The Texcoco Coat of Arms

María Castañeda de la Paz, *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*

Abstract. During the last couple of years, the Texcoco coat of arms has received much attention, yet there is no agreement on the interpretation of some of its heraldic elements or its date and authorship. In this article the author presents a new iconographic study accompanied by a review of an important part of Texcoco's history to demonstrate that the goal of the artist who painted this coat of arms was to exalt that city's most significant political events: Nezahualcoyotl's conquest of the Acolhua capital of Coatlinchan and the relocation of its court to Texcoco. Various additional aspects suggest that this coat of arms pertains to the first half of the seventeenth century; they also provide clues to the possible identity of the intellectual author of this shield.

Keywords. coat of arms, iconography, Nezahualcoyotl, Texcoco, Coatlinchan

With the end of the war in Granada in 1492, the Americas emerged as a new frontier where men could earn honors and crests, as had occurred earlier during the long years of the struggle between Christians and Moors on the Iberian Peninsula. In that period, many Spanish conquistadors solicited beautiful crests that recognized and boasted of their heroic deeds. Members of the nobility of pre-Hispanic origin who had participated in the conquest and colonization soon began to imitate this yearning. Throughout the sixteenth century, the Spanish Crown needed to ensure that the Indigenous nobility would remain on its side, and soon realized that granting coats of arms was a way to achieve this goal. This explains why Carlos V and Felipe II prodigiously rewarded Indigenous lords for their services during the conquest and colonization.

Ethnohistory 69:2 (April 2022) DOI 10.1215/00141801-9522171

While coats of arms simply embodied the Crown's gratitude for services rendered, they allowed deserving nobles to boast of having received royal recognition by displaying their shields in a variety of public spaces.[1] Moreover, as Faustino Menéndez Pidal de Navascués (2014: 17, 25) observed, coats of arms have always been distinctive symbols and figurative emblems, obviously designed to be shown to others in order to communicate the message that it was chosen by the man who solicited or emitted it. This is one reason these coats of arms can be considered pictorial documents that refer to memorable events of a certain period, deemed worthy of being preserved in the future. To receive such shields, both Spanish and Indigenous conquistadors in New Spain had to demonstrate meritorious accomplishments during their active participation in the conquest. They took care to record such feats in the letters and *probanzas* ("proofs") sent in support of their petitions. But Indigenous petitioners had to satisfy a second requirement: evidence of their genuine conversion to the new religion.[2] This explains why their documents narrate feats performed during the conquest, and why their shields contain allusions to those events through various pictorial conventions.

Some towns and cities in central Mexico also received coats of arms. Ancient Tenochtitlan, which became the capital of New Spain, was the first city to be so honored, thanks to a petition submitted by its residents on July 4, 1523. The members of several Indigenous councils (*cabildos*) soon followed suit under the premises described above: proving the true religious conversion of their people and their participation in the conquest, be it as warriors, spies, porters, or whatever.[3] Their desire was to see the towns they governed raised to the juridical category of villa or city,[4] since, as various authors have shown, this was accompanied by several important privileges.[5] Consequently, Tlaxcala received its coat of arms in 1535, Huexotzingo in 1556, Xochimilco in 1559, Coyoacan in 1561, and Tlacopan in 1564 (fig. 1). It is said that Texcoco received the title of city in 1551, but some authors point out that it is strange that no coat of arms accompanied that title, nor is there any evidence of a petition.

The earliest references we have to a possible Texcoco coat of arms appear in the works of the Acolhua chronicler Don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, written in the first half of the seventeenth century, while the oldest extant version of the shield dates to the eighteenth. It was included in Father José Francisco de Isla's book from 1701, and Javier Eduardo Ramírez López suggested that it may have been elaborated based on the exemplar from the sixteenth century or that it could be a falsification.[6] Several aspects of this shield have drawn my attention, and I will further elucidate these in the remainder of this article.

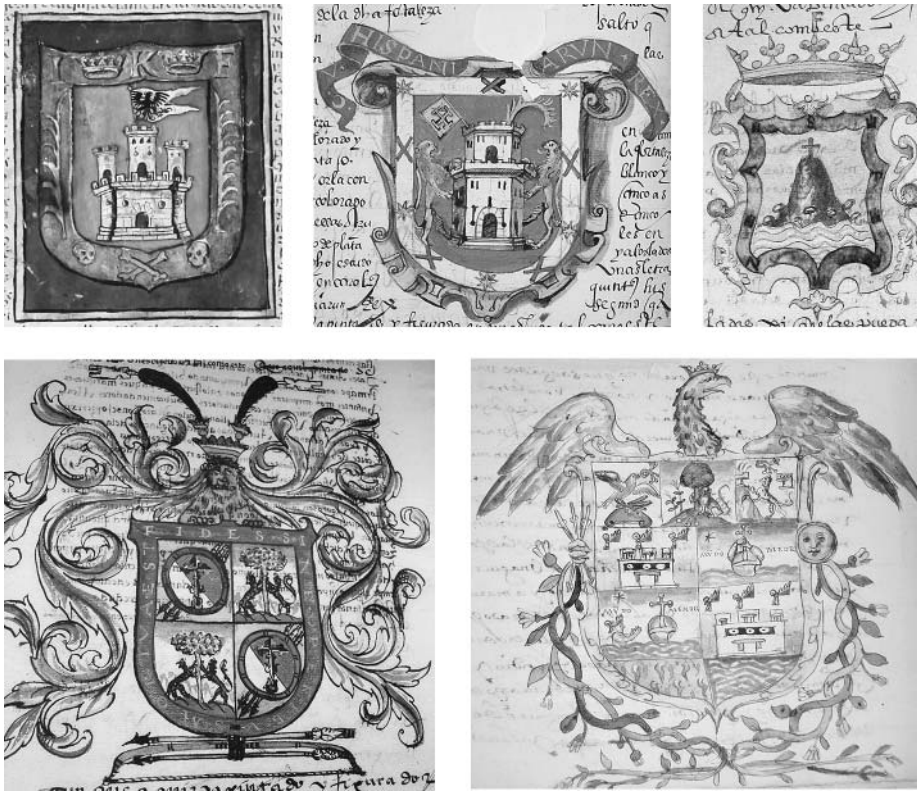


Figure 1. (a) Tlaxcala coat of arms from 1535, Colección Centro de Estudios de Historia de México, Fundación Carlos Slim, fondo 464; (b) Huexotzingo coat of arms from 1556, Archivo Ducal de Alba, Palacio de Liria, Madrid (hereafter ADA), carp. 238, leg. 2, doc. 27, fol. 1v; (c) Xochimilco coat of arms from 1559, ADA, carp. 238, leg. 2, doc. 71, fol. 1r; (d) Coyoacan coat of arms from 1561, ADA, carp. 238, leg. 2, doc. 16, fol. 2r; (e) Tlacopan coat of arms from 1564, ADA, carp. 238, leg. 2, doc. 72, fol. 1v.

Coats of arms from the first half of the sixteenth century are characterized by the predominance of heraldic elements drawn from the European heraldic tradition into which, very gradually, iconographic elements from the Indigenous pictorial tradition began to be introduced. Those features acquired greater protagonism on the shields that were produced from the 1560s onward (fig. 1). Texcoco's coat of arms, however, displays an absolute predominance of Indigenous insignia with pictorial conventions that correspond much more to shields from the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries

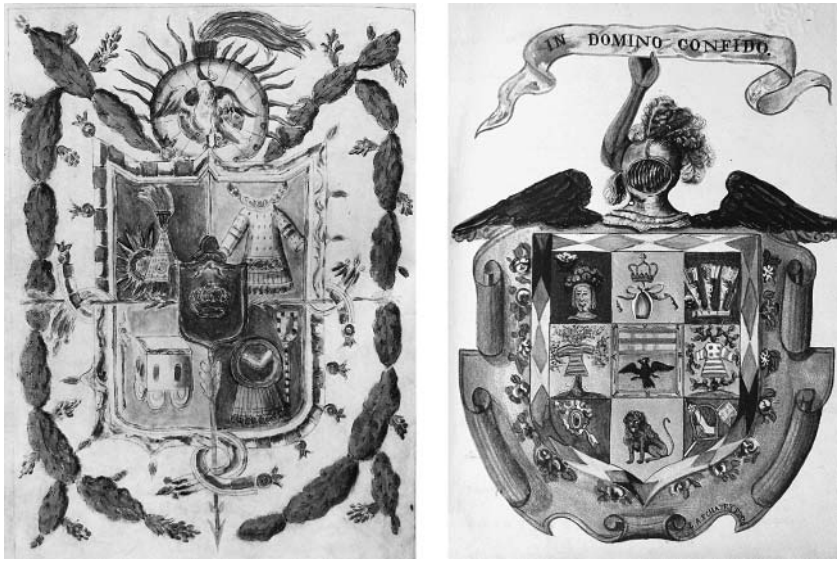


Figure 2. (a) Axacuba and Tetepango coat of arms, AGN, Tierras 2692, 2ª parte, exp. 19, fol. 62v; (b) fake coat of arms of Don Pedro Moctezuma, Archivo Histórico, Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Conaculta, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Col. Antigua, núm. 196.

than those from the sixteenth century (fig. 2). Furthermore, it is strange that the emblems that adorn this particular coat of arms exalt the most important governor in the pre-Hispanic history of Texcoco, Nezahualcoyotl, and his most emblematic battle—the conquest of Coatlinchan—for, as described above, shields were solicited to recognize the participation of Indigenous lords and their people in the conquest of Mexico alongside the Spanish conquistadors. For this reason, the crests granted in New Spain tended to display the feats of the petitioners themselves, or those of their direct forebears, after the arrival of the Spanish, but not those of heroes of the pre-Hispanic past. These characteristics have led us to undertake a brief review of the history of the seigneury (*señorío*) of Texcoco in an effort to better contextualize the iconography of this coat of arms and the Indigenous elites who were involved in its creation.

