

**FAMSI © 2005: Kristin Sullivan**

## **Making and Manipulating Ritual in the City of the Gods: Figurine Production and Use at Teotihuacán, México**



**Research Year:** 2004

**Culture:** Teotihuacán

**Chronology:** Pre-Classic and Early Classic

**Location:** Teotihuacán, Central México

**Site:** Cosotlan 23 (Site 23:N5W3; Millon *et al.* 1973)

### **Table of Contents**

[Abstract](#)

[Resumen](#)

[Introduction](#)

[Field Work](#)

[Laboratory Work](#)

[Evidence for the Production of Ceramic Figurines and Incensario Adornos](#)

[Preliminary Phasing of the Surface Figurines](#)

[Patlachique](#)

[Tzacualli](#)

[Miccaotli](#)

[Tlamimilolpa](#)

[Teotihuacán Mold Made \(TMM\)](#)

[Coyotlatelco](#)

[Mazapan](#)

[Possible Deities](#)

[Possible Foreign Figurine](#)

[Zoomorphs](#)  
[Conclusion and Plans for Further Research](#)  
[Acknowledgements](#)  
[List of Figures](#)  
[Sources Cited](#)

## **Abstract**

Teotihuacán was the largest city of its time in ancient Mesoamerica, with significant evidence for specialized production and the distribution of craft goods throughout the city and abroad. Evidence for the production of a variety of goods has been recovered from several apartment compounds throughout the city. For example, specialized pottery production has been identified at the excavated apartment compound Tlajinga 33 or 33:S3W1 (Hopkins 1995; Sheehy 1992; Storey 1992; Sullivan 2002, 2005; Widmer and Storey 1993), while excavated materials from Tlamimilolpa, 1:N4E4, indicate production of textiles, basketry, and other items involving fiber work (Linné 2003b [1942]; Manzanilla 1996). Excavations at Tetitla (1:N2W2) recovered bone tools for working hides and polishing pottery (Manzanilla 1996; Pasztory 1997) and surface collections suggest obsidian tool production at the apartment compound at 29:N5W3 (Spence 1981, 1984, 1986, 1987). This project focuses on evidence for the production of ceramic figurines at an apartment compound located outside of the much-studied ceremonial center of Teotihuacán, ca. one kilometer west of the Pyramid of the Moon.

## **Resumen**

Teotihuacán fue la ciudad más grande en sus tiempos en la antigua Mesoamérica con evidencia significativa de producción especializada y distribución de mercancías artesanales, a través de la ciudad y fuera de ella. Se ha recuperado evidencia de la producción de una variedad de mercancías de varios conjuntos de apartamentos a través de la ciudad. Por ejemplo, se identificó producción de alfarería especializada en el conjunto de apartamentos llamado Tlajinga 33 o 33:S3W1 (Hopkins 1995; Sheehy 1992; Storey 1992; Sullivan 2002, 2005; Widmer y Storey 1993); mientras que materiales excavados de Tlamimilolpa, 1:N4E4, indican la producción de textiles, canastas, y otros artículos que involucran el trabajo de la fibra (Linné 2003b [1942]; Manzanilla 1996). Excavaciones en Tetitla (1:N2W2) recuperaron herramientas de hueso para trabajar pieles y pulir alfarería (Manzanilla 1996; Pasztory 1997) y colecciones de superficie sugieren producción de herramientas de obsidiana en el conjunto de apartamentos en 29:N5W3 (Spence 1981, 1984, 1986, 1987). Este proyecto se concentra sobre la evidencia para la producción de figurillas de cerámica en un conjunto de apartamentos ubicado en las afueras del tan estudiado centro ceremonial de Teotihuacán aproximadamente un kilómetro al occidente de la Pirámide de la Luna.

Submitted 06/15/2005 by:  
Kristin Sullivan, MA  
Department of Anthropology  
Arizona State University  
[Kristin.Sullivan@asu.edu](mailto:Kristin.Sullivan@asu.edu)

## Introduction

The ancient city of Teotihuacán, located in central highland México, was one of the earliest urban settlements in the New World between ca. 150 B.C.–A.D. 650 ([Figure 1](#)). At its height, over 100,000 people lived in more than 2,000 multi-apartment compounds that served both residential and economic functions (Cowgill 1997, 2000; Millon 1973, 1988, 1993). Although evidence for the production of different craft goods has been found in several of Teotihuacán's apartment compounds, no figurine production locale independent of elite sponsors has yet been intensively re-surveyed or excavated at Teotihuacán, and very few such workshops have been studied anywhere in Mesoamerica (Barbour 1975:118; Charlton *et al.* 1991, 2000; Krotser and Rattray 1980; Linné 2003a [1934]; Múnera 1985; Otis Charlton 1994). The field work supported financially by the Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc., (FAMSI) and reported here focuses on the mapping and intensive surface collection of the apartment compound and likely figurine workshop at 23:N5W3 (hereafter referred to as Cosotlan 23) and adjacent portions of open areas separating this from other apartment compounds where craft activities may also have taken place ([Figure 2](#)).



