History and the Ahuitzotl Box

Historia y la Caja de Ahuítzotl

ELIZABETH BAQUEDANO Doctora en Arqueología por la Universidad de Londres. Profesora en el University College London (Institute of Archaeology, en donde es coordinadora de Arqueología Azteca y Etnohistoria). Entre sus publicaciones se encuentran *Concepts of Death and the Afterlife in Central Mexico*, *Tezcatlipoca: Trickster and Supreme Deity* y *Sañuq and Toltecatl Pre-Columbian Arts of middle and South America*, en colaboración con George Bankes.

ROSS HASSIG Doctor por la Universidad de Stanford (1980). Antropólogo e historiador especializado en Mesoamérica, particularmente en la cultura azteca. Ha publicado *Trade, Tribute and Transportation*, *Aztec Warfare*, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest* y *Polygamy and the Rise and Demise of the Aztec Empire*.

RESUMEN Este artículo estudia el fragmento de una caja que se encuentra en el Museo Británico, así como su tapa perteneciente al Museo Etnológico de Berlin. En este trabajo nos alejamos de las interpretaciones previas, aunque las analizamos y las evaluamos. Nuestra interpretación tiene un enfoque histórico. Identificamos el glifo que aparece esculpido en la caja como el glifo de Chalco. Interpretamos así los relieves que aparecen en la caja como una conmemoración de la liberación de las ciudades chalcas del mando azteca, al leer el glifo *chalchihuitl* como el toponímico de Chalco.

PALABRAS CLAVE Caja, historia, Ahuítzotl, Chalco, glifo

ABSTRACT This paper studies both the Ahuitzotl Box fragment at the British Museum as well as the lid at the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin, and moves away from previous interpretations, mainly those of Seler, Umberger and Pasztory's. Seler was strongly inclined toward symbolic interpretations and his study of the box followed that approach. We evaluate and consider the previous approaches. However, we have taken a historical slant, identifying the glyph on the box as that of Chalco. The box is further interpreted as a commemoration of the liberation of the Chalca cities from direct Aztec rule, by reading the *chalchihuitl* glyph as the place-glyph for Chalco.

KEYWORDS Box, history, Ahuitzotl, Chalco, place-glyph

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Elizabeth Baquedano
Ross Hassig

The British Museum holds an Aztec stone carving, known as the Ahuitzotl box (Fig. 1), that, despite its modest size [23 × 33 × 18 cm], has an interesting interpretive history. The first major analysis of the box was by the great German scholar, Eduard Seler (1849-1922), who was strongly inclined toward symbolic interpretations, and his assessment of the Ahuitzotl box accordingly followed that predilection (Seler 1990-1998, V:200-203 and plate VII).

The British Museum's box has no top, but in the early twentieth century, Seler (1990-1998, V: 200-203 and plate VII) identified an Aztec carving in the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin [Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museum zu Berlin] as the missing lid based on its decoration and excellent fit (Fig. 2), an association that is generally accepted today. The top of the Berlin lid bears a three-dimensional carving of a dog-like creature with water glyphs on its back, which Seler interpreted as an *ahuitzotl*, a water creature, drawing on the sixteenth-century description of Bernardino de Sahagún, and speculated that it actually referred to the tree porcupine.

The underside of the lid is also decorated, in bas relief, with the glyph for reed (*acatl*) and part of a number, the remainder presumably being on the portion of the lid that is missing (Fig. 3). Except in rare cases, the Aztecs indicated the numbers 1 through to 19 with a series of circles or dots, each with the value of 1. The surviving portion of the lid's underside bears five number dots, but given their spacing, Seler argued that, originally, there were two more which are now missing, yielding the complete number 7, which is also generally accepted today.

Aztec dates were recorded by using one of the 20 day-signs of the Aztec calendar, in combination with one of the 13 day-numbers, as is the case on the underside of the lid. Seler therefore reasoned that the resulting would then be the day-name 7 Reed.

As the Aztec gods are associated with various day-names, Seler likewise assumed that the date on the lid had a supernatural association, which, in

turn, affected his assessment not only of the carving on top, but of the Ahuitzotl box as well.

