THE MAYA ORIGIN OF A MEXICAN GOD: THE ICONOGRAPHIC PRIMACY OF TEZCATLIPOCA AT CHICHÉN ITZÁ, YUCATAN OVER TULA, HIDALGO; AND ITS POSSIBLE DERIVATION FROM GOD K – K'AWIL

by

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ABSTRACT

Two long-held views in Mesoamerican research, the Mexican origin of the god Tezcatlipoca and the insinuation of Toltec iconography into the artistic format of Chichén Itzá, Yucatan, Mexico, emanating from Tula, Hidalgo, Mexico conditioned this research. Considering Tezcatlipoca to be a Mexican god imparts both a foreign origin for and the preexistence of that god in Central Mexico prior to its manifestation in the sculptural repertoire of Chichén Itzá, a Maya city. However, this thesis demonstrates that no conclusive evidence of a Mexican origin for Tezcatlipoca exists. This work rejects the near dogmatic assumption of that god's Mexican pedigree, and asserts the iconographic primacy of Tezcatlipoca imagery at the Maya city of Chichén Itzá, Yucatan over the Toltec city of Tula, Hidalgo. It also suggests the possible derivation of Tezcatlipoca from the Maya God K – K'awil.

This work is dedicated to the memory of Matt Tripp – artist, chef, traveler; one of the millions of victims of tobacco, who died from lung cancer at age fifty-six, just two years after the birth of his son Jack, his only child. It was with Matt that I first traveled to Palenque. That visit inspired my interest in all things Maya. This work is the result of that inspiration which began on the summit of the Temple of the Inscriptions in 1984.

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INTRODUCTION

For over a century, Mesoamericanists have attributed a central Mexican origin to the god Tezcatlipoca (Charlot 1931, v.1:275; Nuttal 1904:24; Paddock 1985a:319-320; Taube personal communication 2008; Thompson 1942:50). Acosta (1956-1957:107) notes that Tezcatlipoca is tied to the city of Tula through the ethnohistoric sources. His image appears there on Pillar 3 of Pyramid B (Mastache et al. 2002:103; Stocker 1993:66-68). Tezcatlipoca was the patron god of elite rulers (Boone 1989:15; Coe 1970:5; Miller and Taube 1993:164; Saunders 1994:109; 2001:222), and became a major god of the Mexica or Aztec, who "adopted many older Mesoamerican deities" (Diehl 1983:168). This is interesting in that Mastache et al. (2002:304) see cultural continuity between Tula and the Mexica capital of Tenochtitlan. Charlot (1931, v.1:275-276) reported five Tezcatlipoca sculptures at Chichén Itzá. Thompson (1942:50) saw those sculptures as evidence of Tula's influence on Chichén Itzá. Many scholars (Acosta 1940, 1945, 1956-1957, Andrews 1965; Brainerd 1958; Charnay 1888; Cowgill 1946; Saville 1929; Thompson 1934, 1942, 1943, 1970, Tozzer 1957) held that Tula, a Toltec site in the present day central Mexican state of Hidalgo had heavily influenced the religion, ideology, art, and architecture of the Maya city of Chichén Itzá, Yucatan, Mexico. Recently, others (Kubler 1961, 1982; Parsons 1963; Cohodas 1978; McVicker 1985; Lincoln 1986; Ringle 2007; Ringle et al. 1998:184) have presented data that counters those early scholars. To disprove the Mexican origin of Tezcatlipoca would provide a major point in the argument against the Tula to Chichén Itzá directionality of influence model.

Existing literature concerning the origin and initial appearance (referred to in this work as "iconographic primacy") of Tezcatlipoca bewilders the reader. Charlot (1931, v.1:275) and

Thompson (1942:50) expounded on the Mexican origin of the Tezcatlipoca sculptures at Chichén Itzá; the latter asserted direct influence from Tula, Hidalgo. Coe and Koontz (2002:170) stated that no images of Tezcatlipoca were found at Tula. That is curious; in fact, excavators unearthed a sculptural portrayal of Tezcatlipoca there in 1985 (Mastache et al. 2002:99; Stocker 1993:67). For Taube (1994:240-243), "the Chichen depictions of Tezcatlipoca are the earliest reliable representations of this god in Mesoamerica." He and Miller (Miller and Taube 1993:164) later stated that, "the first clear representations of Tezcatlipoca appear on Toltec-style stone sculptures from Early Postclassic Chichen Itzá." However, Taube (personal communication 2008) has also noted that "Tezcatlipoca is probably Central Mexican in origin, and a good example . . . appears on one of the square columns from Mound B at Tula." In Oaxaca, much closer to Central Mexico than Yucatan, there is minimal evidence of Tezcatlipoca; the image of this god only appears along Aztec trade routes, according to Paddock (1985a:319-320), whom asserts a post-A.D. 1400 Aztec nascence for Tezcatlipoca. This thesis seeks to clarify the origin of Tezcatlipoca.

In the most recent in-depth treatment of Tezcatlipoca, Olivier (2003:45-83, 92-93) concluded that three sites could hold its earliest representation: (1) Pyramid B at Tula, Hidalgo; (2) the mural at Ixtapantongo, Mexico; and (3) the Temple of the Warriors at Chichén Itzá, Yucatan. However, he is unable to ascertain iconographic primacy among them.

Based on this present research, it is now possible to date the appearance of Tezcatlipoca at Tula to no earlier than A.D. 1000, almost a century after it materialized in the Temple of the Chac Mool (engulfed within the Temple of the Warriors)at Chichén Itzá (Bey and Ringle 2007:416; Cobos 2007:335; Kowalski 2007:271). That chronological datum establishes the iconographic primacy of Tezcatlipoca at Chichén Itzá over Tula. With the Mexican origin of

Tezcatlipoca invalidated, and its iconographic primacy established at Chichén Itzá, a Maya origin for that "Mexican" god becomes possible, probably derived from images of K'awil, a frequent icon in Classic Maya art. To the best of my knowledge, a dating for Tezcatlipoca at Tula has not appeared in any prior publication.

The Setting: A Comparative Chronology of Tula and Chichén Itzá

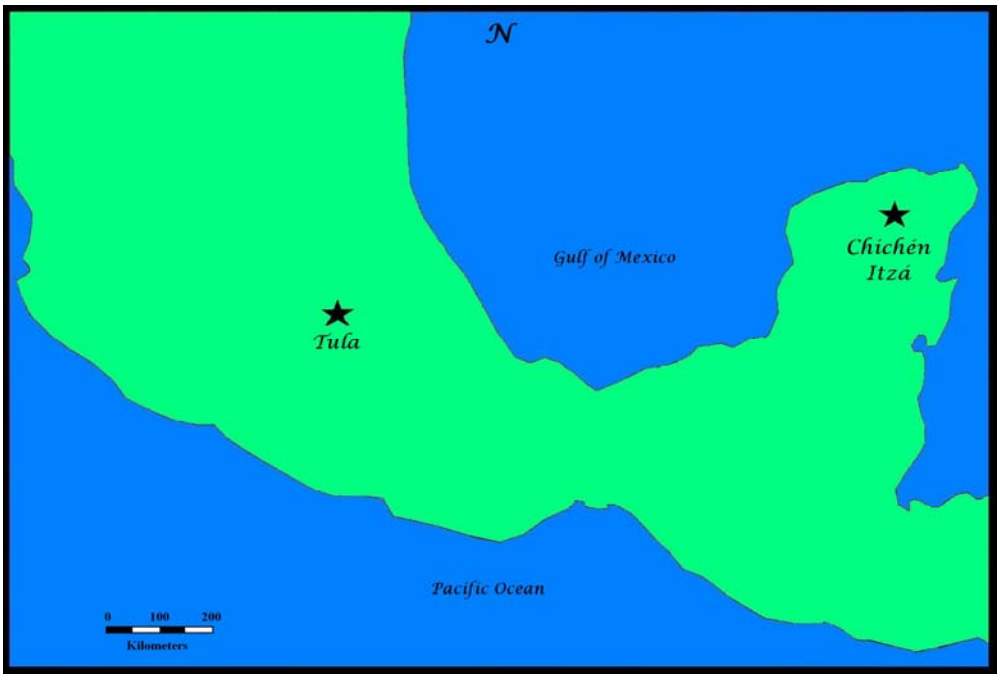


Figure 1. The geographic locations of Tula and Chichén Itzá, after Kepecs (2007:133, fig. 1).

Tula, Hidalgo (see Fig. 1), is geographically located 70 kilometers northwest of Mexico City (Healan et al. 1983:128), at latitude 20° 03′ N, longitude 99° 21′ W. Chichén Itzá is situated centrally in the northern Yucatan peninsula, at latitude 20° 44′ N, longitude 88° 34′ W (Cohodas 1978:1). The developmental trajectories of Tula and Chichén Itzá display remarkable similarities. Both Tula (Cobean and Mastache 1989:34-46; Mastache et al. 2002:44) and Chichén Itzá (Bey and Ringle 2007:387; Schmidt 2007:194; Smith 1971:136-143) experienced negligible

Formative/Preclassic habitation. Tula (Cobean and Mastache 1989:37; Diehl 1983:42; Diehl 1989:7-12; Mastache et al. 2002:52) and Chichén Itzá (Andrews IV and Andrews V 1980:74; Carmean et al. 2004:426; Coggins 1983:42-43, 60; Freidel 2007:354-357; Miller 1991:20-22; Parsons 1969:162; Proskouriakoff 1965:475; Smyth 1998, 2006; Smyth and Rogart 2004; Smyth et al. 1998; Suhler et al. 1998:173) each developed in regions that received Early Classic Teotihuacan influence.

Both sites remained virtually uninhabited until the Late Classic Period. Initial settlement at Chichén Itzá occurred between A.D. 600 and 750 (Cobos 2001:254), while Tula's first occupational horizon (Tula Chico) began ca. A.D. 650-750 (Cobean and Mastache 1989:42; Healan et al. 1989:239; Mastache et al. 2002:41-42). Beginning around A.D. 900 at Tula (Cobean and Mastache 1989:44; Healan 2000:104; Healan et al. 1989:243; Mastache et al. 2002:43, 46, 74, 82, 89; Schmidt 2007:177; Mastache and Crespo 1982) and A.D. 850 at Chichén Itzá (Andrews 1990:262; Cobos 2007:324, 326, 334; Grube and Krochock 2007:240-241; Kepecs 1998:143), both cities grew expansively, became the primary centers for large states, relocated their epicenters and built new ceremonial precincts – with alignments similar to that of Teotihuacan at 17° east of north (Acosta 1956-1957:78; Aveni and Gibbs 1976:510; Millon 1993:20; Sload 2007:6l; Šprajc 2000:404).

During their apogees, two ceramic subphases temporally divided Tula (Acosta 1945:54-56; Cobean 1990:49; Cobean and Mastache 1989:44; Mastache et al. 2002:43) and Chichén Itzá (Andrews IV 1970; Brainerd 1958; Cobos 2004:521; Lincoln 1990:307; Smith 1971) into "early" and "late" components. Throughout this period, both cities displayed certain iconographic and

architectural elements that led to assertions as early as the nineteenth century (Charnay 1888) of Tula having influenced Chichén Itzá.

Between A.D. 1150 and 1200, people using Aztec II ceramics burned, looted, and then re-occupied Tula Grande, formally ending Tula's reign as a Toltec capital (Mastache et al. 2002:41-42, 49, table 3.3, 131, 132, 147). Chichén Itzá overcame the Cobá allied city of Yaxuna early in the tenth century (Suhler et al. 1998:167; 2004:456). That action led to the imposition of economic isolation on Cobá, and its fall around A.D. 1100; after which, Chichén Itzá's near-complete dominance of the Yucatan peninsula became absolute (Andrews and Robles 1985:84-90; Robles and Andrews 1986:66-71). Initially, Suhler et al. (1998:178) saw Piza complex (Late Sotuta) ceramics at Cobá as evidence of a Chichén Itzá conquest. They (Suhler et al. 2004:457) have recently tempered their position, stating that Piza ceramics signify an "Itza presence (perhaps conquest)" at Cobá. Monumental construction ended around A.D. 998 with the Osario (Schmidt 2007:194), and Chichén Itzá failed as a state before A.D. 1200 (Andrews et al. 1989:361), or possibly earlier (Ringle 1990:242; Ringle et al. 1998:192). Pilgrimages to the Sacred Cenote continued well into the Postclassic (Cobos 2007:330; Ringle et al. 1998:192; Rios Lopez 1959:211). The above data provides the temporo-spatial setting for this research.

THE EARLIEST IMAGES OF TEZCATLIPOCA AND THEIR MEDIA

With the temporality parameters provided above, the first task is to identify and eliminate images of Tezcatlipoca that postdate the A.D. 1150/1200 termination of the principal occupations at Tula (Mastache et al. 2002:42, 89) and Chichén Itzá (Andrews et al. 1989:361). Olivier (2003:45-83) devoted a chapter to cataloging representations of Tezcatlipoca. Included are textual descriptions; images in codices and on statues; and depictions on ceramics, murals,

and stone in bas-relief. For the purpose of this research – establishing the iconographic primacy of Tezcatlipoca between the cities of Tula and Chichén Itzá – only images of Tezcatlipoca dated within the occupational horizons of those cities, and before Aztec the re-occupation of Tula are pertinent.

Codices

The textual descriptions are all from Postconquest Central Mexico, written both in Spanish by conquistadors and priests and in Nahuatl by converted indigenous conquest-survivors (Olivier 2003:46-51); they have little bearing on this work. The Mixtec codices (Nuttal, Vindobonensis, Selden, Bodley, Colombino, Becker I and II, Vienna, and Sánchez-Solís [Miller 1975:ix; Williams 1991:1]) chronicle six-hundred years of Mixtec genealogy in Oaxaca beginning A.D. 940 (Jansen 1990:109). Of those, the Codex Nuttal contains at least one image of Tezcatlipoca (Olivier 2003:40, 54-55; Paddock 1985a:316-317). According to Paddock (1985a:320), the Codex Nuttal was written ca. A.D. 1438, so it is well beyond the expiration date for Tezcatlipoca images applicable to the Tula-Chichén Itzá argument. Additionally, following Jansen (1990:107-109), the Mixtec codices chronicle their genealogical history from A.D. 940 to A.D. 1466; obviously they were produced no earlier than the Late Postclassic.

Statuary, Ceramics, and Murals

Olivier (2003:58-64, 66-67) discusses statues of Tezcatlipoca and pottery featuring that image; however, only three examples can be verified in each category and all are Late Postclassic – again exceeding the time limits considered here; he blames the absence of Tezcatlipoca statuary on Spanish priests' efforts to eradicate idolatry. Two murals in Mexico

preserved the image of Tezcatlipoca: one at Ixtapantongo, Mexico; and, another at Tizatlan, Tlaxcala. The Tizatlan Tezcatlipoca is stylistically homologous to images in the Codex Borgia, as both Olivier (2003:63) and Villagra Caleti (1971:152) have observed, and may be style-dated to the period Anawalt (1981:850) attributed to the Borgia Group codices: the Late Postclassic, thus placing it outside the temporal realm of this work. The Ixtapantongo mural, based on the presence of a figure with "the dress and weapons of the Toltec warriors" (Villagra Caleti 1971:149) similar to figures on the columns of Pyramid B at Tula, could be relevant, and is readdressed below.

Bas-Relief

Olivier's final medium for Tezcatlipoca portrayals is bas-relief, the medium of all Tezcatlipoca depictions at Tula and Chichén Itzá. In contrast to the few representations found on other media, twelve bas-relief sculptures of Tezcatlipoca exist (Olivier 2003:65-73). Eight of these were excavated in Mexico City (Olivier 2003:66-72) and are Late Postclassic Mexica (Aztec). The petroglyphs of the Peñón de los Baños or Tepetzinco feature two figures that could represent Tezcatlipoca, but Taube (1994:234) finds elements associated with both Tezcatlipoca and Huitzilopochtli in the figures, as did Olivier (2003:72-73, 293, plate 15 a, b), who compared them to the Mexica Tizoc Stone, stating that the figures "elude any absolute identification" (2003:73). Their uncertain identity and similarity to the Late Postclassic Tizoc Stone temporally exclude the Peñón de los Baños petroglyphs, the ninth of Olivier's (2003) twelve Tezcatlipoca bas-reliefs.

