25. The Excavation of a Postclassic House at Tetla

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The Tetla zone of Chalcatzingo lies on the north and east sides of the Cerro Delgado (Chapters 2 and 24). Reconnaissance during the 1972 and 1973 field seasons together with data gathered in 1967 (Grove 1968b:277) indicated the presence of Postclassic occupation and ceremonial structures there. One major question prior to excavations at Tetla in 1974 was whether Tetla represents the Late Postclassic period village site of Chalcatzingo, as stated in village tradition (Morayta 1980:36). Results of our research show Tetla to have been occupied primarily during the Middle Postclassic (Second Intermediate: Phase Three [AD 1150–1350]; Sanders, Parsons, and Santley 1979), with Epiclassic and possibly some Early Postclassic occupation, but no Late Postclassic. Middle and Late Formative materials were also recovered during the excavations and in surface collections.

This chapter concentrates on terrace Tetla-11, where the 1974 excavations uncovered a four-room habitation structure. The spatial distribution of artifacts within the structure is described, activity areas are identified, and the probable uses of each room are discussed. A description of the artifacts can be found in Appendix I. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the implications of these data in terms of this period of central Mexican culture history.

THE EXCAVATIONS

The Tetla-11 terrace lies north of the Cerro Delgado and west of the major Postclassic mound structures of the site (Figs. 24.16–24.18). At the time of the excavations the land had been unplowed for many years and functioned mainly as pasture. Much of the area was covered by short grass and huizache. The excavation area was laid out at the eastern end of the terrace at the base of an 8 m tall boulder which dominates the field. The units were established with a grid orientation of N54½°W.

Upon beginning the excavations it quickly became apparent that a well-preserved structure floor lay less than 30 cm below the surface. Over 57 m² of area was opened, exposing a four-room structure (Fig. 25.1). All artifacts directly on the floor were mapped in place.

On the southwest side of the structure is what may be a courtyard or patio area. This area is littered with many small stones mixed with adobe and burned hard-packed earth. No walls such as are typical of house courtyards today were found enclosing the area.

THE STRUCTURE

The structure appears to have been a house, constructed in two stages. The eastern three rooms, B, C, and D (see Figs. 25.2, 25.3), constitute Construction Stage 1. An interior double wall and the specific artifact remains found on the floor of the larger western room, A, suggest that Room A was a later addition, Construction Stage 2. This addition created a narrow hallway entrance at the southwest corner of Room B. What was probably the main entrance to the house is in the southern wall of Room C, and is marked by three dressed threshold stones. Access to the western room, A, was limited to an outside doorway in the northern wall.

A stucco floor was present in all rooms and in the entrance, although not always in a perfect state of preservation. Two shallow earthen steps at the southern entrance to Room B also showed evidence of a stucco surface. Where no stucco was preserved, the floor was of smoothed, hard-packed dirt. A cross-section of the stucco floor in Room B showed that it had been resurfaced at least three times, with each resurfacing having added 5–6 cm to the floor. At least the earliest of these floors had been painted red. Below the floors was a prepared house platform of dirt filled with small flat stones and ceramic debris. Approximately 30 cm below the house floor and 1 m west of the wall foundation of Room A was a parallel wall which probably functioned as a secondary foundation or retaining wall for the house platform.

All wall foundations were constructed of cobbles varying in diameter from 5 to 30 cm and larger dressed stones up to 1 m in length. Excavations outside the house along the west and north walls showed that the wall foundation continued some 15–20 cm below the house floor. Adobe and stucco-faced adobe bricks from the collapsed walls were found throughout the excavation area. This basic form of stone and adobe residential architecture is also present at about the same time at Tula (Healan 1974:47–50), and is documented by Bernardino de Sahagún (Soustelle 1972:1311 for sixteenth-century Aztec residences. The people of Chalcatzingo still use a similar house wall construction today.

There were no indications as to how the structure may have been roofed. The large boulder which overhangs a portion of Rooms B, C, and D was probably integrated into the roof construction.

ACTIVITY AREAS AND ROOM USE

A plan view of the house floor, with associated features, artifacts, and debris, is shown in Figure 25.2. A study of the horizontal distribution of artifacts and debris from the floor defined units of activity. Artifacts of relative abundance and random distribution throughout the house and courtyard were considered to be of little importance in determining activity areas or room use and are discussed later as to their significance as temporal markers or, as in the case of the
spindle whorls, their function as related to food preparation. The distribution of unique or special-function artifacts was noted in order to determine the significance of their location within a particular room, given the possibility that certain rooms may have been used primarily by males or by females. Activity areas and inferred male or female work areas are shown in Figure 25.3.

Generalized food preparation activities occurred within both Rooms A and B. These activity areas surround hearths located against the west wall of each room. Near the hearths are numerous sherds of cooking pots, large jars with lime-encrusted interiors, *fondo sellado* (“stamped bottom”) bowls, and ceramic *molcajetes*. Two large manos, a ceramic spoon with orange pigment, and a dense concentration of small (1–2 cm) unretouched chert flakes were also found on the Room A floor. The generalized food preparation area of Room A covers an area approximately twice that of the similar area in Room B. The associated debris of Room A is also much greater in quantity and less fragmentary than that of Room B, suggesting that Room A was the primary area of food preparation.

