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Volume VII

Domestic Life in Prehispanic Capitals

A Study of Specialization, Hierarchy, and Ethnicity

edited by
Linda R. Manzanilla and
Claude Chapdelaine

Ann Arbor, Michigan
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Front Cover: A general view of Compound 5 in the southern portion of the Huacas of Moche site, with Huaca de la Luna and Cerro Blanco in the background (photo by Claude Chapdelaine, 1999).

Back Cover: A general view of the Oztoyahualco 15B:N6W3 apartment compound in the northwestern periphery of Teotihuacan, Central Mexico (photo by Linda R. Manzanilla, 1988).

Contents

List of Illustrations	viii
List of Tables	xi
Preface, by <i>Linda R. Manzanilla and Claude Chapdelaine</i>	xiii

PART I: MESOAMERICAN EXAMPLES

Introduction: Mesoamerican Domestic Structures, Compounds, and Neighborhoods <i>Linda R. Manzanilla</i>	1
1 Ritual and Social Stratification at Monte Albán, Oaxaca: Strategies from a Household Perspective <i>Ernesto González Licón</i>	7
2 Corporate Life in Apartment and Barrio Compounds at Teotihuacan, Central Mexico: Craft Specialization, Hierarchy, and Ethnicity <i>Linda R. Manzanilla</i>	21
3 Household, Workshop, Guild, and Barrio: The Organization of Obsidian Craft Production in a Prehispanic Urban Center <i>Kenneth G. Hirth</i>	43
4 Household, Neighborhood, and Urban Structure in an “Adobe City”: Tula, Hidalgo, Mexico <i>Dan M. Healan</i>	67
5 Tikal: Evidence for Ethnic Diversity in a Prehispanic Lowland Maya State Capital <i>Marshall Joseph Becker</i>	89
6 Maya Home Life: Daily Practice, Politics, and Society in Copan, Honduras <i>Julia A. Hendon</i>	105
7 Beyond Capitals and Kings: Domestic Organization and Ethnic Dynamics at Chac-Sayil, Yucatan <i>Michael P. Smyth</i>	131

PART II: ANDEAN EXAMPLES

Introduction to Andean Examples	151
<i>Claude Chapdelaine</i>	
8 Residence and Ritual in Tiwanaku: Hierarchy, Specialization, Ethnicity, and Ceremony	159
<i>John W. Janusek</i>	
9 Domestic Life in and around the Urban Sector of the Huacas of Moche Site, Northern Peru	181
<i>Claude Chapdelaine</i>	
10 Huari: A New Direction in Central Andean Urban Evolution	197
<i>William H. Isbell</i>	
11 Domestic Economy as Political Economy at Chan Chan, Perú	221
<i>John R. Topic</i>	
12 Domestic Life and Craft Specialization in Inka Cusco and Its Rural Hinterland	243
<i>R. Alan Covey</i>	

PART III: COMMENTARY

13 Understanding Houses, Compounds, and Neighborhoods	255
<i>Joyce Marcus</i>	

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Illustrations

- 1.1. Topographic map of Monte Albán, *10*
- 1.2. Topographic map of the Mexicapam barrio, Monte Albán, *11*
- 1.3. Elite residence of Tomb 105, Monte Albán, *12*
- 1.4. Mural from the wall of Tomb 105, Monte Albán, *12*
- 1.5. Elite residence “El Ocote,” northeast corner of the North Platform, Monte Albán, *13*
- 1.6. Main plaza of Monte Albán, *14*
- 1.7. Houses in the Estacionamiento area of Monte Albán, *16*
- 1.8. Estacionamiento-A residence, found east of the North Platform, *16*
- 1.9. Tomb 1991-11 at Monte Albán before excavation, *17*

- 2.1. Location and size of the city of Teotihuacan in the Teotihuacan Valley, *22*
- 2.2. Map of the city of Teotihuacan by René Millon’s project, *23*
- 2.3. Foreign barrios and Teotihuacano barrio centers, *25*
- 2.4. Functional sectors of the barrio center of Teopancazco, *26*
- 2.5. The ritual component of the barrio center of Teopancazco, *27*
- 2.6. The administrative component of the Teopancazco barrio center, *28*
- 2.7. Bundle representations in mural paintings, *29*
- 2.8. Pottery roundels and possible tokens from Teopancazco, *30*
- 2.9. Tailors’ implements found at the Teopancazco workshop, *30*
- 2.10. Military attire of the Teopancazco neighborhood, *31*
- 2.11. High-rank attire of Teopancazco, perhaps a ball game player, *32*
- 2.12. Figurine representing a warrior with costume, *33*
- 2.13. Extraordinary rituals in barrio centers such as Teopancazco, *34*
- 2.14. Detail of heads in vessels, *34*
- 2.15. Craft production sectors in the city, *35*
- 2.16. The fish as a possible emblem for the noble “house” of Teopancazco, *38*
- 2.17. The proposed four sectors of the city, *38*

- 3.1. The location of Xochicalco in Central Mexico, *44*
- 3.2. The location of obsidian craft areas at Xochicalco, *45*
- 3.3. The Operation H residential compound, *47*
- 3.4. The Operation I residential compound, *48*
- 3.5. The Operation K residential compound, *49*
- 3.6. Ceramic and domestic ground stone remains recovered in Operation H, *50*
- 3.7. Altar in Room 8 of Operation H, *52*
- 3.8. Room and portico area of Operation K, *52*
- 3.9. Obsidian and trace production areas in Operation H, *53*
- 3.10. Obsidian and trace production areas in Operation I, *54*
- 3.11. Obsidian and trace production areas in Operation K, *54*
- 3.12. Location of barrio segments on Cerro Xochicalco, *59*
- 3.13. Location of domestic workshops by barrio segments, *60*

- 4.1. Map of the site of Tula showing the location of excavations of residential compounds, *70*
- 4.2. Plans of excavated residential structures identified as house compounds, *72*

- 4.3. Plans of excavated residential structures identified as apartment compounds, *73*
- 4.4. Plan of the West, Central, and East house compounds in the Canal locality, *74*
- 4.5. Distribution of artifacts and features indicative of various activity areas, *76*
- 4.6. Plan of the altar in the Central compound courtyard, *77*
- 4.7. Postulated sequence of construction in the Canal locality, *79*
- 4.8. Area immediately south of House IX in the Canal locality, *80*
- 4.9. Topographic map of the site of Tula, *82*
- 4.10. Topographic map of the greater Canal locality, before and after excavation, *83*
- 4.11. Spatial distribution of linear surface features corresponding to three spatial orientation schemes of architecture, *84*

- 5.1. Six of the dozen plaza plans now identified at Tikal, *90*
- 5.2. An example of Plaza Plan 2 at Tikal, *91*
- 5.3. Five examples of Plaza Plan 4 at Tikal, *92*

- 6.1. Western Honduras with the location of major archaeological sites and regions, *106*
- 6.2. Settlement around the Main Group, *107*
- 6.3. Monumental architecture and stelae in the open plaza of the Main Group, *108*
- 6.4. The main ballcourt at Copan, *109*
- 6.5. Group 9N-8, one of the largest compounds, *110*
- 6.6. The two excavated patios of Group 9M-22, *111*
- 6.7. Group 9M-24, a small residential compound in the urban zone, *111*
- 6.8. The Main Group and seven rural sites in the Copan Valley, *112*
- 6.9. Group 9N-8 Patio B and Patio A after restoration, *115*
- 6.10. One of the ancestral figures on the façade of Structure 9N-82, *117*

- 7.1. The Yucatan Peninsula, showing the locations of sites mentioned in text, *132*
- 7.2. Architectural and topographic map of Sayil showing survey area, *133*
- 7.3. Architectural and topographic map of Chac II showing survey area, *134*
- 7.4. Schematic map of the Miguel T hectare from Sayil, *135*
- 7.5. Map of the central zone of Chac, *136*
- 7.6. Planimetric map of the Platform Group at Chac, *138*
- 7.7. Plan drawing of the substructure excavations from the Platform Group at Chac, *139*
- 7.8. Planometric map of Sacta Group, *139*
- 7.9. Detailed plan of the remains of the Sacta substructure, *140*
- 7.10. Foreign-style vessels recovered from Platform Group burials and caches, *141*
- 7.11. The base of a bifacially worked obsidian dart point and an atlatl dart point, *142*
- 7.12. Burial P32-3, *143*
- 7.13. Burial P31-3, *144*
- 7.14. Distributional map of strontium values for sites across Mesoamerica, *145*

- 8.1. View of the southern Lake Titicaca Basin showing the location of Tiwanaku, *160*
- 8.2. Map of Tiwanaku showing location of excavated sectors, *162*
- 8.3. Map of dwellings in Akapana East and view of the Lakaraña sector, *163*
- 8.4. Cobble and adobe structural foundations in Ch'iji Jawira, Tiwanaku, *164*
- 8.5. Architectural complex on top of the Akapana, Tiwanaku, *165*

- 8.6. The Putuni Complex in Tiwanaku, *166*
- 8.7. A “slumped” tazón for consuming food and drink, *167*
- 8.8. Common head-shape styles in Tiwanaku, *169*
- 8.9. Examples of Tiwanaku “ash pits,” *172*
- 8.10. The election of indigenous leaders at the June solstice Aymara ceremony, *174*
- 8.11. Regional settlement in the Tiwanaku Valley during Tiwanaku IV, *175*

- 9.1. Location of important Moche archaeological sites, *182*
- 9.2. General plan of the Huacas of Moche site, *184*
- 9.3. Ceramic decorative plaque, *185*
- 9.4. Plan of the excavated area of the urban sector of Huacas of Moche site, *186*
- 9.5. Distinctive Moche ceramic items, *189*

- 10.1. Ayacucho Valley, Peru, locating principal archaeological sites, *198*
- 10.2. Ñawinpukyo site, *202*
- 10.3. Huari plan locating sectors, architectural complexes, and features, *203*
- 10.4. Vegachayoq Moqo and Monjachayoq, Huari, *204*
- 10.5. Huari’s Vegachayoq Moqo showing architectural profile, *205*
- 10.6. Plan of Huari’s Moraduchayuq sector, *206*
- 10.7. Huari, excavations of 2005–2006, *207*
- 10.8. Conchopata plan locating architectural complexes, rooms, and features, *208*
- 10.9. Conchopata mortuary Room 203 with mortuary house and tombs, *210*
- 10.10. Huari, Cheqo Wasi sector, *211*

- 11.1. Central Chan Chan, *224*
- 11.2. Ciudadela Rivero, *225*
- 11.3. The Unit BM retainer area along the east side of Ciudadela Velarde, *226*
- 11.4. The kitchen facilities in Unit BM, *227*
- 11.5. The Unit BK retainer area along the west side of Ciudadela Bandelier, *228*
- 11.6. A probable residential complex within Unit BK, *229*
- 11.7. Unit BB: the northern caravansary, *230*
- 11.8. An area of probable transient housing for caravan drivers within Unit BB, *231*
- 11.9. Part of a block in Unit BJ, *233*
- 11.10. An area of architecture under construction in Unit BN, *234*
- 11.11. The central part of Unit BJ, *235*
- 11.12. Part of Unit S, *236*
- 11.13. An arcón associated with the control of well access in Unit BJ, *238*

- 12.1. Approximate limits of Inka imperial territory, *244*
- 12.2. The Cusco region, with municipal boundaries and selected rural sites, *245*
- 12.3. The Cusco Basin, with important Inka settlements, terraces, and storage facilities, *247*
- 12.4. The urban core of Cusco, *248*
- 12.5. An elite residential compound at Inka provincial city of Huánuco Pampa, *252*

Tables

- 1.1. Indicators of health and nutrition of individuals at Monte Albán, *13*
- 1.2. Type of domestic unit at Monte Albán, *13*
- 1.3. Domestic wards or sectors used in this research, *13*
- 1.4. Ceremonial objects related to funerary contexts, *15*
- 1.5. Distribution by gender and type of burial, *15*

- 2.1. Courtyard and temple sizes, *36*

- 3.1. Obsidian source analysis for four domestic workshops at Xochicalco, *55*
- 3.2. Population estimates and architectural features of Xochicalco barrios, *58*

- 5.1. Identified Plaza Plan 4 groups at Tikal, *94*

- 6.1. Distribution of Ulúa Polychrome pottery in Group 9N-8, *118*
- 6.2. Distribution of Ulúa Polychrome pottery in each patio of Group 9N-8, *118*

- 12.1. Early Colonial records of Inka and retainer populations, by barrio, *249*
- 12.2. Moiety divisions of royal Inka descent groups of Cusco, *249*
- 12.3. Parishes of early Colonial Cusco and ethnic residence patterns, *250*
- 12.4. Distribution of members of royal Inka lineages in the Cusco Basin, *251*

- 13.1. Similarities and differences between South America and Mesoamerica, *258*

Preface

Linda R. Manzanilla and Claude Chapdelaine

State capitals are geopolitical centers—usually urban sites—where people gather to interact, manufacture, exchange, and rule over a territory. In this book, excavated data from three spatial units are privileged: the single domestic structure, the compound, and the neighborhood. In these three spatial units, we have documented three topics: the indicators of craft specialization, ethnicity, and hierarchy.

