The City Where Gods Were Created

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For one hundred and forty years not much has been discovered about the civilization of Teotihuacan. Why do we know so little about Teotihuacan, and how has the spread of out-of-date information, as well as speculation contributed to this? There are many reasons for this, the contamination of the city by the Aztecs, the primitive methods of Old Archaeology, the mishandling of artifacts, the late beginnings of new archaeology, and the inability for public consumption pieces to be updated regularly, among many others. With a city as contaminated as Teotihuacan, the archaeologists were doomed from the start. Hundreds of years before we discovered it the Aztecs had been using it as a pilgrimage site. This caused early archaeologists to think the Aztecs built the city. It took some time before it was found that it predated the Aztecs. There is also a rumor in Esther Pasztory's book Teotihuacan: An Experiment in Living that some archaeologists theorized the Aztecs may have built an outer layer over the original Pyramid of the Sun, as they are known to have done. They began deconstructing part of the pyramid, throwing the rubble into other dig quadrants. Once they realized they were wrong they tried to fill the hole with large stones and concrete. They devalued the integrity of the original pyramid, and they contaminated untouched future dig zones. It might take forty years, till 2064 for the research to be transformed into an easily digestible format for the public and one hundred years, till 2124 before the city's mysteries are finally unraveled. These are just estimations, but the academic world takes so long to publish research that it would not be surprising for these dates to be accurate.

The first piece of evidence will focus on the current state of "New Archaeology." The documents used are Gina Buckley's 2023 Radiocarbon data on La Ventilla ceramics and other organic materials. The state of New Archaeology is vastly different from where Rene Millon started. Most of the excavations and "large finds" are reserved for the archaeologists native to the

countries. Foreign-born archaeologists can perform research, but they only use artifacts found directly on the surface or small pottery items found within a few meters under the ground. This means that most of the larger expedition notes about Teotihuacan are written in Spanish. Not too big of a problem. Archaeologists have also adopted more scientific methods for examining artifacts, such as the use of carbon and oxygen isotopes for determining the birth location of skeletons. Other paleoclimate data has been used to determine if Teotihuacan was a hydro civilization (water-based city). Most of the newer information has not yet been produced in a way easily digestible for the masses. The most current information that the public has been given was discovered in the mid-1980s. Also, scientific analysis can be quite boring to most people, so it is understandable why documentaries are not being produced on the analysis of carbon and oxygen isotopes and paleoclimate data. For someone unfamiliar with analyzing research data, it can be hard to interpret it. It can take years for original data to be converted to an easily digestible, summarized version, that is if they ever get found by someone who can do that.

The second time being focused on this essay is during the shift from "Old Archaeology" to "New archaeology." This would have been between the years 1960 to 1980. The best example of the shift is Rene Millon. His influential work with the Teotihuacan Mapping Project (TMP) helped set the standard for how archaeology should be done at Teotihuacan. Millon is sourced in many current scholarly articles and used for many current field expeditions as the gold star standard from the transitioning period. Before the time of LiDAR (Light Detection and Ranging), Millon mapped the area of the whole city that was already excavated and added on to an untouched area that he thought could be more of the city. He took a few expeditions to the city during his days as a field archaeologist, and it was stated that some of his field notes were even

stolen at an airport¹. Millon is sourced mostly for historical pieces about Teotihuacan, which can be debatable, as it is unknown if discoveries will overshadow his previous works. His best work was done in the 1970s, which is a long time ago by scientific standards. Some of his work can still be credible but most of it should be re-checked frequently to see if it is still current and valuable. All his work was done by hand and that leaves room for human error, and he mapped such a large area that it is highly unlikely all the work was double-checked for accuracy. Archaeology is such a constantly evolving field things need to be checked to see if they still apply to the new findings. For example, in 1987, the World Archaeology Conference (WAC) added the Abandoned Shipwreck Act to protect the historic shipwrecks in the United States and to legalize guidelines for archaeologists to follow to prevent them from damaging the ship's integrity. Then, three years later, in 1990, they added a new act, The Sunken Military Craft Act to add to the previous guidelines but with respect to military ships². They had to change the guidelines to account for the differences in the ways the ships were built, the materials, and how long it would take for the ships to degrade in the water.