The inside of the Ahuitzotl box has been damaged (Fig. 4 a, b, c, d) but the best-preserved carving is on the bottom, on which an *ahuitzotl* in the middle of water is depicted (Fig. 5). On the box's exterior, the surviving portion of the bottom is decorated with the god, Tlaltecuhtli (Fig. 6), generally described as the "earth monster", but literally, Earth Lord, a deity identified with the earth itself. The two sides are broken off but they show a very similar scene to the inside of the Ahuitzotl box as described below. The back is partly missing but most important, the front is almost entirely intact, showing a figure emptying a jar adorned with a *chalchihuitl* (jade) glyph, and pouring forth water, maize, and a grain that may be amaranth (Figs. 1, 7).

Seler carried the supernatural associations of the lid to his interpretation of the carvings on the box itself. Having recognized the entity on the bottom of the box as the god Tlaltecuhtli, Seler argued that the figure depicted on the front was also a deity. Relying on his reading of the date in the lid, Seler then made a number of plausible, though we feel improbable, calendrical leaps, and suggested that the creature was a celestial deity. He then added that this could be seen as if the figure was descending from above between drops of rain. The divine nature of the being, he argued, was established by a single long fang protruding from its mouth, and by its face markings. He continued his thesis by arguing that the headdress belonged to the moon deity, among others.

The Ahuitzotl box and its associated lid were thus interpreted symbolically. That is not to say such interpretations are unknown, or even unusual. But it does lay the interpretation open to the shifting sands of alternative symbolic or metaphorical analyses. Although not abandoned entirely, the interpretation of the Ahuitzotl box was moved to more solid grounds by its next major analysis.

In 1981, Emily Umberger (1981:98-99) reinterpreted the Ahuitzotl box. She accepted Seler's interpretation of the figure on the front as a deity, which, based on his features, she identified as Tlaloc (Land-lier), as the fang shown on the box is a common feature of other Tlaloc depictions. The water association was further advanced by the entity being shown pouring water, maize, and amaranth from the vessel. Umberger implicitly ignored Seler's

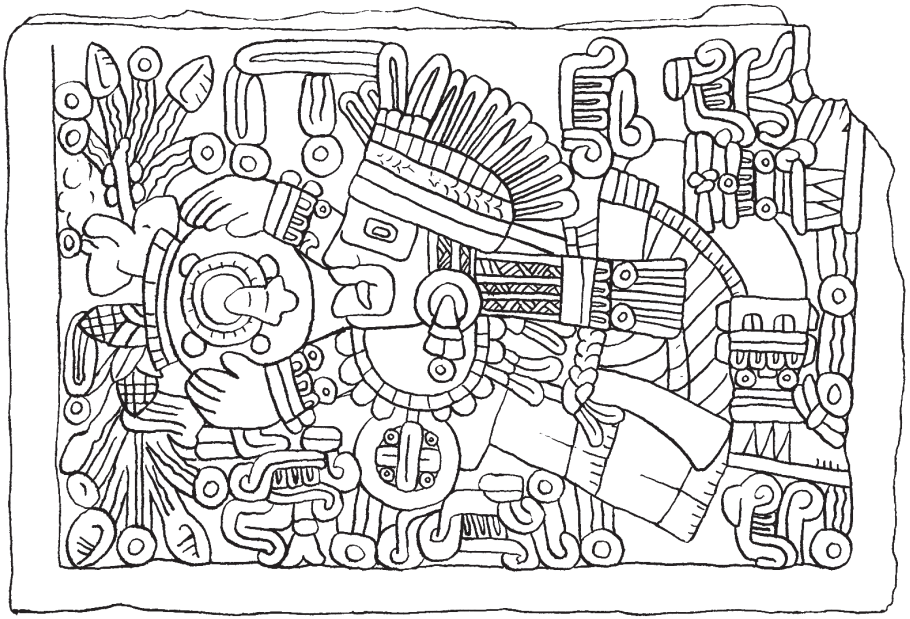

Fig. 7. Ahuitzotl Box, ©Trustees of the British Museum. Am1982,Q.860Am1982. Redrawn by Eleanor Winter from Hans Rashbrook

interpretation that he was descending, as the box clearly depicts him from right to left rather than descending, in contrast to the water drops which are descending. Indeed, Tlaloc is a god of water as it lies on the land, such as rivers or lakes, not of water as it descends in rain or snow.

