Teotihuacan and Early Classic Mesoamerica

MULTISCALAR PERSPECTIVES ON POWER, IDENTITY, AND INTERREGIONAL RELATIONS

EDITED BY

Claudia García-Des Lauriers
and Tatsuya Murakami

UNIVERSITY PRESS OF COLORADO
Louisville

copyrighted material, not for distribution

© 2021 by University Press of Colorado

Published by University Press of Colorado
245 Century Circle, Suite 202
Louisville, Colorado 80027

All rights reserved
Manufactured in the United States of America

The University Press of Colorado is a proud member of
the Association of University Presses.

The University Press of Colorado is a cooperative publishing enterprise supported, in part, by Adams State University, Colorado State University, Fort Lewis College, Metropolitan State University of Denver, Regis University, University of Colorado, University of Northern Colorado, University of Wyoming, Utah State University, and Western Colorado University.

∞ This paper meets the requirements of the ANSI/NISO Z39.48–1992 (Permanence of Paper)

ISBN: 978-1-64642-220-3 (hardcover)
ISBN: 978-1-64642-221-0 (ebook)
https://doi.org/10.5876/9781646422210

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: García-Des Lauriers, Claudia, 1976– editor. | Murakami, Tatsuya, editor.
Title: Teotihuacan and Early Classic Mesoamerica : multi-scalar perspectives on power, identity, and interregional relations / edited by Claudia García-Des Lauriers and Tatsuya Murakami.
Description: Louisville, CO : University Press of Colorado, [2021] | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2021034809 (print) | LCCN 2021034810 (ebook) | ISBN 9781646422203 (hardcover) | ISBN 9781646422210 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Indians of Mexico—Social conditions. | Indians of Central America—Social conditions. | Indians of Mexico—Commerce. | Indians of Central America—Commerce. | Indians of Mexico—Politics and government. | Indians of Central America—Politics and government. | Indians of Mexico—Antiquities. | Indians of Central America—Antiquities. | Antiquities, Prehistoric—Mexico. | Antiquities, Prehistoric—Central America. | Social archaeology—Mexico. | Social archaeology—Central America. | Mexico—Relations—Central America. | Central America—Relations—Mexico.
Classification: LCC F1219.3.S57 T43 2021 (print) | LCC F1219.3.S57 (ebook) | DDC 972/.016—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021034809
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021034810

The University Press of Colorado gratefully acknowledges the support of Tulane University and California State Polytechnic University, Pomona toward this publication.

Front-cover photograph by Ramiro Valencia. Back-cover and spine photograph, courtesy, Carlos Viramontes

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Contents

copyrighted material, not for distribution

copyrighted material, not for distribution

1

Introduction

Teotihuacan and Early Classic Mesoamerica

Tatsuya Murakami
and Claudia
García-Des Lauriers

The Early Classic period (ca. AD 200/300–600) has been characterized by the appearance of Teotihuacan-related material culture throughout Mesoamerica (figures 1.1–1.3), variously termed in the literature as a Middle Classic Horizon, or more often referred to as "Teotihuacan influence" (Braswell 2003a; Demarest and Foias 1993; Pasztory 1978; Stuart 2000). The question of what this so-called influence represents has largely been taken up by scholars working in the Maya region, where beginning in the late 1940s with the research of Kidder et al. (1946) they turned up evidence of contacts between Kaminaljuyú and Teotihuacan. Since then there has been much ink spilt attempting to sort out the relationship between several important centers in the Maya region and the great Central Mexican metropolis. Recent iterations of this debate include Geoffrey Braswell (2003b); David Stuart (2000); William Fash and Barbara Fash (2000); Ellen E. Bell et al. (2004); and Jesper Nielsen (2003) among others, who again retake these questions with a focus on the Maya region. However, as George Cowgill (2003a:324) pointed out, while the interactions between the Maya and Teotihuacan have received the lion's share of the scholarly attention, they "are simply the farthest southeastern expressions of strong Teotihuacan influences" and that "Teotihuacan 'presences' of various kinds were widespread in Mesoamerica." Cowgill (2003a:324) further notes that a book on the "general theme of 'Teotihuacan abroad'" is necessary to add to this important dialogue.

https://doi.org/10.5876/9781646422210.c001

copyrighted material, not for distribution

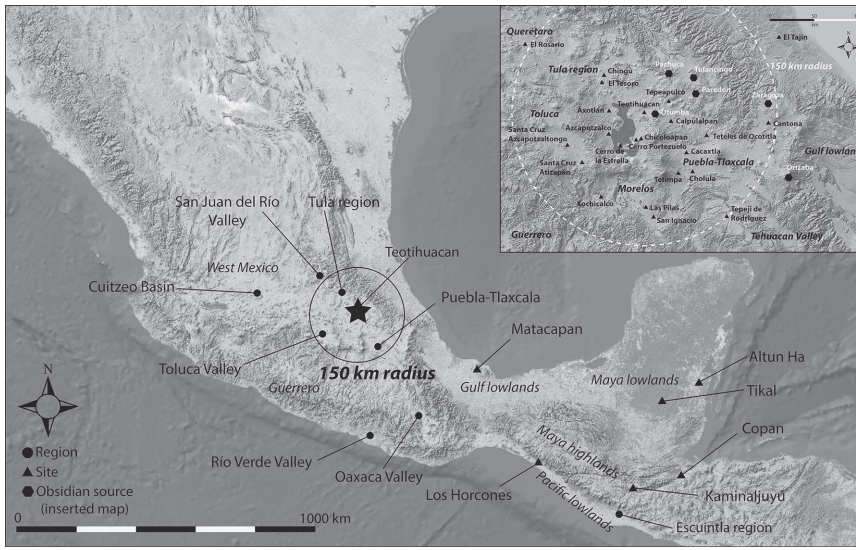

Figure 1.1. *Map of sites mentioned in the book (drawn by T. Murakami).*

This volume is inspired by Cowgill's call to view this debate through different eyes, taking into consideration not just the Maya world, but other regions that are also contributing greatly to this discourse—including the city itself. Moreover, growing evidence that this "Teotihuacan influence" consisted of complex networks of interactions with varied directionality and at multiple scales has emerged as more research outside of the Maya region has embraced this as a theme of investigation. It is now clear, from this new research, that Teotihuacan's connections with other regions cannot be subsumed in a simple concept such as "Teotihuacan influence." Nor can terms such as "externalist" or "internalist," the two main positions embraced by Mayanist scholars wrestling with these questions, effectively explain the diversity of material signatures of contacts more recent research is revealing (Braswell 2003a; Fash and Fash 2000; Stuart 2000). Even in the Maya region, however, this question has been tethered by these two models so as to obscure the variety of patterns documented of Teotihuacan "influence" at highland and lowland sites.

In this volume, we will further explore the complex nature of Teotihuacan's interaction with other regions from both the center and peripheral perspectives. On the one hand, Teotihuacan was not a monolithic entity, and different social segments with varying practical capacities sought external relations for varying purposes. On the other, the presence of Teotihuacan-related material

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Figure 1.2. *Map of Teotihuacan (drawn by T. Murakami).*

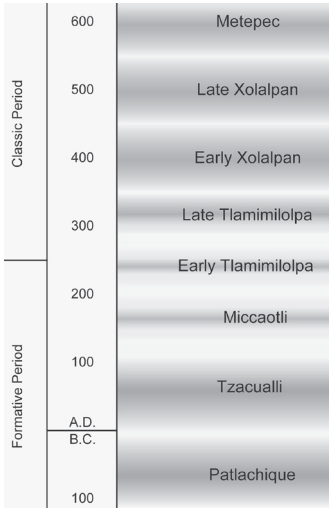

Figure 1.3. *Teotihuacan chronology (drawn by T. Murakami).*

copyrighted material, not for distribution

culture outside the city may have resulted from a fairly broad range of interactions, including direct and indirect state administration, colonization, emulation by local groups, economic transactions, single event elite interactions, and various types of alliances (Cowgill 2003a; Marcus 2003). In order to disentangle the complexity inherent in Early Classic interaction, we propose a multiscalar view of power and identity, one that gives importance to various groups' practices at multiple scales of social interaction. Power and identity are inseparable yet distinct facets of social interaction, and they are useful concepts for the interpretation of interregional relations. Questions we seek to answer range from basic ones—such as who interacted with whom and what kinds of materials and ideas were exchanged—to more theoretical ones—such as what role(s) interregional interactions played for the creation, transformation, and contestation of power and identity both at the city and at local polities, as well as how interactions at different scales were articulated with one another and with the operation of each polity and community.

CHRONOLOGY AND PERIODIZATION AT TEOTIHUACAN: DEFINITION OF THE EARLY CLASSIC

Teotihuacan became an urban center beginning around 100 BC and rose as a regional state around the second or third century AD, dominating much of the Basin of Mexico and beyond until it collapsed around AD 650 (figure 1.3) (Cowgill 2000, 2008, 2015; Millon 1981). The city of Teotihuacan is characterized by its gigantic monumental architecture and dense settlement (figure 1.2). A number of pyramids and other civic-ceremonial structures were built along a central street called the Street of the Dead in the core area (hereafter, called the central precinct). From the third century AD onward, most city residents, probably over 100,000 people, resided in approximately 2,300 apartment compounds, distinct walled residential compounds consisting of multiple courtyard units constructed surrounding the central precinct.

Two foundational projects, the Teotihuacan Mapping Project (TMP), directed by René Millon (1973; Millon et al. 1973), and the Valley of Teotihuacan Survey Project (as part of a broader Basin of Mexico survey) directed by William Sanders (1981; Sanders et al. 1979), provide the major sources of data for the developmental trajectory and chronology of Teotihuacan. The TMP provides a detailed map of the extent of the city of Teotihuacan, while the Valley of Teotihuacan Survey Project identified settlements in the hinterlands of the city extending throughout the Valley of Teotihuacan. Continued survey of the entire Basin of Mexico provided a profile of settlement pattern change

copyrighted material, not for distribution

in the central part of the Teotihuacan realm (e.g., Parsons and Gorenflo 2008; Sanders et al. 1979). A chronology of Teotihuacan, consisting of six ceramic phases (figure 1.3), was constructed based on these survey data complemented by test excavations (see Cowgill 2000; Rattray 2001). Recently, there have been some modifications on the absolute dates based on the growing number of radiocarbon and other dates (Beramendi-Orosco et al. 2009; Cowgill 1996; S. Sugiyama 2004). For example, originally the beginning of the Early Xolalpan phase was set at AD 450 by the TMP (Millon 1973) and was later modified to AD 400 (Millon 1981:240). Recently Teotihuacan researchers seem to prefer a still earlier date for the beginning of the Early Xolalpan phase, around AD 350 (Beramendi-Orosco et al. 2009; Rattray 1991). Moreover, the end of the Metepec phase has been modified from AD 750 to AD 650 or earlier (Cowgill 1996; Rattray 1991).

The Early Classic period covers a time period from circa AD 200/300 to AD 600 in most Mesoamerican literature (e.g., Coe and Koontz 2013; Evans 2000; Hendon and Joyce 2004), and it is during this time that Teotihuacan-related material culture appears in vast areas of Mesoamerica. While the original definition of the Classic period was based on the long-count dates in the Maya area, Central Mexican archaeologists affiliated with Mexican institutions have developed a somewhat distinct periodization (see Manzanilla and López Luján 2001). These scholars equated the end of the Teotihuacan period to the end of the Classic period, and thus, the Epiclassic or Terminal Classic covers a time period after the collapse of the Teotihuacan state and before the rise of the Tula state. When the end date of the Teotihuacan period was set at AD 750, there was not much discrepancy with the chronology of other Mesoamerican areas. However, after it was modified to AD 650 (Cowgill 1996, 2015; Rattray 1991), it became closer to the end date of the Early Classic, and there was a need to adjust it. Thus, some researchers working in Central Mexico define the Early Classic to AD 200–500 and the Late Classic to AD 500–650. However, the end of the Teotihuacan period could be as early as AD 550 requiring further modification. More important, because we are exploring a Mesoamericanist perspective on the interaction between Teotihuacan and other societies, instead of a Teotihuacan-centered perspective, we decided to follow a common usage of the Early Classic in most Mesoamerican literature. Moreover, since we have relatively well-defined ceramic chronology at Teotihuacan, we will use Teotihuacan's ceramic phases to denote a specific time frame whenever possible.

The Middle Classic period or Middle Horizon are other terms that were, and still are, used to denote the height of Teotihuacan (Pasztory 1978; Pool

copyrighted material, not for distribution

2006; Wolf 1976). The horizon concept was once adopted in Central Mexico (Wolf 1976); however, Esther Pasztory (1997) criticized the term and argues that artistic style was a symbol of ethnicity and several individual regional cultures developed during the Classic period. While Classic Mesoamerica is characterized by extensive interaction between these distinctive regional cultures, she points out that no single art style is found throughout the area and the concept of both horizon and horizon style "does not help to explain the nature of art and style in Classic Mesoamerica" (Pasztory 1997:139). The designation of Middle Classic Horizon, though largely discredited, has also been invoked as a way of understanding the period of Teotihuacan influence in different regions throughout Mesoamerica (Varela Torrecilla and Braswell 2003). The concept of a Middle Classic Horizon has been criticized for its lack of utility as a meaningful chronological marker and marker of Teotihuacan hegemony over much of Mesoamerica. First, the evidence and timing of a Teotihuacan presence varies from site to site (Braswell 2003a; Demarest and Foias 1993). Second, the concept of a Middle Classic Horizon overemphasizes the role of Teotihuacan in local regional developments (Varela Torrecilla and Braswell 2003).