The Conquest of Coatlinchan and the Apogee of Texcoco

During the early postclassic period—late twelfth to early thirteenth centuries—many groups from northern Mexico settled around Lake

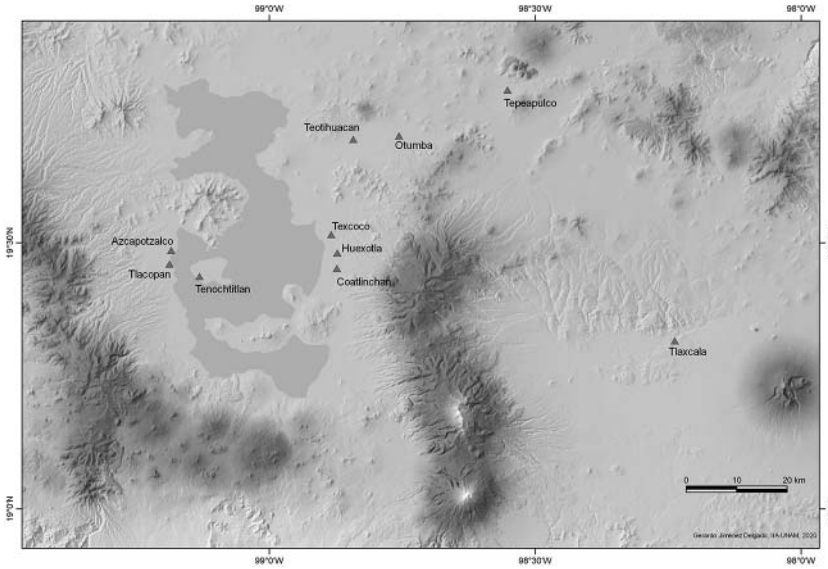


Figure 3. The Basin of Mexico in the sixteenth century.

Texcoco. The Tepanecs populated the western shore (Tepanecapan) and established Azcapotzalco as their capital, while the Acolhua-Chichimecs settled along the eastern shore (Acolhuacan) and erected Coatlinchan as the capital (fig. 3). It is believed that Tezozomoc ruled in Azcapotzalco from 1371 to 1426 and was succeeded on the throne by his son Maxtla.[7] Sources suggest that before 1426 the Tepanecs blocked Acolhua expansion and brought many towns into the sphere of influence of their *tlatoani* (ruler). Several wars ensued in a hostile environment where Ixtlilxochitl—lord of Texcoco and father of the renowned Nezahualcoyotl—lost his life (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1985, chs. 15–19); *Códice Chimalpopoca: Anales de Cuauhtitlan* (1992, par. 140: 37).[8] It was his son who later recovered the throne of Texcoco with the help of Tlaxcala, Huexotzinco, Chalco, and Itzcoatl, ruler of Tenochtitlan (Pomar 1990: 72, 74).

It was precisely Itzcoatl's rise to power as the tlatoani of Tenochtitlan in 1427 that marked a watershed in the history of central Mexico, for in the following year this Tenochca leader emerged victorious in a war against Azcapotzalco. From that moment on, Tenochca rulers became the leaders who would set the tone for the entire region. Jongsoo Lee (2008: 104) also refers to this, arguing that Nezahualcoyotl's ascent to the throne was part of a carefully preconceived plan by the Tenochca tlatoani, and that it was no

simple coincidence that, shortly afterward, Texcoco became the capital of Acolhuacan when Coatlinchan was ousted from that position, mirroring what transpired on the western shore of the lake where Tlacopan, the new Tepanec capital, had supplanted Azcapotzalco. In light of the above, it is curious that an event of such magnitude in the Acolhuacan region has received little scholarly attention. A meticulous reading of Alva Ixtlilxochitl's (1985, ch. 5: 17) works reveals that he never denied that prior to Nezahuacoyotl's ascent, Coatlinchan had been the capital of Acolhuacan; in fact he devoted a full chapter to the destruction of that city—and of Acolman—at the hands of Nezahualcoyotl and his allies. The Tlaxcaltecs and Huexotzincas took Acolman, while the Chalcas toppled Coatlinchan, with Nezahualcoyotl taking part in both conquests (ch. 28: 74–75).[9] Alva Ixtlilxochitl wrote that some sources indicate 1427 as the year in which these events occurred, but others give the year 1428 (ch. 29: 76).

The *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* and the *Codex Mexicanus* also show these events but situate them much later, in 1454. The first codex shows that Coatlinchan was still the capital of Acolhuacan in that year and until "Texcoco rose up. It was a neighborhood, subject of Coatlinchan. This rebellion was promoted by the *mexicanos*" (fig. 4a) (*Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1995, fol. 32r).[10] This anonymous scribe used the term *Mexicanos* to refer to the Tenochcas, led by Itzcoatl. The *Codex Mexicanus*, in turn, presents a battle scene next to a shield and a club (fig. 4b) (*Codex Mexicanus* 1952, plate 66).

By displaying a *chimalxopil*—a specific shield—the painter indicated that the uprising was led by Nezahualcoyotl, since it distinguished the Acolhua ruler and was the one he carried in battle. There is no doubt that this portrays the moment when the legitimacy of the lords of the Texcoco royal house began to be extolled, in detriment to the history of Coatlinchan. Historians have largely ignored this political process and shown greater interest in Alva Ixtlilxochitl's exaltation of the new Acolhua capital and its lord, Nezahualcoyotl. As the following detailed examination will show, however, it was precisely this process that was pictured on the Texcoco coat of arms.[11]

Logically for the period, these profound political changes were reflected in new marriage alliances among the *tlatoque* (rulers) of Texcoco. Up to 1428, legitimacy was transmitted through the female line—noblewomen—of the royal houses of Coatlinchan and Huexotla who represented the oldest, most eminent lineages. For this reason, the Acolhua ruler had to be the son of a woman from one of those two places (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1985, ch. 43: 117).[12] However, as Pedro Carrasco Pizana (1984: 47–52) states, that situation took a sudden turn after 1428, when the mothers of future *tlatoque* had to be Tenochca women. Therefore, while Ixtlilxochitl's mother was

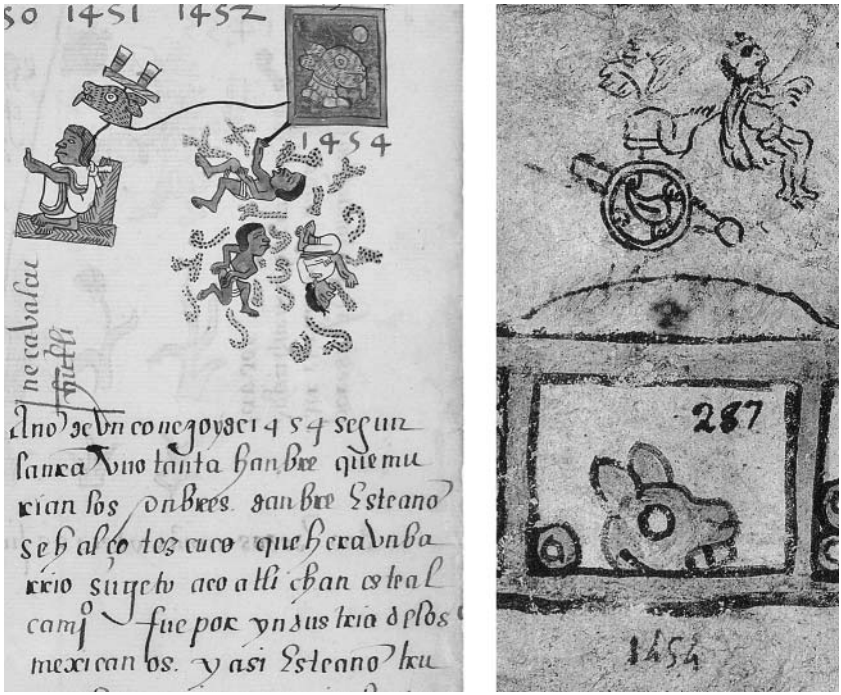
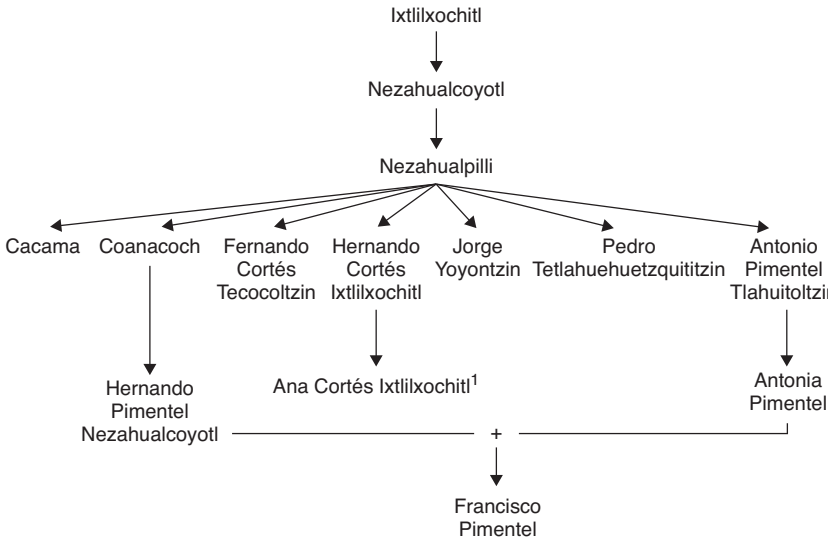


Figure 4. **(a) The relocation of the royal court to Texcoco and the enthronement of Nezahualcoyotl, *Codex Telleriano Remensis*, fol. 32r, Bibliotèque nationale de France; (b) the conquest of Coatlinchan, *Codex Mexicanus*, plate 66, Bibliotèque nationale de France.**

from Coatlinchan, the mother of his son, Nezahualcoyotl, was from Tenochtitlan, as were the mothers of his grandson Nezahualpilli and great-grandson Cacama, who was still alive when the Spaniards arrived (fig. 5).[13]

We cannot, however, ignore that from this moment on Itzcoatl promoted close relations with the Toltec world in which he involved the Acolhuas. All these events are expressed clearly in the *Primeros memoriales* (Sahagún 1993, fig. 6), which depicts the lords who governed Tenochtitlan and Texcoco before Itzcoatl and Nezahualcoyotl clad in attire with Chichimec attributes, while after the ascent of these two rulers all figures are represented as Toltec *tlatoque* seated on high-backed *petate* thrones with turquoise *tilmas* and *xihuitzolli* and perforated septa.[14]

These changes in political alliances triggered opposition by some factions of the nobility more closely related to Coatlinchan, leading Bradley Benton (2017: 28) to suggest that some members of the nobility saw in the



[1]She married Don Francisco Verdugo Quetzalmamalitzin, chief-governor of San Juan Teotihuacan.

Figure 5. Lords of the Texcoco royal house (composite).

conquistadors the opportunity to free themselves from Tenochca influence in Acolhuacan's political affairs.[15] Nor is it simple coincidence that in the colonial period the lords of Texcoco abandoned Tenochca women and began to marry those of their own lineage (Carrasco Pizana 1984: 66).