The glyphs for 7 Reed can indicate either a day or a year. As mentioned above, the Aztec calendar possessed 20 day-symbols and 13 day-numbers, the combination of which generated day-names. But as there are 365 days in the solar calendar (leap-year adjustments aside), and both the 20 day-symbols and the 13 day-numbers cycled continually, each successive solar year (*xihuitl*) began after the day-symbol cycle had gone through 18 repetitions (18 × 20 days = 360 days) and then advanced an additional 5 days. Therefore, instead of beginning on the first day-symbol of the 20 day-symbol cycles, the next solar year began on the 6th day-symbol, the following year on the 11th, the next on the 16th, with the fifth year beginning again on the 1st day-symbol. Those four day-symbols were known as year-bearers, as they, and only they, began the Aztec solar years, and for which these years were

accordingly named. Since "reed" was a year bearer, 7 Reed could equally be a day date or a year date. But the presence of what is arguably a cartouche around the glyph strongly suggests that it is a year rather than a day, which generally lack cartouches (Umberger 1979).

As a day date, 7 Reed is essentially ahistorical. It is a date that recurs in a cyclical fashion, much as, say, December 12th, the Virgin of Guadalupe day, recurs in the Christian calendar. It is a real day, but otherwise not fixed in time, as it lacks a year. It is, instead, what Eliade (1974:85-90) called "cosmic time", a time not in linear history but in cyclical time in which the original sacred event is continually re-enacted. In short, although the location of a sacred event can be identified in space, the only way that event can be located in time is by its symbolic recurrence, much as one's birthday is celebrated in an annual cycle long after the actual event of birth.

By reading 7 Reed as a year rather than a day, Umberger brought this part of the interpretation into history for the first time. But what was the historic event to which it refers?

The year 7-Reed recurs in the Aztec calendar every 52 years, but it had occurred only four times since the founding of Tenochtitlan (1325) in 1343, 1395, 1447, and 1499. The carving style argues strongly for a date late in Aztec history, but which date cannot be understood from that date alone.

Turning next to the *ahuitzotl* depictions, and, as Umberger argues that the *ahuitzotl* glyph did not indicate a supernatural creature, but rather an Aztec ruler, King Ahuitzotl (Fig. 8), who ruled from 1486 to 1502. She further notes that a number of similar boxes have been found with the glyphs of rulers on them, and identifies the 7 Reed on the lid as referring to 1499.

Indeed, various readings of *ahuitzotl* have been suggested, including Dibble and Anderson's (Sahagún 1950-82, 5:193 and n.30) gloss of *ahuitzotl* as "water dog". But a literal translation of the word is "water thornness", which is opaque and had apparently lost linguistic motivation as the word is, in fact, the name for otter (Hernández 1959, 2:393), which was King Ahuitzotl's name.

Umberger not only benefitted from decades of additional research since Seler's analysis, but also from the discovery of another major Aztec carving that was unearthed in Mexico City after Seler's death, the Acuecuexatl monument. Although not fully intact, the surviving portion of the stone bears

Fig. 8. Glyph of Ahuizotl, *Codex Mendoza*, f. 86r

feathered serpents on three sides, and two personages, one each on front and back, both identified by Ahuitzotl's name glyph, and both auto-sacrificing blood from the ear.

Alcocer (1935) argued that this stone commemorated the opening of the aqueduct from the spring of Acuecuexatl near Coyoacan (Coyohuacan) to Tenochtitlan in 1499, during the reign of King Ahuitzotl. Elaborating on this interpretation, Umberger (1981:129-132) argued that a figure from the lost portion of the stone could be seen on an abraded surviving section as overturning a vessel from which water pours.

Having tied the Ahuitzotl box to a specific year, 1499, and having identified it with a specific ruler, Ahuitzotl, and arguing that the box commemorated the same event as the Acuecuexatl monument, Umberger thus places it firmly in history, eliminating a considerable portion of Seler's interpretation. But much of the rest of her interpretation still remains symbolic, as she argues that the figure on the front is Tlaloc, which, as a water god, is consistent with the opening of the aqueduct. Otherwise, the only tie to the Acuecuexatl aqueduct is the year date.

In 1983, Pasztory (1983:164-165) followed and elaborated on Umberger's interpretation, accepting 7 Reed as a year date, the interpretation of the figure as Tlaloc pouring water and maize ears from a jar bearing the

chalchihuitl (jade) glyph, but then diverged from Umberger's interpretation, bypassing the Acuecuexatl association, except for the shared date. She notes instead that such boxes were made to contain sacrificial implements, and that Tlaltecuhtli received this sacrificial blood, which she argues explains the presence of the Tlaltecuhtli carving on the bottom. She twice refers to Ahuitzotl as being referenced by the three-dimensional carving on the lid and the bas-relief inside the box, which we presume to be a reference to King Ahuitzotl rather than to the creature. But her analysis clings to portions of the symbolic analysis not tied to historical events.