A BRIEF SETTLEMENT HISTORY OF TEOTIHUACAN

The book attempts to present the themes of interaction from both local and regional/interregional perspectives. To that end we would like to present a brief history of Teotihuacan's settlement (see Nichols 2016 for a recent summary). Teotihuacan's "Old City," located in the northwestern portion of the later city, dates to the Patlachique phase (ca. 100 BC to AD 1) and had a population of 20,000 to 40,000 people (Cowgill 1974, 2003b; Millon 1973). Immigration from nearby areas within the Basin of Mexico explains much of the population increase at Teotihuacan during this phase (Cowgill 2000, 2015; Sanders et al. 1979:106). At this time, the city was an aggregate of multiple relatively independent communities and likely not organized under a single central authority like later in its history (Angulo 2007; Murakami 2006, 2014). Public works were limited to the construction of canals near the San Juan River near the Ciudadela (Blucher 1971; Gómez Chávez et al. in press; Nichols 2016), and communal construction and maintenance might have been an integrative force for the Patlachique phase city.

The "Old City" continued to be densely occupied during the subsequent Tzacualli phase (ca. AD 1–150) (Cowgill 1992), suggesting some continuity of sociopolitical organization outside of the central precinct. The construction of buildings in the central precinct suggests the appearance of an incipient central

copyrighted material, not for distribution

authority, as seen in some structures within the Moon Pyramid (S. Sugiyama 2004; S. Sugiyama and Cabrera 2007), the Sun Pyramid (Millon et al. 1965; N. Sugiyama et al. 2013), and some possible elite residences at the Ciudadela (called Pre-Ciudadela; Gazzola 2009). But given their modest scale along with the presence of multiple architectural traditions such as Tlachinolpan (Blucher 1971) and Plaza One (Cook de Leonard 1957; Millon and Bennyhoff 1961), their consolidation of power was still incipient and possibly included some multiple semiautonomous communities.

The Miccaotli phase (ca. AD 150–250) was a time of explosive growth of power for the ruling elites, and it appears that the city was reorganized under a strong central authority. The Sun Pyramid, built to its greatest volume over the artificial cave, became one of the largest pyramids in Mesoamerica (N. Sugiyama et al. 2013). The Moon Pyramid was substantially enlarged (S. Sugiyama 2004; S. Sugiyama and Cabrera 2007), and a complex series of sacrificial burial/offerings was found within the building, attesting to the growing militaristic power of the ruling elites (Rattray 1997; S. Sugiyama 2004; S. Sugiyama and López Luján 2007). In the Early Tlamimilolpa phase (ca. AD 250–300), the Ciudadela and the Feathered Serpent Pyramid (FSP) were built south of the San Juan River (R. Cabrera C. et al. 1991; S. Sugiyama 2005). Excavations at the FSP revealed burials of around 200 sacrificed victims, implying a powerful institution behind the erection of the monument (S. Sugiyama 2005). Cowgill (1983, 1992) and Millon (1981, 1988, 1993) posit that during the Tzacualli/Miccaotli phases the Teotihuacan polity was highly centralized, possibly with autocratic rule, and that the construction of the Ciudadela (see below) was the culmination of despotic rulership.

The construction of approximately 2,300 apartment compounds marks the start of "urban renewal" begun in the Tlamimilolpa phase (ca. AD 250–350) and subsequently rebuilt during the Xolalpan (ca. AD 350–550) and Metepec (ca. AD 550–650) phases (e.g., Linné 1934, 1942; Manzanilla 1993; Millon 1981; Rattray 1987; Séjourné 1959, 1966; Spence 1992). The population reached 100,000 or more by the beginning of this period and seems to have been plateaued during the Tlamimilolpa phase (Cowgill 1974:389, 2000, but see Cowgill 2007). The nature of state power in the Late Tlamimilolpa through Metepec phases remains somewhat controversial (e.g., Blanton et al. 1996; Cowgill 2000, 2003b; Headrick 2007; Manzanilla 2001, 2004, 2006; Millon 1988, 1993; Murakami 2010, 2014; Pasztory 1988; see also Murakami 2016a for a brief summary), but it seems likely that there was a substantial change in the nature of rulership during the Early Xolalpan phase (AD 350–450) or earlier, as evidenced by the possible termination of the FSP (S. Sugiyama 1998). In addition, Murakami

copyrighted material, not for distribution

(2010, 2014, 2016a) recently argued for the development of a bureaucracy that mediated interests and strategies of ruling elites and the rest of the populace.

After a hiatus of major construction activities within the central precinct during the Late Xolalpan phase (ca. AD 450–550; Millon 1988), some renovations of the Ciudadela (R. Cabrera C. 1998; Drucker 1974) and the Palace of the Sun (Rattray 2001:69) have been documented. The apparent reduction in the scale of monumental construction activities suggests that the state administrative system slowly declined before its violent collapse around AD 650 or earlier (Cowgill 1996; Millon 1988). In contrast, rebuilding episodes at some intermediate elite compounds are impressive (e.g., La Ventilla I; Murakami 2010), and current evidence suggests the proliferation of intermediate elites, with competition among and between them and the ruling elites (Manzanilla 2006) that may have resulted in the dissolution of the administrative system at Teotihuacan (see also Murakami, chapter 2 this volume).

Along with a discussion of the internal periodization of Teotihuacan's construction and history as an urban center, we must also briefly mention how the history of contacts is interwoven into these local processes. Evidence of contacts with distant regions at the site goes back to as early as the Patlachique phase (Clayton 2005:444; White et al. 2002), while some of the earliest evidence outside of the city comes from cache deposits from the Pacific Coast and Maya lowlands dating to around AD 150 to 250 (Bove and Medrano Busto 2003:51; Pendergast 1971, 2003). Contacts intensified and became more spatially extensive, however, during the Late Tlamimilolpa and Xolalpan phases (Braswell 2003a, 2003b; Clayton 2005; García-Des Lauriers 2007). In the Maya region, we also see continued citations of Teotihuacan style and iconography in the Late Classic after the fall of the Teotihuacan state as is seen in Central Mexico. Within the city itself, Sarah Clayton (2005:444) "suggests that Teotihuacan's interaction with the Maya persisted until at least the very end of its history as the capital of a powerful state" with "occasional interaction after the collapse, during the Coyotlatelco phase." From the very inception of the city's founding and throughout its history, contacts with people from other regions were at the core of Teotihuacan's identity as a cosmopolitan metropolis (Price et al. 2000).

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON EARLY CLASSIC INTERACTION: MODELS AND APPROACHES

The question of Teotihuacan's influence on different regions of Mesoamerica as already mentioned entered into the discourse of Mesoamericanist

copyrighted material, not for distribution

archaeology in the mid-twentieth century. The findings of Teotihuacan material culture at the Early Classic Maya site of Kaminaljuyú (Kidder et al. 1946) and the chronological placement of Teotihuacan in the Classic period (Armillas 1950) formed the basis for understanding Early Classic interaction in Mesoamerica. Since then, as more research has been conducted on the Early Classic period of various centers, data have accumulated that show extensive contacts between Teotihuacan and the Maya region, Oaxaca, the Gulf Coast, the Pacific Coast of Oaxaca, Chiapas, and Guatemala, and West Mexico. The nature of the relationships evinced by the material culture patterns has been interpreted through various models.

David Stuart (2000), while presenting historical evidence from texts at Tikal, coined the terms "externalist" and "internalist" to describe the interpretive poles for understanding the role of Teotihuacan and Maya relations. The externalist perspectives "posit an overt and disruptive Teotihuacan presence in the Maya lowlands from the late fourth century CE associated with military incursions if not political domination" (Stuart 2000:465). Internalist perspectives see "Teotihuacan styles and material remains . . . as a local appropriation of prestigious or legitimating symbolism and its associated militaristic ideology" with little discussion about the power relations between the Maya and Teotihuacan (Stuart 2000:465). From a theoretical standpoint, we see that most studies that advocated externalist perspectives can be placed as part of systemic approaches (see Giddens 1979) that attempt to discern structural relationships between Teotihuacan and other polities in terms of political economy and asymmetrical power relations (e.g., Bove 1990, 2002; Bove et al. 1993; Bove and Medrano Busto 2003; Cheek 1977a, 1977b; Coggins 1975, 1979; 1983; Hellmuth 1975, 1978; Kidder et al. 1946; Nielsen 2003; Proskouriakoff 1993; Sanders and Price 1968; Smith and Montiel 2001; Smyth 2000; Smyth and Rogart 2004; Stuart 2000; among others). Internalist perspectives are largely agent-based approaches that emphasize the primacy of local history, the agency of local rulers and of populations. They acknowledge the presence of Teotihuacan-style materials and imports but attribute this to elite emulation, gifts, or local appropriations while downplaying any direct role the Teotihuacan state may have had in these local dynamics (Ball 1974, 1983; Bell et al. 2004; Berlo 1983, 1984, 1989; Braswell 2003a; Demarest and Foias 1993; Fash and Fash 2000; Fash 2002; Iglesias Ponce de León 2003; Pendergast 1971, 2003; Sharer 2003; Spence 1996; Stanton 2005; Stone 1989). Below, we summarize both approaches and argue for integrating them, creating a better understanding of Early Classic interaction in Mesoamerica.

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Systemic Approaches: Imperial and Political Economic Models

The TMP during the 1960s revealed the immense size of the city, degree of planning, evidence of large-scale craft production, and international nature of the population (Millon 1973). All of this evidence, coupled with Teotihuacan material culture found in various regions, led various scholars to emphasize Central Mexican hegemony and even direct control and empire. As Esther Pasztory (1997) discusses, earlier interpretations followed Aztec models of empire, and Teotihuacan presence in distant regions was taken as evidence of Teotihuacan colonization and trade control. For Kaminaljuyú, for example, evidence of Teotihuacan interactions was initially interpreted to reflect the important role that this Central Mexican city had on the local history of this center, with scholars suggesting the presence of Teotihuacan enclaves, external control of local resources, and Teotihuacan's influence as strong enough to have played a significant role in the development of social complexity in the Maya region (Becker 1983; Braswell 2003c; Cheek 1977a, 1977b; Kidder et al. 1946; Sanders and Price 1968; Sanders and Michels 1977). In addition to Kaminaljuyú, possible enclaves have been proposed at Matacapan on the Gulf Coast and at the site of Montana on the Pacific Coast of Guatemala (Bove and Medrano Busto 2003; Santley 2007) whose role was in part to maintain and support the economic interests of Teotihuacan by facilitating the movement of Pachuca obsidian or other Central Mexican products in exchange for local resources such as cacao.

Santley proposed that a trade monopoly, particularly of obsidian, was the source of Teotihuacan's power and influence across Mesoamerica and argued for a "vast commercial empire" (Santley 1983:69, 1989, 2007). This model was based on the large scale of obsidian craft production in the metropolis (Spence 1967, 1986), possible enclaves in distant regions, and the presence of Pachuca obsidian along with Teotihuacan ceramics and other objects in numerous sites. Soon after the model was proposed, critics, among them John Clark (1986), reexamined the evidence for obsidian craft production at Teotihuacan and demonstrated that production destined for the city could explain the amount of debris. While the presence of Teotihuacan-related material culture has generated a discourse that emphasizes economic interactions and models (e.g., Brown 1977; Cheek 1977b; Drennan et al. 1990; Filini 2004; García-Des Lauriers 2007; Santley and Alexander 1992, 1996; Santley and Arnold 2005; Santley et al. 2001), the degree of economic dominance of Teotihuacan in Early Classic Mesoamerica has been difficult to fully assess. Moreover, the presence of Teotihuacan enclaves at Matacapan and Kaminaljuyú has also come into significant question (Braswell 2003b, 2003c; Cheek 1977a, 1977b; Sanders and Price 1968).

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Accordingly, the notion that Teotihuacan fueled the rise of social complexity in the Maya region has been largely discredited (Demarest and Foias 1993). Through more scrutiny and accumulation of data, it became clear that there was not enough evidence for Teotihuacan's strong intervention in the local politics of distant areas, whereas there was growing evidence for Teotihuacan's dominance at a regional scale. Thus, the extent of the Teotihuacan empire was scaled down, and Millon (1988), who synthesized Teotihuacan's interaction with other areas for the first time, argued that Teotihuacan's dominance did not go much beyond Central Mexico.

Michael Smith and Lisa Montiel (2001) revived the concept of empire and conclude that Teotihuacan was really an empire, though small in scale, based on archaeological criteria they devised using historically known empires in line with Millon's (1988) original assessment. Other research has focused on identifying patterns that might facilitate Teotihuacan's control of trade routes or movement of merchants through a region without necessarily the presence of an enclave, such as Drennan et al. (1990), who present data for the Tehuacan Valley and Los Horcones, which Claudia García-Des Lauriers (2007) has argued is a "gateway community" to the Pacific coastal region of Chiapas.

Richard Blanton and Gary Feinman (1984) argue that the concept of empire (and interaction sphere as well) has limited utility to explain macroregional interaction and, instead, advocate the utility of World Systems Theory with substantial modification. They argue that the growth of powerful core states results in "a widespread stimulation of trade, a reorienting of priorities in many places toward production and exchange" at a macroregional scale (Blanton and Feinman 1984:678). Thus, sociopolitical and economic processes in the core area, in Central Mexico in this case, may induce changes in peripheral areas, and we need to take into account these newly created macroregional ties as well as "the political economies that existed before the shifts in the organization of the world system" (678). They deny the simplistic notions such as "the introduction, adoption, or diffusion of traits or behavioral patterns" (678). The World Systems framework is based on the assumption of asymmetric relations between the core area and peripheral areas and may be useful to understand Early Classic interaction at a regional scale. However, the application of World Systems Theory to Classic Mesoamerica is heavily critiqued by Arthur Demarest and Antonia Foias (1993:175–176), who argue that Teotihuacan-Maya interaction was not based on asymmetrical economic exchange but was "elite status-reinforcing trade and contacts, the exchange of ideas, and the spread of religious cults," which is more in line with peer-polity interaction (Renfrew and Cherry 1986) or multicentric political economies (Schortman and Urban 2004:202–204).

copyrighted material, not for distribution

These discussions clearly demonstrate that neither imperial models nor world economic models alone are appropriate for explaining the diverse manifestation of Teotihuacan's interaction with other regions. These models may turn out to be useful for some specific regions and/or to some limited spatial extent, but as explanations of the overall process of interactions they have limited potential. Barbara Stark (1990) substantiated alternative models for interregional relationships between large or imperial states and peripheral small polities along with their material correlates. Stark's models consist of the following six types: (1) direct administration, (2) indirect administration, (3) asymmetrical alliance, (4) elite interactions, (5) independence with no relations, and (6) independence with competition. Based on the observation of archaeological data—including exchange patterns, local production, and settlement patterns—it is possible to narrow down plausible models to various extents while providing a useful framework for tackling the diverse nature of Early Classic interaction.

Although models that look at Teotihuacan-related material culture outside of the city in terms of political or political-economic models certainly provide useful frameworks for understanding interregional relations, it is often difficult to discriminate these different models of interaction, since they may result in similar material patterns (e.g., Stark 1990). But the problem is more than the mere lack of one-to-one relations between models and material patterns; there are several issues that we need to consider if we are to understand the nature of exchange. First, these models are not necessarily mutually exclusive and may coexist at multiple scales of interaction. For example, the establishment of elite-level interaction may facilitate gift and/or commodity exchange among lower-status social groups (e.g., Ball 1977; Pendergast 1971, 2003; Spence 1996). Second, these models tell us little about social processes involved in the exchange and consumption of material objects. For example, exchange may be pursued to establish specific social or political ties, not necessarily to acquire specific resources. Conversely, the acquisition of specific resources may be the main purpose of exchange, resulting in the disjuncture in the distribution of different types of artifacts (see Stoner and Pool 2015). Or both processes can be involved to varying degrees in exchange. Third, the same material objects can move in and out of different "regimes of values" (Appadurai 1986:4), such as different exchange spheres (e.g., Bohannan 1959) or gift and commodity circulation (e.g., Kopytoff 1986). In this respect, we suggest that a clear focus on the forms of exchange would be a useful approach to the diverse nature of interregional interaction (e.g., Hirth 1998; Ossa 2013). We agree with Blanton and Feinman (1984:676) that dichotomy between luxuries and bulk goods is

copyrighted material, not for distribution

a false one (see also Schneider 1977). There are no luxuries or commodities inherent in the nature of specific objects (Murakami 2016b). Any objects are susceptible to reinterpretation, which, along with transaction forms (gift or commodity exchange), define the nature of exchanged objects (Thomas 1991).

For example, while resources such as Pachuca obsidian, pyrite mosaic mirrors, and stucco-painted and plano-relief vessels were traded widely during this period and as far east as Copán, it is clear that these exchanges were not purely economic in nature (García-Des Lauriers 2007; Reents-Budet et al. 2004; Spence 1996). Michael Spence (1996) has noted that only through a contextual approach can we begin to understand whether resources such as Pachuca obsidian were seen purely as commodities or as elite gifts laden with symbolism. Especially for Pachuca obsidian, in part because of its color and quality, even the most mundane of tools in the most distant places could take on a greater symbolism beyond the utilitarian (García-Des Lauriers 2007; Hruby 2006; Spence 1996). The role of Pachuca obsidian in much of the Maya area seems to mainly appear as gift exchange, but in other places, such as Los Horcones and the Pacific Coast of Oaxaca, it was part of the everyday assemblage of discarded tools (Ball 1974, 1983; García-Des Lauriers 2007, 2008; Pendergast 1971, 2003; Workinger 2002). However, just because the obsidian appears in contexts that suggest largely gift exchange among elites, it does not preclude the possibility that these gifts served political and economic purposes (Blanton and Feinman 1984:676) and were intended to give Teotihuacan access to local economic systems or integrate local systems into interregional networks—a feat accomplished in this case through exchanges that heightened political, social, and/or cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986).

Agent-Based Approaches: Dual-Processual and Ideological Models

Richard Blanton and his colleagues (1996) integrated agent-based perspectives into political economic models focusing on leadership strategies. They characterize two contrasting leadership strategies: exclusionary or individual-centered, and corporate or group-oriented. Exclusionary strategy is based on the monopoly control of sources of power based on networks (e.g., patron-client, bureaucracy). These exchange relations were established primarily outside one's local group. This association is accomplished through patrimonial rhetoric, prestige-goods systems, and adoption of an international style. In corporate strategy, power is shared across different groups inhibiting exclusionary strategies. Blanton et al. (1996) characterize Teotihuacan political

copyrighted material, not for distribution

economy after the third century AD as corporate strategy and argue that "the spread of Teotihuacan traits . . . reflects the dissemination of an artistic-symbolic system from a particular dominant center . . . as part of its strategy of institutional and cultural restructuring of a periphery" (10), which contrasts with the concept of an international style that is not associated with a specific dominant center. But in areas outside its direct control, Teotihuacan style was imitated or modified as an international style (10). While a clear focus on leadership strategies advanced our comparative frameworks for understanding the diverse manifestations of political economies, political dynamics and patterns of regional and interregional interaction cannot be subsumed in a single dimension of leadership strategies, and we should acknowledge that overall patterns we observe archaeologically resulted from the negotiation of power among individuals and collectivities with varying interests and practical capacities (e.g., Campbell 2009; Murakami 2016a and chapter 2 in this volume; Smith 2011; Yoffee 2005:177–179). In evaluating alternative models of interregional interaction, Barbara Stark (1990:255) brings up the issue of this diversity and states that "economic or social ventures in distant areas may reflect actions of powerful families, other institutions, or ruling family members who did not obtain high office within the city." Thus, we cannot assume that the presence of Teotihuacan material culture outside of the city is always associated with the interests and decisions of ruling elites (see Murakami, chapter 2 in this volume).

Beyond the political economic dimensions of Early Classic interaction, agent-based approaches have been integrated to varying degrees into the study of the ideological exchanges archaeologically visible through the presence of Teotihuacan stylistic citations and iconography outside of the city. Interpretations of these artistic and architectonic references to Central Mexico have engendered much discourse. Teotihuacan style and iconography was spread in part through portable materials such as theater-style incense burners, ceramic vessels, carved slate mirror backs, and elements of warrior costume such as shell-platelet headdresses and shell goggles (Berrin and Pasztory 1993; Berlo 1983, 1984, 1989; Bove and Medrano Busto 2003; Filini 2004; García-Des Lauriers 2000; Hellmuth 1975, 1978; Kidder et al. 1946; McBride 1969; Reents-Budet et al. 2004; Taube 1992). Imports and local copies of incense burners, tripods, *candeleros*, and figurines have been documented at a number of sites on the Pacific Coast of Chiapas and Guatemala, Guerrero, and West Mexico (Berlo 1983, 1984, 1989; Bove and Medrano Busto 2003; Filini 2004; García-Des Lauriers 2007, 2012a; Hellmuth 1975, 1978; McBride 1969). Much of the imagery especially on the theater-style incense burners has been linked

copyrighted material, not for distribution

to what Karl Taube (1992, 2000) has called the Teotihuacan cult of sacred war, and the spread of the ideology has in some instances been seen as part of Teotihuacan's disruptive incursions on this region with some scholars even claiming that sort of missionizing zeal as part of Central Mexican influences of the Pacific Coast and other parts of the Maya region (Borhegyi 1971; Bove and Medrano Busto 2003; Hellmuth 1975, 1978).

In addition to images that traveled on portable items are larger-scale references to Teotihuacan-style architecture through the use of *talud* and *tablero* visible in the Maya area at Tikal, Copán, Kaminaljuyú, and Nakum, and in the Gulf Coast at Matacapan to name only a few examples (Braswell 2003c; Kidder et al. 1946; Laporte 2003; Sedat and López 2004; Zralka and Hermes 2012). More recently, citations of Teotihuacan spatial layout have been noted at Los Horcones, Chiapas, where Group F is cited as a "provincial tribute" to the Plaza of the Moon at Teotihuacan (García-Des Lauriers 2007:78, 2012a, 2012b).

Sculpted monuments such as stelae and other large-scale art that includes Teotihuacan insignia and/or stylistic references are known from Oaxaca, Guerrero, the Gulf Coast, the Maya region, Querétaro, and the Pacific Coast of Chiapas. Their interpretation has also not lacked for controversy. At the core of their interpretation is the question of identity and power relations between the actors represented and the messages encoded in these symbols and artistic conventions. The arrival of Teotihuacanos—documented in stone monuments through text and image in the Maya region at Tikal, Uaxactun, El Perú, and in murals from La Sufricaya and in monuments from Monte Albán—suggests that there were specific people who are recognized through their garb as coming from the Central Mexican metropolis (García-Des Lauriers 2000, 2008). There continues to be no consensus on whether the figures represented agents of the Teotihuacan state, conquering generals with armies, or diplomatic emissaries facilitating interactions between peer polities. Even where more detailed histories exist, such as at Tikal, that relate some details about the entrada in the Maya region, the interpretation of these texts remains part of the externalist/internalist interpretive tug-of-war (see Braswell 2003b; Stuart 2000), with internalist perspectives casting these stylistic references as the acts of local rulers appropriating foreign insignia as a way of legitimizing their power, creating social distance, or evoking a sense of cosmopolitanism among the ruling elites of these centers often located at great distances from Teotihuacan (Berlo 1983, 1984, 1989; Braswell 2003a; Demarest and Foias 1993; Marcus 1983, 2003; Marcus and Flannery 1996; Stone 1989).

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Summary: Integrating Systemic and Agent-Based Approaches

While some studies integrate both systemic and agent-based approaches to various degrees (e.g., Blanton et al. 1996; Stark 1990), we need to explore more nuanced interpretations based on both approaches and address how structural relationships are produced, reproduced, and transformed through varying individuals' and groups' practices and historically contingent processes. This brief review of previous research points to several issues we need to address. First, as Stark (1990:247) states, the assessment of interregional relations entails analysis of patterns in both Teotihuacan and other regions. Specifically, it is critical to assess which social segment or segments were involved in interaction both at Teotihuacan and other polities. This requires us to explore multiple layers of social interaction. As discussed above, we need to take into account the possibility that multiple social ties may coexist among individuals and groups with varying interests and practical capacities and with varying degrees of ties to the Teotihuacan state.

Second, we should acknowledge the fact that any material objects and ideas from a site or region were susceptible to reinterpretation and appropriation by individuals and groups in other sites or regions, as exemplified by studies labeled internalist. At the same time, it is necessary to contextualize these internalist perspectives in systemic relationships, which can be explored by focusing on the forms of exchange. However, because exchange forms do not determine how exchanged objects were utilized subsequently (Thomas 1991), it is important to focus on how these exchanged objects enabled and constrained the formation of social relations. The creation of power differentials and some kind of integrative or corporate identity or ideology is an indispensable component of societal formation (e.g., Campbell 2009; Murakami 2016a, 2016b), and thus we need to address how power differentials and the creation of a shared identity were simultaneously achieved.

Last, as is clear by now, there is no single model or approach that by itself can explain the varying manifestations of Teotihuacan presence. For example, while imperial models and World Systems Theory are critiqued by several researchers, these models may turn out to be useful frameworks in specific areas or to a specific spatial extent. In a similar fashion, the model of a small-scale prestige good exchange may be relevant for some specific sites or regions (see Stark 1990). Based on these considerations, what we are trying to advocate for in this volume are multiscalar perspectives that include discussions of power and identity to better understand the varying nature of Teotihuacan's interaction with other regions.

copyrighted material, not for distribution

MULTISCALAR PERSPECTIVES ON EARLY CLASSIC INTERACTION: ORGANIZATION OF THE VOLUME

This book looks at interactions that vary in scale from the local to the regional to the interregional, keeping in mind that distance from Teotihuacan itself in part shapes the nature of those interactions, the materials and ideas exchanged, and the strength of relationships among other factors. For the purposes of consistency, it is important to define what local, regional, and interregional actually mean in terms of distances and ultimately also in terms of possible relationships. Work by Timothy Earle and Michael Smith (2012) and Christopher Carr (2005) may prove useful in establishing this consistency of terms. Earle and Smith (2012:271) use distances based on proximity to sources for materials utilized in household economies and production. Their goal is to develop a framework for comparing household economies among the Aztec and Inka empires. Carr (2005:594–604)—working with Hopewellian long-distance exchange, and following the work of Mary Helms (1988), Mark Seeman (1995), and Kent Flannery (1976)—proposes that local exchanges were largely between people who were known neighbors with the purpose of "regularly renewing . . . ties of mutual friendship and obligation" (Carr 2005:595). Regional exchanges took place between "close strangers" and were largely symmetric, while interregional exchanges are largely asymmetrical, occurring mostly among "foreigners" with the purpose of increasing and validating the authority of leaders (Carr 2005:600–601).

