LORD 8 DEER "JAGUAR CLAW" AND THE LAND OF THE SKY: THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF TUTUTEPEC

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This article balances current understandings of the political landscape of Postclassic Mesoamerica through a conjunctive analysis of the archaeology and ethnohistory of the Mixtec Empire of Tututepec in the lower Río Verde region of Oaxaca. Tututepec has long been known from ethnohistoric sources as a powerful Late Postclassic imperial center. Until recently, however, little has been known of the archaeology of the site. We discuss the founding, extent, chronology, and aspects of the internal organization and external relations of Tututepec based on the results of a regional survey, excavations, and a reanalysis of ethnohistoric documents. Tututepec was founded early in the Late Postclassic period when the region was vulnerable to conquest due to political fragmentation and unrest. Indigenous historical data from three Mixtec codices narrate the founding of Tututepec as part of the heroic history of Lord 8 Deer "Jaguar Claw." According to these texts, Lord 8 Deer founded Tututepec through a creative combination of traditional Mixtec foundation rites and a strategic alliance with a highland group linked to the Tolteca-Chichimeca. Archaeological and ethnohistoric evidence indicate that Tututepec continued to expand through the Late Postclassic, growing to 21.85 km², and at its peak was the capital of an empire extending over 25,000 km².

Este artículo forma un balance de los entendimientos actuales sobre el paisaje político del Postclásico en Mesoamérica por medio de un análisis conjuntivo de la arqueología y etnohistoria del imperio Mixteca de Tututepec, Oaxaca. Tututepec ha sido conocido desde tiempo atrás por fuentes etnohistóricas como la capital de un centro imperial poderoso del Postclásico tardío. Sin embargo, hasta recientemente, poco se ha sabido de la arqueología del sitio siendo su localización misma un asunto de debate. Discutimos los orígenes, extensión, cronología, y aspectos de la organización interna y relaciones externas de Tututepec basadas en los resultados de un recorrido regional, excavaciones, y un reanálisis de documentos etnohistóricos. Tututepec fue fundado tempranamente en el Postclásico Tardío cuando la región había sido vulnerable a la conquista forastera debido a fragmentación política y agitación. La fundación de Tututepec como parte de la historia heroica del Señor 8 Venado "Garra de Jaguar," es narrada en tres códices Mixtecas. Según estos textos, Señor 8 Venado fundó Tututepec por medio de una combinación creativa de ritos fundacionales mixtecas tradicionales y una alianza estratégica con un grupo enlazado a los Tolteca-Chichimeca. La evidencia indica que Tututepec continuó su expansión a través de Postclásico Tardío, creciendo a 21.85 km², y en su máximo fue la capital de un imperio extendido sobre 25,000 km².

Late Postclassic Mesoamerica witnessed the rise of a number of expansive imperial polities, including the Southern Mixtec, Tarascan, Mexica, and Tlaxcalan empires. Current scholarship on Postclassic empires, however, is dominated by discussions of the Mexica drawn heavily from documentary sources and the perspective of Central Mexican urban elites. This article works to balance current understandings of the political landscape of Postclassic Mesoamerica through a conjunctive analysis of the archaeology and ethnohistory of the Mixtec Empire of Tutute-

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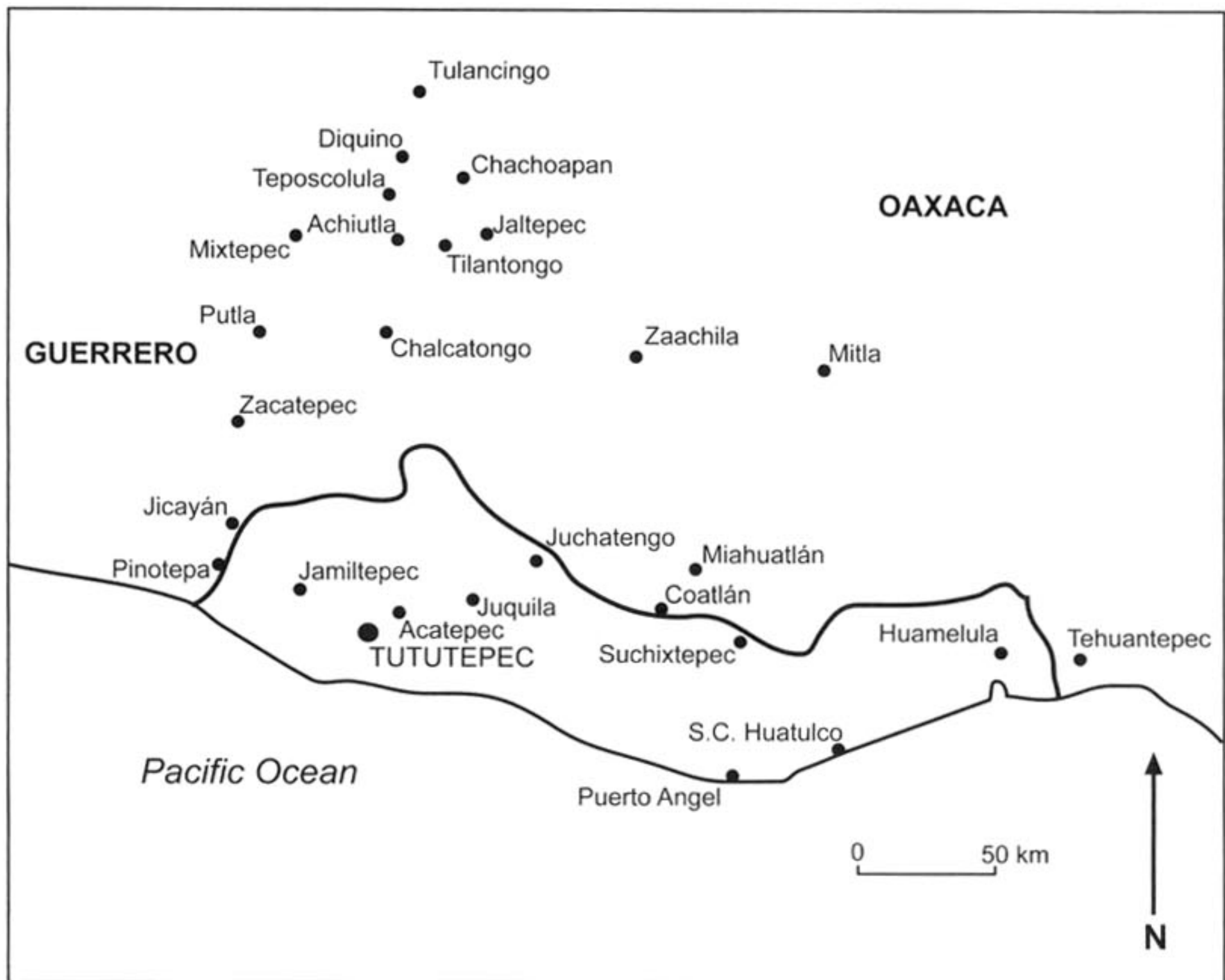**Stacie M. King** ■ Department of Anthropology, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405

Figure 1. Map of the Tututepec Empire showing sites mentioned in the text (redrawn from Spores 1993: Figure 1).

pec in the lower Río Verde region of the western coast of Oaxaca—a region that sixteenth-century Mixtecs referred to as *Ñundeui* ("Land of the Sky") (Reyes 1593:ii; Smith 1973:97). The site of Tututepec has long been known from ethnohistoric sources as a powerful Late Postclassic (A.D. 1100–1522) imperial center that was independent of the Aztec Empire (Barlow 1949; Davies 1968; Gerhard 1993; Joyce 1993; Smith 1973; Spores 1993). The empire was ruled by a Mixtec dynasty and extended over approximately 25,000 km², incorporating at least five other ethnolinguistic groups: Amuzgo, Chatino, Zapotec, Chontal, and Nahuatl (Figure 1).

The documentary record of Tututepec extends back to the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, provided by accounts of the Mixtec noble Lord 8 Deer "Jaguar Claw" recorded in three of the Mixtec pictographic manuscripts, the codices *Colombino-Becker*, *Nuttall*, and *Bodley* (Caso 1960, 1966, 1977, 1979; Smith 1963, 1966; Troike

1974). In addition to this indigenous historical record, Tututepec is richly documented in sixteenth-century alphabetic sources—sources that led ethnohistorian Mary Elizabeth Smith to describe the site as the "major city of the south coast" (Smith 1963:288), a view echoed by other scholars (Davies 1968; Gerhard 1993:379–380; Spores 1993). Until recently, however, little was known of the archaeology of the site, with its very location a subject of debate (DeCicco and Brockington 1956; O'Mack 1990; Spores 1993).

We discuss the origins, extent, chronology, and aspects of the internal organization and external relations of Tututepec based on the results of a regional full-coverage survey, excavations, and a reanalysis of ethnohistoric documents. We take a conjunctive approach to the reading of indigenous and archaeological records, which in our eyes is crucial. We compare the image of the past recorded in indigenous historical texts to archaeological data from the same time, and consider how indigenous

modes of historical understanding shaped representations of ancient social processes. We do not argue that archaeological findings "prove" the detailed codical narratives of the Mixtec presence on the coast of Oaxaca in any simplistic way. Rather, using Marshall Sahlins's notion of instantiative "heroic history"—a mode of historical understanding in which broad social transformations are *retrospectively understood to be* the result of specific actions by specific individuals—we point out a number of parallels linking features registered in the archaeological record of the coast to the codex-recorded coastal exploits of Mixtec heroes. Rejecting the long history of Eurocentric prejudice against non-Western texts (e.g., Cohn 1996:92; Landa 1994[1566]:185; cf. Fox 1971), our discussion addresses the question of the "reliability" of indigenous Mesoamerican histories.

We argue that the *cacicazgo* of Tututepec was founded early in the Late Postclassic by a highland Mixtec faction. Archaeological data reveal a sudden expansion of the site at that time, a time when the lower Verde region would have been vulnerable to foreign conquest due to the political fragmentation and unrest that followed the collapse of the Late Classic (A.D. 500–800) Río Viejo polity (Joyce et al. 2001). Indigenous historical data from three Mixtec codices narrate the founding of Tututepec as part of the heroic history of Lord 8 Deer "Jaguar Claw." According to these texts, Lord 8 Deer founded Tututepec through a creative combination of traditional Mixtec foundation rites and a strategic alliance with a highland group linked to the Tolteca-Chichimeca. While Tututepec disappears from the codical record after the death of Lord 8 Deer, archaeological data as well as Early Colonial documents show that the city expanded into one of the largest sites in Mesoamerica as its leaders came to dominate a multiethnic empire.

A History of Archaeological Research at Tututepec

Prior to 1986, the archaeology of Tututepec was known only from a number of brief visits by archaeologists (O'Mack 1990). Most of the early mentions of the site's archaeology involved descriptions of the carved stones that until recently were concentrated near the colonial church that sits on a large prehispanic platform at the modern town of Villa de Tututepec de Melchor Ocampo (Berlin 1947; Bevan 1934; Maler 1883; Martínez Gracida 1910; Piña Chan 1960; Tibón 1961).[1] While the village of Tututepec was not surveyed by Donald Brockington's 1969–1970 Oaxaca Coast Project, he did photograph several carved stones near the church during his earlier reconnaissance with Gabriel DeCicco (DeCicco and Brockington 1956; also see Jorrín 1974:69). As summarized by O'Mack (1990), the survey by DeCicco and Brockington led to some confusion concerning the location of the prehispanic site. DeCicco and Brockington (1956:61–70) surveyed a site they named Cerro de los Pájaros, located on a series of hills about one hour's walk south of the town. Based on the presence of polychrome and red-on-cream pottery, DeCicco and Brockington (1956:65) argued that Cerro de los Pájaros was "una localidad mixteca," implying that it was a Postclassic site. They noted reports from informants that small objects of gold had been found at the site. Unfortunately, this claim for gold or metal work was repeated several times (Davies 1968; Piña Chan 1960:72) and may have led Spores (1983:260) to suggest Cerro de los Pájaros as the most likely location for prehispanic Tututepec.

The first study designed specifically to examine the archaeology of Tututepec was Scott O'Mack's (1990) three-week surface reconnaissance in and around the modern town. O'Mack's (1990:21) strategy consisted of locating and examining the few sites that had previously been suggested as possible locations for prehispanic Tututepec, examining places near the modern town where informants reported archaeological remains, and conducting an archaeological reconnaissance in accessible areas around the town. O'Mack concluded that Cerro de los Pájaros was not a likely candidate for prehispanic Tututepec. He was unable to securely locate the site discussed by DeCicco and Brockington (1956), because the only hill in the region named Cerro de los Pájaros was located just a few minutes walk from town, rather than a one hour walk to the south. Based on the results of his reconnaissance, O'Mack argued convincingly that the modern town of Tututepec was also the prehispanic site. He noted a nearly continuous, low-density scatter of Postclassic material from the hills at the foot of Tututepec south to the coastal highway. O'Mack's (1990) time limitations, and the

fact that he carried out the reconnaissance during the rainy season when vegetation cover limited surface visibility, prevented him from recognizing the full extent of the site. Nevertheless, he speculated that Tututepec might be a very large site with dispersed settlement, thereby anticipating our findings.

