

THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF MESOAMERICAN BIOARCHAEOLOGY

Edited by Vera Tiesler

Cover image: Skull wall, Mayan ruins of Chichen Itza, Yucatan, Mexico,
North America

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THE MULTIETHNIC POPULATION OF A TEOTIHUACAN NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER

Bioarchaeological, Archaeometric, and Ancient DNA Analyses

Linda R. Manzanilla-Naim

Throughout the ancient world, cities are places of specialization, interaction, and scenarios of a new way of life not found in villages or towns. In particular, large urban developments are rare, and constitute places of important economic and political power, as well as symbolic importance. We may cite Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and, of course, Teotihuacan and Tenochtitlan in Mexico.

In Central Mexico, Teotihuacan is the first large city, which constructed itself as one of the archetypic *Tollan* (Manzanilla 1997). Tollan-Teotihuacan attracted people from various regions of Mesoamerica, a fact replicated by the later Tollans: Tollan-Chollolan or Cholula and Tollan-Xicocotitlan or Tula. And this heterogeneity of a population of ca. 125,000 persons would become one of the hallmarks of this exceptional city.

Teotihuacan covered a surface of ca. 20 km², and one of its main characteristics, brilliantly delineated by René Millon (1973), was its orthogonal urban grid; the city may have been divided in four districts or sectors (Manzanilla 2009, 2017a) that housed an inner ring of ca. 22 neighborhoods (Froese et al. 2014), and an outer ring of three main ethnic peripheral neighborhoods.

This settlement was the capital of a peculiar type of state, which Manzanilla has called: "an octopus type" (Manzanilla 2017a), in which the city is the coordination head, and the ally sites set in corridors, the tentacles. The huge urban site was surrounded by rural settlements throughout the Basin of Mexico, in an anomalous settlement pattern (Sanders et al. 1979).

The metropolis of the Tlamimilolpa (AD 200–350) and Xolalpan (AD 350–550/570) phases had a strict urban grid oriented to 15 degrees northeast, and it was possibly divided into four districts, from which Manzanilla proposes that the co-rulers of Teotihuacan came from (Manzanilla 2009, 2017a). As has been said before, two different rings may be detected in this city: an outer ring where the "ethnic neighborhoods" were located (Manzanilla 2012a:57); the Oaxaca Barrio or Tlailotlacan (Ortega-Cabrera 2014; Spence 1988, 1992, 1996; Rattray 1993) occupied the West Avenue, and constituted the largest minority in the metropolis; the Merchants

The
Barrio (Rattray 1987, 1988, 1989, 1993),
two different sectors of the Gulf Coast
Michoacan in West Mexico (Gómez
in the western portion of the city.

These ethnic neighborhoods were
different from those of the *Teotihuacan*
or under altars. People from Oaxaca
in extended position, together with
glyphs; the *Michoacanos* excavated s
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An Interdisciplinary

My interdisciplinary project in th
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fostered multi-specialized migrant
addresses for the intermediate elite
Through analyses that involved pal
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Barrio (Rattray 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990) was located to the east, and housed merchants from two different sectors of the Gulf Coast (Price et al. 2000); and a small group of people from Michoacan in West Mexico (Gómez-Chávez 1998) that was based in Structure 19 in El Cuartel, in the western portion of the city.

These ethnic neighborhoods were first detected due to their particular funerary practices different from those of the *Teotihuacanos*, who set down their dead in pits in a flexed position or under altars. People from Oaxaca built tombs with chambers, and the bodies were set in an extended position, together with funerary urns, and occasionally with stelae with Zapotec glyphs; the *Michoacanos* excavated shafts for multiple burials; the *Veracruzanos* preferred secondary or partial burials (Manzanilla and Serrano 1999).

An Interdisciplinary Approach to a Multiethnic Neighborhood Center of Teotihuacan

My interdisciplinary project in the multiethnic neighborhood center of Teopancazco (Manzanilla 2006, 2009, 2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2017a; Manzanilla [ed.] 2012, 2017, 2018, 2020) in the southeastern sector, will serve as an example of multiethnic “house” organizations, which fostered multi-specialized migrant craftsmen devoted to the confection of garments and head-dresses for the intermediate elite that headed the neighborhood center (Manzanilla 2007b). Through analyses that involved paleopathologies, activity markers, stable and strontium isotopes, trace element, ancient DNA, and forensics, this diverse population was investigated; the origins of the craftsmen were traced to the Basin of Mexico, Puebla, Tlaxcala, Hidalgo, Veracruz, and possibly Chiapas, and most of them experienced nutritional stress in their infancy (Manzanilla [ed.] 2017). Also at Teopancazco, local and foreign funerary practices were located, as well as allochthonous objects and raw materials. The symbolic relation to the ocean is established not only by the famous mural painting found at the site (De la Fuente 1996), but by importing fish, snails, crocodiles (Rodríguez Galicia 2010; Rodríguez Galicia and Valadez Azúa 2013), cotton cloths, volcanic glass to manufacture the stucco floors (Barca et al. 2013), and craftsmen from Veracruz, particularly in Burials 28F, 39, 60D, 71, 72, 65, and 91. Even sea sand was brought to underline this relation to the ocean (Manzanilla [ed.] 2012, 2018).

Other projects addressing structures such as the Pyramid of the Moon and the Pyramid of the Feathered Serpent, as well as neighborhoods such as Tlajinga 33 and La Ventilla 92–94, have done isotopic analyses on the burials found there (Arnauld-Salas 2014; Spence et al. 2004; White et al. 2002, 2004a, 2004b, 2007). Migrants have been detected in these studies, as well as local *Teotihuacanos*.