As mentioned earlier, Cacama was governing when the Spanish arrived. Benton (2017: 29–30) stresses the importance of understanding that Cacama and his brother, Coanacoch, being nephews of Moctezuma Xocoyotzin, had to follow the instructions issued by that Tenochca tlatoani. This explains why they did not support the rebellion against the Spaniards. The context changed dramatically, however, when—totally perplexed—they witnessed Moctezuma's allowing himself to be shackled without resistance in front of his people under the orders of Hernán Cortés who thought he had given the order to kill a number of Spaniards on the coast (Cortés 1992: 55, *Segunda Carta*; Díaz del Castillo 1992, ch. 95: 184).[16] At that point, Cacama and Coanacoch abandoned Moctezuma's policy. Moctezuma then showed that he was not about to tolerate such defiance by having Cacama dethroned and replaced by his brother (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1985, ch. 90: 235–36).[17]

In the aftermath of the disastrous defeat of the Spanish on the so-called *Noche Triste*, during which Cacama died, the conquistadors took refuge in

Figure 6. (a) Itzcoatl of Tenochtitlan; (b) Nezahualcoyotl of Texcoco. Both depicted as Toltec lords, *Primeros memoriales*, fols. 51r and 52r, Academia Real de la Historia, Madrid.

Tlaxcala to regain their strength. At some point, Coanacoch left Texcoco and went to Tenochtitlan where he formed an alliance with Cuauhtemoc. Benton (2017: 31) notes that Cortés took advantage of that power vacuum to name a new lord in Texcoco, choosing Coanacoch's brother Don Fernando Cortés Tecocoltzin, who, with his other brother Don Hernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl, staunchly supported the Spanish; the latter was lured

by the promise of a seigneury (Cortés 1992: 138, *Tercera carta*).[18] In fact, Hernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl succeeded Tecocoltzin on his death (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1975: 391).[19]

With the conquest of central Mexico completed, it is said that Coanacoch and Hernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl forged an internal arrangement to divide the seigneury into two parts. The former would take Texcoco and the towns of the southern area, while the latter would control the northern region, establishing his seat of government in Otumba (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1975: 484, 494, *Compendio histórico*).[20] Not long after, both men were taken on Cortés's Hibueras expedition (1524–26), during which he executed Cuauhtemoc of Tenochtitlan and Tetlepanquetzatzin of Tlacopan, believing them to be the authors of an alleged plot against the Spaniards. There is, however, no mention of Coanacoch there or in Díaz del Castillo's *Historia verdadera* (Castañeda de la Paz 2019: 163–64),[21] so we cannot know if he was hanged with the other two or if Hernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl was behind the death of his brother as part of a scheme to unite the entire Acolhuacan area under his leadership. What we do know is that this fusion became a reality after Coanacoch's death.[22] Testimony of Hernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl's new position as governor of Texcoco was included in declarations by the authorities of Texcoco in 1534, in the *Primeros memoriales* (Sahagún 1993), and in a letter by the chronicler of Texcoco, dated 1620.[23]

As Charles Gibson (1964: 173) maintains, after Don Hernando's death yet other sons of Nezahualpilli succeeded on the throne: Don Jorge Yoyontzin, Don Pedro Tetlahuehuetzquititzin, and Don Antonio Pimentel Tlahuitoltzin. It was the latest's rule that brought a period of stability to Texcoco (fig. 5).[24] However, in 1545 it was necessary to choose a governor from the succeeding generation. Don Antonio Pimentel named a son of Coanacoch, Don Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotl (1545–64) (170–71), who had wed Don Antonio's daughter (and first cousin), Doña Antonia Pimentel (Benton 2017: 49, 63). It was this Don Hernando who asked Don Antonio Alfonso Pimentel, Conde de Benavente, to intercede on his behalf at the Spanish court and petition the king for a coat of arms and the title of "city" for his town. The factors that made such intercession necessary await discovery but likely reflect the royal order stipulating that nobles from New Spain could no longer visit the monarch, although they had long enjoyed that privilege. Don Hernando mentioned this in a letter dated in 1554.[25]

The Texcoco Coat of Arms

In a title from 9 September 1551, Carlos V granted Texcoco the privilege of "city," but that document does not contain a coat of arms.[26] For this reason, most studies of Texcoco's coat of arms are based on either the

black-and-white copy reproduced by Peñafiel in 1890, from the catalog compiled by Dufossé he had seen in Paris, or a copy in color dated 1786 from the Archivo General de la Nación (hereafter AGN) (fig. 7).[27] The present study, in contrast, is based on the copy held at the Biblioteca Nacional de España (hereafter BNE) and inserted in Father Isla's book (1701). This is the oldest known version (fig. 8), the one that was discovered by Ramírez López and published with other, later copies (2017a: 249, fig. 8).[28]

Rodrigo Martínez Baracs (2013: 56) was the first scholar to examine this sample of heraldry, in a brief study (1999a) that he later broadened (2013). His work clearly and accurately showed that this coat of arms contained allusions to Nezahualcoyotl and his political and military feats, particularly those related to a single battle: the one in 1431 against Tenochtitlan, which can be considered the historical moment on which Texcocan patriotism is based (56, 61–64).[29] This author further noted that the design of the shield includes a representation of Nezahualcoyotl taken from the *Codex Ixtlilxochitl*, and that the image carved in relief into the hill of Tetzcotzingo portrays his insignia, of which the Texcoco chronicler gave a detailed description (Martínez Baracs 1999a; 2013: 52–53, 58–59).[30] Over time, other authors have provided analyses of Texcoco's coat of arms,[31] to which I now add my own analysis, signaling where I coincide with or depart from earlier works. Before beginning, I must point out that, while the copy at the AGN has the advantage of being in color, the black-and-white Isla copy conserves more faithfully the features of ancient pictographic conventions, so my commentary centers on that version, with allusions to the changes visible in the other where pertinent.

The coat of arms in Father Isla's book consists of a divided blazon held by a coyote (*coyo-tl*), reminiscent of the one seen on a coat of arms of Coyoacán.[32] In the latter piece, this animal marked a reference to the name of the locality, but on Texcoco's coat of arms, the coyote alludes to Nezahualcoyotl, as Martínez Baracs astutely points out (2013: 56).[33] Such relationship is corroborated by a headdress that is drawn underneath the eye and ear of the coyote, more clearly distinguishable in the color version where it appears in green and yellow with reddish and pinkish flecks and two adornments that represent ears with tassels hanging from the upper part. This is the *xiuhananacaztli*, elaborated with precious feathers from the blue cotinga (*cotinga azul*; Olko 2005: 263) like the one the tlatoani bears in the *Codex Ixtlilxochitl* (fig. 9).[34] Thus I venture to suggest that the role of the coyote on the Texcoco coat of arms was to serve as a canting arms of Nezahualcoyotl; that is, his *nahual* or alter ego.

This animal—or Nezahualcoyotl—is depicted in a bellicose posture, carrying an arrow and *chimalli* (shield) in its claws, objects that allude to the

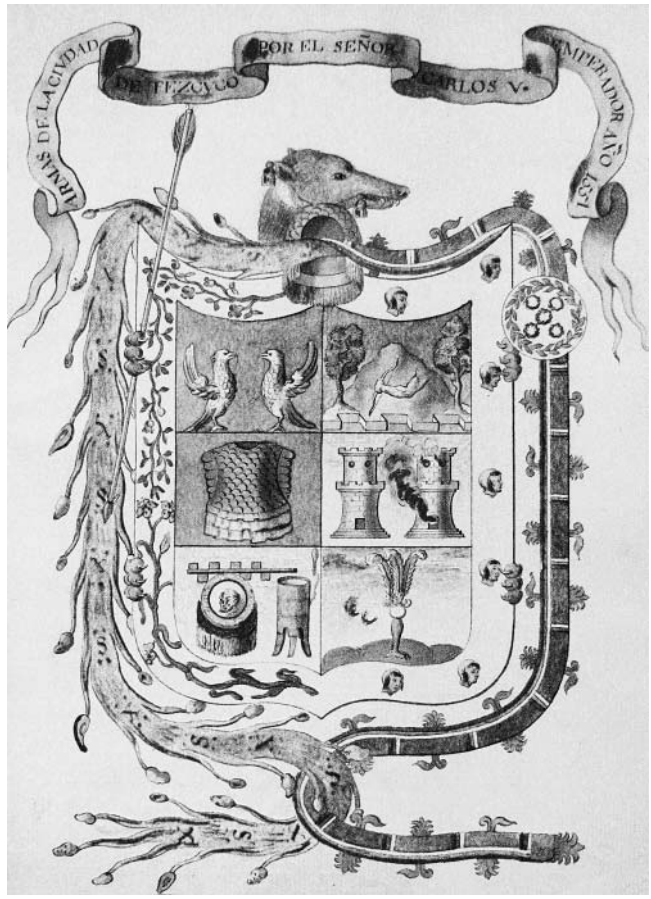


Figure 7. Texcoco coat of arms in AGN, Padrones, vol. 43, fols. 5r.

diphrasism *in mitl in chimalli*, which designates the word *war* (Martínez Baracs 2013: 56). Another reference to war is visible in the pictographic convention of the *atl-tlachinolli* (water-thing burned), represented by the two currents that encircle the coat of arms and intertwine in the lower section, as some authors have observed (Wright Carr 2012: 25; Martínez Baracs 2013: 57). That the current on the left represents water is indicated by the drops and shells that emerge from the main torrent, while the ripples and waves drawn inside are meant to express flowing water.[35] The "thing burned" is represented by an extension of land compartmentalized into rectangular plots