Despite O'Mack's (1990) suggestions about the extent of prehispanic Tututepec, scholars continued to view the site as small and unimpressive (Spores 1993:167; Weaver 1993:418). This impression created an apparent inconsistency between the ethnohistoric record, depicting Tututepec as a powerful imperial center, and the identified small site with only one mound and several carved stone monuments. This puzzle formed the context of our research.

Over the past 18 years the lower Río Verde Valley has been the focus of field research that has begun to clarify the archaeology of Tututepec (Grove 1988; Joyce 1991a, 1991b; 1993, 1999; Joyce and King 2001; Joyce et al. 1998, 2001; Urcid and Joyce 2001; Workinger 2002). This research has included large-scale archaeological excavations at 5 sites as well as test excavations at 13 others. In 1986, the entire region was the focus of a nonsystematic surface reconnaissance (Grove 1988). Since 1994, a full-coverage survey has systematically studied 152 km² of the lower Verde region (Joyce 1999; Joyce et al. 2001; Workinger 2002). The survey zone included transects from the coast to the piedmont and covered most of ancient Tututepec, although time constraints precluded complete survey of a 1.5 km² area of the northeastern end of the site. Field methods followed general procedures used in other full-coverage surveys in Mesoamerica (Blanton 1978; Blanton et al. 1982; Kowalewski et al. 1989; Sanders et al. 1979) with some minor modifications, primarily the use of a Global Positioning System (GPS) to map site boundaries, features, and surface collections. Fields were surveyed at 20 m intervals. In steep areas, survey team members covered all ridgelines, piedmont spurs, and hilltops, while steep slopes that were unlikely to have had settlement were checked less intensively. Artifacts and/or features were considered part of the same site if found within 100 m of one another (the "100-meter rule;" see Blanton et al. 1982:10; Stiver 2001).

Origins of Tututepec: Ethnohistory and Archaeology

The full-coverage survey in the lower Río Verde Valley found that Late Postclassic Tututepec (RV64) covers 21.3 km² (Figure 2). The Late Postclassic component of San Francisco de Arriba (RV62) is separated from Tututepec by only a 600 m strip that has been washed out by the Río San Francisco. Because the San Francisco drainage would not have been appropriate for settlement and floodplain sites would not have been preserved, we suspect that the Late Postclassic component of RV62 was also part of Tututepec, bringing the overall site area to 21.85 km². Three other sites clustered near the northeastern tip of Tututepec (RV150, RV151, RV153) may also represent outlying settlements, but were not included as part of Tututepec. A total of 168 surface collections were made at Tututepec proper with an additional 43 surface collections at the Late Postclassic component of San Francisco de Arriba. Workinger (2002) has carried out excavations at San Francisco de Arriba. The results of the full-coverage surveys and excavations as well as a reanalysis of the Mixtec codices provide a clearer picture of the origins and development of ancient Tututepec. Our data resolve the previous contradictions between the archaeological and ethnohistoric records, and show that Tututepec was one of the largest and most powerful polities of the Late Postclassic.

The Archaeology of Tututepec's Origins

Settlement at Tututepec dates back to the Late Formative (400–150 B.C.), with an earlier Middle Formative (700–400 B.C.) component excavated at San Francisco de Arriba (Workinger 2002:244). San Francisco de Arriba was a major population center from the Late Formative to the Late Classic, while settlement at Tututepec fluctuated considerably through time. By the Early Postclassic (A.D. 800–1100), however, the area around Tututepec was almost devoid of settlement. Elsewhere in the region a major sociopolitical reorganization was occurring with the collapse of the Río Viejo polity (Joyce et al. 2001).

The Early Postclassic was a time of major changes in settlement and sociopolitical organization in the lower Río Verde Valley (Joyce et al. 2001).[2] Río Viejo, the Late Classic capital of the
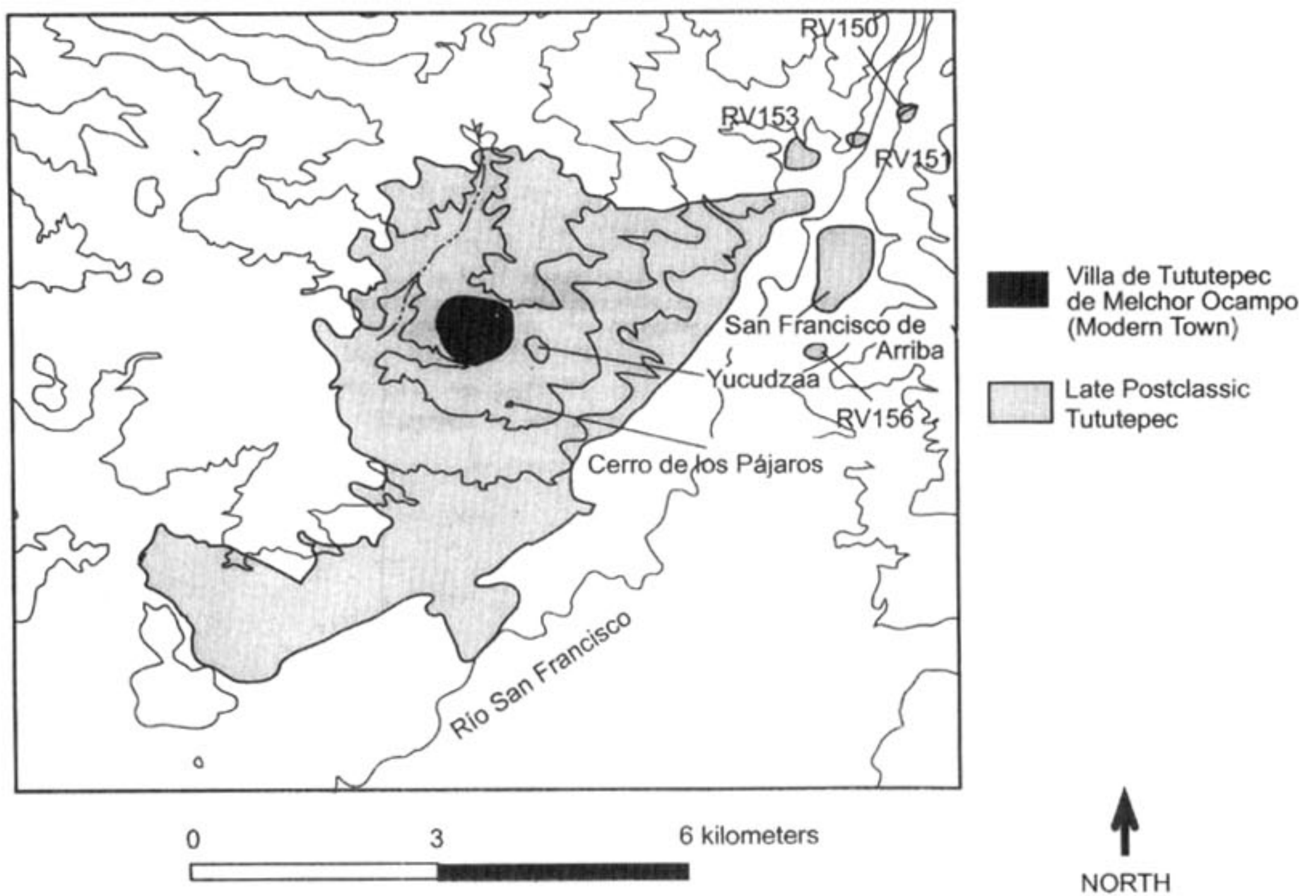
Figure 2. Survey map of ancient Tututepec and associated sites.

lower Verde state, was in decline, with decreasing population, fewer carved stone monuments, and cessation of monumental architecture construction (Table 1). Excavations indicate that Early Postclassic peoples did not treat earlier sacred spaces, objects, and buildings with the same reverence they had been afforded previously. The Mound 1 acropolis at Río Viejo was taken over by commoners living in residences whose foundations were apparently built by tearing apart the public buildings of the Late Classic. A Late Classic carved stone monument was reutilized as a metate and later placed in a wall (Joyce and King 2001; King 2003).

Río Viejo continued as a first-order center during the Early Postclassic (Joyce et al. 2001), although settlement at the site declined from 250 to 140 ha (Figure 3). At the same time, another first-order center emerged at San Marquitos (RV57), which grew from 7 ha in the Late Classic to 191 ha in the Early Postclassic. The overall occupational area in the survey declined from 605 ha in the Late Classic to 452 ha in the Early Postclassic and settlement locations shifted from the floodplain to the piedmont. In the Late Classic only 34.2 percent of the occupational area recorded in the survey was in the piedmont, whereas by the Early Postclassic, 61.7 percent was in the piedmont. The regional settlement/administrative hierarchy declined from seven levels in the Late Classic to four by the Early Postclassic.

There is evidence for an increase in interpolity conflict during the Early Postclassic (Joyce et al. 2001). The dramatic settlement shift into the piedmont would be consistent with the movement of people to defensive locations. In addition, Early Postclassic settlement is concentrated in a very small area of the piedmont with 58 percent of the total occupational area within 3 km of the first-order center of San Marquitos (RV57). This nucleation also could have been for defensive purposes. Excavations and surface survey at Early Postclassic sites have recovered large numbers of chert projectile points. For example, ten point fragments were recovered from excavations of commoner residences on Río Viejo's acropolis. In the lower Verde, only two projectile points were recovered from all excavated deposits that predate the Postclassic. The regional data suggest that the Early Postclassic witnessed the collapse of ruling institutions, the frag-

Table 1. Lower Río Verde Valley Settlement Pattern Data

Late Classic			Early Postclassic			Late Postclassic		
Site #	Size (ha)	Environment	Site #	Size (ha)	Environment	Site #	Size (ha)	Environment
RV20-1*	250.00	f	RV57-3	190.94	p	RV64-1	2127.22	p = 2077.22; s = 50
RV62-1	57.61	p = 27.61; s = 30.00	RV20-1	140.00	f	RV1-1	70.00	f
RV1-1	52.00	f	RV57-6	21.08	p	RV62-1	57.61	p = 27.61; s = 30.00
RV64-7	33.41	p	RV20-2	20.00	f	RV57-3	15.00	p
RV47-1	26.18	f	RV8-1	16.74	p	RV153-1	9.58	p
RV144-1	14.95	p	RV70-1	14.25	p	RV57-5	6.30	p
RV140-1	14.50	cp	RV137-1	12.30	p	RV156-1	3.75	p
RV64-6	14.47	s	RV57-1	10.20	p	RV151-1	3.26	p
RV64-9	12.68	p	RV140-1	5.14	cp	RV150-1	3.12	p
RV64-8	11.52	p	RV32-1	4.60	p	RV57-2	2.80	p
RV70-1	10.80	p	RV57-4	3.80	f	RV70-1	2.25	p
RV66-3	10.23	p	RV57-5	2.85	p	RV57-4	2.00	f
RV57-2	8.56	p = 5.00; f = 3.56	RV66-1	2.50	p	RV129-1	1.92	f
RV57-5	7.50	p	RV47-1	2.00	f	RV147-1	1.79	p
RV64-11	7.43	p	RV57-2	1.40	p	RV120-1	1.52	f
RV57-3	6.80	p	RV64-1	1.00	p	RV57-1	1.40	p
RV59-1	6.31	p	RV76-1	1.00	p	RV57-6	1.00	p
RV66-1	6.00	p	RV110-1	.85	f	RV141-1	.92	p
RV64-10	5.95	p	RV12-1	.52	f	RV124-1	.77	f
RV64-2	5.12	p	RV77-1	.43	f	RV66-1	.61	p
RV78-1	4.80	p	RV117-1	.07	f	RV70-2	.56	p
RV32-1	4.60	p	RV103-1	.01	f	RV135-1	.35	f
RV80-1	3.75	p				RV119-1	.31	f
RV57-4	2.85	p		451.68	p = 278.86 (61.7%)	RV122-1	.19	f
RV84-1	2.75	p			f = 167.68 (37.1%)	RV118-1	.16	f
RV137-1	2.60	p			cp = 5.14 (1.1%)	RV31-1	.10	f
RV66-2	2.50	p				RV115-1	.10	f
RV5-1	2.40	f				RV116-1	.10	f
RV143-1	nr	p				RV40-1	nr	p
RV154-1	2.23	p						
RV12-1	2.20	f					2314.69	p = 2157.17 (93.2%)

