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The Warriors of Tula: Identity, Iconography, and the Sculpted Body

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Art History

by

Amy Michelle Whitacre

August 2014

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The Thesis of Amy Michelle Whitacre is approved:

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Introduction:

Tula the Site

Tula is home to one of the prominent pre-Hispanic settlements in Central Mexico, located approximately 60 miles north of current Mexico City (Figure 1). Tula was inhabited from the Epiclassic to the Late Postclassic period, with the peak of the civilization during the Early Postclassic period. Alba Guadalupe Mastache Flores, an anthropologist who worked for over 40 years with the National Institute of Archaeology and History (INAH) in Mexico to research Tula, has separated the Early Postclassic period into the Early Tollan and the Late Tollan phases, as it applies to Tula. The Late Tollan phase includes the majority of the rise of the civic center of Tula. The city of Tula is surrounded on three sides by mountain ranges and there is a stream that separates Tula from its neighboring regions.¹ The inhabitants of Tula, during the Late Tollan phase, built a large civic center as well as living quarters for its inhabitants. They were able to control the territory close to what became Tenochtitlan, modern day Mexico City, for almost 300 years. In 1972 Alba Guadalupe Mastache and Ana Maria Crespo surveyed over 1,000 square kilometers of the Tula region. From the Mastache-Crespo survey of Tula uncovered that there were many rural populations around the site of Tula that never created a civic center. Therefore it has been speculated that Tula Grande served as a regional capital for all of the surrounding rural groups.²

¹ Dan M. Healan, "The Archaeology of Tula, Hidalgo, Mexico," *Journal of Archaeological Research*, p. 53–115.

² Richard A. Diehl, *Tula: the Toltec capital of ancient Mexico* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1983), p. 48

The group of citizens and rulers of Tula Grande are thought to be a mixed population that migrated and settled in Tula, however this is not a topic that has been agreed upon in past literature. They have been called Tolteca— Chichimecas, which were the peasants of modest cultures that spoke either Nahuatl or Otomi. Nigel Davies believes that they migrated from Teotihuacan to Tula.³ Richard Diehl believed that the group of people that inhabited Tula was a multiethnic group that originated from the North, Northwest, and Central Mexico.⁴ The ceramics identified with sites closest to Tula Grande, such as Tula Chico, are Coyotlatelco pottery— a ceramic horizon of the Early Postclassic period beginning in central Mexico after the fall of Teotihuacan. This pottery is identified as red-on-buff, characterized by red geometric designs or yellow or buff backgrounds.⁵ According to Dan M Healan, Tula Grande has pottery with spherical shapes similar to the Coyotlatelco pottery, however Robert Cobean believes that there are many differences between the Coyotlatelco pottery found in the Basin of Mexico and the pottery found in Tula.⁶ The pottery from Tula Grande opens a lot of questions regarding the origins of Tula, however it does not give any concrete answers about the culture that once inhabited the site.

Tula Grande was inhabited from 900–1150 C.E. It is oriented on a North South axis and was built over the hilltop near the Tula River. The sites location was ideal, as it was located near the Basin of Mexico, which offered a great variety of economic

³ Nigel Davies, *The Toltecs until the fall of Tula* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1977), p. 171–175.

⁴ Richard Diehl, *Tula: the Toltec capital of ancient Mexico*, p. 14–15.

⁵ Richard Diehl, *Mesoamerica After the Decline of Teotihuacan*, p. 13

⁶ Dan M. Healan, *Tula of the Toltecs excavations and survey* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1989), p. 38

resources, trade networks, and natural paths to other regions of Mesoamerica.⁷ The city of Tula is perfectly placed between rivers, as well on irrigable land, giving the inhabitants access to two sources of fresh water and plenty of land to harvest crops. The city of Tula Grande was purposefully placed in an area that is very favorable to the inhabitants, giving them access to everything that they needed to thrive, which led to its growth and success.

A few different researchers have estimated the population of Tula during its peak, the Tollan Phase. James Stoutamire has estimated the population of Tula at 55,000 during its prime.⁸ Whereas Juan Yadeun has estimated Tula to have a population of 18,000–34,000 while he conducted the Proyecto Tula project.⁹ Due to the differences in art and architecture during the Tollan phase it is thought that the inhabitants of Tula were a multiethnic group that introduced new architecture and possibly new religious ideas to Tula.

The civic center of Tula, better known as Tula Grande, was the second phase of the occupation of Tula—present day Tula de Allende, Hidalgo, Mexico. Tula Grande is composed of Ball court 1 and 2, the Coatepantli, Building B and C, Building 1, 3, and 4, Room 1–4, Quarters 1–6, and Vestibule 2 North and East (Figure 2). The Coatepantli is also known as the serpent wall and surrounds the civic center. It is approximately 131 feet long from East to West and 7 feet tall. It is filled with tablets that show human

⁷ Alba Guadalupe Mastache, Robert Cobean, and Dan Healan, *Ancient Tollan: Tula and the Toltec Heartland* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2002), p. 79

⁸James W. Stoutamire, *Trend surface analysis of survey data Tula, Mexico* (Missouri: University of Missouri, 1975)

⁹ Richard Diehl, *Tula: the Toltec Capital of Ancient Mexico*, p. 58–60

skeletons, as well as cut shell ornaments and entire snakes (Figure 3). It has a special relationship with Building B, because they were constructed so similarly it is believed that they were built around the same time. Building B is composed of Pyramid B as well as three main rooms with multiple rooms off of those rooms, and also a vestibule of pillars in front of the pyramid. Pyramid C is the largest temple platform found at Tula. Unfortunately, this building is the least preserved.

The site of Tula Grande had several substructures, which indicate that it was expanded as the population grew. The growth of the civic center is also a reflection of attempting to always make the civic center the tallest and most prominent, creating a visual hierarchy. One of the highest points of the ancient city may have been the Altanteans on top of Pyramid B. Making the additions to the structures, including Pyramid B, was important because it assisted with creating the hierarchy within the city. These substructures and growth of the city can be seen primarily through the pyramids. Both Pyramid B and C show layers of substructure through the decoration and size of the pyramids underneath. This made the structures in the civic center not only the physical axis of the site, but it also made it more easily defensible to attacks, being in the highest location and backed up on to a swamp area.¹⁰

Terminology

The terms that are used when discussing Tula are not easily definable, because they have been assigned multiple meanings. The term Toltec has been associated with

¹⁰ Alba Guadalupe Mastache, Robert Cobean, and Dan Healan, *Ancient Tollan: Tula and the Toltec Heartland*, p. 54

Tollan, which Enrique Fourescano has called “the archetype of charismatic power and government.”¹¹ It is referred to in the Popol Vuh as the place the first people who were created gathered and received knowledge such as language and their gods.¹² The term Toltec, has also been used when discussing the population of Tula during the Tollan phase. This has led to a debate of whether or not the Tollan referred to in the Popol Vuh is referring to the site of Tula. It has caused much controversy and discussion within the literature on Tula and these terms. Therefore to abstain from the discussion of whether or not Tula is the Toltec capital referred to by the Aztecs, the term Toltec will not be used to describe the cultural identity of the inhabitants in Tula.

The warrior sculptures are referred to as “Atlanteans” in the majority of texts about Tula. The term Atlantean refers to, Atlas, the Greek god who was known to hold up the earth.¹³ In classical European architecture an atlas is depicted as a man holding up an earth, the body is strained and the hands are in the air holding a globe. These characteristics do not match the warrior sculptures in Tula, as they hold the weight of the building by using the tops of their heads. The term caryatid has also been used in reference to the warrior sculptures. A caryatid is a sculpture in the shape of a female that acts as a structural support in Greek architecture.¹⁴ Physically, the caryatid resembles the warrior sculptures in that the architectural weight was to be carried on the head of the

¹¹ Enrique Fourescano, *The Myth of Quetzalcoatl* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), p. 61.

¹² Kay Almere Read and Jason Gonzalez, *Handbook of Mesoamerican Mythology* (Oxford 2000), p. 90.

¹³ William Smith, “Atlas” *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* (London, 1873).

¹⁴ George Hersey, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), p. 69.

sculpture, but stylistically the caryatids were portrayed naturalistically, they were more mobile in their movements.¹⁵ The warrior sculptures are very stiff and have little attention to naturalism; they are also male in comparison to the Greek female caryatid. Calling these statues Atlanteans it does not accurately describe them because it places the statues in a western context. This limits the way in which we can think about and discuss the statues, since they are not objects that were made by a western society. By rejecting the Western terms that have been used to characterize the atlanteans I hope to reject the western principles that are generally applied to Mesoamerican artwork. Currently, it is impossible to completely reject all usage of western principles to discuss artwork in the Mesoamerican world, because the practice of art history as a whole is a western concept, however throughout this paper the statues known as “Atlanteans” in Tula Grande will be referred to as warrior sculptures in order to try to accurately name and describe these sculptures.

Historiography

The first person to explore the site and make a contribution to scholarly work was Desiree Charnay, a French explorer and archaeologist predominately known for his work in Mexico. He is remembered for his research at Tula and being the first to recognize the connections between Tula and Chichen Itza, the similar layout, and the artistic similarities. During his excavations Charnay looked to connect legends to archaeological facts, and in the process was able to create detailed plans of Tula Grande.

¹⁵ For example the “Caryatid Porch of the Erechtheion, Athens 421–407BC” are fluid in their motions with flowing drapery and arms that extend away from the body.

With these floor plans in place he speculated about the usage of rooms by analyzing the artifacts found in those rooms.¹⁶ Charnay wrote that the inhabitants of Tula were in fact the Toltec of the ancient Tollan that was discussed by the Aztecs and that their connection to Chichen Itza was in fact because of their domination of the city.¹⁷¹⁸ This claim has been highly criticized and debated by scholars for many years.

Charnay's scholarship prompted a critical response by Daniel Garrison Brinton in 1887, "Were the Toltecs a Historic Nationality." In this text he criticized the work of Charnay, questioning whether or not the inhabitants of Tula were in fact Toltecs of Tollan. Instead, Brinton characterized the inhabitants of Tula as a branch of the Nahua people, and that the Toltecs were rather an invented noble ancestor to the Aztec.¹⁹ Brinton argued that the Toltecs were more known from textual sources than from archaeological records. The archaeological evidence did not clearly demonstrate that the

¹⁶Richard A. Diehl, *Tula: the Toltec Capital of Ancient Mexico*, p. 13.

¹⁷ The term "Tollan" meaning "the place of rushing and reeds" was meant to signify the location of the beginning and the place where the gods or deities resided. The term Tollan has been used by the Quiche Maya of Uatlan, Guatemala, and central Mexican groups. When Spanish missionaries began to record local stories the name Quetzacoatl was continually brought up and the story of his travels throughout Mesoamerica were relayed to the Spanish friars.

Further Readings:

Susan Gillepsie, "Toltecs, Tula, and Chichen Itza: The Development of an Archaeological Myth," In *Twin Tollans: Chichén Itzá, Tula, and the epiclassic to early postclassic Mesoamerican world* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library & Collection, 2007), p.61–95.

Lindsay Jones, *Twin city tales: a hermeneutical reassessment of Tula and Chichén Itzá*. (Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1995)

H.B. Nicholson, *Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl of Tollan: A Problem in Mesoamerican Ethnohistory* (Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. 1957)

¹⁸ Cynthia Kristan–Graham, *Twin Tollans*, p. 3

¹⁹ Cynthia Kristan–Graham, *Twin Tollans*, p. 7

inhabitants of Tula were the same people as the mythic Toltecs that are discussed in the textual evidence found in Tenochtitlan.

From the 1950s to the 1970s the majority of the work on Tula had to do with the textual evidence in order to bridge the gap between the two divergent positions regarding the Toltec questions, which one states that “the Toltecs were responsible for most Classic and Postclassic large centers and impressive works of art and architecture in Mesoamerica, while the other insist that the Toltec’s were not even real people.”²⁰ Nigel Davies, Paul Kirchhoff, and Wigberto Jimenez Moreno all took on the challenge of trying to decide whether to read the ethno-historic records as real. H.B. Nicholson concluded that ethno-history may contain kernels of truth, however that it was nearly impossible to figure out which kernel would be the correct one. Through analysis of the stories of the Tollan, Nicholson concluded that the stories were not reliable sources for the history of pre—Columbian events and therefore makes it nearly impossible to legitimize the connection between the mythic Tollan and the city of Tula and its inhabitants during the Tula Grande Phase.

In the 1940s the excavations by Jorge R. Acosta began in Tula Grande. The research was funded by INAH and Acosta wrote reports of excavations and summarizations of his work, but died before completing an overall analysis.²¹ Acosta’s work in Tula is the most exhaustive thus far and his investigations can be summarized as placing Tula chronologically in Mesoamerican history, resolving the Tula versus Teotihuacan conflict of which was the Tollan, collection of information as it pertains to

²⁰ Cynthia Kristan- Graham, *Twin Tollans*, p. 6

²¹Dan Healan, *Tula of the Toltecs: Excavations and Survey*, p. 15

the civic center and elite population, and lastly the restoring of the structures in which he excavated.²² During Acosta's first season working for INAH in 1940 he created many test pits and trenches that allowed him to locate ceramics, which were used to place the site within in chronological time between Teotihuacan and Tenochtitlan.²³ He also unearthed the majority of the civic center and reconstructed the majority of the area as well.

Proyecto Tula was launched by INAH in 1968, which was used to accumulate information on the region as well as historical and ethnographical information. The Proyecto Tula initiative was so important because they not only did archaeological surveys, but also collected research on the soils, irrigations, and usage of the land. Mastache and Crespo's field study was also very important, as they surveyed over 1,000 kilometers of land in the Tula region in order to track settlement patterns. The University of Missouri's Archaeological project at Tula began in 1961 with the purpose of learning more about Tula outside of the civic center, it grew into a 3 year project that was to excavate the Canal Locality and also survey the entire site.²⁴ The University of Missouri's main purpose in their excavation was to focus on the rural parts of Tula, because up to that point the primary focus on the archaeological records at Tula was devoted to the ceremonial/civic center of Tula Grande.