Mesoamerica and the Andes have been chosen as two macro-areas where diverse state capitals existed. Different kinds of polities arose at different times and under different political conditions. For Mesoamerica, there are important contrasts between the central Mexican capitals and Maya capitals. In this volume, Teotihuacan, Xochicalco, Tula, and Monte Albán are taken into consideration, and contrasted to Tikal, Copán, Sayil, and Chac. For the Andean region, Tiwanaku, Huari, Huacas de Moche, Chan Chan, and Cuzco are tackled.

This book emerged from a 2006 symposium conducted at the 71st annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, held in Puerto Rico. The symposium, organized by the editors of this volume, was called “Domestic Life in State Political Economy at Prehistoric Capitals: Specialization, Hierarchy and Ethnicity.” It emphasized a comparative approach between different kinds of polities and urban sites. By comparing different types of cities, we hope to clarify how important multiethnicity and craft production are in the shaping of the capital itself, and in shaping the political economy of the state.

From an archaeological perspective, the study of prehispanic states generally starts with the identification of capitals. These sites are the largest within a specific region, and they usually feature monumental buildings (administrative, civic, and ritual structures) with residential sectors surrounding them. The size and number of plazas, temples, elite residences, royal burials, storage facilities, workshops, streets, and fortifications vary from capital to capital but they indicate the power of a ruling elite.

The study of prehistoric capitals is still in its infancy. Long-term interdisciplinary projects are needed for a better understanding of these enormous archaeological sites. Some prehistoric capitals have been studied for more than forty years, although the consolidation of a site for tourism can handicap the pace of research. Thus it is the case that the capitals considered in this volume have not received the same amount of research. For example, the plan of the whole settlement cannot always be completed; in many cases, few residential compounds have been exposed in their entirety, and several tombs may have been looted well before the arrival of archaeologists. Considering these drawbacks, as well as the impossibility of grasping the complexity of the two most famous New World capitals of the Aztecs and Inkas (Tenochtitlan and Cuzco), which lie beneath huge modern cities or were destroyed

during the conquest, archaeologists have been working continuously on the other major capitals in this volume. Furthermore, these capitals are well documented in comparison to so many small sites.

The group of scholars assembled here is trying to push our analysis of state capitals a step further. We do this by looking at the available excavation data, tackling all the elements and shared features of domestic life in houses, complex residences, neighborhoods, and specialized areas to address the nature of specialization, social hierarchy, and ethnicity.

New perspectives on residential units are offered for most sites, many of which reveal greater complexity than formerly thought. Nevertheless, the states followed different paths and their respective capitals include unique urban features. Some tendencies and patterns are evident but are not shared by all in kind or degree. Craft production was a major activity at most sites; the locus of production—near the center of the site or at the outskirts—may vary, but not the importance of craft manufacturing.

Centralization of power in the hands of a ruling class is often a basic element in the formation of social hierarchy. The social position of craftsmen is still open for debate, as is the mobility of an individual who may or may not be able to move from one class to another. Many examples addressed in this volume show a wide variety of socioeconomic groups crosscut by status and ethnic differences.

The identification of palaces or elite residences is another aspect of domestic life that can lead to a better understanding of social stratification and ethnicity. Determining population estimates of prehistoric state capitals is problematic, and great variation in these estimates is seen in the literature. Based on the assumption that a capital is the most important settlement in a given region and sits at the top of the settlement hierarchy, the total population in the capital should be high. Several cases presented in this volume show a smaller number of urban citizens than one might expect, but capitals controlled a hinterland inhabited by a much larger number of residents. It is thus important to distinguish the inner city from its periphery, an area that could include villages as far as 10 to 15 km distant, depending on the nature of the topography.

All the case studies in this volume are exciting, providing provocative ideas on what was going on in the core of these prehistoric state capitals. Sufficient data and ideas are now available to allow scholars to make their own comparisons and to refine their conception of domestic life in various regions of the New World. For students, this collection of new studies will serve to illustrate different aspects of states at their respective capitals, usually the most studied archaeological sites of these polities.

Corporate Life in Apartment and Barrio Compounds at Teotihuacan, Central Mexico

Craft Specialization, Hierarchy, and Ethnicity

Linda R. Manzanilla

Introduction: Teotihuacan's Corporate Structure

Few cities in the preindustrial world are as complex, multiethnic, planned, and exceptional as Teotihuacan. The confluence of diverse groups—some fleeing volcanic eruptions at the beginning of the Christian Era (see Plunket and Uruñuela 1998), others attracted by the work and trading opportunities in the city or the availability of goods—brought occupants together in a place they regarded as the center of the known world. Exceptional in size (20 km² [Millon 1973]) (Fig. 2.1), urban planning (Fig. 2.2), settlement pattern (a huge city surrounded mostly by rural sites), corporate strategy (Paulinyi 1981; Pasztory 1992; Manzanilla 1988, 1993, 1997a, 1998, 2001, 2006a; Blanton et al. 1996), and multiethnic character embedded deep in its structure (Price et al. 2000; Rattray 1988, 1989, 1993; Spence 1990, 1996), Teotihuacan did not resemble any other contemporary site in Mesoamerica.

To organize groups of different origin that had different interests and strategies, Teotihuacan invested much of its energy in building a planned city that had: an urban grid evoking the four quarters of the universe, with an underworld (the original quarry tunnels under the city); majestic monumental architecture echoing the natural orography; the most important mural paintings emphasizing fertility and abundance; and an inclusive society where all the different types of ball games could be played and

all the languages spoken. Teotihuacan was the center of its world, the archetypal *Tollan* (Manzanilla 1997b).

Without written texts that can let us glimpse how this complex culture integrated all the different ethnic groups and social strata, archaeology must rely on very careful observations of how identities are expressed in material traces related to various behaviors and practices—culinary, attire, funerary, ritual, and social (Manzanilla 2007a).

In this chapter, I will put forth some ideas on how ethnicity, specialization, and hierarchy intertwine in corporate domestic compounds and in neighborhoods at Teotihuacan. The study of these two different scales of spatial analysis has implications for understanding how the city of Teotihuacan functioned and collapsed.

The Apartment Compounds

One of the main characteristics of Teotihuacan, in contrast to contemporary societies in Mesoamerica, is that various families, linked by kinship and shared activities as well as friends and possibly servants, dwelled in the same building, called a multifamily apartment compound. Even though most of the Teotihuacan apartment compounds may have housed Teotihuacan families, at Ozttoyahualco 15B:N6W3 we detected some affiliated mem-

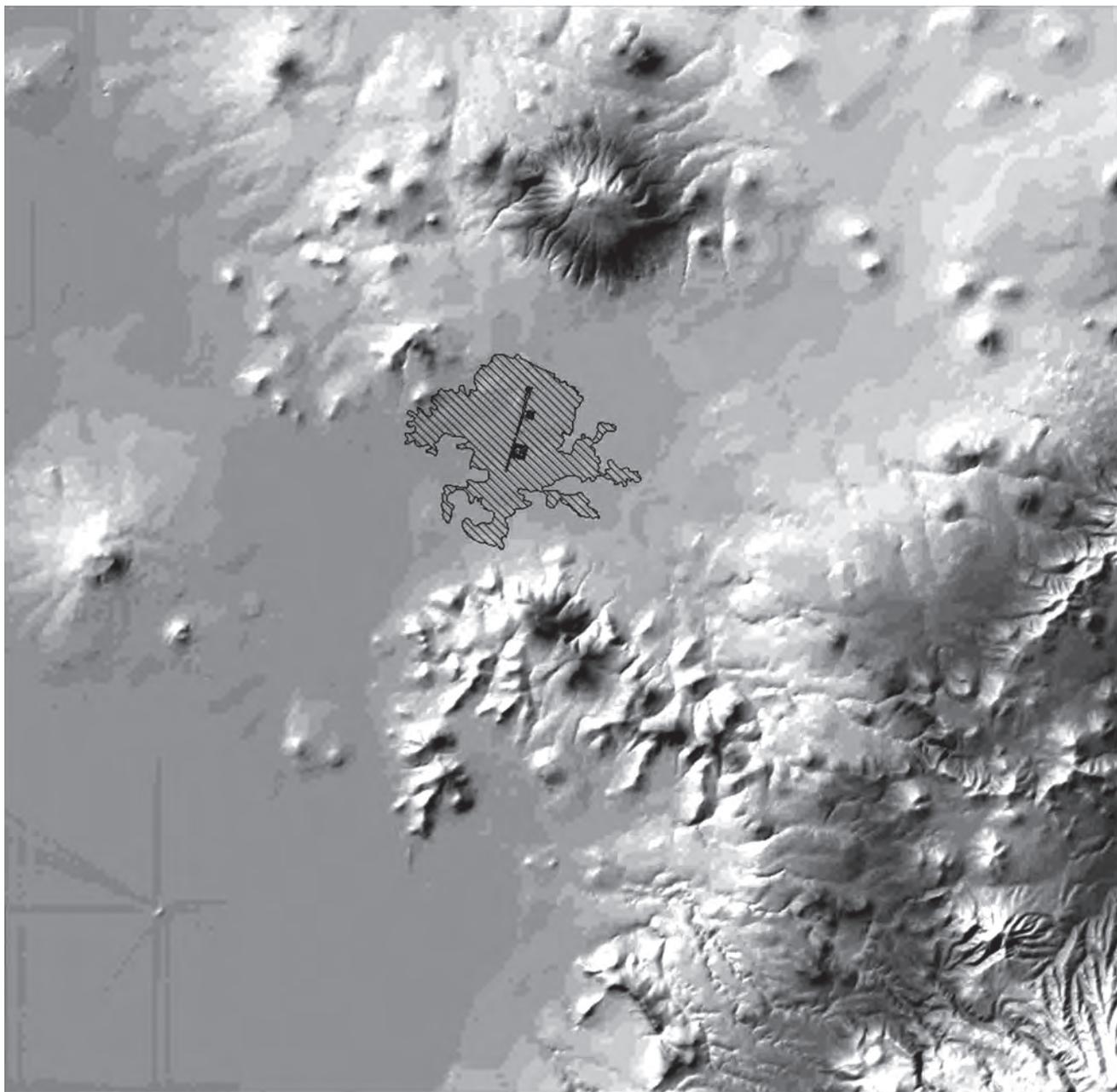


Figure 2.1. Location and size of the city of Teotihuacan in the Teotihuacan Valley (Manzanilla, in press; photo by Gerardo Jiménez).