For the purposes of this book, Carr's (2005) conceptual definitions work well as a structuring mechanism for defining different scales used to organize the overall volume but also are flexible enough that each author can define what those distances are for their own region of coverage. One modification of Carr's model, however, must be made: in each instance the asymmetry of the relationships must be seen as a variable worth investigating rather than merely an assumption of the nature of relationships. In addition, despite this model being derived from the Hopewell region with different political and social organizational principles from Teotihuacan, we believe that these societies shared similar infrastructural parameters.

With much of the population of the Teotihuacan Valley concentrated in the city, Teotihuacan did not have many communities of close neighbors of significant size. We define the local to mainly include Teotihuacan and communities less than 20 km away. At the regional and macroregional scale (20–150 km) we have centers in the southern part of the Basin of Mexico and other nearby regions such as the Toluca Valley, Tula, and Cholula.

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Interactions that took place beyond 150 km from the city or outside the central highlands of Mexico we will consider interregional scale. The focus here is on geographic distance, and while acknowledging that distance may have structured some of the interactions, we do not here define what the nature of those interactions was, and we defer to each author to present the data for the region they are studying.

Local Perspectives

As stated above, Teotihuacan was not a monolithic entity and our understanding of the social, political, and cultural diversity within the metropolis is critical for better understanding the nature of Early Classic interaction. In chapter 2, Murakami examines the organization of the procurement, distribution, and consumption of nonlocal resources in the city, focusing on greenstone, slate, andesitic cut stones, and lime plaster, and he demonstrates highly dynamic nature of power relations, specifically the changing nature of governmental organization and the relationship among ruling elites, bureaucrats, and intermediate elites. He argues that external relations and nonlocal resources served as both instrument and representation of power and identity at multiple scales of social interaction within the city. Adding another layer to the dynamic nature of social relations in the metropolis, Sergio Gómez Chávez and Julie Gazzola (chapter 3) focus on ethnic minorities in the city, specifically those from West Mexico, Veracruz/Maya, and Oaxaca. They argue that those minorities maintained their cultural practices along with their connection with their homelands (see also Croissier 2007; Spence 2005). Through these interaction spheres, members of these ethnic minorities may have secured the importation of some exotic resources for their survival. Gómez Chávez and Gazzola discuss these practices in terms of strategies in which cultural practices and economic activities reinforce each other. While Murakami focuses on major political actors (ruling elites, bureaucrats, and intermediate elites) as the agents of interregional interaction, Gómez Chávez and Gazzola demonstrate that ethnic minorities were also important agents or intermediaries of interregional exchange. Thus, chapters 2 and 3 together provide a broad perspective on the complexity inherent in the social and political life in the metropolis that serves as a background for the rest of the volume. Recent research by Linda Manzanilla (2011, 2015; Álvarez-Sandoval et al. 2015) increasingly shows that Teotihuacan was a cosmopolitan place, with people from different regions represented throughout the city's population, not just in the ethnic enclaves.

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Regional and Macroregional Perspectives

In the next two chapters, Sarah Clayton (chapter 4) and Haley Holt Mehta (chapter 5) examine how Teotihuacan's rural hinterlands were incorporated in the city's cultural and economic realm. Often in the literature, it is assumed, rather than examined, that Teotihuacan "dominated" its hinterlands. Given the sheer size of the metropolis, it would seem reasonable to assume that Teotihuacan dominated much of its hinterlands to secure the supply of basic resources for urban residents (e.g., Cowgill 2000; Millon 1981). However, while this assumption may not be wrong in and of itself, the nature and degree of this dominance may not be uniform and need to be examined further. Taking into account the distance from Teotihuacan and geography, the Teotihuacan Valley, the Basin of Mexico, and the Tula region might be considered adjacent or inner hinterlands. In each of these regions, Teotihuacan's so-called secondary centers have been identified, and researchers have assumed that Teotihuacan dominated its hinterlands directly or indirectly through these secondary centers. Within the Teotihuacan Valley, a secondary center, Tepeapulco, is located about 35 km northeast of Teotihuacan (Charlton 1978; Matos Moctezuma et al. 1981). Tepeapulco is also in a close proximity to obsidian sources, and it might have regulated the movement of raw materials and/or processed and finished objects (Charlton 1978). Just outside the Teotihuacan Valley to the east, Calpulalpan (Linné 1942) was possibly a gateway community from Eastern Mesoamerica; it is strategically located on the possible trade route from Teotihuacan to the east (the Puebla-Tlaxcala region, Veracruz, and Oaxaca) (see Carballo 2013).

Within the Basin of Mexico, there are two secondary centers, Azcapotzalco on the west shore of the Lake Texcoco, and Cerro Portezuelo on the east coast. These two centers, along with some other smaller sites, are discussed by Clayton (chapter 4). She examines the rural population's cultural and economic practices based on ceramic data from her research at rural sites in the southeastern Basin of Mexico. She convincingly demonstrates varying degrees of rural sites' incorporation into the Teotihuacan realm. She argues that site history along with proximity to useful resources are closely associated with these varying degrees. Clayton raises an important issue regarding the exchange networks and cultural practices before the rise of the Teotihuacan state and their relations to those after. She sees many continuities, and differences can be noted in the degree to which Teotihuacan participated in this local network of exchange.

In the Tula region, one of Teotihuacan's secondary administrative centers, Chingú has a layout and architecture resembling those of Teotihuacan and was an important source of lime (Barba et al. 2009; Díaz Oyarzábal 1980; Diehl

copyrighted material, not for distribution

1989). Archaeological survey in this region found several sites with mixed assemblages of Teotihuacan and Zapotec artifacts (e.g., Mastache et al. 2002).

Based on intensive survey at a smaller site south of Chingú, Holt Mehta, in chapter 5, has confirmed mixed assemblages of Teotihuacan and Zapotec artifacts in the Tula region. Holt Mehta presents more detailed distributions of these artifacts along with in-depth analysis of Zapotec artifacts. She concludes that the assemblages are extremely similar to those found in the Oaxaca Barrio in the metropolis (see Gómez Chávez and Gazzola, chapter 3 in this volume). It is generally thought that the Tula region was colonized by people from Teotihuacan, but the nature of this colonization was more complex than was previously proposed.

It is likely that most contemporaneous sites at the regional scale, large or small, participated in exchange networks partially or totally administered by the Teotihuacan government and/or merchants, resulting in the presence of Teotihuacan artifacts in nearly all sites. However, this prevalence does not mean a unitary dominance of the region by the Teotihuacan government. As discussed by Clayton, some groups—probably those closely associated with some social groups or institutions at Teotihuacan—actively participated in these exchange networks and even assimilated cultural practices in the metropolis, whereas other groups perpetuated some distinct identities and reacted to Teotihuacan's economic and political force in a different way. In summary, Clayton's and Holt Mehta's chapters, along with other studies, strongly suggest that hinterland sites had a diverse engagement with the Central Mexican metropolis. Furthermore, Clayton noted some diachronic changes in the frequency of Teotihuacan ceramics within the Basin of Mexico, and this pattern may be related to changing power relations in the metropolis, also further discussed in Murakami's chapter.

Outside of Teotihuacan's inner hinterlands extended vast regions with evidence of an intermittent presence of Teotihuacan artifacts and features, regions that are defined as composing a macroregion in this volume. To the east of the Basin of Mexico is the Puebla-Tlaxcala region. Archaeological survey in this region (García Cook 1981) identified a possible Teotihuacan Corridor that extends from the eastern exit of the Teotihuacan Valley toward Veracruz, Oaxaca, and southern Puebla (also called "Tlaxcala Corridor"; Carballo 2013), probably circumscribing Cholula's realm. Cholula was an independent polity contemporaneous with Teotihuacan. Largely due to the lack of comparable archaeological evidence, Cholula tends to be dismissed in the literature, especially outside Central Mexico, and Central Mexican artifacts in distant regions are almost always associated with Teotihuacan, not Cholula. However, Patricia Plunket and Gabriela Uruñuela (chapter 6) demonstrate that Cholula and Teotihuacan

copyrighted material, not for distribution

shared material culture to some extent while also developing their own identities in the region. Plunket and Uruñuela examine the similarities and differences in monumental architecture, religious imagery, and the occurrence of Thin Orange vessels and Pachuca obsidian between Cholula and Teotihuacan and discuss their implications for the relationship between these two polities.

Further south of the Basin of Mexico is the modern state of Morelos, which is the nearest cotton-growing area to Teotihuacan. Kenneth Hirth's research in the Amatzinac Valley (1978, 1980) demonstrates settlement reorganization associated with the rise of the Teotihuacan state during the Tlamimilolpa phase. Urban planning, architecture, and imports and possible imitations of Teotihuacan-style artifacts are observed at multiple sites in the eastern portion of Morelos (Montiel 2010; Smith and Montiel 2001). Las Pilas (Martínez Donjuan 1979), Hacienda Calderón (Nalda H. 1997), and San Ignacio (Hirth 1980) could have been secondary centers of Teotihuacan that might have secured a supply of cotton. There are few spindle whorls at Teotihuacan (M. Cabrera C. 2001), suggesting that cotton products were imported to Teotihuacan. In addition to cotton, eastern Morelos is located in the possible trade route from Teotihuacan to Guerrero, where Granular Ware was likely produced and exported to Teotihuacan. Although the nature of interaction is not clear, there are several sites in Guerrero with Teotihuacan artifacts and/or features (Gutiérrez Mendoza 2010; Taube 2000). Guerrero contains a number of rich mineral deposits, including slate (see Murakami, chapter 2 in this volume), and a number of scholars suggest there are greenstone deposits. Lapidary tradition in this region could have attracted Teotihuacan elites.

There is another route from Teotihuacan to Guerrero, which passes through the Toluca Valley, just west of the Basin of Mexico across mountain ranges. Long-term archaeological research directed by Yoko Sugiura has shown that this region was incorporated as part of Teotihuacan's hinterlands. Sugiura (2005) indicates that settlement reorganization was induced by the rise and fall of the Teotihuacan state and argues that the Toluca Valley provided agricultural products and possibly aquatic resources. Azcapotzaltongo in the north (Sugiura 2005) and Ocoyoacac in the south (Díaz Oyarzábal 1998) could have been secondary centers. At the latter site, some degrees of city planning and *talud-tablero* architecture have been identified. In chapter 7, Sugiura and colleagues address the identity formation of local population during the Xolalpan and Metepec phases, focusing on how local inhabitants reacted to changing power of the Teotihuacan state. Based on detailed ceramic analysis, they note contradicting processes were in play: assimilation to as well as distancing from Teotihuacan. A detailed analysis of imported ceramics and obsidian by

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Shigeru Kabata (2010) also suggests the local population's strategies to secure the supply of resources that was likely a response to the declining Teotihuacan state. These processes might parallel those of other adjacent regions (Millon 1988) and also those of inhabitants in the metropolis; Manzanilla (2006, 2009) and Murakami (2010, chapter 2 in this volume) discuss the possible rise of intermediate elites in the last years of Teotihuacan.

In chapter 8, Juan Carlos Saint-Charles Zetina and Fiorella Fenoglio Limón report the results of their excavations at the site of El Rosario in Querétaro, northwest of the Tula region and north of the Toluca Valley. In the San Juan del Río area of Querétaro, sites with strong Teotihuacan "influence" have been known from the 1950s (see Millon 1988). Excavations at El Rosario revealed Teotihuacan-style murals, lime plaster, and talud-tablero facades among other artifacts. El Rosario was likely founded by Teotihuacan colonizers probably during the Tlamimilolpa phase and was accompanied by the reorganization of settlements. The authors note some architectural resemblance to Chingú's main complex. Saint-Charles Zetina and Fenoglio Limón discuss the implication of possible termination rituals identified prior to the last modification of the main structure around AD 650. They argue that these rituals were new to this region and thus were likely brought from the metropolis. Furthermore, the burning of this temple might represent a resident's departure from the past Teotihuacan tradition paralleling the process of social transformation addressed by Sugiura et al. (chapter 7 in this volume).

A strong Teotihuacan presence in Morelos, Toluca, Querétaro, and the Tlaxcala Corridor highlights the expansionist strategy of the Teotihuacan state from the Tlamimilolpa phase onward. The creation of new provincial centers along with settlement reorganization suggests active intervention of the Teotihuacan state, such as conquest and colonization. From a systemic perspective, imperial, world economic, or core-periphery models may provide a useful framework, but the response of local populations to the rise and fall of the Teotihuacan state is variable, reflecting the specificity of local processes, the populations' relationship with other regions besides Teotihuacan, locally available resources, and, through their external relations, geography, and strategic actions of specific individuals and groups.

Interregional Perspectives

West Mexico is not a well-defined area nor is it culturally uniform. Conventionally, the vast area west of the modern states of Hidalgo and Mexico is called West Mexico, and the site of El Rosario may be placed as the eastern

copyrighted material, not for distribution

end of this region (Michelet and Pereira 2009). Agapi Filini (chapter 9) characterizes the occurrence of Teotihuacan material culture in West Mexico as "scant but constant" (see Filini 2015). Filini points out that the majority of those Teotihuacan artifacts are actually ritual items that were deposited in burials. While these items have been discussed under the generic concept of prestige goods, Filini focuses on the meanings inscribed in those artifacts and addresses how these meaningful objects were consumed in distant regions. As Gómez Chávez and Gazzola (chapter 3 in this volume) discuss, people from West Mexico resided in the metropolis and they seem to have kept their relationship with their homeland (Martel Begun 2013). This connection implies that some Teotihuacan objects and concepts might have been introduced by those migrants at some sites, but the constant presence of Teotihuacan artifacts at a number of sites could not be explained by this fact alone, suggesting multiple layers of interaction between West Mexico and Teotihuacan.