During 13 field seasons (1997–2005), Linda R. Manzanilla excavated the neighborhood center of Teopancazco extensively and exposed over 1,600 m² of its surface. It was occupied during the following archaeological phases: Miccaotli–Tlamimilolpa (AD 150–350), Xolalpan (AD 350–550/570), and Metepec (AD 550/570–650), with clear construction levels one on top of the other (Manzanilla [ed.] 2012, 2018). It displayed functional sectors devoted to ritual, specialized craft-production (garment-making), military personnel, and food preparation for workers, as well as possible medical and administrative sectors (see Figure 3.2.1).

The ritual sector of the Xolalpan phase was set in the center of the compound, including the huge plaza with the altar and the large temple to the east. During the former Tlamimilolpa phase, there was another ritual sector to the northeast (Manzanilla [ed.] 2012, 2018), which was “desacralized” at the end of the Tlamimilolpa period (ca. AD 350), by “decapitating” the temple (C81B-261) (Manzanilla [ed.] 2012), and setting nine decapitated individuals on top of it, and later 20 in pits in front of it, under a floor.

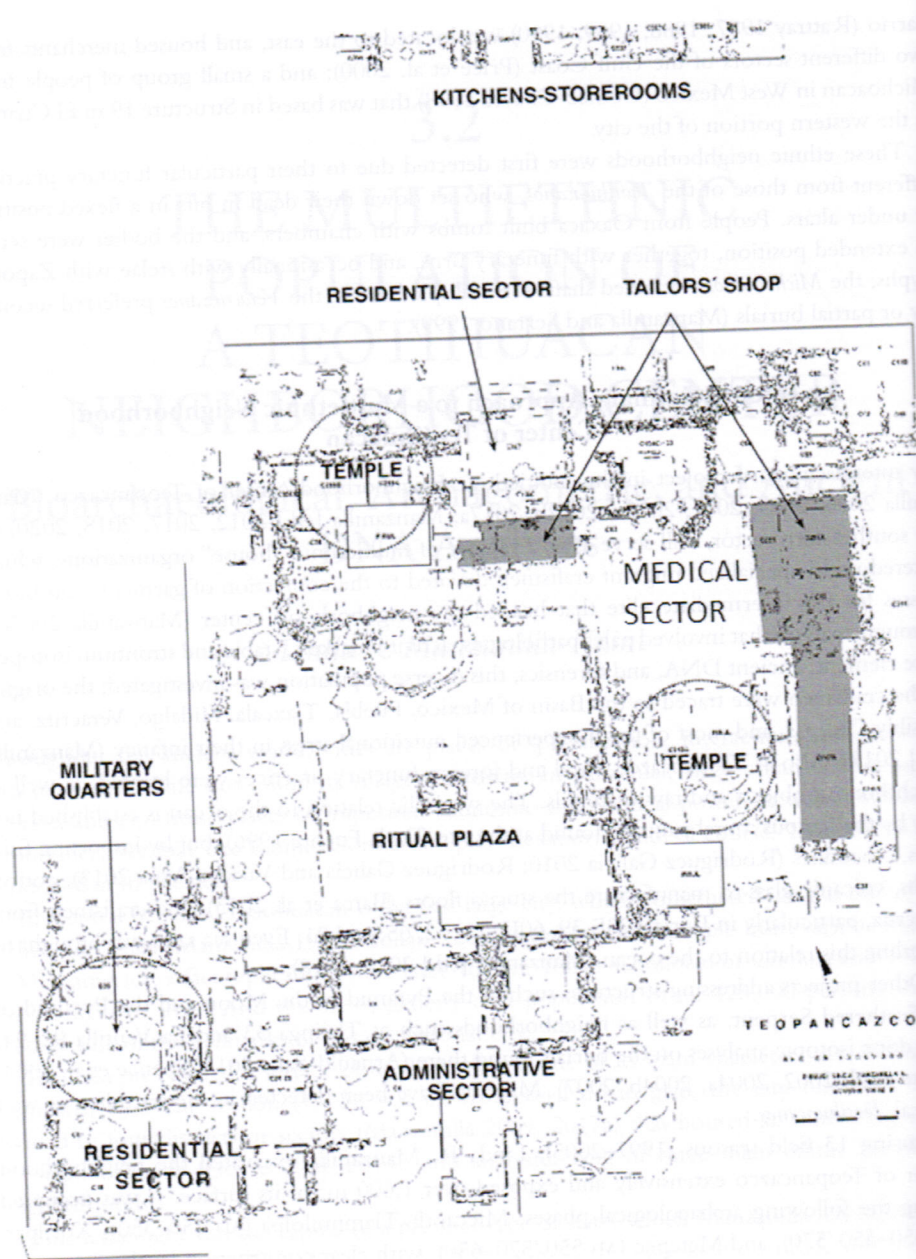


Figure 3.2.1 Teopancazco and its functional sectors.
Source: Drawing by L.R. Manzanilla and R. Gómez, Manzanilla (2009, 2012b)

The administrative sector may have been located to the south of the main plaza; this sector was excavated by Leopoldo Batres in the nineteenth century, so little of it is known, except for the fact that in Room 7, the important mural painting depicting two priests throwing seed and walking towards the altar was found (see De la Fuente 1996).

The military sector was located in the southwestern portion of the compound (Manzanilla [ed.] 2012, 2018). In this sector, the burial of a 7-year-old child was found, showing

Teotihuacan funerary practices, and another elite figurine, and a miniature vessel, suggesting that the child was intended for a ritual.

The garment-making sector was located in the northeastern portion of the compound, where cotton cloths brought from Veracruz were processed with the help of local artisans (Casar et al. 2011). For the headdresses, the plumed frames to craft the headdresses, the making of baskets and nets, the sector was used (Manzanilla [ed.] 2012, 2018).