Archaeologists have been exploring the city of Teotihuacan since 1884. One hundred and forty years is a long time to analyze so we will break it down into three categories. The first archaeologist to explore the city was William Henry Holmes. His original field notes are pivotal in understanding archaeologists' thought processes in the field's early days. They show the standards of archaeology and what specific things they were looking for. It is unlikely that any textbooks or documentaries use his information. It is far too old, and the research is so outdated it will not accurately represent the current state of the information known. Holmes's notes will be used to show how the field of Archaeology has evolved from its early days. We will be

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¹ Deborah Nicholas, (2017), *Biographical Memoirs: Rene Millon*. National Academy of Sciences, https://nasonline.org/publications/biographical-memoirs/

comparing it to other notes to show the stark contrast from primitive to slightly more evolved. The comparisons will be good demonstrations of how misunderstandings can occur when it comes to turning raw research into history papers, books written by historians, etc. It shows how some of the data can get lost in translation, or how the more sophisticated data can be harder to understand, and thus interpreted wrong if you do not know what you are looking at.

For as long as archaeologists have been producing research papers on ancient civilizations there have been historians authoring more papers about their research. The field of archaeology changes so often that most of the older materials become obsolete in favor of newer more scientifically accurate research. This can cause problems when historians do not constantly update their research to fit new archaeological findings. Or they may conclude the research may be incorrect. Textbooks, documentaries, articles, and TV shows can get facts wrong or simply spread misinformation. The world-renowned TV show 'Ancient Aliens' is a prominent case of this. They theorize about the possibility of aliens playing some role in the growth and development of the city, the building of their pyramids, and the disappearance of their people. Shows like these are meant to be watched in jest and not taken as historical facts as most, if not all, of the "historical facts and evidence" are utter garbage. The credentials of the "experts" brought on to the show should also be questioned.

The question as to why we know so little about Teotihuacan and how the spread of out-of-date information, as well as speculation, contributed to this, is easily provable and simple after looking at the complete timeline set up in this essay. Hopefully, more people in the future will come to understand the deep and intricate story behind the city and have a better understanding of the archaeological process and the archaeologists who developed the field to become what it is today. Teotihuacan is a UNESCO World Heritage Site and thousands of people

vacation to visit it a year. Those people are not the type to read scholarly articles or handwritten field notes from historians and archaeologists to understand the truth of the city. Suppose the only information they have from the city was given to them by a shoddy documentary relying on research done 70 years ago. In that case, they are not going to understand the true importance of the city. With more things being discovered every day, now it is being theorized that Teotihuacan was such a huge trade metropolis it was an influence for most Mesoamerican cities. Shockingly, there is not more being produced for the public. Is this not the most exciting news ever heard!

Some may argue the data and information are not outdated, and all evidence is good evidence. This is untrue, many older discoveries become useless once new technologies are brought in. In the case of Teotihuacan, there were not many old discoveries in the first place. With the growth of the internet and the ability to share ideas instantaneously, archaeology has been able to grow faster. The term "uncredible" typically has a negative connotation. In this essay, it is being used to show that archaeologists did not have the right idea, at first. All information, both credible and noncredible, can be used in historical contexts, it just takes a good historian to figure out the right lens to look at them³. So, while the information may not be usable in the way archaeologists first intended, it can instead be used to show growth or original thought processes.

Gina Buckley is an anthropologist and archaeologist. Currently, she is the lead researcher for the Interdisciplinary Center for Archaeology and Evolution of Human Behaviour in Portugal. She is also a researcher at Penn State University. Some of her other research includes analyzing isotopes to find migratory patterns within Teotihuacan, isotope analysis to support M=maize being a staple crop in America, isotope data taken from the Caribbean and Mesoamerica, and

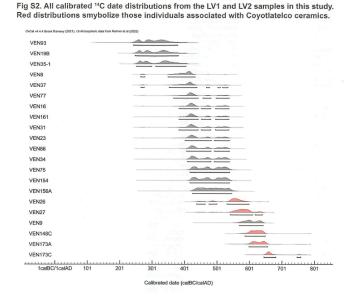
³ James Seeleye, *Historican Research Methods*, (lecture, Kent State University, Canton, Ohio, November, 14th, 2023)

more radiocarbon/isotope research. She posts the data with her colleagues, followed by compiled evidence in a research paper. New archaeologists publish highly researched and peer-reviewed articles and studies that stay on the side of fact and science. It makes the newer pieces of history found at Teotihuacan seem more credible with how much evidence and support is gone in to make sure what they are putting out is fully accurate. One specific site Buckley and her colleges have been looking into for several years is La Ventilla