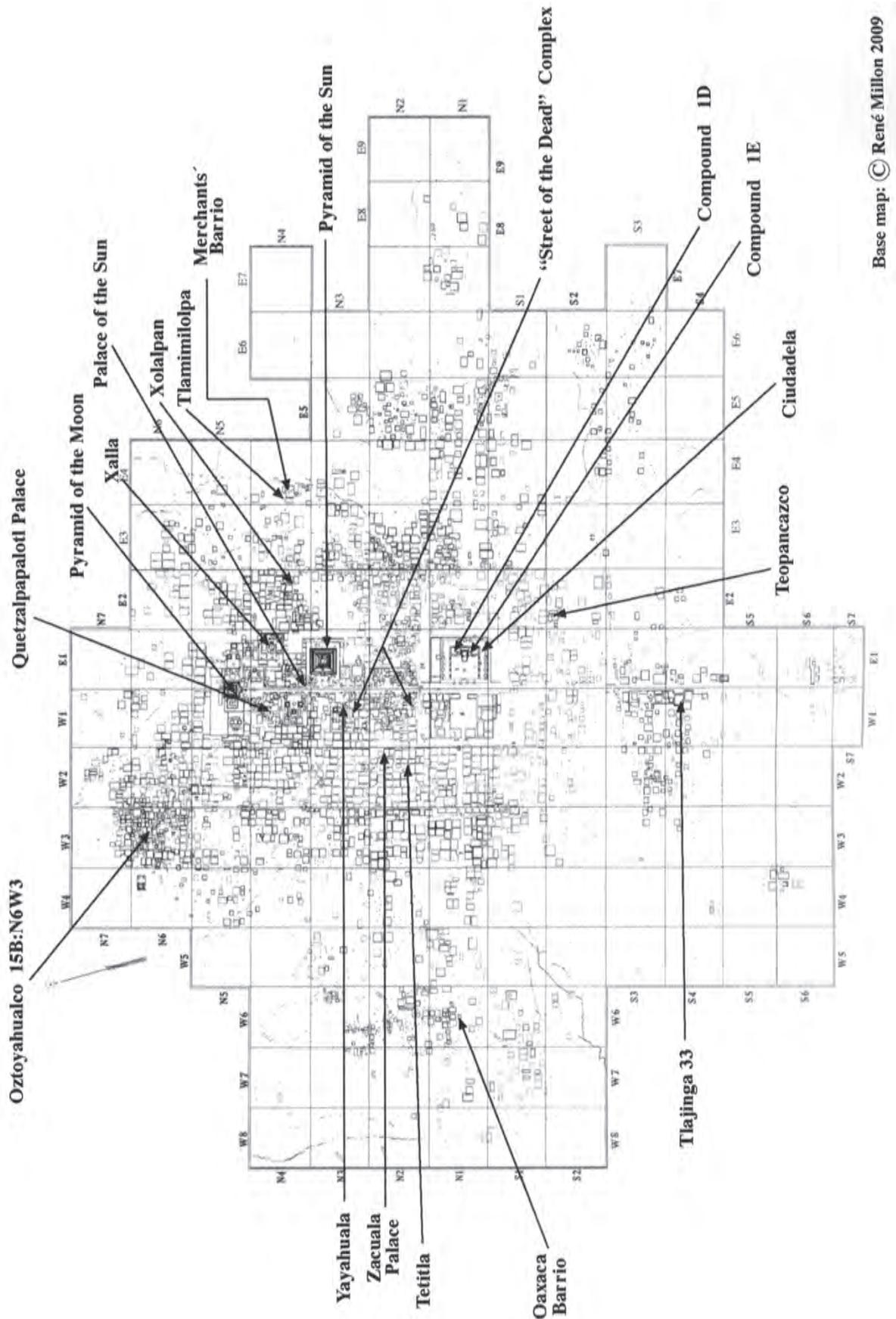


Figure 2.2. Map of the city of Teotihuacan by René Millon's project (1973), with some of the main sites (© René Millon 2009).

bers that came from other regions, as indicated by the data from strontium isotopes (Price et al. 2000).

Each household has a series of rooms, porticoes, and courtyards in which the people of the household live and reproduce. This domestic structure differs from Maya compounds (Manzanilla and Barba 1990), where each household has its own kitchen and sleeping areas but shares a domestic shrine (“the religious family,” following Kulp 1925, in Blanton 1994:6). In the Teotihuacan apartment compounds, each household had its own kitchen, storeroom, sleeping area, and service courtyard, but also its own ritual courtyard, where its members venerated the familial patron god. One possible explanation for this unusual arrangement in Mesoamerica is the strong multiethnic component of Teotihuacan society, addressed below.

Even though they were dwelling together, not all the families and supporters who shared domestic spaces were at the same socioeconomic level: there seems to be a hierarchical organization within each compound (Manzanilla 1996), as was evident in multifamily T-shaped compounds (similar to “augmented corporate households” called *é* in Sumerian) in Samarra, Ubaid, and Uruk times in Mesopotamia (Maisels 1990:112, 166). At Oztoyahualco 15B:N6W3—a typical Teotihuacan compound (Manzanilla 1993)—only one family revered the God of Thunder as a patron deity and had access to foreign raw materials and goods (jadeite, slate, allochthonous fauna, and so on); in its domestic sector, it had the largest ritual courtyard (Manzanilla 1996). Other families had Fire God sculptures, probably as patron gods. The poorest of all had a rabbit (Manzanilla 1993; Manzanilla 1996; Barba et al. 2007). In other compounds, monkeys, birds, canids, or bats may have been representations of patron gods. These are represented as small sculptures on top of temple models or on top of altars set in ritual courtyards, as well as in the preponderance of these animals in the set of zoomorphic figurines in each compound (Riego Ruiz 2005).

Corporate life within each apartment compound may be detected in certain kinds of activities that the “augmented corporate household” offered to the neighborhood or urban setting. With respect to Oztoyahualco 15B:N6W3, located in the northwestern periphery of the city, we detected the extensive application of stucco not only for the plastering of the compound, but also to areas surrounding it (Manzanilla 1993).

The Barrio Compounds

The hierarchical organization of apartment compounds is even greater in the barrio compounds, where buildings housing groups of different statuses are contiguous and arranged around the barrio ritual sector (Manzanilla 2003b). Much remains to be learned about the relationships among the people in these compounds: kin, servants, clients, cadet lineages, and so on.

There are many indicators of foreign neighborhoods at Teotihuacan, located in the periphery of the city (Millon 1973, 1992; Rattray 1987, 1988, 1989, 1993; Spence 1990, 1996; Gómez-

Chávez 1998, 2000), which I address below (Fig. 2.3). In contrast to ethnic barrios, neighborhoods where Teotihuacanos lived may have taken three different forms:

(a) Neighborhood centers (that is, barrio centers) with open three-temple plazas (Manzanilla 1997b:120), surrounded by apartment compounds where a particular craft activity predominates in each. This form is perhaps the earliest manifestation of the different groups of people that settled in the Teotihuacan Valley after the volcanic eruptions of the first century AD, and thus these barrio centers are evident in the oldest sector of the city, the northwest sector. In many sectors along the main axis of the city, these three-temple plazas were incorporated into larger compounds, such as the Western Plaza of the Street of the Dead Compound.

(b) Elite neighborhoods (such as La Ventilla) with formal architectural compounds for each barrio function—that is, cult, administration, craft activity, residence, and an open space (Gómez-Chávez et al. 2004). Excavations in the La Ventilla 92-94 sector by Cabrera and Gómez have given us additional data with respect to the spatial organization of this particular neighborhood, which includes a barrio temple, an administrative building (the Glyph Courtyard), the apartment compounds of common people, and a huge open space that for Gómez-Chávez et al. (2004:175–76) was a place for exchange, festivities, and the playing of ball games. They also propose that Group Five Prima, near the Moon Pyramid, may have had a large open space associated with a barrio temple. I would add two more sectors with these characteristics—Tepantitla to the northeast, and Teopancazco to the southeast—that may have functioned as barrio centers, with large open spaces for ball games and popular gatherings (Manzanilla 2006a), as we propose below.

(c) Multiethnic neighborhoods headed by noble “houses,” particularly evident in the southern periphery, such as Teopancazco (Manzanilla 2000, 2003c, 2006a, 2006b). This example will be discussed below.

At Teotihuacan, neighborhood centers are the seat of intermediate elites, as Elson and Covey (2006) describe them. They are dynamic social units in urban sites. Intermediate elites can shed light on the social organization of these units as well as on the transformational processes and the tensions in multiethnic settlements.

These intermediate elites may have been organized as noble “houses.” A “house” or *maison* is a large corporate group organized by shared residence, subsistence, production, origin, and ritual (Gillespie 2000a:1). Following Lévi-Strauss (1982:174), they may have cultivation, hunting, fishing, and gathering areas, perpetuated through the transmission of their name, titles, and goods. The social group called *maison* is represented by the house itself; by the relics, emblems, masks, dress, and so on; and by the hunting, gathering, and food-producing lands (Gillespie 2000a:3, 2000b:25–26).

They may have displayed *oikos* economies, in the sense that Pollock (2002:117ff.) proposed for Early Dynastic Mesopotamia, following Max Weber. In third millennium BC Mesopotamia, the economy was reorganized as a result of having so many people

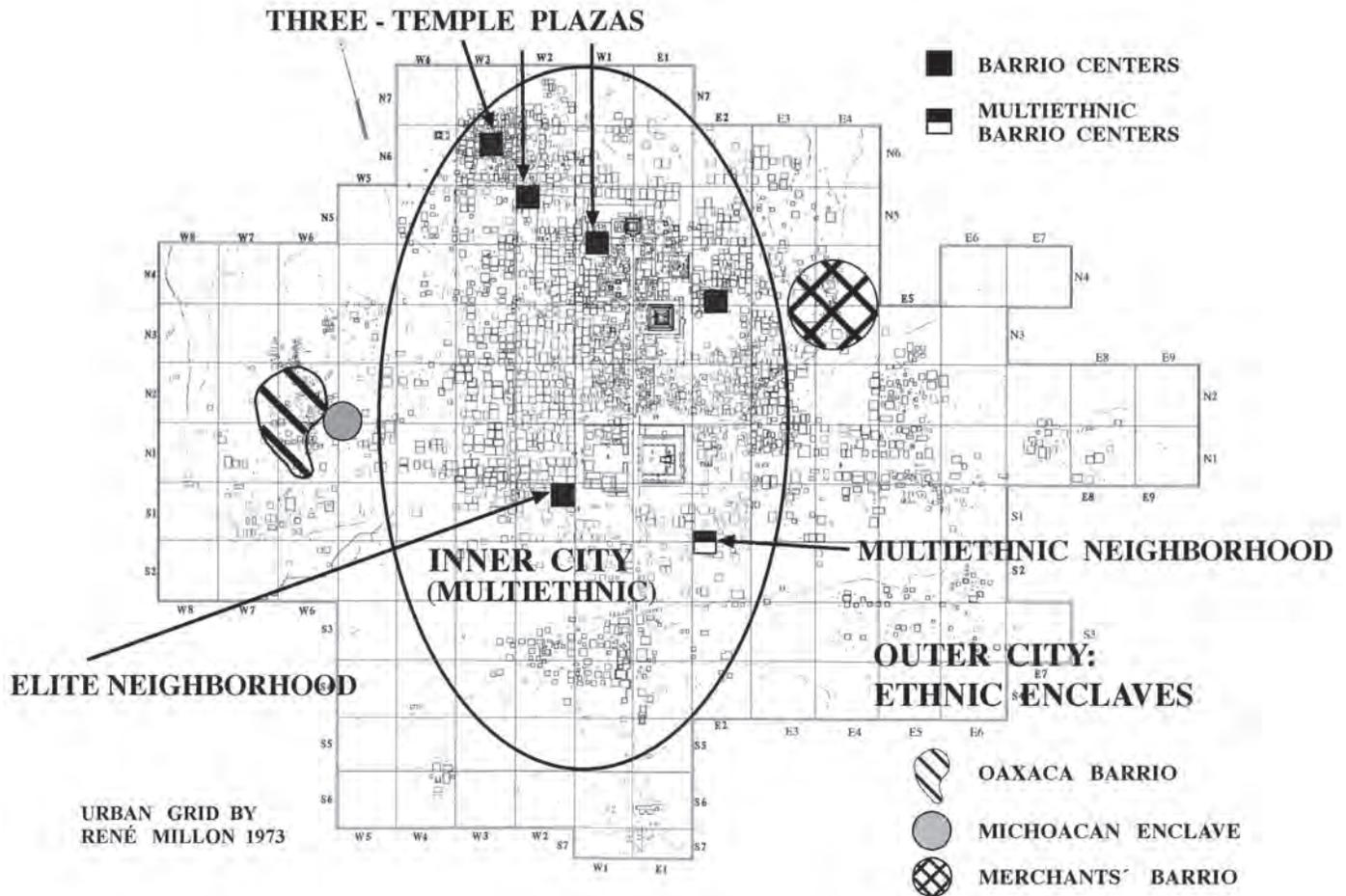


Figure 2.3. Foreign barrios in the periphery and Teotihuacano barrio centers in the inner city (drawing by Linda R. Manzanilla and Rubén Gómez-Jaimes; base map by René Millon 1973).

