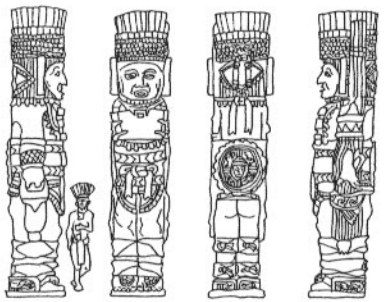
TWIN TOLLANS

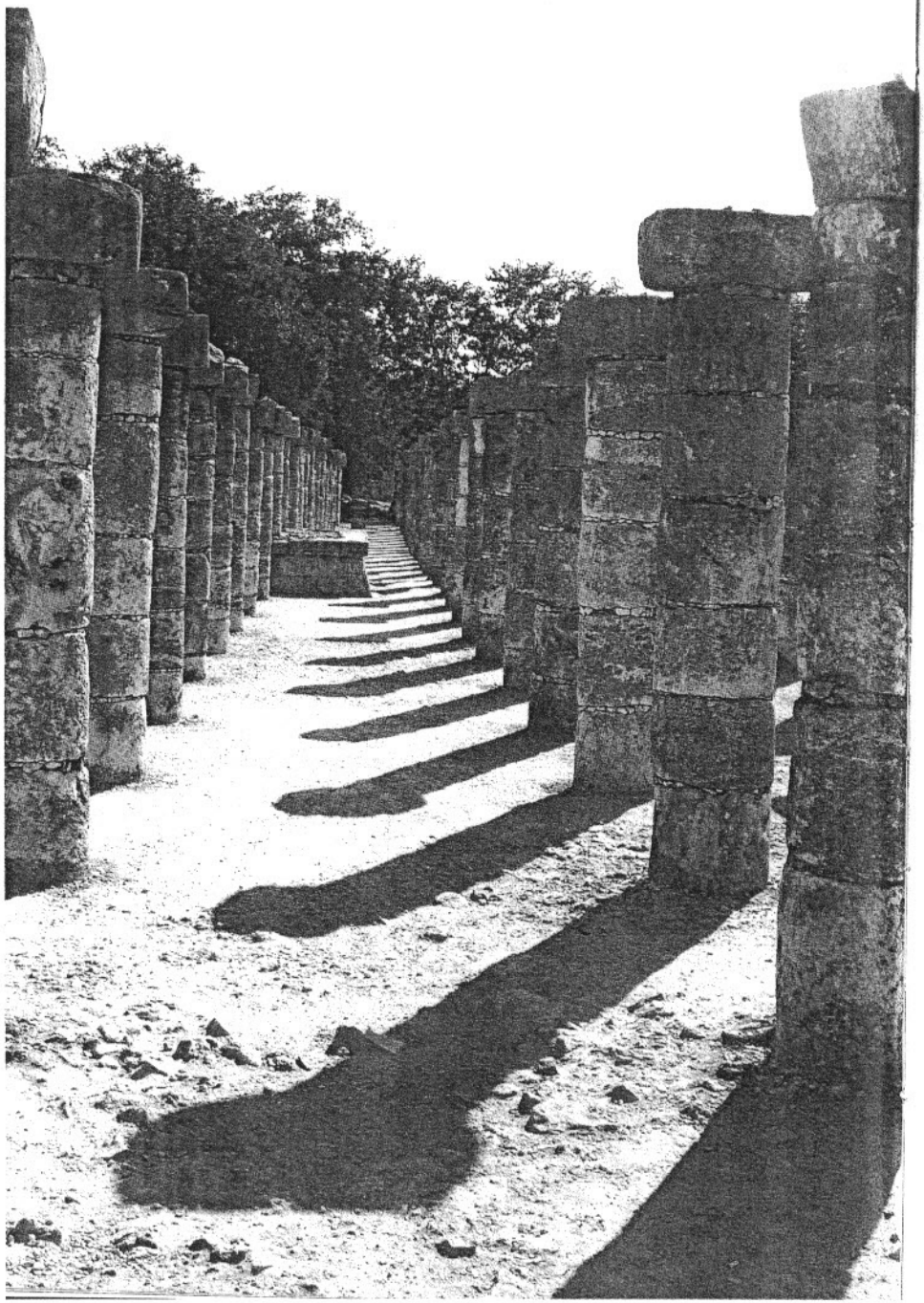


Chichén Itzá, Tula, and the Epiclassic to Early Postclassic Mesoamerican World

JEFF KARL KOWALSKI &
CYNTHIA KRISTAN-GRAHAM, *eds.*

Published by
DUMBARTON OAKS RESEARCH LIBRARY & COLLECTION
Washington, D.C.

Distributed by
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
2007



Toltecs, Tula, *and* Chichén Itzá: *The* Development *of an* Archaeological Myth

Susan D. Gillespie
University of Florida

[W]hen any of us who are anthropologists are presented with stories that purport to be history, we should be skeptical. We always need to ask: In whose interest is it that the past should be presented to us in this way? (Leach 1990: 229)

The legend of Ce Acatl Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl—priest-king of Tollan, who traveled with his Toltec followers to the far-away Maya city of Chichén Itzá in Yucatan—has fascinated scholars and the public alike for over a century. More significantly, it has indelibly shaped archaeological interpretations in virtually all of greater Mesoamerica from the Classic through the Postclassic periods. This story first emerged out of native historical traditions recorded in the Spanish colonial period deriving from both central Mexico and the Maya area. In the nineteenth century, when the archaeological site of Tula de Allende in the state of Hidalgo north of Mexico City was equated with the Tollan of the narratives, the story became "history," further verified by subsequent archaeological findings. Militaristic Toltecs were envisioned departing Tula and traveling not only to Yucatan but to the boundaries of the Mesoamerican culture area and beyond. Whether this movement was for imperial conquest or only diaspora, the Toltecs are considered to have indelibly changed Mesoamerican political economy and ideology, setting the stage for subsequent cultural developments of the Postclassic period (Prem 1999: 23).

How and why the narrative of Quetzalcoatl and the Toltecs came to dominate reconstructions of Mexican archaeology is itself a fascinating story that has important lessons for prehistorians. This chapter provides a historical overview to assess how we have collectively reached the point of "rethinking Chichén Itzá, Tula, and Tollan" (the title of the original colloquium for this volume). The origins of the saga of Quetzalcoatl, the Toltecs, Tula, and Chichén Itzá are much more remote than is generally

believed, going back to the first few decades after the Spanish Conquest. The story was further developed in the nineteenth century, taking several different forms as scholars argued over the details. Today's audiences know best the consensus version that emerged by the 1950s, which was popularized in the following two decades especially.[1] This version grew out of attempts to correlate archaeological remains, dating some 500 years before the Conquest, with information gleaned from post-Conquest documents in central Mexico, Yucatan, and highland Guatemala. The written accounts from these various regions mention an important personage with the title "Feathered Serpent" (Quetzalcoatl in Nahuatl, K'uk'ulkan in Yucatec, Gucumatz in K'iche' Maya). Many of them also indicate that "Tollan" or "Tulan"—a place name designated by reeds—was an important locale associated with Feathered Serpent and/or legitimate kingship (e.g., Carrasco 1982).

As for the archaeological record, it revealed striking similarities in the architectural and sculptural details of Tula and Chichén Itzá in particular. Both sites also exhibited feathered-serpent imagery that may have denoted this personage or his cult. Putting the two sources of information together not only explained the archaeological similarities but also linked the archaeological record to the historical one, extending the historical era deep into the pre-Conquest past. Quetzalcoatl and the Toltec dispersal were fitted into nascent archaeological and documentary reconstructions of Mesoamerican history (Carrasco 1980: 298), ultimately achieving the status of "orthodoxy" (Diehl 1981: 277).

Moreover, the reconstruction of Quetzalcoatl's travels was touted as an exemplar for text-aided archaeology. In 1956 Walter Krickeberg (1961: 212) proclaimed that there was no equivalent case in Mesoamerican prehistory in which facts attested by two independent sources so well complemented and ratified one another. Not only did archaeological evidence match the historical documentation, but the literary traditions of two widely separated peoples, the Aztecs and Maya, were shown to be mutually confirming. The incredible journey of Quetzalcoatl, who left Tollan in central Mexico and traveled eastward, as described in Colonial central Mexican accounts, was considered "proven, without leaving room for doubt" by the Maya chronicles and Spanish accounts in Yucatan that speak of the coming of Feathered Serpent (K'uk'ulkan) from the west to Chichén Itzá (Krickeberg 1961: 212, my translation).

Besides being mutually confirming, each source of evidence was used to help fill the lacunae in the other. For example, because the documentary traditions include highly mythologized stories of ancient peoples' interactions with culture heroes and gods—Quetzalcoatl is also the name of a god—some

1 For the 1950s scholarship see, e.g., Jiménez Moreno (1954–55, 1956), Kirchhoff (1955), Krickeberg (1961 [1956]), Kubler (1961), Morley and Brainerd (1956), Nicholson (1957), and Tozzer (1957). Subsequent publications that disseminated this story include Adams (1977), Davies (1977), Diehl (1974, 1983), Feldman (1974), Jiménez Moreno (1966b), Jiménez Moreno et al. (1965), Katz (1972), López Austin (1973), Nicholson (1979a, 1979b), Vaillant (1962), Weaver (1972), and Willey (1966).

prior scholarship had not granted the accounts much historical credence. Friedrich Katz (1972: 123) observed that not until Tollan, a place named in various documents, was properly located as the site of Tula, Hidalgo in 1941, "was it possible to correlate history and archaeology," to employ "the scientific use of archaeology" to the historical traditions and thereby "separate the kernel of historical truth, at least in part, from the mythical shell which surrounds it." That is, archaeology would help to determine the veracity of the documents, to separate the myth from the history.

On the other side, until absolute dating methods became available, archaeologists relied on the historical traditions referring to the Toltecs, their dispersal, and their incursions into Chichén Itzá to date these events and the sites where they occurred. This last event—the arrival at Chichén Itzá—further allowed for the correlation of central Mexican dates (which told when Quetzalcoatl left Tollan) with Maya dates in post-Conquest Yucatecan documents (which told when K'uk'ulkan arrived in Yucatan). Katun 4 Ahau in the Yucatec Maya calendar, a period corresponding to the years 967–987 AD and associated with the arrival of K'uk'ulkan at Chichén Itzá in the Books of Chilam Balam, was said to "coincide perfectly with the dates given in the Aztec chronicles according to which Quetzalcoatl occupied the throne [in Tollan, Tula] in 977 and died in 999" (Krickeberg 1961: 213, my translation).

Despite this common opinion concerning the contributions of ethnohistory and archaeology to elucidate this singular historical incident, critical scrutiny of the development and application of the Toltec story in Mesoamerican archaeology reveals the opposite situation of dependence, rather than independence, of sources, in a collaboration that began much earlier than is generally known. From the very beginnings of archaeological research in Mexico, the ethnohistoric sources were mined for the information they might bring to bear on chronological questions especially. Similarly, the archaeological record was constantly examined to confirm historical reconstructions based on the documents. It was (and still is) presumed that archaeology and ethnohistory could legitimately be combined by selecting certain information out of the historical traditions to be directly applied to archaeological materials. What is often unrecognized is that in the process, the data from each source are constantly reinterpreted. For example, the "perfect coincidence" of dates between Mexican and Maya documents alluded to by Krickeberg (above) was actually the product of a series of manipulations to make them coincide (Cohodas 1978; Gillespie 1989).

Nevertheless, the notion that two independent sources of information were correlated to create a mutually confirming and self-correcting scenario of the past has become an essential component of the modern "archaeological myth" of the Toltecs (Gillespie 1989: 201–207). Over time, as contradictions arose between the two sources of information, the story underwent revision. However, these inconsistencies rarely provoked questions or doubt concerning the underlying assumption that historical

traditions, which once promoted a state ideology and were written down centuries after the facts they purport to relate, contain a historical "core" or "kernel" (Katz 1972: 123) or "nucleus" (Krickeberg 1961: 209)—a "core of fact" (Davies 1977: 16; see Nicholson 1979b: 38)—that can be utilized in a straightforward manner to serve the purposes of Western chronologically based narrative interpretations of archaeological evidence. Virtually all archaeologists were typically reluctant to interpret that evidence without making some reference to the information contained in the post-Conquest native traditions as analyzed by ethnohistorians.

In short, far from exemplifying the independent use of textual and archaeological information, the story of Quetzalcoatl and the Toltecs came into being and has been maintained via the inextricable intertwining of both data sources, forming a circular argument that is all the more difficult to unravel for that reason (see Cobos, this volume, for a small-scale instance of this same problem). Although archaeological research is now questioning many of the specific aspects of the migration of Quetzalcoatl and the Toltecs, the story itself will not go away—and the full implications of both the material record and the Colonial texts cannot be realized—until the archaeological and documentary sources are indeed considered on their own terms. When that happens, emphasis will more likely be given to their discordances than their concordances, because by then we would be asking more explicitly in whose interests the past is being represented, including the interests of archaeologists. Nevertheless, these data may then contribute to a deeper understanding of the Mesoamerican world view, cultural and political processes, and the interrelationship of long-term regional structural history with local events (see, e.g., Burke 1990).

This brief essay cannot adequately reconstruct the origins and evolution of Toltec "orthodoxy" (see the volume introduction for additional information). Many of the ideas and arguments that contributed to its development did not appear in print or are only briefly known from later publications, making it more difficult to document. There is also insufficient space to provide details from all the native historical traditions that were used to create the story of Quetzalcoatl of Tula and Chichén Itzá, as well as the details that were discarded in that process (see, e.g., Davies 1977; Gillespie 1989; Nicholson 2001, n.d.; Stenzel 1980). My major objective is to demonstrate how scholars have consistently treated the archaeological and documentary records as dependent, rather than independent, sources of information. Their fundamental operating assumptions have been that the same historical facts exist in both contexts, merely awaiting their discovery by analysts, and that explanation consists of relating these events to one another along the linear time line of chronicle history (following Fogelson 1989: 135).

As new discoveries were made pertaining to one or the other source of information, and as research agendas changed, the story of Quetzalcoatl and the Toltecs was necessarily modified. Because of its longevity, this saga mirrors the shifting interpretive paradigms in New World archaeology. However, as continuing archaeological research may finally unravel the

story, there is the legitimate fear that the value of the ethnohistorical record may be diminished. Indeed, some earlier commentators have accused me of suggesting here that the documentary material be dismissed as irrelevant, a position I strongly oppose. I therefore conclude with some remarks concerning what could be done with the native historical traditions once the Toltec story—itself a modern construction—is ultimately rejected as a literal rendition of pre-Conquest "history."