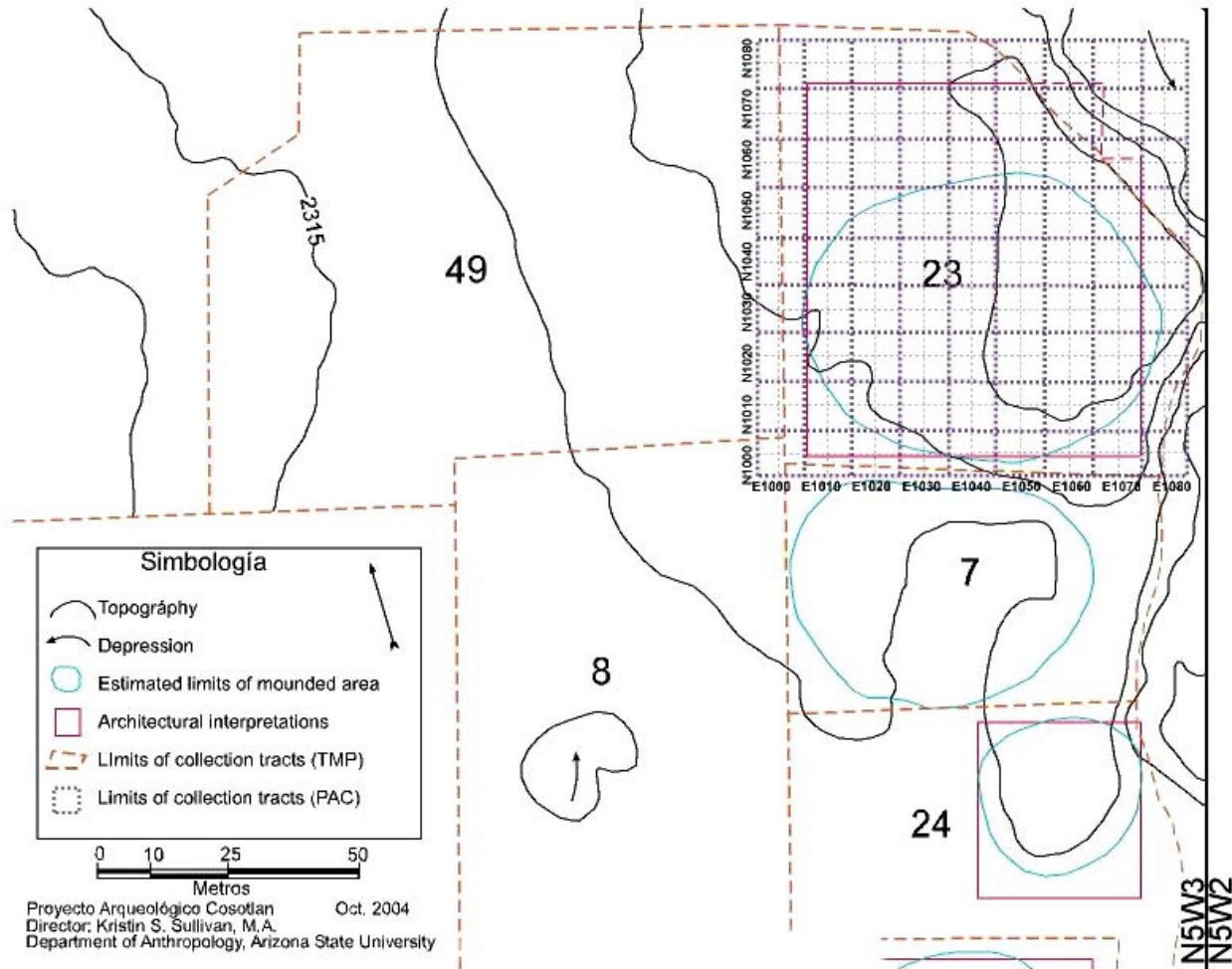


Figure 2. Map of the study area. After Millon 1973:16.

Because of the unexpected quantity of materials recovered from the surface of Cosotlan 23, neither time nor resources permitted the excavation originally planned as part of this project. However, the evidence obtained so far confirms that this is an exceptionally strategic site for excavation and provides considerable data for the design of problem-oriented excavation on a scale extensive enough to yield good contextual information important to the study of figurine production and use at Teotihuacán, México. In addition, by considering evidence for the production of these artifacts by independent producers located in an apartment compound, the present project contributes to previous research that has significantly refined the figurine typology and greatly enhanced our understanding of the possible uses and interpretations of Teotihuacán figurines (Barbour 1975, 1998; Cowgill 2002; Goldsmith 2000; Kolb 1995; Montoya 2001; Rodríguez and Delgado 1997; Scott 1994, 2001; von Winning 1958, 1967, 1987, 1991).

## Field Work

Field work, including the mapping and intensive re-survey of the site located in a modern nopalera (prickly pear cactus field), occurred over six weeks during October and November 2004. Mapping of the 90-by-90 meter area, including the mounded remains of the apartment compound and the surrounding "open" inter-compound space, began with the division of the area into 81 ten-by-ten meter units marked with wooden stakes and strung with twine. A grid was devised beginning at N1000 E1000 in the southwest corner and extended to N1090 E1090 in the northeast corner to allow for future work without having to re-number the grid if further survey was necessary to the south or west. The grid used in survey will also allow for future excavation with few changes as each one-by-one meter square has a unique provenience. For each of the 81 ten-by-ten meter units, detailed survey forms were filled out to record human and natural modifications (e.g., nopales, trees, earthen roads, barrancas, depressions caused by possible clandestine excavation, etc.) and maps were drawn to indicate the present location of such features ([Figure 3](#)). For collection purposes, each ten-by-ten meter mapping square was further sub-divided into four five-by-five meter survey units (i.e., NE, NW, SE, SW quadrants) for a total of 324 survey units or quadrants from which surface artifacts were collected. All survey units were delimited with stakes and twine, and artifacts from each survey unit were placed in separate bags with tags indicating the mapping unit and quadrant provenience (e.g., N1000 E1000 NW for the five-by-five meter survey unit in the northwest corner of mapping unit N1000 E1000).