A series of kitchens-storerooms were located in the northeastern sector, where the food made of maize was processed, including *tamales*, *atole*, and the preparation of other food items (Casar et al. 2017a, 2017b; Manzanilla [ed.] 2012, 2018).

Still in the northeastern sector, a large workshop facility stood, with severe pathological conditions, including the presence of miniature vessels with ceramic figurines (Manzanilla [ed.] 2012, 2018; Vázquez 2018).

The Inc

Teopancazco yielded 116 formal burials, including adults (Manzanilla [ed.] 2017) (see Figure 3.2.2); many different body parts were found, suggesting manipulation. Most of the bones were from adults.

Different funerary practices were observed, including disposal in a seated or flexed position (Figure 3.2.2); perinatal individuals (Manzanilla and Serrano 1999). Some burials included beheaded adult individuals who were found in pits (Figures 3.2.3 and 3.2.4) (Manzanilla 1943) found in Cerro de las Manzanas and were buried in pits with other individuals (Manzanilla 2012b); this is seen in the Teotihuacan period in Teotihuacan. Most of the burials were from the Teotihuacan period.

Other examples of foreign burials were found, including a skull of a female surrounded by other bones, dating to the Mazapa period, as intrusion.

This population had the following age distribution: born babies, four infants (1–5 years), two adolescents (10–15 years), 21 young adults (20–25 years), middle-age adults (30–40 years), and 10 adults (30–45 timespan, and 10 adults).

One outstanding case was a burial of a child in a fetal position, inside a pit located in the northeastern sector, a dressed child in a theater-type censer, a dressed child in detachable military attire (see



Teotihuacan funerary practices, and the company of a military figurine with a detachable attire, another elite figurine, and a miniature theater-type censer (Manzanilla [ed.] 2012, 2018), suggesting that the child was intended to become a guard.

The garment-making sector was set to the northeast; in these rooms, craftsmen cut the cotton cloths brought from Veracruz to make the garments, and to attach shell pendants and marine elements with the help of 90 needles and pins, as well as drills and awls (Manzanilla et al. 2011). For the headdresses, the facial portions of mammals were detached and set into the plumed frames to craft the headdresses. Other manufactures of this neighborhood center were the making of baskets and nets, the painting of tripod vessels, and the lacquering of orange wares (Manzanilla [ed.] 2012, 2018).

A series of kitchens-storerooms was found to the north of the compound, and, in this sector, the food made of maize was prepared for the workers of the neighborhood center (*tortillas*, *amales*, *atole*, and the preparation of animal portions – turkey and dog – fed also with maize) (Casar et al. 2017a, 2017b; Manzanilla [ed.] 2012, 2018).

Still in the northeastern sector of the compound, but towards the south, a possible medical facility stood, with severe pathological cases, the burial of perinatal individuals, and the presence of miniature vessels with corporal paints, suggesting complex preparation prescriptions (Manzanilla [ed.] 2012, 2018; Vázquez de Ágredos et al. 2012, 2019).

The Individuals Buried in Teopancazco

Teopancazco yielded 116 formal burials, with 129 individuals, of which 32% were beheaded adults (Manzanilla [ed.] 2017) (see Table 3.2.1). Other human bodies were dismembered, and many different body parts were found with cut marks, exposure to fire, and other traces of manipulation. Most of the bone instruments were made of human bones (Manzanilla et al. 2011).

Different funerary practices are present: some are clearly Teotihuacan practices, with burials disposed in a seated or flexed position in a pit (as those found in Oztotihuacan 15B:N6W3) (see Figure 3.2.2); perinatal individuals in bowls or pot fragments, or infants buried under altars (see Manzanilla and Serrano 1999). Other funerary rituals are clearly foreign, as is the case of the beheaded adult individuals whose heads are each set in a crater and covered by a bowl or lid (see Figures 3.2.3 and 3.2.4) (Manzanilla 2012b; Manzanilla [ed.] 2017), mirroring what Drucker (1943) found in Cerro de las Mesas, Veracruz. Most of the decapitated individuals are males, and were buried in pits with one, two, or 17 heads, or on top of a destroyed temple, by 350 AD (Manzanilla 2012b); this is seen as a termination ritual displayed at the end of the Tlamimilolpa period in Teotihuacan. Most of the heads had cinnabar or galena (Ejarque Gallardo et al. 2018).

Other examples of foreign funerary practices are seen in Burial 102 (see Figure 3.2.5), the skull of a female surrounded by her long-bones. We also detected post-Teotihuacan burials of the Mazapa period, as intrusions in the northern alignment of kitchens-storerooms.

This population had the following age-groups (Alvarado and Manzanilla 2017): 23 newborn babies, four infants (1–5 years old), three 5–10-year-old infants, four infants of indefinite age, two adolescents (10–15-year-old individuals), 16 sub-adults (15–20-year-olds), eight juveniles, 21 young adults (20–25-year-old individuals), 19 adults (25–30-year-old individuals), ten middle-age adults (30–40-year-old adults), three adults 40–50 years old, one individual belonging to the 30–45 timespan, and two others of indefinite age.

One outstanding case was Burial 4 (see Figure 3.2.2), a 5–7-year-old infant buried in a flexed position, inside a pit located in the military sector; this child was accompanied by a miniature theater-type censer, a dressed figurine depicting an elite individual, and another figurine with detachable military attire (see Manzanilla 2012b). This child was a local individual, dated to the



Figure 3.2.2 Burial 4, an infant in the military sector of Teopancazco, dated in the Xolalpan phase.

Source: Photo by L. R. Manzanilla

Xolalpan period; he had an A genetic haplogroup; he also had evidences of contusions in the skeleton (particularly an inflammatory process in the right parietal bone), and the mortuary treatment was exceptional, not only for the figurines set around the body, but also for the presence of fire inside the pit (Manzanilla 2012b; Manzanilla [ed.] 2017).