Oaxacan Osteology

The tenth bas-relief is a Mixtec engraved bone from Coixtlahuaca, Oaxaca that is located in the Frissell Museum at Mitla (Olivier 2003:67, 297, plate 19d; Paddock 1985a:318). As Mixtec beginnings in Oaxaca date to the middle of the tenth century (Coe and Koontz 2002:176; Pohl n.d.), there is need for further explication of the bone's age. Paddock (1985a:318-319) relates that Ross Parmenter discovered the bone, inscribed with lines so fine it required special lighting to view the figures, from which Parmenter produced a drawing first published by Paddock (1985a:319, fig. 14). Urcid (2005:16) reports the bone was given by locals to Parmenter while studying the ancient indigenous paintings in the Ndaxagua Natural Tunnel at Tepelme, Oaxaca in the 1960s.

Urcid does not date the bone, but feels it is "relevant to mention the incised feline femur" (2005:19) within the context of wooden offerings deposited in pools at the tunnel's northwestern end after the thirteenth century. The carving is done "in the purest Mixtec style" (Paddock 1985a:318), giving the impression that the style had become highly developed by the time the bone was inscribed, also suggesting it was produced much later than the mid-tenth century beginnings attributed to the Mixtec (Coe and Koontz 2002:176; Pohl n.d.). Mixtec culture did not spring forth fully developed from Apoala, their tree of origin (Jansen 1990:103) and must have passed through various developmental stages, as would its art style.

Paddock (1985a:313-316) discusses bones carved with Tezcatlipoca images discovered by Alfonso Caso in Monte Alban Tomb 7. These remains were deposited as a secondary Mixtec internment (Caso 1969:59, 180) in what was formerly a Classic Zapotec tomb (McCafferty et al. 1994:143; Middleton et al. 1998:302). A skull with remnants of a turquoise, shell, jade, and gold

mosaic, and having a piece of shell formed as a flint knife inserted into the nasal aperture, similar to skulls portrayed in some Mixtec codices was among the remains recovered from this tomb (Caso 1969:63-64, lam. IVa and b, 66, fig. 43a and b, 66, fig. 44, 69). Caso (1969:66-67) identified the skull as a representation of Tezcatlipoca based on comparisons to similarly decorated masks made from the frontal portions of human crania in the British Museum in London, and in the Museum für Volkerkunde in Berlin. Other objects included in Tomb 7 were three femurs, all cut above the middle section of the bone (Caso 1969:60-61, 62, fig. 40a, b, and c). As Tezcatlipoca often appears missing a portion of his leg, these osseous artifacts could possibly corroborate Caso's determination that the skull represented that god.

Caso reported that other inscribed bones (Huesos 203b, 203e, and 65) from Tomb 7 also portrayed images of Tezcatlipoca (1969:183-185, fig 170, 187-189, fig 177, 211, fig. 223). Paddock (1985a:312-316) considered all of Caso's associations of Tomb 7 artifacts with Tezcatlipoca to be dubious, noting that the one inscribed bone (Hueso 37b [Caso 1969:209]) that could be linked to that god was not mentioned in such a context by Caso. Wallrath (1967:13) stated that the Mixtec did not infiltrate the Valley of Oaxaca, where Monte Alban is located, until ca. A.D. 1350; it was only after this date that the Classic Period Zapotec tombs, including Monte Alban Tomb 7 were resued (Coe and Koontz 2002:179). Thus, these contents are temporally belated for the purposes of this research.

Three Early Examples

Of the twelve Tezcatlipoca bas-reliefs discussed by Olivier (2003:65-73), ten are Late Postclassic Mexica or Mixtec and postdate the appearance of Tezcatlipoca at Tula and Chichén

Itzá. Having eliminated ten of Olivier's twelve Tezcatlipoca bas-reliefs from the temporal purview of this work, as well as several images on Mixtec remains from Monte Alban Tomb 7, a discussion of the Ixtapantongo mural becomes appropriate (Fig. 2).

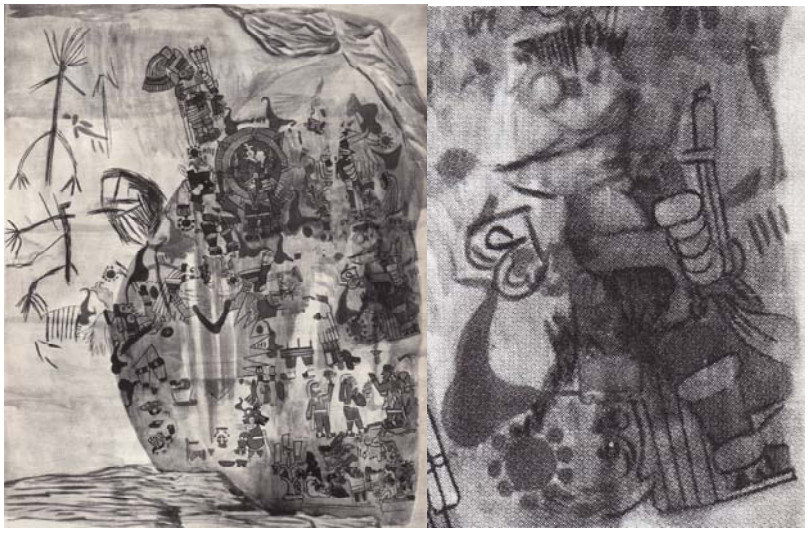


Figure 2. The Ixtapantongo mural (left) and Tezcatlipoca from the central right section of the mural (Villagra Caleti 1971:150, fig. 27 [courtesy of the University of Texas Press]).

Under the heading, "Provisional Chronology of the Representations of Tezcatlipoca," Olivier (2003:91-92) lists three that would be the earliest: the Ixtapantongo mural, Pyramid B at Tula, and the Temple of the Warriors at Chichén Itzá; he (2003:92) follows Villagra Caleti (1954) in dating the mural to the "Toltec period (ninth-twelfth centuries)." Olivier (2003:92) adds that "if this date proves right, the red Tezcatlipoca illustrated on these paintings would be one of the oldest known" (2003:92). What date? Villagra Caleti tendered a three-century bracket for the mural, which is hardly a date. Additionally, Toltec imagery did not appear at Tula until A.D. 950 (Bey and Ringle 2007:415), and it seems unlikely (although possible) that it took root at Ixtapantongo and then later appeared at Tula. While the mural displays affinities to the

iconography of both Tula (Villagra Caleti 1971:149) and Chichén Itzá (Lincoln 1990:38; Villagra Caleti 1971:149), it appears there is no possibility of more precise dating. It does not seem as if that mural, painted on living rock – and somewhat overlapping primitive stick figures and crudely rendered geometric designs (Fig.2) – represents both the origin of Tezcatlipoca and the point from whence it was transferred to the cities of Tula and Chichén Itzá. A statement by Mastache et al. (2002:103) that Tula is the site of the earliest Tezcatlipoca image in Central Mexico would appear to reject the Ixtapantongo image as the earliest. Thus, Tula and Chichén Itzá remain as the only sites where Tezcatlipoca imagery could have originated.

Two Final Candidates

The remaining Tezcatlipoca bas-reliefs discussed by Olivier (2003:65-66) are the singular image on Pyramid B at Tula and the inscribed figures in the Temple of the Warriors at Chichén Itzá. Olivier offers very loose dating for these chronologically significant images. He considers the Pyramid B image, "one of the oldest representations of this god" (Olivier 2003:91-92), but dates the pyramid's construction simply to the A.D. 950-1150/1200 Tollan Phase, and the Tezcatlipoca images in the Warriors Temple to A.D. 900-1000, citing Parsons (1969:199). Curiously, given Olivier's bracketing, which dates the Temple of the Warriors earlier than Pyramid B; he does not suggest chronological primacy for the Chichén Itzá images. Olivier (2003:92) does state, though, that whichever dating one accepts, "the oldest representations of Tezcatlipoca could not be earlier than the tenth century." In Olivier's defense, the works of Bey and Ringle (2007), Cobos (2007), and Kowalski (2007) that date the construction of the Temple of Chac Mool to the first half of the tenth century – inline with his constrainment of Tezcatlipoca imagery to no earlier than A.D. 900 – were not available to him. However, the data from Acosta

(1941; 1942; 1943; 1944; 1945; 1956-1957; 1961; 1964) and Mastache et al. (2002) – used here to date Tezcatlipoca on Pyramid B-Stage III to A.D. 1000 – were. Thus, this work continues where Olivier (2003:199) halted, establishing more precise datings for these two early Tezcatlipoca images.

TULA AND CHICHÉN ITZÁ

Having established Tula and Chichén Itzá as the only two possible candidates for the iconographic primacy of Tezcatlipoca, the issue narrows to a focus on what Bey and Ringle (2007:379) refer to as "the two complexes that form the linchpin of the argument for Tula-Toltec influence upon Chichén Itzá" – Tula Grande and the Temple of the Warriors. In carrying background research, it became evident that components of those complexes, Pyramid B at Tula and the Temple of the Chac Mool at Chichén Itzá, were the actual "linchpins" for that argument and this thesis.

Pyramid B and the Temple of the Chac Mool

Essential to establishing iconographic primacy for Tezcatlipoca at Tula or Chichén Itzá, is dating the structural context in which the figures appear at each site. Pyramid B is the only structure that features a representation of Tezcatlipoca at Tula (Mastache et al. 2002:103; Stocker 1993). As will be seen, the Temple of the Chac Mool contains the putatively earliest Tezcatlipoca image at Chichén Itzá. With that, the next avenue of inquiry concerns which event occurred first: the emplacement of Pillar 3 on Pyramid B at Tula or the construction of the Temple of the Chac Mool at Chichén Itzá?

A.D. 900 is the accepted date for the initial construction of Tula's ceremonial center, Tula Grande, which includes Pyramid B (Mastache et al. 2002:46, 89; Schmidt 2007:177), and Chichén Itzá's Great Terrace (Cobos 2007:334-335), the location of the Temple of the Chac Mool. However, the A.D. 900 construction dates for those complexes do not seem to correlate

with Tezcatlipoca's first appearances therein, which calls for a more narrowed reassessment of the Tula and Chichén Itzá chronologies.

Tula

According to Mastache et al. (2002:103) and Stocker (1993:66-68), Pillar 3 atop Pyramid B features the only image of Tezcatlipoca at Tula; the earliest in Central Mexico (Mastache et al. 2002:103). However, the image's appearance at the site is not dated. Acosta (1956:54-55), INAH's principal investigator at Tula throughout the 1940s and 1950s, established that Pyramid B underwent three construction stages. Is there any locative or temporal significance to Acosta's find, especially as it relates to Tezcatlipoca? By working through Acosta's reports, as well as later research, it is possible to date the appearance of Tezcatlipoca at Tula.

The Physical Location of Tezcatlipoca at Tula

In the 1940s, Acosta excavated sections of sculptured pillars, columns, and caryatids from, first, what was a large, ramped pre-Hispanic looter's trench dug into the north side of Pyramid B at Tula, and, second, from the rubble at its south side; he later reassembled the stone sections atop Pyramid B (Acosta 1941:241; 1942:129; 1943; 1944:135-138; 1945:27-30; 1956-1957:78-79; 1961:29; 1964:46). Acosta did not discover any evidence for Tezcatlipoca in his excavations, a fact that puzzled researchers – especially given its prominence in Tula mythology (Acosta 1956-1957:107; Mastache et al. 2002:103; Olivier 2003:65). In 1985 (Stocker 1993:67), workers at Tula unearthed another square column section (Fig. 3), apparently "near the large trench where Acosta recovered the majority of the sculptures and pillars that are now on the summit of Pyramid B" (Mastache et al. 2002:99).

Figure 3. Tezcatlipoca on Pillar 3 excavated at Tula in 1985 (Mastache et al. 2002:101, fig. 5.17 [courtesy of the University Press of Colorado through Copyright Clearance Center]).

Inscribed on the newly found section was the bas-relief image of a figure with a missing leg emitting smoke rings; the rings and the sandal from the remaining foot correlated perfectly with the carving on a basal section of one of Acosta's earlier finds, as did the sections' measurements (Mastache and Cobean 2000:108-109). The two pieces proved exact fits (Mastache et al. 2002:99-101). Mastache et al. (2002:103), Stocker (1993:67), and Karl Taube (personal communication 2008) all consider the Tula image to be a representation of Tezcatlipoca.

As Pyramid B's north side, where the looters attacked the structure, retained vestiges of its final construction stage (Acosta 1944:128; 1956:59), the sculptured columns had to be placed atop Pyramid B during that final stage. Acosta's (1941:244) discovery of a "large quantity of charcoal and fragments of burned beams that surely came from the ceiling that the columns supported" in archaeological context with the column and pillar sections further confirms the contemporaneity of the columns with the final construction stage of Pyramid B (Stage III) and their presence during the destruction of the temple. Bey and Ringle (2007:397) confirm a late

placement: “as might be expected, the famous warrior and serpent columns also belong to this last construction stage.” Installation of the columns would have had to have occurred after the completion of the pyramid’s final construction stage (III) in order to have a summit upon which they could be implanted. Certainly, it is possible that the column sections could have been recycled, having originally been in place atop Pyramid B-Stage II, but the destruction of Pyramid B was sufficiently extensive that it left no evidence of its floor plan (and likewise effaced the same from Stage II), requiring the hypothetical rebuilding of the upper part of the structure (Acosta 1943:142, 1944:155, 1956-1957:78). Thus, it seems unlikely there could ever be archaeological corroboration for columns supporting a Stage II temple. Stocker (2001:84) proposes a Postclassic origin for the Pyramid Columns). The above data physically locates Tezcatlipoca on Pillar 3 atop Pyramid B at Tula, but when was it installed there?

The Temporal Location of Tezcatlipoca at Tula

The initial construction of Tula Grande, the ceremonial center at Tula, including Pyramid B, began at the onset of the “Tollan Phase” around A.D. 900 (Schmidt 2007:177; Mastache et al. 2002:42, 89), corresponding to Pyramid B-Stage I. In general, Tula Grande structures experienced three to four major construction episodes during the Tollan phase (A.D. 900-1150) (Mastache and Cobean 2000:102) and “Acosta clearly identified two interior substructures” (Mastache et al. 2002:95) within Pyramid B, implying that each later stage or enlargement had subsumed its predecessor, a common practice in Mesoamerica (Mastache and Cobean 2000:89). Obviously, the exterior (if intact) of a structure enlarged in that manner represents its latest construction stage.

Pyramid B-Stage I had five *talud* zones or "*cuerpos*," as referred to by Acosta, which were smooth and unadorned. Pyramid B Stages II and III had five stepped bodies of talud-tablero design (Acosta 1944:132; Bey and Ringle 2007:399), a masonry façade featuring alternating levels of inclined lower sections topped by horizontal panels (often decorated) set perpendicularly to ground level. Tableros decorated with Toltec motifs first appeared on Pyramid B-Stage II (Acosta 1956:51-55, 59). According to Bey and Ringle (2007:399; 415, 416), a change from undecorated tableros to tableros decorated with Toltec motifs marks the onset of the Late Tollan Phase after A.D. 950. Thus, Pyramid B Stage I – initial construction of Tula Grande – dates to approximately A.D. 900 (as noted above); it was followed by the Stage II appearance of talud-tablero façades decorated with Toltec-motifs around A.D. 950.

Fifty to one-hundred years after Stage II was built, between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1050, the entire urban grid of Tula underwent an alignment shift from its Teotihuacan-like 17° east of north to 15° west of north (Mastache et al 2002:28). Nevertheless, Tula Grande retained its original 17° east of north configuration at this time (Mastache and Crespo 1982:28), "although the majority of its structures were modified and enlarged" (Mastache et al. 2002:82). Mastache et al. (2002:82) did not explain which structures comprised that majority, although Mastache and Crespo (1982:28) did state that the "buildings were [the] object of diverse reforms and modifications," implying that all buildings were affected.