Unidad N1060 E1020  
Computadora: 7-Feb-05  
Guillermo Garcia Roman

Mapa: 19-Oct-04  
Guillermo Garcia Roman

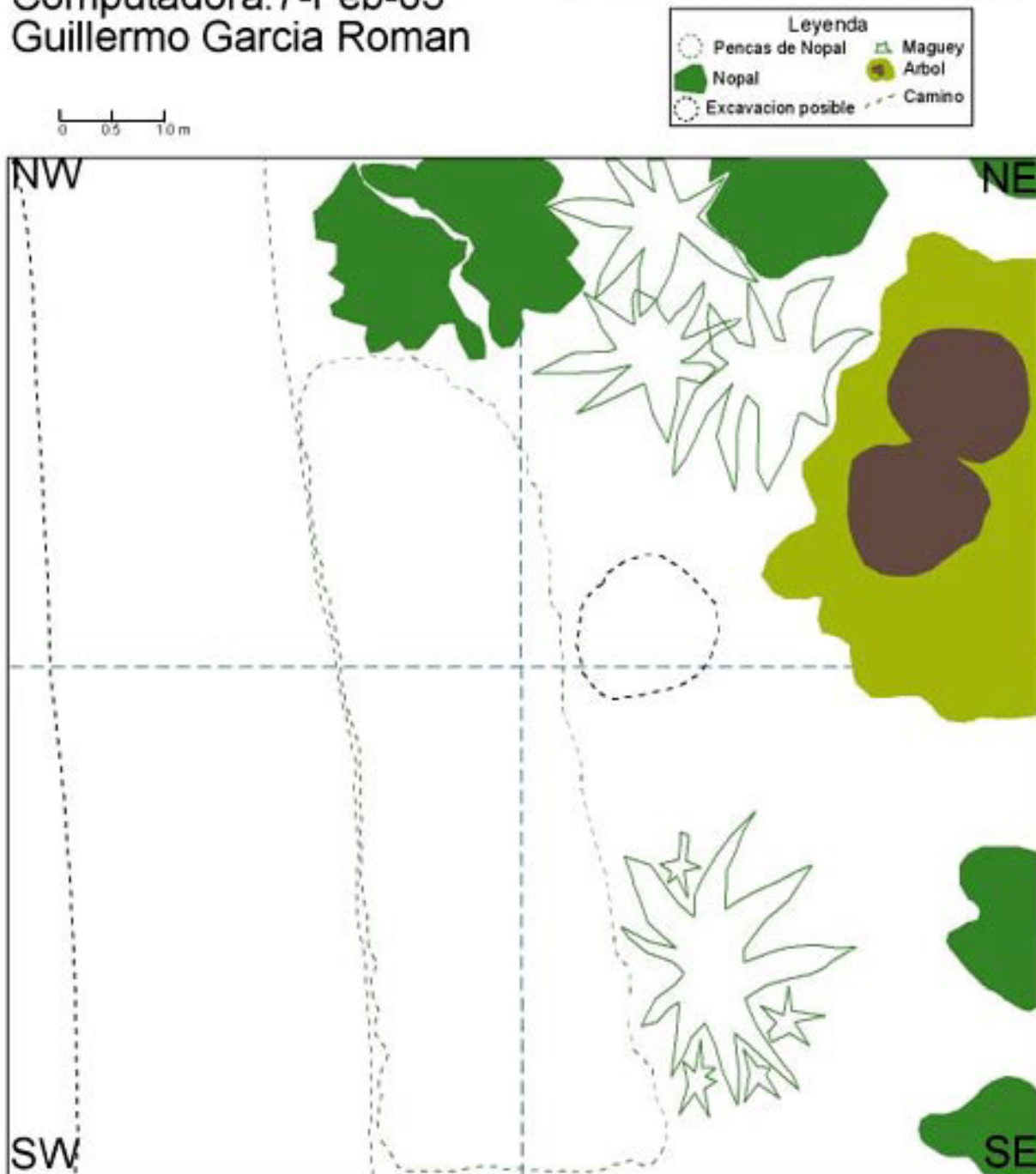


Figure 3. Example of the field maps drawn for each 10-by-10 meter mapping unit indicating the four 5-by-5 meter quadrants (NW, NE, SW, SE).

## **Laboratory Work**

An exceptional quantity of artifacts was recovered in the intensive re-survey, including 236,268 sherds; 6,236 figurine fragments (heads, headdresses, torsos, and limbs); and 40 fragments of molds and possible molds for making various types of figurines and other ceramic goods. Careful analysis of the materials recovered will require considerable time and, to this end, laboratory work began during November 2004 and continues to the present. All materials are stored in the archaeological research center in San Juan Teotihuacán, directed by Dr. George Cowgill of Arizona State University (ASU). Artifacts brought in from the field were carefully washed and stored in clean plastic bags. The provenience of each bag was noted on tags placed inside of each bag which was then secured with string and a duplicate tag. All artifact bags were placed in cardboard boxes with the artifact category, provenience, and bag number clearly marked on the outside of each box. The boxes were organized on metal shelves in the ASU archaeological research center for further study. Provenience information is currently being marked on individual artifacts with indelible ink.

Initial laboratory work included sorting of sherds into rim, body, base, handle, support, and 'other' categories. Sherds in each category were counted and weighed, with the information recorded for two size classes: larger than and smaller than or equal to 2 cm in size. A similar process was used for figurines which were sorted according to categories such as headdress, head, torso, limb, and 'other', but not divided into size classes. Obsidian was sorted in terms of fragments of prismatic blades, cores, flakes, and biface tools with artifacts in each category counted and weighed and the information recorded for each survey unit. Ground stone weights and counts were recorded for artifacts such as manos, metates, and hammer stones.

## **Evidence for the Production of Ceramic Figurine and Incensario Adornos**

Evidence of ceramic production recovered from the survey includes lumps of worked and fired clay, fired clay adhering to the interior of sherds, and 1/8 spherical ceramic objects. The latter may be similar to the hormas used to form hollow pieces that have been recovered in excavations at figurine workshops elsewhere in Mesoamerica (Hernández *et al.* 1999; Múnera 1985).





**Figure 4. Figurine molds and possible molds.**



**Figure 5. Molds and possible molds for incensario adornos.**

Further evidence includes several molds for figurines and incensario adornos or appliqués, all of which were drawn and photographed ([Figure 4](#) and [Figure 5](#), shown above; [Figure 6](#) and [Figure 8](#), shown below). The figurine molds in [Figure 4](#) include two molds for Mazapan phase figurine heads (Figures 4 A and 4 D) showing the characteristic almond-shaped eye seen in the two Mazapan figurine heads in [Figures 13](#) A, B, and C; (Goldsmith 2000:173, Illustration 11); two possible molds for producing the characteristic wrinkled forehead associated with figurines representing elderly individuals (Figures 4 B and E), an example of which is discussed below; and a small mold for making a hand (Figure 4 C). The final example in [Figure 4](#) (F) is a mold for making a figurine head with headdress and ear spool, and at least a two- and possibly three-string necklace similar to several Teotihuacán figurines shown in Séjourné (1966b:223, Figure 151; 226, Figure 153). The rectangular panel extending down from the headdress along the side of the ear spool may be a lock of hair as seen on other female figurines (Séjourné 1966b:42, Figure 22; 44, Figure 23; 45, Figure 24).