We accept the 1499 date and the attribution to King Ahuitzotl, but difficulties remain with the interpretation of the scene on the front of the Ahuitzotl box. We argue that this, too, can be best understood historically, and challenge the more symbolic aspects of the recent interpretations.

First, if the Ahuitzotl box was meant to hold sacrificial paraphernalia, it might identify its royal owner, Ahuitzotl, but there is no compelling reason to specify the year, unless it was employed for a single important event that is not clearly indicated on the box. Pasztory's interpretation does not depend on the Ahuitzotl box itself, as that carving does not show anything related to sacrifice. It is only by assuming a connection to the Acuecuexatl monument that such an interpretation is plausible, and that further depends on establishing that these two objects commemorate the same historical event. The evidence for Pasztory's argument from the Ahuitzotl box is solely her interpretation that Tlaltecuhtli is on the bottom to receive the blood. Blood will flow downward, but in both human sacrifice and auto-sacrifice, the blood is generally received in or on other objects and not simply allowed to flow. Moreover, Tlaltecuhtli is a common carving on the bottom of many sculptures having no blood receptacle functions such as the colossal Coatlicue statue in the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City. Tlaltecuhtli appears to represent the earth on which everything rests, or perhaps more simply, points down.

Second, although the figure depicted on the box may be associated with Tlaloc, that does not mean he is the god. Gods as themselves are often quite inhuman in aspect (e. g., *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1995:8r-24v), whereas god impersonators, priests dressed as gods, look human with divine face painting and garb (Sahagún 1950-82, 1: figs. 1-21). The same is true of rulers when depicted as gods, for instance when Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin is

shown with his name-glyph, depicted on the Teocalli de la Guerra Sagrada, or the warriors on the Stone of Tizoc, despite being associated with specific towns identified by place-glyphs. The figure on the Ahuitzotl box may refer to the god Tlaloc, may blend the royal and the divine, but the inescapable association with the name-glyph, Ahuitzotl, argues for that king as divine.

Both Umberger's and Pasztory's interpretations have been overly influenced by the discovery of the Acuecuexatl stone, which encouraged a similar interpretation of the Ahuitzotl Box as commemorating the opening of the aqueduct. There are, in fact, three similarities between the two monuments. One, they bear the same date glyphs. Two, they bear the same ruler's name-glyph. And three, they both arguably show an overturned vessel, although the example on the Acuecuexatl monument (Fig. 9a and 9b) is abraded and difficult to discern with certainty. But despite these similarities, the divergences between the two objects are equally remarkable.

One, the Ahuitzotl box has a striking absence of the feathered serpents so prominent on the Acuecuexatl stone. Two, the personage on the Ahuitzotl box is not engaged in auto-sacrifice, as are the two on the Acuecuexatl monument. And three, the jar is adorned with a *chalchihuitl* glyph on the Ahuitzotl box and it pours out water, maize, and perhaps amaranth, whereas it is not clear what, if anything, is pouring from the jar on the Acuecuexatl monument, if it is a jar, and the vessel does not appear to bear a glyph. Moreover, as the rest of that scene is missing, what lies beyond the hand holding the jar is entirely unknown and unknowable, barring a generalization from the Ahuitzotl box.

We believe that an historical analysis offers the most secure approach to understanding these two objects, but given their parallels and divergences, do they commemorate the same event? To assess this, we focus on the two divergent iconographic elements found only on the Ahuitzotl box, the depictions of maize and perhaps amaranth, and the *chalchihuitl* glyph on the jar. If, the monument is to be interpreted historically, understanding the referents of these elements requires some further consideration of Aztec history, particularly for 1499.

King Ahuitzotl did indeed order the construction of an aqueduct from a spring at Coyoacan, as is well recorded (Durán 1984, 2:370-374; Chimalpahin 1998, 1:301, 2:137-139). But is this the event that is depicted on the Ahuitzotl Box?