From all of the above excavations and literature about the site of Tula, the majority is focused on the findings in Tula and the site plan. There is also a focus on understanding the connection between Tula and Chichen Itza, as well as understanding

²³Tim Murray, *Milestones in Archaeology: A Chronological Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc, 1995), p. 475-467

²⁴Dan Healan, *Tula of the Toltecs: Excavations and Survey*, p. 31.

the idea of the Tollan and where that may be located. Some scholars argued that the inhabitants of Tula—possibly the mythological Toltec’s—invaded lowland Mexico and overtook Chichen Itza with force. This is one of the ways scholars have justified the similarities that are found at Tula and Chichen Itza in terms of architecture. The style at Chichen Itza has even been deemed the “Toltec Style.” In contrast, the others argued that through trade and migration influence would have been made upon the cultures. However a definitive relationship between Chichen Itza and Tula has not been discovered and continues to be discussed and debated.

While Tula has been subject to consistent scholarly analysis, there remains much to be gleaned from looking closely at the physical evidence the inhabitants of Tula left behind so that we can better understand their culture and ideas. Specifically, I believe that a careful art historical analysis of the objects in the site will offer a perspective into Tula culture that complements the rich archaeological work that has been done. An art historical vantage point, and particularly the use of formal analysis, allows us to begin with single objects, rather than written sources or preconceived notions of Tula culture and meaning. By starting with single objects, which can also be taken as acts of expression, we can begin to reframe Tula as a particular place constructed at an equally particular time.

Goal

In order to understand the warrior sculptures purpose in space and in time, their iconography and style must be examined in detail. They must be identified as objects that

are important to the civilization that the inhabitants of Tula had built. This thesis places the warrior sculptures within the stylistic time line, by comparing them to other artwork being created prior to the warrior sculptures in the same region. By looking at other artwork we can better understand the warrior sculptures relationship with objects found in the area surrounding Tula— Tula Chico, La Mesa, etc.. prior to the Tollan phase, as well as how they fit within the cannon of artwork found in Tula Grande during the Tollan Phase.

While discussing the warrior sculptures we must discuss the reconstruction of the site of Tula and the warrior sculptures themselves. The warrior sculptures were reconstructed during Acosta's excavations. Although Acosta is known for being a detailed excavator—keeping pristine notes of what he did and why while on site— he took many liberties when it came to reconstructing the site of Tula. In order to talk about the warrior sculptures we must look at the possibility that the reconstruction of the warrior sculptures on top of Pyramid B may have been done incorrectly. This possible error in the reconstruction leads to a discussion of the possibility that the warrior sculptures may be representations of the cardinal directions in which many Mesoamerican cultures evoke in their civic centers.

With a better understanding of the warrior sculptures, they then can be examined within the space that they were placed. This thesis discusses the possible reasons why the warrior sculptures were constructed and how the warrior sculptures may have affected the rituals of the civic center as well as the implication that they may have had on the daily lives of the inhabitants of Tula. In order to try and understand the warrior sculptures

purpose within the space, we must look to other artworks at the site of Tula, but also other Mesoamerican sites that scholarship currently has a better understanding of the social functions of the civic centers.

Structure:

I visually analyzed the warrior sculptures on top of Pyramid B in Tula de Allende, Hidalgo, Mexico in order to understand the impact that they had on the site as a whole. I then thoroughly analyzed the characteristics of each of the statues, including their iconography. By analyzing the details I was able to look at the similarities between the warrior sculptures and other objects that surround the archaeological site. Looking at the objects and their similar features at other sites will lead to a discussion of artistic tradition in a region inhabited possibly by different cultural groups. The artistic traditions that are presented on the warrior sculptures open up the discussion of a usage of the body in Mesoamerican sculpture. The body of the warrior sculptures represented the inhabitants of Tula— one of the ways in which they do so is through the elaborate costume that they wear. This costume and the meaning behind the costume seem to take precedent over showing individualism on the warrior sculptures or age. Instead the sculpted body is being used as a means for transmitting information. This can be seen through the fact that there is a lack of concern for naturalism or the depiction of separate people when looking at objects in the Tula region. Instead of showing the uniqueness of people's facial features or bodies, it was important that the warrior sculptures be uniform and carry the symbols that were important in demonstrating that they were warriors. Lastly, I discuss the possible impact that the warrior sculptures would have had on the civic center as a

whole. The warrior sculptures were a large and prominent feature of the civic center and their possible usage and reasoning for being placed there may never been known for certain but many questions can be asked about the reasoning behind their placement.

This thesis is separated into two chapters. Chapter One takes a close look at the warrior sculptures on top of Pyramid B, as well as the partial warrior sculptures legs that can be found in the Jorge R. Acosta Museum in the Archaeological Zone of Tula. I began by doing a close visual analysis on each of the four warrior sculptures, as well as a comparison of them against the legs that can be found in the museum. I then closely looked at the characteristics of the warrior sculptures in comparison to similar imagery found in the region of Tula, in order to better understand if there is a pattern or artistic tradition in the region and if there is what that pattern or artistic tradition may signify.

Chapter Two looks at how the warrior sculptures demonstrate a use of the body in Mesoamerican sculpture as a means to present information as well as impact the space that they inhabit. The body in Mesoamerica is broken into gender and age when discussed and depicted. The majority of the time there is a lack of naturalism, not because it cannot be done, but rather it is not the important factor. The objects that are placed upon the sculptures are there intentionally in order to tell a story and be used as visual references. The sculpture in Mesoamerica tends to lack differentiation in form, and it seems as though this is done to emphasis the items depicted on the body rather than the bodies form.

The site of Tula and its inhabitants during the Tollan Phase offer an abundance of information on the culture of Mesoamerica after the fall of Teotihuacan. The actions of

the inhabitants of Tula, demonstrated through their creation of a city and especially of the civic center, begin to bridge the gap between the well— known and successful people of Teotihuacan and the Aztecs, the two major powerhouses of central Mexico. This thesis attempts to demonstrate Tula’s importance in the fabric of Mesoamerican history, and to understand how significant these warrior sculptures were to the people of Tula. By close examination of the warrior sculptures, the reader will take away the importance of them when they were used during the Tollan phase, rather than just as the icon for the site of Tula, and the objects the “proves” that the culture was centered on warfare.

Chapter I: The Warriors of Tula

It is possible that the facial features of the warrior sculptures, found on top of Pyramid B in the civic center of Tula Grande, Hidalgo Mexico, and their connection to figurines found at sites around the civic center— La Mesa, Magoni, and Tula Chico— may demonstrate the usage of a continuous features in order to establish a connection to sites that existed prior to the Tollan phase and possibly even assert a right to rule. The concept of taking pieces from one culture to another in order to substantiate a right to rule can be seen in other Mesoamerican cultures, such as when the Aztecs looted items from Tula. Bernadrino de Sahagun discussed the practice of looting “And Tolteca bowls, Tolteca ollas are taken from the earth. And many Tolteca jewels— arm bands, esteemed green stones, turquoise, emerald green jade are taken from the earth.”²⁵ This would mean that the usage of certain facial features on sculpture was meant to be indicative of the people— or perhaps just the artwork they made— that inhabited the region prior to the Tollan phase.

The current city of Tula de Allende is located in the state of Hidalgo, which is approximately 60 miles North East of Mexico City (Figure 1). The archaeological site of Tula is located in the North corner of the present day city. The entrance to the civic center is flanked on the left side with the Coatepantli Serpent wall and Pyramid B on the right hand side. Behind the entrance to the civic center is Ball Court 1. In front of the Coatepantli Serpent Wall is the back of Pyramid B. If you make a left between Pyramid

²⁵Richard Diehl, *Tula: The Toltec Capital of Ancient Mexico*, p. 27

B and Building B, there is another pathway that leads to the front of both of the structures. Turning to the left, there are the large sets of stairs, facing south, that allow access to the top of Pyramid B. When facing the front of Pyramid B on the left side is the vestibule with a colonnaded hall, this acted as a foyer for Pyramid B. At the base of the pyramid are two chacmools, one on each side of the pyramid.

Tula & the Reconstruction of the Warrior Sculptures

The warrior sculptures (Figure 4) have been restored atop Pyramid B in the civic center of Tula Grande. They were discovered by Jorge R. Acosta on the North side of Building B, used as fill in a Pre-Hispanic ditch. The warrior sculptures were possibly ceremonially destroyed when the site was abandoned, or it could have been the work of Pre-Hispanic looters. When Acosta was excavating he located a trench dug into Pyramid B that was placed there intentionally in Pre-Hispanic time. It is thought that it was used as a ramp to take down tablets, the warrior sculptures, and other sculptures.²⁶ They date to the Tollan Phase of Tula (900-1200 C.E.). All of the warrior sculptures are approximately 14 feet tall and were constructed of basalt. They are approximately two and a half feet in diameter. When looking at the warrior sculptures there are lines that cut the warrior sculptures into pieces. In photos of Acosta's reconstruction it is evident that the sculptures were once in separated pieces and were later reconstructed. The lines in the sculptures are clean and do not look like breaking points that would have occurred when the site was destroyed, but rather part of their initial construction. It appears that they

²⁶Dan Healan, *Tula of the Toltecs: Excavations and Survey*, p. 17

would have been carved piece by piece and then constructed as pillars once they were on top of the pyramid.

The warrior sculptures were pillars that supported the main temple that would have been constructed on top of Pyramid B. There are drawings that demonstrate how the temple may have looked when it was constructed— these drawings can be found in the Jorge R. Acosta museum on the archaeological site of Tula (Figure 5). The reconstruction atop Pyramid B, as well as in the diagrams, illustrates the warrior sculptures standing side by side, approximately three feet apart from one another facing out the front of Pyramid B— towards the staircase. On the floor of the pyramid there are large square imprints, the warrior sculptures seem to fit inside these at the bottom of the figures. However, it is unclear whether the cut outs are from the original design or from the reconstruction.

Augusto Molina— Montes' chapter of *Falsifications and Misrepresentations of Pre Columbian Art* titled "Archaeological Buildings: Restoration or Misrepresentation" discusses the principals of restoration and the areas in which Acosta fell short. He identified the basic principles of restoration: "1. Restoration attempts to conserve the materiality— the material aspects— of the monument. 2. The monument has a double value: a historical value and an aesthetic value; 3. It is necessary in restoration to respect both aspects so as not to falsify either the history or the aesthetic document."²⁷ He then goes on to discuss some of the restoration that was done in Tula, including the restoration of the south staircase on Pyramid B. When Pyramid B was reconstructed originally in 1942 there was no mention of the staircase, however in 1946 there is mention of the

²⁷Augusto Molina–Montes, "Archaeological Buildings: Restoration or Misrepresentation," p. 127

reconstruction, stating, "...although not one step remained, we did know the pyramid has a staircase and they it was located towards the Great Plaza." At that point all Acosta had based the staircase upon was an imprint of what seemed like a stair upon the stucco floor found in front of Pyramid B.²⁸ A similar situation occurred with the pillars that were reconstructed in front of Pyramid B. Acosta found imprints of pillars on the ground, yet did not find any remnants of pillars. He justified restoring pillars in this location by comparing it to the Palacio Quemado. Acosta states "After several years of hoping, we at last found the datum that was necessary to attempt, with justification, the restoration of many columns in different building, in order that the public may have a more realistic idea of what these sumptuous Toltec constructions were like."

Molina—Montes' chapter also mentions the reconstruction of Pyramid B. He discussed how it was compared to the Temple of Warriors in Chichen Itza when reconstructed, rather than reconstructed based on true evidence of where the objects would have belonged. He did not specifically mention the placement of the warrior sculptures, however his work continuously debunks the way in which Acosta restored the site, meaning that it is most likely applicable to the placement of the warrior sculptures. With this revelation regarding Acosta's style of reconstruction it opens up a door of possibilities as to how the warrior sculptures could have been placed on pyramid B.

Pyramid B is thirty two by thirty nine feet and over thirty feet high. The pyramid was built on a five—tiered platform with one staircase on the south side²⁹. It was

²⁸ Augusto Molina—Montes, "Archaeological Buildings: Restoration or Misrepresentation," p. 131

²⁹ Dan Healan, *Tula of the Toltecs: Excavations and Survey*, p. 19–25

constructed with rock rubble and mud in three different phases, according to Acosta.³⁰ The first stage structure would have been faced with slabs of stone. They were either originally smooth or were plastered to appear smooth. The second stage is what can be seen today and has been restored. It contains tablets with jaguars, serpents, birds, and human creatures; most of these tablets were removed and then reused during stage three of the construction. Stage three is the most damaged, and only the North side currently remains, as it would have been seen in the height of the Tollan phase. Originally it was decorated much like stages one and two. According to Acosta in the mound fill there were large cylindrical stone tubes that would have been used for drainage.

The reconstruction of the warrior sculpture on top of Pyramid B, done by Acosta, placed them towards the center of the pyramid. In front of them are portions of cylindrical stone columns, which are only approximately four feet in height with a geometric pattern on them. The patterns are in circles and wave like forms. The cylindrical columns also seem to have been made piece by piece and then constructed—on the tops of each are protruding cut outs that seem to work as a puzzle to construct the pillars by placing on top of another. For example, a few of the cylindrical columns are shown by themselves and others have another stone stacked on top of them—it is clear that they are two separate stones due to the shift in patterning and the small gap left between the stones. Behind the warrior sculptures are another set of four columns. These columns are square and depict warriors and weapons associated with warriors. The images are carved into the stone; they were not portrayed in the round like the warrior

³⁰ Jorge R. Acosta, “Los Ultimos descumbrimientos arqueologicos en Tula, Hidalgo,” *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropologicos*. Mexico, (1941), p. 240–244.

columns. These square pillars have been constructed in the same manner as the warrior sculptures and cylindrical columns— each part was made separately and then pieced together.