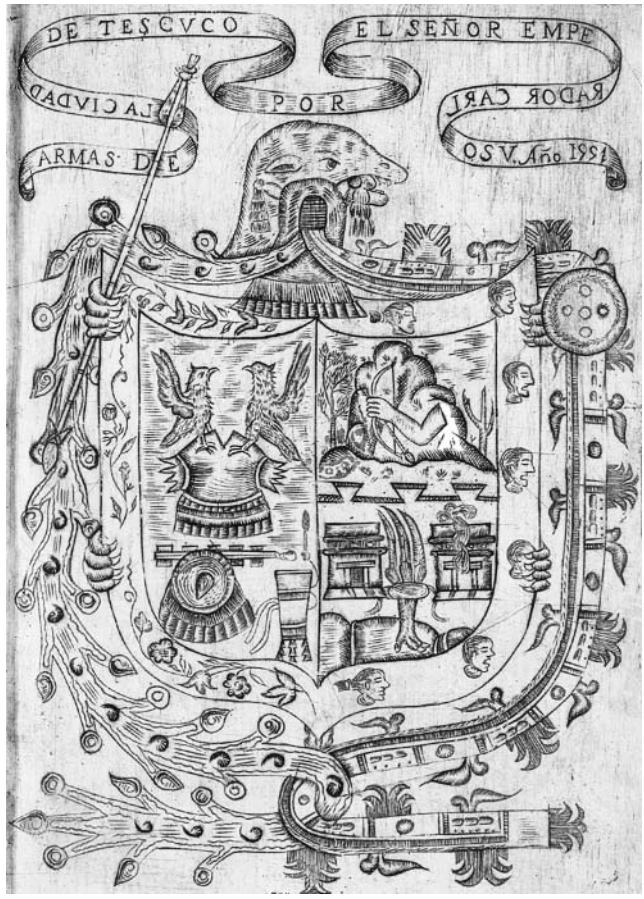


Figure 8. Texcoco coat of arms in José Francisco Isla's book (1701). Biblioteca Nacional de España.

recognizable in the classic design of several sideways U-shaped signs (כ כ כ).[36] Flames are drawn on the margins of these plots, like tongues of fire, to indicate that the land had been torched. This description clearly reveals that the painter of the color copy (fig. 7) did not know the meaning of the *atl-tlachinolli* and therefore did not paint the flames in red or orange, but in green, perhaps thinking they represented some species of vegetable.[37]

I will deal first with the quarters on the left side, which display Nezahualcoyotl's ancient insignia related to war, before passing to those on the right, where I discern representations of the Acolhua ruler's most important

Figure 9. Nezahualcoyotl, *Codex Ixtlilxochitl*, (fol. 106r), Bibliotèque nationale de France.

military campaign. In the first quarter—reading from top-to-bottom—two birds are painted with wings extended holding a *yaotlatqui*, that is, a type of war costume known as *ichcahuipil* (a *huipil* made of cotton). Below this, the pictographic convention for war reappears: a shield accompanied by a club (*macahuitl*) beside a drawing of a type of drum, called *huehuetl*, joined to its mallet (*baqueta*) by a string or rope. As Martínez Baracs (2013: 59) noted, the man who designed this quarter was inspired by the representation of Nezahualcoyotl in the *Codex Ixtlilxochitl* (fig. 9), in which the tlatoani is clad with the same headdress and war costume as on the coat of arms. In addition, both documents depict the gear that Nezahualcoyotl carried to war: the club and, especially, the *chimalxopil*, a shield whose name derives from the claw (*xopilli*) of the beast that adorns it (fig. 10), associated connotatively with the ferocity that characterizes the animal and, by extension, the man who carried the shield (Nezahualcoyotl).[38]

Figure 10. ***Xopilli*** **from a votive offering in Templo Mayor. This piece is perforated so it could be strung. D. R. @ Oliver Santana,** ***Arqueología Mexicana*****, Raíces Editorial.**

In the color copy (fig. 7), however, the form of the *xopilli*, or claw, is similar to that of a skull, suggesting that the painter did not correctly identify that decorative element.[39] Another object shown in the shield is the drum and mallet, which in the painting in the *Codex Ixtlilxochitl* is tied to the tlatoani's back. This drum played an extremely important role on the battlefield, for it was beaten to relay instructions, especially once hostilities had begun (Lesbre 2000: 52; Cervera 2011: 78–79). Motolinía wrote that Nezahualcoyotl struck it at the onset of all battles (in Cervera 2011: 78–79).[40]

The idea that the *chimalxopil* was associated with Nezahualcoyotl is confirmed in the *Codex Mexicanus*, where the same shield was painted in year 1 *tochtli* (1454) (fig. 4b).[41] It is no accident that this occurred in the same year that the *Codex Telleriano Remensis* showed Nezahualcoyotl seated on a throne as a tlatoani (fig. 4a).[42] As mentioned above, a gloss explains that, up to that time, Texcoco had been a barrio of Coatlinchan, the city against which Nezahualcoyotl rebelled with the support of the Tenochcas, though this did not occur in 1454 as the codex indicates but, rather, in 1427–28, as stated by Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1985: 76). This coincidence must indicate that both codices commemorated the same event and, therefore, that the *Codex Ixtlilxochitl* and Texcoco's coat of arms also referred to it. This would mean that all these elements signal the war that Nezahualcoyotl launched against Coatlinchan, which up to that time had

been the capital of Acolhuacan but was now pictured as being supplanted by Texcoco. In some documents, this episode is represented by the figure of Nezahualcoyotl during the war, in others he is represented only by the weapons (insignia) he carried into battle or is depicted enthroned as the sovereign lord of a now independent Texcoco.

The identification proposed above is corroborated by both the images that appear on the right side of Texcoco's coat of arms and Alva Ixtlilxochitl's chronicle. As indicated previously, Martínez Baracs (2013: 61–64) suggested that this iconography alludes to the military campaign against Tenochtitlan led by Nezahualcoyotl, as is described in Alva Ixtlilxochitl's works, which were taken up by later chroniclers (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1985, ch. 34: 86–87).[43] Martínez Baracs presented two arguments: (1) Torquemada's reinterpretation of the *xopilli* that adorn Nezahualcoyotl's shield, which he identified as part of female genitals;[44] and (2) a gift that, according to Alva Ixtlilxochitl, Nezahualcoyotl sent to Itzcoatl and consisted of a coiled golden serpent with its "beak" in its *natura* (vagina), which, Martínez Baracs suggests, is represented by the red feathers on the border of Nezahualcoyotl's shield (fig. 7).

Be that as it may, it was on the basis of this information that Martínez Baracs suggests that Nezahualcoyotl dressed for war with the symbol of the mother goddess Tonantzin Cihuacoatl and appeared in that garb on the hill of Tepeyac to begin the attack—both militarily and ritually—a full century before the appearance of Tonantzin-Cihuacoatl-Guadalupe in that very place (62). In my opinion, the problem with this interpretation is that its argument rests on Torquemada's erroneous reading of the *xopilli* that adorn Nezahualcoyotl's *chimalli*, which he failed to recognize. Furthermore, no trace of a coiled serpent appears anywhere on that shield. This issue will be discussed below.

In the first quarter on the right, a hill or crag is represented against a semiarid landscape. Inside it, a flexed arm holds a bow in its hand. Underneath this scene we see two pre-Hispanic houses with peculiar roofs, one of which is in flames. The foreground shows the foot of a deer, with a precious stone on a thread on top of it, accompanied by several feathers, likely of various colors. Martínez Baracs suggests that the image of the hill was meant to recreate the rugged landscape where the Chichimecs lived, represented by a crag with trees with few leaves or completely bare (58). He interpreted the arm holding a bow as a reference to the Acolhua and their hunting-based lifeway. However, based on the glyphic representations of the Tetzcoco crag, Mónica Domínguez Torres (2013b: 137) identified the hill as Tetzcotzingo,[45] while the arm with bow is a reference to the Acolhua nation. Shortly after that, Ramírez López (2014: 50; 2017a: 226) suggested that the arm and bow refer to the Acolhua and Chichimec origins of the Texcocans. In fact, he

identified the entire quarter as portraying Tezcotzingo, based on a painting that shows the glyph of an arm and bow inside a hill at the foot of a genealogical tree that was elaborated in the context of a dispute over land in that town. These studies seem to establish that this quarter does indeed represent the Tetzcotzingo hill in the Acolhua-Chichimec polity of Texcoco.

In the lower section the two houses were described as such by Alva Ixtlilxochitl: "A house burning in flames and crumbling away; another greatly ennobled by other edifices" (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1975, ch. 42: 115). According to the conventions of Mesoamerican pictography, depicting a house or temple being consumed by fire indicated that a town had been conquered. I thus infer that this burning house alludes to one of the most celebrated of Nezahuacoyotl's acts: the conquest of Coatlinchan, when "the houses of the cities and places of Coatlinchan and Acolman were sacked, and the temples and houses burned" (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1985, ch. 18: 75). The other house, I argue, alludes to the new Acolhua capital of Texcoco, which the chronicler describes in great detail in other sections of his work (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1975, ch. 36: 92–97).[46] Between the houses we find the foot of a deer, a precious stone on a thread, and several feathers, surely allusions to one of the insignia that pre-Hispanic lords carried into war, though I have been unable to find this precise image in other documents.[47] This does not, however, obviate the conclusion that, like the jaguar's claw or *xopilli* on Nezahualcoyotl's shield, it alludes to the qualities of the warrior who carried it into battle (the deer's agility, the jaguar's ferocity).

The representation of the Tetzcotzinco hill and landscape is divided from the two houses by what appear to be battlements. To understand both quarters and these battlements, we return to Alva Ixtlilxochitl, who states that "the most memorable things he [Nezahualcoyotl] did were sculpted [in Tetzcotzinco], and inside the wheel were sculpted his blazons, which consisted of a house on fire and succumbing [and] another ennobled by buildings" (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1985, ch. 42: 115). Based on this passage, I suggest that the Tetzcotzinco glyph functions here as a place identifier, that is, an element included to situate the viewer on the specific hill where Nezahualcoyotl's blazon was carved into stone, from whence it was later incorporated into the Texcoco coat of arms. The battlements could thus be a reference to the man-made features of the hill also described by Alva Ixtlilxochitl and, therefore, to its carvings.[48] In this way, Nezahualcoyotl sought to ensure that the memory of Nezahualcoyotl's most important conquest—Coatlinchan in 1427–28—would be preserved for eternity, a desire fulfilled with its incorporation into Texcoco's coat of arms.

