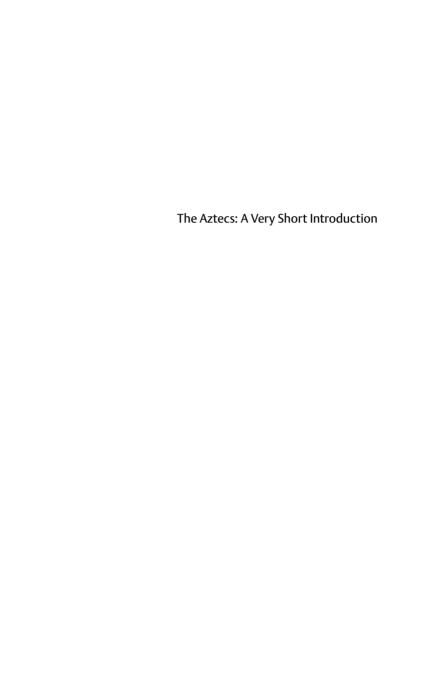
David Carrasco THE AZTECS

A Very Short Introduction

OXFORD



VERY SHORT INTRODUCTIONS are for anyone wanting a stimulating and accessible way in to a new subject. They are written by experts and have been published in more than 25 languages worldwide.

The series began in 1995, and now represents a wide variety of topics in history, philosophy, religion, science, and the humanities. The VSI library now contains 300 volumes—a Very Short Introduction to everything from ancient Egypt and Indian philosophy to conceptual art and cosmology—and will continue to grow in a variety of disciplines.

Very Short Introductions available now:

ADVERTISING Winston Fletcher AFRICAN HISTORY John Parker and Richard Rathbone AGNOSTICISM Robin Le Poidevin AMERICAN IMMIGRATION David A. Gerber AMFRICAN POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTIONS L. Sandy Maisel THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY Charles O. Iones ANARCHISM Colin Ward ANCIENT EGYPT Ian Shaw ANCIENT GREECE Paul Cartledge ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY Julia Annas ANCIENT WARFARE Harry Sidebottom THE ANIMAL KINGDOM Peter Holland ANGELS David Albert Iones ANGLICANISM Mark Chapman THE ANGLO-SAXON AGE John Blair ANIMAL RIGHTS David DeGrazia ANTISEMITISM Steven Beller THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS Paul Foster

ARCHAEOLOGY Paul Bahn
ARCHITECTURE Andrew Ballantyne
ARISTOCRACY William Doyle
ARISTOTLE Jonathan Barnes
ART HISTORY Dana Arnold
ART THEORY Cynthia Freeland
ATHEISM Julian Baggini
AUGUSTINE Henry Chadwick
AUTISM Uta Frith
THE AZTECS David Carrasco
BARTHES Jonathan Culler
BEAUTY Roger Scruton
BESTSELLERS John Sutherland

THE BIBLE John Riches
BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY
Eric H. Cline
BIOGRAPHY Hermione Lee
THE BLUES Elijah Wald
THE BOOK OF MORMON

Terryl Givens
THE BRAIN Michael O'Shea
BRITISH POLITICS Anthony Wright
BUDDHA Michael Carrithers
BUDDHISM Damien Keown
BUDDHIST ETHICS Damien Keown
CANCER Nicholas James
CAPITALISM James Fulcher
CATHOLICISM Gerald O'Collins
THE CELL

CHAOS Leonard Smith
CHILDREN'S LITERATURE
Kimberley Reynolds
CHOICE THEORY Michael Allingham
CHRISTIAN ART Beth Williamson
CHRISTIAN ETHICS D. Stephen Long
CHRISTIANITY Linda Woodhead
CITIZENSHIP Richard Bellamy
CLASSICAL MYTHOLOGY Helen Morales
CLASSICS

Terence Allen and Graham Cowling

THE CELTS Barry Cunliffe

Mary Beard and John Henderson
CLAUSEWITZ Michael Howard
THE COLD WAR Robert McMahon
COLONIAL LATIN AMERICAN
LITERATURE Rolena Adorno
COMMUNISM Leslie Holmes
THE COMPUTER Darrel Ince
CONSCIENCE Paul Strohm