In diagrams from the Jorge R. Acosta Museum demonstrating the reconstruction of the Pyramid B the warrior sculptures are shown holding up a roof — creating a temple like structure. In the drawings done by Acosta, the temple on top of the Pyramid has three full walls, and an open wall on the entrance side— the side with the stairs leading down into the civic center. The creation of round columns and square columns on top of the Pyramid led to the belief that these sculptures would have served as structural support as well as decoration on top of the Pyramid B. The square columns also depicted warrior items— such as weaponry and the warrior costume. However, the figures depicted on the square columns may be the depiction of rulers within the Tula region characterized by glyphs above their depictions.³¹ They are thought to be rulers because the clothing that they are depicted wearing has been considered a mixture of a warrior outfit with royal clothing. Cynthia-Kristan Graham has done extensive research on the square columns from Pyramid B, she concluded that all of the figures are kings from the past and the ones with glyphs would be those recently crowned. She discussed that the warrior costume, for elites, would be seen more as a form of paying homage to their ancestors of Teotihuacan, and also may be the reason why we see the same costumes on warrior sculptures in Chichen Itza. Mastache and Cobean believed that the top figures would be the kings or

³¹ Alba Guadalupe Mastache, Robert Cobean, and Dan Healan, *Ancient Tollan: Tula and the Toltec Heartland*, p. 99–103

rulers and the figures located on the lower registers would have represented those in second command, but still of high rank.³²

The Warrior Sculptures

The four warrior sculptures that can be found on top of Pyramid B will be referred to as warrior sculptures 1, 2, 3, and 4 from left to right as if facing the front of the temple on the south side. Warrior sculpture 1 has been restored and is the most complete out of all four of the warrior sculptures. It was broken into five pieces when it was dismantled (Figure 6). The warrior sculptures all contain the same features, including a headdress, apron, kneepads, sandals, breastplate, dorsal disk, and apron. They are rigid in their stance with their arms straight to the side of their bodies, hardly carved out from the stone. The body contains a shorter torso and longer legs. Although the body can be seen in the round, its attributes seem to barely be carved out of the stone, giving it the feeling of being block like and very supportive.

The warrior sculpture 1 wears a headdress that contains long rectangular shapes on the top, which may represent feathers. Below that is a thin line of square shapes, and at the very bottom there are five tiers of hexagonal shapes that go all the way around the headdress (Figure 7). The hexagonal shapes are symmetrical in the restored version, but the photos from before Jorge R. Acosta restored the warrior sculptures the shapes were not as perfectly patterned. It seems as though they were restored to this perfect pattern during the reconstruction phase (Figure 8). With the information learned from Molina—

³² Alba Guadalupe Mastache, Robert Cobean, and Dan Healan, *Ancient Tollan: Tula and the Toltec Heartland*, p. 100–107.

Montes about the reconstructions done by Acosta, there is a great possibility that changes were made to the patterns as well. A key aspect of restoration that Molina—Montes brought up was that if any part of a reconstruction is redone—in a manner that may not be accurate to the original—it should be done in a manner that it is distinguishable as a modern addition. However, this is not the case with the reconstruction at Tula Grande. The reconstruction was conducted by Jorge Acosta and took thirteen field seasons, lasting from 1940 to 1960. Acosta began his excavations in hopes of placing Tula accurately within the time line of Mesoamerican history, attempting to answer the questions whether or not Tula was the Tollan of the ethno-historical legend, and to begin the restoration of the site.

The reconstruction of Pyramid B took place from 1941–1964, including the reconstruction of the warrior sculptures.³³ Other than the differences in photographs there seems to be no textual evidence that alludes to the practices and liberties that were taken during the reconstruction of the warrior sculptures, including artistic details.³⁴ Acosta discussed other liberties that he took when restoring parts of the civic center in his reports on his excavations at Tula. He spent time justifying and explaining his reasoning behind taking liberties. His honesty when it came to his liberties has led to speculation and criticism of his work. However, since he was honest about the majority of the liberties he took in restoration, it is likely that if he did a lot of restoration to the warrior sculptures

³³Dan Healan, *Tula of the Toltecs*, p 17.

³⁴ During Jorge R. Acosta's 20 years of excavations of Tula he published many detailed reports of his work. However, he passed away before he was able to complete a comprehensive report on his work in Tula. When writing his reports he focused time on many part of the excavations in each report, therefore finding information regarding particular excavations is extremely difficult.

themselves he would have mentioned them in his reports as well. Even with his reports there is a lot of speculation around the reconstruction of the entire set of warrior sculptures as they might have been restored in other ways as well. It also greatly complicates the way in which the warrior sculptures can be discussed and analyzed. Moving forward it is important to keep in mind that the reconstructed version of the civic center may have not been the version that the inhabitants of Tula would have experienced.

Below the headdress is a geometrically patterned hairstyle, which continues its way around the figure to the back of its head where it appears to be the longest. The patterning can be seen in other forms of sculpture at Tula, which may mean it was done purposefully, rather than the sculptors inability to create natural looking hair. Warrior sculpture 1 has almond shaped eyes that are carved out and at one point there would have been inlays (Figure 7). The inlays would have brought the sculpture to life, giving some kind of agency to the warrior sculptures. The nose begins at the mid— section of the eyes and protrudes outward in a triangular shape and it is also wide set. Lastly, the mouth is small compared to the nose, and is portrayed in a straight line as if the lips were pursed. The lips are accented by clearly marked lines that start at the base of the nose and go downwards and at the middle of the mouth the line turns inward to create a triangular shape; this gives the mouth a more naturalistic look (Figure 7). The ears of the warrior sculpture 1 are rectangular and most likely represent the traditional earplugs that many

Mesoamerican cultures wore at that time. The face is approximately two feet wide³⁵ and two and a half feet in depth (Figure 7). The eyes are approximately three inches wide and set two inches apart.

Warrior sculpture 1's breastplate is in a rectangular shape with cut outs on the side creating three sections on each side of the breastplate— it is known as a butterfly breastplate (Figure 10). Below the breastplate are details of a shirt or outerwear on the top portion of the body— possibly the warrior tunic, but due to the damage of the sculpture over time it is not clear for certain if this was the intention of the sculpture. Below is a belt that extends down into the apron portion of the statue (Figure 11). The apron is carved into a V shape and extends down almost to the knees. He is also wearing kneepads and anklets. His sandals are decorated with a pattern that resembles a seashell (Figure 12). The side and back of the sandals are designed with snakes that have their heads towards the front of the statue with their mouths open and tongues out. From the frontal view the warrior sculpture 1 seems to have no arms, but while looking at the statue in the round there is an attempt by the sculptor to carve out arms on both sides of the statue. This gives the warrior sculptures a non-naturalistic form.

Without such basic features as arms shown in the round, it is clear that the sculptors first priority was not to show a person in a naturalistic form. This demonstrates a quality that can be seen in other parts of the warrior sculptures— the importance of the message or intent of the statue to come before the naturalistic form. The arm begins at the same point on the statue that the breastplate starts and it extends down to the beginning of

³⁵ The approximation is based off the base of the sculpture, since measuring of the facial features was not plausible.

the apron portion of the statue. The left arm has a bracelet on, with a zigzag. It also is holding a spear thrower. The spears were called atlatl, they would have been tipped with obsidian, and would have been used in battle since it was not extremely decorated.³⁶ The probable reason for the statues arms to be close to the body is that the statue's intent was to be like a column and therefore arms that were out in any arrangement would not allow the sculpture to function as an architectural piece as well as a decorative piece.

The back of the warrior sculpture 1's headdress contains a knot with ribbon that flows from the middle of the headdress down to the top of the back. Below the headdress, in the center of the warrior sculpture 1's back is a dorsal disk, which is decorated in three circles (Figure 13). The first circle has edges carved out, and in the middle circle there is a stylized snake with its head near the top left side of the circle. In the middle there is a carved head, which is done in high relief. It is clear that the dorsal plate is connected to the warrior sculpture 1 with a belt like object that is tied at the front of the warrior sculpture 1. The dorsal disk is also known as mirror disks and was popular among almost all Mesoamerican cultures. They changed in design and meaning depending on the time and the location, but almost everyone did use them from the Olmec to the Aztec. The disk served many purposes symbolically and functionally, some of these symbolic meanings have been deciphered which includes the reference to fire, water, and jade, all which have connections to certain deities or deeper meanings within their respective regions.³⁷ In Tula the mirrors were made out of iron pyrite and the snakes that appear on the mirror

³⁶Jorge R. Acosta, "La Indumentaria de las Cariatides de Tula," (Homenaje a Pablo Martinez del Rio. INAH: 1961), p. 226

³⁷ Karl A. Taube, *The Major Gods of Ancient Yucatan*, (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks. 1992) p. 184-188

disk are thought to represent Xiuhcoatl who is the fire serpent.³⁸ The outer border of the dorsal disk, with the carved edges may be a reference to a flower, which is associated with fire in Mesoamerican culture from the Classic to the Postclassic eras.³⁹ The human faces that are found in the center of the disks may refer to the close association of faces and mirrors in Mesoamerica.⁴⁰

The left side of warrior sculpture 1 also has an arm cut out of the stone. On the top of the arm there is an armband that has three spear shaped items on them. It is unclear exactly where the statue's arm finishes and the object he holds begins. It may have been easier perceive the division when the warrior sculptures were painted to differentiate these pieces. The warrior sculpture 1 is holding a bag decorated with frets, a curved weapon, and four long darts (Figure 14). The darts are approximately one and a half meters long, and would have been made of wood with obsidian or flint tips.⁴¹ The bag that he is holding is round, like a bowl, with a string of some sort attached to it. It has a geometrical shape on the bag and thought to be used in religious ceremonies, according to Acosta. The curved weapon is something that is not understood by Acosta and his team, he believes that it may have been used to block and redirect hits from opponents, as a defensive weapon. From its size on the statue it is estimated to be about fifty centimeters long.

³⁸ Miller and Karl A. Taube, *An Illustrated Dictionary of the Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya* (London: Thames & Hudson. 1993)

³⁹ Karl A. Taube, *The Major Gods of Ancient Yucatan*, p. 188.

⁴⁰ Karl A. Taube, In *Art, Ideology, and the City of Teotihuacan: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 8th and 9th October 1988* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections and Trustees of Harvard University), p. 169–204.

⁴¹ Jorge R. Acosta, "La Indumentaria de las Cariatides de Tula," p. 227

The major features of the warrior costume found on the warrior sculptures have been identified by Jimenez Garcia as the “pill box” headdress, the breastplate, rectangular earplugs, an apron, dorsal disk, kneepads and sandals. The warrior costume is also generally associated with a weapon of some sort. The warrior statues, for example, hold a gourd, curved weapon, darts, and a bracelet with a knife.⁴² These are the features that can be seen in other pieces from Hidalgo but mainly in other parts of Mexico. The warrior costume that is depicted on the warrior sculpture is generally associated with the “Toltec” image, which can be seen in other parts of Mexico. This warrior costume is not only shared within the region of Tula but throughout Mesoamerica, most prominently in Chichén Itzá.

The warrior iconography can be seen from Tula to the lowland Mayan region. The iconography of the Toltec can be traced to Classic Teotihuacan. Aspects of the warrior are seen in almost all warrior depictions, including the belt, loincloth, hip cloth, apron, helmets, and some sort of weapons or armor. Examples of this can be found at the Temple of Warriors on the pillars in Chichén Itzá as well as on rock paintings at Ixtapantongo, Mexico.

The warrior costume is also seen in Chichén Itzá, Mexico, approximately two thousand miles away from Tula. This has led to much confusion over how the same iconography has been used in two regions so far from one another. This occurrence has led to many stories of possible conquest of Chichén Itzá by the Toltec culture (the inhabitants of Tula), mass migration, or possible trade between the two regions. There are

⁴² Elizabeth Jimenez-Garcia, “Sculptural-Iconographic Catalogue of Tula, Hidalgo, Mexico: The Stone Figures,” (FAMIS: 2010), p. 2.

definitely signs of the same iconographical use of the warrior costume. For example, the Sculpted pillar with Toltec figure from the Temple of Warriors in Chichén Itzá demonstrates the similarities and the differences between using the same iconography, and stylistically being different.⁴³ The attire that the figure wears on the sculptured pillar contains aspects of the “warrior costume” — such as the headdress, the back disk, the loincloth, and the weapons. However the style— the way the warrior was depicted— is very different than the warriors seen in Tula. The warrior figure in Chichén Itzá was composed to look very naturalistic, and life like, whereas the Tula warrior sculptures are large and bulky. The warriors at Tula are short and wider in proportion, while the representations of warriors at Chichén Itzá are longer and look leaner. The depictions of the warriors in Tula and Chichén Itzá have the same iconographic traits of the warrior costume, yet stylistically they are different (Figure 15).

Alfred Tozzer was the first to make sense of the work done by the Carnegie Institution and identify some of the similarities between the Toltec dress and the Mexican spear thrower, “He noted a distinctively Toltec dress that was military, with the characteristically central Mexican spear— thrower (atl atl), round shield, back disk, cylindrical platelet hat, butterfly pectoral, and nose bead.”⁴⁴ The features of the warrior sculptures on Pyramid B in Tula were identified based on the characteristics described by Tozzer as the military clothing of a Toltec warrior. Without this analysis and discovery

⁴³ The iconography in this instance refers to the repeated objects, such as the similar headdress or type of breastplate, rather than a western traditional meaning of iconography referring to the Christian religion. Style is in reference to the way in which these iconographic traits are represented.

⁴⁴ Clemency Coggins, "Toltec," (RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics 42. 2002), p. 34–85.

the warrior sculptures at Tula may have never been deemed warrior sculptures in the first place. It sheds light on the importance of those characteristics of the sculpture to the inhabitants of Tula Grande— the possibilities of the warrior costume being used in real battles. When the inhabitants of Tula would have viewed these objects they would have associations to other more tangible objects that they may or may not have used on a daily basis. It also opens up the discussion for the possible uses of Pyramid B, and the importance of the warrior and its imagery to the inhabitants of Tula Grande. Pyramid B could possibly be a place where warriors were praised or worshipped.

Warrior sculpture 2, Warrior sculpture 3, and Warrior sculpture 4 are identical in attributes with their only differences being the damage that has occurred to them over time. Warrior sculpture 2's headdress has a large portion missing from the top right corner. Warrior sculpture 3 has a small chip on his nose. Warrior sculpture 4 is in the best condition with no visible signs of damage. The Warrior sculptures 2, 3, and 4 also depict traces of pigment that are not visible on warrior sculpture 1. The pigments that have been found have led to reconstructions of the colored statues, which are primarily red, gold, and black.⁴⁵

The Warrior Sculptures & the Cardinal Directions

A commonality that can be seen in some Mesoamerican cultures— including the Mayans and the Aztecs— is that when four objects are placed together in a cache or in sculpture they represent the cardinal directions. For example, the Aztecs believed that the

⁴⁵ Pablo and Jorge R. Acosta, Martinez del Rio, *Official Guide of Tula* (Mexico: INAH, 1958), p. 1–10.

cardinal points were religious symbols that represented the four corners of the earth. The Aztecs used architecture and city planning to maintain balance of the gods that were represented by the cardinal points. For example, the temples of Tenochtitlan faced west in order to face the new sun that rose each day.⁴⁶ The idea of using the cardinal directions in art and architecture can also be seen in the Mayan region. At a Mayan site in Belize, Blue Creek, many caches of objects were found in the pyramids. In structure 4-11, four of the caches of objects found were arranged in the cardinal directions.⁴⁷

The murals of San Bartolo, El Petén, Guatemala, may also help in proving that the four warrior sculptures may in fact be symbols of the cardinal directions. In the murals there is a scene—the gourd birth scene on the north wall—that shows the birth of four infants from a gourd. The mural depicts blood spurting downward and the infants spread out in each direction. There is one infant in the center near the mouth of the gourd, and the other infants in four corners around the gourd. It is believed that they represent “a cosmological plan of the four directions and world center, such as appears on page 1 of the Late Postclassic Codex Fejervary—Mayer.”⁴⁸ Many cultures used the idea of the cardinal directions, and it was a very important part of many Mesoamerican cultures. It would make sense if this tradition were part of the inhabitants of Tula as well.