concentrated into cities. With less of their population residing in rural sites, tribute exaction diminished. The result was that the largest and wealthiest domestic units employed a substantial labor force of kin and non-kin domestic units (that is, a complex network of economically related units) to produce most of what was used or consumed. Pollock (2002:117–18) mentions extended families in coresidence, wealthy estates of public officials, temples, and royal palaces. These “great households” formed large socioeconomic units with workshops, storehouses, fields, orchards, flocks, managerial personnel, and dependent workforce. The personnel lived part of the time in the city and received food rations.

I propose that the noble “houses” of Teotihuacan settled in barrio centers, had *oikos* economies as described by Pollock (2002) for Mesopotamia, and integrated people and personnel who performed different functions. Expanding on what Gómez-Chávez et al. (2004:175ff.) proposed for La Ventilla, and adding a sector for the military personnel as well as an alignment of kitchens and storerooms, Teotihuacan neighborhood centers,

such as Teopanaczo (square S2E2 in Millon’s [1973] map), have seven components (Fig. 2.4):

1. The first component is the **ritual** sector, with (a) a larger plaza than any apartment compound known (275 m²), with an altar near the center, and (b) a large temple located to the east of the patio, with a sanctuary on top (ca. 57 m²) and façade to the west (Manzanilla 2006a). Chemical traces suggest processions of priests walking to and from the altar to the four cardinal points and up the temple (Pecci et al., in press), spilling organic liquids containing *Salvia* seeds (Martínez-Yrizar and Adriano-Morán 2006), as depicted in the famous mural painting found at the site (drawn by Adela Breton; Marquina 1922: ch. III, t. I, láms. 34 and 35; Cabrera Castro 1995:160) (Fig. 2.5).

Another ritual element in barrio centers that differs considerably from other contexts in the city are large displays of decapitated males associated with cinnabar, surrounding primary burials with theater-type censers (Manzanilla 2006a). We also recovered feasting debris, perhaps the remains of communal banquets on

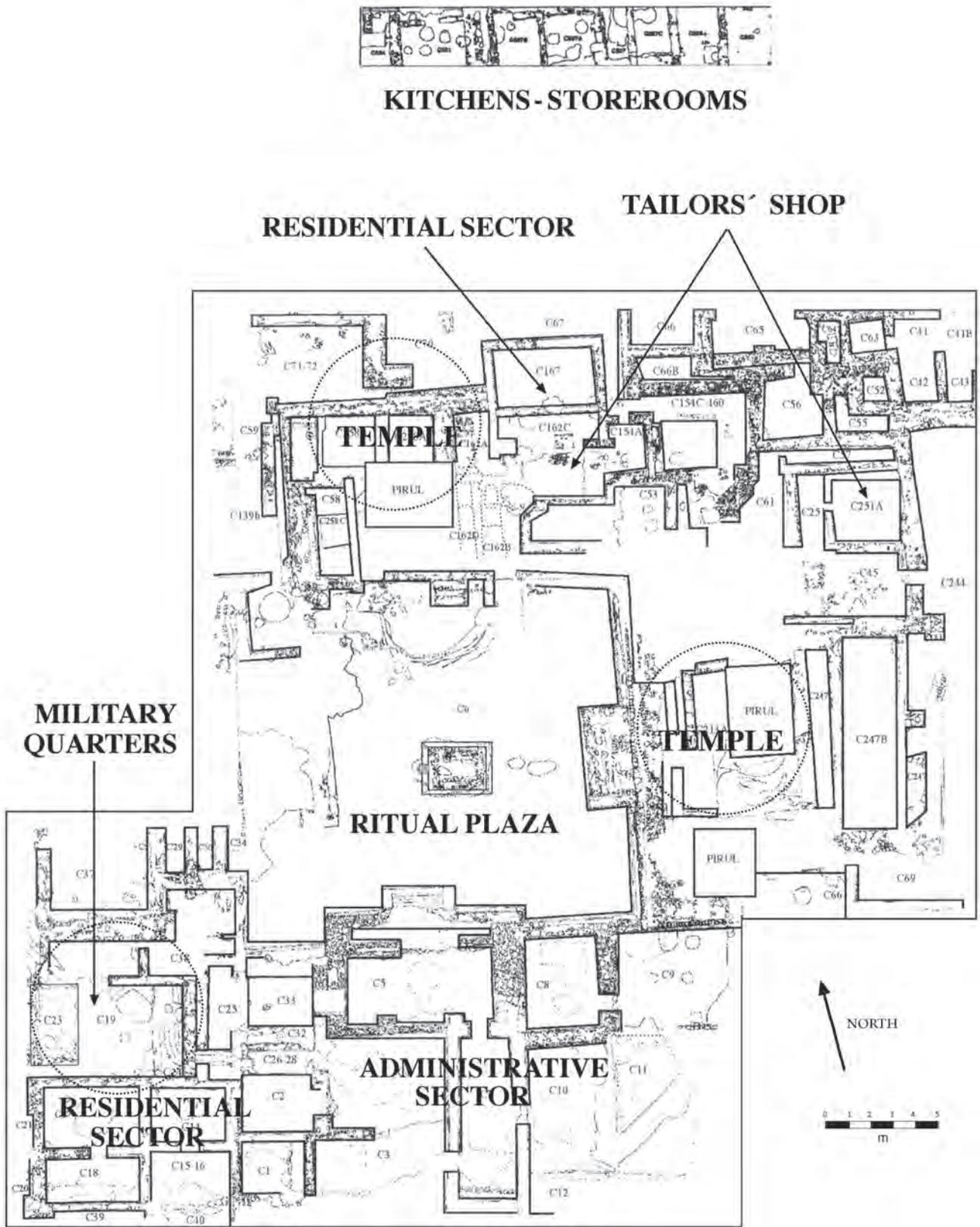


Figure 2.4. Functional sectors of the barrio center of Teopanazco, proposed by Manzanilla (base map by Linda R. Manzanilla, Claudia Nicolás, Agustín Ortiz, and César Fernández). See also Pecci 2000.

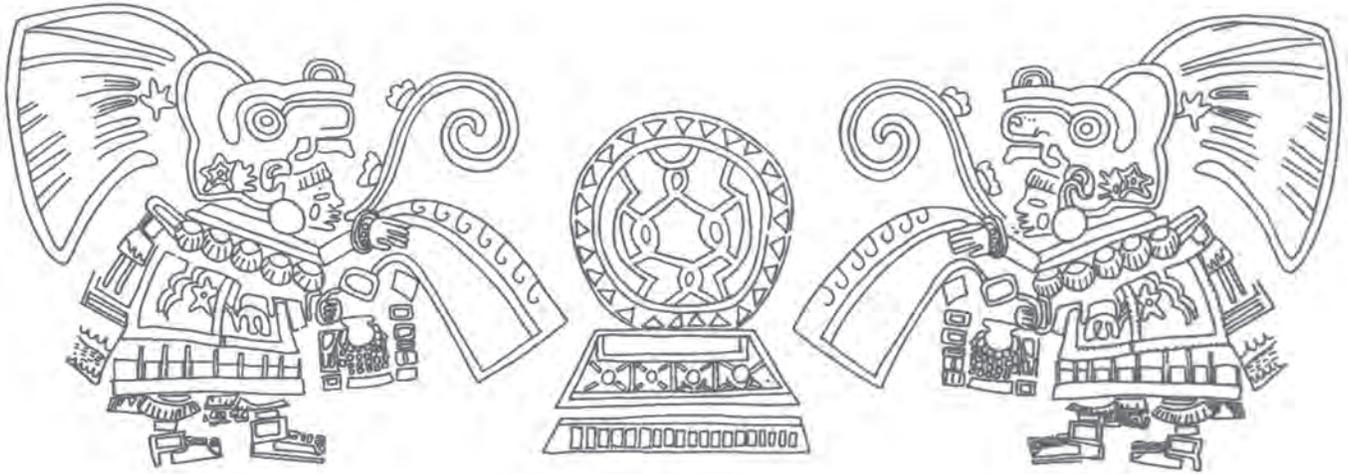


Figure 2.5. The ritual component of the barrio center of Teopancazco (Manzanilla 2006a). The main mural painting at Teopancazco (from Starr 1894; redrawn by César Fernández).

the fringes of the main plaza in which marine fish were eaten (identified by Edmundo Teniente [Instituto Politécnico Nacional] in Rodríguez Galicia 2006, 2007).

2. An **administrative** sector (located in the southern portion of the compound as well as the main plaza) where corporate groups, particularly craft representatives, meet with urban administrators to deliver the barrio products. Stamp seals occur here (Fig. 2.6), with iconography related to the main social units—the city, the state deity (the God of Thunder), the fire deity, the foreign groups (perhaps represented by a monkey seal)—and which may be used by different groups to differentiate from others their products or tribute (Fig. 2.7). Administrative devices may be related to round pottery objects called *tejos* as well as small trinkets of clay (Fig. 2.8), known as “game pieces.” These may be individual craftsmen identification symbols (most of the rooms, porticoes, and patios at Teopancazco have a set of roundels of the main size groups in different proportions), associated with the hierarchy of the personnel working in them (represented by the variations in size and weight), or measuring units for craft production (the three main sizes are the same as seen with the mica disks manufactured using the roundels as models) (Fig. 2.8). They may not be gaming pieces because they occur in most rooms of the neighborhood center, associated with the pottery roundels.

3. The third element is the specialized **craft** production of costumes and headdresses used by intermediate elites, represented by bone tools such as needles, pins, perforators, and awls (Fig. 2.9) (Padró Irizarri 2002; Padró and Manzanilla 2004; Manzanilla 2006b; Pérez Roldán 2005; Manzanilla et al., forthcoming); the remains of animals such as mammals (rabbit, deer) that provided hair and hide for costumes, as well as faces that could be removed from the animals and made into headdresses; marine fauna such as conch shells, crocodile and turtle plates, and crab fragments (Rodríguez Galicia 2006, 2007) attached to the cotton cloth

coming from the Gulf Coast; and different types of birds that provided feathers for headdresses. Human bodies may also have been processed, as we have found human bones that have been cooked, roasted, nibbled, cut, and transformed into instruments and masks (Torres Sanders et al. 2007). The symbolic codes transmitted by the attire of the nobles were specific to a particular neighborhood as identity symbols. Teopancazco is characterized by the “priest of the ocean” motif (see Kubler 1967).

In Teopancazco, the “tailors’ shops” are located in the northeastern and northern sectors between two possible temples, the eastern and northern.

