

goddess Toci. Because the missionaries assumed a similarity between the Mexica deities and those of classical Rome and Greece, these representations instantly created a concern. Their deepest worry was that this native goddess of motherhood and nurturing would be confused with Christian mother figures, including the Virgin Mary, St. Anne, and others. In her final chapter, DiCesare studies the particulars of the festival of Ochpaniztli and its description in the *Borbonicus* and posits that the depiction does not represent an archetype but rather a specific celebration linked to a series of conditions that obtained shortly before the arrival of the Spanish.

This is a very well written and well reasoned work. In focusing on one feast of the Aztec solar calendar, DiCesare breaks ground in helping scholars understand new and profitable ways to tease valuable information from frequently conflicting sources. The use of both narrative and pictorial material strengthens the work significantly.

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The Art of Urbanism: How Mesoamerican Kingdoms Represented Themselves in Architecture and Imagery. Edited by William L. Fash and Leonardo López Luján. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2009. Pp. 480. Index.

This edited volume presents examples of urbanism from throughout the vast spatial and temporal diversity of Mesoamerica—the pre-Hispanic cultures encompassed by much of Mexico, all of Belize and Guatemala, and the western portions of Honduras and El Salvador. In their introduction, Fash and López Luján direct our attention to the elite, specifically to how royal courts represented their kingdoms in architecture and in iconographic and cosmological terms. The editors eschew a single definition of urbanism; instead, they summarize key frameworks deployed by volume authors: ecological (cities as adaptations to the environment), functional (non-economic functions of cities), visions of the cosmos (cities' symbolic role as human replications of cosmos), and built environment (where and how particular structures are built as part of the dynamic interaction between human behavior and city construction).

Two concepts permeate the volume. *Attepetl*, a concept associated most with the Aztecs, literally means “watery hill” or “hill of sustenance” and incorporates ideas of territory (merging both urban and rural space), autonomous government, constituent parts, and dynastic rulership. Communities either worshipped at natural hills or created their own versions in the form of pyramidal structures—the concept of sacred mountains has long been an established trope in Mesoamerican urbanism. The second concept, *Tollan*, also known through ethnohistoric Aztec accounts, translates as “place of reeds.” Previously, just one place—the early Postclassic (ca. AD 900) city of Tula in the modern Mexican state of Hidalgo—had been identified with Tollan; the authors of this

volume, however, accept Tollan as a more generalized concept to describe large settlements that were civilizing places (perhaps representing archetypal cities that both dominated peers and inspired successors), with numerous Tollans, both contemporary and ancestral, existing at any given time.

Chapters 1, 2, and 4 treat sites that rose and fell before the Classic period (ca. AD 200). Ann Cyphers and Anna Di Castro make a convincing case that the massive Olmec site of San Lorenzo, Veracruz, was not only Mesoamerica's first city (ca. 1100 BC) but possibly the first *altepetl*, with the following concepts expressed: layered vertical cosmos, sacred mountains, cave entrances to the underworld, and north-south and center-periphery oppositions. The authors characterize the artificially modified San Lorenzo plateau as a sacred mountain, surrounded by waters from the constantly flooding streams. The authors demonstrate that sophisticated architectural complexes materializing the cosmos appear earlier at San Lorenzo than anywhere else in Mesoamerica. Reaching its apogee about 400 years later, Chalcatzingo, in Morelos, has long been known for its integration of art and architecture with the landscape. David C. Grove and Susan D. Gillespie focus on the specific media and contexts by which the inhabitants of this site represented themselves and their sense of place. Chalcatzingo carvings identify the mountain on which many of them are located and its ancestral spirit; Grove and Gillespie contrast the placement of these mythical carvings on the site's periphery with those located in the village itself, which manifest concepts associated with rulership—thus materializing the center vs. periphery contrast. In his chapter on the stunning Preclassic Maya murals from the first century BC at San Bartolo, Guatemala, William A. Saturno notes how both gods and heroes are depicted engaging in creative acts; their sacrifices served as examples for early Maya kings who channeled this divine and ancestral power as the rightful heirs. Saturno usefully establishes that the quality of the paintings shows that such artistry was a long-established tradition.

Chapters 3 and 5 explore urbanism in highland Mexico in the centuries before and after the start of the Classic period. Joyce Marcus focuses on the development of the large Main Plaza at Monte Albán, a Zapotec city founded around 500 BC in the Valley of Oaxaca, and how the same format was later imposed on at least one second-tier settlement. In terms of how the city represented itself, she presents the often-published Zapotec building models. Marcus does not engage with new insights on Monte Albán's founding by diverse scholars, and her evolutionary developmental sequence suffers from a lack of awareness of the complex histories of the South Platform stelae and their texts, which, as demonstrated by Javier Urcid, are not in their primary context. Gabriela Uruñuela y Ladrón de Guevara, Patricia Plunket Nagoda, and Amparo Robles Salmerón provide important new construction evidence as they undertake the Herculean task of tracking down scattered excavation data on the massive pyramid at Cholula, Puebla. They focus on defining eight construction stages for the Great Pyramid, beginning in the first century AD. The authors convincingly link the increasing size and complexity of the Great Pyramid, itself representing a volcano to the west, with responses to natural disasters and the abundance of refugee labor and the social incorporation of laborers at Cholula.