⁴⁶Manuel Aguilar-Morena, “Aztec Architecture—Part 1,” *FAMSI Research*, http://www.famsi.org/research/aguilar/Aztec_Architecture_Part1.pdf.

⁴⁷Thomas H. Guderjan, *The Nature of an Ancient Maya City: Resource, Interaction, and Power at Blue Creek Belize* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press: 2007), p. 30

⁴⁸William A. Saturno, Karl A. Taube, and David Stuart, “The Murals of San Bartolo, El Peten, Guatemala, Part 1: The North Wall.” *In Ancient America* (Center for Ancient American Studies: Barnardville: 2005), p. 12–13.

The four warrior sculptures have been restored atop Pyramid B in a linear fashion, but there is no concrete proof that this reconstruction is correct. The four warriors may represent the four cardinal directions. The civic center of Tula Grade would then be referred to as the center of the site, as it is the center of the universe for that particular culture. For example, in maps of Tenochtitlan the civic center is the center of the universe and the cardinal points reach out from that center location.⁴⁹ There are only four warrior sculptures that have been found to originate on Pyramid B, therefore it is possible that the four warrior sculptures were meant to represent the cardinal directions on top of Pyramid B. There is one extra set of feet that resemble the warrior sculptures, but they have more differences than similarities (Figure 16).

The extra set of warrior column feet is very important to the discussion of the warrior sculptures as symbols of the cardinal points. They are stylistically different than the warrior sculptures found on top of Pyramid B. The warrior sculpture feet are currently exhibited in the Jorge R. Acosta Museum in the Archaeological Zone of Tula. The sculpture only represents the bottom half of a warrior, from the apron to the feet. This sculpture is almost 6 feet tall, 3 feet wide, and almost 3.6 feet deep— with these proportions the representation of a warrior would be a lot larger than the ones that have been reconstructed on top of pyramid B.

Unlike the warrior sculptures that have been reconstructed on top of Pyramid B by Acosta, Desire Charnay found the extra warrior feet in the 19th century. The difference in

⁴⁹A.F. Aveni and E.E. Calnek, “Myth, Environment, and the Orientation of the Temple Mayor of Tenochtitlan,” *American Antiquity*, April, 1988, p. 287–309.

the time of excavation is significant.⁵⁰ When Acosta did his excavations he was funded by INAH and he was expected to produce written results of the excavation. He completed several different reports on the site, published many articles, and even began a summary of all of his work before he died. The amount of documentation and proper sourcing of materials, which can be identified through written records, allows for a better understanding of where the warrior sculptures from Pyramid B and the logic behind their reconstruction. On the other hand there is very little information on the warrior sculpture feet. In Charnay's article "Antiguedades de Tula" he discussed the warrior sculptures, as well as briefly discussing the additional set of feet. Unfortunately he does not mention any information on where the feet were found or what the dating might have been, other than being a part of the Tollan phase.

Due to the lack of information provided by Charnay during his excavation, the understanding of the purpose of the warrior sculpture feet is still unknown. A description and details of an excavation are very important, as they are the key details into how the artwork were originally found, and offers the most insight into how the objects were supposed to look— how the makers intended them to look. When there is little to no knowledge of how the objects were handled and possibly reconstructed, we must look at the objects with even more speculation. It is possible that the feet have been altered and reconstructed— however this is a mystery that will never be answered due to the lack of records.

⁵⁰ Desiree Charnay, Editor: Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, "Las Antiguas Villas del Nuevo Mundo: Antiguedades de TulaM," *Proyecta Tula*, (Mexico D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e Historia, 1976), p. 16.

The Jorge R. Acosta Museum fragment of warrior sculpture feet is made of black basalt, but has clear signs that at one time it was covered in stucco. There are white pigments on the front of the legs as well as a little on the back, identified as stucco. Not only is the type of construction different from the construction of the warrior sculptures on top of Pyramid B, but also the ornamentation and style are also different. In the fragment example, the top ropes around the leg looks to have a braided design. The top register has slanted lines that start on the top left and finish on the bottom right, the next register has the opposite design— slanted lines that start on the rope right side and end on the bottom left, and lastly the bottom register has the same design as the first register. This makes a pattern that looks like it is representing a braid or perhaps the use of a rope. The same design is used for the bottom anklet. The sandal portion of the legs has a small circular pattern in the middle of the front of the sandal. The side of the sandals has a repeated diamond shaped pattern on them, which starts on the sides and wraps around the whole sandal. Also the fragment example is carved in a naturalistic style. They start higher towards the top of the sandal and curve downward, much like a foot naturally would. There is an attempt to give detail to the toenails as well, or at least differentiate the toes from the foot as a whole, which also contributes to the naturalistic style of the feet (Figure 17).

The Jorge R. Acosta Museum's fragments of a warrior feet are thought to have been made before the warrior sculptures that were found on Pyramid B. They are also thought to have been a part of Pyramid C. The feet from the Jorge R Acosta Museum show great detail and naturalism in their design. This is a feature that is not seen often at

Tula. As we saw with the warrior sculptures the faces and bodies were created using basic shapes that were not molded to look life like— rather they have a stoic quality to them. The warrior feet— on the other hand— show natural curves and shapes that you would see and recognize on a set of human feet. The attention to detail on the fragment of warrior sculpture feet is possibly due to the fact that it would be been a part of Pyramid C, which would have been the most important pyramid at the site because it was the larger of the two pyramids and was also in the North— South direction. The importance of direction on Mesoamerican architecture can be seen in a plethora of different cultures. For example, orientation was also used at Teotihuacan, the Pyramid of the Sun’s orientation was East— West and the pyramid of the Moon was North— South. Although it may be true that Pyramid C would be more important and that the warrior feet demonstrate an attention to detail and naturalism that may have been used on the “better” of the two pyramids, there isn’t any distinct proof that the feet were made previous or that for certain the feet would have been found on top of Pyramid C.⁵¹

The warrior sculptures bodies and their clothing are important and can offer much information about the site— including possibly the usage of Pyramid B, the connection with Chichén Itzá, and much more. Through understanding of the warrior costume the possible use of the Pyramid B and the temple that was once on top may be known. The connections between Tula and Chichén Itzá have led to many hypotheses on how and why they interacted. Although these aspects of the warrior sculptures could be analyzed extensively the rest of this chapter will focus primarily on the facial features of the

⁵¹ Alba Mastache, Dan M. Healan, & Robert H. Cobean, *Art of Urbanism*, ed. William Leonard Fash (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks. 2009), p. 295.

warrior sculptures. The majority of the time that objects are approached in the context of Tula is in order to understand the iconography and meaning behind it— how that related to the idea that has been conjured about the Toltec population. Instead of focusing on purely iconography it is important to also look at other factors of sculpture— such as artistic detail on sculptures like facial features. By focusing on the smaller aspects that are general overlooked— the facial features— it is possible that a connection may be made between the cultures that inhabited Tula Grande and its surrounding area.

La Mesa, Magoni, and Tula Chico's Relationship to Tula Grande

Tula Grande and its neighboring sites of La Mesa, Magoni and Tula Chico may have been occupied at different times, however their artistic similarities may allow for a better understanding of the relationship between these locations. Traditionally La Mesa and Tula Chico are mentioned as sites that were occupied previous to Tula Grande. The sites are generally compared when looking at pottery or spatial planning. Rarely has the artwork at the sites been compared. When this artwork is compared a similarity in the sculpture can be found. The facial features on the sculptures are very similar. Therefore it is important to investigate their similarities as well as discuss the possible reasoning behind similar features at sites that were occupied at different times yet in the same area.

By taking a closer look at the warrior sculptures facial features, it may be possible to better understand the potential links between their makers and those of the sites surrounding Tula Grande, including Tula Chico and La Mesa. The facial features of the warrior columns are similar to each other, but they are also similar to other pieces of

Toltec sculpture that have been found at Tula Grande as well as pieces found at sites where Coyotlatelco pottery is found— for example, at La Mesa, Magoni, and Tula Chico (Figure 18). The main attributes that can be seen with the warrior sculptures are the almond shaped eyes, the triangular wide nose, and the pursed lips that appear to be open and the length of the base of the nose.

The sites with Coyotlatelco pottery are in areas near Teotihuacan as well as near Tula. It is thought that the culture that created Coyotlatelco pottery emerged from a group of Northern immigrants— specifically from either Queretaro or Guanajuato or Zacatecas and Jalisco.⁵² During the Classic period regions of Tula were controlled by Teotihuacán, which is indicated by the pottery as well as the structure of the city— apartment buildings and plan layouts.⁵³ From A.D. 650— 750 all of the Teotihuacán sites were abandoned and the new sites that arose were very different in pottery style and also in the settlement patterns.⁵⁴ The types of settlements that have Coyotlatelco pottery are the hilltop communities as well as those on the lower levels.

La Mesa, a site on the hilltops surrounding Tula, is known to have Coyotlatelco pottery and was occupied during the Prado phase from A.D. 700— 800. La Mesa is southeast of Tula and approximately 14 km away. The site does show signs of

⁵² Alba Guadalupe Mastache and Robert Cobean, “The Coyotlatelco Culture” *Mesoamerica after the Decline of Teotihuacan* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1989), p. 55

⁵³ Alba Guadalupe Mastache and Robert Cobean, “The Coyotlatelco Culture” *Mesoamerica after the Decline of Teotihuacan*, p. 54–57

⁵⁴ Alba Guadalupe Mastache and Robert Cobean, “The Coyotlatelco Culture” *Mesoamerica after the Decline of Teotihuacan*, p. 51–55

ceremonial and administrative areas as well as residential areas.⁵⁵ Instead of having one ceremonial center, as is seen at Tula Grande, La Mesa is broken up into three distinct areas in which activities took place, all of which had their own ceremonial and administrative areas.⁵⁶ The pottery of La Mesa is closer in style to the pottery of Bajio, but still within the Coyotlatelco style, not similar to the ceramics found at Tula Chico. The site of La Mesa, and the pottery are not similar to Tula Grande, yet the sculptures that have been found have common features.

The site of La Mesa is different from Tula Grande in that the site does not have a distinct civic center and they were only inhabited in one phase, meaning that only a few generations lived at the site. The site had multiple regions of ceremonial or administrative areas, with no central area to control the site as a whole. At La Mesa the pottery is also very different than what is seen in Tula later on. The early ceramics are a “hybrid” — they contain pieces that are distinctly Coyotlatelco in style and also pieces that seem to be elite, which is thought to come from classic cultures in Bajio.⁵⁷

The figurines from the site of La Mesa are similar to those found at Tula Grande, in stylistic manner. The site contains the same facial structure in some of the figurines that have been found. The faces are flat because of the type of figurine they are but the eyes are small and almond shaped, the nose has the same triangular shape, and the mouth is wide with opened lips (Figure 19, 20, and 21). The facial features are similar, but the

⁵⁵ Alba Guadalupe Mastache and Robert Cobean, “The Coyotlatelco Culture” *Mesoamerica after the Decline of Teotihuacan*, p. 57.

⁵⁶ Alba Guadalupe Mastache and Robert Cobean, “The Coyotlatelco Culture” *Mesoamerica after the Decline of Teotihuacan*, p. 59

⁵⁷ Alba Guadalupe Mastache and Robert Cobean, “The Coyotlatelco Culture” *Mesoamerica after the Decline of Teotihuacan*, p. 55

function of the objects would have been radically different. The figurines that have been found at La Mesa are small, ranging from two to four centimeters in length. This leads to the implication that they could have been mass— produced and circulated. In stark contrast to the small figurines found in La Mesa, the warrior sculptures are very large and immobile, yet in a centralized space for viewing.

The transportation of these objects could tell us a lot about the connection between La Mesa and the warrior sculptures that are located in Tula Grande. Unfortunately none of the fragments that are found at Tula Grande resemble the figurines from La Mesa enough to draw this conclusion. Since they are in such close proximity, it is still possible that the inhabitants of Tula Grande may have come across the fragments.

It is thought that the group who created Coyotlatelco pottery originally settled on a hilltop environment because Teotihuacán settlements still occupied the lower regions. Once the Teotihuacán sites were abandoned, the lower land group who created Coyotlatelco pottery sites arose. One of the settlements being Tula Chico and it was occupied from A.D. 700— 950.⁵⁸ The production of red on brown with monochrome decoration pottery were widely dispersed during the time period right after the decline of the site of Teotihuacán.⁵⁹ This type of pottery has been found at Tula Chico, and perfectly coincides with the decline of Teotihuacán, when the land where Tula Chico was located would have been vacated from Teotihuacan type settlements.

⁵⁸Alfredo Lopez Austin, *Mexico's indigenous Past: Civilizations of the American Indian Series* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2005), p. 195.

⁵⁹David Webster and Susan Toby Evans, *Archaeology of Ancient Mexico and Central America: An Encyclopedia* (Garland Publisher: New York. 2001) p. 188.