This situation may be contrasted with the Tuxtla Mountains on the Gulf Coast. Here, a strong Teotihuacan presence is found at the site of Matacapan and some adjacent smaller sites (Pool 2006; Santley 1983, 1989, 2007; Santley and Arnold 1996, 2005). However, at different scales of analysis within the region, we also see a diversity of expressions and relationships with Central Mexico (Pool 2006). Nearby sites, such as Cerro de la Mesas and La Mixtequilla, show interesting evidence of interaction that could be interpreted as indirect control by Teotihuacan but not unequivocally (Stark 1990). By contrast, the contemporaneous nearby centers of Teotepec (Arnold et al. 2016) and Totocapan (Stoner 2011, 2013) show limited evidence of interaction with Teotihuacan and/or Matacapan (see Stoner and Pool 2015).

Matacapan represents an example of a Teotihuacan enclave and provided evidence to support the idea of a Teotihuacan trade empire (Pool 2006; Santley 1983, 1989, 2007). Stark (1990) notes the diverse mosaic of evidence in Veracruz related to Teotihuacan, which includes "ritual changes, sculptural additions, minor obsidian export from Teotihuacan or its dependencies, a probable enclave (Matacapan) and a considerable amount of ceramic change" (273), and critiques explanations based solely on entrepreneurial control of trade routes and exchange or purely elite contacts. Stark concludes that while ceramic evidence from South-Central Veracruz is consistent with indirect administration "because of the varied resemblances to Teotihuacan forms and decorations that had been reinterpreted and assimilated into local practice and because of the presence of some ritual symbolism reflecting Teotihuacan practices" (1990:273), asymmetrical alliance and elite relations are both promising alternative models as evidenced by no change in obsidian importation patterns or

copyrighted material, not for distribution

local leadership. More recently, Annick Daneels (2002) proposes that while there is widespread evidence of contacts between Teotihuacan and Veracruz, there does not seem to exist any disruption of local development in the region, and therefore Teotihuacan's influence may not have been that strong.

Interactions with the Gulf Coast were multidirectional, with evidence of stylistic borrowing in Teotihuacan of Gulf Coast imagery (Pool 2006; Stark 1990; Taube 2003). In addition, the Merchants' Barrio is an enclave of Gulf Coast peoples whose role in mediating contacts between Teotihuacan and the Maya needs further investigation (Rattray 1977, 1987, 1989; Gómez Chávez and Gazzola, chapter 3 in this volume). Some of the largest concentrations of imported Maya pottery are found in this enclave, suggesting a much more nuanced view of Classic period interaction that not only involved Teotihuacan and the Maya but also peoples from these intermediate regions (see Clayton 2005; Rattray 1977, 1987, 1989).

Equally complex, and with evidence both at home and abroad, is the case of contacts with Oaxaca. In Teotihuacan, the Oaxaca Barrio, known as Tlailotlacan, yielded important information about Oaxacan peoples living at the metropolis (Millon 1967; Paddock 1983; Rattray 1987; Spence 1976, 1990, 1992). While monuments from Monte Albán record the arrival of Teotihuacanos to this Zapotec capital (Marcus 1983), the interactions between Teotihuacan and Monte Albán have been described as a "special relationship" (Marcus 1983; Marcus and Flannery 1996; Millon 1973). Relatively recently, however, Marcus Winter and colleagues (Winter et al. 2002) challenged that interpretation, arguing that during Monte Albán IIIA Teotihuacan may have controlled the Oaxacan capital. They further propose the presence of a group of Teotihuacanos residing at Monte Albán (Winter et al. 2002), while others see the evidence from Monte Albán as a single event contact (Marcus 2003). More research is necessary in Monte Albán to further elucidate this relationship.

In addition, evidence from the Oaxacan Coast in the Lower Río Verde Valley shows a "disruption of settlement and social organization perhaps related to foreign incursions" by Teotihuacan during the Early Classic (Joyce 1993, 2003:64). Large quantities of Pachuca obsidian, monuments with stylistic references to Central Mexico in their text and image, along with the disruption of settlement, provide a complex view of Teotihuacan's interests in the Río Verde Valley (Joyce 1993, 2003; Urcid 1993; Urcid and Joyce 2001; Workinger 2002). More recent research has revealed additional sites beyond Río Arriba that show evidence of contact with Teotihuacan. The sites of Charco and Cerro de la Tortuga also on the Pacific Coast of Oaxaca provide additional data on the complex relationships between this region and Teotihuacan (Butler et al. 2013).

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Just down the coast from Oaxaca on the Pacific, along the state of Chiapas and extending into Guatemala, Teotihuacan material culture has also been reported. García-Des Lauriers (chapter 10 in this volume; 2005, 2007, 2008, 2012a, 2012b) has expanded on early research by Carlos Navarrete (1976, 1986) at the site of Los Horcones, where a strong pattern of contacts with Teotihuacan is documented at this Early Classic center. In her chapter, García-Des Lauriers (chapter 10 in this volume) summarizes the current evidence from the Pacific Coast of Chiapas and Guatemala in order to look the integration of Teotihuacan into the local networks of this region. At sites such as Los Horcones, Mirador, and Montana, a much stronger signature of contacts is present, with Montana being proposed as an enclave of Teotihuacanos on the coast of Guatemala (Bove and Medrano Busto 2003). Other sites in the region, such as Río Arriba and Izapa, were not excluded from these macroregional exchanges; however, at these sites the influence of Teotihuacan seems indirect and not enduring (Lowe et al. 1982; Pfeiffer 1983). García-Des Lauriers's research further adds to the ever-diverse patterns visible of Teotihuacan's presence in different regions that reflect both larger systemic processes as well as the actions of local actors within these interaction networks.

As we noted earlier in this introduction, research on Teotihuacan and Maya relations has had a significant role in framing much of the discussion about Early Classic interactions. There are very good recent assessments of the arguments for this region, and we will not review the extensive evidence here (see Bell et al. 2004; Braswell 2003a; Fash and Fash 2000; Nielsen 2003; Stuart 2000). We will, however, point out that there are three phases of interactions. The earliest evidence is represented by early contacts during the Patlachique, Tzacualli, Miccaotli, and Tlamimilolpa phases of Teotihuacan, where pottery from the Maya region and Burial/Offering 5 in the Pyramid of the Moon along with offerings from Altun Ha represent some of the earliest contacts between these two major core areas (Clayton 2005; Pendergast 1971, 2003; Sugiyama and López Luján 2007). The next phase of contacts begins in AD 378 with the entrada into the Maya lowlands documented in the histories of Tikal and other important Maya sites (Nondédéo et al. 2019; Proskouriakoff 1993; Stuart 2000). These much-debated contacts with Copán, Tikal, and Kaminaljuyú among other Maya sites in the lowlands represent the Early Classic manifestation of Teotihuacan and Maya relations. The patterns of material culture are as variable as we have seen for other regions and are interpreted through largely internalist/externalist models. Evidence from Tetitla at Teotihuacan, however, shows that relations with the Maya were multidirectional, with Taube (2003) arguing for the presence of literate Maya living

copyrighted material, not for distribution

at this apartment compound. The final phase occurs during the Late Classic, after the decline of the Teotihuacan state, and is evinced by continued citations of Teotihuacan warrior costumes and other iconography at the Maya sites Piedras Negras, Naranjo, Dos Pilas, and a number of others (Stone 1989; Fash and Fash 2000; García-Des Lauriers 2000).

CONCLUSIONS

The chapters in this volume focus on both systemic and agent-based perspectives to varying degrees, and our collective contributions will help address the question of Teotihuacan abroad from a more Mesoamericanist and multiscalar perspective. The goal is to complement existing works that mainly focus on Teotihuacan and Maya interactions and to bring together a view that shows more a multiplicity of regions and sites also interacting with these major core areas. What this evidence reveals is an Early Classic Mesoamerican world engaged in complex economic exchanges; multidirectional movements of goods and ideas; and a diversity of material patterns that demand local, regional, macroregional, and interregional contextualization. This volume is an attempt to make a contribution to this larger debate of Teotihuacan influence abroad and hopefully to provide new frameworks that will advance future research on this important topic.

REFERENCES

Álvarez-Sandoval, Brenda A., Linda R. Manzanilla, Mercedes González-Ruiz, Assumpció Malgosa, and Rafael Montiel. 2015. "Genetic Evidence Supports the Multiethnic Character of Teopancazco, a Neighborhood Center of Teotihuacan, Mexico (AD 200–600)." *PLoS ONE* 10(7): e0132371. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0132371.

Angulo V., Jorge. 2007. "Early Teotihuacan and Its Government." In *The Political Economy of Ancient Mesoamerica: Transformations during the Formative and Classic Period*, edited by Vernon L. Scarborough and John E. Clark, 83–99. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1986. "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value." In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai, 3–63. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Armillas, Pedro. 1950. "Teotihuacan, Tula y los toltecas: Las culturas post-arcaicas y pre-aztecas del centro de México. Excavaciones y estudios, 1922–1950." In *Runa*, 37–70. Buenos Aires: Archivo para las Ciencias del Hombre.

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Arnold, Philip J., III, Amber M. VanDerwarker, and Nathan D. Wilson. 2016. Teotepec y el paisaje geopolítico en el oeste de en Los Tuxtlas. In *Arqueología de Los Tuxtlas: Antiguos paisajes, nuevas miradas*, edited by Lourdes Budar and Philip J. Arnold III, 57–71. Xalapa, Mexico: Universidad Veracruzana.

Ball, Joseph W. 1974. "A Teotihuacan-Style Cache from the Maya Lowlands." *Archaeology* 27(1): 2–9.

Ball, Joseph W. 1977. *The Archaeological Ceramics of Becan, Campeche, Mexico*. Middle American Research Institute, Publication 43. New Orleans: Tulane University.

Ball, Joseph W. 1983. "Teotihuacan, the Maya, and Ceramic Interchange: A Contextual Perspective." In *Highland-Lowland Interaction in Mesoamerica: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, edited by Arthur G. Miller, 125–145. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Barba, L., J. Blancas, L. R. Manzanilla, A. Ortiz, D. Barca, G. M. Crisci, D. Miriello, and A. Pecci. 2009. "Provenance of the Limestone Used in Teotihuacan (Mexico): A Methodological Approach." *Archaeometry* 51(4): 525–545.

Becker, Marshall J. 1983. "Kings and Classicism: Political Change in the Maya Lowlands during the Classic Period." In *Highland-Lowland Interaction in Mesoamerica: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, edited by Arthur G. Miller, 159–200. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Bell, Ellen E., Marcello A. Canuto, and Robert J. Sharer, eds. 2004. *Understanding Early Classic Copan*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Beramendi-Orosco, Laura E., Galia Gonzalez-Hernandez, Jaime Urrutia-Fucugauchi, Linda R. Manzanilla, Ana M. Soler-Arechalde, Avto Goguitchaishvili, and Nick Jarboe. 2009. "High-Resolution Chronology for the Mesoamerican Urban Center of Teotihuacan Derived from Bayesian Statistics of Radiocarbon and Archaeological Data." *Quaternary Research* 71(2): 99–107.

Berlo, Janet C. 1983. "The Warrior and the Butterfly: Central Mexican Ideologies of Sacred Warfare and Teotihuacan Iconography." In *Text and Image in Pre-Columbian Art: Essays on the Interrelationship of the Verbal and Visual Arts*, edited by Janet C. Berlo, 79–117. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Berlo, Janet C. 1984. *Teotihuacan Art Abroad: A Study of Metropolitan Style and Provincial Transformation in Incensario Workshops*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Berlo, Janet C. 1989. "Art Historical Approaches to the Study of Teotihuacan Related Ceramics from Escuintla, Guatemala." In *New Frontiers in the Archaeology of the Pacific Coast of Southern Mesoamerica*, edited by Frederick J. Bove and L. Heller, 147–165. Anthropological Research Papers, No. 39. Tempe: Arizona State University.

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Berrin, Kathleen, and Esther Pasztory, eds. 1993. *Teotihuacan: Art from the City of the God*. New York: Thames and Hudson.

Blanton, Richard E., Gary M. Feinman, Stephen A. Kowalewski, and Peter N. Peregrine. 1996. "A Dual-Processual Theory for the Evolution of Mesoamerican Civilization." *Current Anthropology* 37(1): 1–14.

Blanton, Richard E., and Gary M. Feinman. 1984. "The Mesoamerican World System." *American Anthropologist* 86(3): 673–682.

Blucher, Darlena K. 1971. "Late Preclassic Cultures in the Valley of Mexico: Pre-urban Teotihuacan." Unpublished PhD diss., Brandeis University, Waltham, MA.

Bohannan, Paul. 1959. "The Impact of Money on an African Subsistence Economy." *Journal of Economic History* 19(4): 491–503.