Many new-born babies were buried in the medical facility (northeastern sector) of Teopancazco, particularly in C353A (Manzanilla [ed.] 2012, 2017; Alvarado-Viñas 2013; Gallego 2013), perhaps implying that the women of the neighborhood came to the neighborhood center for childbirth attention; some of these perinatal individuals were sexed by DNA (Álvarez-Sandoval et al. 2014; Manzanilla [ed.] 2017) and showed similar proportions of male and female babies, in contrast to the ratio observed in the adult population of Teopancazco, which were predominantly male, with only 15% of the sexed adults being women; these female individuals were mainly migrants working as multicraft specialists (Manzanilla 2015; Manzanilla [ed.] 2017). The fact that the adults are mainly males stresses the idea that neighborhood centers are scenarios for men; Teotihuacan women were based in the apartment compounds surrounding the neighborhood centers. Nevertheless, foreign women may have been attached to the neighborhood center as specialists competing with men.

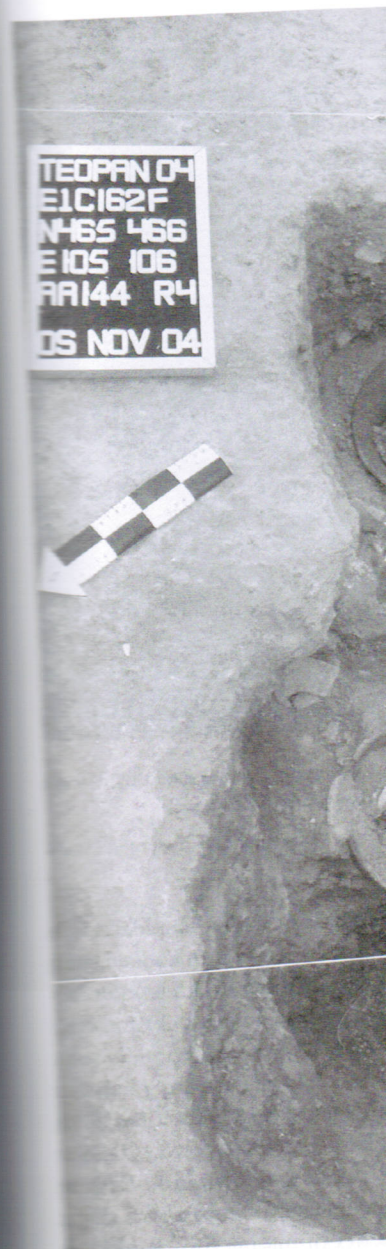


Figure 3.2.3 Pit AA142–144 with two seated adolescents, located in a former ritual area.

Source: Photo by L. R. Manzanilla

In the northeastern sector, in pit AA142–144, a pit with two seated adolescents, one was a migrant and the other came from Teotihuacan; they were accompanied with goods.



dated in the Xolalpan phase.

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(northeastern sector) of Teo- Alvarado-Viñas 2013; Gallego d came to the neighborhood were sexed by DNA (Álvarez- proportions of male and female of Teopancazco, which were omen; these female individu- Manzanilla 2015; Manzanilla [ed.] hat neighborhood centers are ment compounds surrounding e been attached to the neigh-



Figure 3.2.3 Pit AA142-144 with 17 beheaded individuals, part of a termination ritual dated by 350 AD, located in a former ritual sector dated in the Tlamimilolpa phase.

Source: Photo by L. R. Manzanilla

In the northeastern sector, under a destroyed temple of the Tlamimilolpa period (C181B-261), a pit with two seated adolescents (Burial 105: male and Burial 108: female) was found; one is a migrant and the other came from the corridor towards the Gulf Coast (Schaaf et al. 2012); they were accompanied with geometric forms of mica (Rosales de la Rosa and Manzanilla

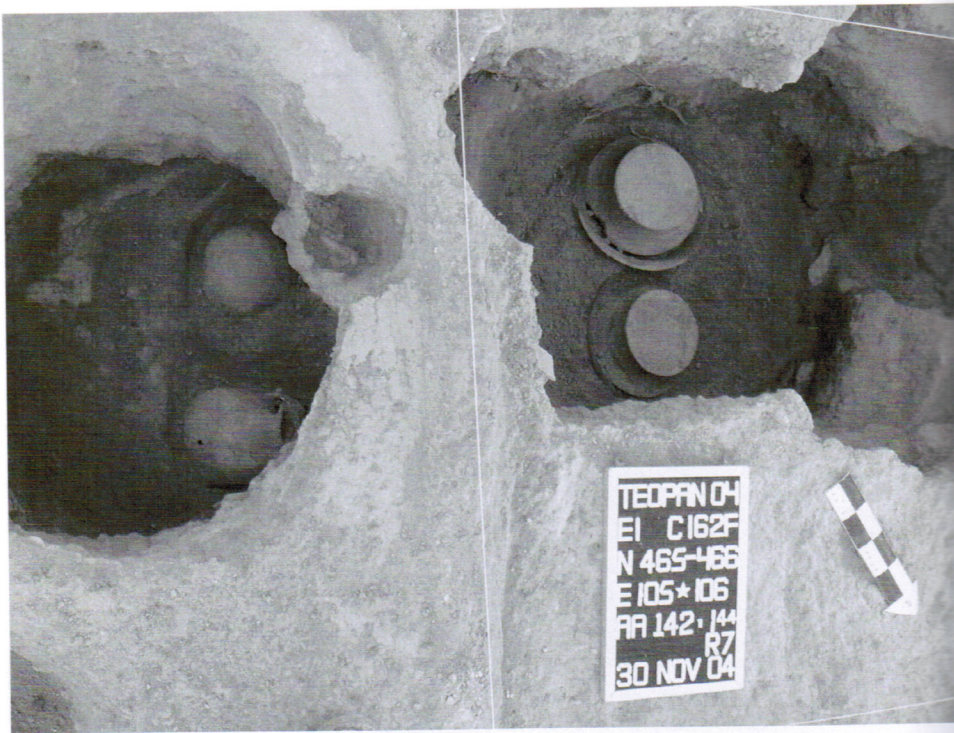


Figure 3.2.4 Some of the decapitated individuals in pits, part of a termination ritual dated by 350 AD, located in a former ritual sector dated in the Tlamimilopa phase.