**Figure 6. Molds and possible molds for incensario adornos.**

Two of the molds shown in [Figure 5](#) may be for adornos of flowers (Figure 5 A and B) as discussed in Múnera (1985:122-123), while the third (Figure 5 C) shows a geometric pattern of vertical lines (top panel) and a checkered or cross-hatch pattern (lower panel). The design in the lower panel is somewhat similar to that seen on adornos discussed by Sugiyama (1998) as having been recovered in excavation (Figure PTQ 9A1-15 and 16 in Sugiyama's [1998] FAMSI report) and from the surface collections made by the Teotihuacán Mapping Project at 50:N2E3 (Figure TMP 15-36 and 37 in Sugiyama's [1998] FAMSI report). The three examples in [Figure 6](#) are likely adorno molds: Figure 6 A shows the rhombus and vertical bars associated with Huehuetotl, the Old God of Fire (Séjourné 1966b:286, Lámina 65), however the small size of this artifact and the lack of a rim makes it difficult to determine if this fragment is an actual mold or a mold-made piece. Figure 6 B is a mold for a leaf (Múnera 1985:122-123), while Figure 6 C has a geometric pattern somewhat reminiscent of the adornos crowning a Teotihuacán incensario on display at the site museum at Teotihuacán ([Figure 7](#)).



Figure 7. Incensario on display at the site museum at Teotihuacán.

Finally, the five molds shown in [Figure 8](#), below, may have been used for making puppet figurine heads or other relatively larger figurines such as the examples in [Figures 9 A–C](#), collected by this project, and [Figure 9 D](#), a puppet figurine on display at the Teotihuacán site museum.



**Figure 8. Molds and possible molds for puppet figurine heads similar to those shown in Figure 9.**



**Figure 9. Heads similar to the molds in Figure 8 (A, B, and C), and a similar example from the site museum at Teotihuacán (D).**

### **Preliminary Phasing of the Surface Figurines**

In addition to identifying evidence for the production of ceramic figurines, initial analysis of the surface collections also included consideration of the chronological phases represented by the figurines recovered from the surface. For the purposes of this preliminary study, I focus on the figurine heads since changes in eye styles are one of the most useful (though not infallible) keys for identifying relative chronological placement (Goldsmith 2000:39). In conjunction with eye style, I also consider head form (e.g., round or split heads); headdress and/or hair style (where present); and manufacturing technique; that is, whether the figurine head was hand-made, produced with a mold, or both. Berlo (1982:92-95) has argued that mold technology was first used to make composite censers during the Early Tlamimilolpa phase, and later introduced to figurine production toward the end of the Late Tlamimilolpa phase, making production technique a useful clue, in conjunction with other indicators, in determining the relative antiquity of particular types of figurines. In assigning preliminary chronological phases to the figurine heads, I primarily consider research by Barbour (1975, 1998), Montoya (1999, 2001), and Goldsmith (2000), relying most heavily on the latter since her dissertation provides a thorough and recent consideration of the Teotihuacán figurine chronology based on stratigraphic excavations in Teotihuacán apartment compounds. I

also refer to Séjourné (1966a, 1966b) as her illustrations of Teotihuacán figurines are invaluable.

The summary of the analysis provided here is only an initial consideration of some of the figurine heads collected by this project. Thorough examination is necessary for more accurate and detailed typological classification of the figurines collected. For the purposes of this analysis, I have selected the best examples of anthropomorphic figurine heads from phases of Teotihuacán's Terminal Formative and Classic Periods, as well as some figurines from later phases (i.e., Coyotlatelco, Mazapan) and examples of deities and zoomorphic figurines.

### ***Patlachique***

[Figures 10 A, B, and C](#) best illustrate one of the major eye styles associated with this early phase, the double indent coffee bean eye (Goldsmith 2000:165, Illustration 3). Figure 10 A exhibits the prognathism commonly associated with representations from this phase as well as the remnants of double incision coffee bean eyes. The other two examples in Figure 10 B and C provide clearer illustrations of the double incision coffee bean eye. Figure 10 B also includes part of what may be a wide band headdress associated with female figurines, although the figurine is too fragmentary to definitively identify the headdress type (Goldsmith 2000:203, Illustration 41; Séjourné 1966b:227, Figure 154; 213, Lámina 52). Although not illustrated here, the fox eye is also a common eye style associated with this phase (Goldsmith 2000: 40; 165, Illustration 3).



**Figure 10. Patlachique (A, B, and C) and Tzacualli (D, E, and F) figurines.**

### ***Tzacualli***

[Figures 10 D, E, and F](#) illustrate the coffee bean type eye associated with the Tzacualli phase (Goldsmith 2000:167, Illustration 5). All three examples also demonstrate a certain degree of prognathism associated with early Teotihuacán figurines. Figure 10 D, similar to Montoya's (1999) Figure 8 A204 recovered from building four of the Moon Pyramid, provides an example of hair or bangs associated with male figurines by Séjourné (1966b:40, Figure 21). Other characteristics associated with this phase but not illustrated here include half coffee bean eyes and split heads, the latter associated with females (Goldsmith 2000:82).

### ***Miccaotli***

The examples in [Figure 11](#) demonstrate the slit eye style typical of Miccaotli phase figurines (Goldsmith 2000:169, Illustration 7). Figure 11 A shows a nearly complete figurine with the split head style associated with females (Goldsmith 2000:82; Rodríguez and Delgado 1997). Based on hair and headdress style, Figures 11 B and C also likely represent females. The figurine in Figure 11 B wears a wide band headdress (Goldsmith 2000:203, Illustration 41; Séjourné 1966b:227, Figure 154; 213, Lámina 52), while that in Figure 11 C bears a headdress and hairstyle associated with females (Séjourné 1966b:42, Figure 22; 44, Figure 23; 45, Figure 24; 222, Figure 150; 223, Figure 154; and 226, Figure 153). The figurine in Figure 11 D is a unique example in which a large portion of the hand-made headdress has been preserved, including a disk with a dimpled texture that may represent cotton (Séjourné 1966b:106-111). The two circles on the figurine's forehead may represent shell rings found on the faces and foreheads of interred individuals (Séjourné 1966b:37, Figure 17; 71, Lámina 15; 137, Láminas 32 and 33; 140, Lámina 35; 141, Lámina 36; and 142, Figure 102). Figures 11 E and F both have scars or other facial markings made in a similar style though not necessarily by the same artisan. The figurine in Figure 11 E wears earspools and has a more rounded (as opposed to split) head possibly similar to the "round head with earspool" type identified by Goldsmith (2000:62; 186, Illustration 24) while the example in Figure 11 F has the split head characteristic of female figurines.