At the site of Tula Chico, sculpture has been found with similar facial features. For example, the sculpture slab of a seated personage with crossed arms and legs that was found in Tula Chico (Figure 22). The face is round in, partly due to the zoomorphic helmet that the person is depicted wearing, much like the mythical figures that decorate the panels of Tula Grande Pyramid B.⁶⁰ The eyes are closer to the shape of a half circle, with the bottom portion curved and the upper portion slightly curved on the sides but straight in the middle. The nose is the same shape that can be seen at La Mesa and Tula Grande—it is triangular and wide set. The mouth is similar in shape as well—the lips are wide and open emphasizing the mouth area and they do not extend any further than the bridge of the nose in length. It is important to note that the figure wears earplugs, a breastplate, and kneepads, many of which are attributes of the warrior sculptures. This depiction leads to the idea that it may have been an early depiction of the warrior costume. Elizabeth Jimenez-Garcia raised the question of whether or not this depiction is of a female or a male. The back of this figure contains a cloak like for of clothing form the top of the shoulders to right above a common day pant line. The cloak, or cape, is covered with a circular pattern. If this sculpture is actually a woman it would help to support the idea that the body was more of a platform to be used to deliver a message, than a gender or aged specific object— as we tend to see the body as in present day society. It is possible that to the inhabitants of Tula the identity of a person was not as important as the objects depicted on the sculpture, so much so that a distinction between the most common ways to show differentiation between bodies— gender— was ignored.

⁶⁰ Elizabeth Jimenez-Garcia, “Sculptural-Iconographic Catalogue of Tula, Hidalgo, Mexico: The Stone Figures,” p. 33.

Male and female features are generally distinct from one another, women are known to have softer looking faces, whereas men are more rugged and have defined bone structures— this may have not been the case at Tula.

Another example of this facial structure can be seen in the sculpture showing the face of a personage wearing an elaborate headdress (Figure 23). The slab is part of the main pyramid at Tula Chico and it is forty-two and half centimeters in length and thirty-six tall. It is unclear who the person being depicted may be, although they wear an elaborate headdress indicating that they were of importance. The headdress covers the entire top of the head as well as the forehead. The eyes are almond shape and the nose starts high, in between the eyes. The nose continues out and slants down to the sides. The mouth is thin and the length of the base of the nose, much akin to the representations we have seen previously of facial features.

The Corral Phase was when the culture located at the site of Tula Chico flourished, and during the Terminal Corral there was a transition. It is believed that the inhabitants of Tula Chico abandoned their site, and possibly were the same group that created Tula Grande, which would ultimately be the climax to the region of Hidalgo in Mesoamerican history.⁶¹ The connection between Tula Chico and Tula Grande are demonstrated through the similar site planning and usage of construction for a unified civic center.

Tula Chico demonstrates a middle ground between the early sites inhabited by groups that created Coyotlatelco pottery— La Mesa— and the urban development of Tula Grande. The relationship between Tula Chico and the sites before and after is complex.

⁶¹Alfredo Lopez Austin, *Mexico's indigenous Past: Civilizations of the American Indian Series*, p. 195.

Normally sites are connected through sharing features such as pottery or site planning. In the case of La Mesa, Tula Chico, and Tula Grande sites some planning and functions seem similar, but the pottery is different. The facial features, which in the present day are thought to represent individualism from culture to culture, are represented in very similar fashions. The usage of the facial features seems to be the least important, in terms of cultural distinction, presenting specific people, and being demonstrated in a natural form. The figures that were produced by the inhabitants of Tula Chico were primarily made out of quarried stone— either in a light gray or a pink shade. The site was larger, the orientation was North/South and their economy was able to grow and be supported through long distance trading.

The facial features that have been discussed are not just seen at Tula Grande on the depictions of the warrior sculptures. These similar features are also seen on a plethora of different mediums— including sculptures, stele, and slabs. The sculpture with a bearded personage that was found in 1935 during exploration by Mujica and Diez de Bonilla, demonstrate the similar facial patterns (Figure 24).⁶² The sculpture with a bearded personage is thought to have been created during the second phase of Tula Grande, what Jimenez— Garcia refers to as Period 2— B. The person depicted wears a large elaborate headdress and is holding many ritual objects— weapons and a spear— thrower. The headdress has a “Tlaloc” face upon it, with circular eyes, a very geometrical

⁶² Elizabeth Jimenez—Garcia, “Sculptural—Iconographic Catalogue of Tula, Hidalgo, Mexico: The Stone Figures,” p.32

shaped nose and a round mouth.⁶³ The facial features are very different in comparison to the person who is wearing the headdress. The face is heart shaped, coming to a pointer edge at the bottom. The eyes are almond shape. The nose is wide and protrudes outward, and the mouth is the same length as the base of the nose. This slab is a great example of the fact that the only time there is a stark contrast to the facial features we have seen continuously from La Mesa to Tula Grande is in the depiction of a God.

There is a carved stone that was found in the buildings of the stele at Xochicalco, which also demonstrate that representations of Gods do not follow the same facial features that were used when depicting other people in sculpture. The carved stone represents the face of Quetzalcoatl. The face is elongated, and the eyes are open wider than normal with distinctions made between the eye and the eyelid. The nose is extremely long and slender. The definition of the cheeks is near the line of the nose making them appear to be extremely large and puffy. Overall, there is a great deal of detail and naturalism can be seen, and helps to demonstrate that Gods deserved differentiation.

Another example at Tula Grande that demonstrates how the faces of important characters can be changed slightly to show differentiation is the square stone columns that are located on top of Pyramid B. Cynthia Kristan Graham has identified the columns as representing past and present rulers of Tula Grande.⁶⁴ This identification was made through the clothing in which the gentlemen wear as well as the glyphs around them. Side

⁶³ Elizabeth Jimenez-Garcia, "Sculptural-Iconographic Catalogue of Tula, Hidalgo, Mexico: The Stone Figures," p.36.

⁶⁴ Cynthia Kristan Graham, *Twin Tollans*, p. 13-43

A of Pilaster 4 depicts a man looking to his left hand side. He has very distinct features.⁶⁵ His nose is flat in line with his forehead and then curls down before his lips, also his lips are depicted as very large. On Side D of the pilaster is another gentleman facing the opposite direction. His eyes are very small, and his nose is close to being even with his forehead but has a little protrusion outwards at the base. His lips were not defined at all; rather two lines indicating where lips would go without any real drawing of them. Inferior B, a man faced to the left hand side has the closest profile to that seen on the warrior sculptures. The eyes are oval shape, with a protruding nose, and thin lips. Lastly there is Inferior B who faces the right hand side. His eyes are extremely small and the nose protrudes out but comes inwards in a curved fashion. The mouth has small but defined lips.

All of the examples above lead to the conclusion that the way in which the inhabitants of Tula represented the face was the same for everyone— man and woman— unless they were important enough to be distinguished, in the case of them being a God or past ruler. There was a mass production of facial features that were used for generic purposes in most sculptures. It is also important to know that there were some productions of mass produced materials through using molds. The site of Tula contained production of figurines via finger molds, meaning that the people producing the objects would stick the clay into the mold, pressing into it with their fingers.⁶⁶ Many of these

⁶⁵ Elizabeth Jimenez Garcia in *Iconografía de Tula El Case de la Escultura* gave the title on page 117 in conjunction with a detailed drawing of the pilaster (Figure 25).

⁶⁶ Richard A. Diehl, *Tula: The Toltec Capital of Ancient Mexico*, p. 106

fingerprints can be seen on the back of the figurines, because the person producing the object did not take the time to flatten out the back.

The figurines that have been catalogued all seem to be unique, which contradicts the idea that molds were used in order to mass— produce the figurines.⁶⁷ The differentiation in the figurines is seen in their clothing or head decoration, while there is little differentiation of the facial features. Figure 26 is a fragment of one of the figurines, it has a headdress on, which has a cylindrical pattern on the top. The face is round and contains almond shaped eyes, a large protruding nose— because it is damaged it is hard to tell if it is the same triangular shape as the other figurines we have seen. The lips are opened slightly and in a pursed square shape. Figure 27, from the Tollan phase is damaged as well, however what remains of the figurine also indicates that he is wearing a headdress, but the pattern is a line of five small rows of rectangles across and four columns of rectangles up and down the headpiece. The eyes have been damaged and are no longer visible, but the nose is triangular and large, and the lips are pursed much like the warrior sculpture.

Even in the figurines that have been found at Tula Grande there are distinctions in the facial features for the depictions of people and of Gods. A small molded figurine was discovered that represented Tlaloc (Figure 28). The eyes are circular, with a smaller nose, and huge open mouth. This imagery is seen in almost every depiction of Tlaloc and therefore he is distinguishable (Figure 29).

⁶⁷ Richard A. Diehl, *Tula: The Toltec Capital of Ancient Mexico*, p. 108

With such tools as molds, mass production of a single type of facial feature set could have been easily made. Whether this was because of cultural continuity is unknown. It could be that since the facial features have been reduced to the basic forms that it was out of convenience. Basic forms meaning that have reduced each piece to a certain shape, with a lack of interest in showing detail or naturalism. For example the eyes are an almond shape, the nose is a three dimensional triangle and lastly the mouth is generally in a small rectangular form.

In *Sculpture and Social Dynamics in Preclassic Mesoamerica* Julia Guernsey discusses the bodies and facial features of the potbelly sculptures found at La Blanca. These sculptures have very precise features, “described as rotund human figures, carved in the round, from boulders, with distinctive features that often include bloated faces with closed eyes and puffy eyelids.”⁶⁸ In the potbelly sculptures the same basic forms are used over and over again perhaps to convey a certain message. The potbellies can be found throughout different sites near La Blanca as well as spanning a large time frame. Much like the facial features found on the warrior sculptures, the potbellies for La Blanca demonstrate artistic traditions being shared and communicated from one area to the other, even if those artistic traditions are basic shapes being put together in order to create something that is unique. However, when looking at whether or not these features could be connected to one certain ethnic group she concludes “a sculptural form that is widely distributed and cannot, with any certainty be assigned to a specific ethnic or linguistic

⁶⁸ Julia Guernsey, *Sculpture and Social Dynamics in Preclassic Mesoamerica* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2012), p. 6

group.”⁶⁹ The implications for the warrior sculptures being that they may contain similar features throughout a specific region, however it is unlikely that these can be proven as a link of culture or ethnicity.

The sites of La Mesa, Tula Chico, and Tula Grande are different in regards to site planning and ceramics for the most part, but they do share commonalities— one of which is the way in which they depict facial features. The similarities in the facial features of the figures that have been located in these sites highlight the progression of the art that surrounded Tula and what seems to eventually have become the Toltec state. The continuity of artistic features from one site to the next demonstrates the idea of connection and influence of artistic traditions. It is also possible that the usage of the depiction of facial features were a tradition that was passed along within the region. It is possible that pieces of work created by the inhabitants of La Mesa were seen and then duplicated by the Tula inhabitants

The similar depiction of facial features in ceramic and sculptural form gives insight into the possibility of the chronology of an ethnic group that evolved from the cultures which created Coyotlatelco pottery during the Prado and Coral phase to the inhabitants of Tula Grande of the Tollan phase in Hidalgo. There is no way to fully gauge a culturally evolution without sufficient facts. There are similarities in the representation of the facial features and a few of the spatial planning elements between La Mesa that lead to the believe that the people who inhabited Tula Grande were descendants of La Mesa, but there is more evidence that suggests the connection between La Mesa and Tula Grande is

⁶⁹Julia Guernsey, *Sculpture and Social Dynamics in Preclassic Mesoamerica*, p. 26.

not about the social evolution of one particular culture from small sites to a large urban development. Instead the connection may just be an artistic tradition that was carried on in order to represent the human facial features in the most common ways.

The actual usage of the similar facial features may be a question that can never be completely answered, but it does lead to other questions about the warrior sculptures. In order to better understand why the similar facial features may have been used consistently from culture to culture a deeper look into the relationship of the body and Mesoamerican art is needed. Is it possible that the use of the same facial features for every person was not the primary focus of the pieces of artwork, but rather their costumes and jewelry were meant to be the primary focus. By first looking at how the body is used in Mesoamerica it will allow a discussion of how the inhabitants of Tula Grande may have used the body when creating the warrior sculptures. This also will help formulate an idea of the relationship that an inhabitant of Tula may have had with the warrior sculptures— in relation to their facial features, iconography, massive size, and location.

Chapter II: The Body as an Object and Active Agent

In this chapter on the sculpted body, I will focus on how the human form was represented in Mesoamerica— such as differentiating gender and demonstrating age— with the possibility that by using both gender and age the inhabitants of Tula were aiming to create an idealized vision of the warrior. This discussion brings to the forefront the possible reasons as to why the warrior sculptures were depicted the way that they were— whether that was due to an iconographic canon that was used throughout Tula or whether or not that they were created uniquely to stand apart from the other sculptures. The body of the rulers will also be discussed, allowing the reader to better understand how the rulers of Tula Grande may have affected and influenced the civic and ceremonial center, by first looking at how other Mesoamerican cultures used their civic and ceremonial centers and the impact it had on the center of the cities as well as the people who were citizens of these cities and empires. The ruler gives meaning to the ceremonial space, making it an important and sacred area.

The cultures that inhabited Mesoamerica view the body in many different ways. Studies have been conducted on the human form as it pertains to sacrifice or to the soul, and others discussed the idea of gender or the span of time from childhood to old age.⁷⁰ The body as it is being discussed within this thesis refers to the physical aspects of the body— internally and externally— and how it is represented in sculpture. The discussion

⁷⁰ Austin Lopze, *The Human Body and Ideology Volume 1 and 2* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997), p. 10–20
Andrea Stone, “Keeping Abreast of the Maya: A Study of the Female Body in Maya Art,” In *Cambridge Journals*, March 2011

will focus on how the cultures view real human bodies, with the intention that their views and representations of a sculpted body would be similar.