RV147-1	1.50	p		f = 77.52 (3.3%)
RV57-1	1.40	p		s = 80.00 (3.5%)
RV8-1	1.25	p		
RV64-1	1.00	p		
RV64-3	1.00	p		
RV64-4	1.00	p		
RV64-5	1.00	p		
RV66-4	.61	p		
RV126-1	.60	f		
RV133-1	.60	f		
RV70-2	.56	p		
RV73-1	.55	f		
RV18-1	.50	p		
RV83-1	.49	f		
RV130-1	.24	f		
RV131-1	.20	f		
RV132-1	.20	f		
RV117-1	.07	f		
RV77-1	.01	f		
TOTAL	605.48	p = 207.21 (34.2%)		
		f = 339.30 (56.0%)		
		s = 44.47 (7.3%)		
		cp = 14.50 (2.4%)		

*Sites are subdivided to indicate components from different phases (f = floodplain; p = piedmont; cp = coastal plain; s = secondary valley; nr = non-residential site)
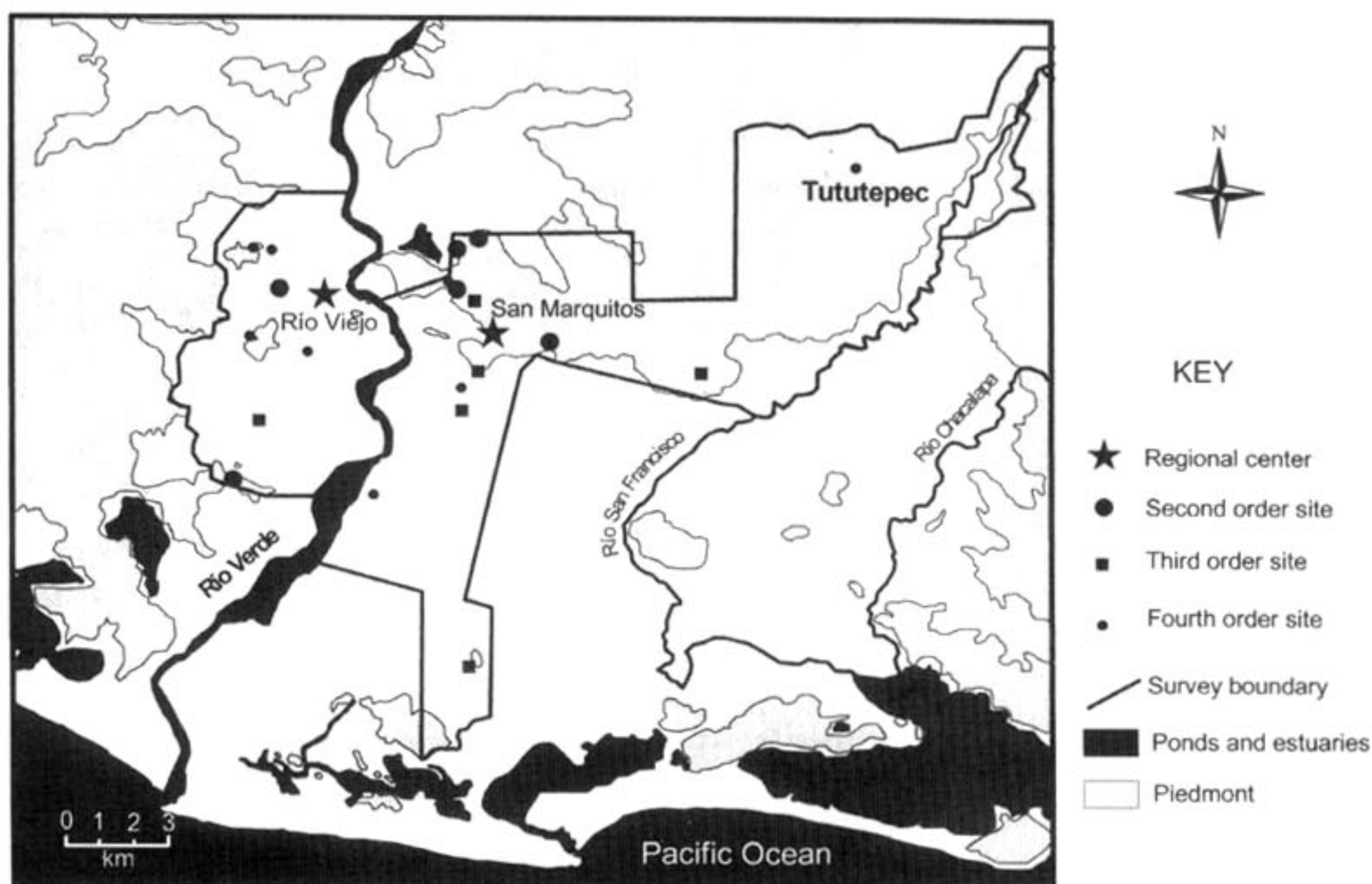
Figure 3. Early Postclassic settlement hierarchy, lower Río Verde Valley, Oaxaca.

mentation of political centers, and increasing warfare. The period immediately preceding the rise of the Tututepec Empire, therefore, was characterized by political instability and probably conflict.

The almost complete absence of Early Postclassic settlement at Tututepec suggests that the Late Postclassic city did not develop out of an earlier community, but was founded instead as a new political center. Ethnohistoric and linguistic sources further indicate that the founding of Tututepec was the result of an intrusion of Mixtec-speaking peoples into the lower Río Verde Valley at ca A.D. 1100. At the time of the Spanish Conquest most people of the lower Verde were Mixtec as are most indigenous people in the region today. Linguistic studies by Josserand and her colleagues (1984:154) suggest that the coastal Mixtec dialect probably originated in the highland region of San Juan Mixtepec. Glottochronological estimates suggest the coastal and highland dialects diverged around A.D. 900–1000 (Josserand et al. 1984:154). Prior to the Postclassic relatively few cultural similarities are apparent between the lower Verde region and the Mixteca Alta and Baja regions (Joyce 1993; Winter 1989), leading Joyce and Winter (1989) to suggest that before the Postclassic the lower Verde was not inhabited by Mixtecs, but instead may have

been ethnically Chatino (also see Christensen 1998; Urcid 1993:159–163). While similarities in ceramic styles between the lower Verde and the Mixteca Alta increased during the Early Postclassic, there are few apparent similarities in other categories of material culture such as architecture, monumental art, and mortuary customs (Joyce et al. 2001). By the Late Postclassic, however, archaeological and ethnohistoric data indicate that Mixtecs were present in the lower Río Verde. Late Postclassic Yucudzaa Phase ceramic and architectural styles in the lower Verde are very similar to those of the Mixteca Alta (Hutson 1996; O'Mack 1990). In addition, the Mixtec codices describe Tututepec as ruled by a Mixtec dynasty dating back to the late eleventh century (Smith 1973).

While some Mixtecs could have entered the region during the Early Postclassic, the data indicate that the major immigration occurred during the Late Postclassic, concurrent with the emergence of Tututepec as an imperial center. Settlement data are consistent with Late Postclassic immigration, as the total occupational area in the survey zone increased from 452 ha during the Early Postclassic (Figure 3) to 2315 ha by the Late Postclassic (Figure 4). This 512 percent rise in occupational area represents by far the largest increase in the entire pre-
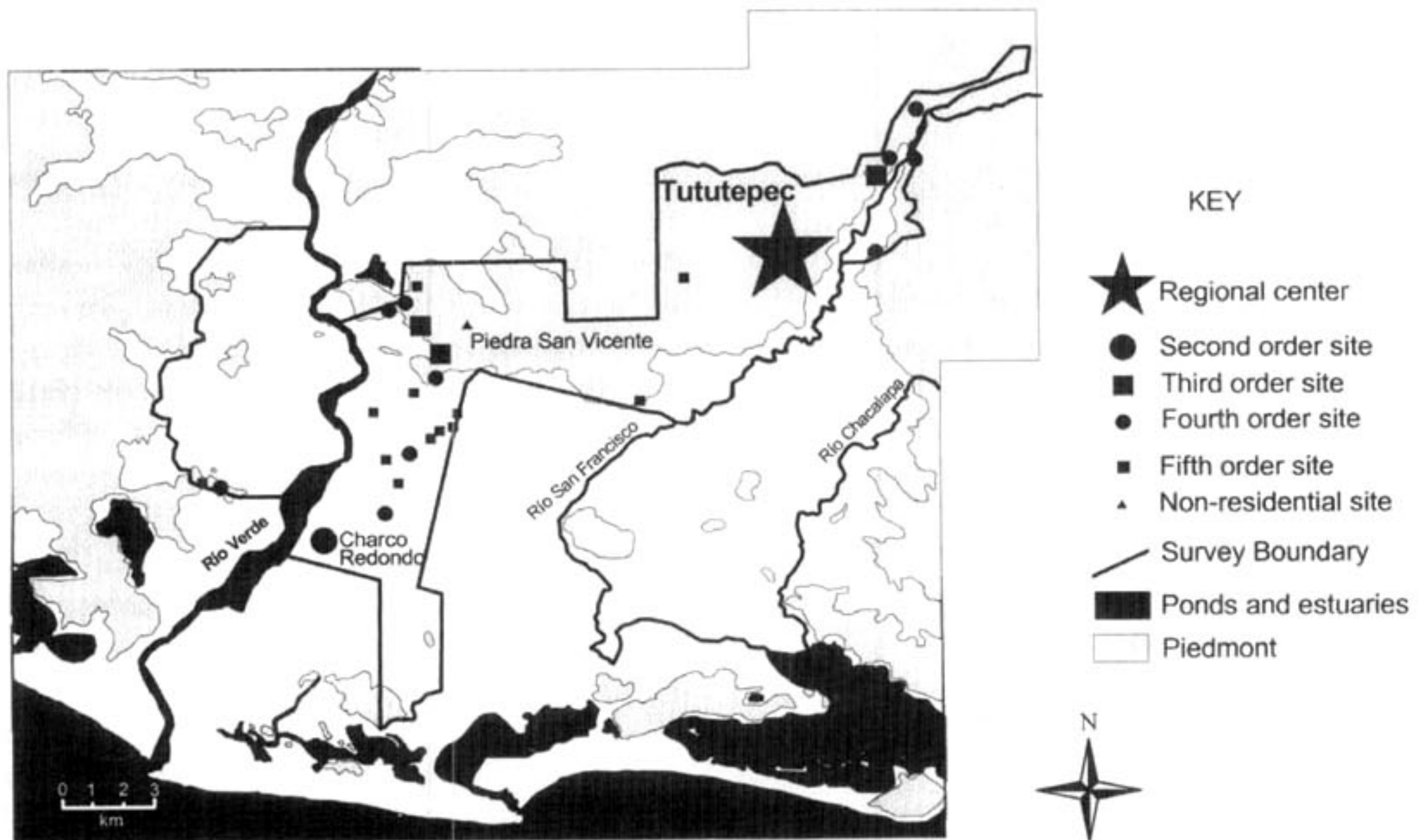
Figure 4. Late Postclassic settlement hierarchy, lower Río Verde Valley, Oaxaca.

hispanic sequence. Late Postclassic populations included both Mixtecs and Chatinos as both groups were present in the lower Verde at the time of the Spanish Conquest (Spores 1993:169). Recent census data record almost equal numbers of Mixtec and Chatino speakers in the *municipio* of Tututepec on the east side of the Río Verde (Aguilar et al. 1994:61).

In sum, archaeological and linguistic data reveal a number of concurrent social transformations taking place on the coast of Oaxaca during the Early and Late Postclassic. These transformations include the collapse of old social orders, an escalation of militarism, a reorganization of settlement patterns, the expansion of Tututepec from a small hamlet to a major urban center, population expansion possibly linked to Mixtec immigration, and an increase in highland-lowland interactions. Intriguingly, all of these changes are also attested in retrospective indigenous accounts of the same era. Painted around the fifteenth century, the codices *Nuttall, Bodley,* and *Colombino-Becker* provide Mixtec perspectives on the social transformations of the early Late Postclassic on the Oaxaca coast. As is typical for Mixtec codical history—indeed, for genres of "heroic history" in general (see below)—broad processes of social transformation are embodied in,

and viewed as having been instigated by, a specific elite individual—in this case, Lord 8 Deer "Jaguar Claw." The following sections therefore shift from archaeology to ethnohistory in order to illustrate the ways in which fifteenth-century indigenous understandings of coastal history parallel the findings of twentieth- and twenty-first century archaeology.