Source: Photo by L. R. Manzanilla

2011), an orange-lacquer bowl from the Mixtequilla Region in Veracruz, an incomplete articulated figurine, and many miniature plates and pots, some cooked and others uncooked, with mineral corporal paints and resins (hematite, galena, cinnabar, jarosite, *Salvia* oil, etc.) (Doménech Carbó et al. 2012; Manzanilla 2012b; Natahi 2013; Vázquez de Agredos et al. 2012, 2019). Fire was lit inside the pit.

Different activity markers (roughness and asymmetry in certain articulations and joints; see Manzanilla 2015; Table 3.2.1), have been recognized at Teopancazco (Alvarado-Viñas 2013; Manzanilla [ed.] 2017), as follows. One-fifth of the population buried at Teopancazco (21.55%) bore signs of having worked fibers with their frontal teeth (four females and 21 males). We think that they were involved in making nets, which are depicted in mural art at Teopancazco (De la Fuente 1996) and may have been used to procure the 14 varieties of marine fish (Rodríguez Galicia 2010; Rodríguez Galicia and Valadez Azúa 2013) present at the site; net-making is also indicated by the presence of the bone shuttles (Pérez Roldán et al. 2012) used for net manufacture. Some of the workers of Teopancazco (7.75%, including three women) displayed signs of having thrown nets or spears.

With respect to garment-making, which was the main craft at Teopancazco, 6.89% (including one woman) showed signs of having sewn and/or painted for long periods of time; significantly, two of the primary crafts practiced at Teopancazco were the production of garments and headdresses for the intermediate elite managing the neighborhood center, as well as the painting of polychrome pottery and walls. Numerous examples of bone needles and pins (Manzanilla



Figure 3.2.5 Burial 102, the skull of a child, located in the main courtyard of Teopancazco.

Source: Photo by L. R. Manzanilla

et al. 2011), as well as paint-brushes, a garment-making sector and to the

Some of the individuals (15%) buried in the neighborhood center of Teopancazco, Veracruz. Foreign luxury goods also included pyrites; 47 fragments of obsidian (Tisoc et al. 2012); 21 pieces of pottery vessels from south-central Puebla; 100 pieces of ware from the Morelos-Guerrero region in Veracruz (Manzanilla 2012b); the Altotonga Region in Veracruz; pigments for painting one's body (galena, jarosite, and malachite) (from the State of Mexico and Oaxaca); 100 grams of mica from Oaxaca (100%); two types of crabs, and a crocodile (Tisoc 2010); 665 marine shells from Mexico, the Caribbean, and the Gulf of Mexico, and cloths, probably from Veracruz, required heavy lifting.



termination ritual dated by 350 AD phase.

Veracruz, an incomplete articulation and others uncooked, with (Domélele Agredos et al. 2012, 2019). articulations and joints; see Teopancazco (Alvarado-Viñas 2013; buried at Teopancazco (21.55%) males and 21 males). We think ritual art at Teopancazco (De la s of marine fish (Rodríguez t the site; net-making is also (2012) used for net manufac- e women) displayed signs of

Teopancazco, 6.89% (including periods of time; significant production of garments and center, as well as the painting needles and pins (Manzanilla

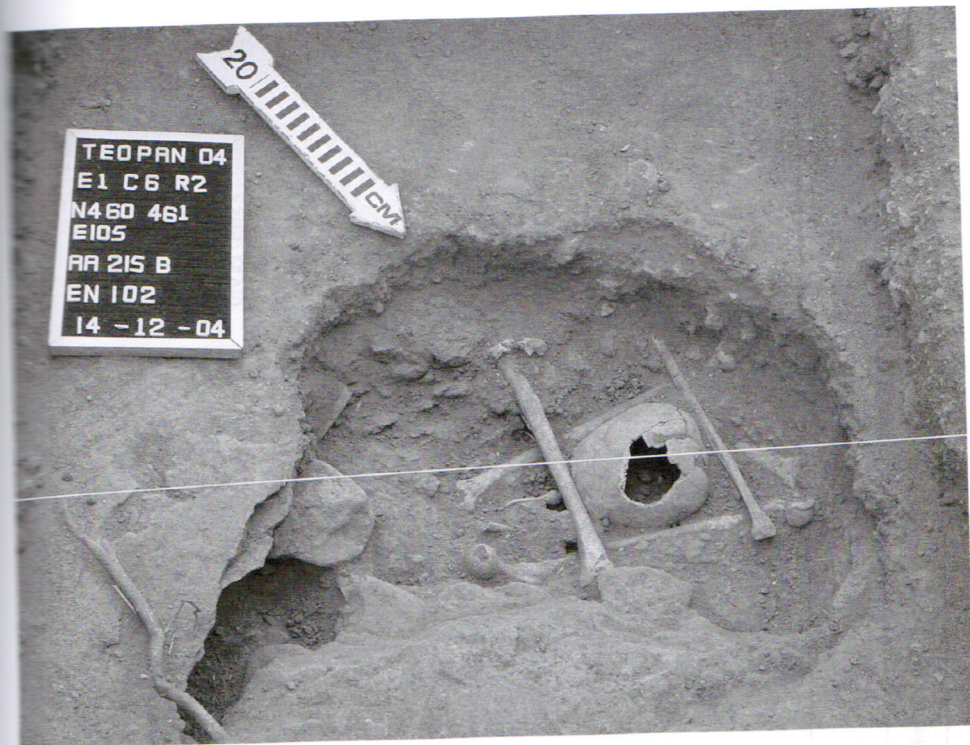


Figure 3.2.5 Burial 102, the skull of a migrant woman surrounded by her long-bones, buried in Teopancazco's main courtyard.