The Development *of the* Toltec Myth

Although the full-fledged saga of Quetzalcoatl leaving Tollan or Tula and rebuilding the Maya city of Chichén Itzá is often thought to be a twentieth-century achievement grounded in perspicacious scholarship, its roots go back to the early Colonial period. Spanish missionaries who solicited and recorded indigenous historical traditions seemed especially interested in the identity of Quetzalcoatl. Quetzalcoatl appears in different central Mexican accounts as a god, a priestly figure, and a king of Tollan or of other cities. The missionary friars frequently asked their informants questions about him, particularly because he was sometimes described as a bearded white- or fair-skinned man and was being identified with Fernando Cortés (Gillespie 1989: 183–184). The same or similar personage appears under other names, including Ce Acatl, Topiltzin, and Nacxitl, or some combination of two or more of these titles. Even where he is unnamed, as in an early sixteenth-century document that speaks of a bearded white man dressed as a priest (in García Icazbalceta 1980: 2: 9–10), scholars assume this is the same person as Quetzalcoatl based on these characteristics (López Austin 1973: 10). That is, the common assumptions are that there was only one such personage (human, divine, or legendary) and that he figured in a widespread Pre-Hispanic historical tradition.

In the stories that speak of him as a king or priest—and it is on these stories that archaeologists focused—Quetzalcoatl was sometimes associated with the founding of kingship at Tollan. Other documents place him at the end of the Tollan dynasty, however, and the discrepancies between these accounts remain a minor controversy in ethnohistorical reconstructions (Jiménez Moreno 1956; Kirchhoff 1955; see Davies 1977: 153–156; Prem 1999: 64–67). Quetzalcoatl's demise and the various reasons for his departure from Tollan are highlighted subjects in many of the native historical traditions. Some say that he went to Tlapallan, or to the east, or to the seacoast (these all may be the same place), where he died, sailed away, or was transformed into a star or planet (e.g., Sahagún 1950–82: Bk. 3: 38n). Furthermore, Quetzalcoatl is also closely identified with the Aztec wind god of the east, Ehecatl, and it is nearly impossible to separate the two—the historical king and the wind god—within the documentary sources (Nicholson 1979b). In Cholula, Quetzalcoatl was venerated as a patron god of merchants, a "traveling god" linked with the Aztec merchant god Yacateuctli (O'Mack 1991: 4). Cholula is also one of the "plethora" of places designated as Tollan (Davies 1977: 29).

In contrast, the Yucatecan accounts concerning K'uk'ulkan provide much less information. The account attributed to Fr. Diego de Landa (1982 [c.1566]: 12–13) records the tradition that a great lord named K'uk'ulkan ruled Chichén Itzá while it was under Itzá occupation. The presence of a principal building there (the Castillo) still named "K'uk'ulkan" in the sixteenth century was taken as proof of this fact. The later (seventeenth or eighteenth century) Books of Chilam Balam prophecies (e.g., Roys 1967: 161) make brief mention of the coming of the Itzá people and of K'uk'ulkan to Chichén Itzá in one of the 20-year Katun 4 Ahau periods.

As noted, some Spanish friars were intrigued with this personage because of the associations being made to link Quetzalcoatl with Cortés or more generally with the arrival of the Spaniards in New Spain. Various authors asserted that Quetzalcoatl (in one of his manifestations) departed but predicted his return, and that Cortés was mistakenly believed to be the returning Quetzalcoatl. This identification was actually part of a nativistic movement that took shape after the Conquest, one in which the Spaniards themselves played a role, which greatly influenced the developing story in the early Colonial period (Gillespie 1989). Certain friars were also enthralled by the possibility that Quetzalcoatl/K'uk'ulkan may have been an early apostle of Christ, namely St. Thomas, and they took care to attribute white skin and saintly characteristics to him (e.g., Durán 1967 [1579–81]: 1: ch. 1; Las Casas 1967 [1555–59]: Bk. 3, ch. 123; see Bernal 1979: 28–29; Gillespie 1989; Keen 1971; Lafaye 1976; López Austin 1973; Orozco y Berra 1880: 1: Bk. 1, ch. 4).

In these Colonial Spanish speculations, there is the common assumption that Feathered Serpent was a historical personage (rather than a widely venerated deity or cult icon). Thus, even at this early date attempts were made to correlate the various native traditions, some records of which were being circulated by the late sixteenth century, to create a single narrative, the historical chronicle of a well-traveled man. For example, Landa (1982: 13) and Fr. Bartolomé de Las Casas (1967: Bk. 3, ch. 122) asserted that K'uk'ulkan was originally from Yucatan and from there had traveled to central Mexico, where he was renamed "Cezalcouati" (Landa 1982: 13) and venerated as a god. Fr. Juan de Torquemada (1975 [1615]: Bk. 6, ch. 24), in central Mexico, took issue with this scenario, insisting that Quetzalcoatl went the reverse direction instead (thereby presaging certain twentieth-century arguments). These early Colonial-era conjectures became part of the historical record, along with the writings of other missionaries, such as Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún and Fr. Diego Durán, and later scholars used them to construct and refine the story of Quetzalcoatl and the Toltecs.

The nineteenth century witnessed the next major developments in the Toltec story, commencing a trajectory of scholarship that has continued, unbroken, up to the present time. Nascent prehistorians were especially concerned with what kinds ("races," "stocks") of native peoples had settled in the New World. They attempted to identify their original Old World homelands and to trace the dispersal of these peoples across the hemisphere. Some of the native historical traditions of both central

Mexico and the Maya area had been discovered and published by this time, and the diasporic Toltecs began to play a leading role in theories to explain the distribution of the "semi-civilized" peoples of the Americas (e.g., Gallatin 1845). The Toltecs eventually came to be viewed as the creators of much of Mesoamerican civilization, as Sahagún (1950–82: Bk. 10: 167) explicitly stated was the Aztec tradition as remembered in the sixteenth century: the traces of the Toltecs—their potsherds and other remains—can be found everywhere, he said, because the Toltecs were dispersed after their city was destroyed.[2] Now, however, their migrations within Mesoamerica were being correlated with known archaeological sites, many of which were being brought to public attention. Thus, in the nineteenth century, the Toltecs as a group, rather than their leader as an individual, were emphasized.

For example, Philipp Valentini (1883) carefully analyzed both documentary and archaeological information to map the peregrinations of the Toltecs from their presumed western Asian homeland throughout Mexico and the Maya area. In fact, most late nineteenth-century scholars would feel right at home with today's "orthodoxy." As Daniel Brinton observed (1887: 229–230, emphasis added):

> The *orthodox opinion* is that the Toltecs, coming from the north (-west or -east) founded the city of Tula (about forty miles north of the present city of Mexico) in the sixth century A.D.; that their State flourished for about five hundred years, until it numbered nearly four millions of inhabitants, and extended its sway from ocean to ocean over the whole of Central Mexico; that it reached a remarkably high stage of culture in the arts; that in the tenth or eleventh century it was almost totally destroyed by war and famine; and that its fragments, escaping in separate colonies, carried the civilization of Tula to the south, to Tabasco (Palenque), Yucatan, Guatemala and Nicaragua. Quetzalcoatl, the last ruler of Tula, himself went to the south-east, and reappears in Yucatan as the culture-hero Cukulkan, the traditional founder of the Maya civilization.

In making this pronouncement, Brinton was setting himself up as leader of a burgeoning iconoclastic movement. Brinton (1887, 1890) emphatically renounced the historical existence of the Toltecs, beginning with an 1868 work (cited in Brinton 1887: 229), and he noted that Albert Gallatin had done likewise before him. Gallatin's (1845: 203) earlier

2 Sahagún was recording a historical rationale for the existence of the many ruined cities known to his informants, which were obviously built by skilled masons and sculptors. These crafts were subsumed by the word *toltecatl*, which meant "master craftsman" (Molina 1977). Sahagún used the spelling *tulteca* for both master craftsmen (Sahagún 1950–82: Bk. 9: 69) and for the inhabitants of "Tulla" (1950–82: Bk. 10: 165ff). He said of the latter: "There was no real word for their name. Their name is taken from—it comes from—their manner of life, their works" (1950–82: Bk. 10: 165). "Toltecs" by definition must have built the great cities, but ideally such skills and knowledge would have derived from an original, primordial Tollan. The meaning of toltecatl simply as an inhabitant of Tollan was therefore secondary to this more embellished connotation (Davies 1977: 28–29).

research into the many documents already available in the early nineteenth century had led him to conclude that:

> The tradition respecting the Toltecs ascends to so remote a date, and is so obscure and intermixed with mythological fables, that it is impossible to designate, either the locality of their primitive abodes, the time when they first appeared in the vicinity of the valley of Mexico, or whether they were preceded by nations speaking the same or different languages.[3]

Pointing out that there are no Toltec-authored documents—only the alleged remembrances of much later peoples—and that those records have contradictory and unreliable dates, Gallatin observed that we can know nothing of the history of the Toltecs as written by themselves. He expressed astonishment that such noted historians as Francisco Javier Clavigero (late eighteenth century) and Carlos María de Bustamante (early nineteenth century) would have given such credence to the Colonial accounts and attempted to write from them an authentic history of the Toltecs (Gallatin 1845: 169).

Brinton (1887: 241; also 1890: 100) similarly minced no words in expressing his own opinion:

> It is high time for this talk about the Toltecs as a mighty people, precursors of the Azteca, and their instructors in the arts of civilization, to disappear from the pages of history. The residents of ancient Tula, the Tolteca, were nothing more than a sept of the Nahuas themselves, the ancestors of those Mexica who built Tenochtitlan in 1325. This is stated as plainly as can be in the Aztec records, and should now be conceded by all. The mythical Tula, and all its rulers and inhabitants, are the baseless dreams of poetic fancy.

Brinton's cause was taken up most notably by Eduard Seler, who characterized Quetzalcoatl and his city of Tollan as "thoroughly mythical" (1996b [1923]: 64). Seler cautioned that "[w]e would make a mistake if we tried to identify the city of Quetzalcoatl with the historical Tollan" (1996b: 68), meaning Tula, Hidalgo (1996b: 64). Seler's detailed analyses (e.g., 1990 [1898], 1996a [1912], 1996b [1923], 1998 [1908]) explored the mythical aspects of these stories, in which Quetzalcoatl the ruler is actually a god with celestial connotations—the moon and the morning star.

On the other side of this issue was the subject of Brinton's vexation and strong language, namely, Désiré Charnay (1885, 1887), who was actively promoting the historical existence of the Toltecs against the school of thought that would deny it (Charnay 1887: 76). Charnay cited a different early-nineteenth-century historian in his defense—Mariano Veytia. Veytia

3 Gallatin's criticisms were seemingly satisfied a century later. It was precisely these factors—dating the appearance of the Toltecs, the cultures that came before and after them, and the sites they occupied—that were heralded as proof of their historical existence.

(1944 [1836]: Bk.1: chs. 1, 2, 21) had traced the Toltecs' movements from their Asian homeland into northwest Mexico and their eventual establishment in Yucatan. As Brinton noted, by the late nineteenth century this had become the common wisdom in the orthodox view (e.g., García Cubas 1873; Reyes 1880; Valentini 1883). A scientific commission had published some of the exposed Tula sculptures in 1873 (García Cubas 1873), and historian Manuel Orozco y Berra (1880: 3: Bk. 2, ch. 2) had already noted a resemblance between sculpted designs at Tula and Chichén Itzá. Charnay's contribution was to describe and illustrate the Tula sculptures and artifacts, even undertaking excavations there, and to detail their obvious parallels with objects from Chichén Itzá (Charnay 1887: 95, 344).

Charnay's objective was not to single out these two cities as having a special historical relationship, but to use archaeological evidence to demonstrate what some historians were already proposing—that virtually every important city in Mexico and adjacent Central America was built by the Toltecs, whom he, like others before him (e.g., Reyes 1880), considered the originators of "American civilization" (Charnay 1887: xxviii). Charnay included a map (rather like Valentini's in 1883) showing the migrations of the different "branches" of Toltecs who populated virtually all of Mesoamerica. This explanation was accepted as well by the early archaeologist Leopoldo Batres (1906: 13), who believed that the pyramids at Teotihuacan "are the most ancient vestiges of the existence of the Toltec race, which, spread almost all over the American continent, left unperishable proof of its greatness [and which] show the perseverance which was a characteristic of that race." However, the notion that the Toltecs had built *all* the ancient cities was disparaged by Charnay's contemporary, historian Orozco y Berra (1880: 2: Pt. 2, Bk. 1, ch. 4), and further research would soon prove Charnay wrong in that respect.

Whereas nineteenth-century scholarship was concerned with establishing the origins and movements of the different "stocks" or peoples in the Americas, archaeologists of the early twentieth century focused on classification schemes in order to organize the emerging data on various Pre-Hispanic societies into a single chronology. This project was facilitated by dating the "Toltecs" (a term that took on multiple meanings) using the various but conflicting documentary accounts. The opinions of Brinton and Seler that the narratives regarding the Toltecs belonged to the genre of fable seemed to hold little sway at this time, as a number of scholars were already attempting to cull out the "historical facts" relating to the Toltecs from the "mass of legendary detail" (Spence 1912: 23). The presence of a calendar in many of these historical traditions was taken as evidence that the native peoples must have had an historical sense (Radin 1920: 6), meaning that actual events should have been remembered in some chronological order. In the process of this culling, choices had to be made as to which of the contradictory accounts were most reliable. Presumed errors, biases, and supernatural happenings had to be eliminated from the historical core, conflicting versions reconciled, and events arranged into a

sensible linear sequence (Gillespie 1989: xxi–xxii). This admittedly "selective approach" to the historical record was later defended as necessary to construct Mesoamerican history (Davies 1987: 37), considered to be the key task for ethnohistorians.

Even Seler (1996a: 107), writing in 1912, recognized the likelihood that the later Aztecs had mythologized "historical recollections" of Toltec descendants. Significantly, he reached this conclusion in part because Charnay's archaeological comparisons seemingly indicated an ancient widespread culture. Herbert Spinden (1975 [1913]: 205–208) was among those beginning to dispute Charnay's proposal that the Toltecs had built all the Maya sites. Nevertheless, he, too, was struck by the great similarities in the serpent columns and atlantean figures at Chichén Itzá and Tula as reported by Charnay, which he believed could only have been the result of culture contact: "It is an *open question* whether the atlantean column passed from the Valley of Mexico to Chichén Itzá or *vice versa,* but that there was a transmission either one way or the other seems clear" (1975: 208, emphasis added).