Heroic History

In establishing a link between the textually recorded actions of Lord 8 Deer and archaeologically registered social transformations on the coast, we argue that the codical record can be read not simply as esoteric elite biography, but rather as "heroic history."[3] As discussed by Marshall Sahlins, heroic history is an anthropomorphic mode of interpreting social processes, in which the actions of structurally central individuals (e.g., divine kings) are interpreted as having massive implications for their society as a whole (cf. Pohl 1994:110–12; Sahlins 1985a:35, 1991:65; Stuart 1995:153). Such heroes are "endowed with the power to embody a larger social order" and "encompass and incarnate the existence of their people, such that their personal histories, what they do and what they suffer, become collective destinies" (Sahlins 1991:47,

62–63, 80–83; 1994:60). This embodiment reciprocally links a larger system with individual action. On the one hand, heroic agents are understood to embody larger social orders ("instantiation"). On the other, the actions of those agents are understood to have massive implications for the social system in which they are embedded ("totalization"). Thus it was through instantiation that Captain Cook became such a symbolic figure for eighteenth-century Hawaiians and Europeans, and it was through totalization that Chief Ratu Qara's seizure of a pig triggered the Fijian Wars of the nineteenth century (Sahlins 1985b:109, 128, 131; 1991:51ff.).

Our Oaxacan use of heroic history is focused on questions of instantiation: that is, how broad social transformations were understood through their embodiment in the actions of Lord 8 Deer and his associates. Sahlins is fortunate in that he can base his historical ethnographies of Polynesia on dozens of sources contemporary to their events. He is therefore able to ask specific questions of instantiation *and* agency *and* its totalization; he can make powerful claims about the ramifying implications of the actions of a Captain Cook or a Chief Ratu Qara. We, however, are working with documents painted four centuries after the events they depict, and so even if we accept that Lord 8 Deer was a historical individual, it is difficult to make arguments about the actual totalizing effects of his actions (for example, we cannot determine if his expedition to the coast was *really* what triggered Mixtec migration). But such focused claims about the totalization of Lord 8 Deer's agency are not necessary for our argument. What *is* important is that fifteenth-century Mixtecs understood the history of their presence on the coast as personified in an elite hero—and that we now can see how these biographical claims parallel archaeologically registered transformations. The following pages present this heroic history in two acts. First, we consider the arrival of Lord 8 Deer and his followers on the coast (instantiating large-scale highland-to-lowland migration) and his foundation of Tututepec (instantiating the sudden expansion of that site archaeologically). Second, we consider the effects of Lord 8 Deer's new status: his conquests (instantiating increased coastal militarism) and the connections linking his access to coastal tribute, his alliance with Lord 4 Jaguar, and his return to the highlands to become ruler of Tilantongo (instantiating increased highland-lowland interactions).

Sacred Objects, Visitations, and the Foundation of Tututepec

Lord 8 Deer "Jaguar Claw" is a major figure in several of the Mixtec codices (Caso 1979; Rabin 1981; Smith 1973; Spores 1993; Troike 1974). According to these accounts, Lord 8 Deer was born in the highland town of Tilantongo on the Day 8 Deer in the Year 12 Reed (A.D. 1063). He was the son of Lady 11 Water "Blue Parrot" and Lord 5 Alligator "Rain-Sun." Although Lord 8 Deer would eventually become the ruler of both Tilantongo and Tututepec, neither of his parents had genealogical ties to the ruling families of either polity.[4] Instead, we argue that the codices present Lord 8 Deer's rulership at Tututepec as based *not* on the inheritance of an existing polity, but on the foundation of a new one. Furthermore, we argue that Lord 8 Deer's subsequent rulership at Tilantongo was made possible by the unintended consequences of coastal campaigns that culminated in the foundation of Tututepec as a new political center.

According to the codices, these coastal campaigns began when Lord 8 Deer was 18, as he and a group of followers set out for the Oaxacan coast. The codices *Nuttall, Bodley,* and *Colombino-Becker* record somewhat different versions of this journey. By comparing these accounts with polity-foundation stories from other codices, Lord 8 Deer's journey can be seen as part of a genre of "foundation narratives" (Furst 1986; García-Zambrano 1994). In other words, the codices present Lord 8 Deer as founding the city of Tututepec. The codices date this event to A.D. 1083, which closely parallels the archaeological record for the period of expansions of both Tututepec and the coastal population as a whole. As mentioned above, the almost complete absence of Early Postclassic settlement at Tututepec suggests that the Late Postclassic city did not develop out of an earlier community, but was instead founded as a new political center.

All three codical accounts of this journey to the coast begin with a meeting between Lord 8 Deer and Lady 9 Grass at her Chalcatongo shrine (Caso 1966:123; Figures 5 and 6). The "foundational" events that follow this meeting vary from codex to codex, but all three narratives come into alignment again with Lord 8 Deer's arrival at Tututepec. As

the following paragraphs illustrate, Lord 8 Deer and his followers undertake three basic types of "foundational" activities in their journey from the highlands to the coast. These are: (1) peregrinations with "objects of authority and rulership," (2) visitations of local places and local authorities on a "journey of rulership recognition," and (3) demarcations of polity boundaries through ballcourt rituals (Furst 1986:58, 62; cf. García-Zambrano 1994:219).

In the *Codex Nuttall* (1987) account, Lord 8 Deer follows his meeting at Chalcatongo by performing two sacrifices and conquering several unidentified locations (Figure 5). Then—in an event that looks ahead to Lord 8 Deer's political future—he meets in a cave and in a ballcourt with men wearing "Toltec" costumes. Following these meetings, the place sign of Tututepec, a bird's beak emerging from a stone hill (Smith 1963:277–78), appears in the *Codex Nuttall* for the first time.

In the *Codex Bodley* (1960) account, Lord 8 Deer's meeting at Chalcatongo is followed by the conquest of River of the Mouth, which may be Atoyaquillo, a highland community near Achiutla (Pohl 1996:35). Lord 8 Deer then presents himself before the king and queen of the lowland site of Juquila, a coastal site 35 km northeast of Tututepec (Smith 1973:75–76). After this visit, Lord 8 Deer is enthroned at the bird-headed-stone place sign of Tututepec.

In the lengthy *Codex Colombino-Becker* (1892) account, Lord 8 Deer begins his journey to the coast by receiving a series of objects at Chalcatongo: an owl spear, a shield decorated with a skull, a fish, a conch shell, a vessel containing a bloody heart, and a warty tobacco gourd (Figure 6; Caso 1966:124; Troike 1974:130). Lord 8 Deer and his followers carry these objects, along with a flint staff and a sacred bundle, on their journey to the coast. As in the *Codex Nuttall*, the first stop is at Hill of the Tree of the Sun (Figures 5 and 6). Lord 8 Deer and his follower Lord 5 Rain then bring the flint staff, skull shield, conch, and owl spear to a series of six place signs, four of which (Hill Where the *Ñuhu* Emerges, Split Hill Dark Hill, River, and Temple of the Skull) represent the Mixtec cardinal points (Jansen 1982a:230–236; 1982b). Finally, Lord 8 Deer burns incense inside a ballcourt, perhaps a cognate to the ballcourt scene on codex page 45 of the *Codex Nuttall* (Troike 1974: 140; Figure 5). The ballcourt

scene is followed by a procession of seven individuals (carrying the flint staff, sacred bundle, owl spear, skull shield, and conch) to the compound place sign of Tututepec-Juquila. Four of the objects carried from the highlands—the sacred bundle, the flint staff, the golden fish, and the skull shield—are placed in the site's temple (Figure 6).

Since the foundational nature of Lord 8 Deer's journey to the coast has not been previously recognized, a comparative review of the stories of two other polity founders (Lady 3 Flint and Lord 10 Reed) is necessary to show how Lord 8 Deer's actions fit into an established "foundational" narrative genre. Lady 3 Flint's story is told on pages 14 to 20 of the *Codex Nuttall* (Furst 1986). She is accompanied on her foundational travels by a consort and four priests; they carry bowls of offerings, a fire drill, a conch, sacred bundles, and flint and bundle staves. During their journey, Lady 3 Flint and her followers visit localized, landscape-inhabiting gods and goddesses (Furst 1986:62–63; cf. Houston and Stuart 1996). These travels end with the enthronement of Lady 3 Flint; the flint staff and sacred bundle are then placed within the temple of her polity. Overseeing the enthronement are gods of the five directions, again linking foundation with place-based authorities (Anders et al. 1992:122; cf. García-Zambrano 1994:218).

The comparable account of Lord 10 Reed's foundation of Jaltepec is told on codex pages 3 and 4 of the *Codex Selden* (1964). The narrative begins with Lord 10 Reed pointing to a series of sacred objects, including an ornamented spear, a sacred bundle, and a bowl containing a heart. Lord 10 Reed then undertakes a "journey of rulership recognition," visiting 15 places and 16 rulers. Lord 10 Reed ends his journey by making an offering before the temple of Jaltepec, within which has been placed a sacred bundle (Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 2000:102–114).