Borhegyi, Stephan F. De. 1971. "Pre-Columbian Contacts B—The Dryland Approach: The Impact and Influence of Teotihuacan Culture on the Pre-Columbian Civilizations of Mesoamerica." In *Man across the Sea: Problems of Pre-Columbian Contacts*, edited by Carroll L. Riley, J. Charles Kelley, Campbell W. Pennington, and Robert L. Rands, 79–105. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. "The Forms of Capital." In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J. Richardson, 241–258. New York: Greenwood.

Bove, Frederick J. 1990. "The Teotihuacan-Kaminaljuyu-Tikal Connection: A View from the South Coast of Guatemala." In *The Sixth Palenque Round Table 1986*, edited by Merle G. Robertson and Virginia M. Fields, 135–142. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Bove, Frederick J. 2002. "La dinámica de la interacción de Teotihuacan con el Pacífico de Guatemala." In *Ideología y política a través de materiales, imágenes y símbolos: Memoria de la Primera Mesa Redonda de Teotihuacan*, edited by María Elena Ruiz Gallut, 685–713. Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Bove, Frederick J., and Sonia Medrano Busto. 2003. "Teotihuacan, Militarism, and Pacific Guatemala." In *The Maya and Teotihuacan: Reinterpreting Early Classic Interaction*, edited by G. Braswell, 45–80. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bove, Frederick J., Sonia Medrano Busto, Brenda Lou, and Barbara Arroyo, eds. 1993. *The Balberta Project: The Terminal Formative–Early Classic Transition on the Pacific Coast of Guatemala/El Proyecto Balberta: La transición entre el Formativo Terminal y el Clásico Temprano en la Costa Pacífica de Guatemala*. Memoirs in Latin American Archaeology, No. 6. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh and Asociación Tikal.

Braswell, Geoffrey, ed. 2003a. *The Maya and Teotihuacan: Reinterpreting Early Classic Interaction*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Braswell, Geoffrey. 2003b. "Introduction: Reinterpreting Early Classic Interaction." In *The Maya and Teotihuacan: Reinterpreting Early Classic Interaction*, edited by Geoffrey Braswell, 1–43. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Braswell, Geoffrey. 2003c. "Understanding Early Classic Interaction between Kaminaljuyu and Central Mexico." In *The Maya and Teotihuacan: Reinterpreting Early Classic Interaction*, edited by Geoffrey Braswell, 105–142. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Brown, Kenneth L. 1977. "Toward a Systematic Explanation of Culture Change within the Middle Classic Period of the Valley of Guatemala." In *Teotihuacan and Kaminaljuyu*, edited by William T. Sanders and Joseph W. Michels, 411–439. College Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Butler, Michelle, Arthur A. Joyce, K. S. Paul, and J. Brzezinski. 2013. "Teotihuacan and Oaxaca: Social Transformations at the Scale of the Local Community and Polity." Paper presented at the 78th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Honolulu.

Cabrera C., M. Oralia. 2001. "Textile Production at Teotihuacan, Mexico." MA thesis, Arizona State University, Tempe.

Cabrera C., Rubén. 1998. "La cronología de la Ciudadela en su secuencia arquitectónica." In *Los ritmos de cambio en Teotihuacán: Reflexiones y discusiones de su cronología*, coordinated by Rosa Brambila and Rubén Cabrera, 143–166. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Cabrera C., Rubén, Saburo Sugiyama, and George L. Cowgill. 1991. "The Temple of Quetzalcoatl Project at Teotihuacan: A Preliminary Report." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 2(1): 77–92.

Campbell, Roderick B. 2009. "Toward a Networks and Boundaries Approach to Early Complex Polities: The Late Shang Case." *Current Anthropology* 50(6): 821–848.

Carballo, David M. 2013. "The Social Organization of Craft Production and Interregional Exchange at Teotihuacan." In *Merchants, Markets, and Exchange in the Pre-Columbian World*, edited by Kenneth G. Hirth and Joanne Pillsbury, 113–140. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Carr, Christopher. 2005. "Rethinking Interregional Hopewellian 'Interaction.'" In *Gathering Hopewell: Society, Ritual, and Ritual Interaction*, edited by Christopher Carr and D. Troy Case, 575–623. New York: Kluwer Academics / Plenum Publishers.

Charlton, Thomas H. 1978. "Teotihuacan, Tepeapulco, and Obsidian Exploitation." *Science* 200(4347): 1227–1236.

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Cheek, Charles D. 1977a. "Excavations at the Palangana and the Acropolis, Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala." In *Teotihuacan and Kaminaljuyu*, edited by William T. Sanders and Joseph W. Michels, 1–204. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Cheek, Charles D. 1977b. "Teotihuacan Influence at Kaminaljuyu." In *Teotihuacan and Kaminaljuyu*, edited by William T. Sanders and Joseph W. Michels, 441–452. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Clark, John E. 1986. "From Mountains to Molehills: A Critical Review of Teotihuacan's Obsidian Industry." In *Economic Aspects of Prehispanic Highland Mexico*, edited by B. L. Isaac, 23–74. Research in Economic Anthropology, supplement 2. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Clayton, Sarah C. 2005. "Interregional Relationships in Mesoamerica: Interpreting Maya Ceramics at Teotihuacan." *Latin American Antiquity* 16(4): 427–448.

Coe, Michael D., and Rex Koontz. 2013. *Mexico: From the Olmecs to the Aztecs*. 7th ed. London: Thames and Hudson.

Coggins, Clemency C. 1975. *Painting and Drawing Styles at Tikal: An Historical and Iconographic Reconstruction*. Published PhD diss., Harvard University. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.

Coggins, Clemency C. 1979. "Teotihuacan at Tikal in the Early Classic Period." In *Actes du XLII Congrès international des américanistes*. Vol. 8, 251–269. Paris: Congrès international des américanistes.

Coggins, Clemency C. 1983. "An Instrument of Expansion: Monte Alban, Teotihuacan, and Tikal." In *Highland-Lowland Interaction in Mesoamerica: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, edited by Arthur G. Miller, 49–68. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Cook de Leonard, Carmen. 1957. "Proyecto del CIAM en Teotihuacan: Excavaciones en la Plaza 1, 'Tres Palos,' Teotihuacan." *Boletín del Centro de Investigaciones Antropológicas de México*, no. 4: 1–2.

Cowgill, George L. 1974. "Quantitative Studies of Urbanization at Teotihuacan." In *Mesoamerican Archaeology: New Approaches*, edited by Norman Hammond, 363–396. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Cowgill, George L. 1983. "Rulership and the Ciudadela: Political Inferences from Teotihuacan Architecture." In *Civilization in the Ancient Americas: Essays in Honor of Gordon R. Willey*, edited by Richard M. Leventhal and Alan L. Kolata, 313–343. Albuquerque and Cambridge, MA: University of New Mexico Press and Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

Cowgill, George L. 1992. "Toward a Political History of Teotihuacan." In *Ideology and Pre-Columbian Civilizations*, edited by Arthur A. Demarest and Geoffrey W. Conrad, 87–114. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Cowgill, George L. 1996. "Discussion." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 7(2): 325–331.

Cowgill, George L. 2000. "The Central Mexican Highlands from the Rise of Teotihuacan to the Decline of Tula." In *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*. Vol. 2, *Mesoamerica, Part 1*, edited by R.E.W. Adams and M. J. MacLeod, 250–317. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cowgill, George L. 2003a. "Teotihuacan and Early Classic Interaction: A Perspective from outside the Maya Region." *The Maya and Teotihuacan: Reinterpreting Early Classic Interaction*, edited by Geoffrey Braswell, 315–335. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Cowgill, George L. 2003b. "Teotihuacan: Cosmic Glories and Mundane Needs." In *The Social Construction of Ancient Cities*, edited by M. L. Smith, 37–55. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Cowgill, George L. 2007. "The Urban Organization of Teotihuacan, Mexico." In *Settlement and Society: Essays Dedicated to Robert McCormick Adams*, edited by Elizabeth C. Stone, 261–295. Los Angeles and Chicago: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Cowgill, George L. 2008. "Teotihuacan as an Urban Place." In *Urbanism in Mesoamerica*. Vol. 2, edited by Alba Guadalupe Mastache, Robert H. Cobean, Angel García Cook, and Kenneth G. Hirth, 85–112. Mexico City and University Park: INAH and Pennsylvania State University.

Cowgill, George L. 2015. *Ancient Teotihuacan: Early Urbanism in Central Mexico*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Croissier, Michelle M. 2007. "The Zapotec Presence at Teotihuacan, Mexico: Political Ethnicity and Domestic Identity." Unpublished PhD diss., Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Daneels, Annick. 2002. "Presencia de Teotihuacan en el centro y sur de Veracruz." In *Ideología y política a través de materiales, imágenes y símbolos: Memoria de la Primera Mesa Redonda de Teotihuacan*, edited by Maria Elena Ruiz Gallut, 655–683. Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Demarest, Arthur A., and Antonia E. Foias. 1993. "Mesoamerican Horizons and the Cultural Transformations of Maya Civilization." *Latin American Horizons: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks*, edited by D. S. Rice, 147–191. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Díaz Oyarzábal, Clara Luz. 1980. *Chingú: Un sitio Clásico del área de Tula, Hgo*. Colección Científica, no. 90. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Díaz Oyarzábal, Clara Luz. 1998. "Ocoyoacac: Un sitio con influencia teotihuacana en el valle de Toluca." In *Los ritmos de cambio en Teotihuacán: Reflexiones y discusiones de su cronología*, edited by R. Brambila and R. Cabrera, 353–375. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Diehl, Richard A. 1989. "A Shadow of Its Former Self: Teotihuacan during the Coyotolatelco Period." In *Mesoamerica after the Decline of Teotihuacan: A.D. 700–900*, edited by R. A. Diehl and J. C. Berlo, 9–18. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Drennan, Robert D., Heinz Dehn, and Philip T. Fitzgibbons. 1990. "Imports and Exports in Classic Mesoamerican Political Economy: The Tehuacan Valley and the Teotihuacán Obsidian Industry." *Research in Economic Anthropology* 12: 177–199.

Drucker, R. David. 1974. "Renovating a Reconstruction: The Ciudadela at Teotihuacan, Mexico: Construction Sequence, Layout and Possible Uses of the Structure." PhD diss., University of Rochester, Rochester, NY.

Earle, Timothy, and Michael E. Smith. 2012. "Household Economies under the Aztec and Inka Empires." In *The Comparative Archaeology of Complex Societies*, edited by Michael E. Smith, 238–284. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Evans, Susan T. 2000. *Ancient Mexico and Central America: Archaeology and Culture History*. 2nd ed. London: Thames and Hudson.

Fash, William L. 2002. "El legado de Teotihuacan en la ciudad maya de Copán, Honduras." In *Ideología y política a través de materiales, imágenes y símbolos: Memoria de la Primera Mesa Redonda de Teotihuacan*, edited by Maria Elena Ruiz Gallut, 715–729. Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Fash, William L., and Barbara W. Fash. 2000. "Teotihuacan and the Maya: A Classic Heritage." In *Mesoamerica's Classic Heritage: From Teotihuacan to the Aztecs*, edited by D. Carrasco, 433–463. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Filini, Agapi. 2004. *The Presence of Teotihuacan in the Cuitzeo Basin, Michoacán, Mexico: A World-System Perspective*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Filini, Agapi. 2015. "Teotihuacan: Ritual Economy, Exchange, and Urbanization Processes in Classic Period Mesoamerica." *Economic Anthropology* 2(1): 97–119.

Flannery, Kent, ed. 1976. *Early Mesoamerican Village*. New York: Academic Press.

García Cook, Angel. 1981. "The Historical Importance of Tlaxcala." In *Supplement to the Handbook of Middle American Indians*. vol. 1: *Archaeology*, edited by V. Bricker and J. A. Sabloff, 244–76. Austin: University of Texas Press.

García-Des Lauriers, Claudia. 2000. "Trappings of Sacred War: The Warrior Costume of Teotihuacan." MA thesis, University of California, Riverside.

copyrighted material, not for distribution

García-Des Lauriers, Claudia. 2005. "La Iconografía y Simbolismo de la Escultura de Cerro Bernal, Chiapas." *Utz'ib* 1(5): 1–16.

García-Des Lauriers, Claudia. 2007. "Proyecto Arqueológico Los Horcones: Investigating the Teotihuacan Presence on the Pacific Coast of Chiapas, Mexico." Unpublished PhD diss., University of California, Riverside.

García-Des Lauriers, Claudia. 2008. "The Early Classic Obsidian Trade at Los Horcones, Chiapas, Mexico." Grant Report. Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc.

García-Des Lauriers, Claudia. 2012a. "Public Performance and Teotihuacán Identity at Los Horcones, Chiapas, Mexico." In *Power and Identity in Archaeological Theory and Practice: Case Studies from Ancient Mesoamerica*, edited by E. Harrison-Buck, 63–81. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

García-Des Lauriers, Claudia. 2012b. "Architecture and Identity at Los Horcones, Chiapas." In *Archaeology and Identity on the Pacific Coast and Southern Highlands of Mesoamerica*, edited by Claudia García-Des Lauriers and Michael W. Love. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Gazzola, Julie. 2009. "Características arquitectónicas de algunas construcciones de fases tempranas en Teotihuacán." *Arqueología* 42: 216–233.