The Body in Mesoamerica

The amount of literature that has been written about the body in Mesoamerica leads to the assumption that the body as a concept and a concrete form was meaningful to the people of Mesoamerica. The discussion of the body in Mesoamerica ranges from how the body was used as ornamentation in homes during the Formative Period, to the body and personhood after death for the Mayans, and human sacrifice during the time of the Aztecs.⁷¹ In “Girling the Girl and Boying the Boy: The Production of Adulthood in Mesoamerica” Rosemary A. Joyce discussed the evolution of the body from infants all the way to adulthood from approximately 1200 C.E. to 1500 C.E. She argues that progression of the body in these cultures demonstrates the transformation of the body and how they are part of the circle of life.⁷² She gives an in— depth look into the progression of the body for Aztec children to adulthood including the important “media for life cycle

⁷¹ Further readings on the body include, but are not limited to Holly Bachard, Joyce Rosemary, and Julia Hendon, "Bodies Moving In Space: Ancient Mesoamerican Human Sculpture and Embodiment," *McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research*
Caroline Pennock, *Bonds of blood: gender, lifecycle and sacrifice in Aztec culture*, (England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)
David Carrasco, *Sacrifice the Aztec Empire and The role of Violence in Civilization* (Massachusetts, Beacon Press. 1999)
Susan G. Gillespie, *Personhood, Agency, and Mortuary Ritual: A Case Study from the Ancient Maya*, In *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, Vol. 1 Issue 1, March 2001, p 73–112

⁷²Rosemary Joyce, “Girling the Girl and Boying the Boy: The Production of Adulthood in Mesoamerica,” p. 474

transitions.” Coming of age for the Aztecs included labeling the children according to their gender and their ability to reproduce. These gender labels are represented through the clothing they were allowed to wear and the space they were allowed to inhabit.⁷³ This detailed look into the gender of children and how their transition into adulthood changes their identity, gives insight into the ways in which the society was broken up and the important features of a citizen, which seem to be reproduction for the Aztec people.

The fact that the warrior sculptures are male figures that are preserved in their prime may demonstrate the importance of gender in Tula. The representation of warrior sculptures includes warrior costuming and weaponry that were reserved solely for the Toltec men. In the ceremonial center of Tula Grande, the majority of sculpture that has been unearthed is of males. The objects that are found within the ceremonial center are traditionally the most important objects, and therefore demonstrate the importance of the male role within Tula Grande. The men are being represented as strong warriors, possible protectors of the sacred areas, whereas the women are not depicted at all within this sacred area.

Although it is not clear what the separation of gender in Tula would have looked like, it is possible that the abundant visual representation of men found in Tula and the few representations of women are hard to locate may support a claim that there was a hierarchy of men over women in Tula.⁷⁴ In Kristan-Graham’s work on the vestibule

⁷³ Rosemary Joyce, “Girling the Girl and Boying the Boy: The Production of Adulthood in Mesoamerica,” p. 475

⁷⁴ The topic of gender at Tula deserves more discussion and development than can be looked into in this paper. More research at the site needs to be conducted in order to

frieze the importance of men in the civic center is magnified. She looked at the frieze in order to attempt to identify the people, or social positions it represented. All of the people depicted wore similar outfits, yet each had distinctive differences. The frieze depicts all men walking towards the center, which is thought to represent entering the pyramid.⁷⁵ This begins to demonstrate that males would have been allowed in the space, and begins to address the idea that woman may not have had access to this sacred space.

The body as it pertains to age is connected to its relation with gender in almost every aspect. The stages of life for the Mexica are embedded with the gendered identity. From zero to six years old according to the ancient Mexica you were still in infancy, and before the sixth birthday the child was not gendered.⁷⁶ There are actually not words to differentiate between a boy and girl at this stage, but once they have reached the end of their first life— cycle they are officially either a female or a male.⁷⁷ They are then considered adults. Austin Alfredo Lopez and Joyce Rosemary both distinctly state that there is unfortunately not a lot of information on the childhood of many Mesoamerican cultures. In their texts they both cite the Mexica as having the best records, and then go on to give details of the early stages of the body. Yet the years that are so prominently represented in artwork, those of adulthood, are not thoroughly discussed by either of the

understand the daily roles of woman and men in the society, after which more solid conclusions may be able to be made as it pertains to the gendered areas of Tula Grande.

⁷⁵ Cynthia Kristan– Graham, “Business of Narrative at Tula,” p. 3-19

⁷⁶ Austin Alfredo Lopez, *The Human Body and Ideology: Concepts of the Ancient Nahuas*, p.183

⁷⁷ Austin Alfredo Lopez, *The Human Body and Ideology: Concepts of the Ancient Nahuas*, p.286

authors in their texts. Lopez skips from young adulthood to old age without much information on the body during adulthood.

The warrior sculptures were represented in adulthood. This can be seen visually through their warrior costume, and their bodies indicate their adulthood as well. In the Mexica culture, children at age four began their second life cycle in which they begin the process of expanding a small hole in their ear to later be able to wear ear ornamentation.⁷⁸ Although it is not recorded in an historical account of the inhabitants of Tula Grande, it is probable that their children began the expansion around this time, and that by adulthood they would be able to wear ear ornamentation. A type of ear ornamentation can be seen on the warrior sculptures in Tula, they are rectangular and protrude from side of each other warrior sculptures faces. These ear ornamentations are not only present on the warrior sculptures but also on other sculptures in Tula. The fact that they were represented at what seems to be the prime of adulthood for the males of Tula is important in interpreting the message that they were meant to portray. The skin is flawless, with no wrinkles or signs of aging, and all four sculptures look identical. This may be an indication that they did not represent particular people, but rather the idealized version of the warrior. It is clear through other sculptures at Tula that the craftsmen were able to produce different types of facial features that made the sculptures unique. One example being the vestibule frieze procession that Cynthia Kristan-Graham discussed in her article “The Business of Narrative at Tula” (Figure 31), which shows a row of merchants, as concluded by Kristan-Graham, in an actual procession. The frieze clearly shows the

⁷⁸ Rosemary Joyce, “Girling the Girl and Boying the Boy: The Production of Adulthood in Mesoamerica,” p. 477.

merchants faces, which are each composed with unique features, and not in a perfect manner. Kristan-Graham also discusses that Hugo Moedano Koer, who also wrote about the vestibule, brought up the point that he believed the separate garments that the merchants wore during the procession was an indication that they were portraits.⁷⁹

The gender and the age of the warrior sculptures give an insight into the culture of the inhabitants of Tula Grande and the possibility that it revolved around the male gender. The age of the warrior sculptures may not seem significant at first thought, but it indicates that the visual representation of a warrior at what appears to be the prime of their lives was a key part of how they were represented to the people of Tula. Through the sculpted panel that was discussed in Chapter One, it is evident that the Tula artists could depict older looking faces and bodies. Therefore there was a distinction made in order to represent a younger more ideal body when carving the warrior sculptures. The age in which they were depicted may not be important, however the fact that they were shown as idealized may be important.

The warrior sculptures command attention with their large size and in doing so they are able to communicate the message in which the patron, most likely the elite and rulers of Tula Grande, were trying to tell. In *Landscape and Power in Ancient America*, Rex Kootz and Kathryn Reese-Taylor write “Although the meaning inherent within any given space comes from the aesthetic values and beliefs of a people, it is the actuation of these cognitive processes that embeds these meanings within landscape and

⁷⁹ Cynthia Kristan Graham, “The Business of Narrative at Tula,” p 9–11.

architecture.”⁸⁰ The people who inhabited Tula during the Tollan phase, were the ones who embedded the warrior sculptures with meaning and gave them power. Another important factor of cultural poetics according to Kootz and Taylor is connecting landscapes and architecture to narratives in order to connect the past to the present.⁸¹ However, at Tula there are no narratives that have been recovered in the archaeological excavations. Instead of using narratives to understand how the warrior sculptures were used and interacted with, we must use the physical evidence that has been found in Tula Grande. This physical evidence includes the structures that can be found within Tula Grande and Tula Chico, the ornamentation of the architecture, the monumental sculpture, and the figurines that have been found throughout the excavations done by Charnay, Acosta, and the team from the University of Missouri.

The warrior sculptures certainly would have contributed to the lives of the people around them. They were given agency by the inhabitants of Tula. In no way do the sculptures themselves have intentions, however “material culture must be viewed as not only actively constructing the world in which people act, but also the people themselves.”⁸² One of the features that make the sculptures more lifelike, and therefore may have made them easier for people to connect with, is through their inlaid eyes and the coloration on the body. The inlaid eyes would have made the warriors look more

⁸⁰ Rex Koontz and Kathryn Taylor. "Cultural Poetics of Power and Space," In *Landscape and power in ancient Mesoamerica* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2001), p. 10–11

⁸¹ According to Mathew Looper’s *To Be Like Gods: Dance in Ancient Maya Civilizations*, cultural poetics is based off of Geertz’s model of culture as a semiotic system, “This model provided the basis for the consideration of culture as a semiotic field which is given a “textual” form through the creation of material expressions such as visual arts.” p. 10

⁸² Marcia Dobres and John Robb, *Agency in archaeology* (London: Routledge, 2000)

lifelike, and the colored clothing would have made the warriors more distinguished and less stark. Even in their current status the warrior sculptures have agency, the human body still interacts with them, even if it may be different than the original intention. Another way that the warrior sculptures are given agency is through their relationship with the civic center and those who inhabit the area, which make the sculptures important figures— the rulers.

The work on agency that has been done by Bruno Latour and Alfred Gell has begun to “question the anthropocentric assumption that only people possess agency. In so doing, they have challenged the boundary between people as subjects and artifacts as objects.”⁸³ Therefore a sculpted body can have agency, and “we must recognize it as something more than static, as embodying more than a singular meaning, as must the environment which it functioned and the people who view it.”⁸⁴ Artwork can evoke feelings from the people that interact with it, and therefore it should be treated as so. Within recorded history people have always reacted to art in emotional ways, but yet there is an attempt to suppress the power that the image has— possibly out of fear.⁸⁵ The concept of agency refers to the idea of an object or person having the ability to exert power, in that they serve as more than a “back for human action, they also authorize, allow, afford, encourage, permit, suggest, influence, block, render possible, forbid, and so

⁸³ Julia Guernsey, *Sculpture and Social Dynamics in Preclassic Mesoamerica* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 14.

⁸⁴ Julia Guernsey, *Sculpture and Social Dynamics in Preclassic Mesoamerica*, p11

⁸⁵David Freedburg, *Power of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 429

on” the people who are experiencing the art or object.⁸⁶ In this case the agent would be the warrior sculptures, which would act on or affect the inhabitants of Tula.

Using certain characteristics such as adding glyphs and iconography, the human form is also used to emphasize a god or ruler in each respective culture. The sculptures found at Tula Grande use specific characterizations to distinguish representations of the Gods or deities. For example, the stela with bearded personage represents a man facing forward. He appears to be wearing similar clothing as the warrior sculptures— earplugs, breastplate, kilt, kneepads, anklets and sandals. He is even holding a ritual object and weapon in one hand and a spear thrower in the other. There are a few key differences on this stela, for example he is wearing an elaborate headdress with Tlaloc on it. The face of Tlaloc is portrayed similarly to the depictions of him in Teotihuacan and Tenochtitlan. Tlaloc is shown with large circular eyes and a large open mouth with fangs coming out of them. Another example being the pilaster shaft that was found in Tula Grande on the North side of Building B. The pilaster shaft depicts the god Tezcatlipoca as a Toltec warrior. He is wearing the costume of the Toltec warrior, but has speech scrolls around his head and scrolls that linked to his obsidian mirror that can be found on his leg.⁸⁷

The sculpted body as a physical entity can transmit information. “Costume, body ornament, and representations of costume in artworks have been long used by archaeologists as evidence of distinct statuses on the basis of an implicit understanding of

⁸⁶Julie Guernsey, *Sculpture and Social Dynamics in Preclassic Mesoamerica*, p. 11.

⁸⁷ Esperanza Garcia Jimenez, “Sculptural–Iconographical Catalogue of Tula, Hidalgo: The Stone Figures,” p. 37

the surface of the body as public.”⁸⁸ The facial features were similar during the Prado, Corral, and the Tollan Phase, and they are all basic facial features, which leads to the assumption that they were used out of necessity to create a face, rather than create a specific face or one that correlated with any certain group or possible ethnic group.

The Civic Center and Rulers

The physical layout of the city is important in understanding how the inhabitants may have interacted with different parts of Tula. Although the paths that have been created for present day visitors would not be the exact paths that would have been used by the inhabitants, they still allow you to get a sense of how the inhabitants may have used the space. For the most part the excavated civic and ceremonial center is open to present day visitors, however most of Tula Chico and the residential areas are not open to visitors. Instead the present day path takes you from the Jorge R. Acosta Museum southwest directly towards Tula Grande. The visitor is able to explore Tula Grande as well as walk down near the Tula River Canyon.

As you enter the archeological zone in Tula in the distance you can see a pyramid structure and atop those structure are the outlines of the four warrior sculptures standing in a line (Figure 32). They are not visually decipherable at this point, but along with Pyramid B and Pyramid C, they are clear markers of the civic center’s placement in the site as a whole. The warrior sculptures as they stand today visually dominate the space; they can be seen in almost every location while in Tula Grande. Although the way that

⁸⁸Rosemary Joyce, “Archaeology of the Body,” In *Annual Review of Anthropology*: Vol 35. 2005), p.143

the warriors sculptures are seen today are not a great indication to how they would have been viewed during the Tollan phase.

The civic and ceremonial center of Tula Grande would have dominated the landscape as a whole, but the amount of access people had to the warrior sculptures would have been limited depending on an individual's rank within the culture. If the reconstructed samples are correct, the front of the temple on top of Pyramid B would have opened to the South, which is currently the location of Tula de Allende. Therefore citizens would have been able to view the front of the temple from outside of the civic center if they were on the south side. During Charnay's excavation he located one housing complex just North West of Tula Grande— all other complexes that have been located are in the South West. Charney called this the "Toltec House" and it consisted of courtyards, columns, benches, and contained red pilaster floors. According the Charnay he also located the following items with in the home "fire bricks, "filters," drainpipes, pots, seals, figurine molds, projectile points, and obsidian knives."⁸⁹ If this home were occupied during the Tollan phase, it would have had visual site lines into civic/ceremonial center of Tula Grande and perhaps into the front of the temple on top of Pyramid B.

When it comes to the relationship of the warrior sculptures with the people that inhabited Tula Grande there are two types of relationships that may be possible. First the separation of the people and the objects (the warrior sculptures) give the objects power, because they were not accessible to everyone. The second type of agency is presented

⁸⁹Dan Healan, *Tula of the Toltecs*, p.13

through the size, the coloring, and the iconography of the object. The warrior sculptures were most likely produced in this specific way in order to evoke a certain idea and or feeling in the mind of the viewer. The size and repetition of the same patterns and the same iconography leads to the idea of emphasizing the concept of a warrior culture that may have existed in Tula at the time.