4. The fourth component is a **residential** sector, which we believe houses the nobles that head the neighborhood. This sector is set originally between the two tailors’ shops.

5. The fifth are the living quarters for the **military** personnel of the neighborhood (Fig. 2.10), which in Teopancazco may be located in the southwestern portion of the compound, where military iconography (figurines dressed in military outfits accompany the burial of a male child about 8 years in age [Figs. 2.11, 2.12] and mural paintings occur with military males [see drawings in Cabrera Castro 1995]) is clustered.

6. The sixth component is an alignment of **kitchens** and storerooms set in the northern periphery of the barrio center (Pecci et al., in press), and devoted to feeding the craftsmen and military. The grinding stones in this alignment are the only ones that display maize phytoliths; the rest of the metates in the barrio center were devoted to craft production, for grinding masses of stucco, pigment, fibers, and lacquer (Manzanilla, Reyes, and Zurita 2006).

7. A large **open area** for festivities, exchange activities, and ball games (Gómez-Chávez et al. 2004). At Teopancazco, it is situated to the east, the only sector where there is a great wall delimiting the neighborhood center.

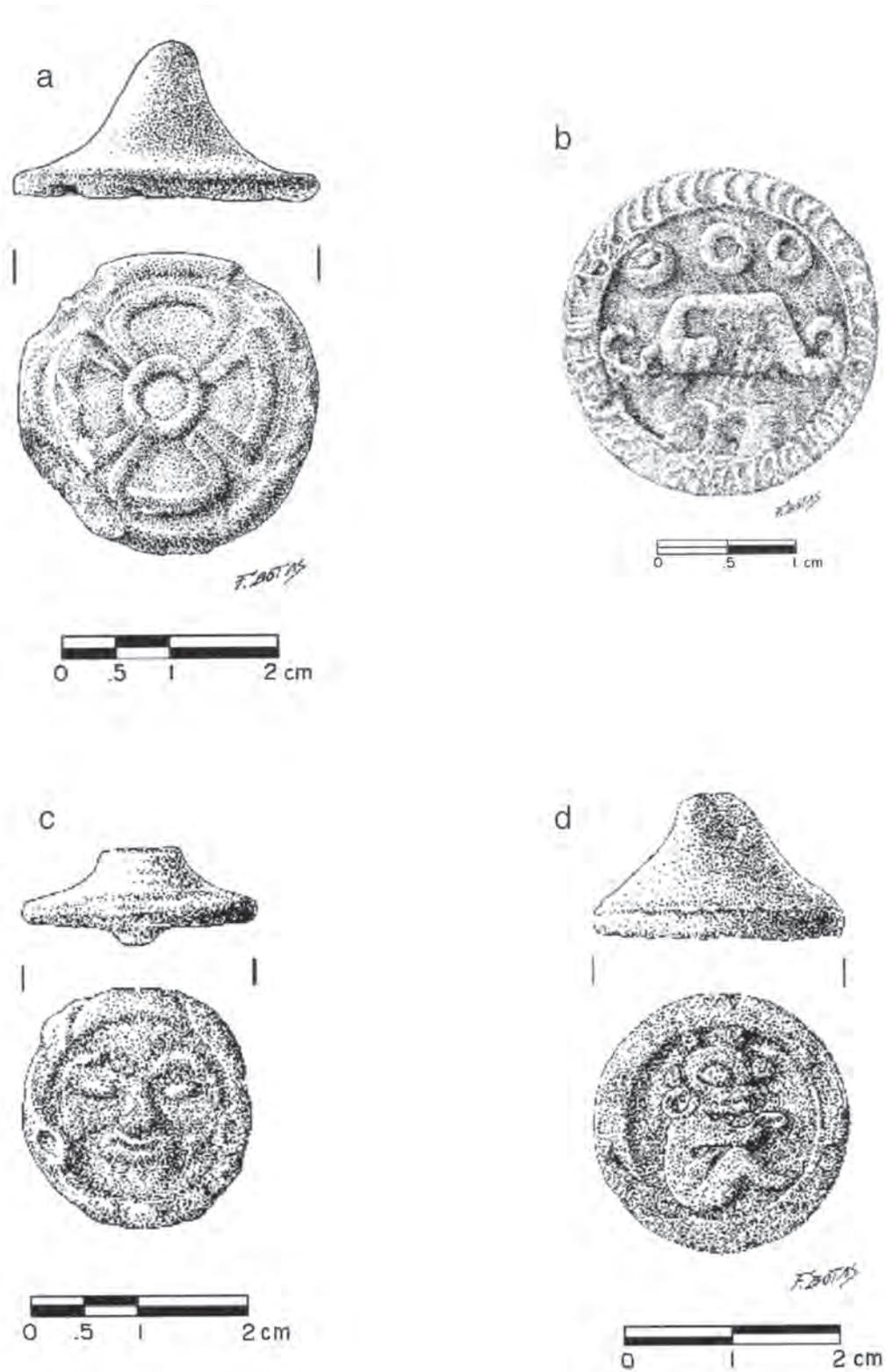


Figure 2.6. The administrative component of the Teopanczco barrio center (Manzanilla 2006a). *a*, four-petaled flower seal, probably the glyph of the city of Teotihuacan; *b*, God of Thunder's emblem seal; *c*, the Fire God seal from Teopanczco; *d*, a seal with a monkey figure, from Teopanczco (drawings by Fernando Botas).

In neighborhood centers located near the civic core of the city, the different functions may occur in separate compounds, as in La Ventilla 92-94. On the other hand, multiethnic neighborhood centers located in the southern periphery, such as Teopancazco, may include all these functions in separate sectors of the barrio center.

At Teopancazco we found evidence of a rite that involved decapitating males. Each head was placed inside a vessel, and then another vessel was placed on top to serve as a lid (Fig. 2.13). Some of the crania had cinnabar (Fig. 2.14), which sets them apart as very important people in this society, but also as part of minority groups (as Gazzola [2004:555] proposed). Most of these funerary vessels were set in pits, while others were set in a former *tablero-talud* temple, crowning the important burials of Tlamimilolpa times. These may have been rituals related to the ball game, perhaps as termination rituals for the Late Tlamimilolpa changes within the barrio center; these rituals involving sets of decapitated heads are not found in apartment compounds. The presence of cinnabar in many of them is important because in the Gulf Coast, some yokes, palms, and axes associated with the ball game and decapitation also have this mineral (Gazzola 2004:557). Thanks to the strontium isotope and stable isotope analyses, we know that most of the craftsmen and decapitated males were migrants from other parts of the central highlands or from the Gulf Coast (Solís-Pichardo et al. 2007; Morales and Cifuentes 2008).

Thus, La Ventilla 92-94, Tepantitla, perhaps the Group Five Prima, Yayahuala, and Teopancazco may have been distinct barrios. These have large congregational courtyards that are much larger than the largest courtyards in residential compounds such as Tetitla or Ozttoyahualco 15B:N6W3. They lack food preparation areas typical of multifamily compounds. These barrio centers may have had the leadership of a powerful “house” that organized not only communal rites, but also very special crafts, such as the production of costumes and headdresses for the Teotihuacan elite.

With our extensive excavations at Teopancazco (Manzanilla 2003a, 2003c; Padró and Manzanilla 2004), and due to the interdisciplinary nature of our project, we are able to glimpse a phenomenon not seen before: the increasing disarticulation of the corporate structure of Teotihuacan during Xolalpan times when certain powerful “houses” fostered direct relations with craftsmen of other regions in Mesoamerica, such as the Gulf Coast, without the intervention or mediation of the central authority of the Teotihuacan state or the Merchants’ Barrio that housed merchants from the Gulf Coast (Rattray 1988, 1989). The elaboration of elite attire decorated with products from Veracruz allowed these powerful “house” heads unprecedented economic power, and these more liberal actions allowed them to avoid the corporate strategy (Blanton et al. 1996), and instead employ an exclusionary strategy that increasingly pulled apart the fragile corporate tissue of the state until the collapse.



Figure 2.7. Bundle representations in mural paintings (redrawn by Rubén Gómez-Jaimes).

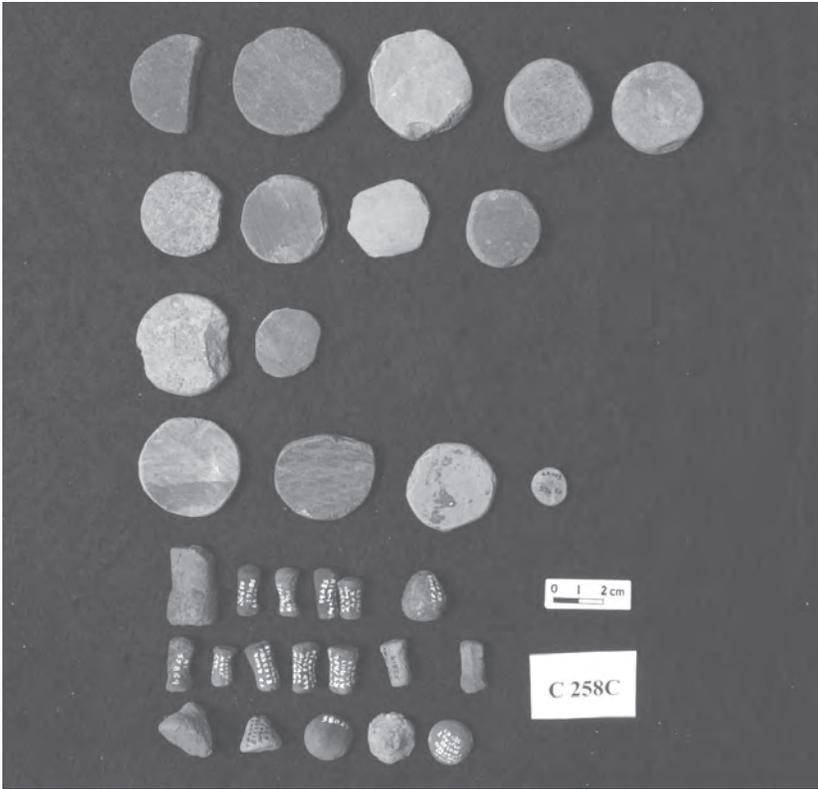


Figure 2.8. Pottery roundels (*tejos*) and trinkets, perhaps “tokens,” from Teopancazco (photograph by Rafael Reyes).



Figure 2.9. Tailors' implements found at the Teopancazco workshop (Pérez Roldán 2005; Padró Irizarri 2002; Padró and Manzanilla 2004; photograph by Rafael Reyes).