Giddens, Anthony. 1979. *Central Problems in Social Theory*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gómez Chávez, Sergio, Jorge Zavala, Carmen Gutiérrez, and Julie Gazzola. In press. "Sistema hidráulico de las primeras fases de Teotihuacán: Ritual y agricultura." In *Memoria de la Cuarta Mesa Redonda de Teotihuacán, Teotihuacán: Más allá de la ciudad*, edited by María Elena Ruiz G. and Jesús Torres P. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Gutiérrez Mendoza, Gerardo. 2010. *Arqueología de la antigua provincia de Tlapa: Desde el período arcaico hasta la independencia de México*. Municipio de Tlapa de Comonfort, Mexico: Letra Antigua.

Headrick, Annabeth. 2007. *The Teotihuacan Trinity: The Sociopolitical Structure of an Ancient Mesoamerican City*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Hellmuth, Nicholas. 1975. *The Escuintla Hordes: Teotihuacan Art in Guatemala*. Progress Report I (2). Cocoa, FL: Foundation for Latin American Anthropological Research.

Hellmuth, Nicholas. 1978. "Teotihuacan Art in the Escuintla Region, Guatemala." In *Middle Classic Mesoamerica: A.D. 400–700*, edited by Esther Pasztory, 71–85. New York: Columbia University Press.

Helms, Mary W. 1988. *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Hendon, Julia A., and Rosemary A. Joyce. 2004. *Mesoamerican Archaeology: Theory and Practice*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Hirth, Kenneth G. 1978. "Teotihuacan Regional Population Administration in Eastern Morelos." *World Archaeology* 9(3): 320–333.

Hirth, Kenneth G. 1980. *Eastern Morelos and Teotihuacan: A Settlement Survey*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University.

Hirth, Kenneth G. 1998. "The Distributional Approach: A New Way to Identify Marketplace Exchange in the Archaeological Record." *Current Anthropology* 39(4): 451–476.

Hruby, Zachary X. 2006. "The Organization of Chipped-Stone Economies at Piedras Negras, Guatemala." Unpublished PhD diss., University of California, Riverside.

Iglesias Ponce de León, María Josefa. 2003. "Problematical Deposits and the Problem of Interaction: The Material Culture of Tikal during the Early Classic." In *The Maya and Teotihuacan: Reinterpreting Early Classic Interaction*, edited by G. Braswell, 167–198. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Joyce, Arthur A. 1993. "Interregional Interaction and Social Development on the Oaxaca Coast." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 4(1): 67–84.

Joyce, Arthur A. 2003. "Imperialism in Pre-Aztec Mesoamerica: Monte Albán, Teotihuacan, and the Lower Río Verde Valley." In *Ancient Mesoamerican Warfare*, edited by M. Katheryn Brown and Travis W. Stanton, 49–72. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.

Kabata, Shigeru. 2010. "La dinámica regional entre el valle de Toluca y las áreas circundantes: Intercambio antes y después de la caída de Teotihuacan." Unpublished PhD diss., Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City.

Kidder, Alfred, Jesse Jennings, and Edwin Shook. 1946. *Excavations at Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Kopytoff, Igor. 1986. "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process." In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai, 64–91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Laporte, Juan Pedro. 2003. "Architectural Aspects of Interaction between Tikal and Teotihuacan during the Early Classic Period." In *The Maya and Teotihuacan: Reinterpreting Early Classic Interaction*, edited by G. Braswell, 199–216. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Linné, Sigvald. 1934. *Archaeological Researches at Teotihuacan, Mexico*. Stockholm: Ethnographical Museum of Sweden.

Linné, Sigvald. 1942. *Mexican Highland Cultures, Archaeological Researches at Teotihuacan, Calpulalpan and Chalchicomula in 1934/35*. Stockholm: Ethnographic Museum of Sweden.

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Lowe, Gareth W., Thomas A. Lee Jr., and Eduardo Martínez Espinosa. 1982. *Izapa: An Introduction to the Ruins and Monuments*. Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation 31. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University.

Manzanilla, Linda, ed. 1993. *Anatomía de un conjunto residencial teotihuacano en Oztoyahualco-I: Las excavaciones*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Manzanilla, Linda R. 2001. "Gobierno corporativo en Teotihuacan: Una revisión del concepto 'palacio' aplicado a la gran urbe prehispánica." *Anales de Antropología* 35(1): 157–190.

Manzanilla, Linda R. 2004. "Social Identity and Daily Life at Classic Teotihuacan." In *Mesoamerican Archaeology: Theory and Practice*, edited by Julia A. Hendon and Rosemary A. Joyce, 124–147. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Manzanilla, Linda R. 2006. "Estados corporativos arcaicos: Organizaciones de excepción en escenarios excluyentes." *Cuicuilco* 13(36): 13–45.

Manzanilla, Linda R. 2009. "Corporate Life in Apartment and Barrio Compounds at Teotihuacan, Central Mexico: Craft Specialization, Hierarchy, and Ethnicity." In *Domestic Life in Prehispanic Capitals: A Study of Specialization, Hierarchy, and Ethnicity*, edited by Linda R. Manzanilla and Claude Chapdelaine, 21–42. Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, no. 46, vol. 7. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Manzanilla, Linda R. 2011. "Sistemas de control de mano de obra y del intercambio de bienes suntuarios en el corredor teotihuacano hacia la costa del Golfo en el Clásico." *Anales de Antropología* 45(1): 9–32.

Manzanilla, Linda R. 2015. "Cooperation and Tensions in Multiethnic Corporate Societies Using Teotihuacan, Central Mexico, as a Case Study." *PNAS* 112(30): 9210–9215.

Manzanilla, Linda R., and Leonardo López Luján, eds. 2001. *Historia Antigua de México*. Vol. 2. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Marcus, Joyce. 1983. "Teotihuacán Visitors on Monte Albán Monuments and Murals." In *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations*, edited by Kent V. Flannery and Joyce Marcus, 175–181. New York: Academic Press.

Marcus, Joyce. 2003. "The Maya and Teotihuacan." In *The Maya and Teotihuacan: Reinterpreting Early Classic Interaction*, edited by G. Braswell, 337–356. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Marcus, Joyce, and Kent Flannery. 1996. *Zapotec Civilization: How Urban Society Evolved in Mexico's Oaxaca Valley*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Martel Begun, Erica. 2013. "Detecting Ethnicity at Teotihuacan through Archaeology: The West Mexican Presence at Structure N1W5:19." Unpublished PhD diss., Department of Anthropology, University of Iowa, Iowa City.

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Martínez Donjuan, Guadalupe. 1979. *Las Pilas, Morelos*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Mastache, Alba G., Robert H. Cobean, and Dan M. Healan. 2002. *Ancient Tollan: Tula and the Toltec Heartland*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Matos Moctezuma, Eduardo, María Teresa García García, Fernando López Aguilar, and Ignacio Rodríguez García. 1981. "Proyecto Tepeapulco: Resumen preliminar de las actividades realizadas en la primera temporada de trabajo." In *Interacción cultural en México Central*, edited by Evelyn C. Rattray, Jaime Litvak K., and Clara Díaz O., 113–148. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

McBride, Harold W. 1969. "Teotihuacan-Style Pottery and Figurines from Colima." *Katunob 7*: 86–91.

Michelet, Dominique, and Gregory Pereira. 2009. "Teotihuacan y el occidente de México." In *Teotihuacan: Ciudad de los dioses*, 79–83. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Millon, René. 1967. "Teotihuacán." *Scientific American* 216(6): 38–48.

Millon, René. 1973. *The Teotihuacan Map. Part 1: Text. Urbanization at Teotihuacan, Mexico*. Vol. 1. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Millon, René. 1981. "Teotihuacan: City, State, and Civilization." In *Supplement to the Handbook of Middle American Indians*. Vol. 1, *Archaeology*, edited by V. Bricker and J. A. Sabloff, 198–243. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Millon, René. 1988. "The Last Years of Teotihuacan Dominance." In *The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations*, edited by Norman Yoffee and George L. Cowgill, 102–164. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Millon, René. 1993. "The Place Where Time Began: An Archaeologist's Interpretation of What Happened in Teotihuacan History." In *Teotihuacan: Art from the City of the Gods*, edited by K. Berrin and E. Pasztory, 17–43. San Francisco: Thames and Hudson and the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

Millon, René, and James A. Bennyhoff. 1961. "A Long Architectural Sequence at Teotihuacan." *American Antiquity* 26(4): 516–523.

Millon, René, Bruce Drewitt, and James A. Bennyhoff. 1965. "The Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan: 1959 Investigations." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 55 (part 6), Philadelphia.

Millon, René, Bruce Drewitt, and George L. Cowgill. 1973. *The Teotihuacan Map. Part 2: Maps. Urbanization at Teotihuacan, Mexico*. Vol. 1. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Montiel, Lisa. 2010. "Teotihuacan Imperialism in the Yautepec Valley, Morelos." Unpublished PhD diss., University at Albany, State University of New York.

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Murakami, Tatsuya. 2010. "Power Relations and Urban Landscape Formation: A Study of Construction Labor and Resources at Teotihuacan." Unpublished PhD diss., Arizona State University, Tempe.

Murakami, Tatsuya. 2014. "Social Identities, Power Relations, and Urban Transformations: Politics of Plaza Construction at Teotihuacan." In *Mesoamerican Plazas: Arenas of Community and Power*, edited by Kenichiro Tsukamoto and Takeshi Inomata, 34–49. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Murakami, Tatsuya. 2016a. "Entangled Political Strategies: Rulership, Bureaucracy, and Intermediate Elites at Teotihuacan." In *Political Strategies in Pre-Columbian Mesoamerica*, edited by Sarah Kurnick and Joanne Baron, 153–179. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Murakami, Tatsuya. 2016b. "Materiality, Regimes of Value, and the Politics of Craft Production, Exchange, and Consumption: A Case of Lime Plaster at Teotihuacan." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 42: 56–78.

Nalda H., Enrique. 1997. "El Noreste de Morelos y la desestabilización teotihuacana." *Arqueología* 18: 103–117.

Navarrete, Carlos A. 1976. "El complejo escultórico del Cerro Bernal, en la costa de Chiapas, México." *Anales de Antropología* 13(1): 23–45.

Navarrete, Carlos A. 1986. "The Sculptural Complex at Cerro Bernal on the Coast of Chiapas." In *Notes of the New World Archaeological Foundation*. Vol. 1: 1–28. Provo: New World Archaeological Foundation, Brigham Young University.

Nichols, Deborah L. 2016. "Teotihuacan." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 24(1): 1–74.

Nielsen, Jesper. 2003. "Art of the Empire: Teotihuacan Iconography and Style in Early Classic Maya Society (A.D. 380–500)." Unpublished PhD diss., University of Copenhagen.

Nondédéo, Phillipe, Alfonso Lacadena García-Gallo, and Juan Ignacio Cases Martin. 2019. "Teotihuacan y mayas en la 'entrada' (378 d.C.): Nuevos datos de Naachtun, Petén, Guatemala." *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 49: 53–75.

Ossa, Alanna. 2013. "Using Network Expectations to Identify Multiple Exchange Systems: A Case Study from Postclassic Sauce and Its Hinterland in Veracruz, Mexico." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 32(4): 415–432.

Paddock, John. 1983. "The Oaxaca Barrio in Teotihuacan." In *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations*, edited by Kent V. Flannery and Joyce Marcus, 170–175. New York: Academic Press.

Parsons, Jeffrey R., and Larry J. Gorenflo. 2008. "The Patterning of Settlement." In *Prehispanic Settlement Patterns in the Northwestern Valley of Mexico: The Zumpango Region*, edited by Jeffrey R. Parsons, 61–99. Memoirs, No. 45. Ann Arbor: Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan.

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Pasztory, Esther, ed. 1978. *Middle Classic Mesoamerica: AD 400–700*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Pasztory, Esther. 1988. "A Reinterpretation of Teotihuacan and Its Mural Painting Tradition." In *Feathered Serpents and Flowering Trees: Reconstructing the Murals of Teotihuacan*, edited by K. Berrin, 45–77. San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

Pasztory, Esther. 1993. "An Image Is Worth a Thousand Words: Teotihuacan and the Meanings of Style in Classic Mesoamerica." In *Mesoamerican Horizons*, edited by Don S. Rice, 113–146. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Pasztory, Esther. 1997. *Teotihuacan: An Experiment in Living*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Pendergast, David M. 1971. "Evidence of Teotihuacan-Lowland Maya Contact at Altun-Ha." *American Antiquity* 36(4): 455–460.

Pendergast, David M. 2003. "Teotihuacan at Altun-Ha: Did It Make a Difference?" In *The Maya and Teotihuacan: Reinterpreting Early Classic Interaction*, edited by Geoffrey E. Braswell, 235–248. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Pfeiffer, Linda. 1983. "Pottery Production and Extralocal Relations at Rio Arriba, Chiapas, Mexico." PhD diss., Department of Anthropology, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Pool, Christopher. 2006. "Current Research on the Gulf Coast of Mexico." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 14(3): 189–241.

Price, T. Douglas, Linda Manzanilla, and William D. Middleton. 2000. "Immigration and the Ancient City of Teotihuacan in Mexico: A Study Using Strontium Isotope Ratios in Human Bone and Teeth." *Journal of Archaeological Science* 27(10): 903–913.

Proskouriakoff, Tatiana. 1993. *Maya History*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Rattray, Evelyn C. 1977. "Los contactos entre Teotihuacan y Veracruz." In *Los procesos de cambio en Mesoamérica y areas circunvecinas: XV Mesa Redonda*, 301–311. Guanajuato: Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología y Universidad de Guanajuato.

Rattray, Evelyn C. 1987. "Los barrios foráneos de Teotihuacan." In *Teotihuacán: Nuevos datos, nuevas síntesis, nuevos problemas*, edited by E. McClung de Tapia and E. C. Rattray, 243–273. Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Serie Antropológica 72. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Rattray, Evelyn C. 1989. "El Barrio de los Comerciantes y el Conjunto Tlamimilolpa: Un estudio comparativo." *Arqueología* 5: 105–129.

Rattray, Evelyn C. 1991. "Fechamientos por radiocarbono en Teotihuacan." *Arqueología* 6: 3–18.

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Rattray, Evelyn C. 1997. *Entierros y ofrendas en Teotihuacan: Excavaciones, inventario, patrones mortuorios*. Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Rattray, Evelyn C. 2001. *Teotihuacan: Ceramics, Chronology, and Cultural Trends*. Mexico City and Pittsburgh, PA: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia and University of Pittsburgh.

Reents-Budet, Dorie, Ellen E. Bell, Loa P. Traxler, and Ronald L. Bishop. 2004. "Early Classic Ceramic Offerings at Copan: A Comparison of the Hunal, Margarita, and Sub-Jaguar Tombs." In *Understanding Early Classic Copan*, edited by Ellen E. Bell, Marcello A. Canuto, and Robert J. Sharer, 159–190. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Renfrew, Colin, and John F. Cherry, eds. 1986. *Peer Polity Interaction and Sociopolitical Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sanders, William T. 1981. "Ecological Adaptation in the Basin of Mexico: 23,000 B.C. to the Present." In *Supplement of the Handbook of Middle American Indians*. Vol. 1, *Archaeology*, edited by Jeremy A. Sabloff, 147–197. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Sanders, William T., and Joseph W. Michels, eds. 1977. *Teotihuacan and Kaminaljuyu: A Study in Prehistoric Cultural Contact*. College Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Sanders, William T., Jeffrey R. Parsons, and Robert S. Santley. 1979. *The Basin of Mexico: Ecological Processes in the Evolution of a Civilization*. New York: Academic Press.

Sanders, William T., and Barbara Price. 1968. *Mesoamerica: The Evolution of a Civilization*. New York: Random House.

Santley, Robert S. 1983. "Obsidian Trade and Teotihuacan Influence in Mesoamerica." In *Highland-Lowland Interaction in Mesoamerica: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, edited by Arthur G. Miller, 69–124. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Santley, Robert S. 1989. "Obsidian Working, Long Distance Exchange, and the Teotihuacan Presence on the South Gulf Coast." In *Mesoamerica after the Decline of Teotihuacan: AD 700–900*, edited by R. A. Diehl and J. C. Berlo, 131–151. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Santley, Robert S. 2007. *The Prehistory of the Tuxtlas*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Santley, Robert S., and Rani T. Alexander. 1992. "The Political Economy of Core-Periphery Systems." In *Resources, Power, and Interregional Interaction*, edited by Edward M. Schortman and Patricia A. Urban, 23–50. New York: Plenum Press.

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Santley, Robert S., and Rani T. Alexander. 1996. "Teotihuacan and Middle Classic Mesoamerica: A Pre-Columbian World System?" In *Arqueología Mesoamericana: Homenaje a William T. Sanders*, edited by A. G. Mastache, J. R. Parsons, Robert S. Santley, and M. C. Serra Puche, 173–194. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Santley, Robert S., and Philip J. Arnold III. 1996. "Prehispanic Settlement Patterns in the Tuxtla Mountains, Southern Veracruz, Mexico." *Journal of Field Archaeology* 23(2): 225–249.

Santley, Robert S., and Philip J. Arnold III. 2005. "The Obsidian Trade to the Tuxtlas Region and Its Implications for the Prehistory of Southern Veracruz, Mexico." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 16(2): 179–194.

Santley, Robert S., Thomas P. Barrett, Michael D. Glascock, and Hector Neff. 2001. "Prehistoric Obsidian Procurement in the Tuxtla Mountains, Southern Veracruz, Mexico." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 12(1): 49–63.

Schneider, Jane. 1977. "Was There a Pre-capitalist World System?" *Peasant Studies* 6: 20–29.

Schortman, Edward M., and Patricia A. Urban. 2004. "Modeling the Roles of Craft Production in Ancient Political Economies." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 12(2): 185–226.

Sedat, David W., and Fernando López. 2004. "Initial Stages in the Formation of the Copan Acropolis." In *Understanding Early Classic Copan*, edited by Ellen E. Bell, Marcello A. Canuto, and Robert J. Sharer, 85–99. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Seeman, Mark F. 1995. "When Words Are Not Enough: Hopewell Interregionalism and the Use of Material Symbols at the GE Mound." In *Native American Interactions: Multiscalar Analyses and Interpretation in the Eastern Woodlands*, edited by M. S. Nassaney and K. E. Sassaman, 122–143. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Séjourné, Laurette. 1959. *Un palacio en la Ciudad de los Dioses: Exploraciones en Teotihuacan 1955–1958*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Séjourné Laurette. 1966. *Arquitectura y pintura en Teotihuacán*. Mexico City: Siglo XXI.

Sharer, Robert J. 2003. "Founding Events and Teotihuacan Connections and Copan, Honduras." In *The Maya and Teotihuacan: Reinterpreting Early Classic Interaction*, edited by Geoffrey E. Braswell, 167–198. Austin: The University of Texas Press.

Smith, Adam T. 2011. "Archaeology of Sovereignty." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40: 415–432.

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Smith, Michael E., and Lisa Montiel. 2001. "The Archaeological Study of Empires and Imperialism in Pre-Hispanic Central Mexico." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 20(3): 245–284.

Smyth, Michael P. 2000. "They Came from the West: Teotihuacan in the Yucatan during the Early Classic Period." Paper presented at the Sixty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Philadelphia.

Smyth, Michael P., and Daniel Rogart. 2004. "A Teotihuacan Presence at Chac II, Yucatan, Mexico: Implications for Early Political Economy of the Puuc Region." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 15(1): 17–47.

Spence, Michael W. 1967. "The Obsidian Industry of Teotihuacan." *American Antiquity* 32(4): 507–514.

Spence, Michael W. 1976. "Human Skeletal Material from the Oaxaca Barrio in Teotihuacan, Mexico." In *Archaeological Frontiers: Papers on New World High Cultures in Honor of Charles J. Kelley*, edited by Robert Pickering, 129–148. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University.

Spence, Michael W. 1986. "Locational Analysis of Craft Specialization Areas in Teotihuacan." In *Economic Aspects of Prehispanic Highland Mexico*, edited by B. L. Isaac, 75–100. Research in Economic Anthropology, Supplement 2. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Spence, Michael W. 1990. "Excavaciones en Tlailotlacan, Teotihuacan. Segunda Temporada." *Consejo de Arqueología Boletín*, 1989: 128–130.

Spence, Michael W. 1992. "Tlailotlacan: A Zapotec Enclave in Teotihuacan." In *Art, Ideology, and the City of Teotihuacan*, edited by J. C. Berlo, 59–88. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Spence, Michael W. 1996. "A Comparative Analysis of Ethnic Enclaves." In *Arqueología mesoamericana: Homenaje a William T. Sanders*, edited by A. G. Mastache, J. R. Parsons, R. S. Santley, and M. C. Serra Puche, 333–353. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Spence, Michael W. 2005. "A Zapotec Diaspora Network in Classic-Period Central Mexico." In *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Gil J. Stein, 173–206. Albuquerque: School of American Research Press.

Stanton, Travis. 2005. "Taluds, Tripods, and Teotihuacanos: A Critique of Central Mexican Influence in Classic Period Yucatan." *Mayab* 18: 17–35.

Stark, Barbara L. 1990. "The Gulf Coast and the Central Highlands on Mexico: Alternative Models for Interaction." In *Research in Economic Anthropology*. Vol. 12, edited by Barry L. Isaac, 243–285. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Stone, Andrea. 1989. "Disconnection, Foreign Insignia, and Political Expansion: Teotihuacan and the Warrior Stelae of Piedras Negras." In *Mesoamerica after the*

copyrighted material, not for distribution

Decline of Teotihuacan, A.D. 700–900, edited by Richard Diehl and Janet C. Berlo, 153–172. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Stoner, Wesley D. 2011. "Disjuncture among Classic Period Cultural Landscapes in the Tuxtla Mountains, Southern Veracruz, Mexico." PhD diss., University of Kentucky, Lexington.

Stoner, Wesley D. 2013. "Interpolity Pottery Exchange in the Tuxtla Mountains, Southern Veracruz, Mexico." *Latin American Antiquity* 24(3): 262–288.

Stoner, Wesley D., and Christopher A. Pool. 2015. "The Archaeology of Disjuncture: Classic Period Disruption and Cultural Divergence in the Tuxtla Mountains of Mexico." *Current Anthropology* 56(3): 385–420.

Stuart, David. 2000. "The Arrival of Strangers: Teotihuacan and Tollan in Classic Maya History." In *Mesoamerica's Classic Heritage: From Teotihuacan to the Great Aztec Temple*, edited by D. Carrasco, L. Jones and S. Sessions, 465–513. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Sugiura, Yoko. 2005. *Y atrás quedó la ciudad de los dioses: Historia de los asentamientos en el Valle de Toluca*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Sugiyama, Nawa, Saburo Sugiyama, and Alejandro Sarabia G. 2013. "Inside the Sun Pyramid at Teotihuacan, Mexico: 2008–2011 Excavations and Preliminary Results." *Latin American Antiquity* 24(4): 403–432.

Sugiyama, Saburo. 1998. "Termination Programs and Prehispanic Looting at the Feathered Serpent Pyramid in Teotihuacan, Mexico." In *The Sowing and the Dawning: Termination, Dedication, and Transformation in the Archaeological and Ethnographic Record of Mesoamerica*, edited by Shirley Boteler Mock, 146–164. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Sugiyama, Saburo. 2004. "Governance and Policy at Classic Teotihuacan." In *Mesoamerican Archaeology: Theory and Practice*, edited by Julia A. Hendon and Rosemary A. Joyce, 97–123. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Sugiyama, Saburo. 2005. *Human Sacrifice, Militarism, and Rulership: Materialization of State Ideology at the Feathered Serpent Pyramid, Teotihuacan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sugiyama, Saburo, and Rubén Cabrera C. 2007. "The Moon Pyramid Project and the Teotihuacan Polity: A Brief Summary of the 1998–2004 Excavations." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 18(1): 109–125.

Sugiyama, Saburo, and Leonardo López Luján. 2007. "Dedicatory Burial/Offering Complexes at the Moon Pyramid, Teotihuacan: A Preliminary Report of 1998–2004 Explorations." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 18(1): 127–146.

Taube, Karl A. 1992. "The Iconography of Mirrors at Teotihuacan." In *Art, Ideology and the City of Teotihuacan: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 8th and 9th October*

copyrighted material, not for distribution

1988, edited by Janet Catherine Berio, 169–204. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Taube, Karl A. 2000. *The Writing System of Ancient Teotihuacan*. *Ancient America*. Vol. 1. Barnardsville, NC, and Washington, DC: Center for Ancient American Studies.

Taube, Karl A. 2003. "Tetitla and the Maya Presence at Teotihuacan." In *The Maya and Teotihuacan: Reinterpreting Early Classic Interaction*, edited by Geoffrey E. Braswell, 273–314. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Thomas, Nicholas. 1991. *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Urcid, Javier. 1993. "The Pacific Coast of Oaxaca and Guerrero: Westernmost Extent of the Zapotec Script." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 4(1): 141–165.

Urcid, Javier, and Arthur A. Joyce. 2001. "Carved Monuments and Calendrical Names: The Rulers of Río Viejo, Oaxaca." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 12(2): 199–216.

Varela Torrecilla, Carmen, and Geoffrey Braswell. 2003. "Teotihuacan and Oxkintok: New Perspectives from Yucatan." In *The Maya and Teotihuacan: Reinterpreting Early Classic Interaction*, edited by Geoffrey E. Braswell, 249–272. Austin: University of Texas Press.

White, Christine D., Michael W. Spence, Fred J. Longstaffe, Hillary Stuart-Williams, and Kimberley R. Law. 2002. "Geographic Identities of the Sacrificial Victims from the Feathered Serpent Pyramid, Teotihuacan: Implications for the Nature of State Power." *Latin American Antiquity* 13(2): 217–236.

Winter, Marcus, Cira Martinez Lopez, and Alicia Herrera Muzgo T. 2002. "Monte Alban y Teotihuacan: Política e Ideología." In *Ideología y política a través de materiales, imágenes y símbolos*: *Memoria de la Primera Mesa Redonda de Teotihuacan*, edited by Marla Elena Ruiz Gallut, 627–644. Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Wolf, Eric R., ed. 1976. *The Valley of Mexico: Studies in Pre-Hispanic Ecology and Society*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Workinger, Andrew G. 2002. "Understanding Coastal/Highland Interaction in Prehispanic Oaxaca, Mexico: The Perspective from San Francisco de Arriba." PhD diss., Department of Anthropology, Vanderbilt University, Nashville.

Yoffee, Norman. 2005. *Myths of the Archaic State: Evolution of the Earliest Cities, States and Civilizations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zralka, Jaroslaw, and Bernard Hermes. 2012. "Great Development in Troubled Times: The Terminal Classic at the Maya Site of Nakum, Peten, Guatemala." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 23(1): 161–187.

copyrighted material, not for distribution