In addition to the translation of "objects of authority and rulership" during a "journey of rulership recognition," a third feature of Lord 8 Deer's journey is activity in a ballcourt, which can be linked to foundation rituals through a consideration of ballcourt boundary symbolism (Gillespie 1991; Koontz 1994; Kowalewski et al. 1991; Pohl et al. 1997). In both the *Nuttall* and *Colombino-Becker* accounts, Lord 8 Deer's arrival at Tututepec is immediately preceded by actions in a
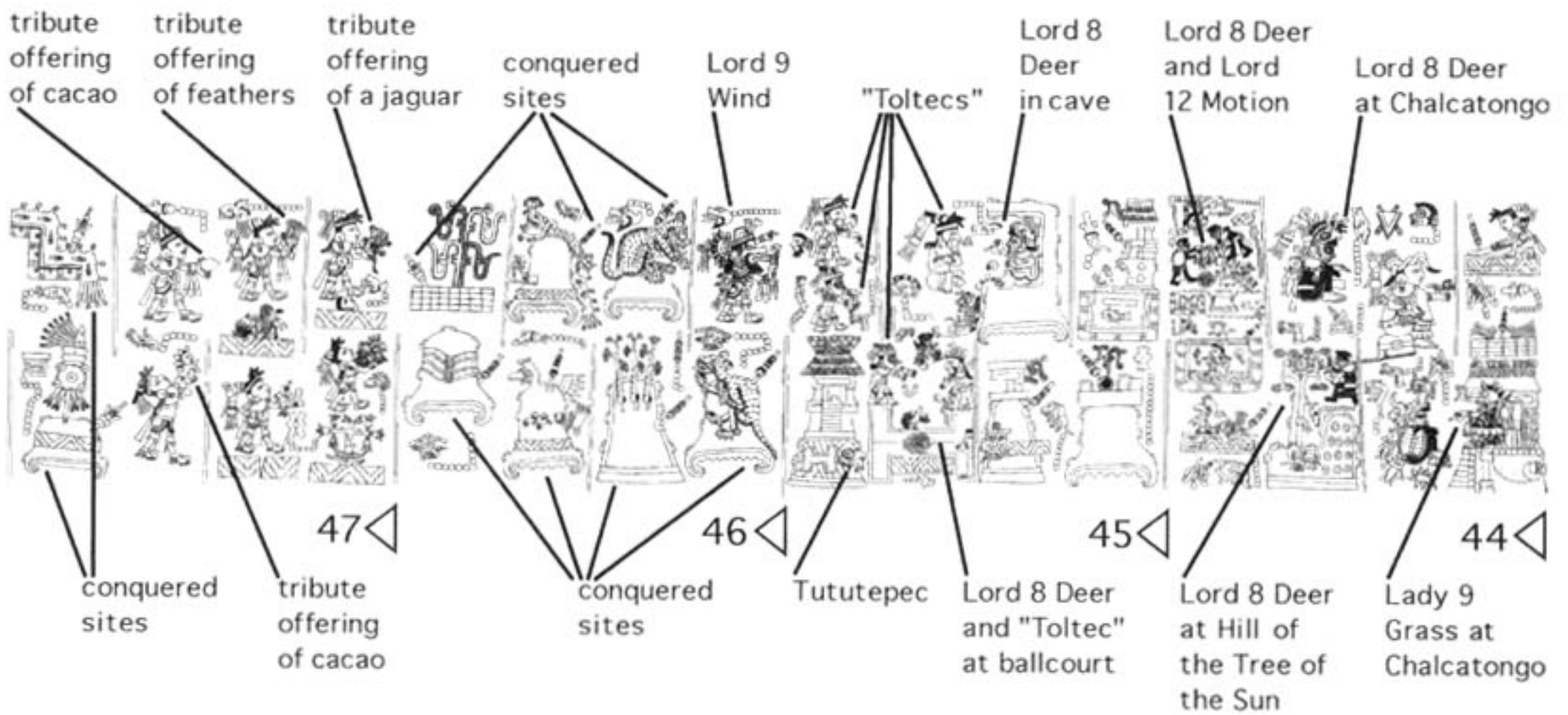
Figure 5. *Codex Nuttall*, codex pages 44–47 (the sequence begins at the lower right hand corner of page 44 and then proceeds right to left; from *Codex Zouche Nuttall* 1987).
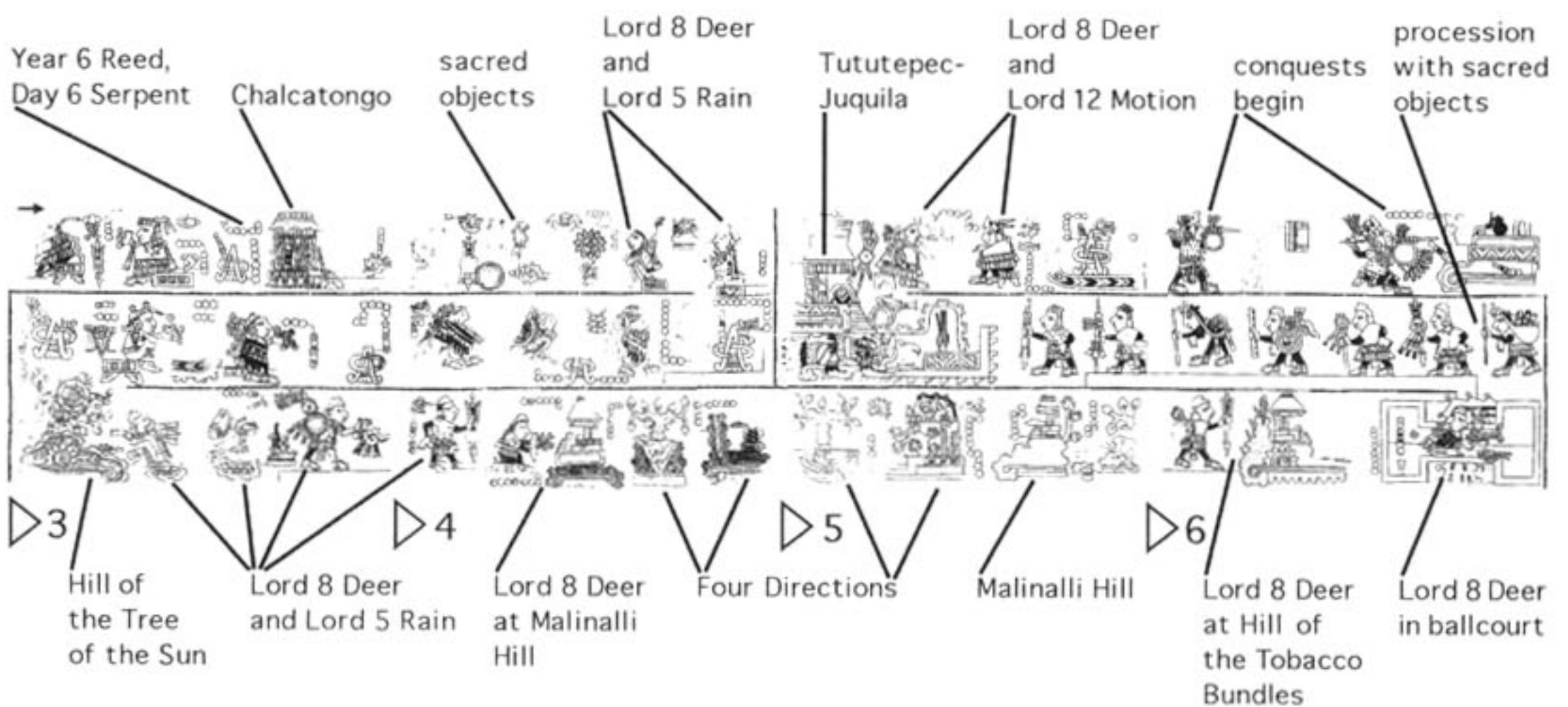

Figure 6. *Codex Colombino-Becker*, codex pages 3–6 (the sequence begins at the upper left hand corner of page 3, and then travels back and forth across two-page spans; from *Codex Colombino* 1892).

ballcourt (Figures 5 and 6). These scenes may show Lord 8 Deer performing a ritual at the "boundary" of his future kingdom, before implanting ritual objects within the temple at the polity's symbolic center. A possible location of Lord 8 Deer's ballcourt ritual is at the site of San Francisco de Arriba, which contains a Late Postclassic ballcourt (Workinger 2002:150–158). As discussed above, this site would have been an outlying barrio of Tututepec during the Late Postclassic, placing the ballcourt on the city's northeast boundary. Another possible ballcourt has also been identified near Tututepec's center, on Cerro de los Pájaros.

The arrival of Lord 8 Deer and his followers on the coast is therefore depicted as an act of foundation. The visitations of local places and authorities in the narratives of Lady 3 Flint and Lord 10 Reed parallel Lord 8 Deer's meeting with the rulers of Juquila in the *Bodley* account. The presence of directional gods at Lady 3 Flint's enthronement in the *Nuttall* parallels Lord 8 Deer's visit to directionally significant places in the *Colombino-Becker* account. The translation of sacred objects (ornamented spears, conch shells, staves, bowls of offerings, and sacred bundles) in the narratives of Lady 3 Flint and Lord 10 Reed parallels the uses of such

objects by Lord 8 Deer and his followers in the *Colombino-Becker* account. Finally, ballcourt activities in the codices *Nuttall* and *Colombino-Becker* may indicate the performance of boundary-marking ceremonies.

Why Did Lord 8 Deer Travel to the Coast? Coastal Resources and Highland Alliances

The codices recount that Lord 8 Deer came to the Oaxaca coast as a warrior and site founder, although their explanations of his motives in founding a kingdom at Tututepec are not entirely clear. One factor may have been sheer ambition, spurred by his meeting with the oracle Lady 9 Grass and by his lack of direct connections to the ruling lineage of Tilantongo (Jansen and Perez Jiménez 2000:179–181; Spores 1993:172). A more general factor would have been the unstable political conditions of eleventh- and twelfth-century Oaxaca (Byland and Pohl 1994; Joyce et al. 2001). The Early Postclassic in the lower Verde was a time of political fragmentation and conflict (Joyce et al. 2001), and codex narratives instantiate this instability by suggesting Lord 8 Deer took strategic advantage of this collapse of political authority. Immediately following his foundation of Tututepec, the *Nuttall* and *Colombino-Becker* accounts depict Lord 8 Deer conquering dozens of places, violently consolidating his power on the coast (Figures 5 and 7; Jansen 1998:100–107; Troike 1974:150).

In addition to issues of ambition and opportunism, another motivational possibility suggested by codex narratives is that Lord 8 Deer sought to take advantage of the ecological verticality of a highlands-to-coastal corridor (Joyce 1993:67, 79; Monaghan 1994). The lower Verde would have been an attractive location to establish a kingdom, given the rich agricultural lands of the floodplain and the presence of coastal resources like cacao, cotton, feathers, fish, and salt (Joyce 1993; Joyce and King 2001; Joyce et al. 2001; King 2003). Significantly, coastal resources are explicitly referenced in the *Nuttall* account. Among the list of 25 places conquered by Lord 8 Deer in the *Nuttall* are an additional four sites not shown in the *Codex Colombino-Becker*. These sites are significant because they may show places that became tributaries of Lord 8 Deer through compliance instead of conquest. Unlike the conquered places, these four place glyphs are not pierced by the spear of conquest, and unlike the conquered places they are accompanied by human figures (Figure 5). Four of the six individuals associated with these nonconquered places are shown holding objects specifically coded as the products of lowland tropical environments. The man from Town of the Head holds a jaguar, while the three men from the Town of the Dove hold tropical feathers and two different forms of cacao. Thus the *Codex Nuttall* highlights access to lowland goods as a consequence of Lord 8 Deer's coastal conquests—instantiating the increased highland-lowland trade interactions registered archaeologically.

By gaining access to these exotic resources, Lord 8 Deer became an attractive alliance partner for powerful highland nobles. The central event of the "second act" of Lord 8 Deer's Tututepec saga is his alliance with Toltec foreigners, who were marked with the attributes of merchants. The codices *Nuttall*, *Colombino-Becker*, and *Bodley* all show Lord 8 Deer being visited by a group of foreign travelers (Figures 5, 7, 8) wearing topknot hairstyles and black "masks" of face paint, and carrying feather fans and wooden staves. As interpreted by Pohl (1994:83–108), these unusually costumed travelers and their leader, Lord 4 Jaguar, are marked as Toltecs. Lord 4 Jaguar and his followers came from Place of Reeds, a glyph representing the highland community of San Miguel Tulancingo—a town with unusual links to the Tolteca-Chichimeca (Byland and Pohl 1994:138–150; Smith 1973:70–75). While the advantages for Lord 8 Deer of this alliance with prestigious foreigners has been discussed elsewhere—the alliance paved the way for his foundation of the second dynasty of Tilantongo (Byland and Pohl 1994; Pohl 1994; Smith 1973)—the advantages for the Toltecs have not been considered. We argue that this alliance instantiates increased Late Postclassic access to coastal goods for highland communities, heroically personified by Lord 4 Jaguar and his followers.

