16. This structure was named Building J by García Puyón, but it is called Building J in Brüggemann’s more recent maps. It is marked J on the map given here. For analyses of this structure and its murals, see Sánchez Bonilla 1995 and Ladrón de Guerra 1992.

---

**Political Rhetoric and the Unification of Natural Geography, Cosmic Space, and Gender Spheres**

**Linnea Wren**  
**Kaylee Spencer**  
**Krysta Hochstetler**

For the peoples of north central Yucatán, Chichén Itzá was simultaneously a formidable militaristic polity, an aggressive trade center, and an important religious site. The polity self-consciously proclaimed its importance not only by the enormity of its constructions but also by an imaginative expansion of its visual vocabulary. This expanded vocabulary provided a persuasive form of political rhetoric that asserted the influence of the Itzá across wide geographic regions of Mesoamerica and that identified the Itzá capital as the geographic site of cosmic creation. So persuasive was this political rhetoric that it persisted in both Maya and Mexican cultures long after Chichén Itzá itself was eclipsed.

During the Terminal Classic period, Chichén Itzá emerged as one of the important polities within a network of politically independent cosmopolitan capitals (Kepecs et al. 1994). The geographic territories under the direct administrative control of the Itzá probably did not extend outside northern Yucatán. However, the Itzá evidently established a network of trade and exchange that reached into the southern Maya lowlands and central Mexico. Moreover, the Itzá apparently converted their economic and cultural preeminence into claims of military and political hegemony over much of Mesoamerica.

These claims can be seen in the cist cover (Figure 10.1) from the floor of the Temple of the Wall Panels (Ruppert 1952). This relief depicts two war
captains who are engaged in a ritual involving a ceremonial offering. The hatch markings suggest that the offering, which is located on the ground between the ritual participants, may be identified as a basket of woven or matted grass. Fragments of several woven baskets with lids have been recovered from the Sacred Cenote at the site (Melford 1992:91, Figure 4.1). Among both the Maya and the Aztecs, woven reed mats were symbols of rulership, and twisted grass cords were implements in auto-sacrifice. Matted grass, or malinalli, also suggested a range of additional ritual associations for the Aztecs. It functioned as a metaphorical substitute for the hair and skin of the earth deity, Tlalocuhtli; it served as an absorbent surface for blood sacrifice; and it was given as an offering to the sun by warriors during battle as a supplication to destroy the enemy (Peterson 1983).

The captains on the cist cover from the Temple of the Wall Panels are encircled by a pair of ascending snakes, consisting of a feathered serpent and a jaguar serpent. The significance of these serpents may be suggested by comparison with the murals at Cacaxtla. In Building II-1, murals painted with serpent and bird imagery flank a doorway that opens to the west from an inner chamber. On the north wall panel (Kubler 1980:Figure 3) a jaguar serpent frames a male figure who is attired in jaguar costume and who holds a ceremonial bar consisting of bundled darts. On the north doorjamb (Kubler 1980:Figure 4) a similarly attired figure is shown holding, in his right arm, a vase from which water spills and, in his left hand, a water snake. A flowering corn plant issues from his abdomen. On the south wall panel (Kubler 1980:Figure 6) a feathered serpent frames a male figure who wears black body paint and who holds a ceremonial bar that consists of bundled spears. On the south doorjamb (Kubler 1980:Figure 5) a similarly painted figure is shown holding, in his right arm, a conch shell from which a diminutive human figure emerges. Both in the north and south wall panels and in the north and south doorjamb the compositional formats and the figurine poses are closely mirrored, whereas the iconographic complexes are emphatically contrasted.

At Cacaxtla, it is evident that the serpents function as emblems of the two warring parties depicted in the nearby battle murals. The jaguar serpent is accompanied by jaguar warriors whereas the feathered serpent is accompanied by black painted warriors, the more prominent of whom assumes avian markers (Foncerrada de Molina 1978, 1980; Kubler 1980; Quirarte 1983). Karl Taube (1994b) has proposed that the depictions of the jaguar snake and jaguar warriors are characterized by many attributes of Central Mexican ancestry, whereas the depictions of the feathered serpent and bird warrior are replete with many attributes of Maya origin. In Taube’s view, the compositions marked with feline attributes denote the western range of highland Mexico while the compositions marked with avian attributes allude to the Maya land of the east.