Archaeologists were thus becoming more concerned now with the Toltecs as a distinctive culture group whose established capitals and exploits could provide a timeframe for the construction of culture-historical sequences in both central Mexico and the Maya area. Periodization was only crudely developed, however. Occupation in the Basin of Mexico area was divided into three periods: Archaic, Toltec, and Aztec, with the greatest of the three being that of the Toltecs (Tozzer 1927: 211–212). Thus, all the sites the Toltecs were thought to have occupied (including Tula, Teotihuacan, and Cholula) were considered relatively coeval, with Tula—the Tollan of the native historical traditions—considered the capital of many large Toltec cities (e.g., Charnay 1887; García Cubas 1873; Marquis de Nadaillac 1895: 355; Orozco y Berra 1880: 3: Bk. 2, ch. 2; Seler 1996a [1912]; Spence 1912; Spinden 1917; Valentini 1883).

However, pottery seriations were beginning to temporally discriminate the occupations at Tula and Teotihuacan, although not definitively so until Jorge Acosta's (1940) early work at Tula. George Vaillant (1938), attempting to correlate the archaeological and historical sequences in the Basin of Mexico, still considered Teotihuacan within his "Toltec Period" of "600? to 1100? AD" (1938: 554). For lack of direct material evidence to date Teotihuacan—the lynchpin of his chronology—Vaillant (1938: 555) concluded "any such calculations depend on the validity of the dates given for the Toltecs in the historical accounts."

Interestingly, in the 1920s the opinion was promulgated that Teotihuacan, rather than Tula, should properly be considered *the* Tollan. Enrique Juan Palacios (1937: 50) claimed credit for this attribution (in Mendizábal and Palacios 1920, 1921), although it was not without detractors. Palacios's reason for asserting that Teotihuacan was Tollan was his identification of the Pyramid of the Plumed Serpent at Teotihuacan as the temple built by Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl in Tollan as described in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan.*

However, Ing. J. Reggadas Vertiz (1922: 267) argued against a Teotihuacan connection because the feathered serpent columns at Tula and Chichén Itzá were dissimilar to the Teotihuacan examples and instead looked more like Aztec (Tenochtitlan) feathered serpents. Nevertheless, others who took up the cause for Teotihuacan (and it maintained a few adherents [Chadwick 1971: 496–499; Sejourné 1954]) typically argued that Tula's small size, aesthetic shortcomings, and marginal environment do not match the glowing descriptions of Tollan in some documents (as noted by Healan 1989: 6). In the revised edition to his history of Mexico, Spinden (1928) thus acknowledged: "Evidence is accumulating that this Tula [of the Toltecs] was not the comparatively insignificant ruin on the northern edge of the Valley of Mexico, but instead was the great city of San Juan Teotihuacan" (a change from his 1917 edition that identified Tula as Tollan).

By the end of that decade, the Toltecs were commonly accepted as builders of Teotihuacan and conquerors of Chichén Itzá (e.g., Whorf 1930: 122). In 1927 Alfred Tozzer (1927: figs. 1–4) provided maps showing Toltec-Maya relations through the centuries beginning with the Early Toltecs (500 AD) centered at Teotihuacan. In his scheme Tula and Cholula became important Toltec capitals in the period 630–960, but Teotihuacan remained a major center, reaching its height from 1000–1200 (Tozzer 1927: 219), during which time the Toltecs first appeared in Yucatan. The period of greatest Toltec expansion, from 1191–1450, was under the leadership of Quetzalcoatl, who also traveled to Yucatan. Tozzer's map of this latest period (1927: fig. 4) shows Toltec influences as far south as Costa Rica and as far north as Chalchihuites in northern Mexico, based on the distribution of two "Toltec" traits: ballcourts and chacmool sculptures.

Tozzer's chronology was based on correlating dates in the Aztec and Maya Colonial documents, and these dates were becoming critical to the developing Toltec saga by the 1920s. In 1923 Walter Lehmann (1996) used Sahagún's writings to concretely date the fall of Tollan—by which he meant Teotihuacan—to provide a historically based chronological division between Toltec and pre-Toltec periods. To do so, however, he assumed that one of Sahagún's dates for this event must have been an error. Lehmann noted that in the Spanish Prologue of Book 1 of the *Florentine Codex,* Sahagún (1950–82: Introductory Volume: 48) wrote that Tollan was destroyed about 1000 years earlier, its peoples scattered to Cholula and possibly Xochicalco. However, in Chapter 5 of Book 8, the Spanish text indicates that this event occurred 1,890 years before 1571 AD. This is a more specific date but it is at odds with the Book 1 information; thus Lehmann "corrected" the Book 8 text to read 1000 years before 1571, or 571 AD. (What Lehman did not know was that in the parallel Nahuatl text of Book 8, the date for the fall of Tollan is stated directly as 1110 AD [Sahagún 1950–82: Bk. 8: 15].) Lehman's analysis illustrates a developing trend in Toltec ethnohistorical investigations—the willingness to "correct" in order to correlate the often-conflicting dates in the various written accounts from different parts of Mesoamerica (e.g., Jiménez Moreno 1940).

Chronometric interpretations of the documents significantly impacted attempts to establish a firmer historical link between Quetzalcoatl and K'uk'ulkan and between Tula and Chichén Itzá. Maya archaeologists at the time were concerned with determining the temporal placement of the "Mexican" intrusions into Yucatan as demonstrated by archaeological remains and as mentioned in the documents.[4] The accounts that provide specific years for events associated with Quetzalcoatl and the Toltecs within the Aztec 52-year calendar, and with K'uk'ulkan and Chichén Itzá in the Yucatec Maya cycle of 20-year katuns, had to be correlated with the Western calendar, and there were various opinions in this regard. Tozzer (1927, 1930: 155) put Quetzalcoatl's journey in the late Toltec period after 1191. Brinton (1887: 229) had earlier placed the destruction of the Toltecs and their last king at the tenth or eleventh centuries. However, Ralph Roys (1967 [1933]: 161), a leading Maya ethnohistorian, adhered to even earlier dates, as proposed, for example, by Orozco y Berra (1880), putting Quetzalcoatl's exile in the seventh century. Roys further noted that this resulted in a chronological mismatch with K'uk'ulkan's arrival in Chichén Itzá during the katun named 4 Ahau, believed to be in the tenth century. In any event, Roys (1967: 115) doubted that the textual reference to the arrival of K'uk'ulkan should be taken literally to mean a singular historical individual. It was more likely a reference to the introduction of the cult of the feathered serpent—an opinion that was not widely shared at that time.

Nevertheless, calendrical calculations and related ethnohistorical investigations by Wigberto Jiménez Moreno in the 1930s (cited in Jiménez Moreno 1941: 83) resulted in a major refinement of the Toltec story of the 1920s. In a seminal article in 1941 Jiménez Moreno briefly summarized his earlier arguments for identifying Tula rather than Teotihuacan as the Tollan of the Aztec traditions. Using the information on toponyms at or near Tollan from Sahagún's description of Tollan and from the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*,[5] Jiménez Moreno was able to locate some of these places on an eighteenth-century map of the Tula area.

4 The situation was further complicated because some influential Maya scholars interpreted the "Mexicans"—or the "Itzás" of the Yucatecan accounts—as Chontal-speaking Maya (Thompson 1945, 1977 [1954]: 119; Tozzer 1941: 20–22, n.123), rather than refugees directly from the Mexican Altiplano. See Tozzer (1941: 20–26) for a summary of the different views on this point at that time.

5 The *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, written ca. 1570 and first published in 1885, became a favorite source for late-nineteenth- into twentieth-century Toltec scholarship because it dated many specific events in Toltec history using the Aztec 52-year calendar. This document, Sahagún's writings, and the Puebla-area *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca* were considered the most reliable sources on the Toltecs by Jiménez Moreno (1941: 79, 1954–55: 225; see also Acosta 1956–57: 105). Jiménez Moreno drew most of the Tula-area toponyms from Sahagún's description in Book 10 of the *Florentine Codex*. Ironically, it was Sahagún's fabulous characterization of Tollan and the Toltecs that had led some scholars to dismiss them as myth, and others to suggest that only Teotihuacan was a suitable candidate for the great Tollan. Paul Kirchhoff (1955) disagreed with Jiménez Moreno's interpretation of the dating of Quetzalcoatl, and he thus disparaged the documents Jiménez Moreno most relied upon. Nevertheless, Kirchhoff believed, as did Jiménez Moreno, that if events in the native historical traditions could be tied to logical dates and to real places located on maps, then they were necessarily historical rather than mythical (Kirchhoff 1947: xx–xxi). Chadwick (1971: 496) later disputed many of Jiménez Moreno's toponymic arguments.

Although Jiménez Moreno was said to have "brilliantly demonstrated" using written sources that Tula was the Toltec capital, and archaeology merely "corroborated this fact" (Bernal 1962: 221), he actually had combined both sources of information to establish that conclusion. In the 1941 article Jiménez Moreno clinched his argument that Tula—not Teotihuacan—was Tollan by noting that the Nahuatl stories had Quetzalcoatl emigrating to the east, to Tlapallan, to the seacoast. This must refer to the Maya area, he said, because the Yucatecan accounts recorded two invasions, one in 987 under K'uk'ulkan and the other in 1194, which were signaled by new archaeological traits at Chichén Itzá that are most obviously similar to those at Tula. Furthermore, Tozzer (1930) had already begun to distinguish Maya individuals from invading Toltec warriors on the wall paintings and bas-reliefs at Chichén Itzá (later elaborated in Tozzer 1957). As the ceramic data now showed that Tula postdated Teotihuacan and other material traits indicated it was contemporaneous with Chichén Itzá, there could be no other conclusion, said Jiménez Moreno (1941: 81–82), than that the earlier Mexican invasion into Yucatan led by Quetzalcoatl derived from Tula.

At this same time J. Eric Thompson (1941) was attempting to synchronize Yucatecan and central Mexican prehistory, and his work also reveals the felt need to manipulate the dates in the accounts to make the best sense of the archaeology in both areas. Thompson reported that from his discussions with Jiménez Moreno, the latter was convinced that the accepted correlation of 52-year cycle dates recorded in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* was off by two cycles (104 years), meaning that Quetzalcoatl departed for the east not in the year 874, as previously calculated, but in the year 978.[6] Among the various correlations for the 4 Ahau Katun, when K'uk'ulkan was said to have arrived in Yucatan, the time span from 967–987 was becoming more accepted. Noting the significant coincidence of these corrected Yucatecan and Aztec dates, Thompson (1941: 104–105, 1945: 13) suggested a possible explanation for the appearance of Mexican traits in Yucatan as a result of the Toltec diaspora, although without claiming that Quetzalcoatl was a historical figure who made the trip or that the Itzás were Tula Toltecs.[7] Jiménez Moreno (1954–55: 224) nevertheless used Thompson's Maya dates and other Yucatec evidence to confirm the year of 987 as the arrival of Quetzalcoatl in the Maya area, assuming that this single historical event

6 This was not meant as a general correction to the correlation of 52-year dates in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*. For example, Jiménez Moreno (1954–55: 222) also argued that the year 1 tecpatl, during which Mixcoatl arrived to begin the "Imperio Tolteca," required not two but three 52-year cycles to correct it, changing the date from 752 to 908. His calendrical corrections were made to match the known archaeological evidence that was being interpreted using the historical accounts (1954–55: 223). These dates, too, have since been criticized (Prem 1999: 66), although determining the beginning and ending dates of Tollan's dynasty from the documents remains as intractable now as it was then (1999: 64–66).

7 Thompson continued to disdain this suggestion: "it is well to recollect that Quetzalcoatl was also the title of the Mexican high priest, and that Quetzalcoatls seem to be as frequent in Mexican history as Roosevelts or Adamses in American public life. It seems almost too good to be true that the historical Quetzalcoatl and his Toltec followers, fleeing Tula, conquered Chichen Itza" (Thompson 1977 [1954]: 118). Tozzer (1941: 22 n.123) made a similar early observation regarding the likelihood that many men held the title of Quetzalcoatl.

accounted for parallels in both the archaeological evidence and native historical traditions.[8] Thus, this definitive re-interpretation of a date given in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* was made to accommodate archaeological evidence from both central Mexico and Yucatan.

Important archaeological work was being carried out at this time at Chichén Itzá (where the Carnegie excavations had been ongoing since the 1920s) and at Tula. Jorge Acosta's two decades of work at Tula (detailed in reports published from 1940 to 1964; see also Acosta 1956–57; Mastache and Cobean 2000) discovered even more feathered-serpent columns, chacmools, warrior columns, atlantean figures, wall panels, and other sculptural motifs that paralleled those at Chichén Itzá. Acosta (1956–57: 104–106), however, relied on the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* to date the fall of Tula at 1064 (or 1116, or 1168, depending on the possible addition of 52-year cycles). He also noted significant discrepancies between the historical events chronicled in that document and the actual archaeological evidence. He left this "incompatibility" between the two sources of information as a problem for future investigators to tackle (Acosta 1956–57: 106–108). Acosta nevertheless concluded his report with the summary statement, admittedly based as much on the documents as on archaeology, that "under the dominion of the Great Priest and King Ce Acatl Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl and his successors, Tula became the highest example of Central Mexican culture and built a city of incomparable beauty, which was the model for Chichén Itzá and the great Tenochtitlan" (1956–57: 108–109, my translation). Although Tula's ceremonial center was considered the original model for the rebuilding of Chichén Itzá in Toltec style, Chichén Itzá's temples and façades, which were in much better condition, were actually used as a prototype for Ignacio Marquina's (1951: pl. 46) reconstruction painting of Tula's Pyramid B.

The Maya historical traditions, for their part, gave no such account of the "actual Toltec conquest of Yucatan" (Roys 1966: 154). Nevertheless, this absence of documentary information was "compensated to some extent by a wealth of artistic representation . . . [that] relates to the Toltec conquest of Yucatan" (1966: 156; e.g., Tozzer 1930, 1957; Wray 1945). As noted, at Chichén Itzá iconographic and architectural analyses were being used to discriminate the earlier ("Maya") and later ("Toltec") buildings there (Tozzer 1930: 155, 1957), which archaeologists differentiated temporally as the "Pure Florescent" and "Modified Florescent" periods (e.g., Andrews 1965).

The archaeological work at both Tula and Chichén Itzá therefore seemed to verify the essential aspects of the Toltec story as promulgated

8 Kirchhoff (1955) disagreed, asserting that Jiménez Moreno was mistaken in assigning Quetzalcoatl to the beginning, rather than the ending, of Toltec sovereignty in Tula. He further noted that if, in his view, Quetzalcoatl belonged to the time of the fall of Tollan, which Jiménez Moreno had by then changed to 1168, then this could not be the same Feathered Serpent personage who arrived in Yucatan with the name K'uk'ulkan, according to Thompson's date of 987, but must be Ah Nacxit K'uk'ulkan who in the *Chilam Balam of Tizimin* appeared at Chichén Itzá in 1184 or 1204. Thompson (1941: 106) had earlier dismissed this document as erroneous in his own calculation of the arrival of K'uk'ulkan (Kirchhoff 1955: 195).

especially from the central Mexican sources by Jiménez Moreno. Any discrepancies were used to refine the scenario or were put off for future investigation. For instance, the noted presence of some Toltec traits at Puuc (Pure Florescent) sites thought to predate the Toltec invasion at Chichén Itzá (e.g., Proskouriakoff 1950: 170) again suggested the possibility of earlier, unrecorded central Mexican contacts (Andrews 1965); perhaps Toltec mercenaries preceded the full-fledged invasion of Yucatan (Roys 1966: 154). By about 1960 art historian George Kubler (1962: 176), who did not share this opinion, nevertheless recognized that virtually all scholars "now accept the thesis that Nahua-speaking Toltecs of highland origin lived as masters at Chichén Itzá." Here was Toltec orthodoxy redux.[9]

This scenario served the purposes of both history and archaeology, which were ultimately the same: to write *the* narrative of the past (e.g., Pluciennik 1999). The journey of the Toltecs from Tula to Chichén Itzá under the leadership of Quetzalcoatl solved a major archaeological problem, using migration as a form of explanation, a culture-contact model popular in archaeology at that time (e.g., Lathrap 1956). More significantly, the story of Quetzalcoatl's departure from Tula with some loyal followers, and their incredibly rapid takeover of Chichén Itzá some 1000 kilometers away, seized scholarly and popular imagination. Archaeological and historical interpretations always reflect larger societal concerns as well as the biases of the scholars promoting them. The "documentation" of the achievements of one of Mexico's earliest known heroes—the man from the Altiplano who conquered Yucatan—fit well within the current intellectual climate. While early Mexican historians such as Francisco Javier Clavigero and Mariano Veytia were motivated by a nationalistic fervor that considered the Aztecs and their forebears as the "classical antiquity" of Mexico (Phelan 1960: 761), such "neo-Aztecism" had diminished by the late nineteenth century (1960: 768). Nevertheless, in the 1920s a renewed interest in *indigenismo,* this time originating in the arts and inflamed anew by nationalist and social revolutionary passions, once again motivated grand schemes to reconstruct and reconnect the pre- and post-Conquest periods of Mexican history (Keen 1971: 524ff). The Toltecs were considered to be among Mexico's earliest civilizations known through both documents and archaeology, marking the beginning of its historical era (Jiménez Moreno 1954–55: 219; Orozco y Berra 1880: 2: Pt. 2, Bk. 1: Ch. 4). The renaissance of intellectual speculation concerning the Toltecs' deified king, the phoenix-like "Plumed Serpent" in D. H. Lawrence's (1926) novel of that name, continued unabated (Keen 1971; Lafaye 1976).

As in the nineteenth century, the Toltec presence was considered to extend far beyond the cities of Tula and Chichén Itzá, although these two capitals became the starring players in this drama. The central Mexican documents named other places where Quetzalcoatl and/or the Toltecs

9 Significantly, dissenters were primarily art historians or archaeologists focusing on artworks who questioned the central Mexican origin and dating of "Toltec" art in Yucatan (e.g., Cohodas 1978; Kubler 1961; Parsons 1969).

had dispersed, and some of these were also located on maps by Paul Kirchhoff (e.g., 1958, 1959, 1961) as a means—he believed—to confirm the essential historicity of the accounts. Certain highland Guatemala Maya documents (e.g., *Popol Vuh, Annals of the Cakchiquels, Title of the Lords of Totonicapan*) also spoke of an original emigration of peoples from Tulan, some of whom became conquerors. These were generally thought to be Toltecs who had emigrated from Tula and stopped off at southwestern Campeche before continuing their trek to highland Guatemala (Jiménez Moreno 1966a: 192; Roys 1966: 157), although Robert Carmack (1968: 67) suggested that the Tulan of the Guatemalan accounts was more likely Chichén Itzá, a closer Toltec center. These varied traditions were thus taken to indicate one or more migrations out of Tula or other Toltec cities into the rest of Mesoamerica for purposes of conquest or trade.

This documentary evidence for Toltec expansion, even a centralized "empire" (Jiménez Moreno 1966a: 191; 1966b) superseded only by the later Aztec empire (Acosta 1956–57: 109), was being confirmed archaeologically by the discovery of "Toltec traits" over a wide area, forming a recognizable Toltec archaeological horizon (Diehl 1993). Tozzer (1927) had mapped the Toltec expansion on the basis of reported ballcourts and chacmools. Now more complex trait lists were being compiled, with diagnostic indicators of Toltec presence ranging from small sculptural details to major building techniques, pottery types, and even such broad characteristics as militarism (e.g., Carmack 1968; Parsons 1969; Ruz Lhuillier 1964). The presence of any one of these traits was sufficient to indicate an invasion, such as Marquina's (1951: 260) attribution of the Tarascan chacmool at Ihuatzio to Toltec presence in West Mexico. Bertha Dutton (1964) extended their reach even further. Taking militarism itself as a cultural characteristic of Toltec origin, she credited Toltec "warrior societies" with invading and militarizing the Puebloan peoples of the U.S. Southwest following the collapse of Tula after 1100.

The addition of Chichén Itzá as a second Toltec capital, rebuilt by Tula Toltecs, allowed for characteristics present at Chichén Itzá but actually absent from contemporary Tula to be considered Toltec traits. These additional criteria were used to further expand the area thought to have come under Toltec influence (e.g., Andrews 1965; Borhegyi 1965; Carmack 1968; Fox 1981; Marquina 1951: 162; Ruz Lhuillier 1964; see Parsons 1969). This was considered justifiable because Chichén Itzá was supposed to be just as "Toltec" as Tula was, if not more so. For example, the inhabitants of Chichén Itzá were metal-workers, and metal artifacts were considered a prime Toltec trait despite the absence of such artifacts in pre-Aztec occupations at Tula itself. The lack of metal at Tula was a recognized problem, for which Acosta (1956–57: 94) blamed archaeological sampling, but it did not overturn the assertion that "the Tula Toltecs probably had a great deal to do with the development and spread of the craft [of metal-working] throughout Mesoamerica" (Adams 1977: 234).

As a result of all these efforts, a map of the "Toltec Empire" extending from Durango to Nicaragua, as provided, for example, by Jiménez Moreno (1966b: 78), is not much different from those of the late nineteenth century (Charnay 1887; Valentini 1883). Once again the Toltecs came to be considered a dominant group in Mesoamerica and Quetzalcoatl, their leader, a key historical figure, although now with an improved understanding of the chronology of this phenomenon and with Tula accepted as the ultimate source for the dispersal of peoples and their cultural traits.

Revisions *to the* Myth

Significantly, subsequent archaeological research, especially after the 1960s, soon began to raise problems with the scenario of Quetzalcoatl and the Toltecs. Scholars recognized that nothing in the archaeological record yet confirmed the key events of Quetzalcoatl's life as known from the documents (Acosta 1956–57: 107; Nicholson 1971: 65, 1979b: 40). In fact, the larger issue as to whether and how archaeological and ethnohistorical data could be used in a complementary fashion was becoming an important subject for discussion (e.g., Bernal 1962; Nicholson 1955, 1971, 1979a; Robertson 1971). Richard Diehl's (1974, 1983) archaeological project at Tula resulted in improved dating that conflicted with some of Jiménez Moreno's calendrical calibrations on which Acosta had relied (Diehl 1983: 57, 160). New radiocarbon and ceramic dates at Chichén Itzá (e.g., Andrews 1977: table 1; Lincoln 1986) were beginning to contradict both the timing of the Toltec/Itzá invasion and the assumption that a distinct Toltec component overlay an earlier Maya occupation. In addition, more scholars were now openly suggesting that many of the "Mexican"-looking traits in the Yucatec and highland Maya areas preceded the traditional entry dates of the Toltecs (e.g., Brown 1980; Cohodas 1978, 1989; Kurjack et al. 1991; Morley et al. [Sharer] 1983: 164; Sheets 1981), and that the origin of some "Toltec" sculptural motifs could be found in the Maya area, not central Mexico (e.g., Miller 1985; Parsons 1969).

Such conflicting evidence could be accommodated by refining the story further, for example, by reinterpreting the dates in the native historical traditions. Or it could be argued, as Thompson (1977 [1954]: 118) and Tozzer (1941: 22, n.123) did previously, that the story of Quetzalcoatl pertained to only one of many migrations of peoples out of central Mexico, and that Feathered Serpent was probably the title of various personages who lived at different periods (for this last argument see also Davies 1977). Nevertheless, the suggestion that the similarities between the sites of Chichén Itzá and Tula may have resulted from a movement that went the other way, from Yucatan to central Mexico (Morley et al. [Sharer] 1983: 164; cf. Diehl 1993), or that they manifested a complex series of interactions between these two areas (Kubler 1984: 288–290), eventually began to receive serious consideration—or re-consideration, since this opinion had been expressed earlier (e.g., Kubler 1961; cf. Ruz Lhuillier 1962). Orthodoxy was giving way to heterodoxy.

More significantly, the profound degree of interaction between central Mexico (especially Teotihuacan) and the Maya area as early as the Early Classic period was also becoming better realized in Maya excavations, such as the University of Pennsylvania's 11-year Tikal Project that began in 1956. Population movements between these two major regions were surely not unidirectional, as the Maya-like artwork at Epiclassic Cacaxtla and Xochicalco in central Mexico reveal. Certain traits once considered "Toltec" were shown to be widely distributed during the antecedent Classic period. The entire Epiclassic period following the decline of Teotihuacan was being rethought, as the old model (promulgated by Jiménez Moreno) of a transition from a peaceful theocratic Classic to a militaristic Postclassic era was being abandoned (Diehl and Berlo 1989; see Jones 1995).

As part of these developments, migration and diffusion models were now considered insufficient to explain the material indicators of interregional interaction. Furthermore, subsequent archaeological evidence had not significantly broadened the narrow context of the attributes actually shared by Tula and Chichén Itzá. These consist primarily of architectural and sculptural features in the civic-ceremonial centers of the two sites. Such evidence is not sufficient to represent a "site-unit" intrusion, which would be expected if an actual migration had occurred according to various archaeological models that were proposed (Lathrap 1956; Rouse 1958) for dealing with questions of migration precisely at the time that the story of Quetzalcoatl and the Toltecs was most promoted.[10]

The development of new approaches in American archaeology beginning in the 1960s required more complex and systemic explanations of culture contact. For example, feathered-serpent imagery—an intrinsic material component of the Quetzalcoatl migration story—has now been linked with a number of other traits as part of a culture complex traced from the Central Plateau to the Gulf coast and into Yucatan in the Epiclassic period (Ringle et al. 1998). It reveals the presence not of a single historical figure or of a discrete cult that was carried from Tula to Chichén Itzá, but of a widespread elite ideology localized in varying material expressions as part of complex inter-regional political, economic, and religious changes. These processes cannot be encapsulated in simplistic, outdated scenarios of ethnically distinct migrating groups maintaining discrete essentialist trait assemblages as they wander over many miles and establish new settlements in foreign areas (e.g., Jones 1997).

Recent archaeological research in central Mexico and the Maya area thus shifted the interpretive paradigm, enhancing our understanding of the lifeways of the actual inhabitants of Tula and other central Mexican and Maya sites that played a role in the Toltec drama. Significantly,

10 This difficulty was also explained away. Since Landa's (1982: 13) account stated that K'uk'ulkan had no wife or children, Krickeberg (1961: 261) argued that invading Toltec warriors also would not have brought their wives but would have married native Maya women. Thus, the Toltec presence in Yucatan would not have impacted the ceramic patterns, commoner houses, and other mundane signifiers of daily life and ethnic identity dependent on women's activities.

however, the importance of Chichén Itzá and the "Itzá" peoples continued to be underappreciated (Cohodas 1989: 228), because the primacy given to central Mexican developments (e.g., the decline of Teotihuacan as a prime mover for all subsequent changes) remains a bias in constructions of Mesoamerican prehistory.

As serious revisions were beginning to be made to the Toltec scenario based on newer archaeological findings, renewed controversy arose over the historical accuracy of the native traditions concerning Quetzalcoatl and the Toltecs (e.g., Brown 1983; Carrasco 1982; Gillespie 1989; Pasztory 1983; Piña Chán 1980; Stenzel 1980). For a variety of reasons, the separation of "history" from "myth" in these accounts was proving more difficult to achieve than first imagined by Lewis Spence in 1912 (Davies 1980: xxi, 1982; Nicholson 1979b: 39). The increasing doubts about the historical veracity of the native traditions also resulted in changing attitudes towards the Toltec story and the presumed Toltec empire.

As part of these new interpretations, the symbolic and ideational facets of the ethnohistorical record are once again being highlighted, as is also the case with the iconographic aspects of the archaeological record (e.g., López Austin and López Luján 2000). There is a re-recognition of the significance that Tollan or Tula (and its derivatives) is a common-place name (Davies 1977: 29ff), something noted long ago by Brinton (1887: 235–236). It is becoming conventional wisdom again to accept that the use of this place name in both central Mexican Nahuatl and highland K'iche' Maya documents need not refer to the same city (e.g., Tedlock 1995: 45), and that the repetition of the name Feathered Serpent in different historical accounts need not reference a single individual (e.g., Prem 1999: 67).

The documentary accounts are consistent in their attribution of political legitimacy to Tollan or Tulan (see Carrasco 1982). In the 1990s a new twist entered into the Toltec saga when scholars deciphered the Classic Maya hieroglyphic inscriptions. The deciphered inscriptions provide a new historical record that does not suffer from post-Conquest alterations like the Aztec and later Maya texts. The considerable evidence for Teotihuacan-style artifacts and architecture in the Maya highlands and lowlands by the Early Classic period, including what look like Maya rulers either emulating Teotihuacan practices or actually hailing from that great metropolis, have given rise to the notion among Maya archaeologists that Teotihuacan was the "first great Tollan" (Fash and Fash 2000: 458; Stuart 2000: 506). David Stuart has observed that the Maya hieroglyph that is iconic "reed" or "cattail" frequently appears in inscriptions accompanying artistic representations that evoke Teotihuacan styles and in the titles of Maya rulers with strong Teotihuacan associations (e.g., at Early Classic Copan and Tikal). He suggests it serves to name or reference Teotihuacan as the "place of reeds," making it the first known Tollan in Mesoamerica (Stuart 2000: 502–506). Other places called Tollan are believed to have imitated that city or competed for its sacred status after the decline of Teotihuacan by the eighth century (Fash and Fash 2000: 456). By the Postclassic period,

Tollan had become transformed into an exemplary, even imaginary, locus of sacred power associated with the divine right of kings.

Today the Maya hieroglyphs are receiving the lion's share of attention as the best source of accurate historical information on Tollan (as Teotihuacan), while acceptance of the historical information contained in the Colonial period native traditions has declined and some scholars are tending to prefer more symbolic explanations. Nevertheless, the fear has been expressed (Nicholson 1979b: 39) that if we deny the historical core of the native historical traditions, we will perforce return to the days of Brinton and Seler, reducing these often detailed narratives to little more than hero sagas and astronomical myths. In fact, the treatment of historical traditions as "metaphor" rather than history is characteristic of some more recent approaches (e.g., Graulich 1981). These two approaches are still treated as incompatible, resulting in continuing unresolved conflict (e.g., the exchange between Graulich [2002a, 2002b] and Nicholson [2002a, 2002b]). Nevertheless, there are other ways to evaluate these narratives than to simply classify them as either "myth" or "history" or even "mythicized history" (following López Austin 1973).

For example, John Pohl (1999) has recently separated out the information on Tula that is provided by archaeological excavations on the one hand, and by the "legend of Quetzalcoatl" on the other, rather than combining them as in the long-standing orthodox approach. He considers the legend to be a form of "heroic history" (a term coined by Marshall Sahlins [1985]). In his opinion, despite its "magical embellishments," the legend provides useful information on religious and economic conditions, internal political factionalism, interpolity relationships, and the impact of drought and disease on the inhabitants of Tula. Pohl (1999: 160) suggests that the documents preserved how the indigenous people of this Early Postclassic city perceived those processes and events. His position incorporates contemporary ideas regarding "history" as an enabling resource wielded by knowledgeable actors as a means to strategically navigate their world. However, it still retains the assumption that the Toltec saga records the impressions of the Early Postclassic people of Tula, rather than of the much later peoples who actually told this story in its multiple, changing versions (compare to Gillespie 1989). He has not adequately addressed the question, "In whose interest is it that the past should be presented to us in this way?" (Leach 1990: 229) because he has not first ascertained who is doing the presenting.

In sum, even as contrary archaeological evidence has accumulated since the early 1960s, and as different approaches to interpreting the documentary information have gained adherents since the 1980s, it has taken a long time to reach the point of calling for a formal rethinking of Chichén Itzá, Tula, and Tollan. Furthermore, aspects of the story of the Toltecs (with or without Quetzalcoatl) and their migration out of Tula, as developed in the 1950s, still appear in recent archaeological textbooks (e.g., Adams 1991; Fagan 2002; Pohl 1999) and remain embedded in scholarly

interpretations of population movements or Toltec legacies (e.g., Anawalt 1990; Evans 1998; Turner and Turner 1999: 463; Umberger 1987). A more critical review of the historical development of this archaeological myth may shed some light on its continuing role in shaping constructions of the Mesoamerican past.

Myths *and* Orthodoxy *in* Archaeology

The sheer longevity of the story of Quetzalcoatl and the Toltecs makes it a phenomenon worthy of investigation. The changes it endured reflect the shifting emphases within the history of American archaeology (Bernal 1979; Willey and Sabloff 1993). It began as the story of Quetzalcoatl very soon after European contact, a time of speculation about the status of the Indian peoples and their possible Old World origins. This fascination intensified in the nineteenth century, as the Indians themselves were disappearing from public view and antiquarian scholars were intrigued by the romanticized notion of an earlier "race" of Moundbuilders who brought some semblance of civilized life from the Old World to the New. The Toltecs as an ethnically distinct migrating group figured prominently in many of these speculations. The story was further refined in response to the late-nineteenth-century concern with culture classification and the early-twentieth-century attention to chronology-building through such relative techniques as pottery seriation and stratigraphy.

The use of documents to link historic and prehistoric New World peoples (formalized as the direct historical approach [Steward 1942]), the mapping of trait distributions to discern the extent of a Toltec empire, and the reliance on migration as a mechanism to explain that trait dispersal are all typical of the culture-historical interpretations dominating the first half of twentieth-century American archaeology. The first significant challenges to the orthodox story coincided with the 1960s-era adoption of processual explanations based on general socio-economic processes rather than singular historical events such as migrations. Since the 1980s, postprocessual interpretations have focused on emic issues of power and representation as symbolically construed within the built environment. More contemporary approaches to "ethnicity" (e.g., Jones 1997), the complexity of contact situations (e.g., Cusick 1998), and "world system" political economies (Kepecs, this volume) should help to further elucidate the archaeological record.

From the perspective of this long view—a miniature version of Fernand Braudel's (1980) *longue durée,* a structural history composed of alternating historical cycles—this volume may be regarded as only the latest in a cycling of opinions regarding the Toltecs and their most famous leader. A true historical process, characteristic of structural history following Sahlins (1985: ix), is revealed as conventional understandings and categories are "risked" against empirical data and, at certain salient points in time, are functionally revalued as a result. At a certain level of abstraction we can characterize the internal cycles as alternations between periods of ortho-

doxy and heterodoxy. But even the individual components of the Toltec story reveal their own pendulum-like swings, indicating that a restricted set of alternative positions was implicitly perceived as the limits within which heterodoxy was allowed. These components include: 1) the identification of Quetzalcoatl as a historical figure, then a god, then a historical figure again, and now a god-like icon of sacred power; 2) the back-and-forth direction of his or his followers' (or the associated political ideology's) movements between central Mexico and Yucatan, still undecided due to shifts between "long" and "short" chronologies at both Tula and Chichén Itzá (Smith, this volume); 3) the location of Tollan first as Tula, then as Teotihuacan, then as Tula again, and now back to Teotihuacan as an original Tollan; and 4) the shifting importance of Tula, first as one of many important Toltec centers, then as the pre-eminent Toltec capital, and, for now, relegated to being just one player in large-scale interregional interactions. Given such narrow parameters for even the major adjustments to the story, it is little wonder that mid-twentieth-century scholarship seemingly independently resurrected the late-nineteenth-century version of orthodoxy.

The long-lived story of Quetzalcoatl and the Toltecs has been characterized here as an archaeological "myth." In a broad sense, a myth is a narrative that is taken to be true and strategically used as a guide to knowledge of the world; in this case, knowledge of a past world as construed according to present conventions, in order to explain the present via the past. Myths typically exist as differing versions of the same occurrences, but they are based on certain underlying axioms that are taken for granted and not open to discussion, much less to question. These axioms belong to the category that Pierre Bourdieu (1977: 164) labeled "doxa," that which appears self-evident or even natural, in contradistinction to orthodoxy and heterodoxy which imply "awareness and the recognition of the possibility of different or antagonistic beliefs" (1977: 164).

A major doxic axiom supporting the archaeological myth of the Toltecs is that textual information is superior to archaeological information. This is a common opinion in text-aided archaeology, only occasionally explicitly recognized for the bias it introduces (e.g., Feinman 1997: 367). Edmund Leach (1990: 230) summed up this attitude for Old World antiquity as follows: "The basic principle seems to be 'Always believe what the text says unless it is palpably quite impossible.'" Thus, Ignacio Bernal (1962: 225) called on Mesoamerican prehistorians to use both archaeology and ethnohistory in a complementary fashion, but suggested that "the archaeologist should adjust his excavation to the written data whenever this is possible." While this bias has been duly noted for the Toltec saga in particular (Diehl 1981: 293), its full implications have not been adequately scrutinized. The orthodox story was—and in some ways still is—considered unassailable because of the continuing belief that it is ultimately grounded in documentary records.

The impact of this presumption on archaeological interpretations is succinctly summarized in a statement by Carlos Margain (1971: 75, emphasis added) concerning the presumed relationship between Tula and Chichén Itzá:[11]

> The aesthetic aspects of Toltec art are best observed at Tula, its capital, and at Chichen Itza, the foremost Maya-Toltec center. At first, one might think that Toltec elements spread from Chichen toward distant Tula. Chichen Itza exhibits better finish, greater refinement, and therefore more elegance. . . . In Tula, on the contrary, the same elements are poorly finished, are rough, and occasionally rustic. . . . The contrast suggests that Tula was a provincial version of metropolitan Chichen Itza. *But the documentary sources show without doubt that the influence went in the opposite direction.*

In point of fact, the documents state no such thing. But even if they did, that would be insufficient reason to automatically disregard observations and interpretations of archaeological remains that seemingly contradict the written sources.

This conventional wisdom neglects the critical fact that the documents had to have been greatly interpreted to yield a Tula-to-Chichén Itzá movement, just as archaeological data must be interpreted. It is the entwined archaeological and historical *interpretations*—not the actual data—that have been compared to look for consonances and dissonances (Brown 1983: 64). Documents do not "encode self-evident meanings about the past" (Morrison and Lycett 1997: 217). It is therefore interesting to note that in the 1980s round of heterodoxy, the archaeological evidence was considered paramount and documentary accounts were re-interpreted in order to keep up with archaeological developments, although they never completely lost their earlier authority. But the situation is reversed now in the current search for historical explanations of migrations from central Mexico within Maya hieroglyphic inscriptions, which to some extent feels like a return to the old culture history.

A corollary assumption propping up the archaeological myth of the Toltecs has not been seriously challenged, namely, that information from the documents can be lifted out of its original contexts and simply "cut-and-pasted" into archaeological interpretations wherever it suits the current agenda, always having to discard the unused portions of these texts in the process (see Brown [1983: 65] for a rare criticism of this common practice). By context, I mean first that data from various documents were lifted out of the socio-historical context of the Colonial period, such that important differences between early and later accounts were ignored. Considering the rapidity of changes that the

11 Similarly, Sanders, Parsons, and Santley (1979: 138) suggested that Cholula was a more important central Mexican center during the Early Postclassic than was Tula (cf. Diehl 1983: 15). Thus, they would have considered Cholula a better candidate for Tollan based on archaeological data, "[if] we lacked the quasihistorical (and potentially misleading) documentation about Tollan" that seemingly located it at Tula, Hidalgo.

central Mexican versions of the Quetzalcoatl story underwent in the first century after the Conquest (Gillespie 1989; Stenzel 1980), it is difficult to argue that the late-sixteenth-century sources most relied upon by prehistorians—the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* and Sahagún's *Florentine Codex*—are the most accurate recordings of events of a long-ago past, while earlier accounts that speak of Topiltzin are given little attention. Secondly—and even less frequently problematized—these snippets of native histories are taken out of context of the specific documents in which they appear. Certain aspects of their meanings that are dependent on syntactic relationships with other information *within* each of those different documents are therefore disregarded, as are important differences between the various types of documents and between Spanish and indigenous authorship. Archaeologists, who know very well the critical value of archaeological context and the often devastating impact of transformational processes for imputing meanings to artifacts, have been less cognizant of the importance of this same notion of context and equivalent kinds of processes when utilizing textual data.

Finally, the common practice of decontextualizing the information from the documents is founded upon the most fundamental axiom that lies at the heart of the Toltec archaeological myth, namely, that it is appropriate to interweave ethnohistorical and archaeological interpretations to create a single narrative of the past. This has been considered a legitimate undertaking because of the implicit assumption that the documentary and archaeological records contain within them the same preformed historical events that merely have to be "extracted or excavated" (Fogelson 1989: 135). Although they are often referred to as *independent*, the two sources of information are actually treated as *interdependent* or as *mutually dependent* upon what happened in the past, because those singular events are believed to have created both the archaeological and documentary records. "Facts" drawn from the documentary and archaeological records were therefore manipulated to make them coincide because of the implicit presumption that they *should* coincide if they both represent the same past events.

This is the bedrock assumption of the positivist approach to history—"history as it really happened"—that dominated Western historiography from the nineteenth century well into the twentieth. It was the culmination of an earlier European phenomenon that historian Peter Burke (1990: 279) called "the rise of literal-mindedness" and in opposition to which the early-twentieth-century French Annaliste school of social history was formed (Fogelson 1989: 135). Among other things, "[l]iteral-mindedness involves a kind of sophisticated incapacity to understand how other cultures can take symbols seriously" (Burke 1990: 280). Despite the priority given to the written sources in terms of the richness of their detail and their more explicit descriptions of phenomena that can only be teased out of the archaeological record, the documents have actually more often served as the handmaiden to

historico-archaeological agendas that seek to construct a chronicle, event-dominated positivist history.[12]

In exposing the doxa behind the Toltec archaeological myth, I do not propose that archaeologists should not make use of the ethnohistoric records or that the documents have no historical value for the Pre-Hispanic era, but they clearly cannot continue to be profitably used as they have been in twentieth-century interpretations, categorized as either history or myth. There are profound differences separating the archaeological and documentary sources of information that are not easily reconcilable, especially when the texts are being used primarily to solve specific archaeological problems. In this regard it is helpful to briefly examine developments in related fields since the mid-twentieth century to better comprehend the seriousness of this dilemma. These include the growth of a separate discipline of historical archaeology after about 1960, the "historicization of anthropology" (Ohnuki-Tierney 1990: 1) in sociocultural anthropology beginning in the 1980s, and a critical rethinking of the field of ethnohistory (Krech 1991).

Significantly, historical archaeologists do *not* assume they will discover a one-to-one correlation between texts and material remains, but rather realize that archaeology and history often present "contrasting portrayals of the past," each of which may nevertheless be valid (Charlton 1981: 155, 2000: 515; Knapp 1996: 146). The failure of archaeologists to apply the same "source-side analysis"—of the kind to which they routinely subject archaeological remains—to documentary, ethnographic, and oral historical accounts is now becoming a common criticism (e.g., Feinman 1997: 367; Mason 2000; Morrison and Lycett 1997: 217; Schiffer 1990: 424). It remains to be seen how the Epiclassic/Early Postclassic era will be interpreted once the archaeological record is treated as a phenomenon distinct from the ethnohistorical record that was produced by different peoples centuries later.

12 Robert Wauchope (1947; cited in Nicholson 1955: 607) opined that the difficulties of archaeologic-ethnohistoric correlation made it "the most dangerous of all anthropological operations." Nevertheless, Mesoamerican scholars have continued to extol the advantages of a research program combining ethnohistorical or epigraphic and archaeological information. This has been referred to as a "conjunctive" approach especially by Maya scholars (e.g., Brown 1983; Carmack and Weeks 1981; Fash and Sharer 1991), although the term "holistic" has since been introduced (e.g., Green 2000; Kepecs 1997). This usage of the term "conjunctive" can be traced back to a 1952 conference paper by Gordon Willey (1962), who misread Walter Taylor's (1948) conjunctive approach as "the bringing to bear of as many kinds of evidence as practical considerations permit" (see also Willey and Sabloff 1974: 140). This meaning is actually more akin to Christopher Hawkes's (1954) appropriation and complete redefinition of Taylor's conjunctive approach. Hawkes, unlike Taylor, used the term conjunctive to refer to the combination of textual and archaeological information. Hawkes's sole objective for a conjunctive approach was to trace the dispersals of the various Old World cultures, using trait lists, from the historic period back into the prehistoric era. This is the basic culture-historical paradigm that is at the heart of the archaeological myth of Quetzalcoatl and the Toltecs, which Taylor himself (1948) had taken pains to critique with his own conjunctive approach. Green (2000) insists that the new holistic approach to an anthropology of long-term history is radically different, drawing on interpretive perspectives from both processual and postprocessual archaeology and treating the information sources separately before they are considered together (2000: 130).

As for the documentary sources, it is no longer considered legitimate to divide the Colonial period native historical traditions into their mythical and historical portions, the former generally ignored and the latter selectively "cut-and-pasted" onto archaeological sequences that predate them by a half-millennium or more. Since the 1980s sociocultural anthropologists have rejected the artificial synchronic character once imposed upon ethnography and have rediscovered the value of history. Ethnographers with the advantage of interviewing and observing living peoples have exposed the false dichotomy of "myth" and "history" in their investigations of the role of the past and of social memory in the active negotiation of everyday practices, especially in colonial and post-colonial situations.[13] Myth and history are not necessarily opposing modes of representation but "complementary forms of consciousness [even in] complex societies with historical traditions (including our own)" (Turner 1988: 251–252). Thus, to properly analyze what can be learned from the documentary accounts means first to consider them independently of archaeologico-historical concerns per se and examine them critically from an ethnographic perspective, as the products of living societies (see Brown 1983: 66). For example, it seems obvious that one should identify who told them, realizing that the documents represent multiple voices, and then determine the circumstances their authors found themselves in, how these were perceived by those actors, and how they changed over time.

It is well known, but rarely fully considered since Brinton's and Seler's time, that the peoples of Tula and Chichén Itzá did not write down the historical narratives used to construct events in the Epiclassic to Postclassic periods. Instead it was the Aztecs and the Maya of the Colonial period who produced them, meaning that what we have are the writings of various hispanicized indigenes and Spanish missionaries and authorities operating in a situation of extreme colonial confrontation. Furthermore, as circumstances changed during the first century after the Conquest, the memories and legends of Quetzalcoatl and the Toltecs also changed. We should thus investigate the different reasons why various Late Postclassic peoples told such stories, and somewhat parallel stories at that, about their pasts, and why they continued to do so well into the Colonial period. To paraphrase Leach's question at the beginning of this chapter: What did the owning and recounting of "history" mean to them?

In making this point I reveal my ultimate concern—what to do with the texts that speak of Quetzalcoatl, Tollan, and the Toltecs once archaeology finally determines that they may have little to do with a chronicle of events and processes of Epiclassic and Early Postclassic Mesoamerica.

13 Although this movement gained adherents especially after 1980, earlier ethnographers had explored the important role of oral history in everyday life, emphasizing the fact that it was not only quite flexible to meet changing circumstances but that it also took the form of multiple conflicting versions (e.g., Leach 1965; Richards 1960). A small sample of the more recent literature on historical anthropology and the anthropology of history includes Biersack (1991), Cohn (1981), Hill (ed. 1988), Lambek (2001), Ohnuki-Tierney (ed. 1990), Parmentier (1987), Rosaldo (1980), and Sahlins (1981, 1985).

To simply relegate them to the alternative category of myth, folklore, or even symbolism, as some would do (e.g., Graulich 2002b), is not a useful answer, as it would diminish much of the value of the native historical traditions. There is history aplenty in these documents, but only once one recognizes that there is more to history than chronicle and event.[14]

Ironically, it is instructive to reconsider Seler's position on the Toltec myths, as his nonliteralist perspective could now be considered back in vogue. Seler (1996b [1923]: 59) believed that the stories about Tollan constituted "the principal myth of the Mexican tribes," and his assessment of its function and importance has been rediscovered by much later scholars (e.g., Carrasco 1982: 3–4, 104; López Austin and López Luján 2000; Tedlock 1995: 295). His interpretation explains the widespread appearance of Tollan and Feathered Serpent in Mesoamerica as the manifestations of an ancient shared cosmology that was localized and adapted to individual societal circumstances over time. His perspective—so denigrated in the earlier "orthodox" view—can ultimately prove much more useful to prehistorians than the notion of militaristic movements out of Tula de Allende, Hidalgo:

> It was the conception of this ancient empire of Quetzalcoatl that it was not only the first and oldest that existed in this country, i.e. in the entire world, that it was the seat of riches, the origin of all art and culture, the source of religion, that is, the art of securing for oneself the protection of certain gods, but that it had been founded by the gods and was thus confirmed, that it was the *essence of all legitimacy*. More or less definitely all the nations derived their cultural values, their religion, and their royalty from Tollan. And all people, no matter where their specific origin was thought to have been, had to have once been in Tollan, had to have passed Tollan in their migration, had to have received their gods, their religion, their royalty there. (Seler 1996b: 61–62, emphasis added)

In the vision of Tollan and its founding king as endowers of politico-spiritual legitimacy, we see a Mesoamerican example of what Clifford Geertz (1980: 13) has called "the doctrine of the exemplary center" in Indic Indonesia, the conception of the royal court and capital as "the material embodiment of political order." (This social-structural comparison would be irrelevant if the Toltec saga were merely literal history.) As Geertz explained for Bali, the original exemplary center, known in Balinese oral

14 I (Gillespie 1989) have been accused of "dismiss[ing] the historical accuracy and validity of the Aztec native histories *on principle*" (Smith and Hodge 1994: 5–6, emphasis added). Nothing could be further from the truth; the historicity embedded in these narratives is undeniable. As an anthropologist, I do reject on principle the a priori unexamined assumptions that non-Western (or even Western-influenced) written representations of history should be treated in a manner equivalent to Western ideals of "chronological records" (Smith and Hodge 1994: 5) and that the chronology of events they provide is their primary value to archaeology and history.

traditions as Majapahit, was emulated by a series of subsequent capitals that rose and fell, each one considered a replica of the one before, going back to the original as the source of all legitimacy. With European contact in the early seventeenth century, Western "history found" the current capital, Klunkung, and fixed its position, even after it fell, among successor states, each of which acknowledged the spiritual superiority of Klunkung (Geertz 1980: 14–15).

Similarly in Mesoamerica, "history," in the form of the Spanish invasion, "found Tollan" at Tula. Tula was only one of the latest in an ancient series of real and imagined centers of authority, along with associated places such as Coatepec, "Serpent Hill," another recurring geophysical image (Schele and Kappelman 2001: 38) linked with Tollan in Aztec traditions (Gillespie 1989: 87). There is no clear discrimination as to whether Tollan should best be interpreted as a known geographic locus or a poetic construction, an imaginary archetype; it could easily have been both at once. It is quite probable that some Aztec literati had localized the myth of Tollan to Tula, Hidalgo for specific purposes—as Seler (1996a: 104, 1996b: 64) had already determined by the early twentieth century from Sahagún's description of the nearby toponyms. Furthermore, a common impact of Spanish colonialism in the Americas was precisely the "concretization" of exemplary places on the political landscape, historicizing indigenous narratives for their own administrative purposes (Urton 1990: 12). The numerous other Tollans and Tulans of the documents, some of which can be located on maps, may have served this function for other peoples or on a more local level.

Seler understood the fundamental significance of Tollan as a mythical ideal subscribed to by various groups, including some in the Maya region, each of whom negotiated their identities and statuses according to their versions of the past and their knowledge of sacred and political geography, which may or may not have included an actual Tollan. Applying this perspective to archaeological interpretations is obviously more complex, but it should ultimately prove more rewarding. For example, the adoption of a fairly distinctive political ideology, focused on the construction of a shrine center that is believed to bestow legitimacy on would-be kings, and marked by imagery of the Feathered Serpent, can be traced archaeologically from its probable ultimate source at Teotihuacan into certain other regions of Mesoamerica beginning in the Epiclassic as the outcome of historical processes (as in Ringle et al. 1998), which are quite different phenomena than singular historical events.

Two final observations need to be made regarding the changing perspectives towards narrative representations of the past, both those of archaeologists and those of the sixteenth-century peoples of Mesoamerica. First, from the history of the story of Quetzalcoatl and the Toltecs we should recognize the transitory status of orthodoxy as akin to "normal science" (Kuhn 1970) and realize the debt that current scholarship owes to the diligence and creativity of those who have gone before. Newer findings typically resulted from attempts to confirm (or reject) the accepted scenario, despite what may look in hindsight like unthinking adherence to flawed assumptions alternating with iconoclastic revelations.

Second, Mesoamerican scholars should take note that the renewed attention by sociocultural anthropologists to history has actually led some to renounce the field of ethnohistory as it is normally understood (e.g., Krech 1991: 365; Parmentier 1987: 5–6; Schieffelin and Gewertz 1985: 3). Current opinion is that ethnohistorians, most of whom reconstruct the pasts of non-literate peoples, have tended to write Western-style chronicle histories that do not acknowledge indigenous understandings of history. Thus, ethnohistory is not equivalent to other ethnosciences, such as ethnobotany or ethnoastronomy, as emic-oriented knowledge structures (Parmentier 1987: 6) and is really no different in that respect from the positivist viewpoint in the discipline of history. To call attention to this disturbing trend, Raymond Fogelson (1974, 1989) suggested we need to develop a field of "ethno-ethnohistory," one that "insists on taking seriously native theories of history as embedded in cosmology, in narratives, in rituals and ceremonies, and more generally in native philosophies and worldviews" (1989: 134–135; see also Miller 1998; Turner 1988). Rather than reject the term "ethnohistory," I would argue that Mesoamerican scholars have the rare opportunity to further develop this field into a true *ethno*-history. Unlike in most other areas of the colonized world, we have access to historical traditions and other information written by indigenous persons both after and long before the Spanish presence.

H. B. Nicholson, who has long championed the use of the native traditions to glean literal historical information to correlate it with the archaeological record (e.g., Nicholson 1955), once observed:

> Whatever the reliability of these pre-Hispanic Central Mexican records from the standpoint of the genuine historicity of the events recounted, one great value is undeniable: the information they provide on cultural values, preoccupations, themes, patterns, etc. In other words, entirely apart from the question of their value as histories, their ethnographic value is immense. (Nicholson 1971: 70)

I suspect that when a real "ethno"-history of the Colonial Aztecs, Maya, and other Mesoamerican peoples is finally realized, much of it will have little directly to do with historical events that transpired in centuries past. Instead of chronicle, the history these texts represent will be recognized as something much more encompassing and thus more useful, namely, evidence for "distinctive modes of historical production . . . different historicities" (Sahlins 1985: x) or "modes of social consciousness through which people construct shared interpretive frameworks" (Hill 1988: 5). They will help us to piece together a structural history of Mesoamerica via the intersection of long-term structure with events, of "global" processes with local expressions; and the same kinds of processes

and phenomena should also be discernible in the archaeological record. As more comprehensive interpretations of dynamic interregional interactions take center stage, Chichén Itzá and Tula will be seen as leading players, but certainly not the only players on that stage. The story of Quetzalcoatl and the Toltec Empire will necessarily fade into the background. Nevertheless, as powerful, emergent icons, Feathered Serpent and Tollan should then be seen in their proper roles—as knowledgeably manipulated symbolic and materialized resources within the ideological (including historical) foundations of the Mesoamerican civilizations—and not simply relegated to a singular incident in "history."

Acknowledgments

An early discussion of these epistemological issues appeared in a paper entitled "Who Were the Toltecs and How Do We Know?" at the 1983 Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association. Part of that paper was incorporated into *The Aztec Kings* (Gillespie 1989). The historical overview presented here was made possible by the resources in the Library at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. I am grateful to David C. Grove for his editorial comments on this latest version, as well as those that came before, and to the helpful suggestions provided by the colloquium participants. This chapter was finalized in January 2004.

References

Acosta, Jorge R.
1940 Exploraciones en Tula, Hgo., 1940. *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos* 4: 172–194.

1956–57 Interpretación de algunos de los datos obtenidos en Tula relativos a la época tolteca. *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos* 14 (pt. 2): 75–110.

1964 La Decimotercera Temporada de Exploraciones en Tula, Hgo. *Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia* 16: 45–76.

Adams, Richard E. W.
1977 *Prehistoric Mesoamerica.* Little, Brown, Boston.

1991 *Prehistoric Mesoamerica.* Rev. ed. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Anawalt, Patricia Rieff
1990 The Emperor's Cloak: Aztec Pomp, Toltec Circumstances. *American Antiquity* 55: 291–307.

Andrews, E. Wyllys, IV
1965 Archaeology and Prehistory in the Northern Maya Lowlands: An Introduction. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians,* (Robert Wauchope, ed.) vol. 2, *Archaeology of Southern Mesoamerica,* part 1 (Gordon R. Willey, ed.): 288–330. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Andrews, E. Wyllys, V
1977 Some Comments on Puuc Architecture of the Northern Yucatan Peninsula. In *The Puuc: New Perspectives* (Lawrence Mills, ed.): 1–17. Central College, Pella, Iowa.

Batres, Leopoldo
1906 *Teotihuacán ó la ciudad sagrada de los tolteca.* Imprenta Hull, México, D.F.

Bernal, Ignacio
1962 Archaeology and Written Sources. In *Proceedings of the International Congress of Americanists, Wien, 18–25. Juli 1960* (Herbert Baldus, ed.): 219–225. Verlag Ferdinand Berger, Vienna.

1979 *Historia de la arqueología en México.* Editorial Porrúa, México, D.F.

Biersack, Aletta (ed.)
1991 *Clio in Oceania: Toward a Historical Anthropology.* Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Borhegyi, Stephan F. de
1965 Archaeological Synthesis of the Guatemalan Highlands. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (Robert Wauchope, ed.), vol. 2, *Archaeology of Southern Mesoamerica,* part 1 (Gordon R. Willey, ed.): 3–58. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Bourdieu, Pierre
1977 *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* (Richard Nice, trans.). Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England.

Braudel, Fernand
1980 History and the Social Sciences: *The Longue Durée.* In *On History* (Sarah Matthews, trans.): 25–54. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Brinton, Daniel G.
1887 Were the Toltecs an Historic Nationality? *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 24: 229–241.

1890 The Toltecs and Their Fabulous Empire. In *Essays of an Americanist,* 83–100. Porter and Coates, Philadelphia.

Brown, Kenneth L.
1980 Archaeology in the Quiche Basin, Guatemala. *Mexicon* 2: 72–73.

1983 Some Comments on Ethnohistory and Archaeology: Have We Attained (Are We Even Approaching) a Truly Conjunctive Approach? *Reviews in Anthropology* 10 (Spring): 53–71.

Burke, Peter
1990 Historians, Anthropologists, and Symbols. In *Culture Through Time: Anthropological Approaches* (Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, ed.): 268–283. Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif.

Carmack, Robert M.
1968 Toltec Influence on the Postclassic Culture History of Highland Guatemala. *Middle American Research Institute Publication* 26. Tulane University, New Orleans.

Carmack, Robert M., and John M. Weeks
1981 The Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Utatlan: A Conjunctive Approach. *American Antiquity* 46: 323–341.

Carrasco, Davíd
1980 Quetzalcoatl's Revenge: Primordium and Application in Aztec Religion. *History of Religions* 19: 296–320.

1982 *Quetzalcoatl and the Irony of Empire: Myths and Prophecies in the Aztec Tradition.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Chadwick, Robert
1971 Native Pre-Aztec History of Central Mexico. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (Robert Wauchope, ed.), vol. 11, *Archaeology of Northern Mesoamerica,* part 2 (Gordon F. Ekholm and Ignacio Bernal, eds.): 474–504. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Charlton, Thomas H.
1981 Archaeology, Ethnohistory and Ethnology: Interpretive Interfaces. In *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 4: 129–174. Academic Press, New York.

2000 The Aztecs and Their Contemporaries: The Central and Eastern Mexican Highlands. In *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas,* vol. 2, Mesoamerica, part 1 (Richard E. W. Adams and Murdo J. MacLeod, eds.): 500–557. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England.

Charnay, Désiré
1885 La civilisation tolteque. *Revue d'Ethnographie* 4.

1887 *The Ancient Cities of the New World, Being Voyages and Explorations in Mexico and Central America from 1857–1882.* (J. Gonino and Helen S. Conant, trans.). Harper and Brothers, New York [1885 in French].

Cohn, Bernard S.
1981 Anthropology and History in the 1980s: Toward a Rapprochement. In *The New History: The 1980s and Beyond* (Theodore K. Rabb and Robert I. Rotberg, eds.): 227–252. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.

Cohodas, Marvin
1978 *The Great Ball Court at Chichén Itzá, Yucatan, Mexico.* Garland Publishing, New York.

1989 The Epiclassic Problem: A Review and Alternative Model. In *Mesoamerica after the Decline of Teotihuacan A.D. 700–900* (Richard A. Diehl and Janet Catherine Berlo, eds.): 219–240. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Cusick, James G. (ed.)
1998 *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology.* Center for Archaeological Investigations Occasional Paper 25. Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

Davies, Nigel
1977 *The Toltecs Until the Fall of Tula.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

1980 *The Toltec Heritage from the Fall of Tula to the Rise of Tenochtitlan.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

1982 Tula Revisited. *Mexicon* 3: 104–107.

1987 *The Aztec Empire: The Toltec Resurgence.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Diehl, Richard A.
1981 Tula. In *Supplement to the Handbook of Middle American Indians* (Victoria Reifler Bricker, ed.), vol. 1, *Archaeology* (Jeremy A. Sabloff, ed.): 227–295. University of Texas Press, Austin.

1983 *Tula: The Toltec Capital of Ancient Mexico.* Thames and Hudson, London.

1993 The Toltec Horizon in Mesoamerica: New Perspectives on an Old Issue. In *Latin American Horizons* (Don Stephen Rice, ed.): 263–294. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Diehl, Richard A. (ed.)
1974 *Studies of Ancient Tollan: A Report of the University of Missouri Tula Archaeological Project.* University of Missouri Monographs in Anthropology 1. University of Missouri, Columbia.

Diehl, Richard A., and Janet Catherine Berlo
1989 Introduction. In *Mesoamerica after the Decline of Teotihuacan A.D. 700–900* (Richard A. Diehl and Janet Catherine Berlo, eds.): 1–8. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Durán, Fr. Diego
1967 [1579–81] *Historia de las indias de Nueva España e islas de la tierra firme.* 2 vols. Editorial Porrúa, México, D.F.

Dutton, Bertha P.
1964 Mesoamerican Culture Traits Which Appear in the American Southwest. XXXV Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, ciudad de México, 19–25 de agosto 1962, 1: 481–492. El Congreso, México, D.F.

Evans, Susan Toby
1998 Toltec Invaders and Spanish Conquistadors: Culture Contact in the Postclassic Teotihuacán Valley, Mexico. In *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology* (James G. Cusick, ed.): 335–357. Center for Archaeological Investigations Occasional Paper 25. Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

Fagan, Brian M.
2002 *World Prehistory: A Brief Introduction.* 5th ed. Prentice Hall, Upper Saddle River, New Jersey.

Fash, William L., and Barbara W. Fash
2000 Teotihuacan and the Maya: A Classic Heritage. In *Mesoamerica's Classic Heritage: From Teotihuacan to the Aztecs* (Davíd Carrasco, Lindsay Jones, and Scott Sessions, eds.): 433–463. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.

Fash, William L., and Robert J. Sharer
1991 Sociopolitical Developments and Methodological Issues at Copan, Honduras: A Conjunctive Perspective. *Latin American Antiquity* 2: 166–187.

Feinman, Gary M.
1997 Thoughts on New Approaches to Combining the Archaeological and Historical Records. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 4: 367–377.

Feldman, Lawrence H.
1974 Tollan in Hidalgo: Native Accounts of the Central Mexican Tolteca. In *Studies of Ancient Tollan: A Report of the University of Missouri Tula Archaeological Project* (Richard A. Diehl, ed.): 130–149. University of Missouri Monographs in Anthropology 1. University of Missouri, Columbia.

Fogelson, Raymond D.
1974 On the Varieties of Indian History: Sequoyah and Traveller Bird. *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 2: 105–112.

1989 The Ethnohistory of Events and Nonevents. *Ethnohistory* 36: 133–147.

Fox, John W.
1981 The Late Postclassic Eastern Frontier of Mesoamerica: Cultural Innovation Along the Periphery. *Current Anthropology* 22: 321–346.

Gallatin, Albert
1845 Notes on the Semi-Civilized Nations of Mexico, Yucatan, and Central America. *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society* 1: 1–352.

García Cubas, Antonio
1873 Ruinas de la antigua Tollan. *Boletín de la Sociedad de Geografía y Estadística de la República Mexicana,* 3rd epoch, 1: 173–187.

García Icazbalceta, Joaquín
1980 [1866] *Colección de documentos para la historia de México.* 2 vols. 2nd ed. Porrúa, México, D.F.

Geertz, Clifford
1980 *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali.* Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.

Gillespie, Susan D.
1989 *The Aztec Kings: The Construction of Rulership in Mexica History.* University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Graulich, Michel
1981 The Metaphor of the Day in Ancient Mexican Myth and Ritual. *Current Anthropology* 22: 45–60.

2002a Review of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl: The Once and Future Lord of the Toltecs by H. B. Nicholson. *Nahua Newsletter* 33: 14–17.

2002b Commentary. 1. *Nahua Newsletter* 34: 11–13.

Green, Roger C.
2000 Trigger's Holistic Archaeology and Pacific Culture History. In *The Entangled Past: Integrating History and Archaeology.* Proceedings of the 30th Annual Chacmool Conference, Calgary, Alberta (M. Boyd, J C. Erwin, and M. Hendrickson, eds.): 127–137. The Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta.

Hawkes, Christopher
1954 Archaeological Theory and Method: Some Suggestions from the Old World. *American Anthropologist* 56: 155–168.

Healan, Dan
1989 Tula, Tollan, and the Toltecs in Mesoamerican Prehistory. In *Tula of the Toltecs: Excavations and Survey* (Dan Healan, ed.): 3–6. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.

Hill, Jonathan D.
1988 Introduction: Myth and History. In *Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past* (Jonathan D. Hill, ed.): 1–17. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Hill, Jonathan D. (ed.)
1988 *Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past.* University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Jiménez Moreno, Wigberto
1940 Signos cronográficos del códice y calendario mixteco. In *Códice de Yanhuitlán* (Wigberto Jiménez Moreno and Salvador Mateos Higuera): 69–76. Museo Nacional, México, D.F.

1941 Tula y los toltecas según las fuentes históricas. *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos* 5: 79–83.

1954–55 Síntesis de la historia precolonial del Valle de México. *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos* 14: 219–236.

1956 Notas sobre historia antigua de México. Ediciones S.A.E.N.A.H, México, D.F.

1966a Los imperios prehispánicos de Mesoamérica. *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos* 20: 179–195.

1966b Mesoamerica Before the Toltecs. In *Ancient Oaxaca* (John Paddock, ed.): 1–82. Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif.

Jiménez Moreno, Wigberto, José Miranda, and María Teresa Fernández
1965 *Historia de México.* 2nd ed. Porrúa, México, D.F.

Jones, Lindsay
1995 *Twin City Tales: A Hermeneutical Reassessment of Tula and Chichén Itzá.* University Press of Colorado, Niwot.

Jones, Siân
1997 *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present.* Routledge, London.

Katz, Friedrich
1972 *The Ancient American Civilizations* (K. M. Lois Simpson, trans.). Praeger, New York.

Keen, Benjamin
1971 *The Aztec Image in Western Thought.* Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N.J.

Kepecs, Susan
1997 Introduction to New Approaches to Combining the Archaeological and Historical Records. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 4: 193–198.

Kirchhoff, Paul
1947 Prólogo de la Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca. In *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca: Anales de Quauhtinchan* (Heinrich Berlin and Silvia Rendón, eds.). Antiguò Librería Robredo de Porrua e Hijos, México, D.F.

1955 Quetzalcoatl, Huemac y el fin de Tula. *Cuadernos Americanos* 84: 163–196.

1958 La ruta de los tolteca-chichimeca entre Tula y Cholula. In *Miscelánea Paul Rivet* 1: 485–494. México, D.F.

1959 Las dos rutas de la colhua entre Tula y Culhuacán. *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte* 25: 75–81. Hamburg.

1961 Das Toltekenreich und sein Untergang. *Saeculum* 12: 248–265.

Knapp, A. Bernard
1996 Archaeology Without Gravity: Postmodernism and the Past. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 3: 127–158.

Krech, Shepard, III
1991 The State of Ethnohistory. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 20: 345–375.

Krickeberg, Walter
1961 Las antiguas culturas mexicanas (Sita Garst and Jasmín Reuter, trans.). Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, D.F. [1956 in German].

Kubler, George
1961 Chichen-Itza y Tula. *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 1: 47–80.

1962 *The Art and Architecture of Ancient America: The Mexican, Maya, and Andean Peoples.* Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, England.

1984 *The Art and Architecture of Ancient America: The Mexican, Maya, and Andean Peoples.* 3rd ed. Penguin Books, New York.

Kuhn, Thomas S.
1970 *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions.* 2nd ed. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Kurjack, Edward B., Ruben Maldonado C., and Merle Greene Robertson
1991 Ballcourts of the Northern Maya Lowlands. In *The Mesoamerican Ballgame* (Vernon L. Scarborough and David R. Wilcox, eds.): 145–159. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Lafaye, Jacques
1976 *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness 1531–1813* (Benjamin Keen, trans.). University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Lambek, Michael
2001 Reflections on the "Ethno-" in Malagasy Ethnohistory. *Ethnohistory* 48: 301–308.

Landa, Fr. Diego de
1982 [ca. 1566] Relación de las cosas de Yucatán. 12th ed. Porrúa, México, D.F.

Las Casas, Fr. Bartolomé de
1967 [1555–1559] *Apologética historia sumaria.* 2 vols. 3rd. ed. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México, D.F.

Lathrap, Donald W. (ed.)
1956 An Archaeological Classification of Culture Contact Situations. In *Seminars in Archaeology: 1955* (Robert Wauchope, ed.): 1–30. Society for American Archaeology Memoir 11. Salt Lake City.

Lawrence, D. H.
1926 *The Plumed Serpent.* Martin Secker, London.

Leach, Edmund
1965 *Political Systems of Highland Burma.* Beacon Press, Boston.

1990 Aryan Invasions over Four Millennia. In *Culture Through Time: Anthropological Approaches,* (Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, ed.): 227–245. Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif.

Lehmann, Walter
1996 [1923] Afterword by Dr. Walter Lehmann. In *Collected Works in Mesoamerican Linguistics and Archaeology* [of Eduard Seler] 5: 112–115. Labyrinthos, Lancaster, Calif.

Lincoln, Charles E.
1986 The Chronology of Chichen Itza: A Review of the Literature. In *Late Lowland Maya Civilization: Classic to Postclassic* (Jeremy A. Sabloff and E. Wyllys Andrews V, eds.): 141–196. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

López Austin, Alfredo
1973 *Hombre-díos: Religión y política en el mundo náhuatl.* Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México, D.F.

López Austin, Alfredo, and Leonardo López Luján
2000 The Myth and Reality of Zuyuá: The Feathered Serpent and Mesoamerican Transformations from the Classic to the Postclassic. In *Mesoamerica's Classic Heritage from Teotihuacan to the Aztecs* (Davíd Carrasco, Lindsay Jones, and Scott Sessions, eds.): 21–84. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.