This brings us to the border of the coat of arms, with flowers to the left and seven heads on the right. Sergio Ángel Vásquez Galicia (2013: 83) identifies these as ivy and flowers, based on a reference in Alva Ixtlilxochitl

to a common trunk from which all the lineages of that land branched off, and "reason for [which] they put genera of ivy and flowers around their weapons and shields" (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1985: 305–6). Here, the chronicler compares that vegetation to genealogical trees, leading us to understand that all nobility began with the Texcoco lineage. This is similar to the intention of the authorities of the government (*cabildo*) of Azcapotzalco, who included a heart on their coat of arms for this purpose.[49] Regarding the heads, Vásquez Galicia argues that they represent the seven towns that accompanied the Chichimec ruler, Xólotl, to populate central Mexico (83). Martínez Baracs (2013: 57), in contrast, maintains that they represent a diphrasism—*in xochitl in cuicatl* (flower and song)—and so allude to song or poetry, arts that Nezahualcoyotl particularly enjoyed, though he notes that the heads are shown with eyes closed (an indication of death), but mouths open, suggesting they were singing from the great beyond. In heraldry, heads often appear on the borders of coats of arms where they are known as trophy heads (*cabezas-trofeos*) and represent warriors killed in battle. This is corroborated by the headdress of two of the heads, which show a so-called *temillotl* (column), a typical representation of the military establishment. Usually, these images show the hair tied in a knot atop the head, but perhaps limitations of space explain why here we see it tied at the nape. The fact that these heads have eyes closed but mouths open clearly indicates, in my view, that they are dead, an interpretation confirmed by other samples of heraldry where the open mouths of the dead are normally shown with their tongues hanging out. This corpus of evidence leads me to conclude that the trophy heads on this coat of arms represent the lords killed in the war with Coatlinchan and Acolman, as Alva Ixtlilxochitl indicates (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1985, ch. 18: 74–75).[50] At this juncture, it is important to point out that the upper-case letters, *A*, *D*, *F*, *P*, *L*, interspersed among the heads were added to the copy of the coat of arms published by Peñafiel. Martínez Baracs thought the *F* was an *E*, so he suggested that the initials could represent a message such as "Arms the emperor gave to Pimentel" (*Armas dio el emperador para Pimentel*) (57). Because these initials do not appear on either Father Isla's coat of arms or the copy in the Biblioteca Palafoxiana, Ramírez López (2017a: 248) concluded that Father Isla removed them, trying to make it appear that the coat of arms had been granted to the city of Texcoco, not to a specific individual. This is because he believed that the shield had been granted to Don Hernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl to recognize his support for Cortés during the conquest, while Don Hernando Pimentel only sought to pursue its ratification in 1551 (Ramírez López 2017b: 97, 102). I argue, in contrast, that the initials should be read as "To D[on] F[ernando] P[imente]L" ("*A D[on] F[ernando] P[imente]L*").[51]

Such reading of these letters strongly suggests that the city's coat of arms was given to that cacique, perhaps while he was governor of Texcoco.

The final note of interpretation concerns the banner added to the upper section of the coat of arms, which reads: "Coat of arms of the City of Texcoco by our Lord Emperor Carlos V" (*Armas de la civdad de Tescvco por el señor emperador Carlos V*). The year, 1551, is when Texcoco received the title of "city."

Authorship of the Texcoco Coat of Arms and Its Date of Elaboration

Recently, two scholars have questioned the authenticity of the Texcoco coat of arms based on solid argumentation. Vásquez Galicia (2013: 78) adduced two fundamental reasons: first, the fact that there are no records of either the petition or the document that granted the concession, which usually described the contents of the coat of arms; second, many of the elements present in the design are also mentioned in the works of the Acolhua historians, Juan Bautista Pomar and Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, which are prior to the date when the coat of arms was supposedly granted.[52] Some years later, Ramírez López (2017a: 250–51) affirmed that the city's title document does not mention a coat of arms. This led him to wonder how it could be that early sixteenth-century copies of the concession that raised Texcoco to a "city" exist, but no copies of the coat of arms or the royal decree have survived. But in addition to this important question, another key issue was raised when this author (252–53) discovered a manuscript containing all the titles that Carlos V and Felipe II granted to cities in New Spain and their conquistadors. That document does not mention a coat of arms of Texcoco. At that point, Ramírez López realized that the earliest extant exemplar of Texcoco's coat of arms dates to 1701, when it was inserted into the *Buelo del imperial águila tetzcocana*, a work elaborated by Francisco José de Isla, an Indigenous intellectual from Texcoco, on the occasion of Felipe V's proclamation.[53] Whatever the case, Ramírez López (2017a: 248, 250; 2017b: 99, 101–2) suggested that Isla may have based his work on an exemplar from the sixteenth century that he may have modified in some way, but he does not exclude the possibility that the shield may be a falsification.

Based on the iconographic analysis of the Texcoco coat of arms presented above, showing that the predominance of elements from the Mesoamerican iconographic tradition is indisputable, I suggest that it was created by someone from the Indigenous milieu. I dismiss the hand of Father Isla or anyone in his circle because it would have been difficult for an eighteenth-century painter to compose a coat of arms based on elements of a Mesoamerican pictographic tradition that had fallen into disuse and to produce

such a coherent composition. A second reason is that the fidelity with which each and every one of the pictographic conventions is drawn leads one to think that they were copied. As a result of these findings, we turned our attention to Juan Bautista Pomar, author of the *Relación geográfica de Texcoco*, and Don Fernando Alva Ixtlilxochitl, author of *Obras históricas*, a compendium of his earlier writings. As Geert Bastiaan van Doesburg (1996: 18) convincingly demonstrated, the *Relación geográfica* was accompanied by several paintings to which Alva Ixtlilxochitl referred throughout his volume. Van Doesburg revealed that the chronicler of Texcoco, on accessing to Pomar's works to make a copy, extracted the paintings from that manuscript and included them in the *Codex Ixtlilxochitl*, where we see them today (18).[54] Pomar never directly mentioned the portrait of Nezahualcoyotl that was later used to compose the Texcoco coat of arms, but it seems very likely that it was present, since its style was so similar to the other paintings inserted in part 2 of the *Codex Ixtlilxochitl* (20). An additional argument is that the portrait also appears in the works of Gemelli Careri, an Italian traveler who visited Mexico in the late seventeenth century and who met the professor and mathematician Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, who was in close contact with Juan de Alva Cortés, the cacique of Teotihuacan and son of the chronicler of Texcoco. We know that Sigüenza was a friend and legal representative of this cacique, so the chronicler's papers passed to his son and, upon his death—around 1682—were bequeathed to Sigüenza as payment for services rendered in disputes involving the *cacicazgo* of San Juan Teotihuacan.[55] Whatever the concrete circumstances may have been, Gemelli's encounter with Sigüenza allowed him to consult and copy documents that he later included in his own works, including several portraits of the lords of Texcoco, among them Nezahualcoyotl (fig. 11). But Gemelli apparently took some liberties with the names of those figures, transforming the governors of Texcoco into lords of Tenochtitlan, and Nezahualcoyotl into Axayacatl.

While this indicates that Alva Ixtlilxochitl obtained the paintings from Pomar's works, it does not resolve the identity of the intellectual author of the Texcoco coat of arms. If Pomar was responsible, then it must have been designed between 1551 and 1602,[56] but if it was Alva Ixtlilxochitl, the date would fall between 1577 and 1650.[57] Judging by Pomar's life span, I posit that he was involved in the process led by his cousin, Don Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotl, to have Texcoco raised to the status of "city." However, it is unlikely that a sketch of the coat of arms would have been made in Texcoco and then sent to Spain, nor is it feasible to think that it was designed shortly afterward, when the nobles of Texcoco realized no coat of arms accompanied the title.

Figure 11. Nezahualcoyotl transformed into Axayacatl (after Gemelli Careri, 2002: 33).

The circumstances just explained lead me to suggest that Alva Ixtlilxochitl is most likely to have been the intellectual author of the Texcoco coat of arms. This affirmation is based on three main arguments: first, the profusion of pre-Hispanic elements predominate in its design and clearly distinguish it from the kind of heraldry produced in the period to which it supposedly belonged, which did not include such features; second, the central theme chosen to be represented in its quarters contrasts to those portrayed in earlier coats of arms (i.e., pre-Hispanic events versus elements related to Spanish conquest and colonization); and third, we know that all

the elements that adorn the blazon were in Alva Ixtlilxochitl's possession, since they are described in his works. Here, I refer specifically to (1) the portrait of Nezahualcoyotl from which he took only the tlatoani's insignia, in bas relief, stating that it was carved at Tetzcotzingo and describing it as if dealing with a coat of arms (ch. 62);[58] and (2) his description of the razing of the temples and houses carried out in Coatlinchan and Acolman (ch. 18).

As stated at the outset, studies of Indigenous heraldry in New Spain demonstrate that the elements included in coats of arms from the mid-sixteenth century were quite similar to those elaborated in Europe, for example, the shield commissioned by Don Diego de San Francisco Tehuetzquititzin, governor of Tenochtitlan (1541–54). On his initiative, the city's toponym was included in one quarter, as was the stone and nopal above the waters of Lake Texcoco surrounded by lions and castles.[59] Authorities in Xochimilco did something similar by depicting the town surrounded by flowers beside Lake Texcoco to commemorate the floating gardens (*chinampas*) that gave the locality its name—in this case crowned by a cross and protected by a Spanish crown (Castañeda de la Paz 2009: 139).

Another contribution of research into sixteenth-century Indigenous heraldry outlines the premises on which Carlos V and Felipe II granted coats of arms to Indigenous nobles and their towns. Chief among these were (1) support for Spain in diverse campaigns of conquest, (2) a genuine conversion to Christianity, and (3) their role in spreading the new religion. This explains why mid-sixteenth-century shields tended to exalt those campaigns and key aspects of the new religion by combining European emblems with pre-Hispanic elements.

While at first sight it may seem that the Texcoco coat of arms mirrored these tendencies, a more detailed examination shows that, in reality, it depicts only elements from the Mesoamerican tradition. But the argument that carries greatest weight for the interpretation that this coat of arms is an example of heraldry from the first half of the seventeenth century is that the military campaign portrayed bears no relation to Spain's campaigns of conquest, as we are accustomed to reading in the royal decrees in which coats of arms were stamped. This pattern was not followed because this coat of arms dates to the first half of the seventeenth century and was created by an author determined to exalt the moment of Texcoco's greatest splendor, namely, the war led by Nezahualcoyotl in 1427–28 when he rebelled against Coatlinchan and relocated the court to Texcoco. This would explain why the shield extols the image of the coyote—the alter ego of the tlatoani of the splendid new capital—and the most prestigious Acolhua-Chichimec insignia with which Nezahualcoyotl girded himself for battle as an exultant warrior. There is, here, a departure from sixteenth-century patterns that

allows us to place this coat of arms among those that were being elaborated in the first half of the seventeenth century, wherein I perceive, precisely, this desire to extol the past and emblems associated with power.

