

# Mesoamerican Archaeology

## Theory and Practice

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## 5

# Social Identity and Daily Life at Classic Teotihuacan

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The expansion of urban life in well-planned cities is one of the main hallmarks of the Classic horizon in Mesoamerica. These first urban centers show internal social differentiation based mainly on occupation. Teotihuacan (Fig. 5.1) was the first vast urban development in the central highlands. Its degree of urban planning and its population density were among the highest in prehispanic times.

Teotihuacan is a 20 km<sup>2</sup> city, built in the bottom of the Teotihuacan Valley. It has a civic, administrative, and ceremonial core with the Moon Plaza to the north and the Ciudadela to the center. At A.D. 200–350 (following Rattray 1991), five elements of urban planning at the site are already clearly defined (R. Millon 1973):

- 1 *Existence of axes and streets.* The Street of the Dead (north–south) and the East–West Avenue intersect to the north of the Ciudadela. This last can be followed for more than 3 km to the east, and 2 km to the west of the Great Compound. They would divide the city in four quadrants, in which the Ciudadela, situated in the intersection, would have a special importance. The division of important sites in four quarters can be related to Mesoamerican cosmovision. Nearly all the constructions were distributed along the streets; all run parallel or perpendicular to the main axes, and are traced at regular intervals. In the neighboring mountain slopes, some kilometers from the center of the city, other constructions are aligned to the city's grid (Millon 1967:41).
- 2 *Water and drainage system.* There seems to have been a drinking water supply and a complex drainage system that derived from a reservoir 200 m to the north-west of the Moon Pyramid. Water from the Piedras Negras stream descended between the Cerro Gordo and Cerro Coronillas. Another element in the water system was the canalization of the San Juan river to follow the city's grid. Also, the San Lorenzo river, originally meandering, was restricted to a straight line, controlling its potential for sudden flooding. The internal drainage system

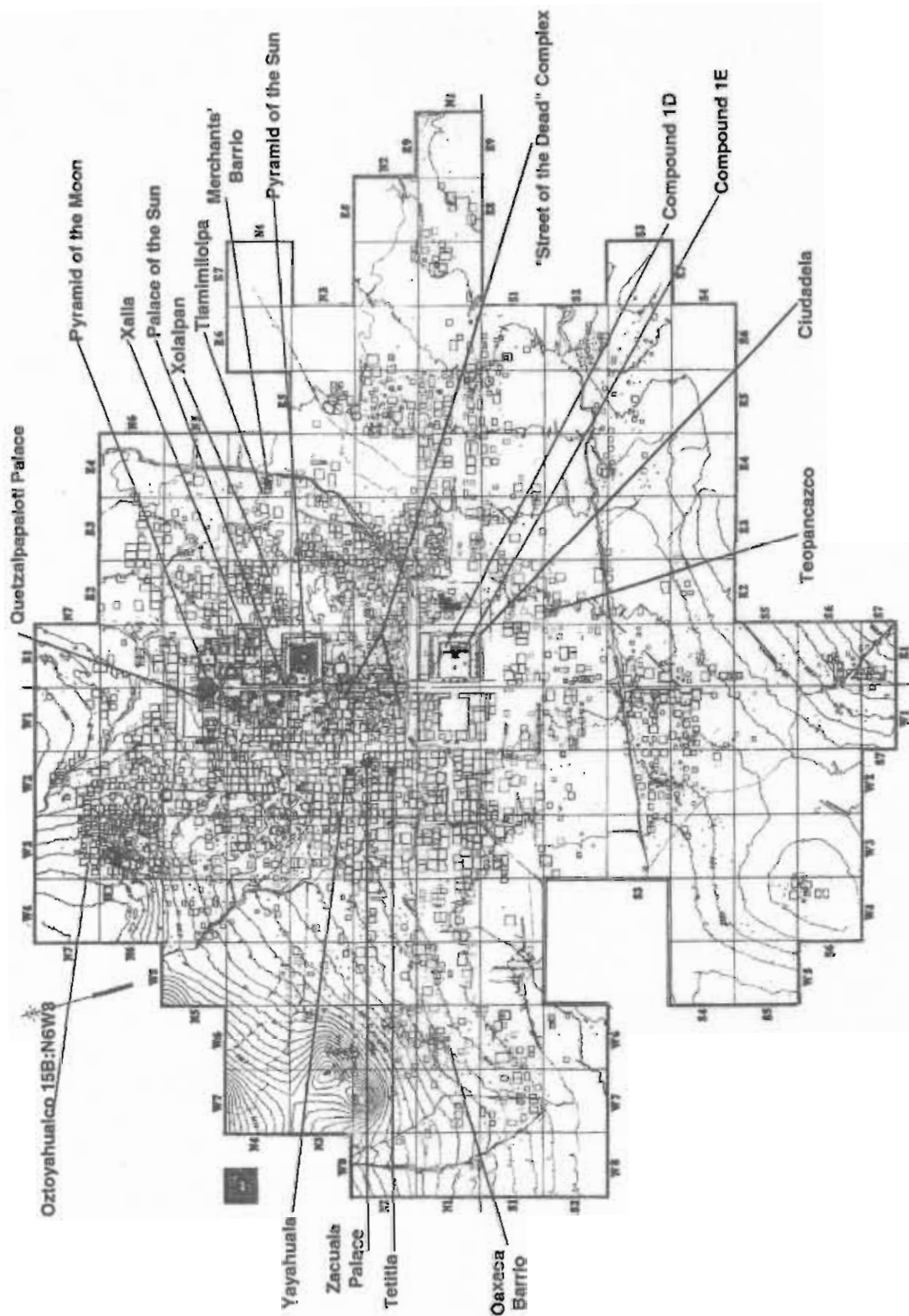


Figure 5.1. The city of Teotihuacan and the different compounds cited (after R. Millon 1973)

**Table 5.1.** Location, area, and function of some apartment compounds at Teotihuacan

Name	Location	Area	Paintings	Comments
Tetitla	N2W2	ca. 3600 m <sup>2</sup>	XXX	9 autonomous sectors small temples
Zacuala	N2W2	ca. 3600 m <sup>2</sup>	XXX	large temple (16 × 16 m.)
Atetelco	N2W3	ca. 3600 m <sup>2</sup>	XX	small temples
Yayahuala	N3W2	ca. 3600 m <sup>2</sup>	XX	medium-large temple
Teopancazco	S2E2	>60 × 60?	X	medium size temple
Xolalpan	N4E2	<30 × 40	—	medium size temple
Tlamimilolpa	N4E4	>3500 m <sup>2</sup>	—	no temples
La Ventilla B	S1W3	>50 × 50	—	no temples
Oztoyalco	N6W3	>550 m <sup>2</sup>	—	portable altars
Tlajinga 33	S3W1	>50 × 50	—	no temples

included a vast network of underground canals that converged into a central canal, that flowed parallel to the Street of the Dead, and discharged into the San Juan river (Sanders 1964:124).

- 3 *Public and administrative constructions.* These were placed along the Street of the Dead, although the particular functions of these spaces is not known (see Chapter 4). The so-called Great Compound in front of the Ciudadela is the largest structure of the site, larger even than the Ciudadela. It consists of two U-shaped wings (one to the north and the other to the south), with entrances from the Street of the Dead; the wings surround a huge open space. Millon (1967:83) states that the plaza could have housed the main market of the city, due to its central position in the city. This hypothesis has not been tested. Further on we will offer a different interpretation.
- 4 *Residential compounds.* A series of multifamily residential structures, discussed further below, surround the core of the site: Tlamimilolpa, Xolalpan, Atetelco, Tepantitla, Tetitla, Zacuala, etc. (Fig 5.1). The existence of a construction module of 57 m, with multiples and submultiples, as well as apartment compounds housing 100, 50, and 20 people (corporate groups, mainly devoted to crafts) has been proposed by Millon (1968, 1970:1080; see also Spence 1966). Apartment compounds are isolated from the streets by high external walls deprived of windows, thus allowing privacy. Internal open spaces provided light, air, rainwater (Millon 1967:43), and means for small refuse disposal (Manzanilla 1993b).
- 5 *Wards and sectors for craft production.* More than 500 concentrations of raw materials and debris (many of which are obsidian) have been considered as evidence of workshops by Millon's project, although some may have been refuse dumps. Specialization to the level of the type of artifact manufactured was observed: some workshops made prismatic blades, others bifacial tools (Millon 1968:116). The greatest obsidian concentration lies to the west of the Pyramid of the Moon, perhaps suggesting state control of craft production (Spence 1987). Other work-

shops were devoted to the production of pottery, figurines, lapidary, polished stone, and slate objects. Only a few have been excavated; some are discussed further below.

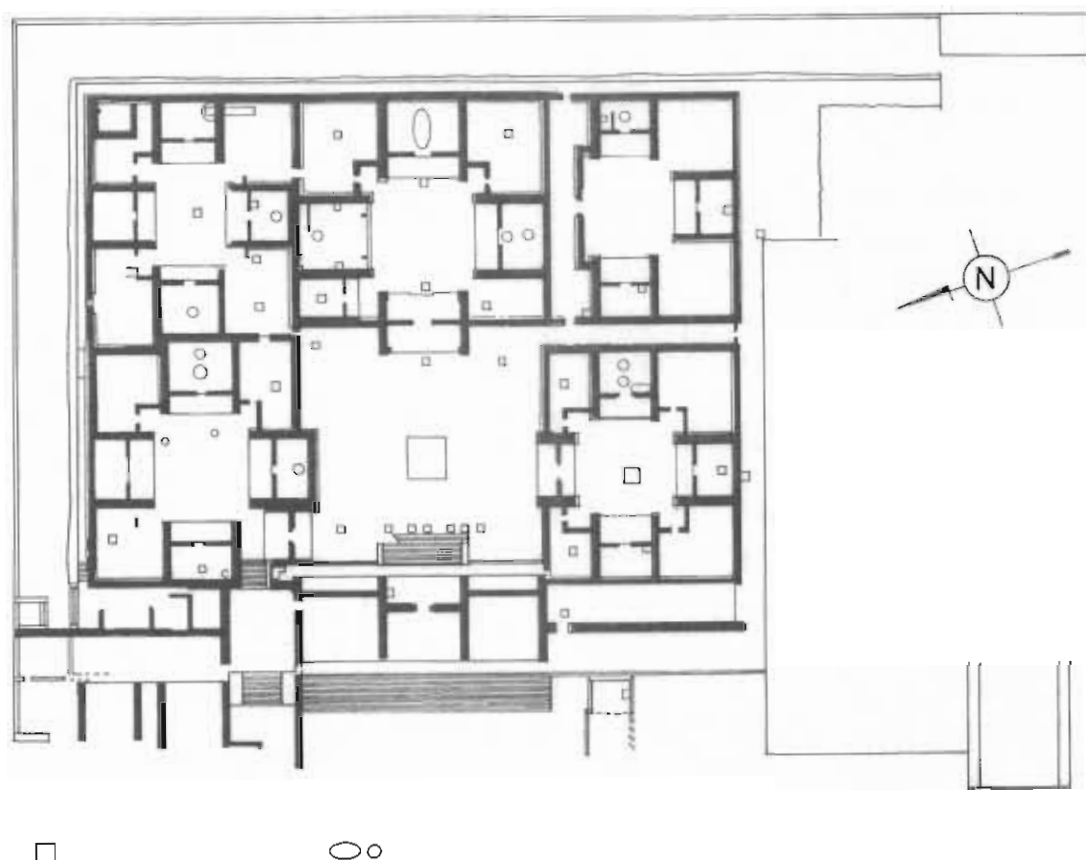
Even though the direct catchment area of Teotihuacan was limited to the Basin of Mexico (and probably the Valley of Toluca), in other aspects, such as exchange and ritual relations, the sphere provisioning Teotihuacan included the regions of Puebla-Tlaxcala, Morelos and Guerrero, and the Valley of Tula. Teotihuacan established alliances with Monte Alban in the Oaxaca Valley, and various kinds of intervention in the Maya area. Enclaves of the Teotihuacan state have been proposed for the Guatemalan highlands, the Gulf Coast of Mexico, and probably Michoacan, in Western Mexico. In reciprocity, in the city there are foreign wards: the Oaxaca barrio (Tlailotlacan) to the southwest (Spence 1989, 1992; Rattray 1993); the Merchants' Barrio to the east (Rattray 1987, 1988), where circular adobe domestic structures with Maya polychrome pottery were found; and perhaps a small enclave from Michoacan to the western fringe of the city (Gómez Chávez 1998). Identity was reinforced in these wards through particular culinary and funerary practices, as well as the use of circular adobe domestic constructions in the Merchants' Barrio, which are clearly different from the Teotihuacan patterns.

Two different spatial scales may be used to address the problem of social identity: after studying different activity areas in particular rooms and considering household apartments, the apartment compound as a whole is one of the scales where social identity is recreated through the determination of: (1) access to subsistence resources; (2) occupational specialization; (3) distribution of imported/exotic materials; and (4) religious ritual and funerary practices. In such a complex scenario, social identity was emphasized in the domestic domain, where related families and associated people lived together as corporate groups sharing the domestic walled territory, some activities, common ritual, and perhaps patron deities, attire, and, in part, kinship. In a hierarchical structure, one of the families in each compound was at the head of the corporate group, as we will see further on.

The second scale where social identity may be analyzed is the ward or barrio. At Teotihuacan, different apartment compounds which have complementary activities are arranged around three temple plazas or cult cores. Till now, only the La Ventilla barrio has been excavated at such a scale as to allow a glimpse into the barrio structure: apartment compounds of different social statuses are placed around the ward's religious structures (Cabrera 1996; Gómez Chávez 2000).

### Models of Stratification

Stratification in Teotihuacan society has been seen through two models: one proposed by Millon (1976, 1981), Sempowski (1987, 1994), Slod (1987), and Cowgill (1992), with many levels, and clear-cut social distinctions between them. Another



**Figure 5.2.** Structure 1D at La Ciudadela (after Jarquín Pacheco and Martínez Vargas 1982: 102)

model sees a whole range of slight socioeconomic differences between social groups, that may reflect a continuum of statuses within compounds, with multiple opportunities of achievement, and thus a more complex panorama than stated before (Manzanilla 1996). This perception of Teotihuacan society has also been stressed by Pasztory (1988).

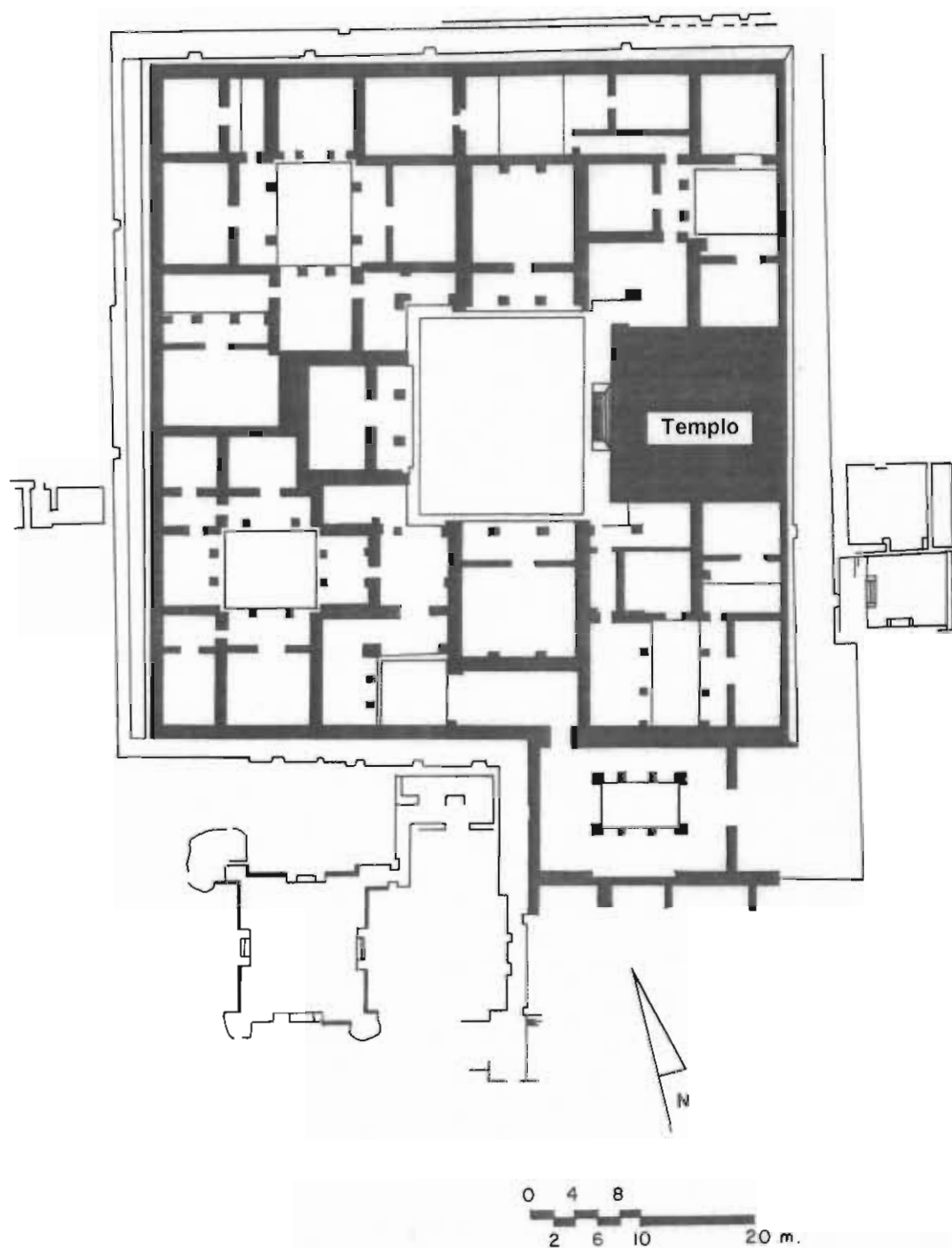
From variables such as room size, use of space, decoration, construction techniques, burials, offerings, etc., Millon (1976:227) states that Teotihuacan society comprised six distinct social, economic, and cultural levels.

First, he suggested that the apex of Teotihuacan society may have dwelled in the Quetzalpapalotl Palace, the Palace of the Sun, the so-called "palaces" to the north and south of the Temple of the Feathered Serpent (Fig. 5.2) (Millon 1976:236).

The second level was represented by thousands of very high status people of second rank, including priests of the city's great pyramids and pyramid complexes; they may have lived in the apartment compounds of the Great Compound (Millon 1981:214).

After a major gap we find the third, fourth, and fifth levels of intermediate status. From highest to lowest, such people lived in the Zacuala Palace (Fig. 5.3), at Teopancazco, and at Xolalpan (Fig. 5.4).





**Figure 5.3.** Zacuala (redrawn from Séjourné 1966b)

The sixth level comprised low-status compounds, such as Tlamimilolpa and La Ventilla B (Millon 1976:227). Small apartment compounds, such as the one we excavated in the 1980s at Oztoyahualco 15B:N6W3 (Fig. 5.5) (Manzanilla 1993b), could not be taken into consideration in Millon's earlier categories, so I suggest a seventh level be created.



**Figure 5.4.** Xolalpan (after Linné 1934)



**Figure 5.5.** Ozttoyahualco 15B:N6W3 (after Manzanilla 1993)



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. At Oztoyahualco 15B:N6W3, Teopancazco, and Xalla we have chosen the following methodology to explore this: through extensive excavations, interdisciplinary work, and distributional maps of all types of artifacts and ecofacts – pottery, obsidian, polished stone, bone, antler, shell, as well as chemical compounds, pollen, phytoliths, seeds and faunal macrofossils – we have been trying to differentiate domestic areas, activities, and choices of each household or social group. Although Millon's model, based primarily on surface survey, is suggestive, a more complex scenario has appeared when analyzing data from these extensive excavations.

### **Apartment Compounds: What They Share and What They Do Not Share**

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One of the most distinctive characteristics of Teotihuacan society was domestic life in multifamily constructions. Apartment compounds vary considerably in total area. From the extensive excavation of several of them, we now know that some are very large (ca. 3,600m<sup>2</sup>: Linné 1942; Séjourné 1966b); others are medium-sized (1,300–2,300m<sup>2</sup>: Linné 1934; Sanders 1966, 1994; Sánchez Alaniz 1989; Storey 1992); others are much smaller (280–550m<sup>2</sup>: Manzanilla 1993b; Monzón 1989; Sanders 1966).

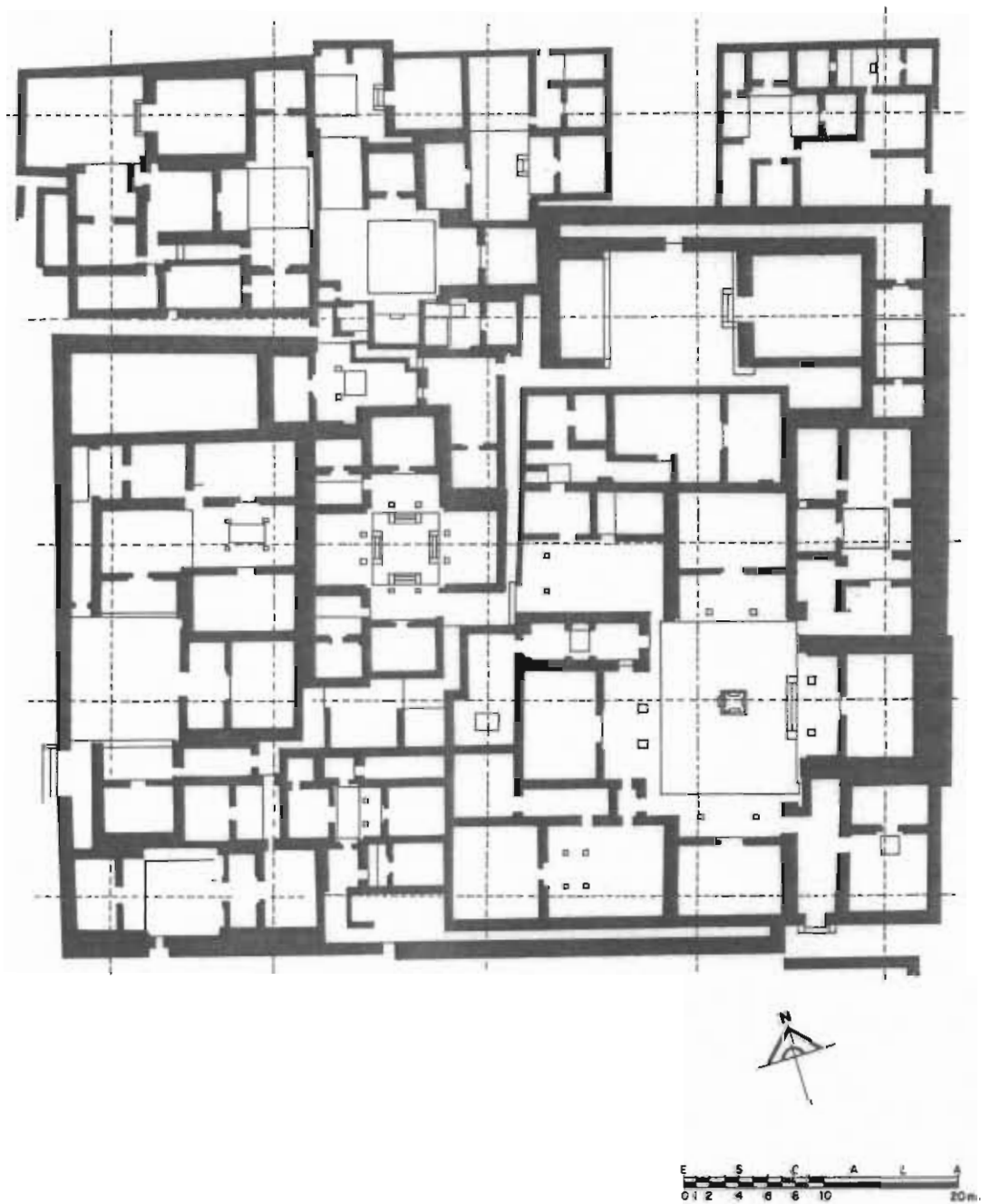
Investigation of apartment compounds has a long history. Leopoldo Batres was the first archaeologist to excavate a part of an apartment compound, Teopancazco, in 1884 (Gamio 1922: first part, 156–157); we know practically nothing of the findings in this project, except for the extraordinary mural paintings at the site. Afterwards, Sigvald Linné excavated Xolalpan and Tlamimilolpa (Linné 1934, 1942); we have the apartment compound plans, as well as the artifact and object analyses, and some locations of burials and offerings. Then there is a major gap in apartment compound research until Laurette Séjourné directed the excavations at Tetitla, Yayahuala, and Zacuala (Séjourné 1959, 1966b) in the 1950s; nevertheless, we only have the architectural, mural painting, and artifact and object descriptions, and we know nothing about what was found inside each room.

Fully documented excavations of apartment compounds are a more recent development. Leaving aside the foreign wards, in the 1980s there are examples of interdisciplinary research at apartment compounds such as Tlajinga 33 (Storey and Widmer 1989; Widmer 1991) and Oztoyahualco 15B:N6W3 (Manzanilla 1993b, 1996), which have been followed in the 1990s at Teopancazco (Manzanilla 2000) and Xalla (Manzanilla and López Luján 2001). They provide evidence for construction of distributional maps of all types of artifacts and ecofacts, as well as chemical compounds, pollen, phytoliths, seeds and faunal macrofossils, that enable us to differentiate domestic areas, activities, and choices of residents of each compound.

Even when there is variation in size (due to their proximity to the Street of the Dead), when we take into consideration the presence/absence of botanical and faunal resources, as well as exogenous raw materials, we have found that the differences in access are very slight between the excavated compounds; all had similar access to plant resources including maize (Nal-Tel Chapalote, Palomero Toluqueño, and Conical varieties), amaranth, beans, squash, hot peppers, tomato, *huauhzontle*, *Portulaca*, cactus, maguey, Mexican hawthorn, and Mexican cherries (González 1993; Manzanilla 1985, 1993b; McClung de Tapia 1979, 1980:162–163; Storey 1992:64). A greater abundance of tobacco at San Antonio Las Palmas (Monzón 1989), avocado at Teopancazco (McClung de Tapia 1979) and of cotton at Tlamimilolpa (Linné 1942), Teopancazco (McClung de Tapia 1979), Tetitla (McClung de Tapia 1979) and Tlajinga 33 (Storey and Widmer 1989), suggest differential access to imported botanical resources associated with manufacturing and ritual consumption. Cacao trees, another non-local plant, are depicted in mural art.

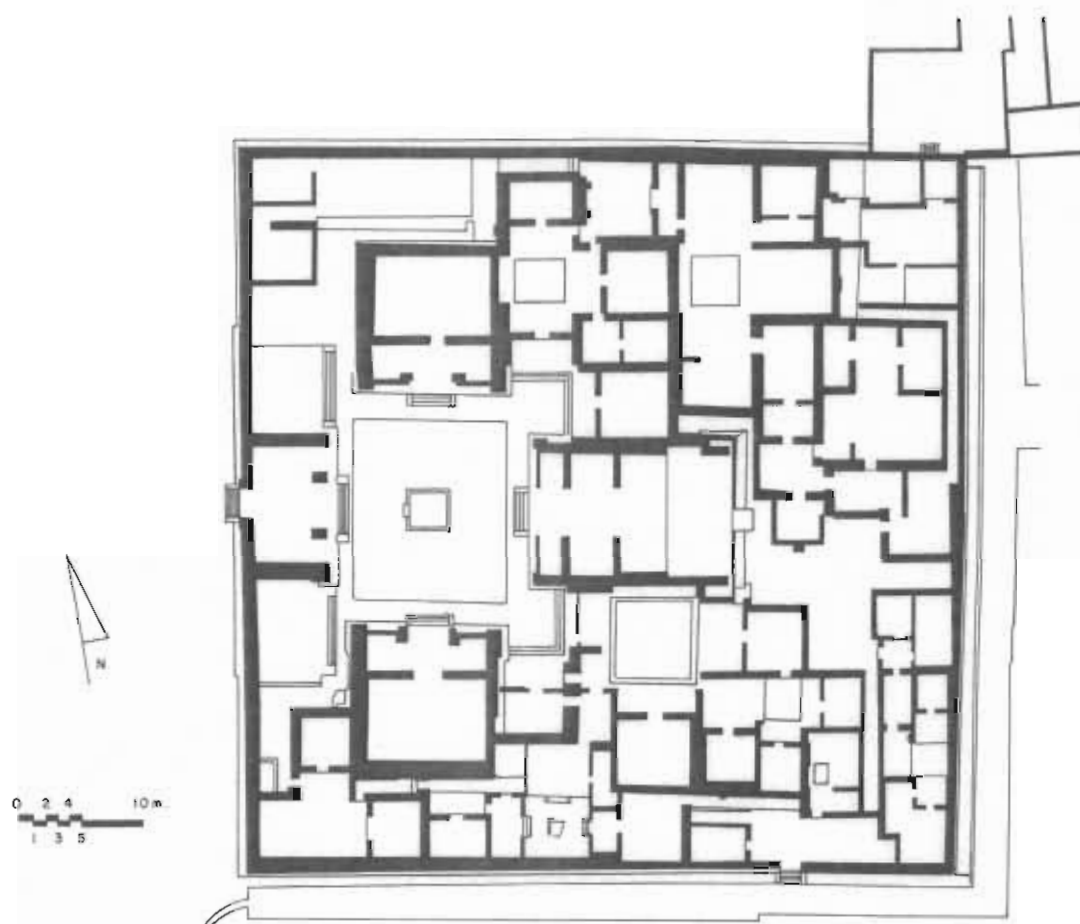
Important faunal resources included cottontail rabbits and jackrabbits, deer, supplemented by duck and fish, and, in lesser amounts, armadillo, squirrel, goose, quail, dove, turtle, and lizard (Sanders 1994:31; Starbuck 1975; Valadez Azúa 1993). Particularly when dealing with deer, we may see that even small compounds such as Oztayahualco 15B:N6W3, and foreign wards such as Xocotitla and Mezquititla have remains of several deer in their dumps (Valadez Azúa 1993:2, 795–796). Some slight differences can be cited. For example, Tetitla (Fig. 5.6) showed an unprecedented diversity of birds (as well as a particular richness in botanical species). Yahualala (Fig. 5.7) had a wide variety of marine mollusks (as well as a high proportion of *Chenopodium* and amaranth plants). At Tlajinga 33, the consumption of small birds and freshwater fish was higher, and at Oztayahualco 15B:N6W3, the reliance on several species of rabbit. At present, the degree to which these data reflect differential access to faunal and floral resources cannot be determined, because many other alternatives have to be considered: the differences may be related to group preferences and ideology, as well as differential preservation and discard practices.

Yet one difference between compounds that should be pointed out is the presence of different hunting techniques represented in the technological repertoire. For example, Tetitla displays projectile points of various sizes to cope with small, medium, and big animals (Séjourné 1966b: fig. 117). Even though Linné only published offerings from burials, the projectile points at Xolalpan (Linné 1934: figs. 258, 259, 263, 264, 293–297, 298–311) and Tlamimilolpa (Linné 1942: figs. 247, 252, 263–271) show similar size ranges. On the contrary, Oztayahualco 15B:N6W3 provided projectile points of medium and large size, together with many examples of blow-gun projectiles, perhaps for hunting small animals (Hernández 1993). Linné (1942:187) also found blow-gun projectiles at Tlamimilolpa.



**Figure 5.6.** Tetitla (redrawn from Séjourné 1966b)

In ritual contexts at Tetitla and Yayahuatla there were bones of eagle and hawk; at Ozttoyahualco 15B:N6W3 we found bear and a jaguar's fang, this last a non-local animal. Exotic raw materials such as mica, slate, and marine shells were present in many burials not only of intermediate levels in Millon's (1976) hierarchy, but also at Xolalpan, Tlamimilolpa, and Ozttoyahualco 15B:N6W3. The difference lies in their quantity, and in the proportion of Pacific versus Atlantic shell species.



**Figure 5.7.** Yayahuala (redrawn from Séjourné 1966b)

In this exercise we have concluded that there may be a whole range of socioeconomic possibilities in the excavated apartment compounds. Detecting differences that are clear-cut would be very difficult; the more examples we have, the more it looks like a continuum (Manzanilla 1996).

#### *Specialized activities*

We have observed differences in specialized activities between household groups of different compounds, but also in dominant activities of households, which suggest group and family specializations (Manzanilla 1993b). Differences in the number of high-status products, particularly decorated ceramic tripod vessels or mural paintings, and variability in the quality of the construction itself have been noted, but still no sharp distinctions are made.

Edge rejuvenation and prismatic blade extraction from obsidian cores were carried out in many compounds. Prismatic blade cores have been found at Maquixco Bajo (Sanders 1994, 1995), Ozttoyahualco 15B:N6W3 (Hernández 1993) and Xolalpan (Linné 1934: figs. 325, 327). But core-to-blade ratios were

variable. For example, at Maquixco Bajo 37 prismatic cores (Sanders 1994:66) and 304 prismatic blades were recovered (Santley et al. 1995:483). In contrast, at Oztoyahualco 15B:N6W3, only nine prismatic cores were found for 349 prismatic macroblades and 342 prismatic blades (Hernández 1993:461).

Plaster polishing also was well represented at Oztoyahualco 15B:N6W3. This activity was detected in the northern sector of the compound, where some graves that cut into the plaster floor were intended to be re-covered again with stucco. Yet the compound was abandoned before this task was concluded. The calcium carbonate mixture was already prepared, with a basalt polisher on top of it. There were 42 polishers and 16 fragments in our compound (a total of 58), an abundance that indicates a probable group occupation. A lower figure (40) was obtained for the three compounds in Maquixco Bajo (Sanders 1994:66).

Crespo Oviedo and Mastache de E. (1981) proposed that, in the Tula region, there were two sites that could be considered Zapotec settlements to obtain lime for the plastering of Teotihuacan: El Tesoro and Acoculco. Spence (1992) supported this idea by proposing that this ethnic group controlled the mining, processing, and importation of lime to the city. Our research at Oztoyahualco 15B:N6W3 does not support this interpretation, though this compound is only 3 km to the north of Tlailotlacan, the Oaxaca barrio. Thus, we have concluded that parts of the northwestern district of the ancient city had direct links with settlements in the Tula region, and that our compound was perhaps more related to Chingu (Díaz O. 1980), a Teotihuacan settlement in the Tula area, also located in the limestone area. The number of plaster "polishers" made of volcanic scoria (*tezontle*) per square meter could be used to differentiate the relevance of this activity in apartment compounds, assuming that Linné and Séjourné saved all the specimens they found. Tetitla had 0.19 polishers per square meter; the Oztoyahualco compound, 0.10; Xolalpan, 0.04; and Tlamimilolpa, 0.01.

Other craft activities also varied by compound. Lapidary work involving greenstone, marine shells, slate, and onyx, and ceramic manufacture, particularly San Martin Orange Ware, were clearly represented at Tlajinga 33 (Krotser and Rattray 1980; Storey 1991; Widmer 1991). Several figurine molds were found at Xolalpan (Linné 1934: figs. 199–208); and stone celts for cutting wood were particularly abundant in Grave 1 (Linné 1934: figs. 246–256). These objects are not common at Teotihuacan in general. Different kinds of pigments for painting walls, pottery, and probably codices, as well as spindle-whorls and needles, were recorded at Xolalpan. Tlamimilolpa (Linné 1942) also had evidence of textile manufacture, as well as basket-making and fiber-work. Tetitla (Séjourné 1966b) is represented by bone instruments for working hides and polishing pottery.

With respect to figurine production, the Oztoyahualco compound only had 132 figurines and figurine fragments from Teotihuacan times (Manzanilla 1993b:358–369), very few in comparison, for example, to Maquixco Bajo, where Kolb (1995) mentions 2,150 figurines from Teotihuacan times in all the compound and neighboring areas. Regarding the consumption of pottery within the Oztoyahualco compound there seems to be a differentiation of wares of diverse colors with respect to each household or family unit. Matte and Red Hematite Wares are



associated with Household 1. Household 2 used Black, Brown, Copa, Granular, and San Martin Wares. Household 3 – the poorest in pottery diversity and the richest in burials and foreign fauna – has a concentration of Orange and Thin Orange Wares. This may reflect differential access to pottery production in the urban setting for each nuclear household within a single apartment compound.

### *Ritual activities*

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It has been proposed that a superimposition of deities on two levels occurred for the first time at Teotihuacan. Lineage gods were patrons of lines of descent, and above them was the deity Tlaloc as god of place, protector of the territory, and patron of the city and the caves (López Austin 1989). In domestic contexts, the state god Tlaloc was represented in figurines with goggles and elaborate headdresses, as well as on Tlaloc vases and on a “handled cover.” However, at Oztoyahualco 15B:N6W3, we also had evidence of patron gods related to particular families. A stucco rabbit sculpture was found on a miniature Teotihuacan temple-shaped shrine (made of basalt) in one of the ritual patios.

Among the deities widely present at Teotihuacan, the Fire God (Huehuetēotl), who was known from the Formative period, always appears associated with the eastern portions of apartment compounds. Another deity present in domestic contexts is the Fat God, generally represented in figurines or appliquéd on tripod vessels. The Butterfly Deity is depicted on incense burners and is probably linked to death and fertility; in particular, an impressive theater-type censer (see below) that we found accompanying the burial of an adult male, had butterfly wings in the chest of the main figure, and displayed a wide array of food and economically important plants (Manzanilla and Carreón 1991).

In the Oztoyahualco compound, there were three ritual courtyards, each corresponding to a household; one of them – C41, the largest – probably also served the compound group as a whole and is called the Red Courtyard, because of its mural paintings. It was the only one with a central altar in its early construction level. The second one – Courtyard 25 – had evidence of theater-type censers (see below), and many Aztec pits that probably disturbed offerings or burials. The third one – Courtyard 33 – had the portable model basalt temple with the rabbit sculpture.

Some activity areas related to ritual preparation were detected around these courtyards. At Oztoyahualco 15B:N6W3, in the corner of C9 (near the main shrine), a concentration of 58 obsidian prismatic blade fragments, a basalt percussor, and a limestone half-sphere (with radial cutting marks probably caused by the continuous cutting up of rabbit and hare) were found (Hernández 1993; Manzanilla 1993b). There were also numerous funerary and offering pits, particularly in the eastern half of the compound. The northeastern household had the most burials, and also the greatest quantities of foreign fauna: bear, jaguar, mother-of-pearl and other marine shells (*Spondylus calcifer*).

Religion should be seen as a sphere of sociopolitical integration organized into a hierarchy in which the patron gods of household groups and barrios, occupational



deities, the gods of specific priestly groups, and state deities such as Tlaloc are superimposed (Manzanilla 1993a). Teotihuacan society was integrated mainly through religion. The conception of the four directions of sacred space permeated the domestic domain of Teotihuacan (Manzanilla 1993b). Spatial patterning seems to have been established for the disposition of functional sectors, which extended beyond the framework of the nuclear household. Thus, in general, storage zones were found to the west; those for refuse to the south; funerary areas were concentrated in the middle of the eastern sector (although exceptions exist); and neonate burials were located primarily on a north-south band, in the eastern third of the compound. The affinity for order so patently manifest in the grid system of the city finds its correspondence on the domestic level as well.

### *Funerary practices*

Burials are common in domestic contexts. However, with the exception of Tlajinga 33 and probably La Ventilla, the number of adults recovered interred in each compound is too low, relative to the area of the compound, to account for most of its inhabitants. For example, only seven burials are recorded for Xolalpan, 13 for Tlamimilolpa, and 18 for the compound at Oztoyahualco 15B:N6W3. Perhaps other adults, particularly women, were buried elsewhere.

Although Oztoyahualco 15B:N6W3 has only 18 burials, fewer than found at Tlajinga 33 (Storey 1983, 1987, 1992) or La Ventilla B (Serrano and Lagunas 1974), there are important conclusions to be drawn from these data. We hypothesize that there were three nuclear households at Oztoyahualco. The first household, in the southeastern section, is represented only by three burials. The second, in the western portion of the compound, also has three burials, all adults. The third, in the northeastern section, has 11 burials, of which six represent newborn babies and children (see Storey 1986). Such over-representation of burials belonging to particular sectors of the apartment compounds is also noted for Xolalpan, where nearly all the burials are concentrated in the southwestern section; at Tlamimilolpa, nearly all are grouped in the central-southern section; at Tetitla, they are concentrated in the northeastern section. It seems that in each compound there is one family that is well represented with respect to funerary practices, and all the rest seem to be under-represented.

Certain burials in each compound had very rich offerings. At Oztoyahualco, Burial 8 was exceptional, for it contained a male adult, 22 years of age, with an intentionally deformed skull, in association with an impressive theater-type incense burner (Manzanilla and Carreón 1991). Teotihuacan's theater-type censers are made by attaching individual ceramic appliques to a framework surrounding a central figure on one side of the chimney, through which smoke would rise from the censer body. In what seems to represent a funerary ritual, the incense burner appliques were removed from the lid, and all were placed around the deceased. The chimney was deposited toward the west, with the lid and the figure to the east of the skull. Representations of plants and sustenance (ears of corn, squash, squash

flowers, cotton, tamales, tortillas, and perhaps amaranth bread) were placed to the south; the four-petaled flowers, roundels representing feathers, and mica disks to the east and west.

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 tripod vessels also are common at Xolalpan and Tlamimilolpa, but are very rare – though present – at Oztayahualco 15B:N6W3. Probably one difference in the consumption of decorated tripod vessels 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 ceramic wares, such as Thin Orange and Granular Ware, are present in all compounds. Exotic raw materials such as mica, slate, and marine shells were present in burials at Xolalpan, Tlamimilolpa, and Oztayahualco. The difference among these burials lies in the quantity present, and in the proportion of Pacific versus Atlantic shell species.

#### *Hierarchy and sector differentiation*

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Thus, we find that the six social levels originally proposed have been expanded to such a degree that a particular compound could house people belonging to different statuses. One household in each compound seems to have been the most active in bonding the household group to the urban hierarchy. At Oztayahualco 15B:N6W3 this is Household 3, linked to the Tlaloc cult (represented by Tlaloc vases, Tlaloc figurines, and Tlaloc representations in "handled covers"), with the richest burials, and foreign fauna (Manzanilla 1993b, 1996).

At Oztayahualco 15B:N6W3 there was, in general, a clear differentiation among the various sectors of the structure. The southern sector was associated with refuse; areas for food preparation and consumption, as well as the sleeping quarters, were set around the central portion of the compound; the eastern sector was rich in funerary and ritual components; the western sector was devoted to storage; and finally, the northwestern sector had the largest courtyard, probably the compound's meeting place. As mentioned before, there seems to be a differential distribution of activities for each household within Oztayahualco 15B:N6W3. The compound was transformed by closing circulation alleys and accesses when the family structure changed.

Distributional maps of all types of archaeological materials – ceramic types, obsidian, polished stone, bone, antler, and shell, as well as chemical compounds, pollen, phytoliths, seeds and faunal macrofossils – help differentiate some activities and choices particular to each nuclear household:

- 1 Matte and Red Hematite Wares are associated with Household 1 situated to the south, together with the largest concentration of prismatic blades, ritual butchering of rabbits, and the presence of the Butterfly God.

- 2 Household 2, to the west, used Black, Brown, Copa, Granular, and San Martin Wares, and it was characterized by the holding in captivity of rabbits and hares, the butchering of animals for consumption, activities where side- and end-scrapers were used, the largest presence of foreign wares and minerals, and symbols of fire.
- 3 Household 3 to the northeast – the poorest in pottery diversity and the richest in burials and foreign fauna – had a concentration of Orange and Thin Orange Wares, together with Tlaloc symbols. This could reflect differential access to pottery production in the urban setting for each nuclear household, as well as activity and ritual differentiation.

One of the great problems of comparing the Oztoyahualco 15B:N6W3 apartment compound with the others excavated at Teotihuacan is the fact that, in the latter cases, a high percentage of the data comes from small-scale intensive excavations, with no context control; these data should be used cautiously, and can only be compared in terms of presence/absence to data coming from large-scale extensive excavations. One may think that there are differences in quantities, but the problem is the comparability of the samples. When we take into consideration the presence/absence of botanical and faunal resources, as well as exotic raw materials, we conclude that the differences in access between compounds are very slight.

There also are differences in specialized activities between household groups of different compounds, but also in dominant activities of households, which suggest group and family specializations. Differences in the number of high-status products, particularly the decorated ceramic tripods or the mural paintings, and variability in the quality of the construction itself have also been noted. There may be a whole range of socioeconomic possibilities, with no clear-cut distinctions between groups in the urban setting.

### Beyond the Apartment Compound

Apartment and residential compounds should not be analyzed without taking into consideration the relations to their neighboring structures. We know very little about the barrio settlement unit at Teotihuacan. Different types of apartment compounds may cluster around a barrio ritual center. Many of the three-temple complexes found throughout the northern part of the ancient city could be the centers of barrio groups, where cult and exchange activities took place for a number of specialized corporate groups living in apartment compounds around them. Other types of wards, not involving three-temple complexes, may be distinguished in the southern part of the city. Recently, Cabrera (1996) has excavated a large area of the La Ventilla barrio, with its ceremonial core, and the different apartment compounds around it, some rich, with a large display of mural paintings, and some poor, more domestic in character, with evidence of lapidary work (Gómez Chávez 2000). Barbour (1993) has proposed that host figurines (large hollow pottery human representations, with small painted figurines inside their bodies and related to head,

limbs, and chest) may be a symbolic representation of Teotihuacan's social structure, particularly the group consecrating the offering.

If Millon (1981:209) is right in proposing that the apartment compounds are a by-product of state decisions to control efficiently the population of the city, then a further subject of interest would be the articulation of these social units with the *barrio* and urban organization as a whole. It is also possible that the inefficiency of the state bureaucracy and its inflexibility caused its fall (Millon 1988), and was, in part, provoked by the difficulty in harmonizing the interests of such a vast array of ethnic, occupational, and social groups.