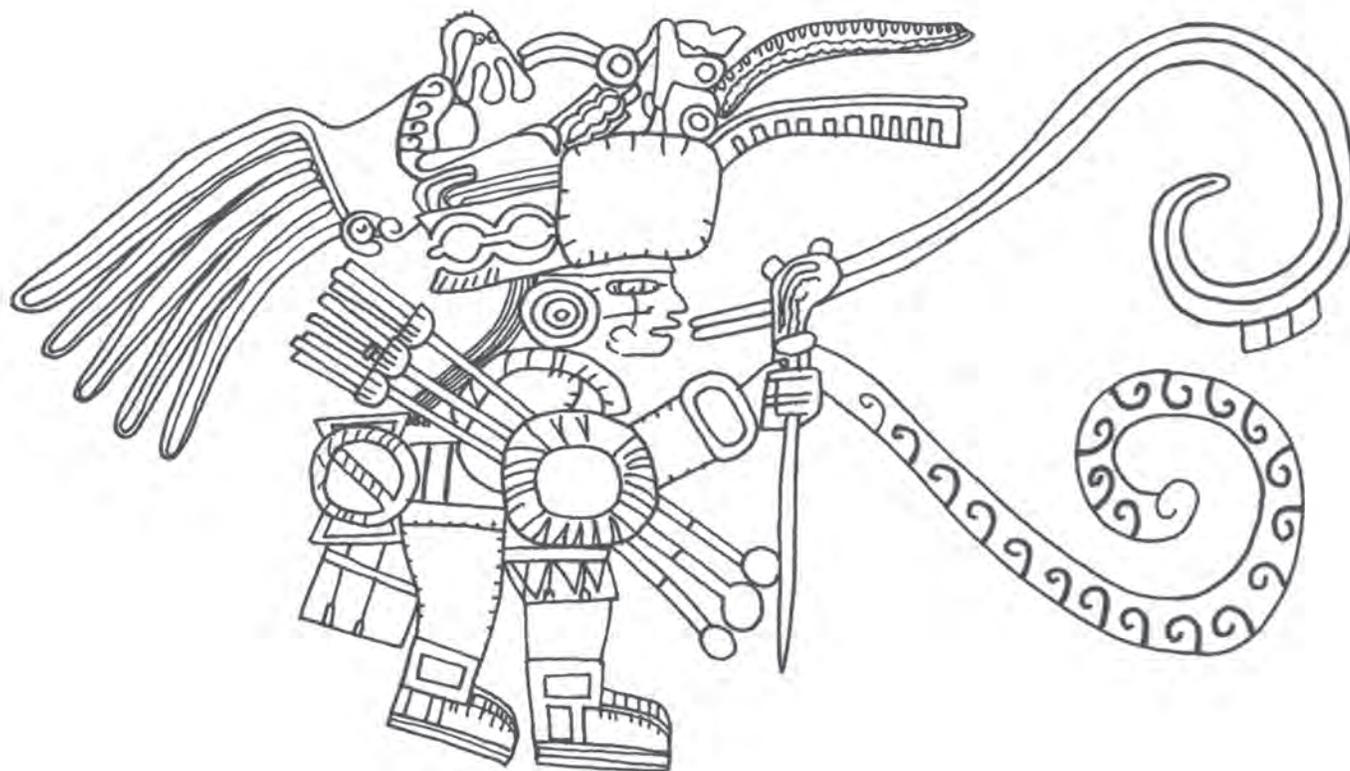


Figure 2.10. Military attire of the Teopancazco neighborhood, perhaps the barrio guard (Starr 1894; redrawn by César Fernández).

Indicators of Specialization at Teotihuacan

I see four different scales in which craft production took place (Fig. 2.15):

1. The apartment compounds where everyday needs were met.
2. Extensive craft sectors in the periphery of the site to produce what the urban population needed.
3. Specialized identity markers (such as costumes and head-dresses) crafted in barrio sectors under the supervision of noble “houses.”
4. Specific crafts under the control of the rulers in embedded workshops (mica objects, darts, theater-type censer plaques, perhaps jadeite adornments, travertine [*tecali* and *ónix* adornments and sculptures]).

In most apartment compounds, craft activities were developed as part-time tasks. Edge rejuvenation and prismatic blade extraction from obsidian cores were carried out in many compounds.

Most of the craft production sectors for the urban dwellers seem to have been placed on the city’s periphery. There is a large obsidian production sector in the northeastern periphery (San Martín de las Pirámides’ eastern sector), possibly because the obsidian mines of Otumba and Pachuca lie to the northeast of the city itself. No Classic period obsidian workshop has been

excavated until now, so we know practically nothing about the organization of obsidian production within the city.

In the eastern periphery lie lapidary production areas, such as the one studied by Turner (1987) in Tecópac (N3E5), where jadeite, serpentine, quartz, quartzite, *tecali*, shell, and mica were converted into different small objects, suggesting that most of these raw materials may have come from the east. Basalt grinding stones may have been manufactured in several sectors, except the western (Millon 1973).

Pottery production workshops that seem to be located in the southern periphery, at sites such as Tlajinga 33 (Widmer 1987, 1991; Storey and Widmer 1989), take advantage of the clay sources in this sector. Lime plaster production sectors are placed to the northwest (Manzanilla 1993), presumably because the limestone areas are located in the Tula Valley (Díaz-Oyarzábal 1980).

Some production areas changed with respect to the type of craft produced, as was the case for Tlajinga 33, which was converted from a lapidary production sector in Tlamimilolpa times to a San Martín Orange manufacturing area (bowls and jars) during Late Xolalpan times (Widmer 1987, 1991; Storey and Widmer 1989). These changes occurred perhaps when some elite barrio centers such as La Ventilla took over the organization of specialized lapidary production for elite costumes.



Figure 2.11. High-rank attire of Teopancazco, perhaps a ball game player. Figurine found in Burial 4, a male child (drawing by Fernando Botas).

In multiethnic barrio centers, we seem to have evidence of full-time craftsmen, perhaps of foreign origin, devoted to manufacturing specialized sumptuary goods such as costumes, headdresses, and personal paraphernalia. We view Teopancazco as a site where we have a large variety of raw materials coming from the Gulf Coast:

(a) a great variety of fish from the coastal lagoons: horse mackerel, catfish, bass, shark and others (Teniente 2006; Rodríguez Galicia 2006, 2007).

(b) local birds, such as cardinal (*Richmondia cardinalis*), bobwhite (*Colinus virginianus*), hawk (*Bubo* sp.), duck (*Anas* sp.), waterfowl (*Fulica americana*), and turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*), as well as some from the Gulf Coast (heron [*Anhinga anhinga*]) (Rodríguez Galicia 2006).

(c) crocodile, armadillo, turtles (*Kinosternon* sp. and *Pseudemys scripta*), crabs, and marine mollusks, these last from the Gulf Coast, the Caribbean, and the Pacific (Rodríguez Galicia 2006; Villanueva 2006).

We also have a large number of bone tools (pins, needles, awls, perforators), as we mentioned before; these implements were concentrated only in two sectors of the compound, together with the animals that provided the feathers, hides, and plaques. Padró Irizarri (2002) proposed that the regular shape and narrow diameter of the eye of the needles suggest they were used to sew with cotton thread or animal hair (particularly rabbits).

At Teopancazco, weasel and some canid crania show signs of having been detached from the facial portion, perhaps to be set in the frontal portion of headdresses (Valadez and Rodríguez 2004).

We also have pottery from the Gulf Coast, particularly Orange lacquer vessels, Potrero cream on brown, and Terrazas lustrous ware. There are examples of complete bowls made with local clays and lacquered with possible *Salvia* seeds (Manzanilla 2006a: Fig. 7) to make them look as if they were coming from the Gulf Coast. There are some examples of complete foreign vessels with red on brown and negative designs, with pastes coming from Ocotelulco in Tlaxcala, according to the neutron activation (Speakman and Glascock 2006; Neff 2006). Riego Ruiz (2005) found an unusual proportion of foreign figurines, particularly from the Gulf Coast, at Teopancazco, which may underscore the presence of two or more ethnic groups living near each other in the same compound.

The six formal burials in one of the “tailors” sectors of the compound were all adults, and when identified to sex, they proved to be males (Torres and de Angeles, pers. comm.). Some of them (numbers 15 and 17, who were migrants, as seen in the strontium 87/86 ratios) (Schaaf and Solís 2006) had needles and instruments for sewing and attaching objects to the cotton *mantas* brought from the Gulf Coast. We thus have data that they may have been foreign craftsmen specialized in making elite attire.

The manufacture of elite dress may have been a hallmark of barrio centers, and Teopancazco may not have been an exception. Even though Gómez has stressed stone working as the main craft activity at La Ventilla 92-94, the profusion of bone instruments—particularly needles—found there (Terrazas 2007) suggests that other attire was being manufactured, where lapidary platelets/plaques, beads, and pendants were sewn to the cloth.

Indicators of Ethnicity at Teotihuacan

As a result of René Millon et al.’s (1973) mapping project, it has become clear that Teotihuacan had sectors of resident foreigners (Rattray 1987). The Oaxaca Barrio named Tlailotlacan to the southwest (Spence 1990, 1996; Rattray 1993), the Merchants’ Barrio housing people from the Gulf Coast, in Mezquititla and Xocotitla to the east (Rattray 1988, 1989), and the Michoacán sector to the west (Gómez-Chávez 1998) were all situated on



Figure 2.12. Figurine representing a warrior with costume, found in the burial of a male child (drawings by Fernando Botas).

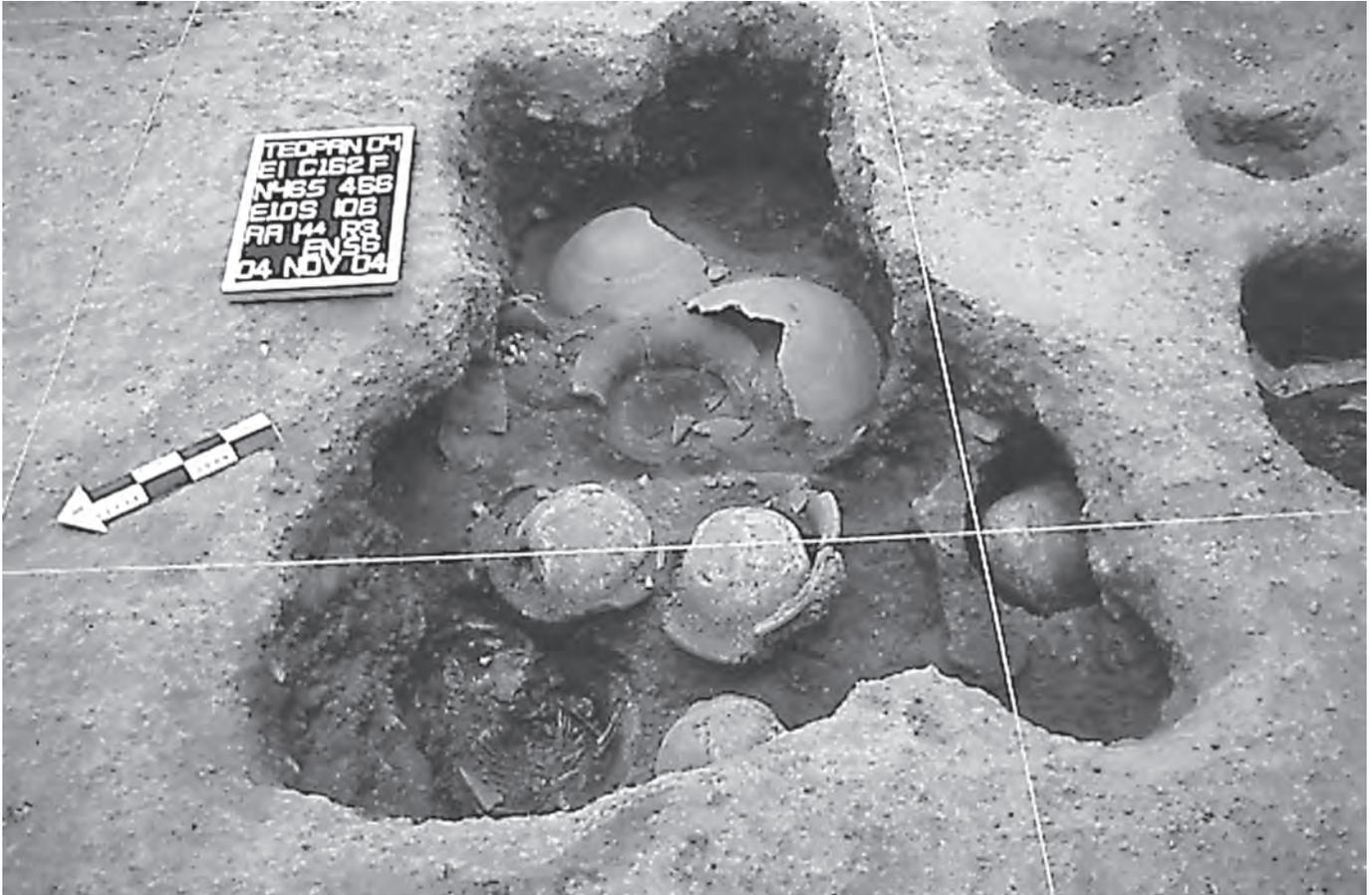


Figure 2.13. Extraordinary rituals in barrio centers such as Teopancazco (large displays of decapitated male individuals, some of which were set in this pit together with newborn babies) (photo by Linda R. Manzanilla).