The costumes of Lord 4 Jaguar and his associates support our interpretation that highlanders were understood by codex authors to have sought an alliance with Lord 8 Deer in order to gain access to valuable coastal commodities. As mentioned above, Lord 4 Jaguar and his associates are consistently depicted with staves and fans (Figure 8). For the Aztecs, both of these items were insignia
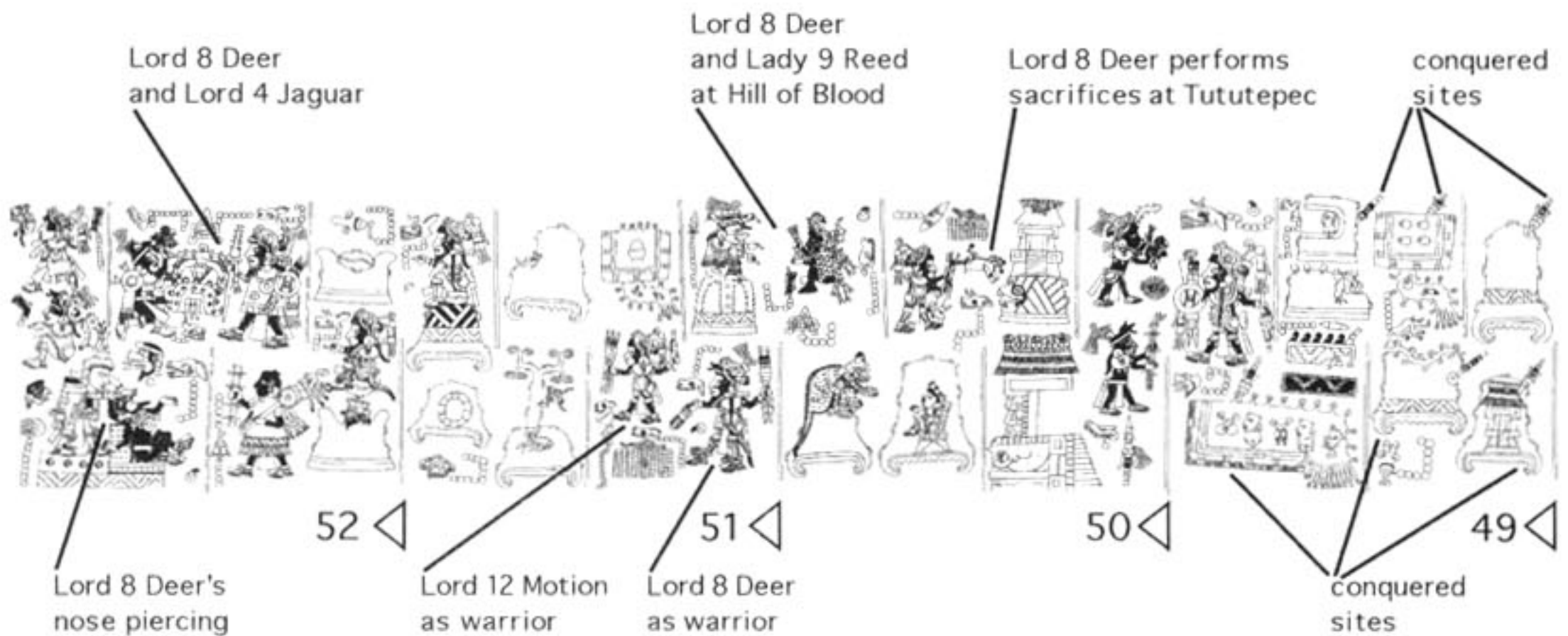
Figure 7. *Codex Nuttal,* codex pages 49–52 (the sequence begins at the upper right hand corner of page 49, and then proceeds right to left; from *Codex Zouche Nuttall* 1987).
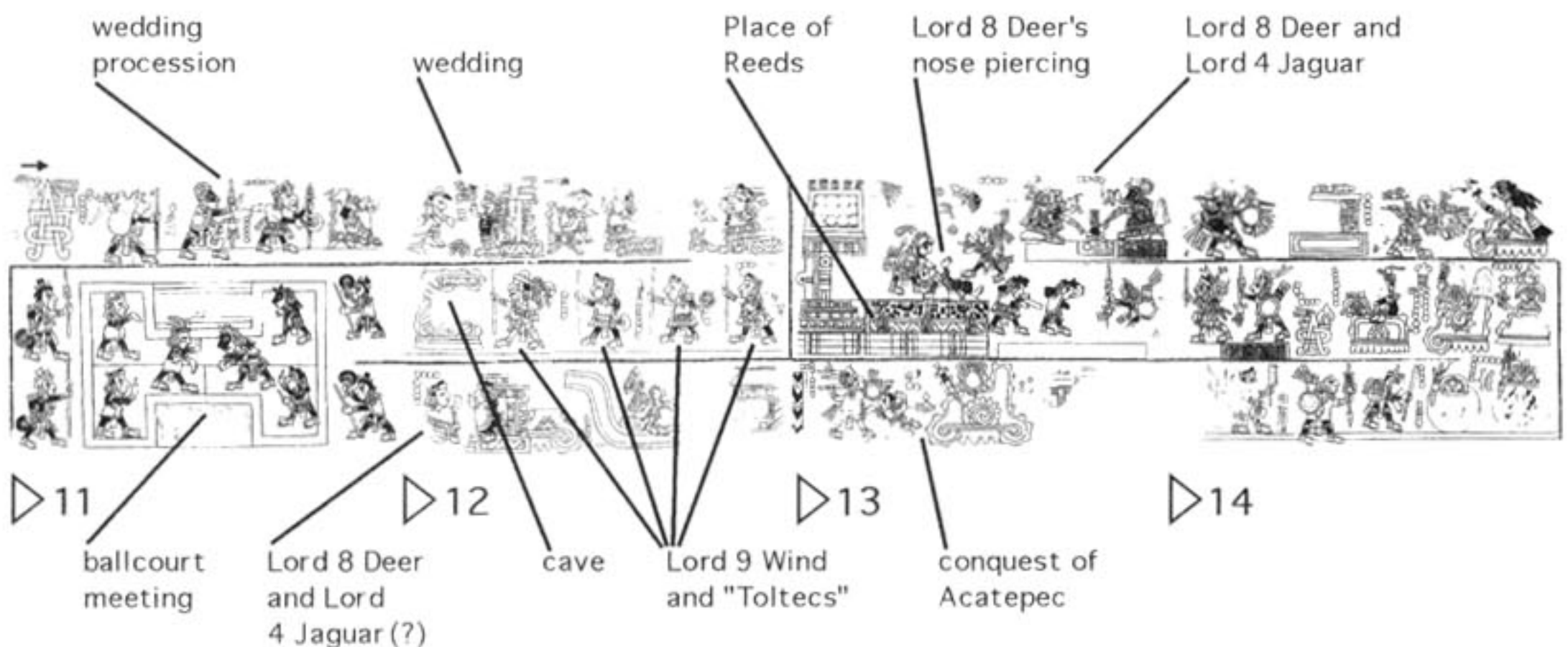

Figure 8. *Codex Colombino-Becker*, codex pages 11–14 (the sequence begins at the upper left hand corner of page 11, and then travels back and forth across two-page spans; from *Codex Colombino* 1892).

carried by the *pochteca*, the men and women of the merchant class (Bitman and Sullivan 1978; Sahagún 1954–1982:9:4, 22; *Codex Mendoza* 1980:Folio 66r). By portraying these men as "merchant-ambassadors" (Pohl 1994:88–89), the *Bodley* and *Colombino-Becker* accounts suggest that Lord 8 Deer's new access to highly valued coastal goods (as depicted in the *Codex Nuttall*) was a key factor in his alliance with highland Toltecs.

This mutually beneficial alliance is sealed by Lord 8 Deer's famous nose-piercing ceremony (Figures 7 and 8). In A.D. 1097, Lord 4 Jaguar oversaw a ritual where Lord 8 Deer's nasal septum was pierced and ornamented with a turquoise jewel. This ritual invested Lord 8 Deer with the title of

tecuhtli, designating membership in the Tolteca-Chichimeca royal house (Pohl 1994:89–93). This event took place one year after the mysterious death of Lord 2 Rain, the heirless ruler of Tilantongo. Gaining the title of *tecuhtli* was one aspect of a legitimizing strategy by which Lord 8 Deer was able to claim the throne of Tilantongo and establish the polity's second dynasty in A.D. 1098. Lord 8 Deer ruled Tilantongo until he was captured and sacrificed in A.D. 1115.

Surprisingly, Tututepec disappears from the codical record after Lord 8 Deer's ascendancy at Tilantongo. Despite numerous claims that Lord 8 Deer created a kingdom that united the Mixteca Alta and coast (Caso 1979:390; Smith 1973:68; Spores

1993:169), this is never explicitly shown in the codices. Lord 8 Deer never returned to Tututepec after usurping the throne of Tilantongo. Highland-lowland ties were, however, maintained for several generations after his death through the marriages of descendants of Lord 8 Deer and the rulers of Juquila into the ruling line at Tulancingo, Lord 4 Jaguar's home (Smith 1973:73). Such alliances resonate with Alva Ixtlilxochitl's later account of Toltec ancestries along the southern coast of New Spain: "los de Tututepec del Mar Del Sur . . . ser del linaje de los tultecas" (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1975[ca. 1600]:1:283). As Alva Ixtlilxochitl recounts (1975[ca. 1600]:1:272), and despite codical silence on the subsequent fortunes of Tututepec and its ruling family, by the sixteenth century Tututepec had become a powerful imperial center, threatening highland settlements as distant as Mitla and Achiutla. In order to understand coastal history for the remainder of the Postclassic, it is necessary to leave heroic histories and return to the archaeological record.

Archaeological Survey of Late Postclassic Tututepec

The full-coverage survey data show that during the Late Postclassic Tututepec grew to 2185 ha if San Francisco de Arriba is included as part of the site (Figure 2). Tututepec was the first-order center in a five-tiered settlement hierarchy (Figure 4 and Table 1). Charco Redondo (RV1) was the only second-order site at 70 ha. Third-order sites ranged from 6 to 15 ha, fourth-order sites varied from 1 to 4 ha, and fifth-order sites were all 1 ha or less. Tututepec was the only Late Postclassic site with mounded architecture or carved stone monuments.

The survey results show the continuation of an Early Postclassic trend of people moving into the piedmont and from the west to the east side of the Río Verde. Piedmont settlement increased from 34.2 percent of the total occupational area in the Late Classic to 61.7 percent in the Early Postclassic, and then to 93.2 percent by the Late Postclassic. The settlement shift to higher elevations is in marked contrast to Late Postclassic settlement in the Mixteca Alta where people moved to lower elevations adjacent to the valley floors (Byland and Pohl 1994:61; Spores 1972:190; Stiver 2001). An even more curious settlement change involved the almost complete shift to the east side of the Río Verde. During the Late Postclassic only two sites covering a total of 3 ha were found west of the river. These settlement characteristics may reflect continued interpolity conflict. The Mixtec codices and Early Colonial documents indicate that more than any other Mixtec polity, Tututepec was bent on military expansion (Smith 1973; Spores 1993). Why settlement in the lower Verde was concentrated on the east side of the Río Verde is not clear, although the river may have provided a natural defensive barrier against threats to the west. Early Colonial documents record wars between Tututepec and polities to the west such as Zacatepec, Jicayán, and Pinotepa (Smith 1973:84–88; Spores 1993:172). Another potential explanation for the Postclassic changes in settlement patterns could relate to changes in land tenure or land use. It is possible that the vast increase in population during the Late Postclassic necessitated more intensive agricultural practices, encouraging people to move off the floodplain to open up more land for cultivation.

The 2185 ha size of Tututepec during the Late Postclassic makes it the largest site by area known in Late Postclassic Mesoamerica (Smith 2004). The largest sites in the Oaxacan highlands at this time include the Pueblo Viejo of Teposcolula at 239 ha, Diquino at 441 ha (Stiver 2001), and several sites in the Nochixtlán Valley that appear to have covered 100 to 400 ha (see Pohl 1994:Map 6). In comparison, the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán in the Basin of Mexico covers 1250 ha (Smith 2004). While Tututepec is considerably larger than Tenochtitlán, its dispersed settlement pattern indicates a much lower population density. In addition, we recognize that our site, defined using standard full-coverage survey methods, may not have been conceived emically as a single community by prehispanic Mixtecs.[5]

Tututepec is located almost entirely on the piedmont overlooking the lower Río Verde floodplain. While Tututepec was covered with a nearly continuous scatter of domestic debris, the overall density of settlement appeared generally lower, although more variable, than at earlier sites on the floodplain such as Río Viejo. Artifact densities in some areas of the site, especially toward its southern end, tended to be low (<1 artifact/m^2). In other areas, especially to the north, settlement was dense with artifact densities often in the moderate (5–10

artifacts/m^2) to heavy range (10–25 artifacts/m^2). Preliminary counts of prehispanic residential terraces mirrored the artifact densities with much higher concentrations of visible terraces to the north. A total of 386 terraces was recorded. Of course, artifact densities and terrace visibility are both significantly affected by site formation processes, including erosion, modern land use, and vegetation, so these patterns should be considered tentative. Due to these factors, the terrace count clearly underrepresents the actual number of prehispanic residential terraces. While the overall settlement pattern at Tututepec appears less dense than in earlier urban centers like Río Viejo, settlement in the region as a whole was highly nucleated with Tututepec/San Francisco de Arriba accounting for 94.4 percent of the occupational area in the full-coverage survey. This regionally nucleated pattern differs from the balkanized pattern seen in the Oaxacan highlands (Balkansky et al. 2000; Kowalewski et al. 1989:317; Spores 1972; Stiver 2001).

While the site area is large, it is difficult to translate site size into population estimates. Many researchers have commented on the unreliability of Early Colonial period census data (Denevan 1976; Spores 1984:104–106), especially data like those from Tututepec that are based on counts of *tributarios* rather than total population (Woensdregt 1996:59–61). Population estimates based on the density of surface artifacts recorded by full-coverage survey methods are highly speculative as they are based on assumptions involving site formation processes, contemporaneity of settlement within ceramically defined phases, and the relationship between artifact densities and population (O'Brien and Lewarch 1992). Recognizing these limitations and using the conversion factors of Sanders and his colleagues (1979:38–39), which assume a population of 5–10 people per ha in areas with sherd densities in our "moderate" range (i.e., 5–10 artifacts/m^2), yields an estimate of 10,925–21,850 for Late Postclassic Tututepec.

Surface artifacts provided evidence for domestic activities throughout the site, including food procurement and processing, pottery production, chert and obsidian working, textile production, and household rituals. Ceramic artifacts recovered in the surface collections included sherds, figurines, spindle whorls, beads, and whistles. The most distinctive ceramics were from Mixtec Polychrome pottery that was common throughout the site. A concentration of figurine molds was recorded in the southern part of the modern town, suggesting a possible figurine workshop. Lithics included obsidian tools and debitage, chert flakes, manos, metates, hammerstones, bark beaters, beads, and a stone figurine fragment.

Obsidian artifacts were very common in surface collections, including cores, blade fragments, projectile points, and debitage. The dominant type of obsidian was the green variety from Pachuca in the Basin of Mexico, indicating trade with Aztec merchants (Smith 1990). Evidence for the production or consumption of obsidian tools was found in an area on a ridge approximately 1 km southeast of the Yucudzaa hill. The ridgetop was covered with obsidian debitage as well as blade fragments and cores. Densities were estimated as high as 100 obsidian artifacts/m^2. Two other concentrations of obsidian tools and debitage were also located, although the density of material was much lower than on this ridge east of Yucudzaa.