Taube’s association between the paired serpents and the paired geographic regions appears to be confirmed at Chichén Itzá by two exterior reliefs on the Temple of the Wall Panels (Figures 10.2–10.3). Both scenes are organized in three registers. War captains encircled by jaguar and feathered serpents dominate the central axis of the middle registers. Spreading out to each side are landscape scenes. The circular shapes in the north panel may depict barrel cacti (Figure 10.2). Spiny plants with flowers and twisted roots in the murals of Teotihuacan (Berri 1988:Figure VI.24; de la Fuente 1995:Figures 18–11, 18–16, 18–18) and in the sculpture of Tikal (Jones and Satterthwaite 1982:Figure 69) have been identified by Karl Taube (personal communication 1993) as barrel cacti with exposed roots (Figure 10.4). One plant in the uppermost left hand corner of the north panel of the Temple of the Wall Panels may represent a barrel cactus with roots protruding along its lower circumference. A second plant in the same panel may represent a barrel cactus with flowers blossoming along its upper circumference. The long-tailed birds perching in trees in the south panel may be identified as quetzals (Figure 10.3). The inclusion of flora and fauna typical of different regions suggests that the
panels are paired in terms of the geographic regions they represent. The north panel, incorporating barrel cacti, can be understood as an Itzá claim of hegemony over the land of the west, that is, central Mexico. The south panel, incorporating three quetzals, can be understood as an Itzá claim of hegemony over the land of the east, that is, the southern Maya lowlands. The north and south panels can, therefore, both be understood as monumental examples of visual rhetoric. Each panel appears to function as part of a propagandistic campaign to magnify the hegemony of the Itzá elite beyond the immediate physical territories within northern Yucatán that were actually controlled by Chichén Itzá.

This assertion of dominion over a large geographic territory was evidently made possible in Itzá political rhetoric by the emergence of Chichén Itzá as the central nexus in a long-distance trade network. Through their advantageous geographic location near the coast of north
central Yucatán, the Itzá were able to exploit both water and land routes of trade. Itzá merchants reached Veracruz toward their west, around the peninsula to Cozumel toward their east, and Belize and Honduras toward their south (Sabloff and Freidel 1975; Freidel and Sabloff 1984; Krockock 1998). Strategic coastal locations also enabled the Itzá to link their trade routes with important inland sites (Rathje 1975; Sabloff and Rathje 1975; Krockock 1998). Gold and tumbaga objects reached Chichén Itzá from the Pacific coast of Panama and from the Pacific and Caribbean coasts of Costa Rica (Bray 1996). Copper reached Chichén Itzá from Mexico or Honduras (Lothrop 1952). Turquoise reached Chichén Itzá from northern Mexico or New Mexico (Kelley 1980; Harbottle and Weigand 1992). Obsidian reached Chichén Itzá from central Mexico and highland Guatemala (Andrews et al. 1989; Braswell 1997). Tejali reached Chichén Itzá from Puebla and northern Oaxaca (Coggins 1984a). Cotton (Roys 1933; Kepecs and Boucher 1991), cacao (Krockock 1998), and salt (Andrews 1983; Andrews et al. 1988; Kepecs et al. 1994; Braswell 1997) were among the most important local products that the Itzá exported from their domain.

This assertion of dominion over a large geographic territory was apparently bolstered and justified in Itzá political rhetoric by the identification of Chichén Itzá as the place of cosmic creation. Because of the religious importance of its Sacred Cenote, Chichén Itzá enjoyed the status of a pilgrimage center (Roys 1933:173–176; Tozzer 1941:109). Sculpture associated with the well suggests that the cenote itself was regarded as a nexus of supernatural power where the cosmos itself had been birthed. This cosmic creation, or birthing, is suggested by the presence at the cenote rim of three monumental frogs. Two of the three frogs carry their offspring on their backs (Ruppert 1952:8). The symbolic importance of frogs in contemporary Yucatecan Maya rainmaking ritual is well documented (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1962:142). The symbolic association of frogs with female sexuality in the ancient cosmologies of Mesoamerica is also documented. Both Maya and Mexican cosmology associated frogs and toads with female sexuality. The up-ended frog birthing glyph of Maya inscriptions is well known. At the Maya site of Balamkú, Campeche, stucco reliefs of the Early Classic period depict full-figure

toads (Bauduz 1996). The amphibians burp seated lords from their mouths as if metaphorically birthing the kings. In much of Mexico today, the word frog is employed as a term for women’s genitalia, and in Aztec speech, the word frog was sometimes used as a name for the Earth Goddess, Tlaltecuhlti (Klein 1988).

