photo Fernando González y González).
EL 13 DE AGOSTO DE 1521
HERCICAMENTE DEFENDIDÓ POR CUAUHTEMOC
CAYO TLATELOCO EN PODER DE HERNAN CORTES
NO FUE TRIUNFO NI DERROTA
FUE EL DOLOROSO NACIMIENTO DEL PUEBLO MESTIZO
QUE ES EL MÉXICO DE HOY

Figure 131. Sign in Tlatelolco announcing the Birth of Mexico (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 132a. Mount Tialoc (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 132b. Tetzocotzinco (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 133. Nezahualcoyotl by Jesus Contreras (19th Century) (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 134a. Map of Tetzcotzinco (drawing Lluvia Arras).
Figure 134b. Aqueduct and Circumabulation Path in Tetzcotzinco (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 135. Reservoir System H and Tetzcotzinco Hill (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 136. Aqueduct and Monolithic Room in Tetzcotzinco (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 137. Monolithic Room (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 138. Circumambulation Path and Subsystem of Irrigation Canals (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 139. The King’s Bath (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 140. The Queen's Bath (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 141. The Queen's Bath overlooking the City of Tetzoco (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 142. Cave-Temple in the Assembly Plaza on Top of Tetzcotzinco Hill (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 143. Mask of Tlaloc (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 144. Mask of Tialoc (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 145. King's Bath and Cave (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 146. Cave (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 147. Atrio of Huexotla (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 148. The Wall of Huexotla (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 149. La Comunidad Building in Huexotla (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 150. La Estancia Building in Huexotla (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 151. Santa María Group in Huexotla (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 152. Temple of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl and Mount Tialoc (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 153. Temple of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl in Huexotla (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 154. Sierra of Tepoztlan (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 155. Tepoztlan and Tepozteco Hills (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 156. Pyramid-Temple of Tepoztlan on Tepozteco Hill (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 157. Pyramid-Temple of Tepoztlan (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 158. Interior of the Pyramid-Temple of Tepoztlan (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 159. Superimpositions of the Temple of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl in Calixtlahuaca (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 160. Temple of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl in Calixtlahuaca (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 161. Temple of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 162. Statue of Ehecatl (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 163. Tlaloc Cluster in Calixtlahuaca (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 164. Tzompantli in the Tlaloc Cluster (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 165. Detail of the Tzompantli of the Tlaloc Cluster (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 166. Rectangular Buildings of the Tialoc Cluster (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 167. Calmecac Group of Calixtlahuaca (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 168. Plan of Coatetelco (Lluvia Arras after Smith 2003).
Figure 169. Ball Court of Coatetelco (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 170. Main Pyramid-Temple of Coatetelco (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 171. Plaza of Coatetelco with the Palace and Main Pyramid-Temple (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 172. Plaza with South Platform of Coatetelco (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 173. Ball Court of Coatetelco (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 174. Ball Court and Alignment of Small Platforms in the Central Plaza of Coatepec (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 175. Image of Gladiatorial Sacrifice from Atlas of Duran (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 176. Temalacatl for Gladiatorial Sacrifice (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 177. Long-handle Incense Burner (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 178a. Idols' Mount and Site of Malinalco (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 178b. Malinalli Grass (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 179a. Cuauhcalli (Temple I) (photo Fernando González y González).
Schematic Map of the Site of Malinalco

Figure 179b. Plan of Malinalco after Marquina (drawing Lluvia Arras).
Figure 180. Temple I (Cuauhcalli) (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 181. Temple I (Cuauhcalli) (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 182. Xiuhcoatl, Huehuetl, Cavity of Sacrificial Stone (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 183. Mask of a Serpent at the Doorway of Temple I (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 184. Zoomorphic Thrones in the Bench and Solar Eagle at the entrance of Temple I (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 185. Jaguar Throne and Solar Eagle (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 186. Xiuhcoatl and Eagle Warrior (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 187. Cleft in Mountain in front of Malinalco Temples (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 188. Temple II (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 189. Temples III, IV, and VI of Malinalco (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 190. Temple III (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 191. Mural Painting of the Mimixcoua (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 192. Temple IV (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 193. Temple IV (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 194. Temple V (photo Fernando González y González).
Figure 195. Temple VI (Temalacatl) (photo Fernando González y González).
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