With respect to coercive elements within Teotihuacan society, Millon (1993:31) states that there is evidence of two military wards at Teotihuacan: one centered in Atetelco, in the southwestern part of the city, and the other – Techinantitla – in the northeastern section. His conclusion derived from the mural paintings in these sites. Yet we should also emphasize that evidence for large militaristic displays is limited, not often seen within the city. Evidence for temple dedications with human sacrifices (López Austin et al. 1991) seem to be limited to particular events and times.

A fact that strikes me when comparing Teotihuacan to other Classic sites in Mesoamerica is the lack of dynastic iconography and propaganda, as Pasztory (1988) has noted: no individual rulers are depicted. The most common human depiction in mural art is the procession of anonymous human figures in priestly attire. This may mean two things: either the rulers are most commonly depicted in their priestly function, and not in their secular aspect, or there is a collective agency in charge of the government, so no particular individual is represented.

Paulinyi (1981) suggests that Teotihuacan and Tula inaugurated a new type of government characterized by the co-regency of three to seven lords. López Austin (1989) proposes that Teotihuacan was the first place where the transformation from lineage to state took place, a process in which the old lineage heads separated from the common people to form an autonomous group of bureaucrats, redistributors, and nobles. The birth of the state would be derived from the presence of groups of diverse origin and from the use of power over a territory. C. Millon (1973) and Pasztory (1978) have interpreted certain human representations with tassel head-dresses as emissaries of the state in foreign lands. This stately function could have guaranteed the adequate flow of foreign raw materials from Teotihuacan enclaves to the capital.

In our model (Manzanilla 1993a), the Great Compound, more than a market, would be an administrative and storage place for the different sectors of the city, and also the main redistributive center. The regional interests that Sload (1987) invokes for the Great Compound's domestic structures may be closely related to the storage of specialized products from different sectors of the city.

### **The Elite and the City**

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Nobody can contest that Teotihuacan was the capital of an impressive state that established enclaves in remote provinces of Mesoamerica. Yet there are



different opinions about its type of government. There are some who believe that Teotihuacan was headed by a single lord or maybe two (Cabrera, Cowgill, and Sugiyama 1990). There are others who propose a collective government (Manzanilla 1993a; Pasztory 1988). Paulinyi (1981) proposes the existence of seven district groups within Teotihuacan which may have had a part in co-rulership: one is located to the west of the Great Compound; the second in the northwestern part of the valley; the third to the east of the Street of the Dead; the fourth on the eastern fringe of the city; the fifth to the south of the San Lorenzo river. Following a similar line of thought, through cluster analysis of 16 artifact types, Sload (1987) proposed that each of the apartment compounds on top of the Great Compound was affiliated with a particular region of the city.

Three sites have been mentioned as the possible residence of the rulers of the city. Armillas (1964:307) argued that the rulers of Teotihuacan probably lived in the Ciudadela, by analogy with the *tecpan* of Aztec times. Millon advanced the possibility of dual rulers, each residing in one of the so-called "palaces" to the north and to the south of the Temple of the Feathered Serpent in the Ciudadela (Millon 1976:237). From the limited published evidence of these buildings (Jarquín Pacheco and Martínez Vargas 1982; Romero Noguérón 1982), we know that each of these buildings has five almost identical apartments around a central courtyard, covering an area of 4800 m<sup>2</sup>. In Structure 1D (north of the Temple of the Feathered Serpent), burials under the floors were found in some of the rooms, the richest of which, found in Compound A (northwest) had jade ear spools, mica disks, a theater-type censer with marine elements, and tripod vessels and plates (Jarquín Pacheco and Martínez Vargas 1982:103). These elements parallel those from other residential compounds, and are not unusual. In Structure 1E (to the south of the temple) stone mortars and grinding tools were found on top of the floor, emphasizing food preparation activity areas, as in other domestic compounds (Romero Noguérón 1982:160). Domestic deities such as Huehuetecotl, as well as Tlaloc vases, are found in these two huge structures, as well as in small domestic compounds, such as the one we excavated in Oztotahualco 15B:N6W3 (Manzanilla 1993b).

The second candidate for the residence of the ruler is the Street of the Dead Complex, which has been cited by Cowgill (1992) as the seat of the political authority of the city. This group of buildings stands between the Pyramid of the Sun and the Ciudadela, and it is a macro-complex of temples and residential structures surrounded by walls (R. Millon 1973:35), comprising the Western Plaza Compound, the *Edificios Superpuestos*, and the Viking Group. Morelos García (1993) excavated extensively in the Western Plaza Compound, a large plaza surrounded by three structures around which different rooms and courtyards are located. In some of the rooms and courtyards, many grinding tools were found (Morelos García 1993:62–63), as well as sculptures, merlons, domestic pottery, etc. Morelos García (1993:66) states that there was a difference between the archaeological materials found on temples and altars, and those found in adjacent rooms and courtyards, with the latter being more domestic in nature. No burials were found, as in other residential compounds at Teotihuacan, so the author assigns an administrative function to the compound, even though the ceremonial function of the main structures

is not discussed. Nevertheless, the alignment of small rooms adjacent to the Street of the Dead seem more like offices or warehouses than domestic structures.

Third, the Great Compound has also been cited as a possibility for the city's main marketplace and bureaucratic center (R. Millon 1973; Sload 1987), but we know very little about this area, which seems to be more administrative in nature.

I would contend that it is difficult to designate a particular structure as the seat of the rulers of the city. Many sites have special characteristics because of their privileged location and nearness to the Street of the Dead. I could add to the former three the Quetzalpapaotl Palace in the Moon Plaza (Acosta 1964); and the Xalla Complex between the Pyramids of the Sun and Moon, which we (Manzanilla and López Luján 2001) began excavating in 2000. The Quetzalpapaotl Palace seems to be a huge residential sector attached to one of the temples (Building 5) that border the Moon Plaza, and as such it is exceptional (Acosta 1964:59).

One of the main problems we have to face at Teotihuacan is the analysis of these big buildings; we have not been able to differentiate among rooms that were administrative in function, those that were audience rooms, or those that were domestic quarters. With respect to centralized storage, Cowgill (1987) has shown that there were large concentrations of San Martín amphorae in a 300 m band west and north of the Street of the Dead. Thus, we could suggest that there was some kind of centralized storage near or on the main avenue.

Collective rulership does not require a particular residence for the ruling group; perhaps the residences are located in the different sectors, and the "palace" is only a seat of government affairs and administration. Future research in the Xalla Compound, where the main plaza has four stepped buildings, one to each cardinal point, with a temple in the center of the plaza, can test this hypothesis; perhaps each structure is the seat of a sector lord, and the plaza reflects the ritual component of this corporate rulership.

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