But additional arguments further invite us to attribute the intellectual authorship to Don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl: on the one hand, his avid desire to construct the symbols of Texcocan identity, as Vásquez Galicia (2013: 82) observed; on the other, the fact that the theme represented on the coat of arms was adapted from paintings he had obtained and described in his writings. It seems that his objective—as with the coat of arms—was to exalt his ancestor (Nezahualcoyotl) and the new Acolhua capital (Texcoco) to the detriment of Coatlinchan, whose history he scarcely mentions. To finalize my exposition, I would point out that Alva Ixtlilxochitl's desire to recover the splendor of the past firmly supports Edmundo O'Gorman's observation (1975: 123) that his proposal in penning the *Compendio histórico del reino de Texcoco* was to present juridical proof in support of his attempts to procure some privilege or concession in return for the services that his ancestor, Don Hernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl, had performed for the Spanish Crown during the conquest, a context that meshes perfectly with the coat of arms analyzed herein.

Conclusions

As this study shows, several pieces of evidence support the thesis that the Texcoco coat of arms was elaborated in the first half of the seventeenth century, and that its intellectual author was Don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl. The first clue is the absence of certain key European emblems that characterized sixteenth-century Indigenous coats of arms, which is magnified by the plethora of pictographic elements from the pre-Hispanic tradition of coats of arms typical of the mid-seventeenth century. The second is the central theme, which extols Nezahualcoyotl's conquest of Coatlinchan and the subsequent relocation of the court to Texcoco in 1427–28. As we have seen, themes of this kind have no place in earlier coats of arms. Much of this shield was composed around a portrait of Nezahualcoyotl that had fallen into Alva Ixtlilxochitl's hands. In short, this evidence points to his authorship of the coat of arms, so it is no coincidence that he describes most of its heraldic details in sections of his writings, though he insinuates that others took them from the reliefs shown on the hill of Tetzcotzinco.

I also must point out that this portrait of Nezahualcoyotl was not chosen at random. It was important to use the one inserted in Pomar's opus because it depicted the tlatoani exactly as he was clad for his most important war, once again, the conquest of Coatlinchan. His attire and the insignia he

holds were so representative of the Texcocan governor that the author of the *Codex Mexicanus* needed only to add a club and the *chimalxopil* to suggest a reference to that battle. This eliminated the need to add any onomastic or toponymic glyph to indicate which war was represented and who had led it.

One final point must be addressed. It is highly unusual that sixteenth-century sources would treat an episode of great historical transcendence like the conquest of Coatlinchan as just another military event, since it had such far-reaching political consequences for central Mexico in general, and Acolhuacan in particular. Evidence supports the view that the goal of the new "owners" of the Basin of Mexico—Itzcoatl and Nezahualcoyotl—was to normalize their abrupt ascent to power and make it appear legitimate. The cost was high: silencing the history of the beaten, but this is precisely what Itzcoatl did after his triumph in 1428, on relocating the capital of Tepanecapan from Azcapotzalco to Tlacopan on the western shore of the lake, while across the lake he helped Nezahualcoyotl recover the throne with the aim of relocating the capital of Acolhuacan from Coatlinchan to Texcoco.

By the seventeenth century, Indigenous elites in the region had come to see the conquests of Nezahualcoyotl as foundational moments, as acts that not only established their lineages in positions of power but also made them worthy of continued privilege and status as Indigenous rulers (*señores naturales*) within the Spanish empire.

Notes

1 Coats of arms did not necessarily constitute proof of nobility, nor was their possession limited to people of noble status (Cadenas y Vicent 1969, letra A: 8). Virtually all Indigenous solicitants in New Spain were nobles, but one exception was Don Hernando de Tapia Motelchiuhtzin. On this man's lack of noble standing, see Castañeda de la Paz (2013: 191–92, 194–96). On his presence at the Spanish Court and the coat of arms he received, consult Castañeda de la Paz (2013: 223–24, 226–28) and Domínguez Torres (2013a: 35–38).

2 This is the conclusion reached after analyzing several such letters and proofs (Castañeda de la Paz 2009: 126; Castañeda de la Paz and Luque Talaván 2010: 286).

3 On the important role of Indigenous people in the conquest, see the studies by Asselbergs 2004, Matthew and Oudijk 2007, and Oudijk and Restall 2008.

4 The Indigenous *altepetl* consisted of a head town (*cabecera*), its subject towns, and a series of smaller units that Spaniards categorized in their own language. In this way, the *cabecera* acquired the status of "town" while the smaller units were designated as subject towns, *estancias*, *pagos*, and so on. The reason behind the change of status was that Indians lived in towns but Spaniards resided in cities or villas (Gibson 1964: 32–34; Lockhart 1992: 15, 15n6; Reyes García 1996: 47, 64).

5 These privileges included being made head towns of the Republic of Indians, enjoying a certain autonomy (González-Hermosillo 2001: 122–23; Roskamp 2013: 143; Haskett 2013: 202, 205), being made dependents of the Crown, paying tribute directly to the king instead of *encomenderos* or other entities (Domínguez Torres 2013b: 134), and gaining access to other benefits, such as communal lands or the king's protection (*amparo*) (González-Hermosillo 2001: 123; Haskett 2013: 202).

6 Ramírez López (2017a: 248, 250; 2017b: 99, 101–2). José Francisco de Isla from Texcoco is not to be confused with the Jesuit of the same name, born in 1703. I thank Javier Ramírez López (pers. comm., 14 December 2020) for this clarification and the references he provided on this Indian from Texcoco, a topic on which he is currently preparing a paper.

7 In the *Anales Tepanecas*, Alvarado Tezozomoc and Chimalpahin coincide in affirming that Tezozomoc died in 1426 after governing for sixty years (in Santamarina 2006: 255–56). This leads us to the year 1366 as the date of his enthronement. Modern historiography, however, almost unanimously holds that this occurred in 1371, thus coinciding with Tepaneca hegemony (256).

8 On these expansions, also see Santamarina Novillo (2006: 372) and Lee's (2008: 75–95) detailed analysis of sources that generated important results.

9 On the destruction of Coatlinchan, see also Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1975: 368–71, *Sumaria relación*).

10 The Spanish text says: "*Se halço tezcuco que hera un barrio sugeto a coatlichan este alcamio* [*sic: alçamiento*] *fue por yndustria de los mexicanos*."

11 In our view, this explains the huge contradiction in the Acolhua sources—so well analyzed by Lee (2008: 49–67) in chapter 2 of his book—regarding the origins of Texcoco and the ethnic affiliation of its lineage.

12 Quinatzin married the daughter of Tochintecuhtli, lord of Huexotla. Their son, Techotlalatzin, wed the daughter of Acolmiztli, lord of Coatlinchan. Nezahualcoyotl's father, Ixtlilxochitl, was the fruit of this latter marriage (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1985, ch. 7: 22; ch. 8: 24; ch. 13: 35; 1975, *Sumaria relación*, 535).

13 Sources sometimes seem not to concur on the identity of these women. But following Carrasco Pizana (1984: 51), it is important that they all coincide in identifying them as Tenochcas; see Alva Ixtlilxochtil (1985, ch. 15: 39; ch. 43: 117–19; ch. 54: 146, ch. 57: 152) and Benton (2017: 21–25).

14 *Primeros memoriales* (Sahagún 1993, fols. 51r and 52r). This is consonant with Lee (2008: 50, 63–72) regarding the importance—for the lords of Texcoco and Alva Ixtlilxochitl—of demonstrating that Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl founded the Texcocan dynasty. This is interesting because, as Salvador Guilliem (pers. comm., 2009) points out, the Tenochcas also tried to portray themselves as heirs of the Toltec legacy, though instead of linking themselves to the deity Quetzalcoatl, they created their own god.

15 On the opposition of Texcoco's nobles to Cacama's appointment, especially the inconformity shown by his half-brother Ixtlilxochitl (later known as Hernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl), see Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1985, ch. 86: 190–92). Ixtlilxochitl's role could be compared to that of Maxtla, who resisted the Tenochcas' accumulation of power on the western shore of the lake (Castañeda de la Paz 2013: 141–42, 406).

16 See the implication of this issue for the conquest of Tenochtitlan in Oudijk and Castañeda de la Paz 2017.

17 Based on Cortés, Benton (2017: 30) states that, on Cacama's death, he named another brother, Cuicuizcatl, as successor. He participated in the conquest of Tenochtitlan. Coanacoch took advantage of the vacuum of power in Texcoco to become its lord, though I have not found this datum in Cortés's letters. Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1985, ch. 91: 240–41) holds that this brother of Cacama and Coanacoch was held hostage by the Spanish and that Cortés used him as an emissary and to test Coanacoch after the *Noche Triste*. The chronicler wrote that Coanacoch ordered him to be killed, as he had done with an earlier messenger, revealing his support for the Tenochcas (Benton 2017: 30–31).

18 Gibson (1964: 25) wrote that these motives formed part of his campaign against his brothers (Cacama and Coanacoch). For more on these affairs, see Horcasitas (1978: 5).

19 Regarding the choice of Don Fernando Tecocoltzin of Texcoco, Benton (2017: 31) mentions information from Díaz del Castillo (1992, ch. 153: 358–59) and Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1975: 390–91), though the latter almost ignores this in part 2 of his book (1985: 111: 241), which attributes responsibility almost entirely to Hernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl, likely because Tecocoltzin died during the Spaniard's preparations, so his brother took all actions. Also, as often occurs, it is likely that he died without a descendant who might have vindicated his role years later. On these issues, see O'Gorman's (1975: 62) collection of notes on Alva Ixtlilxochitl's informants, which show how Don Alonso de Axayacatl, invoking paintings and relations, sought to demonstrate that Don Hernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl operated on his own and supported Cortés because Tecocoltzin had died. On the support of both brothers, see Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1985, chs. 93 and 94).

20 Evidence that Hernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl was governor of Otumba comes from several witnesses to an interrogation in 1534, in Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Seville, Spain, Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte, Justicia 134, N. 1. As Benton (2017: 28) commented, he had obtained territories in this area of the Texcoco seigneury. Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1985, ch. 91: 241) indicates that he had fields near Tepeapulco.

21 Chimalpahin states that Coanacoch was hanged, but not until the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Torquemada places this event in the seventeenth century when the chronicler Alva Ixtlilxochitl wrote his works. The latter affirms, however, that Coanacoch was indeed hanged, but his brother cut him down, so he died from the wounds inflicted by the rope around his throat (Castañeda de la Paz 2019: 166).

22 In the case of Tenochtitlan, Tlacotzin and Motelchiuhtzin were behind Cuauhtemoc's death. Their aim was to ascend to a position denied them because they had no dynastic rights. For Acolhuacan, we must recall that, although Coanacoch was lord of Texcoco, Don Hernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl ruled Otumba. On this part of the history of Texcoco, see Gibson (1964: 170–71) and Horcasitas (1978: 5, 7).