Architectural remains included residential terraces, mounded architecture, and structure foundations along with frequent examples of building materials including cut stone and clay bricks. Most of the terraces and structure foundations visible on the surface appeared to be relatively modest in terms of architectural elaboration and were presumably from commoner residences. Several areas exhibited evidence of more elaborate nonmound architecture in the form of structures with relatively large floor areas or dense concentrations of construction material. One building material that was usually associated with larger nonmound structures or with mounded architecture was well-made bun-shaped bricks.

There were five separate areas with mounded architecture at Tututepec along with the Late Postclassic ballcourt from San Francisco de Arriba (Figure 9). The areas with mounded architecture might correspond to the internal organization of the site, perhaps reflecting elite residences and/or public buildings associated with particular barrios. Early Colonial period communities in the Mixteca Alta were divided into barrios or *siqui* in Mixtec, as is modern Tututepec, although the composition and function of these barrios has been debated (Dahlgren 1990; Spores 1984:168; Stiver 2001; Terraciano 2000:106).
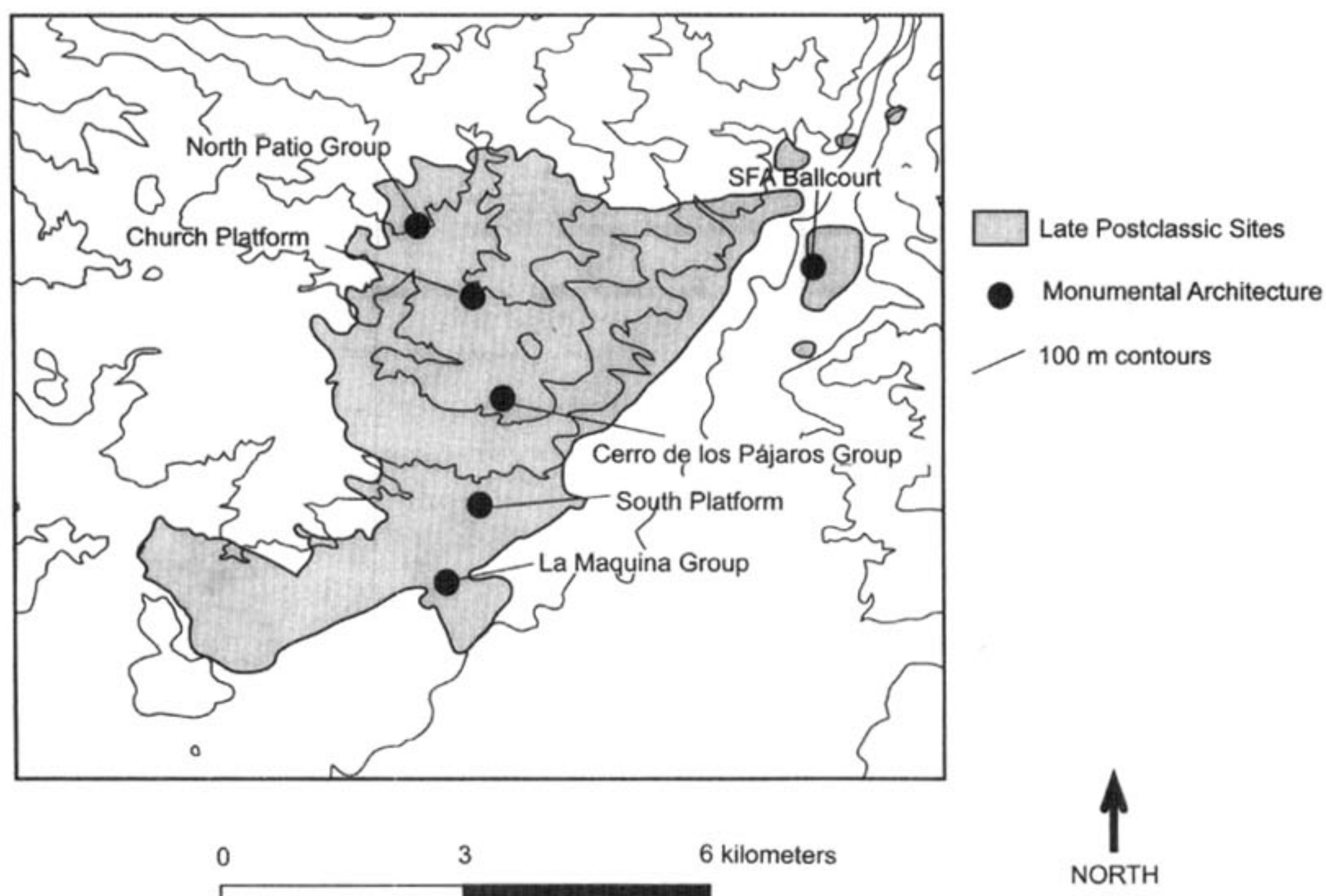
Figure 9. Monumental architecture at Tututepec.

The civic-ceremonial core of the site is the large prehispanic platform on which the Colonial period church is located. The platform is about 10 m high and covers an area of approximately 2.9 ha with the long axis measuring 270 m. The Church Platform supported the Late Postclassic and Early Colonial period ruler's palace. Oral histories from Tututepec claim that the royal palace at the time of the Spanish Conquest was located where the church was built (Tibón 1961:72). Set into the walls of the church are several architectural elements in prehispanic style, including at least four disc friezes. The disc frieze is an architectural decoration depicted on Late Postclassic palaces and temples in the codices. Its use continued into the Early Colonial period as shown in Colonial documents. An example of the use of the disc frieze element is found at the Casa de la Cacica, a sixteenth-century royal residence that still stands in San Pedro y San Pablo Teposcolula in the Mixteca Alta (Kiracofe 1995; Figure 10).

Located on the southeastern end of the Church Platform is a group of eight carved stone monuments as well as a plain stone column and a stone basin (O'Mack 1990).[6] The original proveniences of the carved stones are not certain. Maler (1883:158–159) reports that Monument 6 was intentionally buried near the church and was excavated by the local priest in 1830 (Figure 11). Tibón (1961:72) reports an informant's story that Monument 6 had been located in front of the palace of Coaxintecuhtli, Tututepec's cacique at the time of the Spanish Conquest. Monument 6 is especially significant because of its resemblance to Tolteca-Chichimeca iconography. Many researchers have compared this monument to the Atlantid warriors from Pyramid B at Tula (Jorrín 1974:68; Piña Chan 1960:72; Pohl 1999:184), the Toltec capital. Pohl (1999:184) argues that Monument 6 is probably a representation of the Central Mexican deity Itzpapalotl, the Obsidian Butterfly, based on the stiff pose, *tezcacuitlapilli* back mirror (i.e., a circular mirror worn at the small of the back), and her *quechquemitl* (i.e., a triangular cape) lined with what may be an obsidian knife border; all are characteristic of the Central Mexican Goddess. Pohl (1999:184) suggests that the image may be shown with a black-paint face mask indicative of the figure's Tolteca-Chichimeca association. Monument 6 provides archaeological support for Lord 8 Deer's

Figure 10. The Casa de la Cacica, Teposcolula, Oaxaca.

alliance with the Tolteca-Chichimeca as shown in the codices. Early Colonial documents (Acuña 1984 I:188, 193, 1985; Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1975[ca. 1600]:1:283; Pohl 1999:183–184) as well as oral histories (Tibón 1961:71) record that people of Tututepec and its subject communities claimed to be Tolteca-Chichimeca and worshipped Itzpapalotl as a goddess.

Presumably most of the other carved stones on the Church Platform were originally associated with the palace, although Monument 1 (see Urcid and Joyce 2001:Figure 22) is a stela that is clearly Late Classic in style and was probably moved to Tututepec from another site. Among the carved stones on the Church Platform are three zoomorphic tenoned heads (Monuments 3, 4, and 8; see Piña Chan 1960: Foto 9). Monument 7 is a sculpture of a feline (Jorrín 1974: Figure 3D), while Monuments 2 and 9 are fragments of carved stones. Monument 5 is a small sculpture of an individual with the arms crossed on his/her chest that was removed from Tututepec for display in the Museo Nacional de México (see Piña Chan 1960: Foto 8). If the Church Platform was the original location of the majority of these stone monuments, the buildings on the platform would have been some of the most architecturally elaborate structures in Late Postclassic Oaxaca.

Another concentration of mounded architecture is located on Cerro de los Pájaros approximately 1.4 km south of the Church Platform. Two mounded structures are both badly damaged by erosion and looting. One structure is a low platform, while the other appears to be a ballcourt. Surface collections recovered only Late Postclassic pottery. An eroded pictograph was also found on a boulder on Cerro de los Pájaros and two other pictographs were discovered at the site. All of the pictographs consisted of a series of bars and dots in red pigment, suggesting that these may have been glyphs, although the bar-and-dot notation system would indicate a Classic period date. A more elaborate series of pictographs has been recorded at Piedra San Vicente (RV40) 9 km west of Cerro de los Pájaros (Orr 2001).

South of Cerro de los Pájaros, the survey recorded two other concentrations of monumental architecture designated the Southern Platform and the La Maquina Group (Figure 9). The La Maquina Group consists of four structures near the town of La Maquina ranging in elevation from .3 to 2 m. Surface collections yielded concentrations of domestic artifacts including obsidian and polychrome pottery as well as a finely made metate, suggesting that the La Maquina Group was a high-status residential sector. A fragment of a pos-
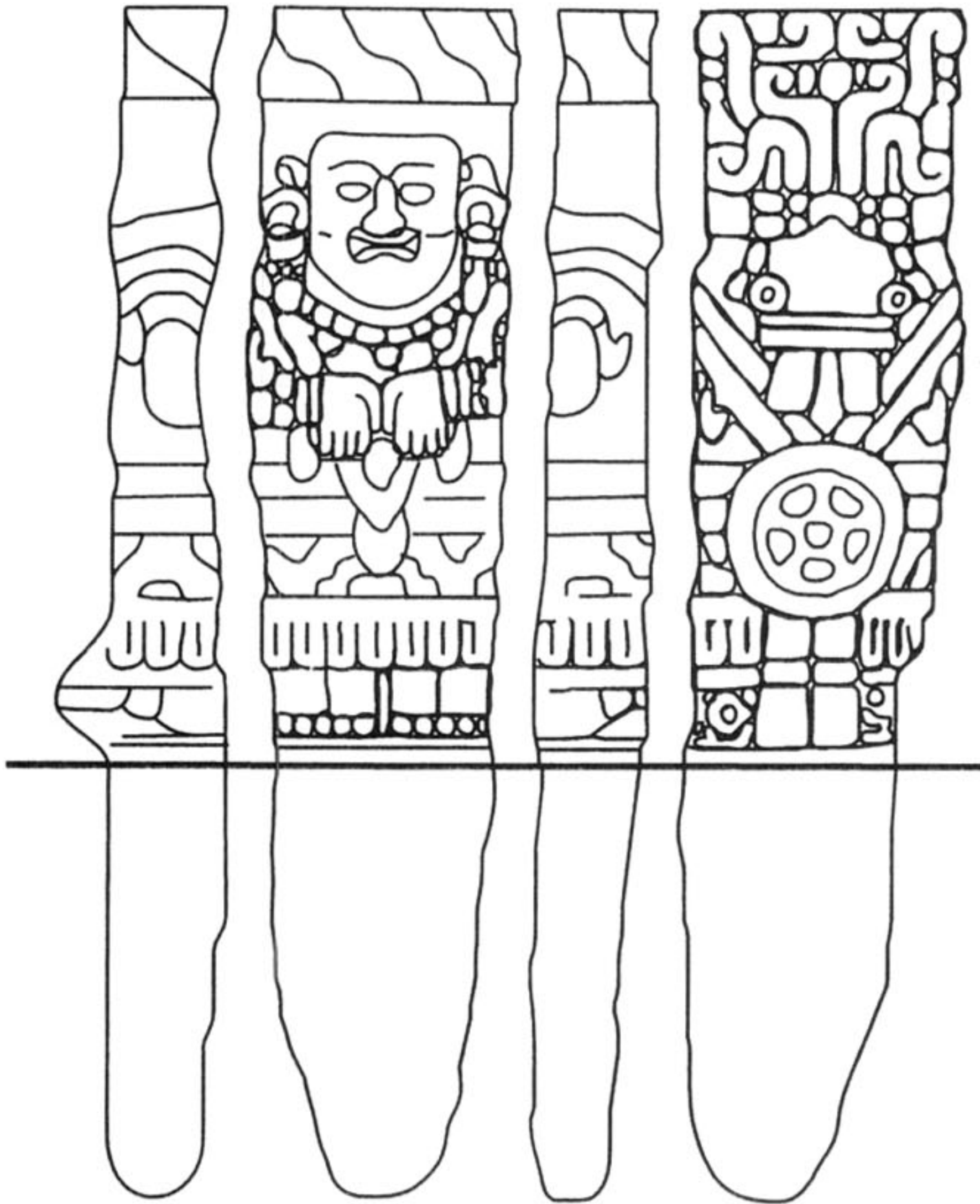
Figure 11. Tututepec, Monument 6.

sible tenoned head (Monument 11) was found in a looter's pit and informants reported that a zoomorphic tenoned head (Monument 12) located today in the church at La Maquina was removed from this area. The Southern Platform measured 12 m x 20 m, but was badly damaged by plowing.

