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XOO-PHASE CERAMICS FROM OAXACA FOUND AT CALIXTLAHUACA IN CENTRAL MEXICO

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Abstract

We describe tombs and ceramic collections in Zapotec style excavated in central Mexico, outside Oaxaca. The most notable are 13 ceramic vessels and objects from the Xoo complex (A.D. 500–800) excavated by José García Payón in Calixtlahuaca (near the city of Toluca), and three Zapotec-style tombs excavated in Los Teteles (near the city of Puebla). We also mention Zapotec remains excavated near Tula, Hidalgo, and tombs in other parts of central Mexico. We briefly explore the implications of these data for our understanding of central Mexico after the fall of Teotihuacan.

The presence of Oaxacan ceramics at Teotihuacan in the Early Classic period is well known. Parts of the “Oaxaca barrio” (or Tlailotlacan), where these materials are concentrated, have been excavated (Spence 1989, 1992), revealing a tomb and a calendrical inscription in Oaxacan style in addition to imported ceramic vessels. It appears that a group of people from Oaxaca—most likely Zapotecs—resided at Teotihuacan, and the implications of this situation for trade and interaction between Teotihuacan and Monte Albán are much discussed topics (e.g., Marcus 1983; Rattray 2001; Spence 1992, 2005; Winter 1998). In this paper we report additional evidence for Oaxacan ceramics and tombs in central Mexico during several time periods, from circa A.D. 200 to 800. Some of these materials have been published previously, but they are not well known and have been little remarked on in the literature.

Most of the ceramic vessels discussed here date to the Xoo phase in the Valley of Oaxaca, circa A.D. 500–800. With the recent formal definition of the Xoo ceramic complex at Monte Albán (Martínez López et al. 2000) and the accompanying reevaluation of the nature of cultural development in the Valley of Oaxaca (Lind 1994; Markens and Martínez López 2001), this is an appropriate time to discuss the evidence for Xoo-phase ceramics and tombs in central Mexico. We should note here that there is a lengthy debate over the nature and validity of the Xoo phase as a chronological unit in the Valley of Oaxaca. The Late Classic/Epiclassic period was initially divided into two phases, Monte Albán IIIA and Monte Albán IV, by Alfonso Caso and colleagues (1967) on the basis of stratigraphic relationships at the site of Monte Albán. Paradoxically, they could not distinguish the ceramics of these two units and therefore described the ceramics as a single ceramic complex, which they called Monte Albán IIIB/IV. Later, John Paddock (1966) distinguished Monte Albán IIIB and Monte

Albán IV as separate ceramic phases, a practice that was then followed by archaeologists conducting survey and surface collections in the Valley of Oaxaca (Blanton et al. 1982; Finsten 1995; Kowalewski et al. 1989).

On the basis of fieldwork at Monte Albán itself, however, Marcus Winter (1989) and Michael Lind (1994) proposed merging these two constructs (Monte Albán IIIB and IV) back into a single ceramic phase, which they named Xoo. A 2000 monograph (Martínez López et al. 2000) provides a formal definition of the Xoo ceramic complex, with ample illustrations (see also Lind 2001 and Markens and Martínez López 2001). A number of archaeologists have criticized the Xoo concept, however, arguing that Monte Albán IIIB and Monte Albán IV do exist as distinctive and valid chronologically ordered ceramic phases (Finsten 1995:12–14, 81–82; Marcus and Flannery 1990). This view was reiterated in personal communications by Joyce Marcus and Christina Elson to Smith in 2004. We believe, however, that the data in the 2000 monograph (Martínez López et al. 2000) provide a firm empirical basis for the Xoo phase, a view that appears to be shared by many—but not all—archaeologists working in Oaxaca and adjacent areas of Mesoamerica. Regardless of the eventual outcome of this debate, the ceramics described in this paper are clearly from Oaxaca, where they fit into the Late Classic/Epiclassic period in whatever chronology one wishes to employ.

We use the terms “Zapotec” and “Zapotecs” for central Mexican traits and peoples that were probably from the Valley of Oaxaca, acknowledging that such ethnic identifications in archaeology are often open to dispute. We suggest that the notion of a merchant diaspora (Curtin 1984; Zenner 1991) may help explain the distribution of Zapotec ceramics and tombs in central Mexico.