CONSCIOUSNESS Susan Blackmore
CONTEMPORARY ART Julian Stallabrass
CONTINENTAL PHILOSOPHY
Simon Critchley
COSMOLOGY Peter Coles
CRITICAL THEORY Stephen Eric Bronner
THE CRUSADES Christopher Tyerman
CRYPTOGRAPHY

Fred Piper and Sean Murphy THE CULTURAL

REVOLUTION Richard Curt Kraus
DADA AND SURREALISM

David Hopkins

DARWIN Jonathan Howard
THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS Timothy Lim
DEMOCRACY Bernard Crick
DERRIDA Simon Glendinning
DESCARTES Tom Sorell
DESERTS Nick Middleton
DESIGN John Heskett
DEVELOPMENTAL BIOLOGY

Lewis Wolpert

DICTIONARIES Lynda Mugglestone DINOSAURS David Norman DIPLOMACY Joseph M. Siracusa DOCUMENTARY FILM

Patricia Aufderheide
DREAMING J. Allan Hobson
DRUGS Leslie Iversen
DRUIDS Barry Cunliffe
EARLY MUSIC Thomas Forrest Kelly
THE FARTH Martin Redfern

ECONOMICS Partha Dasgupta EGYPTIAN MYTH Geraldine Pinch EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY

BRITAIN Paul Langford

THE ELEMENTS Philip Ball EMOTION Dylan Evans

EMPIRE Stephen Howe ENGELS Terrell Carver

ENGLISH LITERATURE Jonathan Bate ENVIRONMENTAL

ECONOMICS Stephen Smith EPIDEMIOLOGY Roldolfo Saracci ETHICS Simon Blackburn

THE EUROPEAN UNION

John Pinder and Simon Usherwood ${\tt EVOLUTION}$

Brian and Deborah Charlesworth EXISTENTIALISM Thomas Flynn FASCISM Kevin Passmore FASHION Rebecca Arnold FEMINISM Margaret Walters
FILM MUSIC Kathryn Kalinak
THE FIRST WORLD WAR Michael Howard
FOLK MUSIC Mark Slobin
FORENSIC PSYCHOLOGY David Canter
FORENSIC SCIENCE Jim Fraser
FOSSILS Keith Thomson
FOUCAULT Gary Gutting
FREE SPEECH Nigel Warburton
FREE WILL Thomas Pink
FRENCH LITERATURE John D. Lyons
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION
William Doyle
FREUD Anthony Storr

FREUD Anthony Storr
FUNDAMENTALISM Malise Ruthven
GALAXIES John Gribbin
GALILEO Stillman Drake
GAME THEORY Ken Binmore
GANDHI Bhikhu Parekh
GENIUS Andrew Robinson
GEOGRAPHY

John Matthews and David Herbert
GEOPOLITICS Klaus Dodds
GERMAN LITERATURE Nicholas Boyle
GERMAN PHILOSOPHY Andrew Bowie
GLOBAL CATASTROPHES Bill McGuire
GLOBAL ECONOMIC HISTORY
Robert C Allen

GLOBALIZATION Manfred Steger
THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE
NEW DEAL Eric Rauchway
HABERMAS James Gordon Finlayson
HEGEL Peter Singer
HEIDEGGER Michael Inwood
HERODOTUS Jennifer. T. Roberts
HIEROGLYPHS Penelope Wilson
HINDUISM Kim Knott
HISTORY John H. Arnold
THE HISTORY OF

GLOBAL WARMING Mark Maslin

ASTRONOMY Michael Hoskin
THE HISTORY OF LIFE Michael Benton
THE HISTORY OF

MEDICINE William Bynum THE HISTORY OF TIME Leofranc Holford-Strevens

HIV/AIDS Alan Whiteside
HOBBES Richard Tuck
HUMAN EVOLUTION Bernard Wood
HUMAN RIGHTS Andrew Clapham
HUMANISM Stephen Law
HUME A. J. Ayer

IDEOLOGY Michael Freeden INDIAN PHILOSOPHY Sue Hamilton INFORMATION Luciano Floridi INNOVATION