Figure 11. Miccaotli figurines (A, B, C, D, E, and F).

### ***Tlamimilolpa***

[Figures 12 A, B, and C](#) illustrate the hand-made "formed eye" associated with figurines made prior to the introduction of molds during the Tlamimilolpa phase (Berlo 1982:92-94; Goldsmith 2000:41; 171, Illustration 9). Figure 12 A wears an earspool, here portrayed as a round clay appliqué, and has the split head identified with female figurines (Goldsmith 2000:82). The example in Figure 12 B may be an example of possible hand-made antecedents of the later mold-made "portrait" figurines identified as warriors (Barbour 1975, 1998; Goldsmith 2000:170, Illustration 8) and produced at the workshop in the enclosure attached to the north side of the Ciudadela (Múnera 1985). Although Figure 12 B has either an ear or ear with earspool, both of which are uncharacteristic of the later "portrait" figurines, it is quite similar to Barbour's (1975:316) example in the top left corner of Plate 74. Figure 12 C demonstrates the loose, wrinkled skin and rounded (rather than split) head used to show elderly males (Goldsmith 2000:54-55; Séjourné 1966b:119, Lámina 25). An ear is evident on the figurine's right side although the lower portion of the ear is missing and no earspool is present, perhaps due to breakage. Similar examples bearing earspools and a brazier on the head have been identified as Huehuetotls, although some variants do not have braziers or earspools (Goldsmith 2000:179, Illustration 17; Séjourné 1966b: 274, Figure 184; 287, Lámina 66). However, in the absence of a brazier or evidence of a brazier having been present, I can only suggest that the figurine represents an elderly

individual, likely a male due to the rounded, rather than split, head (Goldsmith 2000:84; 179, Illustration 17).



Figure 12. Tlamimilolpa (A, B, and C), TMM (D), and Coyotlatelco (E and F) figurines.

### ***Teotihuacán Mold Made***

Figure 12 D is an example of a Teotihuacán Mold Made, or TMM, figurine showing the refined formed eye produced using a mold (Goldsmith 2000:171, Illustration 9). The figurine wears a feline headdress in which the upper lip and teeth as well as the animal's nose sit on the figurine's forehead, giving the impression of the anthropomorphic head emerging from the jaws of the feline. The headdress is similar to that illustrated on one of the Zacuala compound murals (Séjourné 1966b:300-301, Figure 194) and has been documented on other ceramic figurines (Séjourné 1966b:111, Figure 79; 114, Figure 81; 115, Lámina 24). [Figures 9](#) (A, B, and C) may also be TMM figurines, and the presence of molds for making similar heads ([Figure 8](#)) indicates the possible production of these types of figurines at Cosotlan 23.

### ***Coyotlatelco***

Figures 12 E and F are examples of mold-made figurines with the slightly puffed upper eyelid associated with the Coyotlatelco phase (Goldsmith 2000:172, Illustration 10). Earspools and headdresses are preserved on both examples, although the headdress

styles vary considerably. Figure 12 E wears a feathered headdress similar to those shown by Séjourné (1966b:69, Figure 44) while Figure 12 F has what may be a cotton turban as indicated by the dimpled texture (Goldsmith 2000:181, Illustration 19; Séjourné 1966b:151, Figure 108 shows a headdress with flores de algodón which have a similar dimpled texture). Although the figurine is fragmentary, it may have what Goldsmith (2000:68) refers to as a cotton turban with bird as these headdresses typically display a bird perched on a bow placed on the right side of the figurine. The flatness of this particular figurine head may indicate that it was once part of an enthroned figurine (Séjourné 1966b:131, Figure 96) rather than a half-conical type figurine which is often more three-dimensional but which may wear a similar headdress (e.g., Séjourné 1966b:152, Figure 109 especially the example in the lower right corner).

### ***Mazapan***

[Figures 13 A, B, and C](#) exhibit the almond-shaped eye associated with Mazapan phase figurines (Goldsmith 2000:173, Illustration 11). Figures 13 A and B are anthropomorphic figures with remnants of headdresses. Figure 13 A also wears earspools and bears red and yellow paint on the face, neck and headdress. Figure 13 B also has some indication of red paint and may be a female if the vertical panel on the figurine's right side represents the lock of hair associated with females (Séjourné 1966b:42, Figure 22; 44, Figure 23; 45, Figure 24; 222, Figure 150; 223, Figure 154; and 226, Figure 153). Figure 13 C, likely a canine, also has the Mazapan phase eye style.



**Figure 13. Mazapan figurines (A, B, and C), possible deities (D and E), and a possible foreign figurine (F).**

***Possible Deities***

Figures 13 D and E may be interpreted as images of Teotihuacán deities. Figure 13 D has the closed eye and full cheeks characteristic of the Fat God, a deity associated with death during Aztec times (Goldsmith 2000:58-60; 184, Illustration 22; Séjourné 1966b:277, Figure 187; 278, Figure 188). Figure 13 E has the hollow round eyes and headdress composed of two bands which circle the head perpendicular to each other and may have served to secure the flayed skin worn by the Aztec god Xipe Totec (Goldsmith 2000:181, Illustration 19; Séjourné 1966b:276, Figure 186). An alternative interpretation of figurines similar to that in Figure 13 E is that such images may represent ballplayers wearing padded clothing and helmets for protection (Scott 1994, 2000, 2001).

***Possible Foreign Figurine***

Figure 13 F displays the facial tattooing that Séjourné (1966b:257, Figure 172) argues may reflect the presence of foreign migrants at Teotihuacán. Archaeological evidence for foreign residents at Teotihuacán has been found in the Merchants' (Gulf Coast and Maya) and the Oaxaca barrios (Rattray 1987, 1992; Spence 1989, 1992).

## Zoomorphs

[Figure 14 A](#) is an example of the various types of avian figurines encountered in Teotihuacán collections (Séjourné 1966b:264, Figure 177; 265, Figure 178). Figures 14 B and C are canines (Séjourné 1966b:258, Figure 173; 260, Figure 174; 261, Figure 175), and Figures 14 D, E, and F provide several different examples of monkeys (Séjourné 1966b:266, Figure 179). While differences in how birds or dogs are displayed may reflect the variety of these animals present (e.g., turkeys, owls, ducks; various breeds of dogs), the variety of monkey images shown here may be due to the fact that some monkey "figurines" such as that in Figure 14 F originally adorned flutes (Séjourné 1966b:266, Figure 179).