Fig. 9a and 9b. Acuecuexatl Stone, Museum of Anthropology, Mexico City. Drawing by Eleanor Winter

Historical interpretations of ambiguous monuments and archeological sites are vulnerable to associations of that object with whatever historical event is otherwise known to have occurred. Perhaps the most famous examples of this phenomenon is Heinrich Schliemann's interpretation of numerous Aegean archaeological sites with peoples and places known from the Odyssey. In the case of the Ahuitzotl box, the most prominent in the historical record for 1499 that is attested by another historical source, is the construction of the aqueduct from Coyoacan. In the absence of an alternative event, the king's name and date would incline us to associate the Ahuitzotl box with what is known to have occurred too, but are there alternatives?

The year 1499 is not known only for the aqueduct. Indeed, that year saw several notable occurrences, including a flower war with Atlixco and

Huexotzinco, and the conquest of Chillan, among others. None of these are likely to have been commemorated by the Ahuitzotl box, though, as conquests are typically associated with symbols of conquest or capture and associated place-glyphs, such as those on the Stone of Tizoc, the *cuauhxicalli* stone attributed to Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina, or in the *Codex Mendoza*. However, other events occurred in 1499 too, some minor, but others important. Aztec histories were recorded as annals, in which years were listed with their most prominent events. In the Aztec histories, even fewer events were listed because of the use of glyphs, so it would not be unexpected that many prominent occurrences might be omitted. Moreover, different codices emphasized different types of events and excluded others. For example, the *Codex Mendoza* focused almost exclusively on the conquests made during the reigns of the respective kings (*Codex Mendoza* 1992), whereas the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* also included such events as famines, earthquakes, and the appearance of comets (*Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 1995). This same annal style was perpetuated in many early colonial histories, but using the Latin alphabet, whether in Spanish or Nahuatl, allowing these records to be fuller.

If an event was ignored entirely in the historical record, interpreting commemorative monuments accurately would be extremely difficult. There are, however, minor events that are occasionally recorded, perhaps in the chronicles of more distant cities, that may relate to such monuments. And there are reasons to question the current interpretations of the Ahuitzotl box.

If the Ahuitzotl box commemorated the construction of the aqueduct from Coyoacan to Tenochtitlan, why are maize and other grains depicted? The water brought into the city by the aqueduct was for urban consumption, such as for drinking and cooking, as potable water was in short supply on the island-city in brackish western Lake Texcoco. Depicting water might indicate that, but depicting maize and perhaps amaranth would not. Indeed, they suggest that the scene shown did not commemorate supplying the city with water for domestic purposes, but was instead associated with water involved with agricultural pursuits. Despite this, in an agrarian society such as the Aztecs, what particular pursuits could these have been, what was so significant about them that they merited commemoration, and why in the year 1499?

The breadbasket of the Valley of Mexico was not Tenochtitlan, but the southern two lakes, Chalco and Xochimilco (Fig. 10). Fed by perennial springs

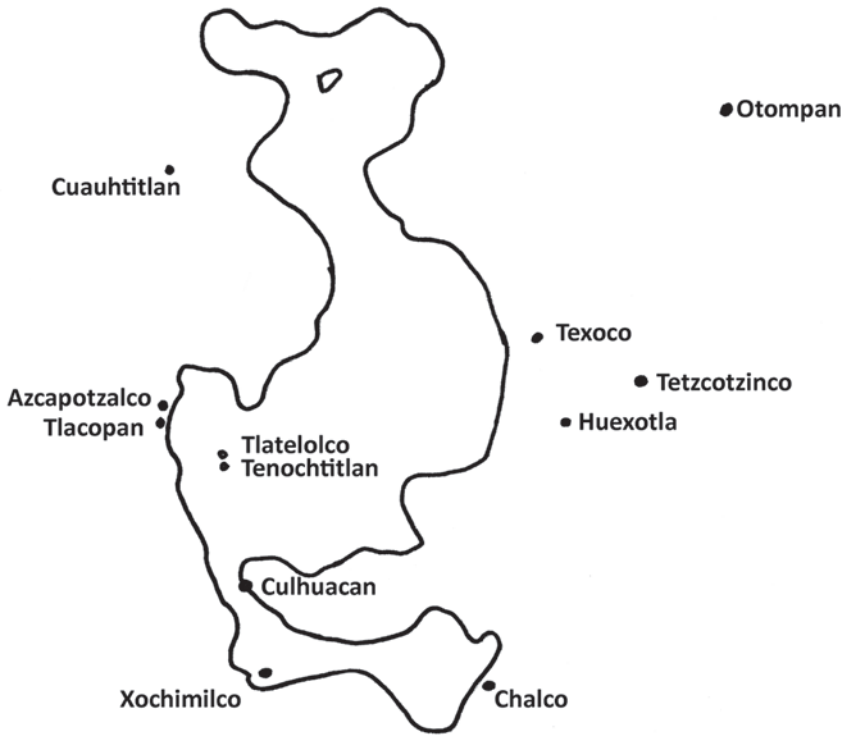

Fig. 10. The Basin of Mexico, redrawn by Louis Taylor, after Frances Berdan 2014: 6