Mark Dodgson and David Gann

INTELLIGENCE lan J. Deary
INTERNATIONAL
MIGRATION Khalid Koser

MIGRATION Khalid Koser INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS Paul Wilkinson

ISLAM Malise Ruthven
ISLAMIC HISTORY Adam Silverstein

JESUS Richard Bauckham

JOURNALISM Ian Hargreaves

JUDAISM Norman Solomon

JUNG Anthony Stevens
KABBALAH Joseph Dan

KAFKA Ritchie Robertson

KANT Roger Scruton

KEYNES Robert Skidelsky

KIERKEGAARD Patrick Gardiner

THE KORAN Michael Cook

GEOMORPHOLOGY Andrew Goudie and Heather Viles

LATE ANTIQUITY Gillian Clark LAW Raymond Wacks

THE LAWS OF THERMODYNAMICS
Peter Atkins

LEADERSHIP Keith Grint LINCOLN Allen C. Guelzo

LINGUISTICS Peter Matthews
LITERARY THEORY Jonathan Culler
LOCKE John Dunn

LOGIC Graham Priest

MACHIAVELLI Quentin Skinner

MADNESS Andrew Scull
THE MARQUIS DE SADE John Phillips

MARX Peter Singer

MARTIN LUTHER Scott H Hendrix

MATHEMATICS Timothy Gowers

THE MEANING OF LIFE Terry Eagleton

MEDICAL ETHICS Tony Hope
MEDIEVAL BRITAIN

NEDIEVAL BRITAIN

John Gillingham and Ralph A. Griffiths

MEMORY Jonathan K. Foster
MICHAEL FARADAY

Frank A.J.L. James

MODERN ART David Cottington
MODERN CHINA Rana Mitter
MODERN FRANCE Vanessa R Schwartz

MODERN IRELAND Senia Pašeta MODERN JAPAN Christopher Goto-Jones MODERN LATIN AMERICAN LITERATURE

Roberto González Echevarría
MODERNISM Christopher Butler
MOLECULES Philip Ball
MORMONISM Richard Lyman Bushman
MUHAMMAD Jonathan A.C. Brown
MULTICULTURALISM Ali Rattansi
MUSIC Nicholas Cook
MYTH Robert A. Segal
NATIONALISM Steven Grosby

NELSON MANDELA Elleke Boehmer NEOLIBERALISM

Manfred Steger and Ravi Roy THE NEW TESTAMENT Luke Timothy Johnson

THE NEW TESTAMENT AS LITERATURE Kyle Keefer

NEWTON Robert Iliffe
NIFTZSCHE Michael Tanner

NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN

Christopher Harvie and H. C. G. Matthew THE NORMAN CONQUEST

George Garnett

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green NORTHERN IRELAND Marc Mulholland NOTHING Frank Close NUCLEAR POWER Maxwell Irvine NUCLEAR WEAPONS Joseph M. Siracusa NUMBERS Peter M. Higgins

THE OLD TESTAMENT Michael D. Coogan ORGANIZATIONS Mary Jo Hatch PAGANISM Owen Davies

PARTICLE PHYSICS Frank Close PAUL F. P. Sanders

PENTECOSTALISM William K. Kay
THE PERIODIC TABLE Eric R. Scerri

PHILOSOPHY Edward Craig
PHILOSOPHY OF LAW Raymond Wacks

PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE Samir Okasha PHOTOGRAPHY Steve Edwards PLANETS David A. Rothery

PLATO Julia Annas

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY David Miller
POLITICS Kenneth Minogue

POSTCOLONIALISM Robert Young POSTMODERNISM Christopher Butler POSTSTRUCTURALISM Catherine Belsey

PREHISTORY Chris Gosden PRESOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY

Catherine Osborne PRIVACY Raymond Wacks PROGRESSIVISM Walter Nugent PROTESTANTISM Mark A. Noll PSYCHIATRY Tom Burns PSYCHOLOGY