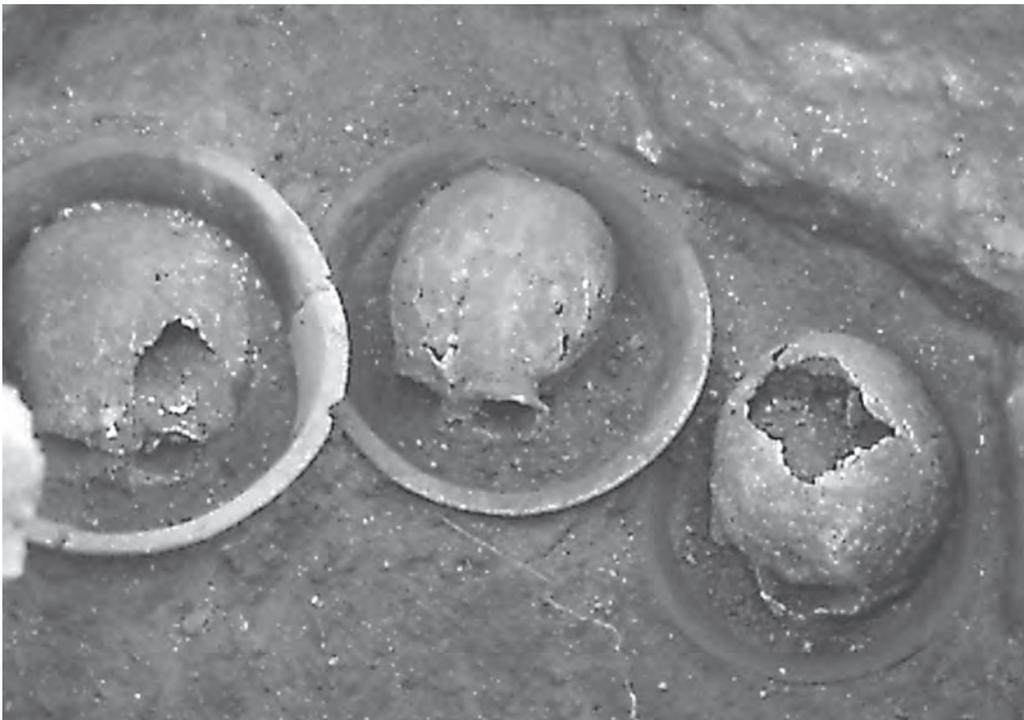


Figure 2.14. Detail of heads in vessels (photograph by Linda R. Manzanilla).

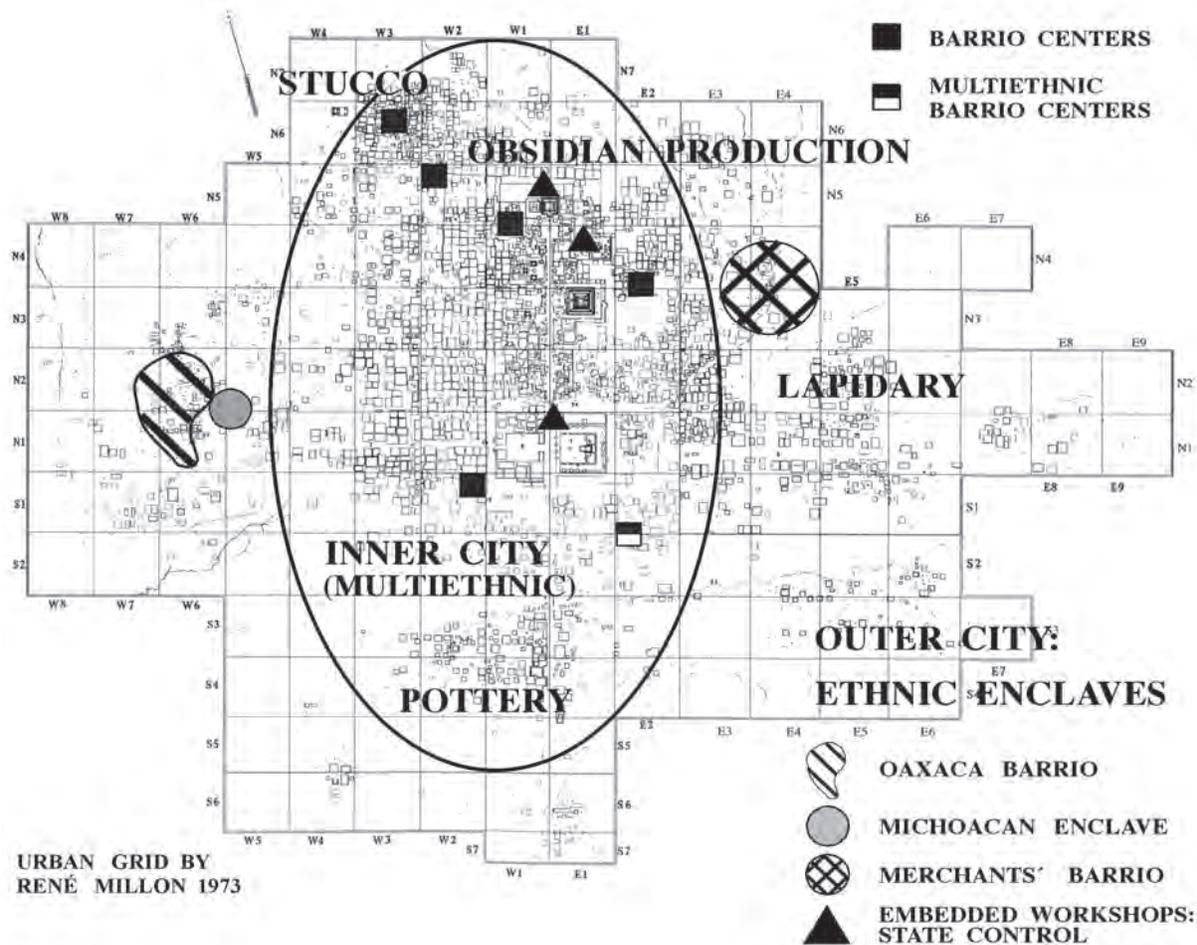


Figure 2.15. Craft production sectors in the city (drawing by Linda R. Manzanilla and Rubén Gómez-Jaimes; base map by René Millon 1973).

the periphery of the site, where incoming people first came into contact with the city. These sectors display either house forms that contrast sharply with the Teotihuacan standard (as seen in the Merchants' Barrio) or funerary and ritual practices that differ from those that characterize the city (for example, urn burials in the Oaxaca Barrio, or multiple burials in shafts in the Michoacán sector). There are probably other differences (see Blanton 1994), such as the way they prepare food and the ingredients they use (different cuisine), the costumes they wear, and perhaps the composition of their households (Manzanilla 2007a).

With strontium isotope analysis, we have proposed that the Merchants' Barrio housed people who came to the city from two sectors of the Gulf Coast and stayed only for a time (while they delivered and procured goods) before returning to their homeland (Price et al. 2000). In contrast, people from the Oaxaca Barrio came originally from the central valleys of Oaxaca; they formed a family that maintained some canonical elements of their culture

of origin, but assimilated the Teotihuacan diet and form of living. In typical Teotihuacan apartment compounds, such as Oztoyalco 15B:N6W3, we have clear traces of what Teotihuacanos ate, how they prepared food, how they conducted rituals in their ceremonial courtyards, and what their standard funerary practices were (Manzanilla 1993; Manzanilla 1996; Manzanilla and Barba 1990; Barba et al. 2007). With strontium 87/86 analysis (Price et al. 2000), we have also detected one individual living at Oztoyalco who was not local, someone who may have come from the Gulf Coast. This small multiethnic component in Teotihuacan apartment compounds is enlarged when we look at barrio centers.

The foreign presence in multiethnic neighborhoods may be detected in anomalous offerings or burial practices. At Teopan-cazgo, by AD 350 a large set of termination rituals was practiced to consecrate the end of the Tlamimilolpa period: each of the approximately 25 decapitated males had his cranium placed in

Table 2.1 Courtyard and temple sizes.

	Main Courtyard (m ²)	Main Temple Room (m ²)
<i>Residential Compounds</i>		
Oztoyahualco 15B	25	10
Tlamimilolpa	ca. 7	
Tetitla	ca. 125	ca. 40
Yayahuala	ca. 168	ca. 54
<i>Possible Barrio Centers</i>		
Teopancazco	ca. 275	ca. 57
Tepantitla	ca. 182	ca. 153
Zacuala	ca. 224	ca. 224
La Ventilla 92-94	ca. 400	ca. 169

a San Martín Orange ceramic basin, topped with a bowl or cover (Manzanilla 2006a: Fig. 9), a practice paralleled only at Cerro de las Mesas, Veracruz (Drucker 1943). Other rites involved breaking a large set of vessels, some of them large polychrome tripods, with symbols drawn from Teotihuacan state iconography (tassel headdresses) (Manzanilla 2006a: Fig. 8), including the capture of a Gulf Coast heron by a serpent (Manzanilla 2000, 2003c, 2006a: Fig. 5), a motif that suggests bringing in a labor force, raw materials, and goods from the Gulf Coast to this particular barrio compound.

These termination rituals may have also marked a change in Teotihuacan society, with less stress on diversity, in the way ethnic groups were woven into the Teotihuacan fabric; a change in urban planning as “urban renewal” took place (the retraction of the Teotihuacan sphere of influence); and possibly increasing tension between the corporate structure of the Teotihuacan government and the network organization of the important houses that ruled the barrios.

Many of the Teopancazco craftsmen, as well as the decapitated male skulls with cinnabar found in the large termination ritual of Late Tlamimilolpan/Early Xolalpan times, were migrants, as shown in the strontium isotope analysis (Solís-Pichardo et al. 2006, 2007; Schaaf and Solís 2006).

Indicators of Hierarchy at Teotihuacan

Following González Licón (2003), we may address the indicators of residential hierarchy by reviewing: access to resources; the location, size, and form of architectural features such as compounds; raw materials, decoration, and provenience of artifact assemblages; differences in sumptuary goods in burials, and energy expenditure and heterogeneity of funerary patterns; and health conditions.

Access to Basic Resources

When we consider the presence/absence of botanical and faunal resources, as well as exogenous raw materials, we conclude that the differences in access are very slight between Teotihuacan compounds. Nearly all have access to maize, squash, beans, amaranth, chenopods, dog, turkey, rabbits, hares, deer, and waterfowl, but an exception is Tlajinga 33, where Storey (1992) has suggested freshwater fish and turkey eggs were consumed as crisis food in Late Xolalpan. Leaving this exception aside, even low-status compounds such as Oztoyahualco 15B:N6W3 have a very balanced diet, as burials and their isotopic values show (Civera 1993; Manzanilla et al. 2000). Some residential compounds may have had access to allochthonous fruits and plants such as tobacco, avocado, and cotton (Manzanilla 1996).

Access to Sumptuary Goods

Nearly all compounds have decorated tripod vessels and mural paintings, but they vary in quantity and quality. Sempowski (1987:117) has compared the number of funerary offerings, the type of objects, and the quantity of exotic goods at La Ventilla B, Zacuala Patios, and Tetitla to understand hierarchy. This approach, as well as a holistic view of access to resources and goods, and functional differences between compounds, should be undertaken to obtain the whole picture.