and a small river, these two lakes were freshwater, whereas the northern two lakes, Zumpango and Xaltocan, were fed by runoff and were brackish, and then flowed into Texcoco which was saline, the result of the inexorable build-up of salt over millennia in a closed drainage basin (Palerm 1961:240; 1973). At Conquest, the southern two lakes had been completely converted to chinampa agriculture in which artificial islands were built up in the lake, converting from 90 to 95 percent of the surface of the southern two lakes to fields that were self-irrigating, close to transport by canoe, and protected from frost by being surrounded by water (Armillas 1971:660; Parsons 1976:243; Price 1971:22). Indeed, these fields were capable of multiple yields every year, despite the high altitude, and supplied the majority of the foodstuffs needed by the expanding population of Tenochtitlan and the Valley as a whole.

The chinampas were laid out in grids in a series of uniform sizes and orientations. Moreover, constructing chinampas to a relatively uniform height so the moisture would permeate the soil to root level and water the plants meant that a relatively constant lake level had to be maintained (Coe 1964:93; Palerm 1973:182, 235). To achieve both these ends, and to prevent saline water from being swept into the southern two lakes during the spring storms, an extensive series of water works was constructed, involving dykes, causeways, and sluicegates (Castillo Farreras 1972:113).

The chinampa orientations, uniform sizes, uniform levels, and the vast system of hydraulic works argue forcibly for centralized control. Without a governing entity, this could not have been accomplished, and that entity was Tenochtitlan. Yet, early in their history, the Aztecs were subservient to other cities in the Valley. And even after they began their imperial rise in 1428, the southern lake cities were independent, and some, notably the Chalca city-states in the southeastern corner of the Valley, were actively hostile. All of these circumstances argue against the construction of a uniform system of chinampas in the southern lakes at this time. It was only after 1465, when the Aztecs subdued their last foe in the southern lakes (Chimalpahin 1998, 1:261-262), the Chalcas, that a uniform system of chinampa construction could have begun (Armillas 1971:660; Parsons 1976:248-249). Yet the 1499 date of the Ahuitzotl box significantly post-dates that event.

It would be premature to associate the maize and amaranth on the Ahuitzotl box with agriculture in the southern two lakes based solely on these depictions. But there is another prominent iconographic element on the front of the box, that has not been satisfactorily interpreted, the *chalchiuitl* glyph on the jar. *Chalchihuitl* was a precious gem in Aztec Mexico and the glyph can logically be seen as indicating that, as Pasztory has done. But it can also be read another way that sheds a more intense light on the interpretation of the box.

Aztec writing used glyphs in three ways, as rebuses, such as depicting a snake to denote the word "*coatl*", or as symbols, such as shields and arrows to represent war, and these are the senses in which the *chalchihuitl* glyph has been literally interpreted. But the third way glyphs were used was phonetically, in which, typically, the glyph was used for the sound value of its first syllable, without regard to the meaning of the object thus depicted. Such is the case with Chalco. Its place-glyph is the *chalchihuitl* glyph, as may be seen

in the *Codex Mendoza* (*Codex Mendoza* 1992, 3:f. 7v, 17v), though the translation of the town name has no direct association with jade. The glyph is used solely for its phonetic value (Fig. 11).

If the glyph on the jar is understood to refer to the town of Chalco (and perhaps to the lake), the flow of maize and amaranth from the region of Chalco makes more sense, as reflecting the area where chinampas began, and which remained the most productive area in the Valley. But since the expansion of the chinampas had presumably begun as early as the latter half of the 1460s, why should the Ahuitzotl box bear the date 1499?