As reconstructed, Tula Grande contains twelve constructions (Fig. 4). Of those, nine are major buildings, two are platforms (the small Adoratorio, and the *Tzompantli* [skull rack]), and one is a wall (the *Coatepantli* [snake wall]). Acosta (1961:37) referred to the Palacio Quemado (Building 3) as an architectonic complex. Mastache et al. (2002:114, 303) consider Pyramid B,

the Vestibule, and the Palace to the East as a single architectonic unit designed for the performance of ritual processions. It seems more likely that all of the structures occupying the large platform that delimits the north side of Tula Grande constituted one massive architectonic complex (encompassing Pyramid B and the Vestibule, the Palacio Quemado, the Palace of Quetzalcoatl, the Palace to the East, and the Coatepantli). Of all these northern constructions, Pyramid B was one of the city's most lavish edifices, and a venue for its most important ceremonies (Acosta 1956:39). Mastache and Cobean (2000:102) state that the "northeast complex" (the Pyramid B complex in conjunction with Pyramid C) occupies the "most essentially sacred part" of the ceremonial precinct, and that Pyramids B and C were its two "most important architectural elements."

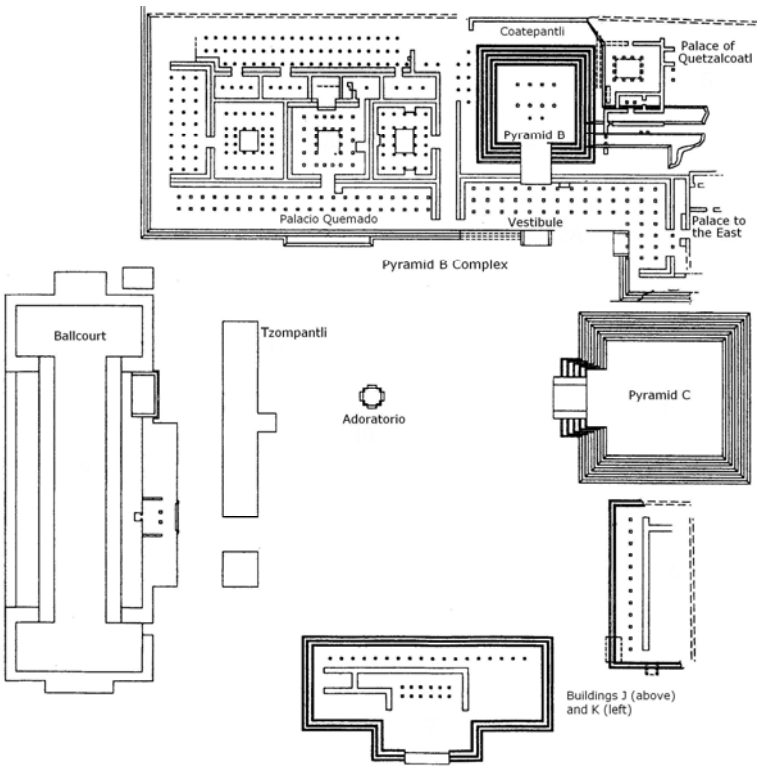


Figure 4. Twelve constructions of Stage III Tula Grande, after Mastache et al. (2002:92, fig 5.8B [courtesy of the University Press of Colorado through Copyright Clearance Center]).

I contend that Pyramid B – one of the city's most ritually important and most lavish edifices (Acosta 1956:39), a focal structure in an architectonic complex containing six of Tula's twelve epicentral monuments, and a structure that occupied the most sacred part of the ceremonial plaza (Mastache and Cobean 2000:102) – would have been "modified and enlarged" with the "majority" of the city's monumental structures in tandem with the A.D. 1000-1050 realignment event, which constituted the advent of Tula's true apogee (Mastache et al. 2002:82, 179-181, 303). As noted earlier, engulfment of an existing structure for the purpose of enlarging a construction was a common architectural refurbishment technique throughout Mesoamerica (Mastache and Cobean 2000:89). Especially significant is that both of Pyramid B's flanking structures, the Palacio Quemado and the Palace of Quetzalcoatl, as well as the Coatepantli to its rear were not built until Stage III (Acosta 1956:55, 59-60); one can postulate that a structure as important as Pyramid B would have been refurbished and enlarged contemporaneously with the construction of three new surrounding monuments on its platform.

Therefore, a good case can be made that Pyramid B-Stage III must correlate with Tula's A.D. 1000-1050 realignment-enlargement-modification episode. As demonstrated in the previous section, the physical location of the Tezcatlipoca image was atop Pyramid B-Stage III, and is associated with the latest construction event at this locus. Thus, the image of Tezcatlipoca cannot be temporally located at Tula any earlier than A.D. 1000.

Supporting Evidence

Further support for associating the Pillar 3 Tezcatlipoca image with Pyramid B-Stage III can be gained through readdressing the A.D. 1000-1050 reorientation event, which represented Tula's third alignment configuration and second realignment episode. This second realignment

not only coincided with the city's maximum expansion, but also with a change in domestic architecture from Apartment Compounds to House Groups, and with a "dramatic" increase in orange-on-cream ceramics from the Gulf Coast (Mastache et al. 2002:43, 46, 305). It additionally involved "profound social, political, and ideological change" (Mastache and Crespo 1982:32). This change correlates with the appearance of Tezcatlipoca, referred to by Mastache et al. (2002:104, 303-304) as a "new god" of the Toltec cult. I would equate "new" with "introduced."

Summary

It is known that the image on Tula Pyramid B represents Tezcatlipoca (Mastache et al. 2002:103; Stocker 1993:67; Taube personal communication 2008). It is the earliest appearance of this image in Central Mexico, and constitutes a new god at Tula (Mastache et al. 2002:103-104, 303-304). This thesis has demonstrated that the one image of Tezcatlipoca at Tula belongs to Pyramid B-Stage III (Acosta 1941:241; 1942:129; 1943:138; 1945:27-30; 1956-1957:78-79; 1961:29; 1964:46; Bey and Ringle 2007:397; Mastache et al. 2002). From the data presented above, Pyramid B-Stage III correlates with the A.D. 1000-1050 realignment event, thus indirectly dating the appearance of Tezcatlipoca at Tula to no earlier than A.D. 1000.

Chichén Itzá

Charlot (1931:275-276) reported observing five sculptured figures (Fig. 5), each with part of a leg missing, on columns (no. 3 – Temple of Chac Mool, south side; nos. t.1 W and t.15 W) in the Temple of the Warriors, and (nos. c.31 S and c.49 N) in the Northwest Colonnade at Chichén Itzá, Yucatan, Mexico. Noting that such iconography appears on Mexican monuments, Charlot

(1931:275) followed Nuttall (1904:24) in associating the figures with the Mexican god Tezcatlipoca, stating that the figurative portrayals likely represented personifications of Tezcatlipoca by the five individuals.

The Physical Location of Tezcatlipoca at Chichén Itzá

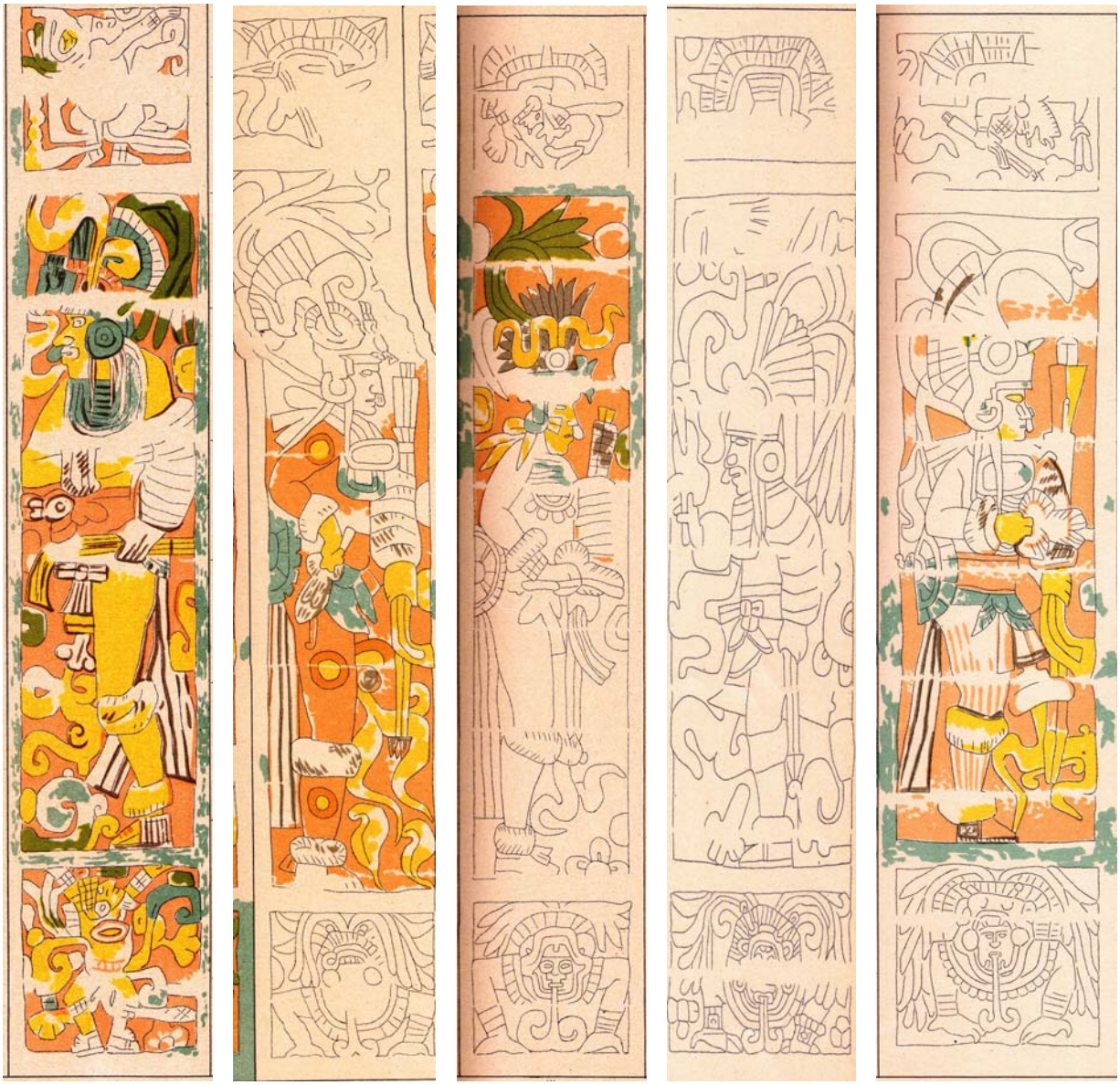


Figure 5. The five sculpted columns from Chichén Itzá portraying figures with missing legs. Left to right: Temple of Chac Mool column 3-south; t 1 W and t 15 W, both from the Temple of the Warriors; c 31 S and c 49 N, both from the Northwest Colonnade (Charlot 1931, vol. 2: plates 31, 41, 57, 98, 114 [courtesy of Carnegie Institute]).

Thompson (1942:48) noted that all five Tezcatlipoca figures have legs severed above the knee; in at least one case (fig. 1. t 15W) the "leg is cut slightly below the articulation" (Charlot 1931:275); he further commented that there were no Mexican depictions of Tezcatlipoca with the leg severed above the knee. He therefore referenced other aspects of that deity to solidify its identification. Thompson (1942:48) considered the inverted cup and the double rings first reported by Charlot (1931:275) to be smoking mirrors, and also declared that Charlot reported scrolls flowing from these icons, although Charlot only mentioned scrolls in association with headdresses. According to Thompson (1942:49), four of the figures featured mirrors on their foreheads, and three of the mirrors emitted smoke scrolls.

Thompson (1942:49) also commented on preserved pigmentation. Although the paint was no longer present on two of the figures, one was painted yellow, the color of Tezcatlipoca in Central Mexico, and the remaining two had coloration or design similar to other renditions of that god. From his analysis of the iconography on the columnar portraits, and based on his view that Mexico exerted strong influence on the Maya – which he held at least as early as 1931 (1934:240), and elaborated upon later (1937; 1942; 1943; 1970:10-25) – Thompson (1942:50) declared that the five figures at Chichén Itzá represented Tezcatlipoca.

At Chichén Itzá, Tezcatlipoca also appears on the east doorjamb of the South Building of the Southeast Court of the Las Monjas complex (Bolles 1977:183; Tozzer 1957, v. XII: fig. 138). Sequencing for the Monjas figure in relation to the Warriors Complex structures cannot be discerned. However, that is not the case for the buildings associated with the more central Great Terrace, where the coeval erection of the Northwest Colonnade and the Temple of the Warriors subsumed the Temple of the Chac Mool (Morris 1931a, v.2:202-204). Thus, it is

archaeologically demonstrable that the Temple of the Chac Mool predates both the Temple of the Warriors and the Northwest Colonnade, the two other structures with Tezcatlipoca figures at Chichén Itzá.

The Temporal Location of Tezcatlipoca at Chichén Itzá

The Temple of the Chac Mool, with the putatively earliest image of Tezcatlipoca at Chichén Itzá, is said to have been built in the "early- to mid-tenth-century" by Bey and Ringle (2007:416) and in "the tenth century" by Cobos (2007:324), who first associated the Temple of the Chac Mool with the ninth century Early Sotuta phase (Cobos 2004:528, t. 22.1, 533, t. 22.2, 537). Kowalski (2007:271) believes the Temple of the Chac Mool was "probably built not much later than AD 900." Suhler et al. (2004:456) attribute the Temple of the Chac Mool to the Early Sotuta phase, or before A.D. 900. Can these temporal disparities be narrowed?

Ceramics and Structures

Sotuta, dated A.D. 850-1100/1150 (Schmidt 2007:157), is the "one clearly defined ceramic complex" for Chichén Itzá (Bey and Ringle 2007:387). Brainerd (1958), Andrews IV (1970), Smith (1971), and Lincoln (1990) all identified two subphases within Sotuta (Cobos 2004:521). Three variations differentiate the subphases: (1) cessation of Thin Slate; (2) addition of hourglass censers to Chichén Unslipped ware; and, (3) appearance of Tohil Plumbate, all Late Sotuta characteristics (Cobos 2007:325; 2004:525). Lincoln (1990:299) agrees that the exit of Thin Slate from the ceramic record can be used to distinguish the early and late phases. Brainerd (1958:3, 35) also saw the egress of Thin Slate and onset of Plumbate as representative of a

subphase transition; dating this transition to between A.D. 889 and 987. Cobos (2007:326, 331) later dated this transition from Early to Late Sotuta ceramics at A.D. 900.

Cobos (2004:521-533, 2007:324, 326-327, 330-331, 335) has segregated Chichén Itzá structures both temporally and spatially by separately applying the Sotuta subphases to the site's two major, architectonically-distinct monumental groupings. He attributes the structures in the south-central section of the city to the Early Sotuta phase, when Las Monjas was the site center; Great Terrace structures (often associated with Late Sotuta ceramics and Tohil Plumbate) are placed in the Late Sotuta phase. This seems a basic division, but little at Chichén Itzá and Tula is archaeologically uncomplicated.

Art and Architecture

Schmidt designates the polychrome serpents in the Temple of the Big Tables-sub and adjacent Temple of the Chac Mool as "roughly contemporaneous" (2007:165, 194), and associates the former with the Lower Temple of the Jaguars and the Castillo-sub (2007:165, 194-195). Cobos (2007:324) sees the Monjas Complex and Castillo-sub as contemporaneous. Together, those data temporally link the Temple of the Big Tables-sub, the Lower Temple of the Jaguars, the Temple of the Chac Mool, and the Castillo-sub on the Great Terrace with the Monjas Complex, whose second story is dated to A.D. 880 (García Campillo 2000:64-80; Thompson 1977:266).