Gillian Butler and Freda McManus PURITANISM Francis |. Bremer THE OUAKERS Pink Dandelion QUANTUM THEORY John Polkinghorne RACISM Ali Rattansi THE REAGAN REVOLUTION GILTroy REALITY Ian Westerhoff THE REFORMATION Peter Marshall RELATIVITY Russell Stannard RELIGION IN AMERICA Timothy Beal THE RENAISSANCE Jerry Brotton RENAISSANCE ART Geraldine A. Johnson RISK Baruch Fischhoff and John Kadvanv ROMAN BRITAIN Peter Salway THE ROMAN EMPIRE Christopher Kelly ROMANTICISM Michael Ferber ROUSSEAU Robert Wokler RUSSELL A. C. Grayling RUSSIAN LITERATURE Catriona Kellv THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION S. A. Smith SCIENCE FICTION David Seed

SCHIZOPHRENIA Chris Frith and Eve Johnstone SCHOPENHAUER Christopher lanaway SCIENCE AND RELIGION Thomas Dixon THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION Lawrence M. Principe

SCOTLAND Rab Houston SEXUALITY Véronique Mottier SHAKESPEARE Germaine Green STKHISM Fleanor Nesbitt SIFFP

Steven W. Lockley and Russell G. Foster SOCIAL AND CUITURAL

ANTHROPOLOGY John Monaghan and Peter Just SOCIALISM Michael Newman SOCIOLOGY Steve Bruce SOCRATES C.C.W. Taylor THE SOVIET UNION Stephen Lovell THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR Helen Graham SPANISH LITERATURE Io Labanvi SPINOZA Roger Scruton STATISTICS David I. Hand STUART BRITAIN Iohn Morrill SUPERCONDUCTIVITY Stephen Blundell TERRORISM Charles Townshend THEOLOGY David F. Ford THOMAS AQUINAS Fergus Kerr TOCOUEVILLE Harvey C. Mansfield TRAGEDY Adrian Poole THE TUDORS John Guy TWENTIETH-CENTURY BRITAIN Kenneth O. Morgan THE UNITED NATIONS Iussi M. Hanhimäki THE U.S. CONGRESS Donald A. Ritchie UTOPIANISM Lyman Tower Sargent

THE VIKINGS Julian Richards VIRUSES Dorothy H. Crawford WITCHCRAFT Malcolm Gaskill WITTGENSTEIN A. C. Grayling WORLD MUSIC Philip Bohlman THE WORLD TRADE

ORGANIZATION Amrita Narlikar WRITING AND SCRIPT Andrew Robinson

Available soon:

FILM Michael Wood MAGIC Owen Davies THE CONOUISTADORS Matthew Restall and Felipe Fernández-Armesto CHINESE LITERATURE Sabina Knight ITALIAN LITERATURE Peter Hainsworth and David Robey

For more information visit our web site www.oup.com/vsi/



Davíd Carrasco

THE AZTECS

A Very Short Introduction



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford University Press, Inc., publishes works that further Oxford University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship, and education.

Oxford New York

Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in

Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Copyright © 2012 by Davíd Carrasco

Published by Oxford University Press, Inc. 198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016

www.oup.com

Oxford is a registered trademark of Oxford University Press

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of Oxford University Press.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Carrasco, Davíd.

The Aztecs: a very short introduction / Davíd Carrasco. p. cm. — (Very short introductions)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-19-537938-9 (pbk.)

1. Aztecs. I. Title.

F1219.73.C354 2011

972—dc23

2011025597

1 3 5 7 9 8 6 4 2

Printed in Great Britain by Ashford Colour Press Ltd., Gosport, Hants. on acid-free paper To the archaeologists who excavate the Great Aztec Temple and to Friedrich Katz, who first taught me about Aztec civilization



Contents

List of illustrations xii

Further reading 127

Index 133

6

Preface xiii
The city of Tenochtitlan: center of the Aztec world 1
Aztec foundations: Aztlan, cities, peoples 16
Aztec expansion through conquest and trade 38
Cosmovision and human sacrifice 61
Women and children: weavers of life and precious necklaces 78
Wordplay, philosophy, sculpture 92
The fall of the Aztec empire 102
The return of the Aztecs 112
References 121