To understand this date, a fuller consideration of Chalca history is required. As the Aztecs expanded throughout the southern Valley of Mexico, the Chalca city-states resisted the longest, fighting the Aztecs for decades, since at least 1376 (Chimalpahin 1998, 1:225-227; *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* 1975:32). Locked into a long-term struggle, the Aztecs gradually chipped away at the Chalca cities, eroding its periphery, until Chalco Atenco was politically isolated, when the Aztecs conquered it in 1465. The enmity was such that, unlike the vast majority of their conquests, the Aztecs did not permit the local rulers to retain their thrones, on pledging fealty. Instead, they were removed, and rule devolved on *cuauhteuctin*, or eagle-lords. These rulers were not lords by right in the Chalca cities, but imposed Aztec governors who occupied and ruled them on behalf of the Aztecs (Chimalpahin 1998, 1:265).

In consequence, the sort of adjustment to Aztec domination that occurred in older tributaries was lacking among the Chalca. Although little is known about their situation in those years, a generation after their defeat, the Aztecs began permitting Chalca rulers (or their heirs) to reoccupy their thrones. Direct rule may have become too burdensome to the Aztecs or too ineffectual, or perhaps after a generation, most of the Chalca rulers who had defied them were dead, too aged to be a threat, or had become reconciled to their tributary status.

For whatever reason, in 1486, Aztec King Tizoc first allowed the traditional rulers, or their successors, to re-occupy the thrones in several of the Chalca cities (Chimalpahin 1998, 1:279-281, 405-407, 2:121-123). Tizoc died that year, but the policy of slowly allowing the Chalca cities to regain home rule continued under Tizoc's successor, Ahuitzotl, who released additional towns in 1488 (Chimalpahin 1998, 1:283, 407, 2:125-131). Although a few examples are recorded of the return of local rule to the Chalca cities,

Fig. 11. Chalco glyph, *Codex Mendoza*, f. 41r

most such reversions were not recorded. The end of the process was obliquely recorded in a Chalca annal.

In 1499, a pretender to the throne of Amacamecan, Toltecatl, went to Tenochtitlan to plead his case before King Ahuitzotl, who appeared to give it to him. But on Toltecatl's return to Amacamecan, he and many of his followers were killed (Chimalpahin 1998, 2:135-139). Although the Chalca history cast this sequence of events as Aztec duplicity, what it reflected was not the total freedom of the Chalca cities, as they remained tributaries of the Aztec empire, but rather the year the Aztecs finally completed their relinquishment of domestic control over them.

Returning now to the interpretation of the Ahuitzotl Box, the king's name-glyph and the date-glyph firmly place it in 1499. But if the aqueduct was the intended object of its commemoration, we might expect to find place-glyphs for either Coyoacan or the spring of Acuecuexatl, where the aqueduct originated, and perhaps a simple flow of water, none of which appear. The box does however have troublesome iconographic elements for water with maize and amaranth, as well as the *chalchihuitl* glyph, which may now be seen in a different light. Instead of interpreting the box entirely symbolically, as Seler did, or as referring to the aqueduct, as Umberger and Pasztory did, influenced by the Acuecuexatl monument, despite not being directly indicated, more elements of the box can be interpreted as a commemoration of the liberation of the Chalca cities from direct Aztec rule, by reading the *chalchihuitl*

glyph as the place-glyph for Chalco, though not of its conquest, which occurred three decades earlier, and as a celebration of the breadbasket of the Valley, as reflected by the water, maize, and amaranth depictions being released by King Ahuitzotl from the overturned Chalco vessel.

Indeed, this more fully historical interpretation suggests that it may be time to reconsider the interpretation of the Acuecuexatl monument. Might its lack of place-glyphs, and the absence of any water flow, suggest that another interpretation might be needed?

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Fig. 1. Ahuitzotl Box, ©Trustees of the British Museum. Am1982,Q.860Am1982

Fig. 2. Lid of Ahuitzotl Box, Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, IV Ca 3776

Fig. 3. Underside of Ahuitzotl Lid, Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, IV Ca 3776

a

b

c

d

e

Fig. 4 a, b, c, d, e. Fragments of the Ahuitzotl Box, ©Trustees of the British Museum. Am1982,Q.860Am1982

Fig. 5. Inside of Ahuitzotl Box, ©Trustees of the British Museum. Am1982,Q.860Am1982

Fig. 6. Exterior of Ahuitzotl Box depicting Tlaltecuhtli, ©Trustees of the British Museum. Am1982,Q.860Am1982