Source: Photo by L. R. Manzanilla

et al. 2011), as well as paint-brush handles (Pérez Roldán et al. 2012), were found in the garment-making sector and to the north of the ritual plaza.

Some of the individuals (15.51%, including four women) had carried heavy loads. The neighborhood center of Teopancazco organized caravans towards the Nautla region in Veracruz. Foreign luxury goods at Teopancazco were abundant (Manzanilla [ed.] 2018) and included pyrites; 47 fragments of greenstone (including serpentine and green quartz) (Margar Tísoc et al. 2012); 21 pieces of travertine and onyx; gray marble; thin orange pottery vessels from south-central Puebla; pottery from the Ocotelulco region in Tlaxcala; granular ware from the Morelos-Guerrero area; fine and orange lacquer wares from the Mixtequilla region in Veracruz (Manzanilla [ed.] 2018); foreign metamorphic tempers; glass shards from the Altotonga Region in Veracruz, used as an aggregate for stucco floors (Barca et al. 2013); pigments for painting one's body and for pottery and mural painting (particularly cinnabar, galena, jarosite, and malachite) (Vázquez de Ágredos et al. 2012, 2019); ca. 4.4 kg of slate (from the State of Mexico and the Morelos-Guerrero region) (López-Juárez et al. 2012); 72 grams of mica from Oaxaca (Rosales de la Rosa and Manzanilla 2011); 99 fish specimens, two types of crabs, and a crocodile from the Nautla region in Veracruz (Rodríguez Galicia 2010); 665 marine shells belonging to 16 families of marine mollusks from the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean, and the Pacific Ocean (Velázquez Castro et al. 2012); cotton fibers and cloths, probably from Veracruz; and non-local flint. Any or all of these goods may have required heavy lifting.

Table 3.2.1 A sample of the Teopancazco burials.

Burial No.	Sex	Age	Phase	$^{18}\text{O}/^{16}\text{O}$ Altitude	$^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ Enamel/Bone	Haplogroup	Diet Log Ba/Sr	Decapitated	Hypoplasia	Scorbutic Disease	Porotic Hyperostosis	Cribra Orbitalia	Activity Markers	Dental Mutilation/Cranial Modifications
60	F	25-35	Tl	Low		A	Terr ND 0.223				X	X	HE ACL	
39	M	20-25	Tl/Xol	Low				X	X	X	X			
65	F	20-25	Tl/Xol	Low				X						
91	M?	20-25	Tl/Xol	Low				X						
71	F	16-20	Tl/Xol	Low	Migrant 0.707851/0.704944			X					Auditory exostosis	
72	M?	18-20	Tl/Xol	Low				X			X			
28F	F?	17-22	Late Xol	Low							X			
67	F?	24-30	Tl/Xol	LTeo				X			X			Mut A4+B5
74	M	30-35	Tl/Xol	LTeo	Migrant 0.705454/0.704975			X				X		
2	F	25-35	Xol	LTeo	Inv. Migrant 0.704625/0.705723	A	Terr D -1.087				X		CAM/FBS/AVR/ACL	
10A	F	25-30	Xol	LTeo		A							CP/FBS	
13A	M	25-30	Xol-Met	LTeo	Migrant 0.707336/0.704897		Terr D -0.957							
78	M	30-35	Tl	Basin of Mexico	Local 0.704665/0.704610		Marine -1.682				X		CP/SP/ACL/WLG/FBS ACL	
116	M	20-25	Tl	Basin of Mexico		A	Marine -1.366						CP/SP/ACL	

2	F	25-35	Xol	LTeo	Inv. Migrant 0.704625/ 0.705723	A	Terr D -1.087	X	CAM/FBS/ AVR/ACL
10A	F	25-30	Xol	LTeo		A			CP/FBS
13A	M	25-30	Xol-Met	LTeo	Migrant 0.707336/ 0.704897		Terr D -0.957		
78	M	30-35	TI	Basin of Mexico	Local 0.704665/ 0.704610		Marine -1.682	X	CP/SP/ ACL/ WLG/ FBS ACL
116	M	20-25	TI	Basin of Mexico		A	Marine -1.366		CP/SP/ACL
105	M	16-30	TI/Xol	Basin, Tlax/ Hg	Migrant 0.705459/ 0.704715	C	Marine -1.692		
106	M	30-35	TI/Xol	Basin of Mexico					ACL
108	F	10-15	TI/Xol	Basin, Tlax	Migrant adjacent regions 0.705147/ 0.704700	A	Marine -1.387		
40	?	20-25	TI/Xol	Basin of Mexico				X	
46	M	45-50	TI/Xol	Basin of Mexico		A		X	Cranial modification Tab oblique
50	M	25-30	TI/Xol	Basin of Mexico				X X	Cranial modification Tab erect

(Continued)

The Multiethnic Population

Table 3.2.1 (Continued)