Figure 14. Avian (A), canid (B and C), and primate (D, E, and F) figurines.

## Conclusion and Plans for Further Research

The intensive re-survey and preliminary analysis presented here provide information not previously available regarding the apartment compound and likely figurine workshop at Cosotlan 23. Figurines and figurine molds from both Teotihuacán and post-Teotihuacán phases are present in the surface collections, indicating the production and use of

figurines over a long period of time from at least the TMM (beginning ca. A.D. 350 when molds were introduced to figurine production according to Berlo [1982]) through the Mazapan phases (ca. A.D. 900-1150). Fragments of incensario adornos and adorno molds were also recovered from the surface of Cosotlan 23, indicating the production and use of these ritual items at the apartment compound. Full excavation at the workshop attached to the Ciudadela revealed production of incensarios and their adornos, ritual items associated with the Teotihuacán state religion (Cabrera 2004; Múnera 1985; Sugiyama 1998, 2002:198). Considering the independent context of production at the Cosotlan 23 workshop, located at an apartment compound nearly a kilometer from the Street of the Dead, it is surprising to find evidence for the production of these particular ritual objects.

Further analysis planned for the Cosotlan 23 collections includes study of the ceramic and lithic collections, and consideration of the types of figurines produced and used at the apartment compound. Areas of figurine production will be identified based on the co-occurrence of at least two of the following indicators: 1) basic materials such as worked and fired clay that was not formed into recognizable figurine or pottery forms; 2) unusual concentrations of total figurines and of particular types of figurines; 3) wasters such as the two fused figurine limbs recovered by the Teotihuacán Mapping Project from Cosotlan 23 in the 1960s; and 4) specialized production tools like molds (Arnold *et al.* 1993; Arnold and Santley 1993; Curet 1993; Deal 1988; Pool 1992; Santley *et al.* 1989; Stark 1985, 1992; Sullivan 2004). The electronic database of figurines collected by the Teotihuacán Mapping Project will also be used to compare the distribution throughout the city of the types of figurines produced at the workshop attached to the Ciudadela (e.g., warrior figurines which were produced in quantity; Múnera [1985]) with that of the types of figurines produced at Cosotlan 23 (e.g., puppet figurines for which several mold fragments were recovered, as shown in [Figure 8](#)). Comparison of the types of figurines produced at both workshops and their distribution throughout various social districts of the city (Robertson 1999, 2001) will provide important information on the production and distribution of figurines and other ceramic ritual items at both attached and independent workshops at Teotihuacán.

## **Acknowledgements**

Financial support for the field work and preliminary analysis reported here was generously provided by the Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc., (FAMSI grant #03021), the Department of Anthropology of Arizona State University, and the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences of Arizona State University. Advice from Drs. George Cowgill, Barbara Stark, Arleyn Simon, Ben Nelson, and Deborah Nichols has been invaluable in planning and carrying out the field work and research involved in this project and I am grateful for their support.

Field work permits were provided during summer 2004 by the Consejo de Arqueología of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología of México: Ing. Joaquín García-Bárcena, Director del Consejo; Etnlgo., Sergio Raúl Arroyo García, Director General del INAH; Dr. Moisés Rosas, Secretario Técnico del INAH; Dr. Alejandro Martínez Muriel,

Coordinador Nacional de Arqueología; Lic. Maribel Miro Flaquer, Directora del Centro INAH Estado de México; Lic. Enrique Alvarez Tostado, Director de Asuntos de lo Consultivo; Coordinación Nacional de Asuntos Jurídicos; Sección de Arqueología del Centro INAH Estado de México. Permission to conduct the field work was kindly granted by the Zona Arqueológica de Teotihuacán, directed by Raúl Arturo Zarate Ramírez; the Barrio de Purificación de Teotihuacán by Don Fausto García Vázquez and Don Gabriel Espinoza Aguilar; and by the owner of the land in which Cosotlan 23 is located, Sr. Juan Lucio Sandoval González.

The generous support of INAH Archaeologist Alejandro Sarabia González, curator of the Teotihuacán Archaeological Zone, was invaluable in conducting the necessary local transactions, providing introductions to the members of the ejido in which Cosotlan 23 is located, and in carrying out all phases of the field work and laboratory analysis. Field and laboratory work was made possible by the help and dedication of Lourdes Caballero Mejía, Cristian García Cardelas, Orlando García Pedraza, Guillermo García Roman, Lorenzo García Roman, Imogen Arely Garcia Hernandez, Brandon Antonio García Hernandez, Kim Goldsmith de Sarabia, Mari Carmen Moreno Ortega, Don Zeferino Ortega, and José Genaro Vidal San Juan. Estoy muy agradecida por su ayuda, sin la que el proyecto nunca hubiera sido posible, y sobre todo por su confianza y amistad.

## List of Figures

[Figure 1.](#) Chronology and map of Teotihuacán showing Cosotlan 23 and the location of the ASU-sponsored archaeological research center. Map Millon (1973), chronology after Rattray (2001:435).

[Figure 2.](#) Map of the study area. After Millon 1973:16.

[Figure 3.](#) Example of the field maps drawn for each 10-by-10 meter mapping unit indicating the four 5-by-5 meter quadrants (NW, NE, SW, SE).

[Figure 4.](#) Figurine molds and possible molds.

[Figure 5.](#) Molds and possible molds for incensario adornos.

[Figure 6.](#) Molds and possible molds for incensario adornos.

[Figure 7.](#) Incensario on display at the site museum at Teotihuacán.

[Figure 8.](#) Molds and possible molds for puppet figurine heads similar to those shown in Figure 9.

[Figure 9.](#) Heads similar to the molds in Figure 8 (A, B, and C), and a similar example from the site museum at Teotihuacán (D).

[Figure 10.](#) Patlachique (A, B, and C) and Tzacualli (D, E, and F) figurines.

[Figure 11.](#) Miccaotli figurines (A, B, C, D, E, and F).

[Figure 12.](#) Tlamimilolpa (A, B, and C), TMM (D), and Coyotlatelco (E and F) figurines.