The warrior sculptures were given agency through the construct of barriers. The physical distance between Tula Chico and the sculptures most likely did not produce an emotional distance between the sculptures and the people of Tula, but rather strengthened their importance to the community. In Houston and Cummins “Body Presence, and Space they discuss Alfred Gell’s ideas on body and space Gell, the power and ability of the warrior sculptures to become active agents had to do with the fact that someone of importance—the ruler— connected with the images and walked in that space, giving the space power and meaning.⁹⁰ They were held in high esteem and therefore were placed in the center of the city. The massive size and placement may have been an indication of political power, and a message to those who were ruled by the inhabitants of Tula Grande, of the power and militaristic ways of life, and therefore a consistent reminder of the fact that they may be farther from the city center, but they are still a part of the Toltec and most importantly controlled by the Toltec.

A large part of the construction of barriers in the civic center includes the usage of the civic center by the rulers and the elite. These people are the ones that give meaning to the space through interacting within the space. According to Houston and Cummings,

⁹⁰ Stephen D. Houston and Tom Cummins, “Body Presence, and Space,” in *Palaces of the Ancient New World* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), p. 384–385

every human body has three principal properties. First the human body “thinks and acts,” it reacts to the world around it in both a mental and physical way. Secondly it “defines itself through social existence and interaction,” meanings that it is the world around us that defines our place in the social stratification. Lastly, the human body gives us the tools we need to categorize other aspects of the world.⁹¹ These aspects of the human body are important for every person, but even more influential when it comes to the ruler of a society. The rulers of Tula would need to differentiate themselves in order to solidify their place in the social hierarchy as above everyone else.

In other cultures in Mesoamerica there are typical ways that the rulers/kings separated themselves from the subjects that they intended to control. One of the ways in which they separated themselves was through body ornamentation and changes. It was typical for rulers to pierce their ears and place large ears spools within them, and it was also typical for them to pierce their lips as well. The lip piercings were meant to signify men that were adept at public speaking, and the lip ornamentation would be switched out occasionally to represent snakes and raptors to depict the kind of speech that was expected from the rulers.⁹²

It was also common that rulers would be decorated with body paint and different clothing. However for the Mayans, according Houston and Cummings the most important part of changing the body for rulers was not clothing, “these ornaments were not sets of clothing to be donned in entirety, but assemblages painstakingly arranged and rearranged.” According to Diehl, “nobles dressed in elaborate animal— skin garments

⁹¹ Stephen D. Houston and Tom Cummins, “Body Presence, and Space,” p 359–362

⁹² Stephen D. Houston and Tom Cummins, “Body Presence, and Space,” p. 369

decorated with feathers and covered themselves with dazzling stone and metal jewelry.”⁹³

It is clear that one of the ways in which rulers would distinguish themselves, even rulers from Tula, would be to change their physical appearances. Enhancing them through deforming their body or just making minor changeable adjustments, made it so that the first impression a person had with the ruler would be an indication that they are in some way above or greater than their constituents.

Another way in which rulers were able to distinguished themselves from the people that they ruled is through the spaces that they occupy. By creating a space, such as the civic center complexes that can be seen in almost any large Mesoamerican site, allowed a ruler to physically separate him/herself and also created barriers for others to stay out of that sacred and important area. The practice of civic centers can be seen as far back as Teotihuacan. The complex, which houses the Temple of the Sun and The Temple of the Moon, as well as the avenue of the dead, is centered in the middle of the site of Teotihuacan. Although it is thought by George Cowgill that a state such as Teotihuacan must have served an elite interest, the art itself did not focus on specific people but rather “emphasis is on acts rather than actors; on offices rather than officers.”⁹⁴ Although it is unclear how the boundary between the rulers of Teotihuacan and the inhabitants would have been drawn, it is evident that the ceremonial center was the center and most important part of the city.

⁹⁴George L. Cowgill, “State and Society at Teotihuacan, Mexico,” In *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 26: 1997, p. 129–161

In cities such as Tenochtitlan, the civic center represented the literal center of the city as well— as it was placed in the middle of the city as well as being considered the axis— mundi, or the center of the world. According to Carrasco, “the Aztecs intended that everything powerful, beautiful, and meaningful would flow into the ceremonial landscape of the city,” and the Aztec symbolic language, social character, and political authority flowed outward to influence over four hundred towns and cities in central Mesoamerica.”⁹⁵ The civic center was a place of power and prestige and was meant to be separated from the rest of the city. This set up a relationship between the inhabitants of the city and those who occupied the civic and ceremonial center, creating a hierarchy between those ruling and those being ruled. The site plan of Tula is not similar to Tenochtitlan in that all roads do not lead to the center of Tula. Rather the civic center is off to the side and separated from the living area of the rest of the Tula inhabitants. Like the civic center at Tenochtitlan the civic center of Tula is enclosed using the Coateplanti wall and was larger than the other areas of Tula Grande— showing the dominance of the land and the people.

This common practice of separating the civic center from the rest of the city by barriers— physical barriers at times such as walls and hierarchical barriers by only allowing certain people of a certain class or prestige to enter. From the information provided by Kristan-Graham in “The Business of Narrative at Tula,” certain individuals— such as merchants from other locations— may have been invited into the ceremonial and civic center since they are represented on the friezes that were placed on

⁹⁵David Carrasco, *City of Sacrifice*, p.45–90.

a bench within the Pyramid B complex. It is not exactly clear what the Coateplanti or serpent wall directly behind Pyramid B also acted as an enclosure and separated the rest of the city from the north side of the pyramid.⁹⁶

Without the juxtaposition of the residential area of Tula to offset Tula Grande, there would be less significance to the power that the civic center of Tula Grande held. The residential area of Tula consisted of housing complexes that were connected to one another and each complex has multiple rooms. The houses were made of stone and earth and the flooring consisted of dirt. Diehl believes that the woman and children primarily occupied these areas during the day, and the men went out to work either as craftsmen or to work the land producing cotton and food.⁹⁷

In the residential area, many figurines have been found. The function of the figurines are unknown at this time, however they have been discovered around the household area and were created in a “gingerbread” style. This meant that the figurines were small— they are approximately four centimeters to twelve centimeters long. They were very thin, and were decorated with different objects on the front side of the sculptures. Some of the sculptures are speculated to have been decorated as females, due to the skirt like garment they wore. Whereas others seem to be wearing Toltec warrior loin clothes, chest ornamentation, and cotton armor.⁹⁸ Diehl believes that these sculptures may have been deliberately broken— since the majority have been found in halves— and done so in order to rid sick people of bad spirits in order to make them

⁹⁶ Richard Diehl, *Tula: The Toltec Capital of Ancient Mesoamerica*, p. 64–66

⁹⁷ Richard Diehl, *Tula: The Toltec Capital of Ancient Mesoamerica*, p.97–117

⁹⁸ Richard Diehl, *Tula: The Toltec Capital of Ancient Mesoamerica*, p.97–117

better. It is important to also note that the same costumes are being used in the residential are to represent the warriors that can be seen on the warrior sculptures and other depictions of warriors within the ceremonial center.

A definitive answer to what story the civic center of Tula— in particular Pyramid B— may have been created to tell is not plausible. There are many reasons behind creating civic centers and separating the ruler from those ruled. Since there is a civic center it is clear that the society of Tula was organized and that they did have control over a large amount of people and land— although their reach was most likely extremely small in comparison to the other large cities that flourished before and after them. Unfortunately the exact reach of the Tula Empire will most likely always remain unknown. From the architecture that is left within Tula it is clear that the civic center was meant to exude power and authority over the inhabitants of Tula Chico and the inhabitants of any other regions that Tula may controlled at that time.

Symbols and iconography on parts of the warrior sculptures, as well as on Pyramid B help to decode the possible reasons why Pyramid and the temple were constructed. The meaning of the warrior sculptures could range from the much— debated idea of the inhabitants of Tula as a warrior and militant culture, to a temple that may be reserved for the dedication to warriors in order to wish them luck in battle. The warriors depicted on the pilaster shafts (Figure 30), located behind the warrior sculptures, are wearing the breastplate, dorsal disk, earplugs, kneepads, a necklace and a triangular apron. Jimenez-Garcia identified the warrior as a depiction of the god of Tezcatlipoca as

a Toltec warrior(Figure 31).⁹⁹ The warrior has been identified as a god because of the characteristics generally associated with this specific god. These characteristics include “a fleshless lower right leg with a smoking mirror in place of the foot, characteristics typical of Late Post classic representations;” this god has been associated with being the god of warriors.^{100 101} Another difference is that there are speech scrolls depicted near the face of the sculpture, something that is not seen on the warrior sculptures— although possible because it would be impossible to create that effect on a three-dimensional sculpture.

The artworks that are associated with this pyramid all point to the conclusion that it was meant to be a place where warriors were worshiped, or perhaps the god of war, Tezcatlipoca was worshiped for luck in battles. Pyramid B and the warrior sculptures are intertwined in meaning, the information that can be deciphered about one another will help to better understanding the pyramid as a whole, as well as the site of Tula Grande during the Tollan phase.

The sculptures facial features that were so heavily discussed in Chapter One are important in recognizing an artistic tradition within the region of Tula, Hidalgo, Mexico and other cultures in the Basin of Mexico as well. The decisions that the “artist” or more likely the “patron” made in relation to the development of the body are significant in the telling of the story of the warrior sculpture. The body in Mesoamerica is used as a vessel

⁹⁹ Esperanza Elizabeth Jimenez–Garcia, “Sculptural–Iconographic Catalogue of Tula, Hidalgo, Mexico: The Stone Figures,” p. 37

¹⁰⁰ William Leonard Flash, *Art of Urbanism* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks. 2009), p. 301

¹⁰¹Michael Jordan, *Dictionary of Gods and Goddesses* (New York: Fast Facts Inc. 2004) p. 311

to execute certain messages and meanings whether that is the sculpted body or the human body as it has profound effect in influencing the meaning of an area— such as the rulers influence in creating a civic and ceremonial center that exudes power, control, and authority.

The human body is an active agent; it expresses emotions and elicits emotions from others. It also elicits emotions and creates feelings within spaces. This can also be seen in art objects as well. An object can contain agency and has evoked an array of emotions from sadness to joy to anger to sexual attractiveness in almost all types of art for a very long time. As agency pertains to the warrior sculpture it is obtained in two ways, the first of which being the lack of the ability to actually interact with the object, creating a barrier and enhancing the power of the sculptures, and secondly it is seen through the attempt for life like attributes in order to allow for the evoking of a certain message that is enforced via the state.

Conclusion

The warrior sculptures serve as ambassadors to the site of Tula and are the feature that many individuals associate with the site. The warrior sculptures were an important part of the ceremonial center of Tula during the Tollan phase, however the information on them and their hand in affecting the civic and ceremonial center is limited. The sculptures have been discussed in relation to being warriors, and the possible connection Tula may have had with Chichen Itza due to architectural layout and similar sculptures. However, everything from their facial features, to the iconography of their outfit, tells a story about the culture of Tula Grande during the Tollan phase.

The facial features of the warrior sculptures allow a connection to be bridged between sites that were found in the same region, but inhabited over a large span on time. From the Prado phase to the Tollan phase there was a continual usage of similar facial features in each site. The similarities found in the warrior sculptures as well as the fragments from the sites of La Mesa, Magoni, and Tula Chico may have been due to an artistic tradition that was carried on from site to site and culture to culture. It is also possible that the similarities of sculptural facial features were due to the fact that the facial features were not as important as other parts of the sculptures. It may have been more important to tell a story using the bodies of the warriors than to focus on smaller details— like the facial features.

The warrior sculptures are depicted in a warrior outfit, with pieces that are symbolic of a high— ranking warrior. The details of the sculpture were focused on the

depiction of the costume, making each detail so that it could be seen even from a few feet away. It seems as though the form that the body and facial features took may have been second to the importance of the costume being depicted. The placement and position of the warrior sculptures on top of Pyramid B were also very important in evoking power and response from the citizens on Tula Grande.

Much like other Mesoamerican sites— such as Tenochtitlan— the placement of the Pyramid B and the warrior columns were most likely strategic in that it allowed for a certain amount of access, while closing off certain groups. The act of deliberately separating the “commoner” from the powerful images actually evoke more power for the imagery, making it something that is harder to obtain. The setting is also a place of great power, because it is a place in which the ruler has access and through his presence gives power to the space. The ruler creates a notion of separation from those he rules in order to create a sense of legitimacy. In Mesoamerica there are many ways in which rulers choose to separate themselves from the inhabitants of their city of empire. Some choose to separate themselves through permanent changes to their body such as piercing, clothing, and non-permanent changes in their bodies such as body paint. They also distinguish themselves from everyone else by creating a civic and ceremonial center that only certain people have access to.

The iconography, identity, and the sculpted body of the warrior sculptures allow for a discussion and deeper look into their function and use within the site of Tula Grande. The warrior sculptures were created to evoke power and affect the inhabitants of Tula. Taken as a whole, the warrior sculptures are literally the item that holds up the civic

center in Tula by supporting the structure that was built on top of Pyramid B. Interpreted more symbolically, they also can be understood to bear the weight of cultural practice. The costume that the warriors wore can be seen throughout the city, on other sculptures, and even on figurines that have been found within Tulu Chico and the residential area of Tula Grande. The power of this image may have been something extremely important to the inhabitants of Tula.

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FIGURES



Figure 1: Map of Mexico with Tula Location. Source: Google Maps.

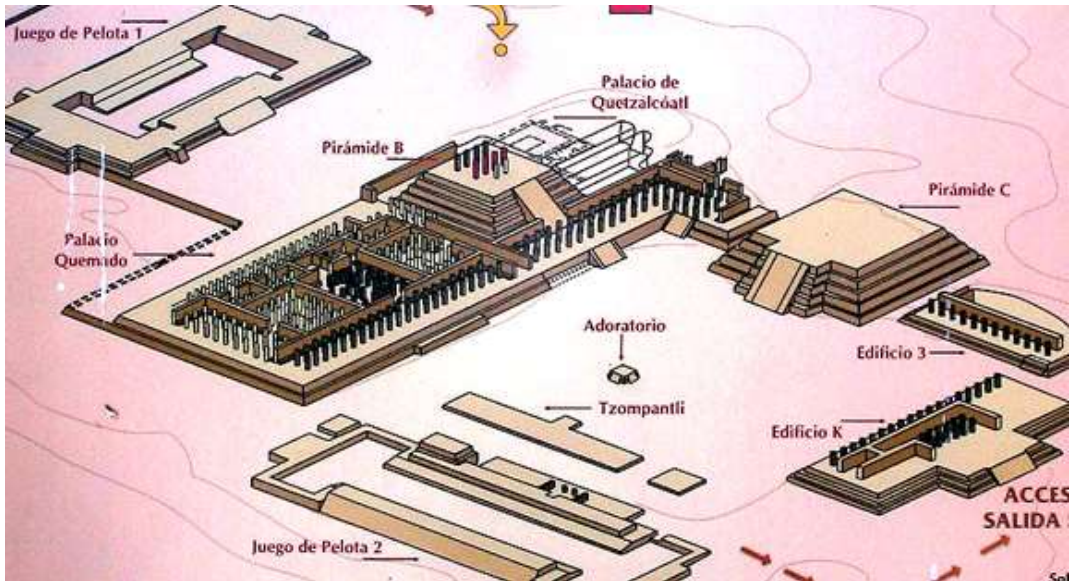


Figure 2: Site Plan Tula. Source: Amy Whitacre— Tula Grande Site Information plaque, Tula de Allende, Hidalgo, Mexico.