Burial No.	Sex	Age	Phase	¹⁸ O/ ¹⁶ O Altitude	⁸⁷ Sr/ ⁸⁶ Sr Enamel/Bone	Haplogroup	Diet Log Ba/Sr	Decapitated	Hypoplasia	Scorbutic Disease	Porotic Hyperostosis	Cribra Orbitalia	Activity Markers	Dental Mutilation/Cranial Modifications
6	M	20<	Xol?		Migrant adjacent regions 0.705162/ 0.704700								ACL/CAM/ AVR, CP	
101	F	2 mon	TI		Local 0.704808/ 0.704714	A						X		
103	F	20–24	TI			D							ACL	
99	M	3–4	TI			A								
110	M	Perin	TI			C								
89	F	20–25	TI/Xol			A (rel 56)			X	X				
56	F	Perin	TI/Xol			A (rel 89)								
59	M	Perin	TI/Xol			B								
47	F?	16–20	TI/Xol					X	X					Cranial modification Tab erect Mut B5 Mut B5
81	M?	18–21	TI/Xol					X						
90	M	24–30	TI/Xol					X					FBS	
21	M	30–35	Xol?										Auditory exostosis, FBS	
23	M	24–30	Xol										CP, FBS?	Incrust E1

Source: Table captions (Manzanilla 2015; Manzanilla [ed.] 2017)

Sex: F: female; M: male (Alvarado-Viñas 2013; Álvarez-Sandoval et al. 2014).

Age: Nona: nonate; Perin: perinate; Adult: adult; Mon: months (Alvarado-Viñas 2013; Gallego 2013).

Chronology: Tlam: Tlamimilolpa phase; TI/Xol: Tlamimilolpa/Xolalpan transition; Xol: Xolalpan phase; Late Xol: Late Xolalpan; Xol-Met: Xolalpan-Metepec

[illegible]

Source: Table captions (Manzanilla 2015; Manzanilla [ed.] 2017)

Sex: F: female; M: male (Alvarado-Viñas 2013; Álvarez-Sandoval et al. 2014).

Age: Nona: nonate; Perin: perinate; Adult: adult; Mon: months (Alvarado-Viñas 2013; Gallego 2013).

Chronology: Tlam: Tlamimilolpa phase; Tl/Xol: Tlamimilolpa/Xolalpan transition; Xol: Xolalpan phase; Late Xol: Late Xolalpan; Xol-Met: Xolalpan-Metepec phases (Manzanilla 2012b; Manzanilla [ed.] 2012, 2018).

Altitude ($^{18}/^{16}$ Oxygen isotopes): LTeo: ca. 300 m lower than Teotihuacan; HTeo: ca. 300 m higher than Teotihuacan; Basin of Mexico: altitudes of the Basin of Mexico, Puebla, and Tlaxcala (including Teotihuacan); Tlax/Hg: Tlaxcala-Hidalgo (Manzanilla [ed.] 2012, 2017).

Strontium isotopes ^{87/86}; Migrant: migrant; Inv. migrant: inverse migrant (a person from Teotihuacan who has been afar for long and returns to the metropolis); Migrant adjacent regions: a migrant from nearby regions (the corridor towards the Gulf of Mexico) (Solis-Pichardo et al. 2017; Schaaf et al. 2012; Manzanilla [ed.] 2017).

Haplogroups (mitochondrial DNA): Rel: related to (Álvarez-Sandoval et al. 2015; Manzanilla [ed.] 2017).

Diet: Terr ND: terrestrial non-desertic; Terr D: terrestrial desertic; Marine: marine component in the diet (Mejía Appel 2011, 2012, 2017).

Paleopathologies: Porotic hyperostosis, Cribra orbitalia (Alvarado-Viñas 2013; Manzanilla [ed.] 2017).

Activity markers: HF: hand flexions; CP: carry heavy weights; SP: garment-makers/painters; CAM: walk long distances + carry heavy weights; FBS: soften fibers with teeth; AVR: throw nets; ACL: squatting for long periods of time; Exostosis: auditory exostoses (Alvarado-Viñas 2013; Manzanilla [ed.] 2017).

Cultural practices: Mut: dental mutilation; Incrust: dental incrustation; Def: cranial modification; Def Tab erect: erect tabular deformation; Def Tab oblique: oblique tabular deformation (Alvarado-Viñas 2013; Alvarado-Viñas and Manzanilla 2018; Manzanilla [ed.] 2017).

Of the 18 individuals (men and women) listed earlier, 16 were found to have squatted for long periods. Perhaps they were also involved in some sort of craft-production; two of them were found in the garment-making sector.

Three cases of auditory exostoses probably caused by diving in cold waters were detected at Teopanczco. Perhaps these can be related to the profusion and diversity of marine shells found at the site. One example is Burial 71 (a sub-adult female immigrant from lower altitudes, perhaps Chiapas or Oaxaca).

It is possible that *Teotihuacanos* and migrants formed a “house society”, that is, a complex corporate group articulated by work, ritual practices, festivities, myths of origins (in the ocean), emblems, attires, etc. (Manzanilla 2007b). The attire depicted in the main mural painting of Teopanczco (De la Fuente 1996) is directly related to the ocean, due to the marine elements attached to it; it would be an indexical way to recognize the intermediate elite of this neighborhood in a multiethnic environment (Manzanilla 2006, 2007b, 2009, 2012b, 2012b; Manzanilla [ed.] 2017).

Thus, three groups of people were working at Teopanczco: the local population of the Basin of Mexico, individuals coming from the corridor towards the Gulf Coast of Mexico (Hidalgo, Tlaxcala, Puebla), and migrants from the coast. There is a small group of inverse migrants, that is, *Teotihuacanos* that were abroad most of their lives and came back to the metropolis where they died (Solís Pichardo et al. 2017).

As a result of trace element analysis, we know that some individuals had a diet with a strong marine component (Mejía-Appel 2017), due to the constant provision of 14 varieties of fish from the coastal lagoons of the Nautla region in Veracruz (Rodríguez Galicia and Valadez Azúa 2013). Other individuals had a terrestrial desertic diet, and others, a terrestrial non-desertic diet (Mejía Appel 2011, 2012, 2017).