Epigraphy

The inclusion of the Lower Temple of the Jaguars in the above associations hints at an early construction for the Great Ball Court, which Coggins (1984:41) dates to A.D. 850. Possible

support comes from an A.D. 864 date on the Great Ball Court Stone (Wren 1991[1986]:56-57), derived from an 11 Cimi 14 Pax Calendar Round that would repeat at fifty-two year increments – A.D. 812, 864, 916, 968. Of those years, A.D. 864 falls the closest to Grube and Krochock's (2007:221, 229, 242) A.D. 869-890 "epigraphic florescence" at Chichén Itzá, which they tie to Early Sotuta ceramics and the rule of K'ak'upakal, of whom final mention is made on Stela 2 (A.D. 890), the last monument of that florescence. If the dating is correct for the Great Ball Court Stone, which exhibits ball game iconography and has a reference to K'ak'upakal, this would date the Great Ball Court to before A.D. 900. Citing serpent-column seriations from Tozzer (1957:100) and Kubler (1982:96), Ringle states that the Upper Temple of the Jaguars "clearly groups with the Temple of the Chac Mool" (2009:16; dating to ca. A.D. 900 [Kowalski 2007:271]) and the Castillo, which many think predates the latter.

The Great Ball Court Stone could have come from an earlier use-stage of the court, but ground-penetrating radar did not reveal substructures or floors beneath the playing field (Desmond et al. 1994). Kowalski (2007:292-293, n. 10) questions the A.D. 864 date and validity of the K'ak'upakal allusion. He suggests referencing Grube and Krochock (2007:214, n. 2), whom offer a caveat to Wren et al. (1989), by suggesting that the highly eroded condition of the glyphs makes the date uncertain. Grube and Krochock (2007:214-215, n. 2) are also unsure of the Great Ball Court Stone's provenience and cite Thompson (1937:189) in contradiction to Wren et al. (1989; which Krochock co-wrote). Thompson (1937:189, 192, 196), however, did not question the monument's provenience, referring to it as: (1) "a new hieroglyphic inscription from the Ball Court at Chichen:" (2) "the recently deciphered Ball Court inscription:" and (3) "the newly deciphered Ball Court inscription." Yet, the provenience of the Great Ball Court

Stone is not accurately documented (see Wren 1991). However, Wren and Schmidt (1991:204-209) accept the A.D. 864 date and K'ak'upakal reference, finding it similar to a Structure 6E1 column that names K'ak'upakal, relatively dated by Proskouriakoff (1970:465) to approximately the same time.

Sequencing

If the above stylistic seriations of Schmidt (2007) and Cobos (2007) – that co-contemporize the Monjas, the Temple of the Big Tables-sub, the Lower Temple of the Jaguars/Great Ball Court, the Castillo-sub, and the Temple of the Chac Mool – are correct then a new sequence is required for Chichén Itzá. It would resolve as follows: Caracol construction from A.D. 876 to 930; the Temples of the Initial Series and Three Lintels dated A.D. 878-879; construction of the Monjas' second story (A.D. 880) and the Temple of the Four Lintels (A.D. 881) in consecutive years; then, the Temple of the One Lintel at A.D. 886-887 (García Campillo 2000). Ceramics date the West Colonnade to Early Sotuta, or before A.D. 900 (Cobos 2004:523). Bey and Ringle (2007:416) date the Castillo-sub to the ninth century, as does Cobos (2007:324), who also deems it contemporary with the Monjas. Stylistically associated with this short, pre-A.D. 900 sequence are the Temple of the Big Tables-sub, the Lower Temple of the Jaguars/Great Ball Court, and the Temple of the Chac Mool (Cobos 2007; Schmidt 2007). Following this scenario, construction of these twelve structures would have completed within a twenty-four year period, accepting Cobos' (2007:325, 334) A.D. 900 date for the shift of the site center to the Great Terrace, when the Temple of the Chac Mool was constructed to replaced the Monjas Complex as the seat of authority (Kowalski 2007:271, 277-289). Thus, the combined ceramic, stylistic and epigraphic data demonstrate a highly compressed construction sequence at Chichén Itzá, aligning the

Temple of the Chac Mool closer to the A.D. 900 date of Kowalski (2007:271), who places its construction contemporary to "or only slightly later than the Castillo" (2007:266). If the Castillo, with C^{14} dates of "A.D. 866 +/– 70 and A.D. 891 +/– 100" (Kowalski 2007:266), predates the Temple of the Chac Mool (Morris 1931a, v.1:173-175), it would have had to have been built before A.D. 900.

Table 1. Partial Great Terrace construction sequence, after Morris (1931a, v.1:172-177).

Interval 1	Floor 1 and the West Colonnade
Interval 2	Floor 2
Interval 3	Castillo
Interval 4	West Colonnade extension and Floor 3
Interval 5	Demolished Colonnade, Temple of the Chac Mool
Interval 6	Northwest Colonnade and Temple of the Warriors
Interval 7	North Colonnade

Morris (1931a, v.1:172-177) delineates a seven-interval construction sequence for the Great Terrace (Table 1). Bey and Ringle (2007:407-412) follow Morris (1931a), only adding that the West Colonnade could have preceded Floor 1, the oldest anthropogenic Great Terrace surface, which abuts the west face of the colonnade's basal terrace (without continuing beneath) and could have been contemporary with the Castillo-sub. These data afford an adjustment to Morris' (1931a, v.1:172-177) sequence as follows: the West Colonnade and Castillo-sub are contemporaneous, as is Floor 1; otherwise, it remains unchanged.

The Temple of the Chac Mool

The Temple of the Chac Mool lies buried within the now visible Temple of the Warriors on the Great Terrace of Chichén Itzá. Its supporting structure is a truncated pyramid of three talud-tablero zones upon a basal terrace, with each zone featuring a series of recessed and jutting

panels much the same as the Castillo exterior; the only extant corner, the southeast, connotes its rounded angles to the remainder of the structure (Morris 1931a, v.1:79-82, fig. 81). A stairway, which rose through the roof of its fronting colonnade, led between serpent columns to a Chac Mool sculpture set before a temple of two, four-columned vaulted chambers on its top terrace (Morris 1931a, v.1:70-73, 89, fig. 54; v.2:pls. 3A, 13,). Inscribed on the south face of Column 3 in the outer chamber (Charlot 1931, v.1:275-276; v.2:pl. 31) is the putatively earliest Tezcatlipoca at Chichén Itzá; thus, the dating of the Temple of the Chac Mool is integral to the question of the iconographic primacy of Tezcatlipoca between Chichén Itzá and Tula.

To reiterate, the most current dating offered for the Temple of the Chac Mool is the "early- to mid-tenth-century" (Bey and Ringle 2007:416), "the tenth century" (Cobos 2007:324), and "probably . . . not much later than AD 900" (Kowalski 2007:271). Considerable effort was exerted in seeking any indication within Morris' report (1931a, v.1; v.2) that the Temple of the Chac Mool construction occurred during an earlier interval, which would narrow the gap between the later dating of Bey and Ringle (2007:416) and of Cobos (2007:324) compared to that of Kowalski (2007:271). Combing through Morris showed that he had left little opportunity to contradict his findings. If considered apart from other data (not a sound archaeological approach) however, two instances suggest an earlier date and sequence position for the Temple of the Chac Mool.

The Temple of the Chac Mool in the Great Terrace Construction Sequence

When first presenting his data on the Temple of the Chac Mool and the Demolished Colonnade, which fronted that temple, Morris (1931a, v.1:88) proclaimed that "it must be granted that the two structures were contemporaneous." Later, speaking again of the Demolished

Colonnade, Morris (1931a, v.1:175) stated that it was "assumed, from the data previously given, to have been contemporaneous with the Temple of the Chac Mool." About their physical connection, Morris (1931a, v.1:175) related that "presumably" the back wall of the West Colonnade, just south of the southwest corner of the Temple of the Chac Mool, was torn down and replaced northward with an identical wall section, raised in tandem with the temple and connected with the severed northern end of the West Colonnade. According to Morris (1931a, v.1:86, fig. 53, 175), the interconnecting stonework of the Demolished Colonnade extension of the West Colonnade northward and the southwest corner of the Temple of the Chac Mool evinces their synchronous construction. This new wall section was both the rear wall of the Demolished Colonnade and the western face of the Temple of the Chac Mool's bottom talud zone. Morris (1931a, v.1:175) continues by stating, "At least, such a procedure would explain the dove-tailing of the faced courses of the two." On the same page, Morris (1931a, v.1:175), explaining the Northwest Colonnade and the Temple of the Warriors construction, wrote, "There can be no doubt as to the contemporaneity of these two buildings." That statement seems to imply ambiguity concerning his West Colonnade-Demolished Colonnade-Temple of the Chac Mool sequence.

The West and Demolished Colonnades

The Temple of the Chac Mool did not have a western face; the rear wall of a colonnade furnished that structural element. The rear wall of the Demolished Colonnade was not found, as the Northwest Colonnade replaced it entirely and served as the western face of the Temple of the Warriors' two lower taluds (Fig. 6; see also Morris 1931a, v.1:38, 82; v.2:pl. 4). Furthermore, when completed, the Demolished Colonnade connected with the remaining West Colonnade to

its south to form one continuous vaulted hall, and there is a section of the original West Colonnade rear wall within the Temple of the Warriors basal structure (Morris 1931a, v.1:86, fig. 53, 175; 1931b:193). Could the Temple of the Chac Mool and West Colonnade have arisen synchronously, with the Demolished Colonnade added later utilizing the pre-existing rear wall of the West Colonnade?

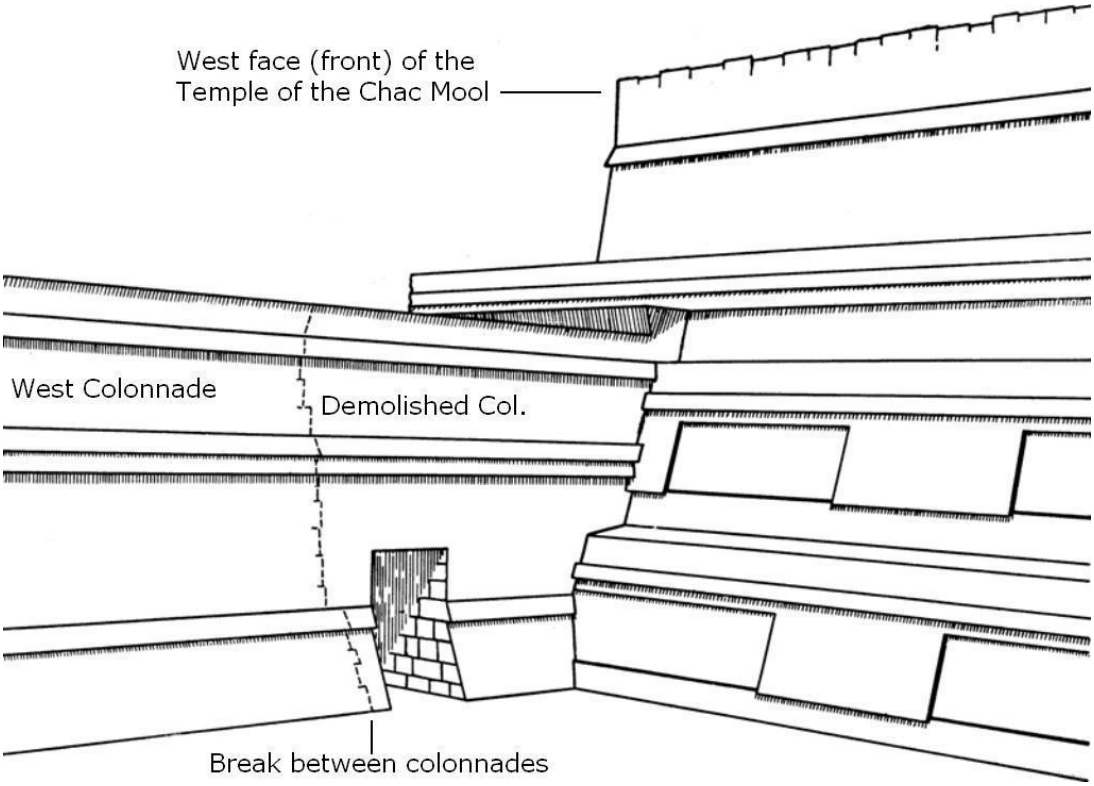


Figure 6. The intersection of the West Colonnade with the Temple of the Chac Mool, isolating Morris' proposed break between the (original) West and (later) Demolished Colonnades (1931a, v.1:86, fig. 53 [courtesy of Carnegie Institute]).

If so, that could also explain the interdigitation of stonework between the colonnade fronting the Temple of the Chac Mool and the structure itself. Again, Morris left little room for doubt in his reports, and his data on colonnade floor stratigraphy (1931a, v.1:166-172, figs. 106-111) and paint layers on the east face of the West/Demolished Colonnade at its juncture with the Temple of the Chac Mool (1931a, v.1:87) denies the sequencing offered here. However, if the

Demolished Colonnade were a later renovation to an existing Temple of the Chac Mool, it would not contradict Morris' colonnade floor stratigraphy. Morris' schematics of the West Colonnade extension and the Temple of the Chac Mool with the Demolished Colonnade (1931a, v.2:pls. 12, 13) seem to disavow this architectural backdating. Nevertheless, except for the temple's southeast corner and adjoining colonnade wall, the articulation of the two structures in Morris' (1931a, v.2) diagrams is a reconstruction.

A New Two-Stage Sequence for the Great Terrace

If demonstrable, the speculative proposal presented above could inform the following hypothetical scenario. As the Castillo (Erosa Peniche 1942:229-235), the Temple of the Warriors (Morris 1931a, v.1; 1931b), the Upper Temple of the Warriors (Cohodas 1978:57), and the Temple of the Big Tables (Schmidt 2007:163) all contain earlier buildings, it is not a stretch to imagine two construction stages for the Great Terrace. An Early Sotuta (pre-A.D. 900), smaller-scale stage that consisted of the Castillo-sub, the Temple of the Big Tables-sub, the Lower Temple of the Jaguars, the West Colonnade, the Temple of the Chac Mool, and later, the Demolished Colonnade. All were later subsumed within the Late Sotuta (post-A.D. 900) constructions of the Castillo, the Temple of the Big Tables, the Upper Temple of the Jaguars, the Temple of the Warriors and the Northwest Colonnade, respectively.

Is there any evidence for this proposed two-stage construction for the Great Terrace? Vague support comes from Bey and Ringle (2007:412) who state, while speaking of the Great Terrace, "that a basic precinct plan seems to have been in place early on, and was thenceforth elaborated upon." The engulfment of several Great Terrace edifices by later renovations certainly speaks to sequential constructions stages.

Politico-Economic Data

Politico-economic data from northern Yucatan also provides grist for this the discussion. Cobos ties the construction of the Great Terrace with Chichén Itzá's mid-tenth century rise to regional economic dominance through territorial expansion and consolidation of ports along the northern Yucatan coast (2004:531-533; 2007:326, 335; see Kepecs et al. 1994, Kepecs 2007). Yet, economic dominance should have preceded the structures on the Great Terrace, as it would have funded their construction. Thus, this architectural activity could have been initiated earlier. According to Anthony Andrews, Chichén Itzá's rise to regional dominance began early in the ninth century (Andrews 1990:259; Andrews et al. 2003:152). Wren and Schmidt (1991:209) infer an early Terminal Classic rise for Chichén Itzá based on a 10.2.4.8.4 (A.D. 874) mention of the Great Ball Court on Yula Lintel 1. Grube and Krochock (2007:240) add that "by approximately A.D. 874, Chichén Itzá had replaced Ek Balam, as the dominant center of the north and saw the apex of its power." Lincoln (1986:190) asserts that by 10.4.0.0.0 (A.D. 909) Chichén Itzá already dominated the northern Yucatan polities, including Ek Balam. Apparently, Chichén Itzá usurped Ek Balam's role as the major regional center, and recipient of whatever tribute the former state enjoyed. According to Andrews, "the imposition of Itzá tribute over the northern countryside" fueled the city's "relatively rapid massive growth" (1990:262). Grube and Krochock (2007:241) observe that "wealth and economic success are recurrent themes in the iconography of Chichén Itzá," especially within the Initial Series Group, dated A.D. 878-879 (García Campillo 2000:95-100). This early consolidation of wealth could have funded the first stage of Great Terrace construction, which would have included the Castillo-sub, the Temple of

the Big Tables-sub, the Great Ball Court, the Lower Temple of the Jaguars, the West Colonnade, the Temple of the Chac Mool, and later, the Demolished Colonnade.