[Figure 13.](#) Mazapan figurines (A, B, and C), possible deities (D and E), and a possible foreign figurine (F).

[Figure 14.](#) Avian (A), canid (B and C), and primate (D, E, and F) figurines.

## Sources Cited

- Arnold III, Philip J., Christopher A. Pool, Ronald R. Kneebone, and Robert S. Santley  
1993 "Intensive Ceramic Production and Classic-Period Political Economy in the Sierra de los Tuxtlas, Veracruz, México." In *Ancient Mesoamerica* 4:175-191.
- Arnold III, Philip J. and Robert S. Santley  
1993 "Household Ceramics Production at Middle Classic Period Matacapán." In *Prehispanic Domestic Units in Western Mesoamerica*, edited by Robert S. Santley, and Kenneth G. Hirth, pp. 227-248. CRC Press, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Barbour, Warren D.  
1975 *The Figurines and Figurine Chronology of Ancient Teotihuacán, México*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Rochester, Rochester, NY.
- 1998 "The Figurine Chronology of Teotihuacán, México." In *Los ritmos de cambio en Teotihuacán: Reflexiones y discusiones de su cronología*, edited by R. Brambila and R. Cabrera Castro, pp. 243-253. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, México, D.F.
- Berlo, Janet Catherine  
1982 "Artistic Specialization at Teotihuacán: The Ceramic Incense Burner." In *Pre-Columbian Art History: Selected Readings*, edited by A. Cordy-Collins, pp. 83-100. Peek Publications, Palo Alto, CA.
- Cabrera Castro, Rubén  
2004 "Taller de cerámica ritual dependiente del estado teotihuacano." Paper presented at the 69th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Montreal, Canada.
- Charlton, Thomas H., Deborah L. Nichols, and Cynthia Otis Charlton  
1991 "Aztec Craft Production and Specialization: Archaeological Evidence from the City-State of Otumba, México." In *World Archaeology* 23(1):98-114.
- 2000 "Otumba and Its Neighbors: Ex oriente lux." In *Ancient Mesoamerica* 11:247-265.
- Cowgill, George L.  
1997 "State and Society at Teotihuacán, México." In *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26:129-161.



2000 "The Central Mexican Highlands from the Rise of Teotihuacán to the Decline of Tula." In *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas, Volume II: Mesoamerica, Part 1*, edited R.E.W. Adams and M.J. Macleod, pp. 250-317. Cambridge University Press.

2002 "Rituales domésticos e intereses del estado en Teotihuacán." In *Ideología y política a través de materiales, imágenes, y símbolos: Memoria de la primera mesa redonda de Teotihuacán*, edited by M.E. Ruiz Gallut, pp. 61-74. Centro de Estudios Teotihuacanos and Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México, D.F.

Curet, L. Antonio

1993 "Regional Studies and Ceramic Production Areas: An Example from La Mixtequilla, Veracruz, México." In *Journal of Field Archaeology* 20:427-440.

Deal, Michael

1988 "Recognition of Ritual Pottery in Residential Units: An Ethnoarchaeological Model of the Maya Family Altar Tradition." In *Archaeology, Ethnohistory, and Ethnoarchaeology in the Maya Highlands of Chiapas, México*, edited by D.D. Bryant, E.E. Calnek, T.A. Lee, Jr., and B. Hayden, pp. 61-90. New World Archaeological Foundation. Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

Goldsmith, Kim C.

2000 *Forgotten Images: A Study of the Ceramic Figurines from Teotihuacán, México*. Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Riverside.

Hernández, C., R.H. Cobean, A.G. Mastache, and M.E. Suárez

1999 "Un taller de alfareros en la antigua ciudad de Tula." In *Arqueología* 22:69-88.

Hopkins, Mary R.

1995 *Teotihuacán Cooking Pots: Scale of Production and Product Variability*. Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.

Kolb, Charles C.

1995 "Teotihuacán Period Figurines: A Typological Classification, Their Spatial and Temporal Distribution in the Valley of Teotihuacán." In *The Teotihuacán Valley Project Final Report, Volume 3: The Teotihuacán Period Occupation of the Valley, Part 2: Artifact Analyses*, edited by W.T. Sanders, pp. 275-466. Matson Museum of Anthropology, Pennsylvania State University, University Park.

Krotser, Paula H., and Evelyn C. Rattray

1980 "Manufactura y distribución de tres grupos cerámicos de Teotihuacán." In *Anales de Antropología* 17 (1): 91-104.

Linné, Sigvald

2003a *Archaeological Researches at Teotihuacán, México*. The University of Alabama [1934] Press, Tuscaloosa.

2003b *Mexican Highland Cultures: Archaeological Researches at Teotihuacán, Calpulalpan, and Chalchicomula in 1934-35*. The University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Manzanilla, Linda

1996 "Corporate Groups and Domestic Activities at Teotihuacán." In *Latin American Antiquity* 7(3):228-246.

Millon, René

1973 *The Teotihuacán Map, Part 1: Text*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

1988 "The Last Years of Teotihuacán Dominance." In *The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations*, edited by N. Yoffee and G.L. Cowgill, pp. 102-164. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

1993 "The Place Where Time Began: An Archaeologist's Interpretation of What Happened in Teotihuacán History." In *Teotihuacán: Art from the City of the Gods*, edited by K. Berrin and E. Pasztory, pp. 16-43. Thames and Hudson, New York.

Millon, René, R. Bruce Drewitt, and George L. Cowgill

1973 *Urbanization at Teotihuacán, México. Volume 1, Part II: Maps*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Montoya, Janet T.

1999 "[Terracotta Figurines from the Pyramid of the Moon at Teotihuacán, México.](#)" Report submitted to the Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc.

2001 "Figurines from the Pyramid of the Moon." Paper presented at the 66th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, New Orleans.

Múnera Bermudez, Luís Carlos

1985 *Un taller de cerámica ritual en la Ciudadela, Teotihuacán*. Licenciatura Thesis. Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, México, D.F.

Otis Charlton, Cynthia

- 1994 "Plebeians and Patricians: Contrasting Patterns of Production and Distribution in the Aztec Figurine and Lapidary Industries." In *Economies and Politics in the Aztec Realm*, edited by M.G. Hodge and M.E. Smith, pp. 195-220. Studies on Culture and Society, Vol. 6. Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, State University of New York, Albany.