Thanks to stable isotopes (particularly nitrogen) we know that many workers in this neighborhood center were fed with maize (*tortillas*, *tamales*, *atole*), and with animals also fed with maize (dogs and turkeys) (Casar et al. 2017a, 2017b). It is possible that the system of food rations organized by the neighborhood center managers to feed the workers represented a system destined to have them as attached workers and in constant activity (Manzanilla 2011); this system distinguished rations for the foremen from those for full-time workers, and for eventual workers.

The mitochondrial DNA showed that the four Mesoamerican haplogroups (A, B, C, and D) were present at Teopanczco, a fact that underlines the biological diversity of the population of this neighborhood (Álvarez-Sandoval et al. 2015).

From Veracruz came cotton cloths, with which the attractive dresses were crafted (Manzanilla et al. 2011); the 14 varieties of fish, crabs, and the crocodile also came from Veracruz (Rodríguez Galicia 2010), as well as marine shells from the Gulf Coast, the Caribbean, and the Pacific (Velázquez Castro et al. 2012). From Altotonga, Veracruz, came the volcanic shards used to build the floors from Teopanczco (Barca et al. 2013). This fact is important, because it inaugurated a new technological style (Pecci et al. 2016). Some pottery from Veracruz also arrived, particularly the negative-decorated orange-lacquer pottery from La Mixtequilla. And, of course, also came the craftsmen from the coastal areas.

It is possible that each of the 22 neighborhoods (Froese et al. 2014) in Teotihuacan had different affinities and allies, and built the different corridors towards sumptuary-good provisioning regions. They competed between themselves, thus tearing apart the corporate tissue of the state. Originally this state was the by-product of a multiethnic pact. The corporate groups lived inside apartment compounds; these were set surrounding neighborhood centers that coordinated the work and ritual activities of those individuals based in each one of them. Each center

organized caravans towards different crafts, and craftsmen.

In the periphery of Teotihuacan brought to the city their technology.

The 22 neighborhoods seem to have emerged from these four divisions, to constitute another corporate

The multiethnic neighborhood center from 1997 to 2005, offers an interesting view in the structure of a very dynamic. The main element of ethnic identity was related to the ocean, particularly to the fauna in this Teotihuacan compound, but also marine sand was brought. The provision of volcanic glass from Altotonga, of foreign funerary practices from lacquered pottery, and the provision of garment depicted in the main mural (Kubler 1967).

A total of 116 formal burials in Teotihuacan funerary practices; following the Mixtequilla (Veracruz) center were mainly male adults, of the adults were females, which particularly garment-making. Many adults from Mexico, particularly from Puebla. Mesoamerica are represented in

Teotihuacan represents a huge organization at the base and sumptuary texts that refer us to many aspects of work (Manzanilla 2007a) and economic compounds (Manzanilla [ed.] 1997). Neighborhood centers (Manzanilla [ed.] 2017) activities in the palaces of the rulers.

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organized caravans towards different regions in Mesoamerica to bring raw materials, products, crafts, and craftsmen.

In the periphery of Teotihuacan were the ethnic neighborhoods, and each one of them brought to the city their technologies, expertise, and goods.

The 22 neighborhoods seem to be disposed in four districts in the site (Manzanilla 2009, 2017a); from these four divisions, the four co-rulers (Manzanilla 2017a) of the site may have emerged, to constitute another corporate characteristic of this exceptional society.

Final Comments

The multiethnic neighborhood center of Teopancazco, excavated by Linda R. Manzanilla from 1997 to 2005, offers an interesting case of attached craftsmen, many of which were foreign, in the structure of a very dynamic social unit of Teotihuacan society: the neighborhood. The main element of ethnic identity which stands out in this neighborhood center is the strong tie to the ocean, particularly to the Nautla region in Veracruz. Not only the presence of marine fauna in this Teotihuacan compound is seen (14 types of fish from the coast, crabs, crocodile), but also marine sand was brought to the northeastern portion of the ritual courtyard; the inclusion of volcanic glass from Altotonga, Veracruz, to manufacture the stucco floors; the presence of foreign funerary practices from the Mixtequilla region also in Veracruz, as well as orange-lacquered pottery, and the provisioning of cotton cloths from Veracruz to craft the complex garment depicted in the main mural painting of the site, the so-called "priest of the ocean" (Kubler 1967).

A total of 116 formal burials were found at Teopancazco: some were buried following the Teotihuacan funerary practices; but others, such as the 29 decapitated adults, were buried following the Mixtequilla (Veracruz) burial practices. The individuals found in this neighborhood center were mainly male adults, although 22 new-born babies were also found. Fifteen percent of the adults were females, which could compete with the males in craft-production, particularly garment-making. Many adults were migrants from the corridor towards the Gulf Coast of Mexico, particularly from Puebla, Tlaxcala, Hidalgo, Veracruz. The four genetic haplogroups of Mesoamerica are represented in this population, stressing its biological diversity.

Teotihuacan represents a huge intellectual challenge due to its heterogeneity, its corporate organization at the base and summit of this society, its scale and urban grid. We do not have texts that refer us to many aspects of life in the city; nevertheless, many years of interdisciplinary work (Manzanilla 2007a) and extensive excavations have allowed us to grasp life in apartment compounds (Manzanilla [ed.] 1993; Manzanilla 1996); the dynamism of the multiethnic neighborhood centers (Manzanilla [ed.] 2012, 2017, 2018, 2020; Manzanilla 2009, 2015); and the activities in the palaces of the ruling elite (Manzanilla [ed.] 2019; Manzanilla 2008, 2017b).

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