Another probable high-status residential area is the Northern Group on a ridge 1.25 km northwest of the Church Platform. The Northern Group consists of two probable patio groups in an area of particularly dense settlement with dozens of well-made terraces. The first patio group is more formal and consists of a platform supporting four structures surrounding a central patio. A fifth structure is on the platform west of the patio group and a sixth is located immediately adjacent to the southwestern corner of the platform. The second patio group consists of two to four low mounds surrounding a patio at the end of the ridge. The morphology of the two patio groups resembles Late Postclassic high-status residences excavated by Lind (1979) at Chachoapan in the Nochixtlán Valley.

The survey data show that Tututepec was an urban center and the largest community in Late Postclassic Oaxaca. The site was organizationally complex, with at least six zones of monumental architecture (including the San Francisco de Arriba ballcourt) as well as areas of ritual activity and craft

production. We now return to the ethnohistoric record to consider Tututepec's broader political relations at the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Tututepec at the Time of the Spanish Conquest

The size and complexity of ancient Tututepec as shown by the survey data are consistent with Early Colonial documents that describe the site as the center of an expansionistic empire that dominated much of southern Oaxaca (Acuña 1984; Barlow 1949; Berlin 1947; Davies 1968; Gerhard 1993; Smith 1973:84–88; Spores 1993; Woensdregt 1996). Early Colonial documents that provide insights on later Postclassic Tututepec include historic documents of litigation (1540–1600), the *relaciones geográficas* (1579–1580), and the writings of Fray Francisco de Burgoa (mid-seventeenth century). These Early Colonial records indicate that at its maximum extent, Tututepec controlled an empire extending from the modern Oaxaca-Guerrero border east to Huamelula and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, south to the Pacific Ocean, and north approximately 80 km to towns such as Zacatepec, Juchatengo, and Sochixtepec. Communities as distant as Achiutla, 125 km to the north, and Tehuantepec, 250 km east, reported having fought battles with Tututepec. Rulers of subject communities were often left in place, but the ethnohistoric record indicates that Tututepec placed its own administrators and military forces in the provinces to assure political control and tribute payments (Spores 1993:170).

The extent of Tututepec's empire, ranging from the coastal plain to towns like Suchixtepec at 2,500 m above sea level, suggests that the polity continued to pursue a strategy of verticality to gain access to resources from the different environmental zones of the macroregion. Tribute ranged from gold, copper, feathers, textiles, and cacao from lowland communities to cochineal and cotton mantas from highland towns. Many subject communities were also required to provide slaves or soldiers to the rulers of Tututepec. Tututepec's rulers apparently used their control over rich lowland-coastal resources like cacao, cotton, fish, quetzal feathers, and salt to establish exchange ties with peoples of distant highland centers, including Aztec merchants as indicated by the abundance of Pachuca obsidian

recorded by the survey (Workinger 2002; also see Ball and Brockington 1978). Fernández de Recas (1961) records that Pedro de Alvarado (born Ixtac Quiautzin), cacique of Tututepec from 1522 to 1547, controlled resources including jade, gold, silver, turquoise, and pearls as well as salt works, lagoons for fishing, and cacao fields. In the early seventeenth century, Burgoa (1989:352–353 [1674]) recorded an account of a prehispanic market at Putla where the people of Achiutla, which was part of an Aztec tributary province, were ordered to bring tribute payments for the cacique of Tututepec. Political relations between Tututepec and Tenochtitlán were tense with the Aztecs perhaps pursuing a strategy designed to isolate the powerful southern coastal polity (Davies 1987:208–209). Towns along the border of Tututepec's empire, such as Miahuatlán and Coatlán, used the competition between the two empires to their advantage by petitioning the Aztec emperor at times for protection from Tututepec (Spores 1993:172).

The wealth and power of Tututepec also attracted the attention of Hernán Cortés shortly after his conquest of the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán on August 13, 1521. In January 1522, Cortés dispatched his lieutenant, Pedro de Alvarado and 200 Spanish soldiers to the Pacific coast where they were joined by a Zapotec army from Tehuantepec, Tututepec's enemy to the east (Cortés 1971:276 [1519–1525]; Díaz del Castillo 1955:101 [1580]). Alvarado arrived in Tututepec sometime in February of 1522. In describing Alvarado's arrival in Tututepec, Díaz del Castillo (1955:101–102 [1580]) stated that "they were taken to reside in the most populated part of the town, where the cacique had his altars and his largest houses, and where the houses were very close together, and made of thatch" [translation by the authors]. Alvarado conquered Tututepec by March 4, 1522 (Cortés 1971:276 [1519–1525]). Before he died in prison, the cacique of Tututepec, Coaxintecuhtli, turned over gold valued at 30,000 pesos to Alvarado. After the region was conquered, Cortés (1971:286 [1519–1525]) ordered Alvarado to establish a town near Tututepec, which became Villa Segura de la Frontera, the second municipality in Mexico (Gerhard 1993:381).

The town lasted less than one year. Unhappy with the tropical climate and high rates of disease, the Spanish settlement was moved to Antequera,

which later became Oaxaca. In 1523 the people of Tututepec rose up in revolt against the Spaniards. Alvarado, with new soldiers, again fought against the Mixtecs, forcing them to surrender. Tututepec was sacked and thousands of pesos of gold and other goods were taken. Oppression and epidemics rapidly decimated the coastal population. Our survey results are consistent with the Early Colonial census records, as we recorded colonial pottery from only about 1.5 km² in the area of the modern town, although this figure could be deceptive because prehispanic pottery types probably continued to be used for decades after the conquest.

Conclusions

Our research demonstrates that the archaeological record of Late Postclassic Tututepec is consistent with the ethnohistorical depiction of the site as the political capital of a conquest empire. At 21.85 km², Tututepec was larger and more complex than typical highland Mixtec *cacicazgos*. Our data agree with Spores's (1993:170) argument, based largely on ethnohistory, that in terms of scale, bureaucratic complexity, and military prowess, the Tututepec state resembled the polities of Central Mexico such as Tenochtitlán, Tlaxcala, and Cholula as well as the Tarascan Empire more than the smaller polities of highland Oaxaca.

These similarities in sociopolitical organization may be related to the historical circumstances of the founding of Late Postclassic Tututepec as depicted in the codices and supported by our archaeological research. An example of "heroic history," codical accounts assert that Lord 8 Deer was able to found a new polity at Tututepec through a combination of advantageous historical, political, economic, and ecological circumstances. We have argued that these codex-recorded circumstances can be read as instantiations of broad social transformations also registered archaeologically. The archaeological record shows that around the beginning of the twelfth century the lower Verde region would have been vulnerable to outside conquest following the collapse of the Río Viejo state and ensuing political fragmentation and unrest (Joyce et al. 2001). Codical records suggest that Lord 8 Deer took advantage of these circumstances to found a new Mixtec polity at Tututepec. The huge increase in population inferred from the settlement data,

along with the shift in ceramics and architecture to highland Mixtec styles, parallel codical accounts of a Mixtec intrusion into the lower Verde region at ca. A.D. 1100. As discussed by Pohl (1994), Lord 8 Deer did not use traditional means to accede to the throne of Tilantongo since he was not eligible to inherit that kingdom. Instead, Lord 8 Deer founded a new polity at Tututepec through the use of traditional Mixtec foundation rites. Codical epics recount that by controlling this rich coastal region, Lord 8 Deer was able to pursue a strategy of verticality, which was realized in his alliance with the Toltec merchant-ambassador Lord 4 Jaguar. The iconography of Monument 6, as well as Early Colonial (Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1975[ca. 1600]:1:283) and recent oral histories (Tibón 1961:71), suggest Tututepec's more distant connections to the Tolteca-Chichimeca. The alliance with Lord 4 Jaguar resulted in Lord 8 Deer attaining the title of *tecuhtli*, designating his membership in the Tolteca-Chichimeca royal house. Whether by design or circumstance, these events allowed Lord 8 Deer to establish the second dynasty of Tilantongo.

The archaeological data recorded in our full-coverage survey are consistent with Early Colonial documents, which show that Tututepec continued as a powerful polity until the Spanish Conquest. The data suggest a complex internal organization with multiple zones of public architecture, high-status residences, craft production, and ritual activities. The regional data also suggest a relatively nucleated settlement pattern with most people residing in Tututepec and with vast areas of the floodplain virtually uninhabited. Early Colonial ethnohistory suggests that Tututepec eventually dominated an area of approximately 25,000 km² and threatened towns well into the Oaxacan interior. Tututepec had a tense, probably competitive relationship with the Aztec Empire, although one that does not seem to have resulted in all-out warfare.

Much research remains to be done on ancient Tututepec and its empire, yet for the first time we can see a correspondence between the ethnohistoric and the archaeological records. As multiple sources of data now show, Tututepec was indeed the "major city of the south coast" (Smith 1963:288) and a key participant in the Late Postclassic political landscape.

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Notes

1. The carved stones were recently relocated to the community museum. The town was previously named San Pedro Tututepec and changed to Villa de Tututepec de Melchor Ocampo in 2000.

2. The Postclassic in the lower Río Verde Valley has been examined through full-coverage survey and excavation (Gillespie 1987; Joyce 1999; Joyce et al. 2001; Joyce and King 2001; King 2003; Workinger 2002). Test excavations recovered Postclassic deposits at the sites of Río Viejo (RV20), Charco Redondo (RV1), San Francisco de Arriba (RV62), and Corozo (RV12). At San Francisco de Arriba, Workinger (2002) tested a Late Postclassic ballcourt. Gillespie (1987) recovered three Late Postclassic burials at Charco Redondo. In addition to test excavations at Río Viejo, two Early Postclassic residential areas were exposed by horizontal excavations covering a total of 526 m² (Joyce et al. 2001; Joyce and King 2001; King 2003). Urcid and Joyce (2001) discuss Postclassic carved stone monuments and Orr (2001) reports on Postclassic pictographs at Piedra San Vicente. The Postclassic ceramic typology has been described and illustrated, although the Late Postclassic assemblage is at present based largely on surface collections (Hutson 1996; Joyce et al. 2001; O'Mack 1990; Workinger 2002). The division of the Early and Late Postclassic is based on two radiocarbon dates from Early Postclassic residential excavations at Río Viejo (Joyce et al. 2001): 899 ± 44 B.P., or A.D. 1051 (AA40034) and 997 ± 47 B.P., or A.D. 953 (AA37669). Ceramic phases are based on uncorrected radiocarbon dates, which is the convention in Oaxaca. A calibrated date for the transition from Early to Late Postclassic would therefore be ca. A.D. 1200. That ceramic styles did not change immediately upon the entry of highland Mixtecs into the region is not surprising, because it would have taken some time for local populations to be displaced or acculturated.

3. For debates on the reading of indigenous documents from the New World, and the 500-year history of their degradation and dismissal as neither "writing" nor "history" in Western discourse, see Debates/History or Propaganda? in Bakewell and Hamann (2001); Cañizares-Esguerra (2001:60–129); Coe (1993); Houston (2000:125–126) and Mignolo (1995).

4. Although Alfonso Caso suggested that Lady 11 Water may have come from Tututepec (Caso 1977:147; repeated in Marcus 1992:385; Spores 1993:169), this claim is based solely on the fact of Lord 8 Deer's later rulership of that site. In contrast, page 24 of the *Codex Nuttall* clearly shows that Lady 11 Water came from the (unidentified) Hill of the Face and the Tail. Lord 8 Deer's father was the high priest of the first dynasty of Tilantongo, but not genealogically related to its royal family (Byland and Pohl 1994:125–138).

5. When Pedro de Alvarado first arrived in Tututepec in 1522 he was taken to reside in the site center (Díaz del Castillo 1955:101–102 [1580]), which was almost certainly in the area of the Church Platform. In his third letter to Charles the Fifth, Cortés (1971:276 [1519–1525]) describes how shortly after his arrival, Alvarado discovered a plot against him by the cacique and decided to move his troops from the hilly, central portion of the city down to the plain below (i.e., the southeastern part of the archaeological site, perhaps near the La Maquina Group). These accounts, while sparse, suggest that at least the Spanish recognized much of the site as a single community.

6. The stone column and basin are probably from the Colonial period.