Pasztory, Esther

- 1997 *Teotihuacán: An Experiment in Living*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Pool, Christopher A.

- 1992 "Integrating Ceramic Production and Distribution." In *Ceramic Production and Distribution: An Integrated Approach*, edited by G.J. Bey III and C.A. Pool, pp. 275-313. Westview Press, Boulder, CO.

Rattray, Evelyn C.

- 1987 "Los barrios foráneos de Teotihuacán." In *Teotihuacán: Nuevos datos, nuevas síntesis, y nuevos problemas*, edited by E. McClung de Tapia and E.C. Rattray, pp. 243-273. Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Serie Antropológica no. 72. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, D.F., México.

- 1992 *The Oaxaca Barrio at Teotihuacán*. Monografías Mesoamericanas, Número 1. Instituto de Estudios Avanzados, Universidad de las Américas, Puebla, México.

Robertson, Ian G.

- 1999 "Spatial and Multivariate Analysis, Random Sampling Error, and Analytical Noise: Empirical Bayesian Methods at Teotihuacán, México." In *American Antiquity* 64:137-152.

- 2001 *Mapping the Social Landscape of an Early Urban Center: Socio-Spatial Variation in Teotihuacán*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona.

Rodríguez Sánchez, Ernesto, and Jaime Delgado Rubio

- 1997 "Una ofrenda cerámica al este de la antigua ciudad de Teotihuacán." In *Arqueología* 18:17-22.

Santley, Robert S., Philip J. Arnold III, and Christopher A. Pool

- 1989 "The Ceramics Production System at Matacapán, Veracruz, México." In *Journal of Field Archaeology* 16(1):107-132.

Scott, Sue

- 1994 *Terracotta Figurines from Ancient Teotihuacán: Typology and Iconographic Themes*. Doctoral Dissertation, Institute of Archaeology, University College, London.
- 2000 "[The Terracotta Figurines from Sigvald Linné's Excavations at Teotihuacán, México](#)." Report submitted to the Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc.
- 2001 *The Corpus of Terracotta Figurines from Sigvald Linné's Excavations at Teotihuacán, México (1932 & 1934-5) and Comparative Material*. Monograph Series 18, The National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm.

Séjourné, Laurette

- 1966a *Arqueología de Teotihuacán: La cerámica*. Fondo de Cultura Económica. México, D.F.
- 1966b *El lenguaje de las formas en Teotihuacán*. Siglo Veintiuno, México, D.F.

Sheehy, James J.

- 1992 *Ceramic Production in Ancient Teotihuacán, México: A Case Study of Tlajinga 33*. Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, University Park. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.

Spence, Michael W.

- 1981 "Obsidian Production and the State in Teotihuacán." In *American Antiquity* 46(4):769-788.
- 1984 "Craft Production and Polity in Early Teotihuacán." In *Trade and Exchange in Early Mesoamerica*, edited by K.G. Hirth, pp. 87-114. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- 1986 "Locational Analysis of Craft Specialization Areas in Teotihuacán." In *Research in Economic Anthropology*, edited by B. Isaacs, pp. 101-132. JAI Press Inc., Greenwich, CT.
- 1987 "The Scale and Structure of Obsidian Production in Teotihuacán." In *Teotihuacán: nuevos datos, nuevas síntesis, nuevos problemas*, edited by E. McClung de Tapia and E.C. Rattray, pp. 429-450. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, México, D.F.
- 1989 "Excavaciones recientes en Tlailotlaca, el barrio oaxaqueño de Teotihuacán." In *Arqueología* 5:81-104.

1992 "Tlailotlacan: A Zapotec Enclave in Teotihuacán." In *Art, Ideology, and the City of Teotihuacán*, edited by J.C. Berlo, pp. 59-88. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Stark, Barbara L.

1985 "Archaeological Identification of Pottery Production Locations: Ethnoarchaeological and Archaeological Data in Mesoamerica." In *Decoding Prehistoric Ceramics*, edited by B.A. Nelson, pp. 158-194. Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale.

1992 "Ceramic Production in Prehistoric La Mixtequilla, South-Central Veracruz, México." In *Ceramic Production and Distribution: An Integrated Approach*, edited by G.J. Bey III and C.A. Pool, pp. 175-204. Westview Press, Boulder, CO.

Storey, Rebecca

1992 *Life and Death in the Ancient City of Teotihuacán: A Modern Paleodemographic Synthesis*. The University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Sugiyama, Saburo

1998 "[Censer Symbolism and the State Polity in Teotihuacán](#)." Report submitted to the Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc.

2002 "Militarismo plasmado en Teotihuacán." In *Ideología y política a través de materiales, imágenes y símbolos: Memoria de la primera mesa redonda de Teotihuacán*, edited by M.E. Ruiz Gallut, pp. 185-209. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, México, D.F.

Sullivan, Kristin S.

2002 *Specialized Production of San Martín Orange Ceramics in the Tlajinga District of Classic Period Teotihuacán, México*. Master's publishable paper, Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University, Tempe.

2004 "Multi-Craft Production in Classic Period Teotihuacán, México." Paper presented at the 69th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Montreal, Canada.

2005 "Specialized Production of San Martín Orange Ware at Teotihuacán, México." Manuscript under review at *Latin American Antiquity*.

von Winning, Hasso

- 1958 "Figurines with Moveable Limbs from Ancient México." In *Ethnos* 23(1):1-60.
- 1967 "Semejanzas entre las figurillas de Jaina y de Teotihuacán." In *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos* 21:41-69.
- 1987 *La iconografía de Teotihuacán: los dioses y los signos* (2 vols.). Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México, D.F.
- 1991 "Articulated Figurines from Teotihuacán and Central Veracruz: A Reanalysis." In *The New World Figurine Project: Volume I*, edited by T. Stocker, pp. 63-83. Research Press, Provo, UT.

Widmer, Randolph J., and Rebecca Storey

- 1993 "Social Organization and Household Structure of a Teotihuacán Apartment Compound: S3W1:33 of the Tlajinga Barrio." In *Prehispanic Domestic Units in Western Mesoamerica*, edited by Robert S. Santley, and Kenneth G. Hirth, pp. 87-104. CRC Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan.