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Multiethnicity and migration at Teopancazco: investigations of a Teotihuacan neighborhood center

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Multiethnicity and Migration at Teopancazco: Investigations of a Teotihuacan Neighborhood Center. Linda R. Manzanilla, ed. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2017, 282 pp. \$89.95, cloth. ISBN 978-0-8130-5428-5.

Teotihuacan was the largest and most planned city in the Americas during the first half of the first millennium CE. It held high prestige in the eyes of its contemporaries and successors in Mesoamerica, and during its apogee Teotihuacan served as a hub for migration and long-distance exchange. These central points are illustrated in vivid detail by Linda Manzanilla and her colleagues in this valuable new volume. The central thesis, based primarily on mortuary and bone analyses, is that Teotihuacan was a multiethnic metropolis in which many commercial enterprises were organized at the level of corporate communities comprising neighborhoods, often with residents who retained close ties to homelands through migrant and merchant networks. It is well supported by the case of the Teopancazco neighborhood center, detailed by eight individual but interconnected studies in the volume, and by Manzanilla's ability to draw comparisons with investigations she has overseen in other parts of the city in introductory and concluding chapters that bookend the studies. The volume will be of significant interest to an audience concerned with precolumbian Mesoamerica, comparative premodern urbanism, and methods of mortuary and bioarchaeological analyses.

Although Teotihuacan possesses conspicuous architectural and artifactual inventories that have been studied for more than a century, the rarity of primary macroscopic deposits poses challenges to archaeological interpretation. Floors of buildings were typically kept tidy, and there likely existed some sort of centralized urban sanitation that moved trash away from primary contexts to serve as construction fill or field fertilizer, as was the case among the later Aztecs. This complex depositional history makes multiple lines of evidence (often microscopic or chemical) necessary for reconstructing particular structures and activity areas at Teotihuacan. Manzanilla and her collaborators do just this in developing the central arguments of the volume, with attention both to macroscopic patterns, such as the spatial patterning of human interments and osteological evidence of health and occupation, as well as to isotopic and genetic analyses, to examine diet, migration, and other themes. Manzanilla is broadly recognized as one of the most meticulous excavators in Mesoamerica, and the spatial distribution of documented architecture, macro- and micro-artifact concentrations, and floor-chemistry have been published previously and are more implicit in terms of the backdrop of argumentation.

Eight chapters by primarily Mexican specialists foreground funerary and skeletal data and represent the original contribution of the volume. Facets of these studies have been reported in Spanish, often as portions of licentiate or graduate theses, and their compilation in English makes primary data and interpretations available to an Anglophone audience. Multiple lines of evidence converge to demonstrate conclusively that the inhabitants of Teopancazco possessed close ties with the Gulf of Mexico, likely the Nautla

region in particular. Based on a sample of 116 burials, the authors present rich life-histories of many individuals, showing some to have migrated from the Gulf, others to have moved regularly between the Gulf and Teotihuacan, and yet others to have been lifelong Teotihuacanos. As one example, the study of paleopathologies and activity markers by Alvarado and Manzanilla (chapter 2) found that more than 20% of individuals exhibit wear on their incisors consistent with having worked fibers, while three cases of auditory exostosis are consistent with those individuals having dove in cold waters—together combining for an interpretation involving net production for fishing and shell-collecting, as is depicted in scenes in the art of Teotihuacan. Such connections explain the relatively high marine isotope signatures present in certain individuals found at a site some 400 km from the coast and 2300 masl.

Manzanilla argues convincingly that people would have migrated to Teotihuacan partially because of its robust economic system, which granted differential access to the range of commodities that circulated within the Classic period Mesoamerican economy. She also suggests the operation of some sort of food provisioning system for craft-producers and porters. I find the hypothesis that worked pottery-*sherd* discs served as ration tokens to be less convincing because these would have been abundantly available and easy to counterfeit, but tokens made of more scarce resources (such as mica) could have served this purpose. More distributional analyses are needed to evaluate the hypothesis. Manzanilla's model of the social dynamics precipitating the collapse of Teotihuacan—that the exclusionary networking of intermediate elites leading neighborhood centers such as Teopanacazco undermined the collective structures of the apartment compounds and central government—is compelling and is well supported by the data, carefully researched and presented in this excellent volume.

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Rethinking the Aztec Economy. Deborah L. Nichols, Frances F. Berdan, and Michael E. Smith, eds. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2017, 320 pp. \$65.00, cloth. ISBN 978-0-8165-3551-4.

This book is a welcome addition to Aztec studies because it helps readers stay up to speed on a subject with an abundance of path-breaking new research and theory-building in recent years. Among the chapters I found especially useful in this regard is Deborah Nichols's review of recent research on the growth of the Aztec commercial economy. The study of merchants from Santa María Acxotla (Kenneth Hirth, Sarah Imfeld, and Colin Hirth) throws new light on the fascinating Aztec merchant specialists, the *Pochteca*. I also appreciated two chapters discussing the Aztec periph-