The largest central Mexican Classic city, Teotihuacan, is the focus of Chapters 6 and 7. Zoltán Paulinyi explores the iconography surrounding what he believes is a Teotihuacan mountain god. William L. Fash, Alexandre Tokovinine, and Barbara W. Fash focus on Teotihuacan as an archetypal city to its contemporaries in the Basin of Mexico and beyond, both spatially and temporally. Given the establishment of the massive Pyramid of the Sun, symbolizing both *altepetl* and place of emergence, they hypothesize that an associated platform—the Adosada—served as an “origins house” where the New Fire ceremonies of the Aztecs were conducted as part of the investiture of rulers. Provocatively, they argue further that Early Classic Maya rulers also engaged in rituals here, as recorded in Maya hieroglyphic texts. Their assertion that Copan’s Temple 16 is a recreation of the Pyramid of the Sun will undoubtedly annoy many Mayanists, and would have been more convincing with additional illustrations to support specific iconographic interpretations. The Classic Maya city of Copan, Honduras, is the focus of Chapter 8, where Barbara W. Fash argues that due to the importance of water management and agriculture, both water and its dualistic counterpoint fire were featured in Maya urban art and ideology.

Chapters 9 through 11 span the Epiclassic to Early Postclassic periods, or AD 650–1150. At the Veracruz site of El Tajín, known for its many ball courts, Rex Koontz employs iconography to tease out aspects of the social identity of elites presented in public sculptures, many of which involve ballgame-related imagery. Koontz is able to identify an office filled by important secondary elites. Koontz associates ball courts and water sources, suggesting the site may have represented itself as Flowering Maguay Mountain. Returning to Central Mexico, Alba Guadalupe Mastache, Dan M. Healan, and Robert H. Cobean provide an engaging primer on recent research at Tula, Hildago. They note the great continuity in monumental architecture between Epiclassic and Early Postclassic Tula found in two monumental precincts, perhaps representing different ethnic factions or polities. Particularly intriguing is their suggestion of earlier dates—specifically, the Epiclassic—for many “Toltec” traits, including carved benches and the adorned roofs of interior patios. Indeed, it is unfortunate that the implications of these dates are largely ignored by William M. Ringle and George J. Bey III in their otherwise impressive chapter on the roughly contemporaneous Maya site of Chichén Itzá, Yucatán, where they follow most Mayanists by dismissing direct contact and impact from Tula. They explore how foreignness was incorporated and materialized at Chichén Itzá, where it was filtered locally by militarism and came to link local elites with new forms of military organization, identity, and associated political rituals. For Ringle and Bey, “Toltec” refers to members of priestly and/or military orders connected with any of the Tollans, starting with Teotihuacan. They provide a detailed analysis of costumes worn by figures on the site’s stelae, concluding that—rather than representing opposed “Maya” and “Toltec” costumes—they reflect different military orders and ranks.

The volume concludes with two sophisticated chapters that explore the influence of Tollan in the Sacred Precinct of the Aztec capital at Tenochtitlán. Leonardo López Luján and Alfredo López Austin trace the Aztec participation in the Zuyuan Order and

its underlying ideological complexes, which differed from earlier Classic political organization through its militarism and focus on multiethnic and more formalized political-economic structure. Toltec sculptures were both extracted from Tula and imitated, especially through reuse of themes. In Chapter 13, Eduardo Matos Moctezuma extends these explorations further back in time, noting that while specific features at Tenochtitlán were derived from Tula (such as skull racks, chacmools, and benches with warrior processions), more significant concepts regarding the layout of the city and structures serving as axis mundi came from Teotihuacan.

This volume will become a major source for all scholars interested in urbanism, as the chapters overall provide outstanding new data and new ways of thinking about Mesoamerican cities. The themes are usefully reiterated in a summary chapter by David Carrasco. As is typical of Dumbarton Oaks publications, editorial and image quality are of the highest caliber; readers will wish for a more frequent publication schedule.

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NATION BUILDING & NATIONALISM

La Independencia: Los libros de la patria. By Antonio Annino and Rafael Rojas, with the collaboration of Francisco A. Eissa-Barroso. Mexico City: Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, 2008. Pp. 244. Notes. Bibliography.

The bicentenary of the beginning of the Mexican War of Independence (1810–1821) has resulted in a veritable frenzy of events and publications on the subject. From 2004 (if not before), scholars from all walks of life started mobilizing. Conferences, symposia, and colloquia were organized all over Mexico and beyond, apposite research projects were developed with noteworthy enthusiasm, and 2010 became a focal point—nay, feast—of reflection and frantic academic activity. As Mexican authorities geared up for what became a truly astounding calendar of elaborate patriotic festivities, the historiography of the Mexican War of Independence received more attention than ever before. Are we any wiser as a result? I would like to think we are.

What can be confidently stated is that over the last decade the War of Independence has been revisited, revised, and studied from an astounding variety of new (and not so new) perspectives. There have been constellations of studies on how each region's experience of the War differed, on the impact and legacy of the Bourbon reforms, and on the economic, social, and political grievances that provoked the revolutionary outbreak of 1810, addressing collective as well as individual motivations. We have gone from being persuaded by some historians that the insurgency was an incipient patriotic anticolonial movement to learning from others that it was a civil war. We have reflected over the extent to which it was a social revolution, whether the conflict was driven by a multitude of extremely local grievances, or whether it was just the Mexican expres-