La Ventilla is one of the dig sites within the city of Teotihuacan. During the height of the city, it was an apartment complex and after the deaths of its residents, it became a burial ground. The researchers found within the apartment complex people were buried underneath the floor. Found with the bodies was cloth from clothes, dolls, pottery, and other artifacts. The first two pages of the data are code to plug into a trapezoidal model to produce the results for the reader at home. The next few pages are the compiled results in a table. It includes the artifact's identification number, where it was found in relation to the Teotihuacan Mapping Project, what building style the artifacts were, and the ratio of carbon to oxygen to determine the age. The last few pages are graphs and timelines. Buckley and her colleges streamline the data from the previous pages into an easier-to-understand format. It may be difficult to notice the graphs are timelines because of the numerous lines and figures present. Using Figure 2 as an example, it shows all the artifacts found at the La Ventilla sites one and two. The red distribution graphs show the Coyotlatelco ceramic style. The Coyotlatelco ceramic style was prominent after the collapse of Teotihuacan and is an example of the early post-Classical period. It is most known for its heavy use of the color red. The rest of the grey lines are other unnamed styles of pottery. It shows the distribution and number of pottery samples found and when they were made. Some styles have gaps present in between their distribution graphs, this could be because none have

been found from the age gap. It is highly unlikely none of that style were made during the gap, rather they have not been found yet.

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6560 VEN247-2 >30kDa gelatin Arch. Unit S.8; N1W2 L Tlam - E Xol 1610 ± 25 415 - 540 95.4	44.9	15.8	3.3
6485 VEN30E XAD amino acids Arch. Unit 17; S1W2 n.d. 1605 ± 20 420 - 540 95,4			3.3
6561 VEN250-1 >30kDa gelatin Arch. Unit 11; N1W2 E Xol 1605 ± 20 420 - 540 95.4	48.4	16.7	3.4
6598 VEN293 XAD amino acids Street; S1W2 Coyo 1600 ± 25 420 - 540 95.4	16.9	5.7	3.4
6570 VEN99 XAD amino acids Arch. Unit 13; S1W2 n.d. 1600 ± 25 420 - 540 95.4	33.4	11.8	3.3
6532 VEN68 >30kDa gelatin Arch. Unit 5; N1W2 L XoI 1600 ± 20 420 - 540 95.4	38.0	13.8	3.2
6491 VEN48 XAD amino acids Arch. Unit 2; S1W2 L XoI 1600 ± 20 420 - 540 95.4			3.2
6558 VEN183 >30kDa gelatin Arch. Unit S.8; N1W2 E XoI 1600 ± 20 420 - 540 95.4	45.2	16.1	3.3



Figures 1 and 2⁴. The table and a timeline.

During the shift to new archaeology, there was a divide that caused a smaller branching career path. Salvage archaeology, also called rescue archaeology, commercial archaeology, preventative archaeology, developer-funded archaeology, etc, is the last remaining breed of old archaeology. They are private archaeologists who have no affiliation with a college or museum. Businesses or government sectors for road development, or housing development can hire them during the building process if they happen to uncover archaeological remains to assess the situation. Salvage archaeologists see how the site will affect building plans and determine what artifacts to salvage, how much to salvage, and whether or not to move it. It corporatized archaeology, taking it from a science to a business. There was almost a salvage archaeology incident at Teotihuacan. In 2021 some local farmers began demolishing and flattening an area just on the outskirts of Teotihuacan limits. The farmers had banded together to try and build an

⁴ Gina Buckley, et alm, La Ventilla Radiocarbon Bayesian Chronology, 2023, February 9, 2024

amusement park on the land, but their blueprints showed they were going to build on part of the UNESCO-protected land. Archaeologists and government officials had to put a stop to the bulldozers on the land several times to no avail⁵. As of today's current date, there has been no more progress for the builders.

As of right now, the data from La Ventilla has not been put into a research paper. It is only in the raw data format, and no analysis or human thought has been added to make the data more digestible. In its current state, most average readers and students of history would have no idea what it means, or that the graph is a timeline. The figure descriptions that are present in the paper give limited descriptive information about the data. This is because the data is not for average readers, it is made for archaeologists and scientists who know how to read radiocarbon and isotope data. Buckley and her colleagues had to publish the data for other archaeologists to look at and replicate their findings with the code provided as a double check to make sure it was all correct, to hold themselves accountable. It may take several more years for the research paper on the findings to be published. This is because things in the academic world take a long time. They had to publish the data first for accountability then they needed to comb over the data a second time to come up with a thesis to turn into an academic paper. Then they needed to wait for the peer review process and their publishers' approval before the paper could be released. Then it will take several more years for the paper to circle the academic community and be written about by historians, thus made into a slightly more digestible format for the average reader. Unless someone is a highly researched scholar it is unlikely they will find the original paper, and if they do the scientific nomenclature used is far too convoluted to fully understand.

e-teotihuacan.html.

⁵ Anna Lagos, *Una Obra Con Maquinaria Pesada Amenaza La Zona Arqueológica de Las Pirámides de Teotihuacan*, El País México, May 20, 2021, https://elpais.com/mexico/2021-05-20/una-obra-con-maquinaria-pesada-amenaza-la-zona-arqueologica-d

This is why documentaries and new articles take so long to be published about new research, unless it is a huge find such as a tomb or new pyramid, they have to wait years for readable material on the city. The material sometimes is not interesting enough to be turned into content. No one wants to read or watch a show about the types of ceramic styles found in a glorified apartment complex. The masses need something more interesting to captivate them. There is no money in publishing it.

The radiocarbon dating sample shows how far archaeology has come over the last hundred years, or so. The methods of new archaeologists have become more precise and expansive. One example of this is the analysis archaeologists did of ceramic dolls found at Teotihuacan. They were only given excess artifacts or ones they had found on the surface of the site. They examined each doll and found fingerprints embedded on the surface of the ceramic. They took 3-D models of all the fingerprints to determine if they were left by males or females. Then they dated each doll. All the data was compiled into a graph to show the ratio of male to female artisans over time. They found that during the period of prosperity, the artisans were more likely to be female⁶.

A second example is that the inhabitants of the city immigrated there. They look at the enamel to see if there are any indicators of brittle food diets. Types of striations would also indicate if the person ate meat or vegetables, meat leaving only vertical lines and vegetables having both vertical and horizontal lines. This was then correlated to known diets of different tribes and groups within North America to see where the people came from. They could also extract small amounts of DNA within the teeth to corroborate with the striation evidence⁷.

⁶ EsthervPasztory, *Teotihuacan an experiment in living*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1997, p 32.

https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4849641/#pone.0153850.ref007.

⁷ Emma Lightfoot, and Tamsin C O'Connell. On the Use of Biomineral Oxygen Isotope Data to Identify Human Migrants in the Archaeological Record: Intra-Sample Variation, Statistical Methods and Geographical Considerations, PloS one, April 28, 2016,

Discoveries such as this are small in comparison to the much bigger picture. Unfortunately, these are the types of discoveries archaeologists are forced to make with the new rules and the lack of resources available in the city. There are no murals of any possible leaders from Teotihuacan, there are limited written materials we have, it is unclear who the god was they worshipped, and there is not a lot to work with. The only written history we have about Teotihuacan comes from the Aztecs. Their gods are similar to the murals found at sites, so their gods were pasted onto the murals by archaeologists. It has since been discovered that the Teotihuacan gods were not the same as the Aztecs, they merely shared some physical similarities. The developing stages for new archaeology were complicated and delicate. Change is difficult, but the archaeologists present at Teotihuacan during this time helped establish the city and caused any future errors to be taken care of. No other misfortunes would befall Teotihuacan as long as Millon was in charge.

Rene Millon was an influential anthropologist. His most looked upon research was the 1971 Teotihuacan Mapping Project (TMP)⁸. Before the days of instant LiDAR mapping, it all had to be done by hand. Millon also used more new archaeology practices tending to not collect artifacts of high value. This was a tactic adopted by those progressing into new archaeology. Archaeologists felt as though they should save the larger, more valuable pieces for the native archaeologists so they could have the press headlines and the financial benefits that come with large finds. (By financial benefits this means more government funding, grants, and stuff that will help whatever college or museum is backing them and support further dig in the area.) The trade-off here does benefit foreign archaeologists. By forcing them to collect only surface-level, seemingly unimportant objects, it forces them to create better ways to analyze them. Specific examples will be addressed in later paragraphs.

⁸ Rene Millon, *The Teotihuacan Mapping Project*, American Antiquity 29, no. 3 (1964): 345–52, https://doi.org/10.2307/277873.

The TMP was segmented into quadrants, 3600 quadrants with each quadrant being about 11000 meters squared. The city of Teotihuacan is about eight square miles, with Millon going past the limits and into the surrounding forests. He went slightly past the city limits because he theorized there might be houses and buildings on the outskirts. He was proved to be correct after they finished mapping everything. The project was split into quadrants to make it more manageable for the researchers to map by hand. Not only would this save time, it would also save energy. Millon had about sixty-five researchers helping him map out all the quadrants.

Some of the survey topics include soil, amount of erosion, terracing, evidence of construction, burials, etc. Exact measurements were taken of the height, depth, and area of the land for topographical conversion. There are thirty-six different topics for analysis. The process was repeated for all 3600 quadrants within the city and outside city limits. All the data was brought together to make a topographic map of the entire area. It was an incredibly influential piece of work that is still cited and used today when talking about the city. A city as large as Teotihuacan had never been mapped in such great detail by hand before.

⁹ N1W3, 1965, February 9, 2024, https://core.tdar.org/document/489739/n1w3

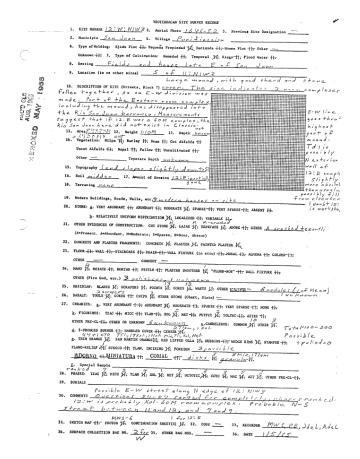


Figure 5¹⁰. One sheet from the TMP. Notice all the different areas of observation for each quadrant. Often there would be multiple pages per quadrant. The one looked at was N1W3 which had 73 of these pages all filled out.

This expedition came during the transition period from old archaeology to new archaeology. Global laws were beginning to be passed to protect historic sites, and introducing codes of ethics. Archaeologists realized that not offering to share the information with local people who are descendants would be improper, after all, they are the living relatives of the people archaeologists are studying. Should local people not get to know about their ancestors first? Most of the moral quandaries had to do with local people. It was their land and, sometimes, their ancestors archaeologists were studying. Up to this point, they had no say or voice in the

¹⁰ Ibid

issue as they were regular citizens and not scientists. Many codes were constantly being brought up, revised, and added by the WAC during their yearly sessions. The new period focuses on foreign archaeologists studying historic sites from their home countries. This adds more space for younger archaeologists and developing countries to pursue scientific advancements.

Archaeologists can still conduct expeditions in foreign lands but it takes a lot of applications and approval from the local governments and work permits. There are also time limits for how long a dig can last, and some places have special seasons where digs can only occur during specific months of the year. The time limits have been set in place mainly because of weather, but also for tourism. For example, during the TMP it took from 1960 until 1973 because they were only allowed to excavate for eight months out of the year. It could have gone much faster but they were limited on time. If they were working for eight months during the years, that would mean it took Millon and his team two calendar years to do one twelve months' worth of work, roughly. All of this is completely different from the work done by the first archaeologist to find the city.

Since they are traveling to third-world countries, there is a connotation that the natives are underdeveloped and unintellectual. In third-world countries, few people have college degrees as a result, there is less of a priority to share artifacts found and information about their ancestors because they probably think they don't care or might not know what to do with the information. There's also the language barrier. If they don't understand the language the native people might be hostile to outsiders. It takes a while to build trust within the community. Especially if you are a Western outsider who's digging up their land and stealing their stuff.

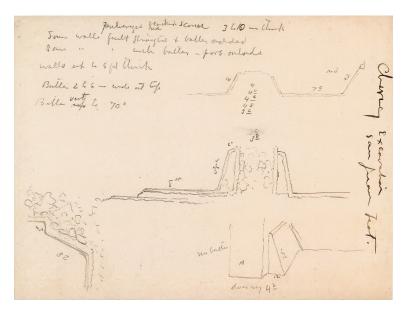
¹¹ n/a, "Archaeology Season," New York Archaeology, accessed April 6, 2024, https://nysarchaeology.org/archaeology-season/.

William Henry Holmes was not the first to find or write about Teotihuacan. His are the first field notes produced during an expedition. Holmes was not a career archaeologist. He studied geology, archaeology, anthropology, and ethnology. He was also an artist and painter, accompanying scientists on expeditions to create artistic renderings to bring back. He was curator for both the Smithsonian and the National Museum of Art for a time before he died in 1933¹². Holmes traveled to Teotihuacan with the US Geologic Survey crew. On this trip, they reported topography, lithography, paleontology, chemistry, general geology, and economics of geology¹³. Holmes's section in the survey describes what he did during the expedition, his opinions, and his thoughts. He served mostly as an artist, rendering what they saw onto paper, like modern-day pictures. He included other notes in a personal field journal that he thought were important for reference.

The field notes are from 1884. They include forty-two pages of hand-drawn and hand-written observations of the ancient city. The notes are held on display in the Smithsonian Museum. It is made up mostly of rough sketches of the visible buildings and structures. The first twelve pages are on dark yellow paper. They contain sketches, measurements, and the only writing of the notes. The words are written in 19th-century cursive, rendering them mostly unreadable to the untrained eye. It does not help that half the sentences are written in pencil and the other in fountain pen. The letters either bleed into each other from the ink or are too light and worn from the graphite. The rest of the notes are rough pencil sketches in barely visible graphite. There are no words, apart from the occasional reminder these were from San Juan. All the sketches are bird-eye views of the city or all-encompassing landscapes

¹² n/a, 2017, *William Henry Holmes (1846-1933) Renaissance Man*, Smithsonian Institution Archives, January 24, 2017, https://siarchives.si.edu/history/artists/william-henry-holmes.

¹³ J. W. Powell, 1885, *Sixth Annual Report of the United States. Geological Survey to the Secretary of the Interior, 1884-1885*, USGS, 1885, https://pubs.usgs.gov/publication/ar6.





Figures 4 and 5¹⁴.

Holmes's field notes are a great tool for seeing a glimpse of the untouched landscape before archaeologists began visiting to conduct expeditions. Unfortunately, this is all the field notes are good for. With their extreme unreadability and lack of information, they cannot be used as evidence in today's age. Since the expedition was for the use of the United States Geologic Survey, no real archaeological information was discovered while at the site. Instead, they collected measurements and data to go into their field report for the government. Their finding of the city sparked interest in some people, as it was not every day a large, abandoned, city of antiquity was found in North America, but most of their data was unusable to anyone but geologists. The Geologic Survey says sherds were collected from this trip, but it does not say where they were collected from. It calls itself an excavation yet does not say what the group excavated, if they excavated at all, what they could have moved, what they changed about the site, or what they could have left behind. This type of research leads to confusion in the later

¹⁴ William H. Holmes, *Teotihuacan, Mexico, 1884*, Smithsonian Institution Archives, February 9, 2024, https://siarchives.si.edu/collections/fbr_item_modsi9034

years. It removes important context from the site, completely stripping it of any information that might be useful to future archaeologists. It is akin to someone taking a piece of evidence found at a crime scene and not documenting it.

Archaeology today and archaeology from 1884 are different fields. It took until 1906 for some of the first rules to be set in place to keep the integrity of historical sites intact. The act was a response to the growing epidemic of looting and vandalism of historic sites in the American West. Pothunters, homesteaders moving out west, and tourists would steal or destroy, knowingly or unknowingly, valuable artifacts that could have been useful for study¹⁵. The Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities, spearheaded by Theodore Roosevelt, protects only the United States and sites owned by the federal government¹⁶. At the tail end, and just after the Industrial Revolution there was a growing interest in the fields of science, history, art, etc. After the needs of the ever-expanding country met it provided people with the free time to develop these fields. Historians began wanting to study what was available to them, and they could not study the history of their country if there were no artifacts to look at. Much of early archaeology was just looting. People took all the most valuable artifacts and shipped them to whatever museum or college they were associated with for study and display. The most common example of this is the old Valley of the Kings exhibitions in Egypt, in which Howard Carter found King Tutankhamun's tomb. After discovery, the artifacts that were not stolen were transported to the British Museum. In the field survey, Holmes claims to have taken pottery sherds (small pieces of broken pottery. Archaeologists prefer to spell it with the 'e' instead of the 'a.'17) from the surface

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¹⁵ Kathleen Browning, IMPLEMENTING the ANTIQUITIES ACT: A SURVEY of ARCHEOLOGICAL PERMITS 1906-1935 Studies in Archeology and Ethnography #2, 2003, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/archeology/upload/study02permits 508.pdf.

¹⁶ PRESERVATION of AMERICAN ANTIQUITIES, National Archives, December 23, 1954, https://www.ecfr.gov/current/title-43/subtitle-A/part-3.

¹⁷ n/a, "Sherds," www.classics.cam.ac.uk, September 25, 2013, https://www.classics.cam.ac.uk/museum/collections/sherds.

of different areas. It took until 1964, with the Antiquities Act no 10, that more worldwide archaeology standards were set, of which there are many reasons why it took so long. Seeing as the act in 1906 was passed before the arrival of World War One, one would assume the 1964 act was hindered by the arrival of World War Two. There is no time to think of developing educational fields during a time of conflict and great suffering. Time was needed to recover and rebuild before nonbasic needs could be developed. This antiquities act focuses on the idea of third-party grave robbers and looters. It provided consequences for those caught trying to smuggle artifacts out of countries for private sale. What it does not include is any inclination to the wrongdoing of the archaeologists.

Archaeology done before the Antiquities Act no 10 is commonly known as old archaeology. It centers around foreign archaeologists, typically American or British, traveling to the historical sites, pillaging all the artifacts found, and taking them to their home country for analysis. Many of the artifacts recovered at this time have not been returned to their place of origin. This can be explained by the distinct lack of ethical code, or moral responsibility to provide the native people with their history and their artifacts. The adoption of an ethical code was a long, drawn-out process spanning decades. The first major shift to this thinking did not take place until the late 1960s to the early 1970s, almost ninety years after Holme's trip to Teotihuacan. This shift was spurred on by the added free time that comes to a country during a time of development and prosperity. During this period there was also a growing liberal movement in the West. They valued freedom of thought and expression, which contributed to the development of the educational fields. The city benefited from this shift, as leading anthropologist (the study of human cultures and their societies) Rene Millon was deep within the city. With more focus on rules and codes it develops a scientific theme for research and

investigations. The rules force archaeologists to make higher-quality field notes for later use by future archaeologists. It also prompted more intellectualism. Instead of going for the glory like in old archaeology, they needed to treat the site like a crime scene. Unluckily for the investigators, the crime scene happens to have been tampered with removing pieces of pivotal evidence.

Right around 1330 CE, Aztec priests began visiting Teotihuacan. Five hundred and thirty years after the fall of Teotihuacan priests such as, Montezuma were making religious pilgrimages to the ruined, overgrown city. The Aztecs believed that in 694 CE the entire universe was destroyed and recreated. The gods came together to choose two sacrifices to burn. The sacrifices would in turn become gods and be commemorated by the Pyramid of the Sun and the Pyramid of the Moon, with life reemerging from a cave located under the Pyramid of the Sun¹⁸. The Aztec religion was cyclical, with their belief that at the end of each cycle, everything is destroyed to make way for the new. The rebirth at Teotihuacan would mark the fifth recreation of the universe. The name Teotihuacan comes from the Aztecs, in Nahuatl, it means "the place where gods were created." There are writings from this time describing Montezuma traveling to Teotihuacan every twenty days to perform rituals and sacrifices in the name of Xiuhtectli (Aztec god of fire), of which Montezuma was the official translator for the god to his people²⁰. With the constant visits of the Aztecs to the city they brought with them artifacts that should not be there. Montezuma's artifacts would be the easiest to find, they were more recent so they would be closer to the surface, with less time for weathering to cover them up and bury them with the original artifacts.

¹⁸ George Kubler, "The Mazapan Maps of Teotihuacan in 1560," 1982, https://www.iai.spk-berlin.de/fileadmin/dokumentenbibliothek/Indiana/Indiana_7/IND_07_Kubler.pdf.

¹⁹ n/a, "Pre-Hispanic City of Teotihuacan," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, February 28, 2006, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/414/.

²⁰ George Kubler

During the time of Montezuma's visits, a series of maps were drawn. The original copies are lost, but replicas remain. The three maps are known as the Saville map, held at the American Museum of Natural History, the Ayer map, held at the Newberry Library, and the Mazapan Map. All three maps depict Teotihuacan as Montezuma would have seen it in 1550²¹. It is unknown how the three are related, or how they correlate to one another. They do prove a few things. It shows the habitation of the city by farmers and maps where their farms were located. The Mazapan people claimed the ancient and abandoned city as their home, they lived in the old housing complexes and farmed on the now dirt-covered plaza floors. For areas untouched by the elements, farmers moved dirt and rocks to create more farmland²². The discovery of these, relatively, modern farms and inhabitants throws a wrench into the investigations of archaeologists. Any previous leads for correlating the city and its inhabitants to the Mazapan have to be thrown out because the Mazapan came along way after the downfall of the city so they could not have been the ones living there originally. This also causes the problem of being forced to weed out any Mazapan item within collections as they are not demonstrations of Teotihuacanos (what the inhabitants are sometimes called) craftmanship. Any new artifacts dug up at the site also have to be analyzed more thoroughly to determine if they are truly from Teotihuacan, Mazapn, or Aztec. All the artifacts relating to the Mazapan are now false leads in the search for the original inhabitants. The Mazapan meddling means a possibility of missing artifacts, whether from destruction or removal from sites. It completely undermines the integrity of the site, contaminating it with outside factors unrelated to the investigation. Any hypothesis about the city and its people relating to the Mazapan has to be thrown out the window. It makes finding the true answers more difficult and leads to more research needing to be done. This is

²¹ Ibid

²² Ibid

one of the main causes for the misinformation about the city today. Since it took so long to figure out the city was not home to the Aztecs or the Mazapan it lead to many books and documentaries being published about the Aztecs calling the city home. The records have never been changed because the original inhabitants are still unknown.

Teotihuacan has been a city shrouded in mystery since the time of the Aztecs' arrival. Over the many years of its analysis, not much has been found about the city. The most archaeologists have been able to decipher is, that the inhabitants were most likely immigrants who came to the city because it was a trade metropolis with many business opportunities. There have been other small discoveries made over the years, about who people were from different burials, the types of pottery and ceramic styles they used, and guesses about uses for the pyramids and Avenu of the Dead. Their written language is still undeciphered, it is unknown if they had any rules as no grand tombs or burials have been discovered, it is unknown why the city was abandoned in the 800s (it is theorized the city was abandoned because of famine, drought, fires, massive earthquakes, or revolt. There are so many possibilities and not enough evidence to prove one right over the other.), and the earliest date for the creation of the city it not concrete, as more evidence keeps appearing every day that date has been moved farther back countless times. There are still so many unknowns that it is difficult to write a comprehensive history book or one comprehensive show about the history of the city. It has been referenced numerous times in books but never for the full length. It has also been the subject of a few documentaries, but those now contain outdated information. Most people know little about the city because of its lack of information. Teotihuacan is the largest city from antiquity located in North America. It should be considered a crime that more people from America are unaware of the city.

The efforts of new archaeologists to fix things are evident. They put more research and more scientific data into their work to come up with ways to fix the missing links of information. What they lack is their slow turnover time from working, to data, to articles. The slow pace of academia does not mesh well with the fast-paced consumer market. Their research is left unseen by the public because their interests change. There are also no large findings coming out of the city to draw in interest. There are no tombs, no jewels, nothing exciting to peak viewer interest. No one wants to read about teeth-grinding patterns and how they correlate to diet, it is not that interesting. In the meantime, it might be beneficial to publish about the mysteries of the city. It will keep people on their toes and draw in interest about the city.

Middle archaeology was a difficult time for the city. It was the shifting period so lots of new changes were being made. Fewer discoveries were being made as the primarily foreign-based archaeologists were shifting the main digging to newer, native archaeologists. They began to share their findings and research with descendants of the people they were studying. They felt that withholding the information was unfair and it was their right to know about it first before anyone else. They began working more closely with locals to teach and educate them, often they would put them in charge of the site's tourism to help build the economy. With their new progressive mindset, it opened their eyes to new ideas and new ways to conduct research. Teotihuacan was lucky to have a leading figure for new archaeology, as having someone in favor of the old way would have destroyed the city even further.

The mapping project Millon and his team completed has continued to be used in research and papers written today. When new buildings and LiDAR scans have been done they have referenced them to the TMP to prove exactly how correct it is. It will most likely continue to be used for years in the future. Millon remains one of the most cited archaeologists to have worked

on the city. Bridging the divide between old archaeology and new archaeology to finally solve all the mysteries of the city.

The old archaeology was the root of the city's problems. It was messy, it was for profit, and it ruined the city for generations to come. There were no standards set and no expectations for these early archaeologists. The city was ransacked and taken advantage of by geologists and people looking to make money. Many of the valuable artifacts were sold to foreign travelers or stolen by tourists. Improper research was done, not fully documenting every minute detail of excavations. It was a disastrous moment in the city's history, comparable to its original collapse. There was also known contamination of the Aztecs and the Mazapan at the site, degrading the integrity of any findings.

Appendix

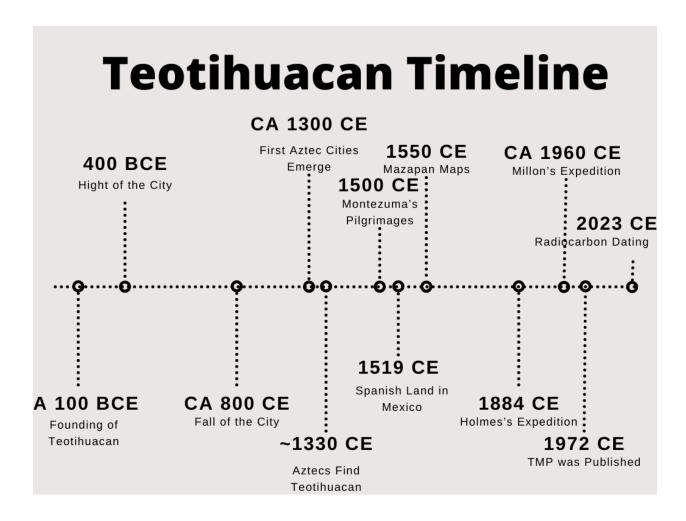


Figure 6

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