List of illustrations

Engraved map of Tenochtitlan 2

Praeclara Ferdinandi Cortesii de Nova Maris Oceani Hispania Narratio (Nuremberg, 1524)

2 Chicomoztoc (Place of Seven Caves) 18

Atlas de Durán, from the 1880 Jules Desportes lithograph facsimile edition

3 Map of the Basin of Mexico, ca. 1519 **22**

© Scott Sessions

4 Frontispiece of the *Codex Mendoza* 41

MS. Arch Selden. A.1, fol. 2r. © Bodleian Library, Oxford, England

5 Model of the Great Aztec Temple 54

© Leonardo López Luján, Museo Templo Mayor, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia

6 Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin's reign and conquests in the Codex Mendoza, 56

MS. Arch Selden. A.1, fol. 15v. © Bodleian Library, Oxford, England

7 Aztec Calendar Stone 70

© Salvador Guil'liem Arroyo, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia

8 Coyolxauhqui Stone 72

© Salvador Guil'liem Arroyo, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia

9 Aztec mothers teaching daughters in the Codex Mendoza 81

MS. Arch Selden. A.1, fol. 60r. © Bodleian Library, Oxford, England

10 Aztec wedding scene in the Codex Mendoza 95

MS. Arch Selden. A.1, fol. 61r. © Bodleian Library, Oxford, England

11 Doña Marina, redrawn from the *Florentine Codex* **105**

From Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia* general de las cosas de Nueva España, ed. Francisco del Paso y Troncoso (Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1905)

12 Day of the Dead altar 119

© Scott Sessions

Preface

Writing a Very Short Introduction to the Aztecs includes a long journey back through the more than two-thousand-year history of the rise of urban life that they inherited and reformulated between 1300 and 1521 cg. It involves adjustments in the use of the popular names "Aztec" and "Montezuma," names that the population who lived in and in relation to the city of Tenochtitlan never used. "Aztec" is a Nahuatl-derived term meaning "people from Aztlan," the revered place of origin of the various ethnic groups who eventually dominated central Mesoamerica in the century before the arrival of Europeans. The people we call Aztecs, however, identified themselves with such terms as "Mexica," "Acolhua," and "Tenochca." It was through the immense popularity of William H. Prescott's The History of the Conquest of Mexico (1843) that the name "Aztec" came to identify forever the various groups that made up the Mexica kingdom. In this book I use the terms "Mexica" and "Aztec" interchangeably because of the popularity of the latter and the accuracy of the former. The two Mexica rulers we call "Montezuma" were named Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina and Motecuhzoma Xocovotzin respectively. It was the latter who ruled between 1502 and 1520 and entered the popular imagination of the English-speaking world and the West as the king who ruled the "Halls of

Montezuma." I use the Nahuatl version to link these personages again to their real names.

Many thanks to three scholars who assisted me in the writing of this book: Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, Leonardo López Luján, and especially my collaborator of many years, Scott Sessions.

Chapter 1

The city of Tenochtitlan: center of the Aztec world

When Hernán Cortés led a Spanish army of five hundred soldiers, accompanied by several thousand skilled, allied native warriors, into the Aztec capital on November 8, 1519, the Europeans were filled with wonder by the enormous, splendid city in the middle of Lake Tezcoco. One of these soldiers, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, left this initial glimpse:

[W]hen we saw so many cities and villages built in the water and other great towns on dry land and that straight and level Causeway going towards Mexico, we were amazed and said that it was like the enchantments they tell of in the legend of Amadís, on account of the great towers and pyramids rising from the water, and all built of masonry. And some of our soldiers even asked whether the things that we saw were not a dream...the appearance of the palaces in which they lodged us! How spacious and well built they were, of beautiful stone work and cedar wood, and the wood of other sweet scented trees, with great rooms and courts, wonderful to behold, covered with awnings of cotton cloth.

The size of the buildings and the great crowds who welcomed these strange-looking visitors left the Spaniards astonished. They saw huge palaces "coated with shiny cement and swept and garlanded... adjacent to great oratories for idols," some of which were covered with blood. The Aztec island capital, Tenochtitlan,