

DUMBARTON OAKS

ART • NATURE • SCHOLARSHIP

PRE-COLUMBIAN STUDIES
SYMPOSIUM

TENOCHTITLAN: IMPERIAL IDEOLOGIES ON DISPLAY

April 8-9, 2022

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Friday, April 8th, 2022

09:30AM - 10:00AM Welcome from the Director and from the Director of Studies
Thomas B. F. Cummins, Dumbarton Oaks
Frauke Sachse, Dumbarton Oaks

Introduction
Leonardo López Luján, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico
Barbara E. Mundy, Tulane University
Elizabeth H. Boone, Tulane University

Session 1

Moderator: Tamara Bray, Wayne State University

10:00AM - 10:45AM Leonardo López Luján, Proyecto Templo Mayor, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico
The Proyecto Templo Mayor and the State of the Art of Archeology in the Historic Center of Mexico City

10:45AM - 11:30AM Raúl Barrera Rodríguez, Programa de Arqueología Urbana, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico
Lorena Vázquez Vallin, Programa de Arqueología Urbana, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico
The Huei Tzompantli of Tenochtitlan: Evidence of Mexica Human Sacrifice

11:30AM - 11:45AM Break

11:45AM - 12:30PM Ximena Chávez Balderas, Fiscalía General del Estado de Quintana Roo
Violence on Display: Human and Animal Sacrifice

12:30PM - 01:15PM Michelle De Anda Rogel, Proyecto Templo Mayor, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico
Saburo Sugiyama, Arizona State University; Aichi Prefectural University
Leonardo López Luján, Proyecto Templo Mayor, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico
Hands (and Hearts) on the Job: New Models for the Urban Reconstruction of Tenochtitlan

01:15PM - 03:15PM Lunch

Session 2

Moderator: María Teresa Uriarte Castañeda, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

03:15PM - 04:00PM Patrick Hajovsky, Southwestern University
Signifying Bodies: Sculpture and the Royal Person

04:00PM - 04:45PM	Adrián Velázquez Castro, Museo del Templo Mayor, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico <i>Imperial Politics and the Production of Luxury Objects: The Case of Shell Objects in the Offerings of the Templo Mayor</i>
04:45PM - 05:30PM	Laura Filloy Nadal, Metropolitan Museum of Art María Olvido Moreno Guzmán, Coordinación Nacional de Museos y Exposiciones; Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico <i>Luxury and Economy of Warfare: Feather Shields and Warrior Costumes</i>
05:30PM	End of Day
06:00PM	Reception (Orangery Terrace)

Saturday, April 9th, 2022

Session 3

Moderator: Oswaldo Chinchilla Mazariegos, Yale University

10:00AM - 10:45AM	Allison Caplan, University of California, Santa Barbara <i>Recovering Nahua Aesthetics</i>
10:45AM - 11:30AM	Enrique Rodríguez-Alegría, University of Texas at Austin <i>The Indigenous Side of Spanish Colonial Display</i>
11:30AM - 11:45AM	Break
11:45AM - 12:30PM	Barbara E. Mundy, Tulane University <i>The Sacred and the Profane in Mexico City's Early Colonial Cartography</i>
12:30PM - 01:15PM	Sara Ryu, Washington University in St. Louis <i>The Object in and out of Time: Sculptural Reuse in Mexico City</i>
01:15PM - 03:15PM	Lunch

Session 4

Moderator: Tom Dillehay, Vanderbilt University

03:15PM - 04:00PM	Elizabeth Hill Boone, Tulane University (Discussant) <i>Tenochtitlan: Reflections on Visuality and Power</i>
04:00PM - 04:45PM	Robert Ousterhout, University of Pennsylvania (Comparative Outlook) <i>Tenochtitlan and Constantinople: Crafting a Ritual Center</i>
04:45PM	Conclusion of Symposium

TENOCHTITLAN: IMPERIAL IDEOLOGIES ON DISPLAY

A Pre-Columbian Studies Symposium

Organized by Leonardo López Luján (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico),
Barbara E. Mundy (Tulane University), and Elizabeth H. Boone (Tulane University)

ABSTRACTS

The island city of Tenochtitlan, with the sacred precinct at its ceremonial core, was the largest urban center in the Americas in the fourteenth century. It enjoyed a meteoric rise to power: beginning sometime in the thirteenth century, its leaders transformed it into the political and economic center of an empire and positioned it as the spiritual epicenter of the Mexica world. Even after Mexica rulership was decapitated following the invasion and siege of 1519–1521, the city, rechristened Mexico City, remained an imperial capital.

The commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the fall of Tenochtitlan offers the opportunity to look anew at the reasons for the city's rapid consolidation and enduring status as an imperial capital. How were interactions between human actors, architectural settings, and ritual programs harnessed to support the political and religious centrality of this urban center? When we extend the examination of these interactions beyond the horizon set by the destruction of Tenochtitlan's ceremonial core in the 1520s, what elements of this imperial system endure? And what, in turn, does this endurance reveal of the system itself?

Nearly forty years after our groundbreaking "The Aztec Templo Mayor" symposium of 1983, this year's symposium features a new generation of international scholars, many of them trained by participants in the 1983 meeting. It draws on ongoing work by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia's Templo Mayor Project and Urban Archaeology Program, which has established, among other new data, the nucleus of the architectural setting of the ceremonial core. Speakers highlight recent discoveries brought to light by archeological and archival research; discuss excavations of offerings, burials, and skull racks as the physical residue of ephemeral performances; and examine sculptures, manuscripts, ritual objects, and luxury items as indices of artistic production and imperial ideologies. Tracing continuities across time allows us to underscore the features that fostered Tenochtitlan's rapid rise as an imperial center and their utility after the regime change.

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A Dumbarton Oaks Symposium

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Leonardo López Luján, Proyecto Templo Mayor, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico

The Proyecto Templo Mayor and the State of the Art of Archeology in the Historic Center of Mexico City

One of the most significant milestones in history of the study of Mexica culture occurred when Eduardo Matos Moctezuma established Proyecto Templo Mayor within the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. By the close of the first field season of this revolutionary new project in 1982, archaeologists had been able to explore an area of 12,000 square meters in the center of Mexico City, excavating in its entirety the principal pyramid of Tenochtitlan, thirteen adjacent shrines as well as any number of mural paintings, large-scale sculptures, and offerings. The importance of those findings was put into sharp relief for the first time in 1983, when Elizabeth H. Boone organized the symposium *The Aztec Templo Mayor in Dumbarton Oaks*, which was attended by many of the leading scholars of Mesoamerica.

Since then, the archaeological fieldwork and lab work of the Proyecto Templo Mayor have continued uninterrupted, and as of today we have been able to complete another eight field seasons. This work has exponentially multiplied our factual base for the understanding of the sacred precinct of Tenochtitlan. The arrival to the Proyecto of new generations of specialists in a variety of disciplines has resulted in the continual renewal of its theoretical, methodological, and technical foci, and the research of the Proyecto is distinguished by its innovation and creativity. This paper will discuss the state of the question at the Proyecto, discussing both its main breakthroughs and what still remains unknown.

Leonardo López Luján is the director of the Great Temple Project and a senior researcher at INAH in Mexico City. He has a BA degree in archaeology from Mexico's ENAH and a doctorate from the University of Paris. His research focuses primarily on the religion, politics, and art of Pre-Columbian societies in Central Mexico, and the history of Mexican archaeology. His distinctions include the Kayden Humanities Award (1991), the Mexican Committee of Historical Sciences Award (1992, 1996, 2007), the Alfonso Caso Award (1998, 2016), the Mexican Academy of Sciences Award (2000), and fellowships from the Guggenheim Foundation (2000), and the Institute of Advanced Studies in Paris (2013). He is a member of the Academia Mexicana de la Historia, British Academy, Society of Antiquaries of London, and El Colegio Nacional. In 2015 he received the Shanghai Forum Archaeology Award as the director of one of the ten best archaeological research programs in the world.

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Raúl Barrera Rodríguez, Programa de Arqueología Urbana, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico

Lorena Vázquez Vallin, Programa de Arqueología Urbana, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico

The Huei Tzompantli of Tenochtitlan: Evidence of Mexica Human Sacrifice

During 2015, excavations on Guatemala Street, downtown Mexico City, were carried out by the Urban Archaeology Program. This research project uncovered the remains of one of the most emblematic religious buildings of ancient Tenochtitlan: The Huei Tzompantli. A portion of the platform, the postholes that were part of the palisade, as well as one of the two towers of human skulls belonging to the Huei Tzompantli of Tenochtitlan were identified.

This investigation gathers ethnohistorical, archaeological and bioanthropological information from the individuals recovered from the tower that allows us to discuss the way in which the ritual violence of sacrifice was represented throughout different performances, such as the exhibition of skulls in the Tzompantli. This work also explores the Huei Tzompantli as an expression of the Mexica state agenda and its expansionist policy that allowed them to consolidate as a powerful empire in a very short time.

Raul Barrera Rodríguez has carried out more than 54 archaeological projects in different regions of Mexico throughout his 34 years of professional development in archaeology. He currently serves as director of the Program of Urban Archaeology at INAH Templo Mayor Museum. His research is focused on the heart of the ancient city of Tenochtitlan: the area that covered the Sacred Precinct, where he has uncovered several of its most important religious buildings. He has given lectures in different national and international forums and has written various publications. He has curated 36 national and international exhibitions. In 2004, he received the Nayarit Medal, the highest distinction that the Mexican state awards.

Lorena Vázquez Vallin studied Archaeology at Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia. From 2007 to 2014 she taught as a professor of record at that same institution. She has collaborated on archaeological projects in a variety of Mexican states, such as the project, "Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, and Its Hinterland," Sinaloa; the archaeological project, "Jesuit Missions of the Northeast," in Coyoacan, Mexico City; the project, "Archaeological Salvage in the Manantial Hueytlilac, Pueblo de Los Reyes, Coyoacan, DF." From 2011 until the present, she serves as investigator for the Program of Urban Archaeology of the Templo Mayor Museum, where she has executed many roles in a variety of archaeological capacities, over numerous project seasons. In these projects, archaeological buildings related to the sacred precinct of Tenochtitlan have been found, such as the Cuauhxicalli, the Huei Tzompantli, the Ball Court, and the Temple of Ehecatl. She has served as the Field Director on the Huei Tzompantli excavations since 2015. She has collaborated on numerous publications and participated in various conferences surrounding topics associated with Mexica archaeology.

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Ximena Chávez Balderas, Fiscalía General del Estado de Quintana Roo

Violence on Display: Human and Animal Sacrifice

Sacrifice was one of the most important rituals in the Sacred Precinct of Tenochtitlan. Although it was not the massive practice that some Spanish conquerors and friars claimed, its existence is indisputable, demonstrated by the discovery of thousands of bone-remains with evidence of perimortem violence and posthumous treatments. Men, women, and children, as well as exotic animals were sacrificed in different ceremonies. They corresponded to warriors, slaves, war spoils, and individuals given as tribute, as well as wildlife and captive animals. Most of the human victims were decapitated, while the animal skins and bones were used as luxury goods. Some remains were buried immediately inside the offerings at the Templo Mayor, but the majority were stored, exhibited, or reutilized in other ceremonies, later to be deposited inside the offerings, the construction fill of the Templo Mayor or in the adjacent religious buildings. Sacrifice was the most important offering: the offering of life, and human and animal victims were precious gifts.

Ximena Chávez Balderas received her BA in archaeology at the Mexican National School of Anthropology and History (2002) and her master's degree in anthropology from Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (2012). She also received a MA and a PhD in physical anthropology at Tulane University (2014 and 2019). She was head of the Curatorial Department of the Templo Mayor Museum between 2001 and 2007, and she has been member of the Templo Mayor Project since 1996. She has received four national INAH awards in the areas of archaeology, physical anthropology, and museography. Chávez Balderas has presented more than 100 papers, in addition to having published around 40 articles and three books. She has worked in numerous national and international exhibitions and has excavated in Teotihuacan, Loma Guadalupe, Huacas de Moche, and the Templo Mayor de Tenochtitlan. In 2014, she was Lewis and Clark Field Scholar at the American Philosophical Society. She was a Junior Fellow (2016-2017) at the Dumbarton Oaks Library and Research Collection. Currently, she is a forensic expert at the Office of the Attorney General of the State of Quintana Roo in Mexico.

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Michelle De Anda Rogel, Proyecto Templo Mayor, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico

Saburo Sugiyama, Arizona State University; Aichi Prefectural University

Leonardo López Luján, Proyecto Templo Mayor, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico

Hands (and Hearts) on the Job: New Models for the Urban Reconstruction of Tenochtitlan

The hypothetical recreations of the sacred precinct of the Mexica capital are many and varied. Despite the variety, almost all derive from historical documents, and, let it be said, from the imaginations of their creators. Thus, the necessity arises to create new models that reconstruct the Templo Mayor and the surrounding religious buildings based on solid archeological data, although always enriched by texts and images from pictorial codices and textual sources. As a result of a fruitful collaboration between the Universidad Prefectural de Aichi and the Proyecto Templo Mayor, we have created a new geo-referenced topographic survey, using cutting-edge technology both for the capture of information and for processing the resultant data. In this way, we have succeeded in registering still-detectable buildings of the Mexica lying within a cumulative surface area of more than 18,000 square meters in the historic center of Mexico City.

The new digital plan has allowed us to: calculate the exact dimension of the buildings and their constituent materials; explore the use of ancient measuring systems and investigate their connections to cosmovision; record the architectonic modifications that the buildings have suffered over time; elaborate three-dimensional hypothetic models to inform us of the energy costs implied by their construction; define the existence of architectural orientations related to celestial phenomena; understand the processes of urban planning. It also allows us to create visualizations that augment educational programs and increase public awareness among scholarly audiences and adult visitors to the site.

Michelle De Anda Rogel is an architect from Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM). She studied at the École nationale supérieure d'architecture Paris-Val de Seine, France and obtained a master's degree in Restauration from the Escuela Nacional de Conservación, Restauración y Museografía in Mexico. She has been an adjunct professor in the seminar on Mayan architecture at the UNAM and participated in the Conservation Project of Ek' Balam, Yucatan. Since 2010 she has been an active member of the Proyecto Templo Mayor where she develops the architectural surveys and the virtual reconstructions of all the archaeological remains. Her research has focused on the graphic documentation of polychromy in the Mexica capital, mainly in murals paintings and sculptures. On these topics, she has presented at different conferences and meetings in Canada, the USA, and Mexico.

Saburo Sugiyama obtained his Ph.D. in Anthropology from Arizona State University, where he currently serves as a Research Professor. He is also a temporary Professor in Special Charge for Okayama University, Japan, and Professor Emeritus of Aichi Prefectural University, where he taught for the last 20 years. He extensively participated in fieldwork at various ruins in Mexico, like Palenque, Becan, Xphil, various sites in the state of Guerrero, Cacaxtla, and the Aztec Great Temple in Mexican highlands, among others. However, he mostly endeavored to carry out excavations in Teotihuacan, mainly at the Feathered Serpent Pyramid, the Moon Pyramid, the Sun Pyramid, and currently at the Plaza of the Columns complex as co-director. He received several awards and honors including the "H.B. Nicholson Award for Excellence in Mesoamerican Studies," from Harvard University, "Commendation from the Minister of Foreign Affairs" from the Japanese government, and Research Award from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

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Patrick Hajovsky, Southwestern University

Signifying Bodies: Sculpture and the Royal Person

Western designations of “art” tend to regard it as a discrete body from the viewer, save for, perhaps, aesthetic emotion. This separation of viewer and object creates a problem for the study of Mexica sculptures, for they beheld an aesthetic experience that was in dialogue with rituals. The closest translation for the Nahuatl term *teixiptla* is ‘representation’ or ‘delegate,’ yet its isolation from a wider web of cultural translation contributes to our misunderstanding of its transitive value. ‘Re-presentation’ already implies a Western division between image and prototype, a pervasive and difficult concept to exorcise as it dovetails with dualisms such as original and copy, or sacred and profane. Scholars generally concur that ‘embodiment’ is a more appropriate translation, yet this still implies a Cartesian dualism.

Instead, I approach *teixiptla* in its singularity, focusing on the royal, semi-divine body dressed as gods in stone sculptures, questioning the notion of embodiment and proposing that its vitality was considered co-essential with the sculpture’s evocation. In sculptures, the body is a firmament onto which is placed insignia of one or more gods. Yet it is not an empty vessel, as sculptors pushed it to realistic heights, especially in faces, and materially likened cult effigies to abstract and human-made forms, such as a sun and a temple. By visually referencing the person in hieroglyphic, pictographic, and compositional metaphors, sculpted bodies point to the divine, vocative presence of the *huei tlahtoani* (Great Speaker).

Patrick Hajovsky is Associate Professor of Art History and affiliate faculty for Latin American and Border Studies at Southwestern University. He holds a PhD in Art History from the University of Chicago. His larger research compares Spanish colonialisms in the former Aztec and Inca empires, and, through this lens, he examines Western perspectives and criticisms of pre-Columbian art. He is author of *On the Lips of Others: Moteuczoma’s Fame in Aztec Monuments and Rituals* (UT Press, 2015), was a Getty Scholar for their annual theme, “Art and Anthropology” (2017), and is co-editor of the pre-Columbian content for the *Grove Encyclopedia of Latin American Art and Architecture* and Oxford Art Online.

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Adrián Velázquez Castro, Museo del Templo Mayor, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico

Imperial Politics and the Production of Luxury Objects: The Case of Shell Objects in the Offerings of the Templo Mayor

In the excavations carried out by the Proyecto Templo Mayor, both within the main temple and in the surrounding buildings, more than 4,000 objects made of mollusk shell have been discovered, almost all of marine species. Their study has permitted identification of two important periods of production. The first corresponds to the reign of Axayacatl, when a particular style of shell-working was developed in Tenochtitlan, and a great deal of labor and resources were devoted to it. The second occurred during the reign of Ahuitzotl, coinciding with a period of peak splendor of the empire. Paradoxically, an important decline in the labor devoted to shell production is evident, and different foreign groups seem to have become involved in the production of shell objects. This paper attempts to explain these phenomena and analyzes the socio-political circumstances of both of these periods of production.

Adrián Velázquez Castro is an archaeologist and researcher at the Museo del Templo Mayor-INAH. He holds a PhD in anthropology from Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM). His main research interest are mollusk shell objects and their production contexts. His publications include *Tipología de los objetos de concha del Templo Mayor de Tenochtitlan*, *El simbolismo de los objetos de concha de las ofrendas encontradas en el Templo Mayor de Tenochtitlan* and *La producción especializada de los objetos de concha del Templo Mayor de Tenochtitlan*. Currently, he is directing the project "Manufacturing Techniques of Shell Objects from pre-Hispanic Mexico." He is also a member of the National System of Researchers, level II.

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Laura Filloy Nadal, Metropolitan Museum of Art

María Olvido Moreno Guzmán, Coordinación Nacional de Museos y Exposiciones; Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico

Luxury and Economy of Warfare: Feather Shields and Warrior Costumes

Warrior costumes were among the economic assets of the Mexica nobility, in addition to reflecting their political power, and marking their rank, occupation, and ethnic affiliation. Warrior garb and insignia were a means of non-verbal communication, allowing the recognition of the wealth, success, and merit of their wearers. They were traded over long distances and were required as tribute from a significant percentage of the empire's provinces, and they were also gifted as a means of recognizing merits and victories. They were part of the wealth of the royal treasury and formed part of the funerary goods of warriors and rulers.

The fabrication of the warrior costumes was in the hands of specialized artisans. To create insignia that carried the desired religious, political, and military symbolism, they were the last link of an elaborate chain of production. This included a complex and costly organization for the collection and distribution of raw materials, which mainly came from distant regions. Only by considerable economic investment could the thousands of fine feathers, gold ornaments, dyes, papers, fibers, and animal skins have been acquired, and added to this cost was the value of the many hours of human labor need to manufacture the costumes. Drawing on the information in sixteenth-century documents, carefully reviewing indigenous pictographic manuscripts, and studying a select corpus of objects has allowed us to identify some of the raw materials that were used in the manufacture of warrior costumes. The amount of distinct raw materials, coming from diverse and distant ecosystems, reflects the scope of the imperial trade and tax networks. Its analysis allows us to glimpse the infrastructure deployed for the capture, transport, stockpiling, treatment, storage, and allocation of the skins and feathers required by artisans, who had to adapt natural materials to the needs of each costume design.

Laura Filloy Nadal holds a BA in restoration from the National School of Conservation, as well as an MA and PhD in archeology from the Sorbonne in Paris. For the last twenty-five years, she served as senior conservator in the Conservation Laboratory of the National Museum of Anthropology, Mexico, and as a professor at the National School of Anthropology and History and at the National Conservation School, both part of the National Institute of Anthropology and History, teaching the methodologies for archaeological conservation courses. She recently was designated associate curator of Ancient American Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Among the distinctions she has received are her appointment as a member of the National System of Researchers; the Paul Coremans Award for the best conservation work for the restoration of the jade funerary mask of Pakal, ruler of Palenque; and an honorable mention, Alfonso Caso Award in archeology, for her doctoral thesis, which is forthcoming with the Fondo de Cultura Económica.

María Olvido Moreno Guzmán

For her thesis *Conservación de arte plumario mexicano* (1982) she learned the art of mosaic featherwork from Gabriel Olay, who comes from a nineteenth century amantecas dynasty. Her master thesis *Encanto y desencanto. El público ante las reproducciones en los museos* (1999) involves a public study of Motecuzoma's headdress replica in the Museo Nacional de Antropología. She obtained her PhD with her dissertation *La reproductibilidad contemporánea del arte prehispánico*, which discusses the auratic environment of the famous headdress. From 2010 to 2012, she was part of a group of experts responsible for the restoration of the controversial object at the Weltmuseum in Vienna. She participated as co-curator in temporary exhibitions: "Chimalli. Tesoro de Moctezuma" and "Xolos. Compañeros de viaje." Currently, with Laura Filloy Nadal and Renée Riedler, she keeps studying Mesoamerican featherwork objects located in European museums, while simultaneously conducting research and teaching about her specialty at Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM).

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Allison Caplan, University of California, Santa Barbara

Recovering Nahua Aesthetics

In post-colonial studies of the art of the Aztec Empire, the ability to understand not only works of art but their underlying systems of aesthetics poses a major challenge. Though disrupted by the experience of colonialism, Nahua aesthetics represent a fundamental body of knowledge that, when recognized, provides insight both into the interpretation of artworks and the integration of Nahua art with broader forms of knowledge. Using early colonial Nahuatl writings, in this presentation, I examine the Nahuatl concept of *ixnezcayotl* (appearance, color) as an aesthetic term that serves both as a compositional structure in artworks and a conceptual structure for thinking about relational identities in the natural world. Allowing Nahuatl concepts to guide the interpretation of art underscores the existence and endurance of Nahua aesthetic theory, while also modelling a methodology for recovering this body of knowledge.

Allison Caplan is Assistant Professor in the History of Art at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Her research focuses on Nahua art of the Aztec Empire and New Spain and examines issues of materiality, aesthetics, and the relationship between visual and linguistic expression. Caplan received her Ph.D. and M.A. in Art History and Latin American Studies from Tulane University and her B.A. in Comparative Literature from Columbia University. She has held fellowships and grants from the Getty Research Institute, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Johns Hopkins University. Her work has appeared in *Ethnohistory*, *West 86th*, and *Golden Kingdoms: Luxury Arts in the Ancient Americas*, and she is currently working on her first book, *Our Flickering Creations: Art Theory under the Aztec Empire*, which reconstructs key concepts in Nahua art theory for works in valued media, including precious stones, feathers, and metals.

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Enrique Rodríguez-Alegría, University of Texas at Austin

The Indigenous Side of Spanish Colonial Display

Domestic architecture and clothing were two sites of display of much importance to Spanish colonizers in sixteenth-century Mexico City. Scholars have argued that the houses of colonizers were very Spanish, military, and plain. Colonizers wore Spanish fashions, quite unlike the clothes that Indigenous people wore in central Mexico at the time. Thus, the houses and bodies of colonizers projected a Spanish identity. Still, research that goes beyond the initial impression caused by these sites of display reveals that Indigenous aesthetics and technologies were central to producing colonial architecture and the clothing of colonizers. To study the domestic architecture of colonizers, I compile information from many of the publications by archaeologists from the Programa de Arqueología Urbana. These publications provide glimpses of the Indigenous techniques and aesthetic finishes used in the houses of colonizers in the center of Mexico City. To study the clothing of colonizers, I compiled descriptions of over 2,200 items of clothing mentioned in the probate inventories of colonizers who died in Mexico City in the sixteenth century. These inventories reveal that many of the clothes worn by colonizers were made with Indigenous cloth and by Indigenous tailors, and that colonizers spoke highly of the materials and craftsmanship of Indigenous producers. This analysis of architecture and clothing is an invitation to consider the technologies and production of items of display to reveal the Indigenous side of the display of Spanish identities.

Enrique Rodríguez-Alegría is Professor of Anthropology at the University of Texas at Austin. His work focuses on Indigenous people and colonizers in the Mexica and the Spanish empires. He is the author of *The Archaeology and History of Colonial Central Mexico: Mixing Epistemologies* (Cambridge, 2016), co-editor of *The Oxford Handbook of the Aztecs* (with Deborah L. Nichols, 2017), co-editor of *The Menial Art of Cooking: Archaeological Studies of Cooking and Food Preparation* (with Sarah R. Graff, 2012), and co-editor of *Xaltocan: arqueología, historia y comunidad* (with Christopher Morehart and Kristin De Lucia, 2019). His forthcoming book is titled *How to Make a New Spain: The Material Worlds of Colonial Mexico City* (Oxford). He currently co-directs a project at Xaltocan, Estado de México, with Kristin De Lucia, examining changes associated with the Mexica conquest of the town and the Spanish colonial period.

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Barbara E. Mundy, Tulane University

The Sacred and the Profane in Mexico City's Early Colonial Cartography

While the architectural and urban design of Tenochtitlan reflected a sacred template, early colonial maps showing landholdings are often understood to convey merely quotidian concerns, like land tenure. This paper focuses on three such maps, the Plano Parcial de la Ciudad de Mexico, the Beinecke map and the Humboldt Fragment II, to show how these Mexica maps from the Basin of Mexico encoded both secular political concerns and the sacred nature of the landscape. To do so, their makers deployed not only iconography but also specific materials, particularly amatl paper, which served to embody or co-present the surface of the earth. Updated and reworked over time, these three maps also preserve something of the strategies of the Indigenous *gobernadores* of the city of Mexico-Tenochtitlan as they faced down the political challenges of the post-Invasion period.

Barbara Mundy is the Donald and Martha Robertson Chair in Latin American Art History at Tulane University. Her scholarship dwells in zones of contact between Native peoples and settler colonists as they forged new visual cultures in the Americas. She has been particularly interested in the social construction of space and its imaginary, which was the subject of her first book, *The Mapping of New Spain* (Chicago, 1996). Her most recent book, *The Death of Aztec Tenochtitlan, the Life of Mexico City* (Texas, 2015), draws on Indigenous texts and representations to counter a colonialist historiography and to argue for the city's nature as an Indigenous city through the sixteenth century. Her work spans both digital and traditional formats. With Dana Leibsohn, she is the creator of *Vistas: Visual Culture in Spanish America, 1520-1820* (www.fordham.edu/vistas). She is the president of the American Society for Ethnohistory and the 2021-22 Kislak Chair at the Library of Congress. She also serves as a Senior Fellow of Pre-Columbian Studies at Dumbarton Oaks, and on the editorial board of *Estudios de cultura náhuatl*.

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Sara Ryu, Washington University in St. Louis

The Object in and out of Time: Sculptural Reuse in Mexico City

In the decades following the Spanish invasion and siege of Tenochtitlan, many stone sculptures were unmoored from their architectural settings, subjected to physical manipulations, and endowed with new functions. Coupling expediency with a triumphalist metaphor, a policy of material reuse in sixteenth-century Mexico City was legally sanctioned by the Spanish monarch, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. The imperial directive to rebuild Mexico City from the rubble of Tenochtitlan was also a rhetorical trope that retroactively constructed a concept of conquest from the material fabric of the city itself. If iconoclasm and reuse supplied a figurative foundation for the ideology of Spain's overseas empire, how did objects set this agenda into motion? This paper focuses on the afterlives of a Mexica sculpture. Tracing the object's trajectory from the indigenous barrio of Santa María Cuepopan in the viceregal period to national museums in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, I argue that reuse alters the time of the artifact, enabling it to impart multiple senses of authority at once. Through changes to the object's form and novel contexts of its display, the connotative capacity of reuse exceeds brute triumphalism and undermines claims to absolute conquest. Rather than chart history as a linear succession of events indexed in stages, the repurposed stone continually figures history's disruption.

Sara Ryu is Director of Academic Planning for the College of Arts & Sciences at Washington University in St. Louis. Trained as an art historian of the early modern period, Sara received a BA at the University of California, Berkeley, and a PhD at Yale University. She has held a position at the Saint Louis Art Museum, a National Endowment for the Humanities Postdoctoral Fellowship at the Getty Research Institute, and a Postdoctoral Fellowship in Arts & Sciences at Washington University, which included teaching in the Department of Art History and Archaeology and coordinating elements of the Redefining Doctoral Education in the Humanities initiative funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. Her current research examines the intersections between the destruction and reuse of art in viceregal Mexico and the circulation of ideas about antiquity and the sacred across networks of cross-cultural exchange in the early modern world.

TENOCHTITLAN: IMPERIAL IDEOLOGIES ON DISPLAY

A Dumbarton Oaks Symposium

April 8-9, 2022

Elizabeth H. Boone, Tulane University (Discussant)

Tenochtitlan: Reflections on Visuality and Power

This presentation reflects on the paradigm-shifting import of the Coyolxauhqui's discovery and revelation 44 years ago, and the beginning of Eduardo Matos Moctezuma excavations under the Proyecto Templo Mayor. It recalls the first Templo Mayor symposium at Dumbarton Oaks 39 years ago along with the coordinating exhibition at the National Gallery of Art and the importance of these events for our understanding of the Templo Mayor and for Aztec studies in general. It then turns to the other presentations at this conference to reflect on where we are today and how far we have come.

Elizabeth H. Boone is Professor Emerita of Art History at Tulane University, Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and Corresponding Member of the Academia Mexicana de la Historia. She holds a Ph.D. in Art History from the University of Texas at Austin and was Director of Pre-Columbian Studies and Curator of the Pre-Columbian Collection at Dumbarton Oaks from 1983 to 1995. Her research interests include systems of writing and notation; they are grounded geographically in Aztec Mexico but extend temporally for at least a century after the Spanish invasion. In her work, she focuses particularly on the way knowledge is recorded graphically. Recent books include *Painted Words: Nahua Catholicism, Politics, and Memory in the Atzaqualco Pictorial Catechism* (2017, with Louise Burkhart and Dávid Tavárez) and *Descendants of Aztec Pictography: The Cultural Encyclopedias of Sixteenth Century Mexico* (2021).

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Robert G. Ousterhout, University of Pennsylvania (Comparative Outlook)

Tenochtitlan and Constantinople: Crafting a Ritual Center

Both the Aztec imperial center at Tenochtitlan and the capital of Byzantine Empire, Constantinople, were -- unlike most national capitals -- artificial creations, consciously designed to resonate at the heart of our national identity. Looking comparatively at the two centers, I shall ask, what was necessary for a city to function both practically and symbolically as an imperial center? I will conclude with a few remarks on the differences in the approaches of our disciplines and the differences in our evidence.

Scholarship on historical Tenochtitlan seems to focus on three critical periods: [1] Mythical foundation; [2] a fully formed ritual center; [3] conquest and transformation. As I shall argue, Constantinople is a bit more complicated, for its foundation comes at a time of dramatic change within the Late Roman Empire that affects the city only gradually. [1] Constantine's foundation as an imperial Roman capital had to be augmented with [2] the Christianization of the city; which gradually coalesced into [3] a Christian-imperial ritual center (or as I shall argue, a network of centers); before [4] the Ottoman conquest and transformation in the fifteenth century. Thus, the crafting of a ritual center was a multi-stepped process, beginning with the Romanization of the city, followed by its Christianization. The two may best be separated, at least at the beginning -- in distinct contrast to Tenochtitlan, where political ritual and religious ritual appear to be inextricably linked from the very beginning.

Robert G. Ousterhout is Professor Emeritus in the History of Art at the University of Pennsylvania. He is the author most recently of *Visualizing Community: Art, Material Culture, and Settlement in Byzantine Cappadocia*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 46 (Washington, DC, 2017); and *Eastern Medieval Architecture: The Building Traditions of Byzantium and Neighboring Lands*, (Onassis Series in Hellenic Culture: Oxford University Press, 2019), as well as co-editor of *Piroska and the Pantokrator*, with M. Sáyghy (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2019); and *The Holy Apostles: A Lost Monument, a Forgotten Project, and the Presentness of the Past*, with M. Mullett, Dumbarton Oaks Symposia and Colloquia (Washington, DC, 2020). His fieldwork has concentrated on Byzantine architecture, monumental art, and urbanism in Constantinople, Thrace, Cappadocia, and Jerusalem. Since 2011 he has co-directed the "Cappadocia in Context" graduate seminar, an international summer field school for Koç University. He was awarded the 2021 Haskins Medal by the Medieval Academy of America for *Eastern Medieval Architecture*.