Architecture

With respect to architecture at Teotihuacan, the large apartment compounds near the Street of the Dead seem to display the best mural paintings. There are exceptions though (particularly Tlamimilolpa). When we differentiate residential compounds and barrio centers, we have to focus on courtyard and temple sizes (Manzanilla et al., forthcoming) (see Table 2.1). Wealthier residential compounds and barrio centers have larger main courtyards and temples, with the exception of Teopancazco's main temple rooms.

Hierarchical Structure

In the apartment compounds, one household seems to have been the most active in bonding the household group to the urban hierarchy. At Oztoyahualco 15B:N6W3, this is seen in Household 3, linked to the God of Thunder cult (Tlálóc vases, Tlálóc representations on covers with a handle), the richest burials, and foreign fauna (Manzanilla 1993, 1996).

Access to jadeite, mica, and slate seems to have been controlled by the Teotihuacan state. We now know that two compounds in the city—Xalla and the Viking Group—had 90% of the mica (Rosales de la Rosa 2004). Nevertheless, even the poorest apartment compound, such as Oztoyahualco 15B:N6W3, had access to these materials, but in very small amounts. With respect to marine shells, the difference also lies in the quantity and the

proportion of Pacific versus Atlantic shell species (Manzanilla 1996).

Certain burials in each compound had very rich offerings. At Oztoyahualco, Burial 8 was exceptional for it contained a male adult (twenty-two years of age with an intentionally deformed skull associated with an impressive theater-type incense burner) who was perhaps a family head (Manzanilla and Carreón 1991).

Theater-type censers were used profusely at Xolalpan (where they are found in the altar and in a western courtyard) and Tlamimilolpa (where they are grouped around Burial 4 and kept in caches, ready for ritual use). Decorated tripods are also common at Xolalpan and Tlamimilolpa (Linné 1934, 1942), but very rare—though present—at Oztoyahualco 15B:N6W3 (Manzanilla 1993). One difference between these compounds lies in the presence of Maya fine wares in the western portion of Xolalpan and in the central part of Tlamimilolpa, possibly due to their proximity to the Merchants' Barrio. Other imported wares, such as Thin Orange and Granular Ware, are present in all compounds.

Stratification in Teotihuacan society has been seen through various datasets (from variables such as room size, use of space, decoration, construction techniques, burials, and offerings), generating a model that sees many levels and clear-cut social distinctions (Millon 1976, 1981; Sempowski 1987, 1994; Cowgill 1992), not having recognized the difference between multifunctional barrio centers (such as Teopancazco) and apartment compounds. Another model sees a whole range of slight socioeconomic differences between social groups that may reflect a variety of statuses within compounds, with multiple opportunities for achievement and thus a more complex panorama than stated before (Manzanilla 1996; see also Pasztory 1988).

Our point is that Teotihuacan society displayed a diversity of elite and non-elite social groups where ethnic, social, and professional differences were woven in a complex fabric, without sharply defined classes (Manzanilla 1996, 2006a).

Final Remarks

Even though the famous Teotihuacan grid may give the impression of a single integrated settlement, the city seems more like a site with multiple nuclei. In this chapter I have stressed a distinction not made before, a distinction between residential compounds and multifunctional barrio centers where intermediate urban elites may have organized specialized elite craft production in a multiethnic environment. The size of the main ritual courtyard and temple, as well as the presence or absence of food preparation activity areas and the profusion of craft activities and special funerary practices and burials, help to distinguish these two types of compounds from each other.

Multiethnicity is present in all the compounds at Teotihuacan, but in different percentages. Foreign supporters are present in Teotihuacan apartment compounds, but migrants to the city are particularly evident in foreign barrios and peripheral barrio centers.

The degree of specialization in craft production may be differentiated in apartment compounds and barrio centers. Some apartment compounds, such as Oztoyahualco 15B:N6W3, show non-specialized craft activities, together with some group specialization such as stucco burnishing and finishing. We suspect that its inhabitants may have had relatives in villages in the northern Teotihuacan Valley and in the Tula Valley, where limestone was procured, and which furnished some of the fauna found in the compound. The relationship between city and villages is yet to be studied.

There are peripheral neighborhoods, such as Tlajinga 33, that may have had full-time specialists, particularly in Late Xolalpan times. Barrio centers such as La Ventilla and Teopancazco may have had full-time craftsmen to craft elite paraphernalia, but at Teopancazco, we have found that this labor force mostly came from the Gulf Coast, and provided many animals and goods directly to the Teotihuacan rich who fostered this barrio (Fig. 2.16). La Ventilla 92-94, near the core of the city, has separate compounds to fulfill diverse functions: the ritual compound, the administrative building, and the craft production and living quarters. Teopancazco, more peripheral, has these three major functions clustered in one compound, adjacent to a vast open space for communal activities.

Hierarchy is best expressed in the location of the structures near the Street of the Dead, the size of the compound and its courtyard, the profusion and complexity of mural paintings, and the proportion of foreign raw materials controlled by the state.

Beyond neighborhoods, there seem to have been four large sectors in the city (Fig. 2.17), as the *campan* in Tenochtitlan. My impression is that the northwestern sector of the city had birds of prey as their emblem; the northeastern sector had jaguars and goggled figures; the southeastern, serpents; and the southwestern, coyotes and canids (Manzanilla 2007b). These emblems are reproduced on the Las Colinas vessel (Linné 1942). Perhaps these were the sectors from which the four principal ruling lineages came (Manzanilla 2001, 2002a, 2002b, 2007b). The two sectors in the south may have a greater multiethnic composition than the northern and more traditional sectors.

Teotihuacan displays a complex web of ethnic and social differences woven originally into a corporate structure that tried to harmonize them. Nevertheless, the increasing detachment of the Teotihuacan state with respect to allochthonous good procurement, and the seizing of this task by the powerful intermediate elites in some barrios, tore down the corporate structure, and enhanced the competition between houses for elite good production. This phenomenon reminds us of what Elson and Covey (2006:14) wrote: "Paradoxically, the intermediate elite enables state administration, while its success and proliferation may promote the breakup of centralized administration into less-integrated political forms."

The presence of a large variety of animals and goods from the Gulf Coast at Teopancazco, but also from Tlaxcala, may show that sooner or later, other centers in these regions escaped from Teotihuacan's control as the corporate structure collapsed.

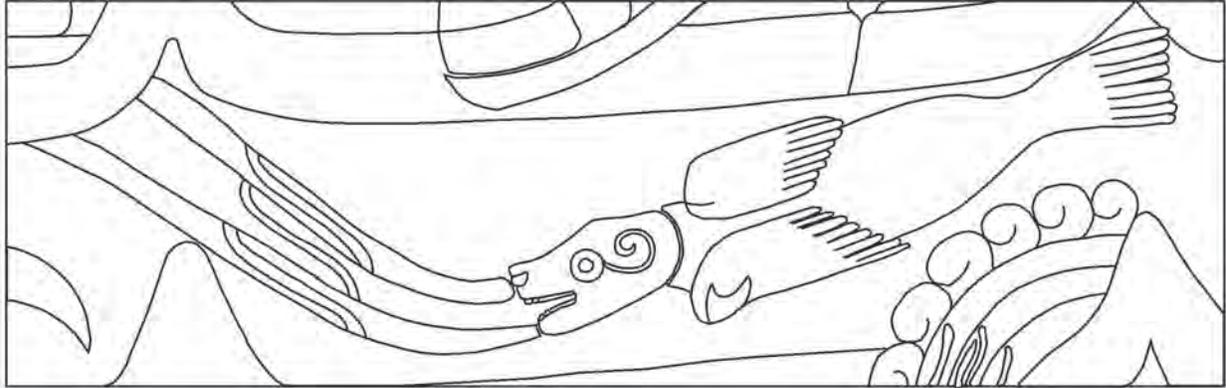


Figure 2.16. The fish as a possible emblem for the noble “house” of Teopanacazco (represented in the Mythological Animals’ mural painting) (figure redrawn by R. Gómez-Jaimes).

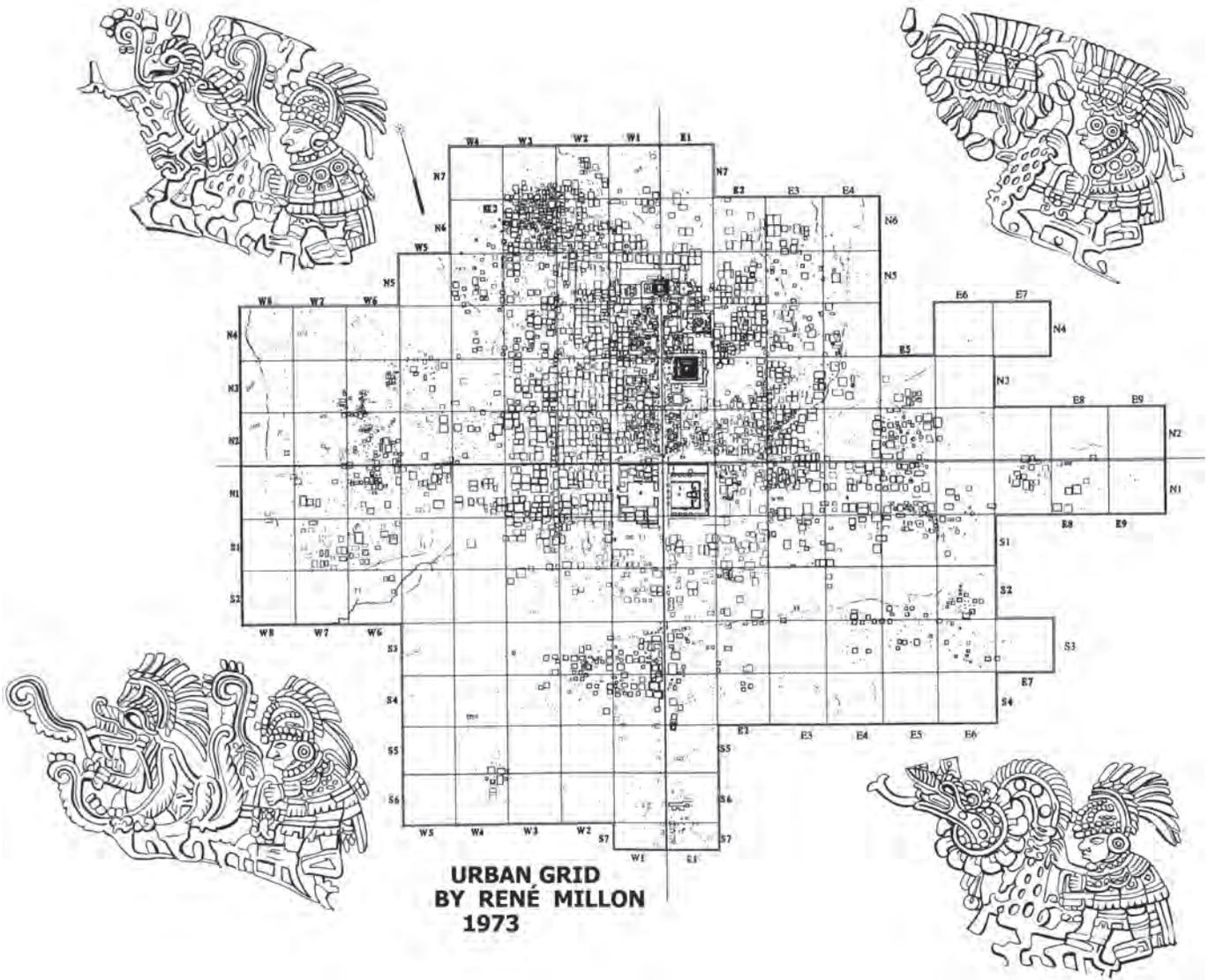


Figure 2.17. The proposed four sectors of the city (involved in the co-rulership) (Manzanilla 2007; base map of Teotihuacan by René Millon 1973; redrawn by L.R. Manzanilla, R. Gómez-Jaimes, and C. Fernández).

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