XOO PHASE CERAMICS FROM CALIXTLAHUACA

The ceramic vessels discussed here were excavated in the 1930s by José García Payón at Calixtlahuaca, a site with several large

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Postclassic temples just north of the city of Toluca in the western part of the State of Mexico (Figure 1). The Oaxacan ceramics are probably from offerings associated with one or more burials, but the poor level of documentation of the excavations prevents a precise reconstruction of their contexts. Apart from a few articles (e.g., García Payón 1941), José García Payón published very little

on his work at the site. The first volume of a planned series of reports (García Payón 1936) focused almost exclusively on the Valley of Toluca and its ethnohistory. The second two volumes in this series were published posthumously (García Payón 1979, 1981), but they still leave most of the excavation without adequate descriptions.

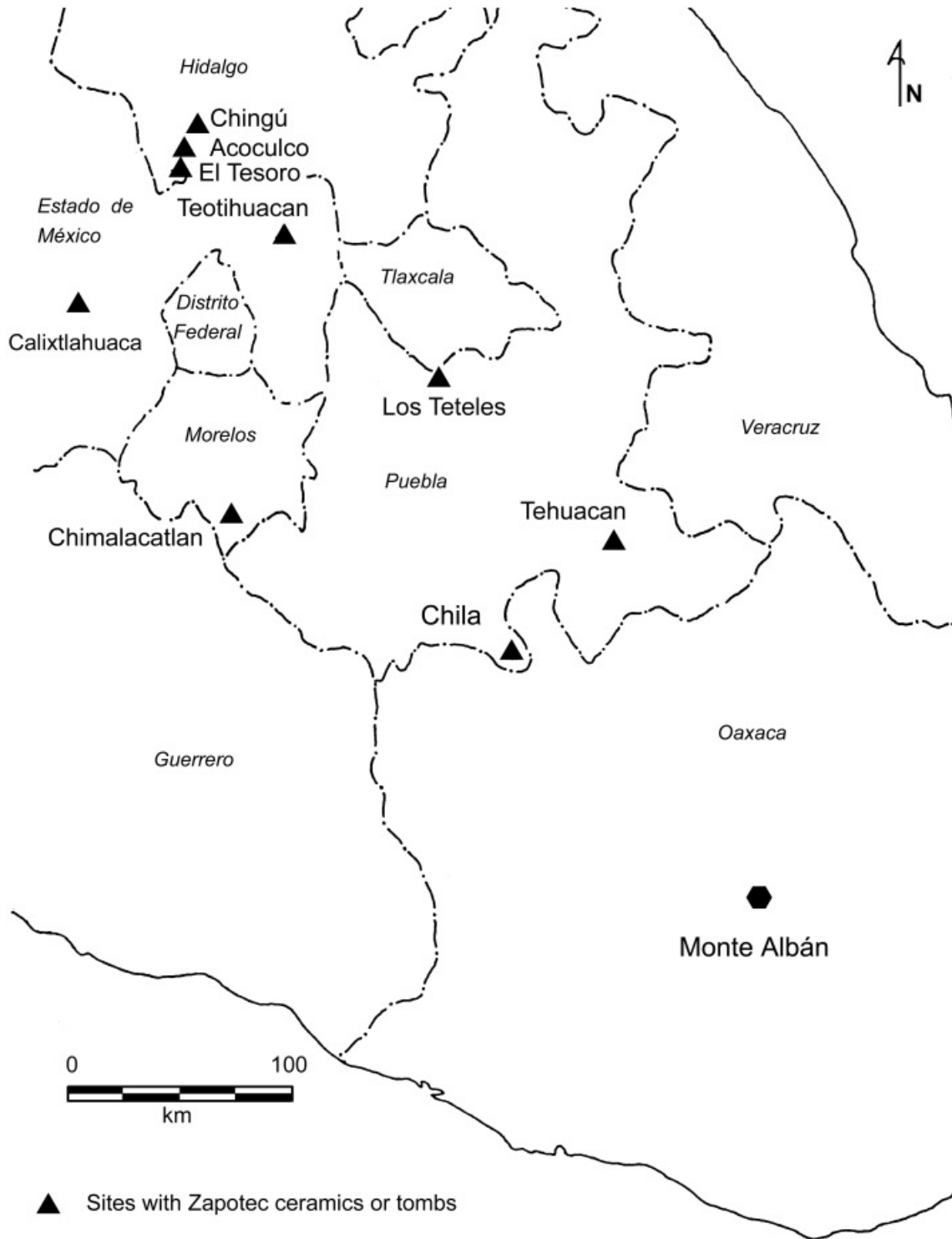


Figure 1. Map of central Mexican sites (outside Oaxaca) with Zapotec ceramics or tombs.