23 See AGI, Justicia 134, N. 1, fol. 18r; *Primeros memoriales* (Sahagún 1993, fol. 52r); and AGI, Audiencia de México 138, R. 1, exp. 38, fol. 2r, respectively.

24 As a result of circumstances not yet fully understood, it seems that something transpired on the death of Don Pedro Tetlahuehuetzquititzin in 1539, since his brother, Don Carlos Ometochtzin, proclaimed himself governor, though that office was held by Don Lorenzo de Luna (Gibson 1964: 170). Since the latter's

identity is not altogether clear, and since neither name appears among the governors of Texcoco in *Primeros memoriales* (Sahagún 1993, fol. 52r), it seems that a dynastic crisis occurred.

25 AGI, Audiencia de Mexico 168, N. 1, fol. 1r. In 1534 the monarch issued an order that ceased such visits (*Colección de documentos*, 23:223, cited by Martínez Garnica [1993: 153n137]). However, it seems that the order was ignored, for we know of various nobles who traveled to Court to solicit privileges (Castañeda de la Paz 2013: 215–26).

26 Antonio Peñafiel (1979: 3–4) reproduced this title, apparently from Emile Dufossé's "Americana" Catalogue (1). Other copies of the title are in the AGI, Audiencia de Mexico 1089, L. 4, fols. 412v–423r; Ramírez López (2017a: 250n84); and the Archivo General de la Nación (hereafter AGN), Mexico City, Padrones 43, fols. 4r–v.

27 The whereabouts of Peñafiel's (1979: 1) copy are unknown. The color copy is in AGN, Padrones 43, fol. 5r. Peñafiel was the first to report Texcoco's coat of arms in Dufossé's "Americana" Catalogue (no. 41.615, 6th series, nos. 7–12). This is the one that Vásquez Galicia (2013: 79–80) and Benton (2017: 69) used in their studies. Martínez Baracs (2013: 54–55) analyzed both.

28 I should add that this researcher also found a copy of Texcoco's coat of arms in the Biblioteca Palafoxiana. After a thorough analysis, he concluded that it is identical to the one that Father Isla published in 1701. It appears in Ramírez López (2017b: 100, 112; figs. 15 and 19), though because of an error the caption indicates that it is the one held at the BNE. A similar error occurred when he published the one from the BNE (Ramírez López 2017a), for the caption says it is from the Biblioteca Palafoxiana.

29 This author noted that the coat of arms had allusions to songs and dances associated with Nezahualcoyotl, which he deduced from the representation of a drum. As shown further on, I disagree with this interpretation.

30 For the image of the tlatoani, see the *Codex Ixtlilxochitl* (fol. 106r); on the description of his insignia, see Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1975, ch. 42: 115), who notes that the bas reliefs were destroyed by Fray Juan de Zumárraga in his zeal to erase all vestiges of idolatry. According to the chronicler, the coats of arms of Tula and Tenayuca were elaborated in other areas of Tetzcotzinco.

31 Domínguez Torres (2011: 112–15, 2013b) devoted a couple of pages to it; Vásquez Galicia (2013) used it in his doctoral thesis, and Ramírez López discussed it in three studies (2014, 2017a, 2017b).

32 Of the several existing copies of the Coyoacán coat of arms, only the one in the AGI shows the coyote (Castañeda de la Paz and Luque Talaván 2010: 309). On the Archivo Ducal de Alba copy, see Castañeda de la Paz 2009 and Castañeda de la Paz and Luque Talaván 2010.

33 The onomastic glyph for Nezahualcoyotl is composed of a strip tied to the coyote's neck (*coyotl*) that refers to the fasting (*nezahual-li*). There is no evidence of this strip in the image. Martínez Baracs (2013: 56) compared the coyote to a lion (*miztli*) because, according to Alva Ixtlilxochitl, Acolmiztli was another name for this tlatoani. In our opinion, the animal represented is just a coyote.

34 Juan de Torquemada (1977, bk. 14, ch. 4: 330) specifies that the *ananacaztli* was an insignia used only by the Chichimec governors of Texcoco (in Olko 2005: 263). The root, *xiuh-* (turquoise) suggests that Nezahualcoyotl's insignia was valuable. In iconographs, green also alludes to objects of value.

35 Martínez Baracs (2013: 57) interpreted these waves as scrolls alluding to the spoken word and, hence, to song.
36 The signs in letter *U* and series of dots form a classic element of codices known to represent plots of land, so we do not share Wright Carr's (2012: 23) interpretation that they indicate fire.
37 Note that the currents and waves in the main body of water in the coat of arms in color are transformed into the letters *X* and *S*, but no trace of the shells or precious stones (*chalchihuites*) remains.
38 On the *chimalxopil*, see Eduard Seler (1960–61, 2:488, 490), who compares it to an animal claw. This adornment forms part of the collar of some deities (*xopilcozcatl*) (488). See also Sullivan (1997: 101n44, 109). For more on such adornments made of shell, see Suárez Diez (2011: 30–31, 55–56).
39 Martínez Baracs (1999b: 164, 168–69; 2013: 62) reports a similar case, saying that Torquemada and Veytia perceived female genitalia in the *xopilli*, an affirmation that has spurred all manner of interpretation (Torquemada 1975–83, bk. 2, ch. 57: 242).
40 A parallel exists in the tlatoani Axayacatl of Tenochtitlan, who carried the "little yopi (or Xipe) drum" and went to war clad as this deity (Chimalpahin 1998, 2:107, *Séptima relación*).
41 This is likely why Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1975: 375, *Sumaria relación*) affirms that Nezahualcoyotl bore the arms that once belonged to his forebears so as to be recognized by his vassals.
42 *Codex Mexicanus* (plate 66), *Codex Telleriano Remensis* (fol. 32r).
43 This passage takes up Torquemada (1975–83, bk. 2, ch. 57: 242–43) and then Veytia (in Martínez Baracs 2013: 61), who inherited the friar's problems of interpretation.
44 Nor did he recognize Nezahualcoyotl's headdress, which explains why he said it was a *celada* (i.e., part of the armor that protects the head) with dogs' ears instead of those of a coyote (Torquemada 1975–83, bk. 2, ch. 57: 242–43).
45 The crag or bluff (*peñasco*, *tex-calli* in Nahuatl) is a resource used to phonetically reproduce the first syllable of the names of Tetzcoco and Tetzcotzinco, since they share the same root.
46 See Martínez Baracs (2013: 63–64) or Domínguez Torres (2013b: 138) for a distinct interpretation.
47 Insignia with jaguar and tiger claws are present in the *Primeros memoriales* (Sahagún 1993, fol. 75v). The one on the Texcoco coat of arms represents a deer's foot, so I do not share the idea that it was a *quauhtetepoyo* (eagle's claw) as Domínguez Torres (2013b: 137) affirms. Nor do I see in the precious stone the toponymic glyph of Texcoco or a *teponaztle* (type of drum), nor do I believe that the three feathers refer to the Triple Alliance (Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, and Tlacopan), as Martínez Baracs (2013: 64) suggests.
48 My interpretation is obviously different from that of Martínez Baracs (2013: 58), who identified the battlements with the strips representing fasting (*nezahualli*) that formed part of the name of the tlatoani, and with the proposal that the vacant plots were fields through which Nezahualcoyotl wandered after his father's death. The content of the text also dissuades one from thinking it as a wall, as this author and Domínguez Torres (2013b: 137) suggested, believing it to be the complex encircling the palace Nezahualcoyotl built on the hill of Tetzcotzinco.

49 These garlands are reminiscent of the ones on the Tlacopan coat of arms (Castañeda de la Paz 2009: 136). The reference to the heart as origin of nobility is from a letter by the government of Azcapotzalco in 1561 (in Pérez-Rocha and Tena 2000: 221–22). For an analysis of the Azcapotzalco coat of arms, see Castañeda de la Paz (2017: 229–31).

50 This is the case of the coat of arms of the Spaniard Juan Tirado (Castañeda de la Paz and Luque Talaván 2010: 300). In the one pertaining to the Xiu lineages of Mani, the head trophies have eyes closed, a tear on the cheek, and—in some cases—mouths slightly open (in Chuchiak 2013: 284).

51 It seems a bit unusual that *PL* stands for *P[imente]L*, but it is the only solution I can offer at this point.

52 This second argument can easily be contested by turning it around. That is, the chroniclers used the coat of arms to describe its constituent elements.

53 The one in the BNE; see note 28.

54 Because the *Relación geográfica de Texcoco*, written in 1582, was not sent directly to Spain (Sebastián van Doesburg, pers. comm., 19 June 2020). On these affairs, see also Martínez Baracs (1999b: 164–68), who mentions that the copy of Veytia's portrait of Nezahualcoyotl came from elsewhere.

55 Indicated by the traveler Gemelli Careri (2002: 52, 55). See also O'Gorman (1975: 40–42) and van Doesburg (1996: 27).

56 That is to say, between the year that Texcoco received its title and the year when we know he was still alive. Vázquez (1990: 19) indicates that he was born in 1535 and died in 1590, but a royal decree of 6 May 1602 indicates that he was still alive on that date. The king mentions—arguing that they were descendants of Nezahualpilli—that Don Juan de Pomar, Don Juan de Alvarado, and Don Francisco Pimentel had petitioned for the restitution of certain lands (in Peñafiel 1979: 12–13).

57 Van Doesburg (1996: 15) states that he was born in 1578, but Primo Feliciano Velázquez (1992: xi) says he began his studies in the Colegio de la Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco shortly after 1577, with Martín Jacobita as rector, so it is more likely that he was born around 1568.

58 As he does by referring to the "weapons" (of Nezahualcoyotl) sculpted inside a "circle" with a border (*orla*), helmet (*morrión*, *yelmo*), and breastplate (*coselete*, *coraza*) (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1985, ch. 42: 115).

59 See Castañeda de la Paz's (2009: 141) analysis of the coat of arms that Don Diego received. Years later, after discovering the coat of arms that Don Diego solicited and sent to Court, both samples of heraldry were published (in Castañeda de la Paz and Luque Talaván 2010: 304–5).

References

Alva Ixtlilxochitl, Fernando de. 1975. *Obras históricas*. Vol. 1. Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Alva Ixtlilxochitl, Fernando de. 1985. *Obras históricas*. Vol. 2. Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Asselbergs, Florine. 2004. *Conquered Conquistadors: The* Lienzo de Quauhquechollan*, a Nahua Vision of the Conquest of Guatemala*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Benton, Bradley. 2017. *The Lords of Tetzcoco: The Transformation of Indigenous Rule in Postconquest Central Mexico*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Cadenas y Vicent, Vicente de. 1969. *Repertorio de blasones de la Comunidad Hispánica*. Madrid: Hidalguía.
Carrasco Pizana, Pedro. 1984. "Royal Marriages in Ancient Mexico." In *Explorations in Ethnohistory: Indians of Central Mexico in the Sixteenth Century*, edited by H. R. Harvey and Hanns J. Prem, 41–81. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
Castañeda de la Paz, María. 2009. "Central Mexican Indigenous Coats of Arms and the Conquest of Mesoamerica." In *Ethnohistory* 56, no. 1: 125–61.
Castañeda de la Paz, María. 2013. *Conflictos y alianzas en tiempos de cambio: Azcapotzalco, Tlacopan, Tenochtitlan y Tlatelolco (siglos XII–XVI)*. Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
Castañeda de la Paz, María. 2017. *Verdades y mentiras en torno a don Diego de Mendoza Austria Moctezuma*. Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México/Universidad Intercultural del Estado de Hidalgo.
Castañeda de la Paz, María. 2019. "Fragmentos de la Conquista a través de los relatos del siglo XVI." In *Los relatos del Encuentro*, 151–92. Guanajuato, Mexico: Gobierno del Estado de Guanajuato, Fundación Cervantina de México, Universidad de Guanajuato, Centro de Estudios Cervantinos.
Castañeda de la Paz, María, and Miguel Luque Talaván. 2010. "Privileges of the 'Others': The Coats of Arms Granted to Indigenous Conquistadors." In *The International Emblem: From Incunabula to the Internet. Selected Proceedings from the Eighth International Conference of the Society for Emblem Studies, 28th July–1st August, 2008, Winchester College*, edited by Simon McKeown, 283–316. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
Cervera, Marco Antonio. 2011. *Guerreros Aztecas*. Madrid: Editorial Nowtilus.
Chimalpahin, Domingo Francisco de San Antón. 1998. *Las ocho relaciones y el memorial de Colhuacan*, translated by Rafael Tena. 2 vols. Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes.
Chuchiak, John F., IV. 2013. "Anhelo de un escudo de armas: La falta de concesiones de escudos de armas indígenas mayas y la iconografía apócrifa de la heráldica colonial en Yucatán." In *Los escudos de armas indígenas: De la colonia al México independiente*, edited by María Castañeda de la Paz and Hans Roskamp, 273–308. Mexico City: El Colegio de Michoacán, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
Códice Chimalpopoca: Anales de Cuauhtitlan y leyenda de los soles. 1992. Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
Códice Mexicanus. 1952. "Commentaire du Codex Mexicanus n° 22–23 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris." *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 42, no. 2: 387–498.
Códice Telleriano Remensis. 1995. *Codex Telleriano-Remensis: Ritual, Divination, and History in a Pictorial Aztec Manuscript*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
Colección de documentos. 1885–1932. *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones Españolas de Ultramar*. 20 vols. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia.

Cortés, Hernán. 1992. *Cartas de relación*. Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa.
Díaz del Castillo, Bernal. 1992. *Historia de la conquista de Nueva España*. Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa.
Domínguez Torres, Mónica. 2011. "Emblazoning Identity: Indigenous Heraldry in Colonial Mexico and Peru." In *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World*, edited by Ilona Katzew, 97–115. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Domínguez Torres, Mónica. 2013a. "Los escudos de armas indígenas y el lenguaje heráldico castellano a comienzos del siglo XVI." In *Los escudos de armas indígenas: De la colonia al México independiente*, edited by María Castañeda de la Paz and Hans Roskamp, 21–47. Mexico City: El Colegio de Michoacán, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
Domínguez Torres, Mónica. 2013b. *Military Ethos and Visual Culture in Post-Conquest Mexico*. Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing.
Gemelli Careri, Giovanni Francesco. 2002. *Viaje a la Nueva España*, translated by Francisca Perujo. Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Bibliográficas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
Gibson, Charles. 1964. *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519–1810*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
González-Hermosillo Adams, Francisco. 2001. "Macehuales versus señores naturales: Una mediación franciscana en el cabildo indio de Cholula ante el conflicto por el servicio personal (1553–1594)." In *Gobierno y economía en los pueblos indios del México colonial*, edited by Francisco González-Hermosillo, 113–43. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.
Haskett, Robert. 2013. "Escudos de papel: La ideología de los escudos de armas en los títulos primordiales del México colonial." In *Los escudos de armas indígenas: De la colonia al México independiente*, edited by María Castañeda de la Paz and Hans Roskamp, 195–227. Mexico City: El Colegio de Michoacán, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
Horcasitas, Fernando. 1978. "Los descendientes de Nezahualpilli: Documentos del cacicazgo de Tetzcoco (1545–1855)." *Estudios de historia novohispana* 6, no. 6: 1–39.
Isla, José Francisco de. 1701. *Buelo del imperial águila tetzcocana*. Mexico City: Herederos de la Viuda de Bernardo Calderón.
Lee, Jongsoo. 2008. *The Allure of Nezahualcoyotl: Pre-Hispanic History, Religion, and Nahua Poetics*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
Lesbre, Patrick. 2000. "Nezahualcoyotl, entre historia, leyenda y divinización." In *El héroe entre el mito y la historia*, edited by Federico Navarrete and Guilhem Olivier, 21–55. Mexico Ciy: Centro Francés de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
Lockhart, James. 1992. *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Martínez Baracs, Rodrigo. 1999a. "El Tetzcotzinco y los símbolos del patriotismo tetzcocano." *Arqueología Mexicana* 7, no. 38: 52–47.
Martínez Baracs, Rodrigo. 1999b. "Secuencias de una investigación imaginaria." *Relaciones: Estudios de historia y sociedad* 20, no. 77: 151–82.

Martínez Baracs, Rodrigo. 2013. "Símbolos del patriotismo tetzcocano." In *Los escudos de armas indígenas: De la colonia al México independiente*, edited by María Castañeda de la Paz and Hans Roskamp, 49–69. Mexico City: El Colegio de Michoacán, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Martínez Garnica, Armando. 1993. "La casa de Moctezuma: La incorporación de los linajes nobles del valle de México a la sociedad novohispana del siglo XVI." PhD diss., El Colegio de México.

Matthew, Laura E., and Michel R. Oudijk. 2007. *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Menéndez Pidal de Navascués, Faustino. 2014. *Los emblemas heráldicos: Novecientos años de historia*. Seville, Spain: Real Mestranza de Caballería de Sevilla.

Olko, Justyna. 2005. *Turquoise, Diadems, and Staffs of Office: Elite Costume and Insignia of Power in Aztec and Early Colonial Mexico*. Warsaw, Poland: University of Warsaw.

Oudijk, Michel R., and María Castañeda de la Paz. 2017. "Nahua Thought and the Conquest." In *The Oxford Handbook of the Aztecs*, edited by Deborah L. Nichols and Enrique Rodríguez-Alegría, 161–71. New York: Oxford University Press.

Oudijk, Michel R., and Matthew Restall. 2008. *La conquista indígena de Mesoamérica: El caso de don Gonzalo Mazatzin Moctezuma*. Mexico City: Secretaría de Cultura del Estado de Puebla, Universidad de las Américas, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Peñafiel, Antonio. 1979. *Manuscritos de Texcoco*. Mexico City: Editorial Innovación.

Pérez-Rocha, Emma, and Rafael Tena. 2000. *La nobleza indígena del centro de México después de la conquista*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Pomar, Juan Bautista. 1990. "Relación de Tezcoco." In *Relaciones de la Nueva España*, edited by Germán Vázquez, 17–99. Madrid: Historia 16.

Ramírez López, Javier Eduardo. 2014. "La iglesia en el siglo XVI: Texcoco, cuna de la evangelización en la Nueva España." In *Evangelización, educación y cultura en Texcoco, siglos XVI–XVIII*, edited by Javier Eduardo Ramírez López, 21–55. Texcoco, Mexico: Diócesis de Texcoco y Centro de Estudios Históricos y Sociales de Texcoco.

Ramírez López, Javier Eduardo, ed. 2017a. *De Catemahco a Tezcoco: Origen y desarrollo de una ciudad indígena*. Mexico City: Diócesis de Texcoco, A. R., Biblioteca Texcocana 1.

Ramírez López, Javier Eduardo, ed. 2017b. *Evangelización, educación y cultura en Tezcoco, siglos XVI al XVIII*. Texcoco, Mexico: Diócesis de Texcoco y Centro de Estudios Históricos y Sociales de Texcoco.

Reyes García, Luis. 1996. "El término calpulli en documentos del siglo XVI." In *Documentos nauas de la Ciudad de México del siglo XVI*, 21–68. Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, Archivo General de la Nación.

Roskamp, Hans. 2013. "El escudo de los tres reyes de Tzintzuntzan: Iconografía, memoria y legitimación en la antigua capital tarasca." In *Los escudos de armas*

indígenas: De la colonia al México independiente, edited by María Castañeda de la Paz and Hans Roskamp, 137–68. Mexico City: El Colegio de Michoacán, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Sahagún, Bernardino de. 1993. *Primeros memoriales*. Facsimile ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Santamarina Novillo, Carlos. 2006. *El sistema de dominación azteca: El imperio tepaneca*. Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española.

Seler, Eduard. 1960–61. *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde*. 6 vols. Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck-U. Verlagsanstalt.

Suárez Diez, Lourdes. 2011. *La joyería de concha de los dioses Mexica*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Sullivan, Thelma. 1997. *Primeros memoriales: Paleography of Nahuatl Text and English Translation*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Torquemada, Juan de. 1975–83. *Monarquía Indiana*. 7 vols. Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

van Doesburg, Geert Bastiaan. 1996. *Códice Ixtlilxochitl. Apuntaciones y pinturas de un historiador*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Vásquez Galicia, Sergio Ángel. 2013. "La identidad de Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl a través de su memoria histórica: Análisis historiográfico." PhD diss., Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Vázquez, Germán. 1990. Introduction to *Relaciones de la Nueva España*, edited by Germán Vázquez, 7–91. Madrid: Historia 16.

Velázquez, Primo Feliciano. 1992. Introduction to *Códice Chimalpopoca: Anales de Cuauhtitlan y leyenda de los soles*, vii–xxi. Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Wright Carr, David Charles. 2012. "*Teoatl tlachinolli*: Una metáfora marcial del centro de México." *Dimensión antropológica* 55: 11–37.