Ceramics and Caches

Bey and Ringle (2007:416) claimed Cobos (2007) stated that the Temple of the Chac Mool lacked Plumbate, but that it was present in the Temple of the Warriors. Cobos (2007) does not. Actually, what he said was that Cehpech sherds in the West Colonnade seem to associate it stratigraphically with the Castillo-sub and the Temple of the Chac Mool (Cobos 2004:523). The West Colonnade yielded Early Sotuta ceramics (Cobos 2004:523), and Cobos (2007:328) cites Brainerd (1958) and Morris (1931a), in addition to his own work, in order to associate the Castillo-sub with the Early Sotuta phase. The association of early Sotuta with the Temple of the Chac Mool by Cobos (2004:523, 528, table 22.1, 533, table 22.2) supports the projected two-stage Great Terrace proposal. Nonetheless, Cobos (2004) presents no direct ceramic evidence to support an early Sotuta origin for the Temple of the Chac Mool. Bey and Ringle (2007:407-411) accept Morris' (1931a, v.1:175) position that the Temple of the Chac Mool postdates the Castillo. Morris's (1931a, v.1:79-82, 86, fig. 53) Temple of the Warriors tunneling proved the exterior treatment of both structures are practically identical, which "indicates a close linkage" (2007:411) between them, signaling contemporaneity. However, it does not necessarily indicate temporal sequence, as intimated by Bey and Ringle (2007:411). If one structure mimicked the other, it could as easily be said that the newly rising Castillo took the exterior treatment of the existing Temple of the Chac Mool to conserve its design, as it was to be later subsumed by the Temple of the Warriors.

One other data set could shed light on the Great Terrace construction sequence; Bey and Ringle (2007:411-412) claim the cylindrical caches from the Castillo and from the Temple of the Chac Mool are "nearly identical," citing Erosa Peniche (1942:241) and Marquina (1952:855, foto 428) for support. Erosa Peniche (1942:241) does not say that the Castillo cache was cylindrical, only that it was found in front of the Castillo-sub staircase in a "*caja de piedra*" (stone box). Its location demonstrates it was cached before construction on the Castillo began. Marquina (1964:855), however, describes "*una caja cilíndrica de piedra"* (cylindrical stone container). According to Morris (1931a, v.1:186), it is indeterminate whether the similar offering in the Temple of the Chac Mool occurred with the finalization of the upper level of the supporting structure, or as a later deposition into the floor of its surmounting temple. The floor was undisturbed, as Morris (1931b:208-209) repeatedly tapped over its surface seeking a resonant response before its actual discovery.

There are differences between the two caches. The Castillo cache yielded two turquoise mosaic disks (Erosa 1942:241), whereas the Temple of the Chac Mool held only one (Morris 1931b:211), although the disk is "nearly identical" (Bey and Ringle 2007:411) to one from the Castillo; all three have feathered serpent heads as their main elements (Marquina 1961:853, fot. 426; Morris 1931b). Both caches held necklaces and small jade plaques inscribed with human faces, but the Castillo cache contained two flint blades, while the Chac Mool cache held a jade ball (Marquina 1964:854, fot. 428, 855; Morris 1931a, v.1:186-188; Morris 1931b:210-211).

If identicality denotes contemporality in this instance, then the Temple of the Chac Mool with its cache sealed beneath the floor is earlier than the Castillo, which covered the Castillo-sub and the cache set in front of the its stairway. The impression is that the Temple of the Chac Mool

predates the Castillo, but the evidence is equivocal. Nevertheless, it certainly does bring the construction of the Temple of the Chac Mool to the A.D. 900 parameter proffered by Kowalski (2007: 271), the operative date for this thesis.

THE ICONOGRAPHIC PRIMACY OF TEZCATLIPOCA AT CHICHÉN ITZÁ

It should now be clear that the Tezcatlipoca sculpture in the A.D. 900 Temple of the Chac Mool at Chichén Itzá holds iconographic primacy over the Tezcatlipoca image on Pillar 3 installed on Pyramid B at Tula between A.D. 1000 and 1050. Yet, one is left wondering how such an image, with its severed leg, and smoking mirror, developed in the Yucatan, far from Central Mexico – the latter being the geographic location where it would become one of the most popular deities in Postclassic Mesoamerica (Saville 1929:291). One possible precedent for Tezcatlipoca is the snake-footed K'awil, a Classic Maya god often associated with a smoking mirror. Therefore, an examination and comparison of Tezcatlipoca and K'awil comprises the final major section of this thesis.

The Images: K'awil and Tezcatlipoca

While the research of Olivier (2003) provides a multifaceted database for Tezcatlipoca, no such comparable source exists for K'awil. The few pages expended by Taube (1992:69-79) comprise the most recent concentrated treatment; and only include a few chronologically developmental references. To address this informational disparity, one must cobble a K'awil chronology from diverse data sources.

Description and Names

K'awil generally exhibits an anthropomorphic torso and limbs (sometimes scaled), except one leg that often transforms into a serpent; the serpent head takes on a reptilian, crocodilian, or shark-like form, with an upturned snout and a smoking ax, celt, or cigar through, or on a mirror

associated with the forehead (Bassie 2002:32; Fields 1991:167; Greene Robertson 1979:129; Robicsek 1979:111; Schele and Miller 1986:49; Taube 1992:69-79). The extended nose is such a diagnostic that Robicsek (1979:118), referring to K'awil as the "Cyrano de Bergerac of the Maya Pantheon," disqualifies any identification where it is lacking. However, early sculptures, such as Tikal Stela 1 (Greene Robertson 1979:129, fig. 1) and Dzibilchaltun Stela 19 (Andrews 1960:259, fig. 8), have a downward pointed duckbill-like muzzle only slightly upturned at the end, which more resembles an early Chac (rain god) rather than later versions of K'awil. Palenque sculptors portrayed K'awil with the Chac-like beak in the Temple of the Inscriptions and with the elongated nose on temples of the Cross Group (Figure 7).

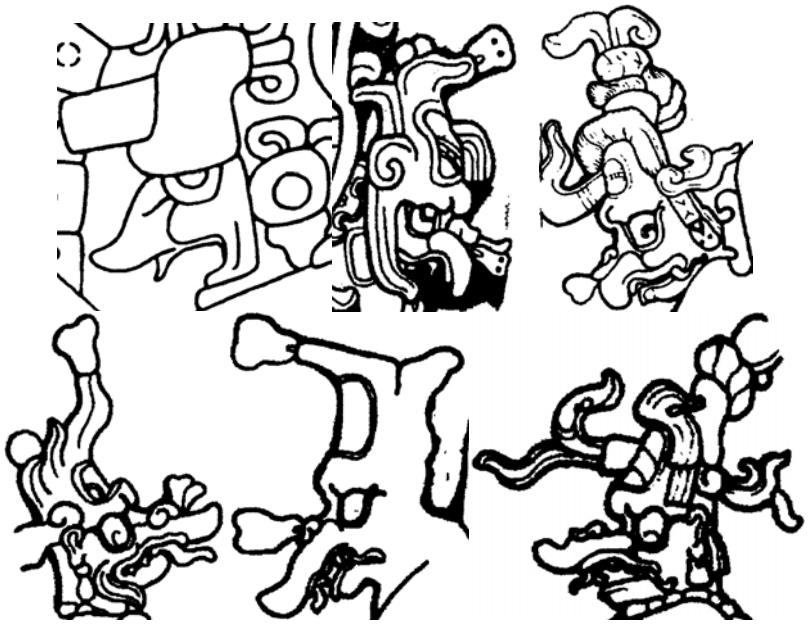


Figure 7. K'awil: Tikal Stela 1 (top left), after Greene Robertson (1979:129, fig. 1[used with permission]); Pakal's sarcophagus lid (top right; bottom left), after Schele (2005:10, fig 10a, 11, fig. 11a); Temple of the Foliated Cross (bottom left center), after Schele (2005:10, fig 10b); Temple of the Cross (bottom right center), after Schele (2005:10, fig 10e); Temple of the Sun (bottom right), after Schele (2005:11, fig. 11d [© Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc., www.famsi.org]).

The smoking cranial element and serpent foot that define Classic Period K'awil images fall into disuse in the Postclassic; a Chiapan X Fine Orange vessel portrays K'awil with the Classic

smoking ax through the forehead, but with the "lumpy irregular snout of the Postclassic" (Taube 1992:69). Coggins (1988:129) observes that late Terminal Classic renditions of K'awil on painted capstones from Campeche retain the extended proboscis but no longer have the serpent foot, and considers them Classic to Postclassic intermediaries. Such descriptions remind one of the painted capstones at Ek Balam (Lacadena 2004) and Chichén Itzá (Bolles 1977:128-129). The shift from serpent-footed to human-footed depictions seems to have transpired between A.D. 781 and A.D. 783 at Ek Balam (Fig. 8). On Capstone 14 (9.17.10.7.17 – A.D. 781), K'awil is serpent-footed, but on Capstone 6 (9.17.12.5.15 – A.D. 783), and others dated later (A.D. 841), K'awil has human feet (Lacadena 2004, figs. 6, 7, 10, 14).

Figure 8. Ek Balam Vault Covers 14 - A.D. 781 (left), and 6 - A.D. 783 (right) (Lacadena 2004, figs. 14 and 10 respectively; [© Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc., www.famsi.org]).

In Terminal Classic Yucatan, K'awil took a winged form implying a celestial aspect; this aspect was absent during the Early Postclassic, but the image of a winged K'awil returned during the Late Postclassic at Tulum and at Flores (Taube 1992:69). Postclassic K'awil received the

Bolon Dzacab appellation (Landa 1941:140; Taube 1992:69, 73). Schellhas (1967:32), who aptly named K'awil "The God with the Ornamented Nose," applied alphabetical nominatives to Maya deities – hence the God K appellative. Other aliases are K'awil (Stuart 1987:15; Thompson 1970:226); and GII (Berlin 1963:92). All versions take variant forms, but share functions and diagnostic elements (Robicsek 1979). Schele (2005:49) named a Jester God aspect of K'awil based on a three-pointed forehead, reminiscent of a medieval court jester's cap (Fields 1991:167: Schele and Miller 1986:53).

The Jester God

K'awil has deep iconographic roots in Mesoamerica. According to Fields (1991:167), "a complex of maize iconography that originated with the Olmec appears to have given birth to the Maya Jester God." Reilly (1991; 2005:30-31) also sees Olmec Middle Formative (1000-400 B.C. [Pool 2007:7. fig. 1.4]) precursors to the Maya Jester God, and other symbols of Maya rulership. Cyphers (2003:545) considers Olmec elite interaction with early Maya groups important to the development of Maya political authority. Olmec long distance trade networks established by 1200 B.C. (Pool 2007:103; Diehl 2004: 173-174; Marcus 1989:168-169) became a major factor in the early rise of complex culture and social ranking in Mesoamerica (Marcus and Flannery 1996:119-120), as leaders in Chiapas, Central America, and the Mexican highlands adopted Olmec concepts of rulership that they were exposed to because of trade (Diehl 2004:126). Maize imagery was carved on Olmec portable jade and greenstone celts distributed throughout Mesoamerica; emerging elites used such icons to symbolize authority as various cultures experimented with social stratification (Fields 1991:16; Reilly 1991:151).

Fields (1991) chronicles the development of Olmec maize symbols that were antecedent to the Maya Jester God, first associated with human figures portrayed at Soconusco (900-700 B.C.) and on La Venta Stela 2 (1000-400 B.C.; see Pool 2007:7, fig. 1.4, 167). A Monte Alban I (550-200 B.C. [Pool 2007:7, fig. 1.4]) figurine wears a headdress similar to La Venta Stela 2, demonstrating the early distribution of this iconography (Fields 1991:170). The first anthropomorphic (human head) Jester God appears on Izapa Stela 5 (250 B.C.–A.D. 150; see Fields 1991:170 and Schele and Miller 1986:139, fig. III.6). A Late Preclassic Maya ruler on a Dumbarton Oaks jade pectoral wears a Jester God headband in the context of accession; attendant glyphs represent the first textually documented connection between K'awil imagery and Maya kingship (Fields 1991:170; Freidel and Schele 1988:59; Schele and Miller 1986:119, pl. 32a, 120). A figure on a pectoral from Tikal Burial 85 dated to A.D. 1 wears a headband similar to the Dumbarton Oaks pectoral, while a Jester God from Early Classic Cerro de las Mesas is identical to the one from Tikal Burial 85 (Fields 1991:170); suggesting the beginning of standardization for this icon.

Figure 9. Jester God diadems: Aguateca (left) (Eberl and Inomata 2001:135, fig. 2 [courtesy of Mexicon]) and Chichén Itzá (right) (Proskouriakoff 1974:147, pl. 63b [© 1974 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College]).

Maya kings wore the Jester God Headband or *Sak Hunal* to symbolize rule (Schele et al. 1990).The Jester God Headband has archaeological confirmation of its importance in an alabaster plaque excavated at Aguateca featuring imagery identical to a headband worn on Stela 19 (Fig. 9) by Tan Te' K'inich, (mentioned in texts between A.D. 750 and 800 [Houston and Mathews 1985:9, table 1]); Eberl and Inomata (2001:134-135) note that other Jester God plaques are known from Tonina, Palenque, Topoxte, Nebaj, and Chichén Itzá (Fig. 9).

The Serpent Bar

While the Serpent Bar is not invariably linked with K'awil, the head of this icon often materializes in the gaping jaws at each end of the bar. The figure portrayed on the Leiden Plaque (A.D. 320) not only wears a Jester God cap, but also holds a double-headed serpent bar with K'awil emerging from its left side; its text documents the figure's accession (Schele and Miller 1986:120-121, pl. 33b-c). The Leiden Plaque serpent bar is the prototype for this enduring icon of Classic Maya kingship; although the snake-body type survived to A.D. 652, the rigid bar came into use early in Cycle 9, and continued into Cycle 10; at Quirigua, this icon was replaced with the Manikin Scepter by 9.15.0.0.0 (A.D. 731), according to Proskouriakoff (1950:88-89).

The Manikin Scepter

Classic Period K'awil most often appears as "a ceremonial axe or scepter" (Proskouriakoff 1950:89) – also known as the Manikin Scepter, a vertically held portable object representing K'awil, whose head forms the top with the serpent leg as the handle (Fig. 10). It was thought the Manikin Scepter first appeared on an Etzna monument dated to 9.12.0.0.0 (A.D. 672) (Proskouriakoff 1950:89). That distinction must now be granted to Caracol with its 9.9.0.0.0

(A.D. 613) Stela 5 (as illustrated in Martin and Grube [2008: 90]); on this monument a minor figure in the lower right corner holds a Manikin Scepter. Proskouriakoff (1950:89) states that the Manikin Scepter did not gain widespread popularity until 9.15.0.0.0 (A.D. 731). However, Greene Robertson et al. (2004:24-25) declared that its use increased markedly when Palenque established the Manikin Scepter as a symbol of divine rule with Pakal's A.D. 683 death and apotheosis as K'awil. Before this popularization, the icon was only known from Dzibilchaltun Stela 19, Etzna Stela (Greene Robertson et al. 2004:24-25).

Figure 10. Manikin Scepters: Classic Yaxchilan (left) (Spinden 1975:51, fig. 47a [courtesy of Dover Publications]); and the Temple of the Chac Mool, after A. Morris (1931:454, fig. 305a [courtesy of Carnegie Institute]).

Robertson et al. (2004:25), cited Andrews IV (1962:22 [but, failed to include it in their bibliography and left its true source uncertain]) to date Dzibilchaltun Stela 19 to 9.11.0.0.0 (A.D. 652), and Proskouriakoff (1950:189) to date Etzna Stela 12 to 9.12.0.0.0 (A.D. 672). However, Proskouriakoff (1950:189) applied the latter date to Etzna Stela 18, not Stela 12 (for which she offers no date). However, two earlier stelae were missed by Greene Robertson et al. (2004). As noted above, Caracol Stela 5 (A.D. 613) features a Manikin Scepter, as does Dos Pilas Stela 9, dated to A.D. 682 (Martin and Grube 2008:56, 90). Additionally, while not a Manikin Scepter per se, a plate from Tikal features its late sixth-century ruler, Animal Skull, holding a staff topped with the head of K'awil (Martin and Grube 2008:40-41). Coggins (1988:130) notes that

the form of the Classic Manikin Scepter changed at Terminal Classic Chichén Itzá in the Temple of the Chac Mool. While the symbology and serpentine handle remained, an ax blade replaced the head of K'awil. Kowalski (2007:285), A. Morris (1931, v.1:455-456), Roys (1973:67, n.5), and Schele and Freidel (1990:371) also see the ax scepters in the Temple of the Chac Mool as later versions of the Classic Manikin Scepters (Fig. 10).

GII

The Palenque Triad – GI, GII (Stuart 2005:167, 176), and GIII (Kelley 1965:129) – all relate to the sun in its various forms, which is not surprising as the Cross Group at Palenque functioned as a solar calendar (Fig. 11; Barnhart, personal communication December 2003). GII was born 1.18.5.4.0 1 Ahaw 13 Mac (2359 B.C.; Kelley 1965:97).

Figure 11. Representation of Cross Group as a Solar Calendar, as viewed from the Temple of the Sun (M. Sullivan).

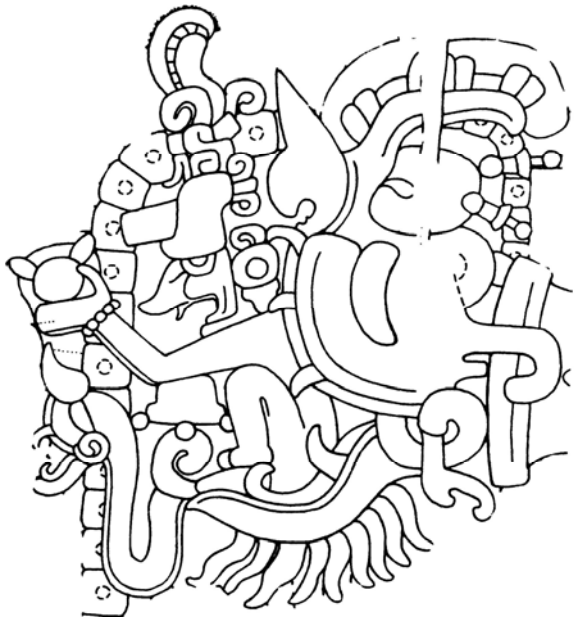
Martin (2002:68-72) ascribes the derivation of GII's icons to Olmec "Were-jaguar Baby" sculptures; he supports his position through the sacrificial associations attributed to, and the analogous postures taken by, both icons. Stuart (2005:80) notes that GII, the last-born member of the Palenque Triad, is the infant K'awil, apparent from the smoking mirrors on its forehead. Interestingly, GII as K'awil takes part in events prior not only to the birth of GII, but also to its

parent (Schele and Freidel 1990:245, 246, fig. 6:14, 248, fig. 6:15), the Triad Progenitor (or Muwaan-Mat, who is actually GI; Stuart 2005:182-183). The "home" of GII is the Temple of the Foliated Cross (Stuart and Stuart 2008:190). GII is also named *"ch'ok Naahho'chan ajaw*, the young lord of Naahho'chan" (Stuart 2005:174), associating this figure with a mythological mountain in the north related to rebirth and generation. This same place is also mentioned in relation to the 13.0.0.0.0 4 Ajaw 8 Kumk'u creation event on Stela C from Quirigua. Stuart (2005:174) also connects GII and the infant Jaguar God of the Underworld (Fig. 14), whose own Temple of the Sun faces GII's Temple of the Foliated Cross across the plaza from where GII is illustrated emerging from Matwil (a conch shell, with watery, underworld connotations; Stuart 2005:169, fig. 138a). Dutting (1991:123-124) also sees a regenerative aspect for GII in its relation to the Vision Serpent and in its role in communication with apotheosized ancestors, manifested as K'awil in the Underworld.

K'awil

According to Coe, a supernatural from Izapa is the "earliest known representation of the god K'awil" (2000:64). In Lowe et al. (1982:23), one finds that the figure Coe refers to appears on Izapa Stela 3, a Late Preclassic monument dated to the Guillen Phase (300-50 B.C.).
This stela features a standing figure with a raised ax, seemingly fending off or attacking a serpent that Coe (2000:64) posits is the serpent-headed termination of the figure's leg. To Lowe et al. (1982), Stela 3 anticipates the Manikin Scepter; both share "identical characteristics," which become "highly stylized or symbolized" on the latter (1982:24, figs. 2.6, 2.7). However, in Lowe et al. (1982:25, fig. 2.7), Norman (1973: pl. 6), and V. Smith (1984: fig. 55d [line drawing]), the outline applied to the sculpture portrays the serpent as originating between the figure's legs. An

apparent dimensionality is implied by the line that defines the upper limit of the horizontal portion of the serpent's body, actually its ventral surface, as it comes from beneath the figure and rears up to face it directly. I question whether this figure is a K'awil prototype. The figure's nose does not turn upward like K'awil, but downward like Chac, who does appear at Izapa on Stela 1 (Miller 1990:67). The serpent does not appear to issue from the figure's leg, but to materialize between its legs, possibly as an extension of his penis. One could imagine a myth in which a serpent was, or became, the penis of a god that it struck at with its ax, thereby wounding it. If so, Izapa Stela 3 could represent the first penis autosacrifice performed by a god. However, Coe's (2000:64) assertion that Izapa Stela 3 represents the earliest version of what would become the Maya god K'awil is also a valid explanation.



Figures 12a (left), Full-bodied K'awil on Tikal Stela 1 (Green Robertson 1979:129, fig. 1[used with permission]), and 12b (right), earliest dated full-bodied K'awil on ceramic box from Peten (Photograph © Justin Kerr: K3801).

The earliest distinguishable representation of K'awil is his disembodied head on Tikal Stela 4, dated to 8.18.0.0.0 (A.D. 396; Coggins 1988:127; Martin and Grube 2008:32; Kerr n.d.).

Coggins (1988:127) claims that the earliest full-bodied serpent-legged K'awils sit in the open jaws at both ends of the Serpent Bar shown on Tikal Stela 1 (Fig. 12a) erected before 9.1.0.8.0 (A.D. 456; Martin and Grube 2008:34). Contemporary with this monument, a Peten ceramic box features the earliest full-bodied serpent-legged K'awil (Fig. 12b), dated to A.D. 446 (Coe and Kerr 1998:190-191, ill. 84). These two examples could place the emergence of full-bodied portraits of K'awil in the third century; the middle of the Early Classic Period (A.D. 250-550). In the following centuries, K'awil imagery obtained spatio-temporal ubiquity throughout the Maya Lowlands, as documented by Merle Greene (1967; Greene et al. 1972), and in the Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions (http://www.peabody2.fas.harvard.edu/CMHI/index.php).

Summary

Figure 13. Xultun Stela 10, the figures cradles K'awil in his right arm, with snake head at bottom right, while holding a small jaguar in left hand (Proskouriakoff 1950, fig. 76c [courtesy of Carnegie Institute]).

Although the Chac-like duckbill snout seemed to be an element from which to build, its use on Xultun Stela 10 (Fig. 13), inscribed with the dates – A.D. 863, and A.D. 889 (Houston 1986:8, table 1) – dissuaded such an undertaking. Likewise, carrying the head of K'awil in the crook of the arm seems to have been an Early Classic motif (Proskouriakoff 1950:88, 91, fig. XIII-AI a-c; Stuart 2005:75), but on Xultun Stela 10 (Fig. 13), the main figure cradles a full-bodied K'awil in much the same manner (Von Euw 1978, v.5:23).

K'awil variants prompted Robicsek (1979:121) to sort images of this figure into seven subgroups; he suggested that K'awil imagery could represent a family of functionally analogous deities (1979:122-124) – possibly a deity complex, as suggested by Houston and Stuart (1996:301-302). Glyphic symbols for K'awil demonstrate great discrepancy (Beyer 1937; Dutting 1992; Robicsek 1979:121; Stuart 1987:10, fig. 14, 15, fig. 22, 16, fig. 23). This also applies to K'awil images on ceramic vessels; Alexander (n.d.), has noted the problematic nature of K'awil's identification because of its varied forms and contexts; she then defined nine separate categories of this icon. While it is evident that K'awil holds iconographic primacy over Tezcatlipoca, the above data demonstrate the difficulty involved with creating a developmental chronology based solely on the imagery. A developmental chronology would require an in-depth assessment of all K'awil representations in its various mediums and contexts and its attendant iconographic elements, something the format and length of this work disallows. However, such a task comprises great fodder for future research.

Tezcatlipoca: Geographic Origins

Most of the data surrounding Tezcatlipoca derives from Postclassic sources and are chronologically inapplicable to this research. Neither Paddock (1985a) nor Olivier (2003:123)

produced any evidence for Tezcatlipoca before the Postclassic. This agrees with my establishment of Tezcatlipoca's iconographic primacy at Chichén Itzá; however, some data allude to an earlier origin. While Olivier (2003:123) sees obsidian and jaguars as Tezcatlipoca archaisms, Nicholson (1971:412) finds its foundation in mirrors. Saville (1929) was the first Mesoamericanist to posit a connection between Olmec jaguar imagery and Tezcatlipoca (Joralemon 1971:5). Coe (1970:9) drew the same conclusion independently, and, apparently seeking an Olmec origin, bound Tezcatlipoca to Olmec rulers through mirrors. Coe (1977:160) later connected K'awil with Tezcatlipoca, and also noted Aztec correlates for K'awil and other Maya gods (Coe 1978:12).

South and West

Moving south from Tula, Chadwick (1971:495-503), eschewed the accepted Tula-as-Tollan model and relocated Tollan to Teotihuacan, unconvincingly invoking artistic and architectural evidence of lineages dedicated to Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl; he also cited their nonexistence at Tula to support his transposition. Muller (1970:104) identified a Teotihuacan III (A.D. 450-550) mask as Tezcatlipoca, based on its striping, but Olivier (2003:87) disavows that identification based on those same stripes. In fact, according to Olivier (2003:88), there seems to be nothing related to Tezcatlipoca at Classic Teotihuacan except for jaguars. In an article on the origins of the Central Mexican pantheon centering on Teotihuacan, Carballo (2007) makes no mention of a one-legged, or smoking-mirrored, deity.

Further south, evidence of Tezcatlipoca in Oaxaca (Bernal 1965:807) and in Zapotec religion (Marcus 1978:173-179) is virtually nonexistent. Paddock (1985a, 1985b) reports a definite Tezcatlipoca presence in Oaxaca – not among the Zapotec, but rather among the later Mixtec; he

(1985a) attributes the appearance of Tezcatlipoca here to Aztec influence. A southern origin appears doubtful, and there seems to be no archaeological or iconographic evidence for a western Mexican foundation for Tezcatlipoca.

North

According to Olivier (2003:89), a northern derivation for Tezcatlipoca is the most frequent supposition. In this reconstruction, migrating Colhua (Chichimec) people brought Tezcatlipoca to Tenochtitlan (Soustelle 1996:27-31) and Texcoco from the north (Townsend 1979:34-35) after the fall of Tula (Vaillant 1938:562). However, Carrasco (1971:465) stated that the Colhua worshipped Tezcatlipoca "during their stay at Tollan," implying the presence of this deity at Tula prior to their arrival (which, if true, would have to have been after A.D. 1000). Mastache et al. (2002:302-304) described Pyramid B as being representative of northern influence and a new architectural tradition at Tula; they refer to Tezcatlipoca as a new god with a northern origin. Of interest is Knight's (1982:478) assertion that Tezcatlipoca's affected leg is an iconographic metaphor expressing the termination of a nomadic life-style in lieu of sedentism.

Northwest of Tula, Ellen Kelley (1978:116) identified a sacrifice to Tezcatlipoca by "the burial offerings and other evidence," at Alta Vista, Zacatecas, Mexico in the Hall of Columns (Structure 1), dating to A.D. 450-650 (Aveni et al. 1982:317, 319). Pickering (1985:298, 316) agrees with her identification, based on a flute and obsidian blade found in what he calls Burial 2. J. Charles Kelley (1971:783), noted elements of Mesoamerican religion at Alta Vista that included the feathered serpent and Tlaloc, but made no mention of Tezcatlipoca.

Based on the inherent inaccuracies and reconstructed nature of the ethnohistoric sources, Olivier (2003:90) is unwilling to attribute a northern origin to Tezcatlipoca. As in the previous

chapter concerning chronology, Olivier (2003:123-124) remains mum, even when assertions could solidify his data. His summary of possible Tezcatlipoca origins reverts to rudimentary elements, rather than spatio-temporal beginnings.

With Olivier's (2003:89-91) denial of a northern origin and no evidence of Tezcatlipoca nascency from the south or west, the only remaining direction is east. García Cook (1981:269-270) hints that Tezcatlipoca was introduced to the Puebla Valley by the Olmeca-Xicalanca, a population located east of Oaxaca (McVicker 1985:84). This is interesting, especially because Martin (2002:68-72) attributes an Olmec origin to K'awil, based partially on the Zoquean etymology of the "*une*" element of GII/Baby Jaguar's name (as discussed below).

Indications in the East – Unlikely Uaxactun

Does Tezcatlipoca imagery exist east of Oaxaca? The answer is "yes," but one must travel east, beyond the Totonac homeland of coastal Veracruz, to the Maya Lowlands for substantiation. The archaeological evidence demonstrates that not only does the Tezcatlipoca sculpture in the Temple of Chac Mool at Chichén Itzá predate the erection of Pillar 3 atop Pyramid B at Tula, but there is another, earlier, depiction (Fig. 18a) of a one-legged individual (Fig. 18c) with a forehead mirror that emits scrolls (Fig. 18b). That image appears on a Saxche-style bowl attributed to the Tepeu I ceramic phase (A.D. 600-700) at Uaxactun (Smith and Gifford 1965:503, 516, fig. 8e), spatially distant from – and much earlier than – the appearance of Tezcatlipoca at Tula, a site with "no relevant Classic period occupation" (Mastache et al. 2002:55).

Figures 14a: Tepeu I bowl (above), note mirror and scroll at forehead in 14b (below left), and missing right leg, with exposed bone, and scroll in 14c (below right) (Smith and Gifford 1965:516, fig. 8e [courtesy of the University of Texas Press]).

Iconography and Epigraphy

This Tepeu I image (Fig. 14a) demonstrates the existence of a Tezcatlipoca-like figure of Maya origin well before the construction of Tula Grande at A.D. 900 (Mastache et al. 2002:42, 89). The figure on the bowl wears the beaded necklace and anklets commonly seen on K'awil (Greene 1967, plates 45 and 53; Montgomery 2002:143 [T1030f]; Proskouriakoff 1950:91, figs. k and m; Taube 1992:70-72, figs. 32d and e, 33d, and 34a). A symbol for flint adorns the figure's arm. 1 Flint is the day-name for Huitzilopochtli and Camaxtli, both associated with Tezcatlipoca, in central Mexico (Nicholson 1971:398, 400). On the figure's forehead is an element visible both

on images of (Reents-Budet 1994:12-13, fig. 1.9; Schele and Miller 1986:275, fig. VII.3, 284, pl. 111d) and glyphs for K'awil (Beyer 1937; Dutting 1992; García Campillo 2000; Macri and Looper 2003:171-172, 316, 324; Montgomery 2002:149-150). Macri and Looper (2003:171) note that the "T1030de" glyphic logogram for K'awil is a pictograph of a mirror emitting scrolls. The "T1030de" glyph consists of two separately identifiable elements: *k'ak'*– the Maya *noun for fire*, representing "smoke or tongues of flame" (Montgomery 2002:143 [T22]); and *il*, representing "a mirror" (Montgomery 2002:95 [T24]). If T1030de is a syllabogram for K'awil, it could also have been a rebus with the phonetic value of *k'ak'il* – "smoking mirror;" this was the most common name for Tezcatlipoca in Central Mexico. Especially significant is the fact that Montgomery states that *il* is a particle suffix, which "functions in Mayan where something exists as an inalienable part of something else" (2003:147), or as "indicating possession" (2002:95), which could signify the exact translation of Tezcatlipoca offered by Bonifaz Nuño ("the smoke of the mirror;" 1995:106).