García Payón (1936:174ff) published a photograph of several ceramic vessels that includes two Oaxacan examples: a cylindrical vase with a glyph (vessel no. 1200) and a bat claw vessel (vessel no. 1124). The photo caption says, “Piezas de cerámica zapoteca encontrada en la zona arqueológica de Tecaxic-Calixtlahuaca.” (Although the site has always been known simply as Calixtlahuaca, from pre-Hispanic times through the present, García Payón sometimes called it “Tecaxic-Calixtlahuaca.”) These vessels apparently excited little interest among archaeologists, and the only mention of them we can find is in Adam Sellen’s (2002a: 8–9) dissertation. The major occupation of Calixtlahuaca was during the Late Postclassic period, when numerous burials were interred with offerings of ceramic vessels and other items (García Payón 1941; Smith et al. 2003). The burial offerings were poorly documented, but the collection of vessels and other offering goods (e.g., copper-bronze objects, precious stones, and spindle whorls) survives intact in two museums run by the Instituto Mexiquense de Cultura, a division of the State of Mexico.

In summer 2002, Smith studied the ceramic vessels in this collection, making a catalogue, taking digital photos, and recording attributes. Along with 1,285 Postclassic vessels he identified 79 Classic-period vessels very similar to examples from Teotihuacan and the 13 Oaxacan pieces described here. The 2002 research is described in two works (Smith 2003; Smith et al. 2003); they discuss the nature of the collection and its context in greater detail. A major drawback of the Calixtlahuaca collection is the lack of precise provenience data. It is not known which vessels came from which burials or offerings. Until unpublished notes or documents are discovered, we have no way to know whether the 13 Oaxacan pieces were from a single burial or from more than one context. Smith has been searching for García Payón’s unpublished notes, catalogues, and other materials in archives, museums, and libraries in Toluca and Mexico City (Smith 2003). This is an ongoing effort, and there are still some promising leads that may pay off in the future. He also plans to conduct new excavations at Calixtlahuaca, which may help illuminate the context of the Zapotec ceramics described here.

The 13 Oaxacan objects from Calixtlahuaca are listed in Table 1; nine of them are illustrated in Figure 2. They can be classified into six categories.

G35 Conical Bowls

Type G35 conical bowls are a distinctive ceramic category from the Valley of Oaxaca. Four examples of this type are in the Calixtlahuaca collection; one is illustrated in Figure 2a. Two of the G35s are large (25.5 cm and 28 cm) and light gray, and two are medium-size (15 cm and 20 cm) and dark gray. All have reinforced rims, and two (one large and one small) have incipient bases. These characteristics are typical of G35 conical bowls from Monte Albán (Martínez López et al. 2000:36–37), where their occurrence is not limited to the Xoo phase.

Handled Censers

Two handled censers from Oaxaca are in the collection (Figure 2b), which has an additional nine handled censers in a local style. The Zapotec examples have a light gray paste and a rough finish. Their perforated bowls have diameters of 12 cm and 15 cm, respectively, and the handles join the bowls at a slight downward angle. These attributes are characteristic of Xoo-phase handled censers from the Valley of Oaxaca (Martínez López et al. 2000: 152–159), and they differ greatly from the nine local handled censers in the collection. In contrast to the Xoo examples, the local censers have polished surfaces (sometimes painted), larger perforations, and longer handles, and the handles extend in the same plane as the bowl opening (as compared with the Oaxacan censers, where the handles extend down at an angle).

Bat-Claw Vessels

Bat-claw vessels are one of the most distinctive Oaxacan ceramic forms (Caso et al. 1967:404, 409). Four of these vessels are present in the Calixtlahuaca collections; all four are illustrated (Figure 2c–f). Of the four, two are dark gray, one is light gray, and one is orange-brown (cafe). The bat claws are in the form of solid cones and/or large curving claws. These bat-claw vessels, one of the most easily identifiable Zapotec vessel forms, are identical to examples from the Xoo phase in the Valley of Oaxaca (Martínez López et al. 2000:96–101). An effigy bat-claw vessel—part of a

Table 1. Xoo-phase ceramic vessels from Calixtlahuaca

Description	Object No. ^a	IMC No. ^b	Diameter ^c	Height ^c	Paste Color	Illustration
G35 conical bowl	TV6-395	A-17772	20	5	Dark gray	Figure 2a
G35 conical bowl	TV6-411	A-17774	28	6.5	Light gray	
G35 conical bowl	TV6-415	A-17812	15	4	Dark gray	
G35 conical bowl	TV6-505	A-17865	25.5	5.5	Light gray	
Handled censer	TV6-496	A-18349	15.5	4	Light gray	Figure 2b
Handled censer	TV6-614	A-18348	12	2.5	Light gray	
Bat claw vessel	TV6-716	A-15046	7.5	8	Dark gray	Figure 2c
Bat claw vessel	TV6-1124	A-15142	7.5	8	Light gray	Figure 2d
Bat claw vessel	TV6-1201	A-15124	7.5	8.5	Dark gray	Figure 2e
Bat claw vessel	TV6-676	A-18303	7.5	8	Orange-brown	Figure 2f
Cylinder with glyph	TV6-1200	A-15091	4.5	8.5	Dark gray	Figure 2g
Urn or effigy vessel	TV6-1098	A-18338	10.5		Orange-brown	Figure 2h
Headdress fragment	Cx1-1D-14			7.5	Gray	Figure 2i

^aCatalogue number in Smith’s ceramic vessel catalog.