Margain, Carlos R.
1971 Pre-Columbian Architecture of Central Mexico. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (Robert Wauchope, ed.), vol. 10, *Archaeology of Northern Mesoamerica,* part 1 (Gordon Ekholm and Ignacio Bernal, eds.): 45–91. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Marquina, Ignacio
1951 *Arquitectura prehispánica.* Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia Memorias 1. México, D.F.

Marquis de Nadaillac
1895 *Pre-Historic America* (N. D'Anvers, trans. and W. H. Dall, ed.). G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Mason, Ronald J.
2000 Archaeology and Native North American Oral Traditions. *American Antiquity* 65: 239–266.

Mastache, Alba Guadalupe, and Robert H. Cobean
2000 Ancient Tollan: The Sacred Precinct. *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 38: 100–133.

Mendizábal, Miguel O. de, and Enrique Juan Palacios
1920 *El Templo de Quetzalcóuatl en Teotihuacan.* Museo Nacional, México, D.F.

1921 *Quetzalcóuatl y la irradiación de su cultura.* Museo Nacional, México, D.F.

Miller, Jay
1998 Tsimshian Ethno-Ethnohistory: A "Real" Indigenous Chronology. *Ethnohistory* 45: 657–674.

Miller, Mary Ellen
1985 A Re-examination of the Mesoamerican Chacmool. *The Art Bulletin* 67: 7–17.

Molina, Fr. Alonso de
1977 *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana y mexicana y castellana.* Editorial Porrúa, México, D.F.

Morley, Sylvanus G., and George W. Brainerd
1956 *The Ancient Maya.* 3rd ed. Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif.

Morley, Sylvanus G., and George W. Brainerd. (rev. by Robert J. Sharer)
1983 *The Ancient Maya.* 4th ed. Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif.

Morrison, Kathleen D., and Mark T. Lycett
1997 Inscriptions as Artifacts: Precolonial South India and the Analysis of Texts. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 4: 215–237.

Nicholson, Henry B.
1955 Native Historical Traditions of Nuclear America and the Problem of Their Archeological Correlation. *American Anthropologist* 57: 594–613.

1971 Pre-Hispanic Central Mexican Historiography. In *Investigaciones contemporáneas sobre historia de México: Memorias de la Tercera Reunión de Historiadores Mexicanos y Norteamericanos Oaxtepec, Morelos,* 4–7 de noviembre de 1969, 38–81. University of Texas Press, Austin.

1979a Correlating Mesoamerican Historical Traditions with Archaeological Sequence: Some Methodological Considerations. *Proceedings of the International Congress of Americanists, Paris 2–9 sepembre 1976,* 9-B: 187–198. Société des américanistes, Paris.

1979b Ehecatl Quetzalcoatl vs. Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl of Tollan: A Problem in Mesoamerican Religion and History. *Proceedings of the International Congress of Americanists, Paris 2–9 sepembre 1976,* 6: 35–47. Société des américanistes, Paris.

2001 *Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl: The Once and Future Lord of the Toltecs.* University Press of Colorado, Boulder.

2002a Commentary. *Nahua Newsletter* 33: 18–21.

2002b Commentary. 2. *Nahua Newsletter* 34: 13–14.

n.d. Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl of Tollan: A Problem in Mesoamerican Ethnohistory. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1957.

Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko
1990 Introduction: The Historicization of Anthropology. In *Culture Through Time: Anthropological Approaches* (Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, ed.): 1–25. Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif.

Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko (ed.)
1990 *Culture Through Time: Anthropological Approaches.* Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif.

O'Mack, Scott
1991 Yacateuctli and Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl: Earth-Divers in Aztec Central Mexico. *Ethnohistory* 38: 1–33.

Orozco y Berra, Manuel
1880 *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México.* 4 vols. Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, México, D.F.

Palacios, Enrique Juan
1937 *Arqueología de México: Culturas arcaica y tolteca.* Imprenta Mundial, México, D.F.

Parmentier, Richard J.
1987 *The Sacred Remains: Myth, History, and Polity in Belau.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Parsons, Lee A.
1969 *Bilbao, Guatemala: An Archaeological Study of the Pacific Coast Cotzumalhuapa Region,* vol. 2. Milwaukee Public Museum Publications in Anthropology 12.

Pasztory, Esther
1983 *Aztec Art.* Harry N. Abrams, New York.

Phelan, John Leddy
1960 Neo-Aztecism in the Eighteenth Century and the Genesis of Mexican Nationalism. In *Culture in History: Essays in Honor of Paul Radin* (Stanley Diamond, ed.): 760–770. Columbia University Press, New York.

Piña Chán, Román
1980 *Chichén Itzá, la ciudad de los brujos del agua.* Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, D.F.

Pohl, John M. D.
1999 *Exploring Mesoamerica.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, England.

Pluciennik, Mark
1999 Archaeological Narratives and Other Ways of Telling. *Current Anthropology* 40: 653–678.

Prem, Hanns J.
1999 Los Reyes de Tollan y Colhuacan. *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 30: 23–70.

Proskouriakoff, Tatiana
1950 *A Study of Classic Maya Sculpture.* Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 593. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Washington D.C.

Radin, Paul
1920 The Sources and Authenticity of the History of the Ancient Mexicans. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnohistory* 17: 1–150.

Reggadas Vertiz, Ing. J.
1922 Estratigrafía y extensión cultural. In *La población del valle de Teotihuacán,* vol. 1 (Manuel Gamio, ed.): 267–268. SEP, México, D.F.

Reyes, José María
1880 Breve reseña histórica de la emigración de los pueblos en el continente americano y especialmente en el territorio de la República Mexicana. . . . *Boletín de la Sociedad de Geografía y Estadística de la República Mexicana,* 3rd epoch, 5: 385–490.

Richards, Audrey I.
1960 Social Mechanisms for the Transfer of Political Rights in Some African Tribes. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 90: 175–190.

Ringle, William M., Tomás Gallareta Negrón, and George J. Bey, III
1998 The Return of Quetzalcoatl: Evidence for the Spread of a World Religion During the Epiclassic Period. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 9: 183–232.

Robertson, Donald
1971 Commentary. In *Investigaciones contemporáneas sobre historia de México: Memorias de la Tercera Reunión de Historiadores Mexicanos y Norteamericanos Oaxtepec, Morelos,* 4–7 de noviembre de 1969, 91–95. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Rosaldo, Renato
1980 *Illongot Headhunting 1883–1975: A Study in Society and History.* Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif.

Rouse, Irving
1958 The Inference of Migrations from Anthropological Evidence. In *Migrations in New World Culture History* (Raymond H. Thompson, ed.): 63–68. University of Arizona Bulletin 29 (2).

Roys, Ralph
1966 Native Empires in Yucatan. *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos* 20: 153–177.

Roys, Ralph, (trans.)
1967 [1933] *The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Ruz Lhuillier, Alberto
1962 Chichén Itzá y Tula: Comentarios a un ensayo. *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 2: 205–220.

1964 Influencias mexicanas en las tierras altas y bajas del área maya. In *Proceedings of the 35th International Congress of Americanists, 1962* 1: 225–243. México, D.F.

Sahagún, Fr. Bernardino de
1950–1982 *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain.* (Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble [order of names varies by volume], trans.). 12 vols. The School of American Research and the University of Utah, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Sahlins, Marshall
1981 *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities.* University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

1985 *Islands of History.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Sanders, William T., Jeffrey R. Parsons, and Robert S. Santley
1979 *The Basin of Mexico: Ecological Processes in the Evolution of a Civilization.* Academic Press, New York.

Schele, Linda, and Julia Guernsey Kappelman
2001 What the Heck's Coatepec? The Formative Roots of an Enduring Mythology. In *Landscape and Power in Ancient Mesoamerica* (Rex Koontz, Kathryn Reese-Taylor, and Annabeth Headrick, eds.): 29–53. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado.

Schieffelin, Edward, and Deborah Gewertz
1985 Introduction. In *History and Ethnohistory in Papua New Guinea* (Deborah Gewertz and Edward Schieffelin, eds.): 1–6. Oceania Monograph 28. University of Sydney, Sydney, Australia.

Schiffer, Michael B.
1990 Review of Archaeology as Long-Term History. *American Antiquity* 55: 423–424.

Sejourné, Laurette
1954 Tula, la ciudad supuesta capital de los toltecas. *Cuadernos Americanos* 73 (1): 153–169.

Seler, Eduard
1990 [1898] Quetzalcoatl-Kukulcan in Yucatan. In *Collected Works in Mesoamerican Linguistics and Archaeology* 1: 198–218. Labyrinthos, Culver City, Calif.

1996a [1912, pub. 1923] On the Toltec Question (Lecture Delivered at the Historical Congress, Liverpool, 1912). In *Collected Works in Mesoamerican Linguistics and Archaeology* 5: 103–108. Labyrinthos, Lancaster, Calif.

1996b [1923] The Principal Myth of the Mexican Tribes and the Culture Heroes of Tollan. In *Collected Works in Mesoamerican Linguistics and Archaeology* 5: 59–92. Labyrinthos, Lancaster, Calif.

1998 [1908] The Legend of Quetzalcoatl and the Toltecs, From Sources Recently Discovered. In *Collected Works in Mesoamerican Linguistics and Archaeology* 6: 31–40. Labyrinthos, Lancaster, Calif.

Sheets, Payson D.
1981 Comment on John W. Fox's The Late Postclassic Eastern Frontier of Mesoamerica: Cultural Innovation along the Periphery. *Current Anthropology* 22: 339.

Smith, Michael E., and Mary G. Hodge
1994 An Introduction to Late Postclassic Economies and Polities. In *Economies and Polities in the Aztec Realm* (Mary G. Hodge and Michael E. Smith, eds.): 1–42. Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, The University at Albany, Albany, N.Y.

Spence, Lewis
1912 *The Civilization of Ancient Mexico.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England.

Spinden, Herbert J.
1917 *Ancient Civilizations of Mexico and Central America.* American Museum of Natural History, New York.

1928 *Ancient Civilizations of Mexico and Central America.* Rev. ed. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

1975 [1913] *A Study of Maya Art: Its Subject Matter and Historical Development.* Dover, New York. [1913, Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 6, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass].

Stenzel, Werner
1980 Quetzalcoatl von Tula: Die Mythogenese einer Postkortesischen Legende. *Zeitschrift für Lateinamerika-Wien* 18.

Steward, Julian H.
1942 The Direct Historical Approach to Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 7: 337–433.

Stuart, David
2000 "The Arrival of Strangers": Teotihuacan and Tollan in Classic Maya History. In *Mesoamerica's Classic Heritage: From Teotihuacan to the Aztecs* (Davíd Carrasco, Lindsay Jones, and Scott Sessions, eds.): 465–513. University Press of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado.

Taylor, Walter W.
1948 *A Study of Archaeology.* American Anthropological Association Memoir 69. American Anthropological Association, Menasha, Wis.

Tedlock, Dennis (trans.)
1995 *Popol Vuh: The Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life.* Rev. ed. Simon and Schuster, New York.

Thompson, J. Eric S.
1941 A Coordination of the History of Chichen Itza with Ceramic Sequences in Central Mexico. *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos* 5: 97–111.

1945 A Survey of the Northern Maya Area. *American Antiquity* 11: 2–24.

1977 [1954] *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization.* 2nd ed. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Torquemada, Fr. Juan de
1975 [1615] *Monarquía indiana.* 3 vols. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México, D.F.

Tozzer, Alfred M.
1927 Time and American Archaeology. *Natural History* 27: 210–221.

1930 Maya and Toltec Figures at Chichen Itza. *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Americanists,* New York, September 17–22, 1928, 155–164. The Science Press Printing Company, Lancaster, Pa. and New York.

1957 *Chichen-Itza and its Cenote of Sacrifice. A Comparative Study of Contemporaneous Maya and Toltec.* Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology 11–12. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Tozzer, Alfred M. (trans.)
1941 *Landa's Relación de las cosas de Yucatan. A Translation.* Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology 18. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Turner, Christy G., II, and Jacqueline A. Turner
1999 *Man Corn: Cannibalism and Violence in the Prehistoric American Southwest.* University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Turner, Terence
1988 Ethno-Ethnohistory: Myth and History in Native South American Representations of Contact with Western Society. In *Rethinking History and Myth* (Jonathan D. Hill, ed.): 235–281. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Umberger, Emily
1987 Antiques, Revivals, and References to the Past in Aztec Art. *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 13: 62–105.

Urton, Gary
1990 *The History of a Myth: Pacariqtambo and the Origin of the Inkas.* University of Texas Press, Austin.

Vaillant, George C.
1938 A Correlation of Archaeological and Historical Sequences in the Valley of Mexico. *American Anthropologist* 40: 535–573.

1962 *Aztecs of Mexico: Origin, Rise and Fall of the Aztec Nation.* (Susan B. Vaillant, rev.). Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y.

Valentini, Philipp Johann Josef
1883 *The Olmecas and the Tultecas: A Study in Early Mexican Ethnology and History.* (Stephen Salisbury, Jr., trans.). Press of Charles Hamilton, Worcester, Mass. [orig. Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society 1882].

Veytia, Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y
1944 [1836] *Historia antigua de Mexico.* 2 vols. Editorial Leyenda, México, D.F.

Wauchope, Robert
1947 An Approach to the Maya Correlation Problem Through Guatemala Highland Archaeology and Native Annals. *American Antiquity* 13: 59–66.

Weaver, Muriel Porter
1972 *The Aztecs, Maya and Their Predecessors: Archaeology of Mesoamerica.* Seminar Press, New York.

Whorf, Benjamin L.
1930 An Aztec Account of the Period of the Toltec Decline. *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Americanists,* New York, September 17–22, 1928, 122–129. The Science Press Printing Company, Lancaster, Pa. and New York.

Willey, Gordon R.
1962 Archaeological Theories and Interpretation: New World. In *Anthropology Today: Selections* (Sol Tax, ed.): 170–194. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

1966 *An Introduction to American Archaeology,* vol. 1, *North and Middle America.* Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

Willey, Gordon R., and Jeremy A. Sabloff
1974 *A History of American Archaeology.* W. H. Freeman, San Francisco.

1993 *A History of American Archaeology.* 3rd ed. W. H. Freeman, New York.

Wray, Donald E.
1945 The Historical Significance of the Murals in the Temple of the Warriors, Chichen Itza. *American Antiquity* 11: 25–27.