The Maya glyphs "T0154" (Macri and Looper 2003:105) and "T618v" (Montgomery 2002:96) both represent eyeballs with darkened pupils. While it carries the same phonetic value – *il* (Coe and Van Stone 2005:163; Macri and Looper 2003:105; Montgomery 2002:96) – attributed to "T24" (Montgomery 2002:95), they have the semantic value of the verb "to see" (Coe and Van Stone 2005:163; Macri and Looper 2003:105). This is interesting in light of the fact that Tezcatlipoca used mirrors to practice catopromancy (Durán 1971:99). Another semantic consideration is that Macri and Looper (2003:276) gloss the Mayan glyph "T0120" – "tail; mirror" – as "*neh; néen / nenh*." At Comalcalco, the name of GII is written as *u-ne-K'awil*, with the phonetic equivalent of *Unen K'awil*, "Baby K'awil," who is often portrayed as an infant

human or jaguar with a mirror on its forehead or in place of its head (see Fig. 16; Groffe 2006:1; Martin 2002:62, fig. 9; Stuart 2005:174, 173 figs. 141a, c-g).

Comparatives

The Tepeu bowl figure (Figure 14a, c), depicted more or less in profile from its left side, is missing the lower half of its right leg – the leg behind the figure from the profiled perspective. That is also the case for the five figures missing their lower leg at Chichén Itzá (Charlot 1931a, vol. 2: plates 31, 41, 57, 98, 114), and the one that appears at Tula (Stocker 1993:67, fig. 1). If the figure faces left, part of the right leg is missing; when facing right, the left leg is affected. The figure on the bowl (Smith and Gifford 1965:516, fig. 8e), the Tezcatlipoca figures on column 3-south in the Temple of Chac Mool at Chichén Itzá (Charlot 1931a, v. 1:275, v. 2, plate 31; Thompson 1942), and the one on Pillar 3 at Tula (Stocker 1993:67, fig. 1) all have the femur exposed below the flesh where the leg had been removed. The top section of Pillar 3 was not found (Mastache et al. 2002:103), but the Tepeu bowl figure and the Tezcatlipocas at Chichén Itzá have the characteristic smoking mirrors on their heads (although the mirror on the Tepeu bowl figure differs from those at Chichén Itzá). The Chichén Itzá figures wear mirrors as a component of their headdresses, whereas the bowl figure's mirror is part of, or imbedded into its forehead, similar to illustrations of K'awil. This could be a condition of the anthropomorphication of the deity, which I view as a trend in Mesoamerican religious iconography beginning in the Terminal Classic. Spinden (1975:32) sees the same progression, but without the Terminal Classic reference. At Chichén Itzá, it produced a less esoteric, less "Maya-syncratic" symbology; this would have facilitated intellectual comprehension of the

iconographic message by non-Maya, as the city established its cosmopolitanism and authority within Mesoamerica (Cobos 2007:333; Grube and Krochock 2007:242).

Thus, it seems the figure on the Tepeu I (A.D. 600-700) bowl from Uaxactun (Smith and Gifford 1965:503, 516, fig. 8e) represents a prototype for Tezcatlipoca from the Maya Lowlands during the Classic Period. If so, this would be the earliest known representation of Tezcatlipoca in Mesoamerica.

Tezcatlipoca: Analogs of and Derivation from K'awil

This section addresses the possible derivation of Tezcatlipoca from K'awil at Chichén Itzá. Tezcatlipoca was the patron of rulers (Boone 1989:15; Coe 1970:5; Miller and Taube 1993:164; Saunders 1994:109; 2001:222), as was K'awil (Coggins 1988:133; Schele and Freidel 1988b:560; Proskouriakoff 1950:89; Robicsek 1979:119; Taube 1992:79). Both Tezcatlipoca (Paddock 1985a; Nicholson 1954:168-169) and K'awil (Proskouriakoff 1950:89; Robicsek 1979:119; Schele and Miller 1986:49) are identified by a smoking mirror and altered lower leg. A serpent's head commonly replaces the foot of K'awil. On Tezcatlipoca, the leg terminates with an exposed femur or a smoking mirror (Charlot 1931a, v. 2: pls. 31, 41, 57, 98, 114; Stocker 1993:67, fig. 1). In some instances, however, Tezcatlipoca is serpent-footed (Boone 1989:10, 17, fig. 8; Olivier 2003:61). That later Mexica representations of Tezcatlipoca retained the serpent-foot of K'awil speaks to the power of that icon to confer its intrinsic message.

Analogs, Heritage, and Appellative Commonality

Both K'awil and Tezcatlipoca are related to creator gods. K'awil is an aspect of Itzamna (Coggins 1988:127, n. 4, 129) and Tezcatlipoca is a second-generation deity born from the

creator gods (Nicholson 1971:398) – similar to GII (K'awil) of the Palenque Triad (Lounsbury 1980:14; Schele and Freidel 1990:252-254). K'awil (Schellhas 1967:32-33; Taube 1992:75-78) and Tezcatlipoca (Nicholson 1971; Olivier 2003) are often conflated with or share diagnostics with other gods. Tezcatlipoca (Saunders 2001:222-223) and K'awil (Chase and Chase 1994:58; Schele 1985:144; Taube 1992:78) also are related to sacrifice. According to the Chilam Balams, idols of Bolon Dzacab were fashioned from edible seeds (Roys 1973:99; Taube 1989:46; 1992:78); Mexica idols of Tezcatlipoca were similarly formed (Olivier 2003:46-47). Tezcatlipoca was associated with lightning (Olivier 2003:228, 268) and rain (Durán 1971:102, 427), as was K'awil (Coggins 1988:127).

Tezcatlipoca is tied directly to obsidian through his name, which some researchers (Miller and Taube 1993:164; Fitzer 1981:163) translate as "smoking mirror." However, according to Bonifaz Nuño, the Náhuatl name *Tezcatlipoca* "se compone de la union de tres palabras" (1995:106): *tézcatl* translates to "mirror;" *i* is the third person possessive adjective; and *poctli* signifies "smoke." This compound word semantically translates to "*El Humo del Espejo*" – "The Smoke of the Mirror." This ethereal connotation could relate to the seemingly omnipresent quality of Tezcatlipoca (Hunt 1977:120-121). The connection with obsidian is interesting in light of the above-mentioned similarities between the Mexican Tezcatlipoca and K'awil of the Maya. Schele and Miller (1986:49) suggest that the object on K'awil's forehead is a "torch" – they note that both torch and obsidian are pronounced *tah* in Maya languages, posing another possible link between Tezcatlipoca and K'awil. *Tah* is a logogram: a sign that symbolizes the whole word (Coe and Van Stone 2005:18, 165) for torch. The symbol for obsidian combines the phonetic sign *ta* (in, at, with, to) with the morphosyllabic sign *ji* (Coe and Van Stone 2005:22) to produce

the syllabogram *taj*, which is the orthographic equivalent of *tah*. Some representations of K'awil (Taube 1992:77; Schele and Miller 1986:48, 49) indicate that the mirror on its forehead resembles the Mayan syllabogram for obsidian — *taj* (Montgomery 2002:224), strengthening the possible link between Tezcatlipoca and K'awil.

Derivation

Such links serve to corroborate the assertions of Coe (1977:16) that K'awil was "the Maya version of Tezcatlipoca," and that K'awil had a Mexica counterpart (Coe 1978:12; see also Baudez 1992:43-44; Greene Robertson 1979:129; 1994:198; Lincoln 1990:34-35; Olivier 2003:251; Schele 2005:21; Robicsek 1979:125-126). Coe (1988:228) later stated that serpent-footed Tezcatlipoca and K'awil were cross-cultural variations on the same theme and were "identical," reiterating the existence (mentioned above) of a Preclassic iconographic ancestor on Izapa Stela 3. Lincoln (1994:168) associates K'awil and Tezcatlipoca, independent of any citation. Olivier (2003:252), however, is not convinced and cites other rejections of a K'awil-Tezcatlipoca connection from Baudez (1992:43-44) and from Taube (1992:79). While Taube (1992:79) admits "the striking series of correspondences between God K and Tezcatlipoca," he finds no direct correspondence, basing his judgment on their respective reptilian and feline qualities.

It is important to note, relative to this work, that Tezcatlipoca does not appear as a jaguar at either Tula or Chichén Itzá, but K'awil does appear in a partial jaguar skin as GII, the Baby Jaguar (Martin 2002:52, fig. 1a, 1b, 53, fig. 2, 54, fig. 3a,). Tezcatlipoca did transform into a snake; in this guise, he and Quetzalcoatl tore apart Tlatecuhtli (Cipactli) and created the earth and sky with the two halves of her body (Graulich1997:49, 50; Nicholson 1971:400; Taube

1993:37). Thus, reptilian K'awil had jaguar associations, while feline Tezcatlipoca had a serpent aspect.

Ties to Palenque

The sculpture of Palenque and Chichén Itzá provide evidence of a linkage between K'awil and Tezcatlipoca. Fitzer (1981) claims Pakal is depicted on his sarcophagus lid, on pier d of Palace House D at Palenque, and on the Simojovel Plaque with a downward pointing foot, thus relating him to Tezcatlipoca. Greene Robertson et al. (2004:27) concur, but posit an indirect connection to Tezcatlipoca through K'awil. Greene Robertson et al. (2004:23, fig. 33, 27) and Schele and Freidel (1990:235, fig. 6.8a, 236) report that Kan Bahlam II portrayed himself as a serpent-footed child with a forehead ax, while he was cradled in the arms of his father Pakal on piers b, c, d, and e (Fitzer 1981:164) of the Temple of the Inscriptions. On the piers, Kan Bahlam II assumes the pose of the Baby Jaguar, an aspect of GII-K'awil (Martin 2002).

Piers b and c illustrate Kan Bahlam II with polydactily; he manifests six toes. Both the serpent foot and the polydactily demonstrate his divine connection with K'awil (Greene Robertson et al. 2004:21; Schele and Freidel 1990:236, fig. 6.9a). Palenque sculptures do not consistently illustrate the respective conditions of Pakal (Fitzer 1981:163) and Kan Bahlam II (Romano 2006:89). While Greene Robertson et al. (2004:12) diagnosed Pakal as having a clubfoot based on iconographic representations; Romano (2006:89) reexamined Pakal's remains and argued against that diagnosis. Fitzer's (1981:164) *aide memoire*, that "form and meaning may be quite divergent in Mesoamerican iconography," informs the following conceptualization. That Pakal did not have clubfoot and yet his foot was illustrated as pointing downward and that Kan Bahlam II is only occasionally shown as being polydactyl strengthens the argument that

these anatomical embellishments are purely theophanic. It also helps relate the two Palenque kings to K'awil and to the later Tezcatlipoca. Interestingly, several researchers have written about the strong artistic connections between Palenque and Chichén Itzá (Lincoln 1990:366; Rands 1954; Schele 2002:21).

K'ak'upakal as K'awil – Tezcatlipoca

The portrayal of an historical personage with a serpent foot seems unique to Palenque. Nevertheless, Bolles (1977:183) describes a sculptured figure on the east jamb of the South Building of the Southeast Court of the Monjas Complex at Chichén Itzá; he is in full frontal pose, head profiled to the left and feet pointed outward – all Late Classic motifs (Proskouriakoff 1950:22). His left leg terminates with a "rosette" from which the body and head of a snake emerges; a round mirror is on his chest and extravagant quetzal feathers, a symbol of Maya rule, stream from his headdress (Bolles 1977:183; Tozzer 1957: fig. 138). Strangely, in Tozzer's (1957: fig. 138) rendition of the original image carved onto the East Pillar, the figure's right hand transitions into a serpent, although Bolles (1977:183) does not mention that zoomorphic feature. Its left hand holds the darts long considered as Toltec indicators (Tozzer 1957:71); the protective cotton padding worn by Tezcatlipoca in the Warriors Complex (Charlot 1931a, v. 2: pls. 31, 41, 57, 98, 114) and on Pyramid B (Stocker 1993:67, fig. 1) covers one forearm (see Table 2).

Olivier's Table 1 (2003:54-55) lists forty-eight elements found on forty-two Tezcatlipoca images from the codices; the Monjas figure exhibits eight; the average from Olivier's table is just over twelve. Table 2 also lists the eight elements observed on the Monjas Tezcatlipoca and compares these elements to contemporary figures from Chichén Itzá and Tula. These elements show great consistency in their use.

Table 2. Elements associated with Tezcatlipoca at Chichén Itzá and Tula.

Table 2:	Element	M	CM	1W	15W	31S	49N	B
Smoking Mirror	Darts	X		X	X	X	X	X
(on headdress)	Smoking Mirror		X	X	X	X	X	?
Leg Scroll (on	Mirror on Chest	X		X	X	P	X	P
missing leg)	Leg Scroll		X	X	X	X	X	X
X – present	Snake Foot	X						
P – chest padding	Femur		X		X		X	X
? – indeterminable	Above Knee		X	X		X	X	X
Chichén Itzá:	Below Knee	X			X			
M – Monjas jamb	Atlatl		X	X	X	X	X	X
CM – Chac Mool Temple	Curved Stick	X	X	X	X		X	X
1W – Warriors Temple	Quetzal Feathers	X	X	X	X	X		?
15W – Warriors Temple	Arm Padding	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
31S – NW Colonnade	Back Shield	?	?	X	X	?	X	X
49N – NW Colonnade	Round Ear Plug	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Tula:	Nose Plug	?	X	X	X	X	X	X
B – Pyramid B	Stepped Helmet				?		X	X
	Coyote Tails	?	X	X	X		X	?

Las Monjas Lintel 2a proclaims the structure, which was the seat of Chichén Itzá's authority (Grube and Krochock 2007:234, 239-240; Ringle 2004:203-204), is the property of K'ak'upakal K'awil (García Campillo 2000:65). Lincoln (1990:34-34, n.1, 69, 140-142, 145, 166, 188, n. 19, 188-189, 200, 278-278a, fig. 7) consistently associates K'ak'upakal with Tezcatlipoca (Fig. 20b). Schmidt (1999:37) names K'ak'upakal as *El Escudo que Hume*[*o*] or "The Shield that Smokes." Thompson (1945:14) further noted that K'ak'upakal's fiery shield connects him to Tezcatlipoca. I propose that the figure on the east jamb of the Monjas South Building is K'ak'upakal portrayed as a transitional K'awil-Tezcatlipoca hybrid. This personification iconographically resembles that of Kan Bahlam II at Palenque on the piers of the Temple of the Inscriptions in that both individuals appear as serpent-footed anthropomorphs. As such, the Monjas image could predate the later, more fully anthropomorphic Tezcatlipoca image in the Temple of the Chac Mool, illustrated in a profiled pose that Proskouriakoff (1950:22) considers a later trait at Chichén Itzá (Fig. 15).

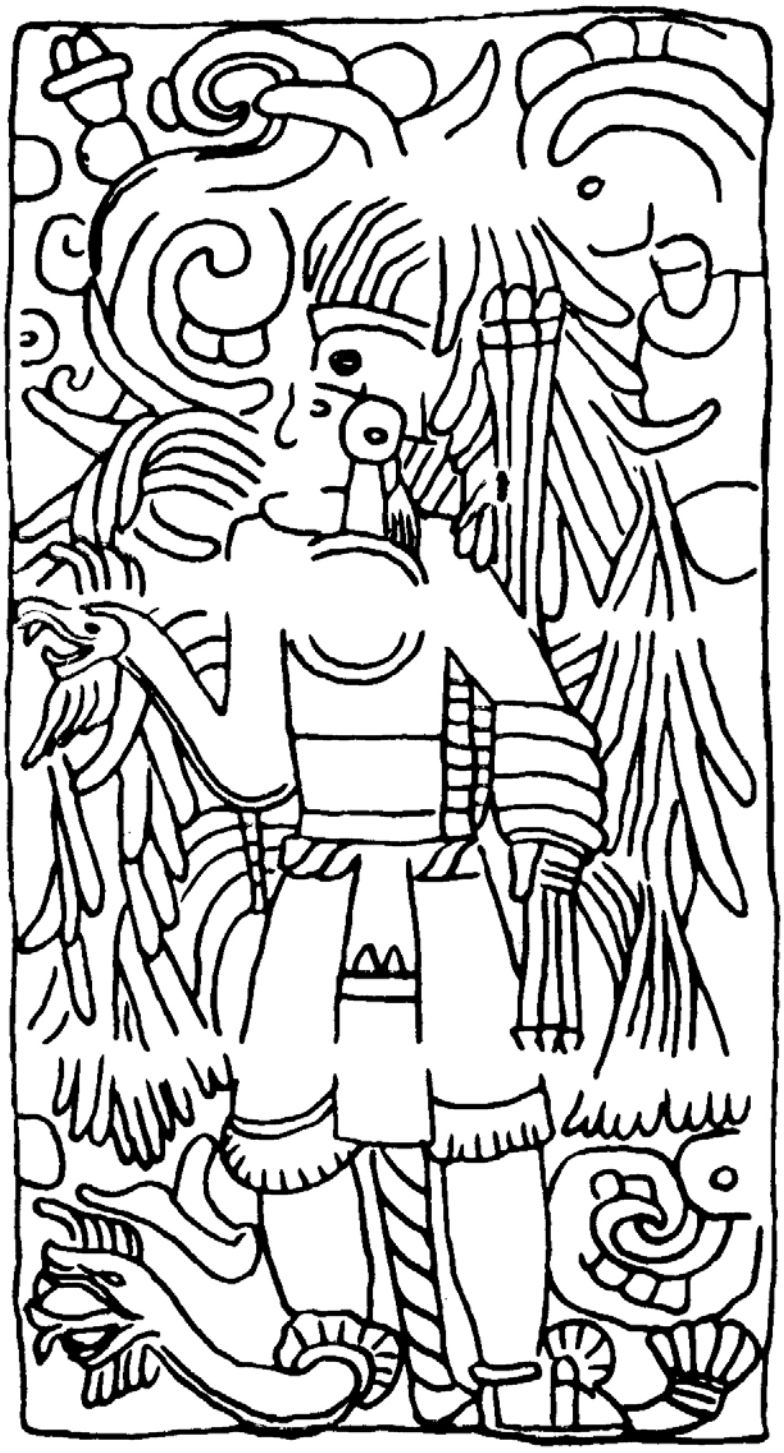


Figure 15. K'ak'upakal as Tezcatlipoca on jamb from Monjas Complex, after Tozzer (1957, fig. 138 [courtesy of Carnegie Institute]).

CONCLUSION

This research dates the initial appearance of Tezcatlipoca at Tula, establishes the iconographic primacy of Tezcatlipoca at Chichén Itzá over Tula, and demonstrates the derivation of the Mexican Tezcatlipoca from the Maya K'awil. The dating for the appearance of Tezcatlipoca on Pillar 3 at Tula to no earlier than A.D. 1000 has been demonstrated by establishing that Pillar 3 belonged to Pyramid B-Stage III and that Stage III construction probably took place during the A.D. 1000-1050 realignment episode. The establishment of the iconographic primacy of Tezcatlipoca at Chichén Itzá over Tula occurred with the dating of the Temple of the Chac Mool, which holds the putatively earliest image of Tezcatlipoca, to A.D. 900. As noted above, Tezcatlipoca does not appear at Tula until A.D. 1000. The derivation of Tezcatlipoca from K'awil has been iconographically shown above. Within this thesis, I have demonstrated the compact construction sequence at Chichén Itzá during the last half of the ninth century, and proffered a two-stage construction sequence for the Great Terrace. I have also proposed that the figure on the east jamb of the South Building of the Southeast Court of the Monjas Complex at Chichén Itzá is actually K'ak'upakal. This image demonstrates the transition from the zoomorphic K'awil to the anthropomorphic Tezcatlipoca, first appearing fully anthropomorphized in the Temple of the Chac Mool around A.D. 900. Below I have cited researchers that argue against a Tula origin for various elements of "Toltec" iconography; some of whom demonstrate precedence at Chichén Itzá for those icons. Their arguments combine to reverse the directionality of influence from the previously held Tula to Chichén Itzá model.

Bey and Ringle (2007:415) associated the following with Late Tollan (post-A.D. 950) Toltec culture at Tula: Chacmools, procession-decorated benches, Atlanteans, "parading jaguars," and

stone cache boxes. Other Toltec indicators are square warrior columns, and feathered serpents on jambs and round columns (Disselhoff and Linné 1960:66-67).

Kubler (1961, 1982) argued that serpent columns and feathered serpents had Classic Maya precedents. Miller (1985) stated that Chac Mool sculptures originated at Chichén Itzá, not at Tula. An Atlantean-supported altar was found at the Middle Formative (1000-400 B.C. [Pool 2007:7, fig. 1.4, 170, 174]) Olmec site of Potrero Nuevo (Stirling 1965:730, fig. 19). Procession-decorated benches in the A.D. 900 (Kowalski 2007:271) Temple of the Chac Mool (A. Morris 1931, v.1:380, v.2: plates 133-138) predate the Stage III (A.D. 1000-1050) installation at Tula of similarly decorated benches in the Palacio Quemado and Vestibule (Acosta 1956-1957:101: Mastache et al. 2002:107, 119). Ringle (2009:35, table 2, 37-38) documented paired feathered serpents and cloud serpents on benches and stone sculptures in the Upper and Lower Temples of the Jaguars (ca. A.D. 900) at Chichén Itzá, in the Palacio Quemado (A.D. 1000-1050) at Tula, and at the Mexica (Aztec) capital of Tenochtitlan. Obviously, the Chichén Itzá serpent pairings predate the examples from those two Central Mexican cities. Likewise, the square warrior columns in the Temple of the Chac Mool (Morris 1931a, v.2: plates 29-36) predate the square warrior columns on Pyramid B-Stage III at Tula (Mastache et al. 2002:99, fig. 5.15, 100, fig. 6.16, 101, fig. 5.17, 102, fig. 5.19, 106, fig. 5.22). Sculptured jaguars paraded along the frieze of the ninth-century (Bey and Ringle 2007:416) Castillo-sub (Erosa Peniche 1942: fig. 1) before prowling Pyramid B-Stage II ca. A.D. 950 (Acosta 1956:89; Bey and Ringle 2007:415). Cylindrical stone caches in the Temple of the Chac Mool (Morris 1931a, v.1:186-188; Morris 1931b:210-211) and in front of the Castillo-sub staircase (Erosa Peniche 1942:241; Marquina 1952:855, lam. 428) are certainly earlier than the three cylindrical stone caches from Tula's

Stage III Palacio Quemado (Bey and Ringle 2007:403), one of which was a post-construction deposition (Acosta 1956:104-106, lams. 45-47). Lateral stripes in the Temples of the Chac Mool (A.D. 900) and of the Warriors have a great similarity to lateral stripes on corridor walls between the Palacio Quemado (A.D. 1000-1050) and Pyramid B (Acosta 1956:44, fig. 3, 55; Bey and Ringle 2007:403), and at Tenochtitlan (Ringle 2009:30). A capstone with Maya hieroglyphs from the Temple of the Owls at Chichén Itzá (Tozzer 1957: fig. 384) dated to A.D. 878 (Schele and Mathews 1998:366, n. 31) has Cipactli glyphs analogous to ones on the pillars of Pyramid B-Stage III at Tula.

Consider that Acosta (1956-1957:108) stated, "Wherever the birthplace was, what is certain is that . . . [Toltec culture] arrived fully developed" at Tula, and that "it has not been possible to recognize a stylistic evolution in the architecture" of that city (1956-1957:80). That Bey and Ringle (2007:415) noted "a greater time depth and developmental history for many of the 'Toltec' traits [at Chichén Itzá] than at Tula." That Kowalski (2007:266) suggested that colonnaded structures, a hallmark of Toltec architecture (Acosta 1956-1957:79), might have had architectural precedence at Chichén Itzá. That Cobean (1990:505) found it highly probable that vital aspects of Tollan phase Tula's "art and ceremonial architecture" had a foreign derivation. That Cobos (2007:336) and Lincoln (1990:155) described Chichén Itzá as being a wholly Maya city throughout its history. That Schmidt (2007:195) considered Chichén Itzá art to be a "forerunner and one of the roots of the Mixteca-Puebla style and symbol system," which follows Ringle et al. (1998:185). That Lincoln (1990:588), while noting the architectural similarities that Mitla and Tula had with Chichén Itzá, stated "the strongest and most pronounced similarities overall . . . are between Chichén Itzá and the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan." That Tula did not

begin to exert extra-regional influence until after its realignment episode of A.D. 1000-1050 (Mastache et al. 2002:303), while prior to that event, Chichén Itzá must have been one of the largest, wealthiest, and most influential cities in Mesoamerica. And that Ringle et al. (1998:184) stated that most "Toltec" traits have an Epiclassic origin, and it is a "near impossibility that Tollan-phase Tula" was the "donor culture" to Chichén Itzá.

Now, considering the above data, combined with Tezcatlipoca's long-held ethnohistoric ties to Tula (Acosta 1956-1957:107; Thompson 1942:50), and given that this thesis establishes the iconographic primacy of Tezcatlipoca at Chichén Itzá over Tula, it seems fruitless to continue to pursue the Tula to Chichén Itzá directionality of influence model. This work reverses that polarity, and provides a new paradigm from which the study of Mesoamerican archaeology and history can proceed. This does not mean that all that has long been considered Toltec at Tula derived from Chichén Itzá; but that the vast majority of what has long been considered Toltec at Chichén Itzá did not derive from Tula.

SUMMARY STATEMENT

After the collapse of the southern Maya lowland cities, which is associated with the termination of elite activities (Chase and Chase 2004:12), traditional Classic iconography that legitimized elite rule by imbuing rulers with semi-divine status may have no longer held sway among the populace, or was not accepted by an intrusive demographic arriving from the isthmian region (Thompson 1970:10-22). To that, a new icon of rule – Tezcatlipoca – developed from the Classic Maya patron god of elite rule, K'awil; first adopted by K'ak'upakal at Chichén Itzá in the late ninth century. This refers to the image of Tezcatlipoca on the jamb in the Monjas complex that later takes its fully anthropomorphic form in the Temple of the Chac Mool, which then transferred to Tula, the Mixtec, and ultimately to Tenochtitlan.

The A.D. 1000-1050 realignment episode at Tula was a time of great social, political, and ideological upheaval for that city (Mastache and Crespo 1982:32). It was also when Tula achieved full apogee, evolving into a state (Mastache et al. 2002:303). At that same time, a new symbol of elite rule – Tezcatlipoca – arrived at Tula as a new god: the god of the Toltec cult (Mastache et al. 2002:303). Deriving from such a prestigious city as Chichén Itzá, Tezcatlipoca would have been a highly impactful symbol, and may have been the catalytic icon from which Tula elite could have asserted divine rule, thereby uniting a multi-cultural population (Mastache et al. 2003:302) and propelling Tula to its greatest achievement.

The power of the Tezcatlipoca icon was such that it became the patron god of rulers in central Mexico, as it had become at Chichén Itzá. The later Mexica, interlopers to the Valley of Mexico, who "adopted many older Mesoamerican deities" (Diehl 1983:43), took Tezcatlipoca as their patron of elite rule from Tula; possibly motivated by a need for legitimacy, in their case, not

only for divine rule, but also to enter the central Mexican political dynamic, which they later came to dominate. In fact, their emperor Tizoc was portrayed on the Stone of Tizoc as Tezcatlipoca, with a smoking mirror and serpent foot (Thompson 1942:50; Tozzer 1957: figs. 242, 352).

Ringle et al. (1998) posit a Quetzalcoatl cult as the vehicle for the transference of Toltec imagery through a series of Tollans (Ringle 2009:42), a place where one became invested into the cult, and was imbued with divinity, or the right to divine rule (Kowalski and Graham 2007:22). I would suggest here that the true motivation for this cult was profit. Presumably, a Tollan would have become a wealthy city as those seeking investiture might be required to pay for their ceremony, and could then have been obligated to send tribute (membership dues) to the Tollan site to remain invested in the cult. A major city holding the power of legitimization of rule through investiture could have established a tributary-based network of secondary cities controlled by those imbued there with the right of divine rule. Kepecs (2007:141) speaks of an interdependent system of polities "linked economically through the exploitation of one class by another." In any such system, one can assume the existence of a paramount city at the apex of such a hierarchy. In the scenario proposed here, the paramount would have been Chichén Itzá. Could Chichén Itzá have franchised Tula, giving it a charter to perform investiture rites requiring the construction of the Palacio Quemado in which to perform such rites, and the importation of Tezcatlipoca, Chichén Itzá's new, fully anthropomorphized icon of rule?

Owing to the heavy reliance upon ethnohistorical documents (Piña Chan 1987:7-9), the early scholars created and adhered dogmatically to a myth in which a Toltec empire emanating from Tula reigned supreme over all of Mesoamerica in the Early to Late Postclassic, and thereby

spread "Toltec" culture throughout, culminating in the construction of a copy of Tula at Chichén Itzá. I believe that the term "Toltec" should not be assigned to a particular cultural group (ie. the people of Tula), but, following Ringle et al. (1998), that it is an ideology that incorporated religious, social, political, and economic norms into an overarching system promulgated through militarism and mercantilism, in which investiture into the system imbued elites with the right of divine rule. Therefore, I argue that there never was an actual "Toltec" culture, whose existence has been questioned by Brinton who referred to it as a "baseless fable" (1887:230). What has previously been accepted as Toltec culture, I propose now be conceptualized as the ideology behind the religious/political/economic/militaristic theme evidenced in the art and architecture of Epiclassic cities such as Teotenango, Cacaxtla (where Maya influence is evident), Xochicalco, Cholula, El Tajín, Uxmal, Chichén Itzá, and, later, at Tula and Tenochtitlan that distributed throughout Mesoamerica under the guise of what Ringle et al. (1998) refer to as the cult of Quetzalcoatl. In this sense, what was once called "Toltec" should now be (just as there is capitalism, socialism, etc.) referred to as "Toltecism."

In light of these new proposals, Chichén Itzá can no longer be viewed as the last gasp of Maya culture, but should now be seen as the intermediary between the Classic Maya – with ties to the Olmec, Izapa, and Teotihuacan – and the Postclassic Mesoamerican world. A conduit, if you will, of both Mesoamerican and Maya cultural continuity, albeit in a revised, more cosmopolitinized form, readily accessible to various cultures without the language barriers posed by Classic Period glyphic expression (Kowalski 2007:298). What fluoresced at Chichén Itzá was the culmination of the various attempts of earlier cities to cobble together from the disparate cultural elements they displayed, a significant ideology that could be employed by their

respective elites to control the populace. As evidenced by the adoption of Tezcatlipoca at Tula, its appearances in the central Mexican codices, and its importance at Tenochtitlan, where Mastache et al (2002:304) see cultural continuity with Tula; Chichén Itzá developed a new icon of Mesoamerican rulership that endured for another six centuries after that city fell to the eventual fate of all cultures. Thus, the contribution of the fully Maya Chichén Itzá toward the establishment of Postclassic central Mexican ideology must now be considered to have been much greater than was previously thought.

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