^bAccession number in the catalogue of the Instituto Mexiquense de Cultura.

^cAll measurements are in centimeters.

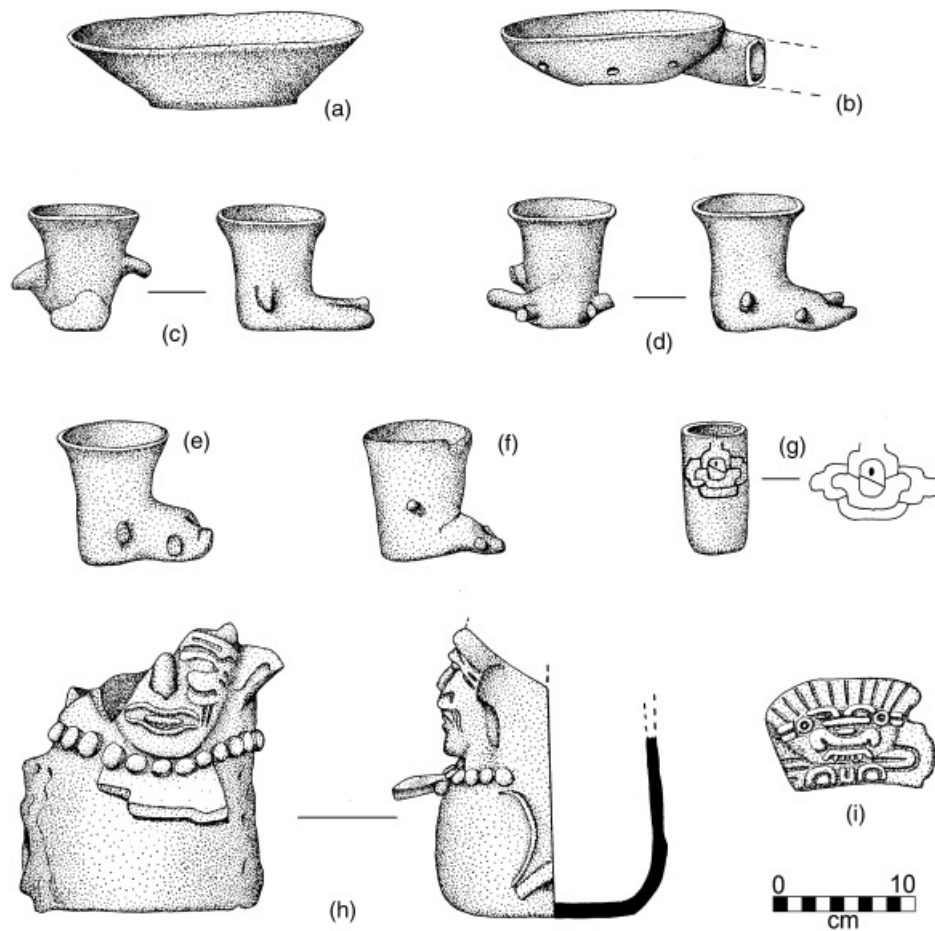


Figure 2. Zapotec ceramic objects from Calixtlahuaca. (a) G35 conical bowl; (b) handled censer; (c–f) bat-claw vessels; (g) cylindrical vessel with glyph; (h) urn or effigy vessel; (i) headdress fragment. See Table 1 for catalog numbers and information about the pieces. The glyph was drawn by Jennifer Wharton; the vessels were drawn by Jessie Pellerin based on photographs taken by Smith and Wharton.

large ceramic sculpture of Xipe Totec—was also recovered in Mazapan phase deposits at Teotihuacan (as discussed later).

Cylindrical Vase with Glyph

This vessel, illustrated by García Payón (1936:174 ff) is shown here in Figure 2g. The carved glyph represents Glyph J (Corn). There may be traces of two doughnut-like circles below and on each side of the glyph. Lind noticed one of these in a photograph of the vessel, but because it was not noticed during Smith's examination of the vessel, there is no drawing of the circle; hence it is not shown in the figure. If they are indeed present, these circles probably represent the number 2. Cylindrical vessels decorated with 2-J glyphs are diagnostic of the Xoo phase in the Valley of Oaxaca, where they frequently occur together in burials with cylinders decorated with 1-B (1 Jaguar) glyphs (Martínez López et al. 2000; Urcid 2001:156–157, 161).

Urn

An urn-like object, perhaps an effigy vessel, depicts an old person with wrinkles around the eyes and mouth and missing teeth (Fig-

ure 2h). Although this particular configuration is unusual among the canon of known Zapotec urns (Marcus Winter and Javier Urcid, personal communications 2003), the overall style and the individual elements do fit within the urn tradition as described and illustrated by Caso and Bernal (1952). The bead necklace is a very common feature on Zapotec urns (e.g., Caso and Bernal 1952:35, 52, 54, 95, 124, 133). The flange below the face, which may represent a loincloth (Sellen 2002b), is found on many examples (e.g., Caso and Bernal 1952:33, 48, 124–125, 151). The wrinkled face is similar to the abundant depictions of the “Old God called ‘5F’” (Caso and Bernal 1952:187–197) and to the God L face (Caso and Bernal 1952:94–101). These features are common in Zapotec urns in the Valley of Oaxaca during the Xoo phase, although not in the combination shown by the Calixtlahuaca vessel (Caso and Bernal 1952:125, 140). Somewhat similar urns also occur at Cerro de las Minas during the Late Classic Ñuiñe phase (Winter 1996:21, Figure 7). No other examples of this type are known from the Toluca Valley.

Headdress Fragment

The final Zapotec object is an incomplete headdress with a molded Glyph C element (Figure 2i). Molded C glyphs are characteristic

of the headdresses found on several kinds of Xoo-phase ceramic objects, including Cocijo and other urns, Cocijo effigy vessels, and large figurines (Caso and Bernal 1952:17–29, 92, 95, 100, 136; Martínez López et al. 2000:118–126). This broken fragment could come from any of these three ceramic forms; it does not resemble figurines or other vessels from the Toluca Valley.

Discussion

These 13 vessels clearly stand out within the collection of nearly 1,400 whole ceramic vessels from García Payón's fieldwork at Calixtlahuaca. Most of those vessels pertain to the Postclassic ceramic style of the Toluca Valley, well published in a number of sources (Sodi Miranda and Herrera Torres 1991; Tommasi de Magrelli 1978). The 79 Classic-period vessels in the collection are also quite distinctive compared with the Postclassic examples; they resemble closely ceramics of the Tlamimilolpa and Xolalpan phases at Teotihuacan (George Cowgill, personal communication 2004). The Xolalpan and Xoo phases overlap chronologically, and it is possible that some of the Classic vessels were associated with some of the Xoo vessels. García Payón (1979:305–306) suggested that the first stage of the famous circular temple at Calixtlahuaca dated to the Classic period, but he did not publish sufficient evidence to evaluate the claim.

Smith believes that the most parsimonious way to interpret the Calixtlahuaca chronology—on the basis of García Payón's poorly documented fieldwork—is through a sequence of three broad occupations. First, there was an Early to Middle Classic occupation with burials that produced the 79 Classic-period ceramic vessels. Second, there was a Late Classic to Epiclassic occupation with burials that produced the 13 Xoo-phase vessels described here, along with a few Coyotlatelco bowls. None of the standing architecture can be securely attributed to those periods. Third, there was a Middle to Late Postclassic occupation with monumental architecture that was responsible for all of the structures excavated by García Payón and the burials that yielded the 1,285 Postclassic ceramic vessels. Until García Payón's notes are recovered, or until additional fieldwork is undertaken at Calixtlahuaca, inferences on the dating and significance of the Oaxacan vessels must rest solely on the vessels themselves as described earlier.

THE TOMBS OF LOS TETELES, MANZANILLA, PUEBLA

Three Zapotec-style tombs have been identified at the site of Los Teteles on lands formerly owned by the Hacienda San Diego Manzanilla near the village of La Resurrección in the Valley of Puebla (Figure 1). Tomb 1 had been completely looted, and Tomb 3 was partially looted, but Tomb 2 was found intact and was excavated by a group under the direction of Norberto González Crespo (Hirth and Swezey 1976:14; Molina 1981). The three tombs have steps descending to the doorway. Two of the tombs (Tombs 2 and 3) had a niche in each of their three walls, which is typical of tombs in the Valley of Oaxaca. Tomb 1 has a cruciform layout, a form common in Oaxaca in the Liobaa and Chila phases (Postclassic period) but rare in the Pitao and Xoo phases (Acosta 1965; Lind and Urcid 1983; Saville 1909).

Tombs 1 and 2 were located in adjacent Classic-period domestic structures. The rooms in these houses had thick plaster floors placed over a well-prepared base composed of small cobblestones. This technique is typical of Classic-period house floors in

the Valley of Oaxaca. Tomb 2 contained two primary burials: an adult male and a disturbed adult individual of uncertain sex. This pattern is also typical of tomb burials in the Valley of Oaxaca (Lind and Urcid 1983). The offering in Tomb 2 consisted of twelve G35 conical bowls made of local Los Teteles clay and two Teotihuacan style burnished black ware flaring rim bowls (Reliford 1983:88, 125). In Tomb 3, which had been partially looted, some skeletal remains belonging to two individuals were found along with a Teotihuacan-style articulated figurine (Reliford 1983:133). Because of the looting, however, it is uncertain whether this figurine had been part of the original tomb offering.

OTHER SITES

Three sites near Tula, Hidalgo—El Tesoro, Acoculco, and Chingu—have Zapotec ceramics of the Niza phase, similar to those from the Oaxaca barrio at Teotihuacan. The Chingu and Acoculco materials—sherds from surface collections—were pointed out some time ago (Crespo and Mastache 1981; Díaz Oyarzábal 1980; Flannery and Marcus 1983). Ana María Crespo and Alba Guadalupe Mastache (1981) note the presence of extensive lime deposits in this area and suggest that Zapotecs from the Oaxaca barrio at Teotihuacan may have been exploiting them to produce lime plaster for the city (see also Torres Rodríguez et al. 1999). More recently, Carlos Hernández Reyes (1990, 1994) reported a Oaxaca-style tomb with Niza-phase ceramic offerings at El Tesoro. These findings suggest the presence of groups of Zapotecs not only at Teotihuacan, but also at several smaller sites in Hidalgo.

Oaxaca-style tombs have been reported from at least three other sites outside Oaxaca, but the dating and cultural affiliations of these features are uncertain. Florencia Muller (1948:35, dibujo 4) excavated a tomb at the enigmatic and poorly dated fortified site of Chimalacatlan in southern Morelos. She cites a personal communication from Caso that this tomb resembles tombs from the periods Monte Albán I and Monte Albán II in the Valley of Oaxaca. Eduardo Noguera (1940:308) reports two Oaxaca-style tombs excavated at Tehuacan. One had the characteristic cruciform layout, and the other had ceramic vessels related to Teotihuacan. Finally, Hubert Bancroft (1875:465–66) mentions a cruciform tomb at Chila in southern Puebla. The Oaxaca-style tombs at these sites (Figure 1) cannot be dated on current information. The Chila tomb may in fact pertain to the Nuiñe culture (Caso 1938; Winter 1996) rather than the Zapotec culture; a cruciform Nuiñe tomb is known from Tecomavaca (Javier Urcid, personal communication 2003).

DISCUSSION

The data described earlier extend forward the time period of known Zapotec presence in central Mexico. The Oaxaca barrio at Teotihuacan has ceramics from the Late Niza phase of the Valley of Oaxaca. The late facet of the Niza phase has recently been isolated by Winter, who dates it to A.D. 200–350 (personal communication 2003; Table 2). Michael Spence (1992:59) estimates that a colony of 600–700 Zapotecs lived at Teotihuacan over several centuries. The most reasonable and widespread interpretation of this phenomenon is that many of these individuals were merchants, and that commerce between Teotihuacan and Monte Albán was a primary reason for the colony (Millon 1973:432, 1988; Spence 1992, 1996; Urcid 2003; Winter 1998). It is difficult to determine whether the contemporaneous Oaxaca-style tombs and ceramics from Hidalgo represent independent Zapotec enclaves, Zapotec enclaves subordinate to or related to the colony at Teotihuacan, or else

Table 2. Chronology of Oaxacan ceramics and tombs in central Mexico

Ceramic Phase, Valley of Oaxaca	Former Name of Ceramic Phase	Dates	Central Mexican Sites
Xoo	Monte Albán IIIB/IV	A.D. 500–800	Calixtlahuaca Los Teteles?
Pitao	Monte Albán IIIA	A.D. 350–500	Los Teteles?
Late Niza	Late Monte Albán II	A.D. 200–350	Teotihuacan Acoculco Chingu El Tesoro
Oaxacan-style tombs of uncertain date			Chila Chimalacatlan Tehuacan

Zapotec ceramics placed in local elite tombs as exotic, high-value goods.

The evidence for Zapotec traits during the Early Classic period (Pitao phase in the Valley of Oaxaca; Table 2) is equivocal. The apparent continued occupation of the Oaxacan barrio at Teotihuacan after A.D. 350 has been difficult to reconcile with the lack of Pitao-phase Oaxacan ceramics (Paddock 1983; Rattray 2001). The remains from Los Teteles—Zapotec-style tombs and G35 ceramic bowls—could pertain to the Pitao phase, the Xoo phase, or both phases, although a Xoo-phase date is more likely. The G35 bowls, although present in the Valley of Oaxaca in the Pitao phase, are more abundant and more characteristic of the Xoo phase (Caso et al. 1967:385). The collection of Zapotec ceramics from Calixtlahuaca (Figure 2) clearly date to the Xoo phase, although a Pitao-phase dating for one or more of the G35 bowls cannot be ruled out (given the lack of provenience data for García Payón's excavations).

The lack of documentation for García Payón's fieldwork at Calixtlahuaca prevents us from drawing firm conclusions about the context and significance of the Zapotec ceramics from that site. It is possible that the inhabitants of Calixtlahuaca imported or obtained these artifacts from Zapotec (or other) merchants and placed them in local burials as exotic items; this is the most common interpretation of imported ceramic vessels in Mesoamerican tombs. G35 conical bowls and handled censers are crude, roughly finished vessels, however, hardly the exotic fine serving ware typically included in burial offerings in Mesoamerica. These vessels were most likely used in funerary rituals in the Valley of Oaxaca, where they are included in nearly every known offering found in Xoo-phase tombs of both commoners and the elite (Lind and Urcid 1983). This suggests to us that these vessels may have been offerings in tombs of Zapotec inhabitants of Calixtlahuaca during the Xoo phase. Unfortunately, García Payón does not describe the nature of the tombs or burials that produced these vessels. The Zapotec-style tombs at Los Teteles suggest more strongly the physical presence of Zapotecs living and dying there during the Classic period.

The period from A.D. 500 to 800 was a highly volatile time in highland central Mexico. Teotihuacan collapsed and new Epiclassic urban centers appeared, including Xochicalco, Teotenango, Cacaxtla, and Tula (Diehl and Berlo 1989; Mastache et al. 2002;

Millon 1988). This was a time of political instability and active commercial and stylistic interaction with other areas (Beekman and Christensen 2003:133–145; Rattray 1996; Ringle et al. 1998; Smith and Heath-Smith 1980). Little is known about the organization and infrastructure of long-distance commerce at this time, but it would not be surprising to find a continuation (or perhaps a reestablishment) of an earlier pattern of Zapotec merchant colonies in central Mexico.

The merchant diaspora, in which groups of merchants from a home region establish colonies in foreign lands, is a common organizational strategy for long-distance exchange in many pre-industrial states (Cohen 1969; Curtin 1984; Spence 2005; Stein

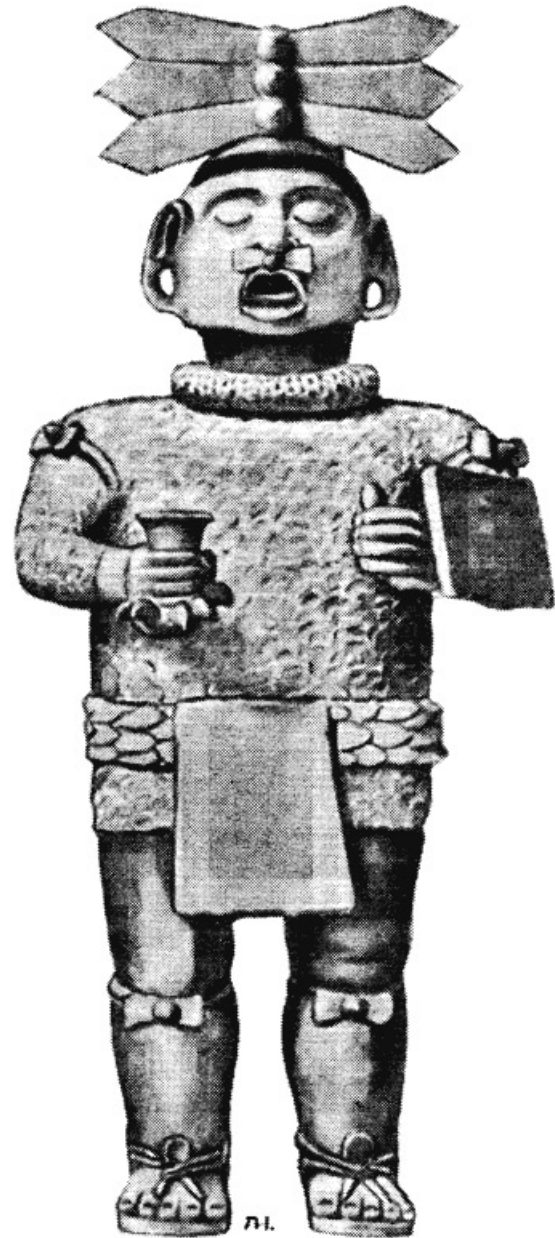


Figure 3. Xipe Totec ceramic sculpture from Mazapan-phase deposits at Teotihuacan; note the bat-claw vessel in the right hand (from Linné 2003:84). The object is 1.14 m in height.

2002; Zenner 1991). This model has received little attention in Mesoamerica, however. Archaeologists have discussed some possible ethnic enclaves during the Classic period, including the Oaxaca barrio and the “merchant’s barrio” at Teotihuacan (Rattray 1990; Spence 1992, 1996, 2004), and potential colonies of Teotihuacan origin at distant sites such as Matacapán and Kaminaljuyu (Santley et al. 1987; Spence 1996). The cases described in this paper suggest a pattern of Zapotec enclaves in central Mexico over a period of many centuries. The Oaxaca barrio at Teotihuacan thus should be seen not as an exceptional phenomenon but, rather, as the currently best-documented example of a more widespread pattern. We suggest that groups of merchants from Monte Albán may have set up strategically placed colonies in a variety of settlements in central Mexico.

Why would Zapotec merchants have been interested in establishing an outpost at Calixtlahuaca in the Toluca Valley? During the Late Classic and Epiclassic periods, the peoples of the Toluca Valley were active participants in central Mexican networks of trade and interaction. Inscriptions at Teotenango (Piña Chán 1975) resemble contemporaneous inscriptions at Xochicalco (Smith and Hirth 2000), and ceramics in the Coyotlatelco style are abundant in both the Toluca Valley and the Basin of Mexico (Rattray 1996; Sugiura Yamamoto 1996, 1998). Calixtlahuaca was located along a probable route of trade and communication between the Basin of Mexico and areas farther west, including the rich valleys of Michoacán (Beekman and Christensen 2003). The large urban center of Teotenango was located some 30 km to the south, and a major salt-production center, San Miguel Ixtapan (Carranza Solano and Suárez Canepa 1995; Rodríguez García 2003)—was located a day’s

travel to the west. Calixtlahuaca could have provided a good base to obtain goods from both the Basin of Mexico (e.g., obsidian) and western Mexico (e.g., salt, obsidian, and several types of precious stones).

Interaction between Oaxaca and central Mexico continued beyond A.D. 800. Sue Scott (1993, 1998) has identified close stylistic links between Early Postclassic ritual objects in the Valley of Oaxaca and the Teotihuacan Valley. One of the more intriguing of these features is a ceramic sculpture of the deity Xipe Totec excavated by Sigvald Linné (2003) at Teotihuacan in a Mazapan-phase context (currently dated to ca. A.D. 800–1000; see Cowgill 1996: 327). This figure, shown in Figure 3, holds a Xoo-style bat-claw vessel in its right hand. The size of this vessel (height, 8–9 cm) is the same as the bat-claw vessels from Oaxaca (Martínez López et al. 2000) and those from Calixtlahuaca (Table 1).

Although the data reported here are fragmentary and incomplete, they do provide evidence of some kind of Zapotec presence in central Mexico in the Classic and Epiclassic periods. The sites in Hidalgo indicate that Teotihuacan was not the only place with likely Zapotec enclaves during the Early Classic period, and the data from Los Teteles and Calixtlahuaca suggest that this pattern continued after the occupation of the Oaxaca barrio at Teotihuacan into the Late Classic and Epiclassic periods. Further research is needed at sites such as Calixtlahuaca and Los Teteles to clarify the nature of these possible post-Teotihuacan Zapotec enclaves, and greater attention to the organization of commerce in general is needed to evaluate the merchant diaspora and other models of long-distance interaction in Mesoamerica.

RESUMEN

Describimos tumbas y colecciones de cerámica en estilo zapoteco, encontradas en el centro de México, fuera del estado de Oaxaca. Los más destacables son 13 vasijas y objetos zapotecos de la fase cerámica Xoo (A.D. 500–800) excavadas por José García Payón en Calixtlahuaca (cerca de la ciudad de Toluca), y tres tumbas en el estilo zapoteca excavadas en Los

Teteles (cerca de la ciudad de Puebla). También mencionamos restos zapotecos excavados cerca de Tula, Hidalgo, y varias otras tumbas en otras partes. Exploramos brevemente las implicaciones de estos nuevos datos para el entendimiento del centro de México después de la caída de Teotihuacan.

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