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Human Sacrifice, Militarism, and Rulership

Teotihuacan was one of the earliest and more populous pre-Columbian cities, and the Feathered Serpent was its vital monument, erected *circa* AD 200. This work explores the religious meanings and political implications of the pyramid with meticulous and thorough analyses of substantially new excavation data. Challenging the traditional view of the city as a legendary, sacred, or anonymously governed center, the book provides significant new insights into the Teotihuacan polity and society. It provides interpretations of the pyramid's location, architecture, sculptures, iconography, mass sacrificial graves, and rich symbolic offerings, and concludes that the pyramid commemorated the accession of rulers who were inscribed to govern with military force on behalf of the gods. This archaeological examination of the monument shows it to be the physical manifestation of state ideologies such as the symbolism of human sacrifice, militarism, and individual-centered divine authority, ideologies that were later diffused among other Mesoamerican urban centers.

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SABURO SUGIYAMA

Human Sacrifice, Militarism, and Rulership

Materialization of State Ideology at the Feathered Serpent Pyramid, Teotihuacan





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To Kumiko, Yosei, Masano, and Nawa in memory of Masako and Jusaku Sugiyama



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The ideas expressed here developed through projects supported by several institutions and grants. My first fieldwork at the FSP was carried out as part of the Proyecto Arqueológico Teotihuacán 1980–82, directed by Rubén Cabrera Castro of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Hístoría (INAH) in Mexico. Further excavations for the same project during the 1983–84 seasons gave me an opportunity to focus on the sacrificial burial complex. I sincerely express my deep gratitude to Rubén Cabrera for his continuous support.

As a result of the early work, a new, joint project of INAH and ASU (formerly Brandeis University before the author's move to ASU) was formed: Proyecto Templo de Quetzalcoatl (PTQ88–89), or Project Feathered Serpent Pyramid in English. Cabrera and George Cowgill served as codirectors; I was their principal assistant. Funding was granted by the National Geographic Society, National Endowment for the Humanities, Arizona State University Foundation, and other sources; the Consejo de Arqueología of INAH in Mexico authorized the project. I received independent aid from the National Science Foundation's (NSF) Dissertation Research Program for the analysis of the data described in this publication. Much of the interpretation and writing of the text were carried out at Dumbarton Oaks, where I was a Resident Junior Fellow in 1993–94. Further funding for analyses and publications from the National Endowment for the Humanities and NSF, for which I was coprincipal investigator with Cowgill, also contributed to the present study.

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Acknowledgments xvii

that we should return to, in order to integrate it into more comprehensive comparative studies of Teotihuacan monuments for the coming years. I have simply tried to present here what René Millon (1992: 401) says will be of lasting importance to students of Teotihuacan archaeology, a richly illustrated analytic study. (See also complementary information at http://archaeology.asu.edu/teo.)