The connection between frogs and female procreation as embodied by the Earth Goddess also exists in Chichén Itzá. The Sacred Cenote is connected by a sacbe to the Great Plaza and the Great Ball Court. Reliefs and murals in the ballcourt temples include recumbent figures associated with serpents. L. Schele and P. Mathews (1998) have identified these figures as depictions of the jade-skirted Maize God. However, Taube (1994b) has noted the close iconographic similarities between these figures and central Mexican depictions of the Earth Goddess. In both iconography and concept, the long-skirted deity at Chichén Itzá resembles the female earth deity later known to the Aztecs as Tlaltecuhlti. In the North Temple of the Great Ball Court at Chichén Itzá, two columns depict the earth goddess surmounted by trees, the branches of which are interlaced with flowering and fruited vines (Figure 10.5). The balustrades of the North Temple depict trees growing from monster heads (Figure 10.6). On the north wall of the North Temple, the earth goddess is shown with a bifurcated serpent emerging from her abdomen. The tongues of the serpent heads are marked as flint blades (Figure 10.7). According to Taube, the motif refers to two related acts of creation, the dismemberment of the Earth Goddess and the raising of the heavens by the cosmic trees.

Like all Maya ballcourts, the Great Ball Court of Chichén Itzá was a supernatural seat associated with cosmic creation. In the iconographic program of the Great Ball Court, the representations of the progenitor of cre-
ation is combined with militaristic subjects. Individual warriors are celebrated in the jambs of the Upper Temple of the Jaguars and on the piers of the South Temple. Acts of military conquest are depicted in the murals of the Upper Temple of the Jaguars while a ritual dance involving an assembly of warriors is shown in the reliefs of the Lower Temple of the Jaguars. Through the rhetorical use of their visual imagery, the Itzá were evidently claiming that they were agents in cosmic creation and that the military conflicts they waged actualized supernatural events in the cosmic realm.

One such supernatural event is the defeat of the Underworld forces of darkness and death. In the exterior reliefs of the Temple of the Wall Panels (Figures 10.2–10.3), the Itzá warlords are set not only in geographic space but also in cosmic space. Jaguars and moan owls, denizens of the Underworld in both Maya and Mexican cosmologies, roam the landscapes of both reliefs. The captives who are seated in the lower register of both reliefs are identified not by rank, ethnic costume, or individual name but instead by their mythic role. A jaguar head emblem floats in front of each captive’s face. The back end of each captive’s loincloth is lengthened and curved upward so that it forms an animal tail.

K. Ruppert (1952) originally argued that these tails were simian, that the figures represented monkey-people, and that the scenes depicted Maya creation legends. However, comparisons with Maya vase paintings indicate that the animal tails as well as the animal heads associated with the captives are feline. These tails have the thicker dimension of jaguar tails, and they do not display the more pronounced curvilinear shape of monkey tails. Nonetheless, Ruppert’s association of these scenes with creation mythology still appears valid. In Maya mythology, jaguars played an important role in the events of the creation epochs preceding the fourth sun, that is, the present era. In the Popol Vuh, the epoch of wooden people was ended by monstrous jaguars that came in a black rain and that reduced their victims to bones (Tedlock 1985). Although the Popol Vuh relates that the people who escaped became monkeys, a contemporary Lacandón variant of the creation myth identifies an early, failed human race as Jaguar-People (Grove 1972).

In central Mexican mythology, jaguars also played an important role in the events of the creation epochs preceding the fifth sun, that is, the present era. The Aztecs identified the first sun by the calendrical name 4 Ocelotl or 4 Jaguar because the people of the first sun were devoured by ferocious jaguars at the end of this creation era. The second sun, 4 Ehecatl or 4 Wind, was presided over by Quetzalcoatl. At Dos Pilas, La Amelia, and other Maya sites, sculptures depict jaguars beneath the feet of victorious Maya lords. In this compositional format, the jaguar substitutes for the more common motif of the bound and subjugated human captive (Houston 1993:Figures 3–21, 3–24).