Figure 3: Coatepantli (Serpent) Wall, Behind Pyramid B, Tula Hidalgo Mexico. Photo Source: Amy Whitacre



Figure 4: Sculpted Warrior, Tula Grande, Hidalgo, Mexico. Source: Amy Whitacre

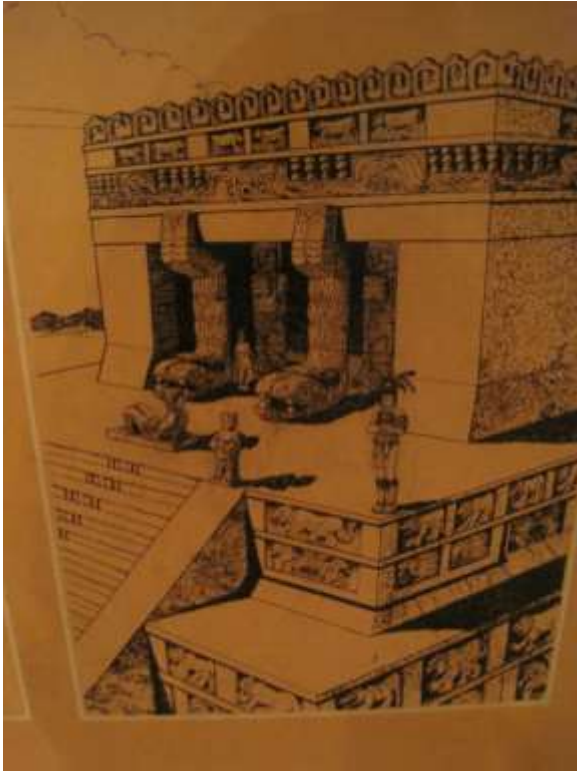


Figure 5: Drawing of Reconstruction of Pyramid B. Source: Jorge. R. Acosta Museum, Tula de Allende, Hidalgo, Mexico.



Figure 6: Warrior Sculpture 1. Source: Amy Whitacre



Figure 7: Warrior Sculpture 1 Headdress and facial features. Source: Amy Whitacre



Figure 8: Photo from Jorge R Acosta Excavation Artstor.org



Figure 9: Warrior sculpture Ear Plugs. Source: Amy Whitacre.



Figure 10: Breastplate of Warrior Sculpture 1. Source: Amy Whitacre.



Figure 11: Detail of apron and belt on Warrior sculpture 1. Source: Amy Whitacre



Figure 12: Detail of Sandals and Legs of Warrior sculpture. Source: Amy Whitacre.



Figure 13: Dorsal disk detail on Warrior sculpture 1. Source: Amy Whitacre.



Figure 14: Left side detail of warrior sculpture. Source: Amy Whitacre

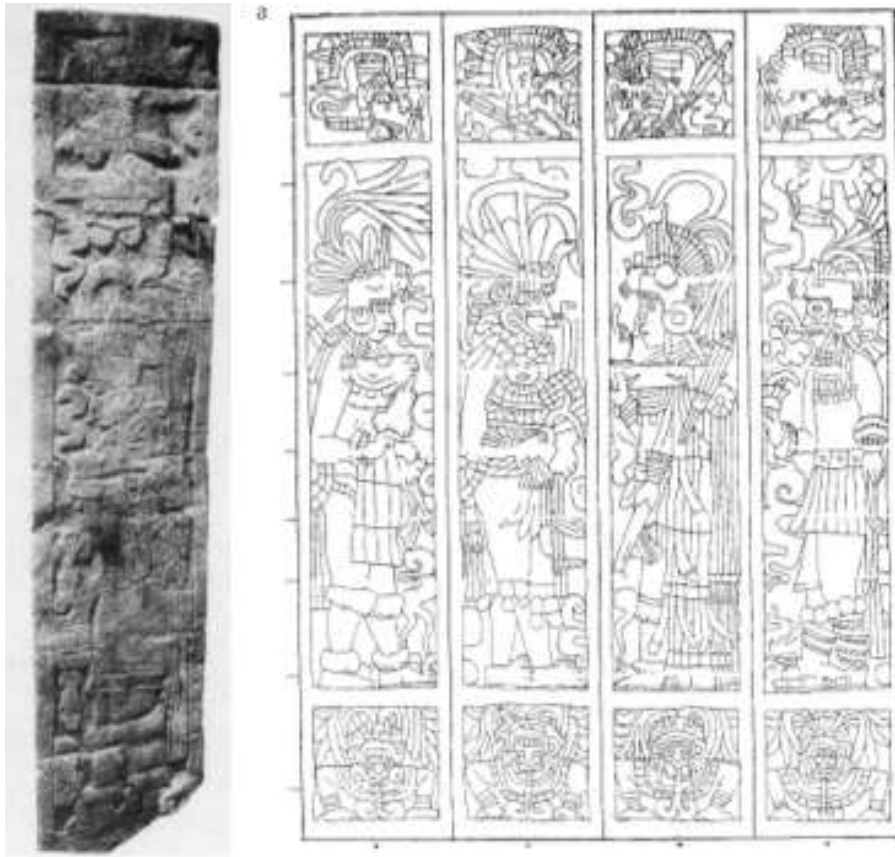


Figure 15: Sculpted pillar with “Toltec” figure from the Temple of the Warriors, Chichen Itza. From: Cynthia Kristan Graham, “Chichen Itza, Tula, and the Tollan: Changing Perspectives.” (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2011).



Figure 16: Jorge. R. Acosta Museum Feet. Source: Amy Whitacre.



Figure 17: Shaft Legs of Personage (Referred to as Jorge. R. Acosta Museum Feet).

Source: Esperanza Elizabeth Jimenez— Garcia “Sculptural— Iconographic Catalogue of Tula, Hidalgo: The Stone Figure.” (FAMSI, 2010)



Figure 18: Map distance between La Mesa and Tula Grande. Source: Google Maps



Figure 19: Figurine from La Mesa, Hidalgo. Photograph. From: *Mesoamerica After the Decline of Teotihuacan*. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 1989.



Figure 20: Figurine from La Mesa, Hidalgo. Photograph. From: *Mesoamerica After the Decline of Teotihuacan*. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 1989.



Figure 21: Figurine from La Mesa, Hidalgo. From: *Mesoamerica After the Decline of Teotihuacan*. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 1989.



Figure 22: Sculpture— slab. Seated Personage with crossed arms and legs. Source: Esperanza Elizabeth Jimenez— Garcia “Sculptural— Iconographic Catalogue of Tula, Hidalgo: The Stone Figure.” (FAMSI, 2010)



Figure 23: Slab showing the face of a personage wearing an elaborate headdress on the head and forehead. Tula Chico, Main Pyramid, Unit 11. Source: Esperanza Elizabeth Jimenez— Garcia “Sculptural— Iconographic Catalogue of Tula, Hidalgo: The Stone Figure.” (FAMSI, 2010)



Figure 24: The Stela with bearded personage. Source: Esperanza Elizabeth Jimenez—Garcia “Sculptural— Iconographic Catalogue of Tula, Hidalgo: The Stone Figure.” (FAMSI, 2010)

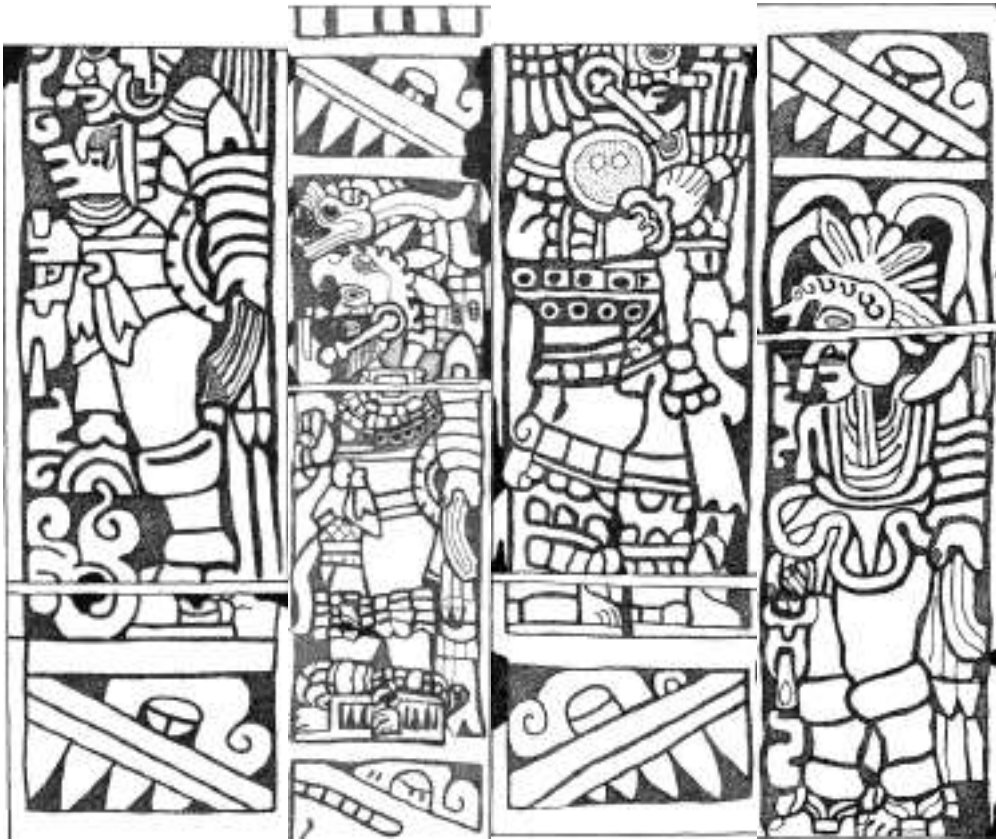


Figure 25: From Left to Right: Personage 5, Upper part of Pilaster No. 2; Personage 6, Lower Part of Pilaster No. 2; Personage 7, upper part of Pilaster No. 2; Personage 14, upper part of Pilaster no. 4. Source: Esperanza Elizabeth Jimenez— Garcia “Sculptural— Iconographic Catalogue of Tula, Hidalgo: The Stone Figure.” (FAMSI, 2010)



Figure 26: Figurine from Tula Grande. Source: Richard A. Diehl *Tula* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1983) Page 106.



Figure 27: Figurine from Tula Grande Source: Richard A. Diehl *Tula* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1983) Page 106.



Figure 28: Figurine of Tlaloc from Tula Grande. Source: Richard A. Diehl *Tula* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1983) Page 106.



(A)



(B)

Figure 29: A) Tlaloc sculpture. Tula B) Tlaloc sculpture. Chichen Itza.

Alfred M. Tozzer, *Chichen Itza and Its Cenote of Sacrifice: A Comparative Study of Contemporaneous Maya and Toltec*. (Cambridge: Peabody Museum, 1957). Fig. 207-15.



Figure 30: Pilaster Shaft. Front (Left), Back (right). Tula Grande, Building B, North side
Source: Esperanza Elizabeth Jimenez— Garcia “Sculptural— Iconographic Catalogue of Tula, Hidalgo: The Stone Figure.” (FAMSI, 2010)

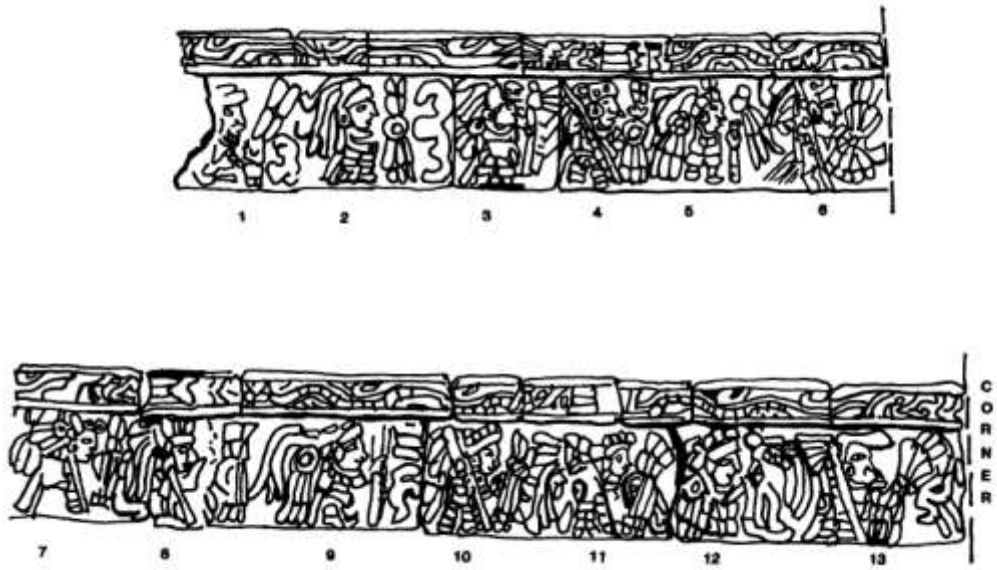


Figure 31: Vestibule frieze at Tula, Hidalgo, Mexico. Source: “Business of Narrative at Tula” by Cynthia Kristan Graham.



Figure 32: Entering Tula Grande, Hidalgo, Mexico. Source: Amy Whitacre



Figure 33: Four Warrior Sculptures, Tula Grande, Hidalgo, Mexico. Source: Amy Whitacre.



Fig. 34: Pyramid B from South side showing stairway. Source: Amy Whitacre