The Popol Vuh relates a struggle between the destructive Underworld forces and the Hero Twins, Hunahpu and Xbalanque. The Twins had been fathered by a supernatural, Hun Hunahpu, who had been summoned to the underworld, Xibalba. Defeated by the Xibalban lords, Hun Hunahpu had been decapitated. Spittle from the head of Hun Hunahpu in the hand of Xk’ik, the daughter of a lord of Xibalba, had resulted in the conception of the Hero Twins. Like their father, the Twins journeyed to Xibalba where they were challenged to play ball against the lords of death. When they were unvanquished on the playing court, the Twins were subjected to a series of tricks that were designed to defeat and to kill them. But through the assistance of two diviners, Xulu and Pakam, the Twins devised a means of fiery death that would bring them back to life. After the voluntary death of the Twins, the Xibalbans crushed their bones and threw the
powder into a river. Five days later, the Twins reappeared in the guise of fish men. Their subsequent deeds persuaded the Xibalbans to allow themselves to be sacrificed, an act which subdued the forces of death.

In both the north and the south panels of the Temple of the Wall Panels (Figures 10.2–10.3), the defeated enemies of the Itzá are identified as jaguars. The visual imagery may reflect the Itzá identification of their opponents either as an earlier, inferior race from a previous creation or as Underworld beings who had brought destruction to humans during earlier eras. In the north panel (Figure 10.2) the Itzá captain who stands on the western side of the structure on the central axis is depicted as a fish man, a possible reference to the resurrected Hero Twins. Thus, in representing their defeated enemies as jaguars, the Itzá lords may be identifying themselves with supernatural heroes who defeated the destructive underworld forces.

A second cosmic event actualized by the Itzá was the dawning of the new sun. In both Maya and central Mexican cosmology, blood sacrifice was necessary to raise the sun into the heavens and to sustain its journeys. The three faces of the lintel in the Upper Temple of the Jaguars depict the solar deity receiving an offering from a war captain (Figure 10.8). Separating the two seated figures is a skeletal mask with waterlilies. The watery underworld location suggested by this motif is further supported by the placement above the solar deity of a mural band depicting the Earth Goddess (Coggins 1984b).

Around the interior walls of the Upper Temple of the Jaguars are six battle scenes in which prisoners are captured, bound, and stripped for sacrifice (Coggins 1984b:157–165, Figures 17–20; Miller 1977). The reclining figure of an earth goddess is depicted in the upper panel above the west doorway (Coggins 1984:Figure 19; Miller 1977). Above the Earth Goddess, a sacrificial scene of heart excision is portrayed. Only through continuing bloodshed in war and sacrifice could the sun be raised from the Underworld and sustained above the earth. Provided with the necessary blood offerings by the Itzá lords, the solar deity assumes his position in the heavens. In the south panel of the Temple of the Wall Panels (Figure 10.3), the compositional format of the lintels is expanded. The solar deity is shown in the upper register of the panel as he accepts an offering from a war captain encircled by a serpent. Below him are the Itzá lords depicted in poses of conquest. At their feet are the captives of war. Thus, the decorative program of the Upper Temple of the Jaguars offers a cosmic justification for the military campaigns undertaken by the Itzá war captains.
Political rhetoric at Chichén Itzá was highly effective because it provided a divine charter not only for justifying military conflicts against other polities but also for promoting social cohesiveness among its own elite. In the inscriptions of Chichén Itzá, the war captains trace their ancestry through their matrilineages. These parentage statements may well reflect the mixed ethnic composition of the people who ruled Chichén Itzá (Grube 1994). The Itzá elite may well have been the sons of nonlocal Maya who are described in ethnohistorical sources as seizing the region of Chichén Itzá. Because these foreigners reportedly entered the region without women, they can be presumed to have married women of local lineages. The choice made by Itzá sons to emphasize their matrilineal descent apparently indicates that their mothers conferred upon them greater social prestige and political legitimacy than did their fathers.

The hieroglyphic texts of Chichén Itzá suggest the importance of the female, as well as the male, gender in determining the divine charter. These texts record numerous individuals as participants of collective rituals, especially fire ceremonies and dedicatory rites. Although biographical events such as births, accessions, and deaths are largely absent, a few parentage statements are included. These statements, which extend to no more than three generations, refer only to matrilineal descent.

Two women are given special prominence as venerated ancestors. A lady who is the possessor of u wohol, “her glyphs,” is identified as the maternal grandmother of Lady Nik, “flower” (Grube 1994:Figure 14). Lady Ton Ahau, “penis lord,” is identified as the mother of Lady K’ayam Ahau (Grube 1994:Figure 13a). Lady K’ayam, in turn, is identified as the mother of K’ak’upacal (Grube 1994:Figure 16b) as well as the mother of K’in Kimi (Grube 1994:Figures 16a–b). As the maternal grandmother of K’ak’upacal, Lady Ton Ahau can be identified as the female ancestral founder of the Itzá elite. The name of this venerable female clearly combines male and female procreative powers. In addition to being the progenitor of the Itzá elite at Chichén Itzá, Lady Ton Ahau may have become the paradigm of the founding ancestor for Postclassic cultures of central Mexico. The Aztec informants of Sahagún reported that the ideal great-grandmother was “the founder, the beginner [of her lineage]” (Anderson and Dibble 1961, Volume 10:5; Nash 1978).

The supernatural progenitor of the Maya, known as Ix Chel, or Goddess O, is depicted in the Lower Temple of the Jaguars on the north entrance column (Figures 10.9–10.10). Like all Mesoamerican deities, Goddess O was multivalent in meaning. She was closely identified with divination, medicine, childbirth, and weaving. In addition to being associated with benevolent forces of creation and healing, Goddess O was also associated with the powers of destruction and death. Among her many aspects, Goddess O was considered to bring storms, rains, and world-destroying floods (Schellhas 1904; Thompson 1939).

In Postclassic depictions, Goddess O often wears a serpent headdress and sometimes holds a serpent in her hands. On the column faces of the Lower Temple of the Jaguars, Goddess O is shown superimposed upon an ascending serpent. In addition to these well-known depictions, another depiction of Goddess O can be recognized in the Lower Temple of the Jaguars in the interior reliefs. These reliefs represent a throng of warriors arranged in five bands. Placed on the central axis in a prominent position is a single female figure wearing a snake skirt (Figure 10.11). She is followed by an assistant who carries a bowl of sacrificial hearts. This figure shares so many of the standard military attributes that Alfred Tozzer (1957, Volume XII:Figure 538) published her as an example of a typical Toltec warrior. However, the clearly outlined breasts below the wide collar indicate that this figure is anything but a typical warrior.

This female figure can be identified as the ritual impersonator of a warrior variant of Goddess O. The combination of weaponry and snake attributes shown with this figure confirms the association made by J. E. S. Thompson (1939) between the Maya Goddess O and the Aztec goddess Chihuacoatl. Like Goddess O, Chihuacoatl was regarded as an earth and fertility goddess and was honored as a founding ancestor (Klein 1994). The inclusion of the Warrior/Goddess O impersonator among the Itzá lords can be seen as a rhetorical acknowledgment of the important role that elite women had played in founding and legitimizing Itzá rule.

Like Goddess O, Chihuacoatl was regarded as the patron of midwives and childbirth. She was also considered the protector of warriors. The mar-
tial aspect of the female deity is further revealed by the adoption of the title and costume of Cihuaсоatl by the Aztec military leader who was also one of the most trusted advisers to the Aztec king. During its occupancy by the statesman Tlacaеl, the office of Cihuaсоatl became especially prominent (Hassig 1988:43, 279). The inclusion of the Warrior/Goddess O impersonator among the Itzá lords is further evidence of the important role that elite women continued to play in maintaining the Itzá polity.

The role played by elite women included childbirth. The Aztecs compared childbirth to a battle, the parturient to a mighty warrior, and newborn infants to captives of their mothers. Women who died in childbirth were described as “suffering manfully” and were accorded an afterlife approximating that of warriors. Warriors who met death in battle or sacrifice were believed to go to a special paradise at the eastern horizon. There they daily escorted the rising sun to its noontime zenith. Women who met death in childbirth were perceived as warriors and were described as if costumed for the battlefield. They were responsible for escorting the sun from its zenith to its disappearance at the western horizon (Klein 1994). Thus, the pairing of eastern and western regions in the Temple of the Wall Panels may allude to the complementarity that the Maya perceived in male and female gender roles (Joyce 1992), as well as to geographic areas and cosmic realms.

The role which elite women played in maintaining the Itzá polity involved economic activities, including spinning and weaving. Cotton was an especially important trade good of northern Yucatán (Kepecs et. al. 1994). Spun and woven into cloth, cotton increased its value as a luxury item. Landa’s relación reports that woven cloth, in the form of gifts, offerings, and exchanges, were a crucial part of ritual life (Tozzer 1941). It can be assumed that for the Maya, as for the Aztecs, cloth was also a primary means of organizing the flow of goods and services that sustained the state and that cloth served as an idiom of political negotiation. Through their textile production, women advanced men’s claims to positions of status and power (Brumfiel 1992). Perhaps because women’s activities of spinning and weaving reinforced the state in ways similar to warfare, two-thirds of the spindles and whorls found at Chichén Itzá are decorated with the militaristic emblems of the jaguar and the eagle (Tozzer 1957).

The role that elite women played in maintaining the Itzá polity, in rare instances, may have also included direct participation on the battlefield. Cecilia Klein (1994) cites instances in Aztec mytho-history in which women went to war. She cites one memorable strategy employed by the fifteenth-century ruler of Tlatelolco. When his army of male warriors
could not resist the vigorous attacks of the Aztecs, the Tlatelolcan king responded in desperation by ordering women into battle. As one contingent of women flung brooms, cane staves, and weaving implements, a second contingent of women stripped naked, flaunted their genitals, squeezed their breasts, and taunted their foes with charges of cowardice. Even though these women fought in a manner that caricatured male patterns of warfare, other women reputedly adopted masculine military methods. The Aztecs describe Toltec women as having fought valiantly beside their husbands and even as taking prisoners before being killed. The Aztec also described their own women as courageously entering battle against a Tepanec attack in the period prior to the foundation of their capital. One mythic female, Quilaztli, is given special prominence in Aztec accounts. Unwilling to be considered vile, worthless, and of little spirit “like any other woman,” Quilaztli is described as dressing herself for battle in order to prove that she was strong and “manly.”

These legendary accounts of women warriors may reflect instances in which extraordinary women entered the masculine domain of military action. Recent excavations at Teotihuacan (Sugiyama 1989) have discovered two burial pits of four women who were evidently warriors. Moreover, some women are known from preconquest records to have exercised military and political powers. Such women include Lady Six Monkey, whose deeds are accounted in Mixtec codices, and Lady Wak Chan of Naranjo and Lady Sak Kuk of Palenque (Freidel et al. 1993).

At Chichén Itzá, the Warrior/Goddess O impersonator is placed directly above the dominant male figure who is marked with many symbols of rulership. The appearance of the Warrior/Goddess O impersonator at Chichén Itzá suggests that the political office of Cihuacoatl may have been created in the northern Maya lowlands capital. It further suggests that the origin of this and of many Postclassic concepts of polity and empire may be traced to Chichén Itzá. Finally, it demonstrates the potential of rhetoric to integrate natural geography, sacred space, and even the masculine and feminine spheres into a compelling vision by which contending populations and contentious genders could be unified into polities and inspired into ambitious actions.

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank Peter Schmidt, Saburo Sugiyama, and Karl Taube for the insight and data that they have generously shared with us. We are indebted to Ruth Krochock for her willingness to read early drafts of this paper and to offer advice. Annabeth Headrick, Rex Koontz, and Kathryn Reese-Taylor have provided invaluable suggestions in the development of our ideas.

Finally, we would like to express appreciation for the financial support awarded to us by the Presidential Faculty/Student Collaboration Grant of Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minnesota.

References


1984b Murals in the Upper Temple of the Jaguars, Chichén Itzá. Cenote of Sacrifice: Maya Treasures from the Sacred Well at Chichén Itzá. Edited by C. C.
Coggins and O. C. Shane III. Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press. 157–165.


Houston, S. D. 1993 *Hieroglyphs and History at Dos Pilas: Dynastic Politics of the Classic Maya*. Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press.


Rathje, W. L.

Redfield, R., and A. Villa Rojas.

Roys, R. L., editor and translator.

Ruppert, K.


Schele, L., and D. A. Freidel.

Schele, L., and P. Mathews.

Schellhas, P.

Seler, Edward.

Sugiyama, S.

Taube, K. A.


Tedlock, D.

Thompson, J. E. S.

Tozzer, A. M., editor and translator.

LANDSCAPE AND POWER IN ANCIENT MESOAMERICA

Rex Koontz
Kathryn Reese-Taylor
Annabeth Headrick

Westview
A Member of the Perseus Books Group
For Linda