The courtyard area southwest of the house may have been utilized for maize grinding. Two manos and two metate fragments were found here, as well as common sherds (which were rare within the house). This suggests that the grinding of the *nixtamal* (lime-processed corn kernels) and the tossing of the tortillas took place in the courtyard, while the actual soaking of the kernels in lime water took place indoors in the general food preparation areas.

Directly north of Room A, from the doorway to the limits of the area excavated, was a garbage/midden area covering more than 5 m² to a depth of about 45 cm below the house floor. This area was not a garbage pit, but simply accumulated material presumably swept or thrown out of the room, including ceramic and lithic debris mixed with animal bone, spindle whorls, and bone awl fragments.

Four figureine fragments occur within the food preparation area in Room A (two are shown in Fig. 25.4a–b) and three within the garbage/midden area. This location may indicate that they relate ideologically to the occupants’ subsistence and well-being. Another artifact of probable ideological significance is a grey-black obsidian trilobal eccentric found in the south section of the room. Most of the sixty-three trilobal eccentrics reported from Tula by Terrance Stocker and Michael Spence (1974: 88) also came from residential structures. Figureine fragments in Room B (Fig. 25.4c–d) are also clustered near the hearth and thus possibly associated with food preparation.

A second activity, related to sewing, perforating leather, or perhaps weaving, can be postulated for Room A. Four bone awls were found in the north half of the room, and a fifth one was found in the doorway. No other artifacts or debris were associated which might indicate their specific use.

Nearly 50 percent of the area of Room A was used for generalized food preparation and for sewing or weaving, tasks suggesting that the room was used mostly by women. The limited access to Room A through the single, northern doorway may have been a means of separating “women’s chores” from other household activities. The fact that Room A may be a later addition to the house is in complete accordance with ethnographic data presented by Jacques Soustelle (1972: 131–132) for Tenochtitlan. There, the number of rooms in a house increased with the family’s wealth, and when possible one or more rooms were reserved for the women. While Room B may have originally been for women’s activities [e.g., cooking], the addition of Room A may have created a shift in activities, and Room B may have taken on a more generalized living function.

Two distinct activity areas can be defined within Room C. Obsidian debitage including flakes, blades, and a core was found in the southwest area of the room, and the only clustering of projectile points within the house occurred in the center of the room. These artifacts suggest a male usage of the room, with some lithic manufacturing or retouching activity.

The room’s second activity area is not necessarily male oriented. What is suggested here to be a small stucco domestic shrine is located against the room’s east wall. This portion of the wall foundation is formed by dressed and fitted stones, and the stuccoed floor is raised ca. 10 cm above the floor of the rest of the house, forming a niche-like area under the overhang of the large boulder.

Two unique artifacts come from this area. A green obsidian crescent eccentric was found in the subfloor fill in this portion of the room. Obsidian crescents are also found in residential contexts near temples at Tula (Stocker and Spence 1974: 88). A small shoe-pot with a fire-clouded toe (Fig. 25.5) had been buried nearby and covered with the stucco flooring. The shoe-pot is too small to be of domestic utility and was probably used ritually.
Figure 25.2. House with artifact distributions indicated.
Figure 25.3. House with activity areas indicated.
in association with the shrine area.

Representative of a single event rather than an area of habitual activity is the sub-floor human cremation burial in the Room B-C doorway (Burial 160). The burned bones were accompanied by a variety of burial offerings, including a Graphite-Black on Red ware vessel fragment, a carefully made bifacial, bipointed, mottled pink and white chert knife, two obsidian cores and a small cache of blades, three figurine fragments (one of which is a Middle Formative C8 type), a pale green jadeite bead, three spindle whorls (Fig. 25.6), and a bone awl like those found in Room A.

Room D is the least specific of the house’s four rooms in terms of identifiable activity areas. The debris from the room’s fill consists mostly of sherd and lithic material. Two partial vessels, a White-Slipped Orange ware polychrome vessel (Fig. 1.10a, cf. Noguera’s polychrome firme, 1954: 122–136) and a Black on Red vessel (Fig. 1.5b), both with raised interior bases, were found in this room. Because of the general absence of specific artifacts, it is possible that this room functioned primarily as a sleeping area.

It is interesting to note that the Tetla-11 residential structure shares many similarities with a Late Postclassic (Late Horizon) small village residential structure from the Teotihuacan valley (Sanders, Parsons, and Santley 1979: Fig. 5.16a). These similarities include general building form, orientation, southern hallway entrance, and west wall hearth placement. This suggests that a regional cultural norm may have existed for rural residential constructions.

**SPINDLE WHORLS AND SPINNING AS A HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITY**

The excavations recovered twenty-four spindle whorls, apparently randomly distributed throughout the house, courtyard, and midden areas. An additional forty-four whorls were recovered from surface contexts at Tetla, from the Cerro Delgado cave excavations (of probable Middle Postclassic context), and from Classic and Postclassic levels on the main site zone. All sixty-eight whorls were measured and classified as Type A (small), or Type B (large), and further differentiated by surface treatment (incised, moldmade, or undecorated). This information, as well as data on provenience and illustrations of the whorls, can be found in Appendix I.

Mary Parsons’ analysis of whorls from the Teotihuacan Valley and the Texcoco region of the Basin of Mexico defines three whorl types based upon clustering in the attributes of maximum whorl diameter, hole diameter, weight, and decoration. Her results suggest that small whorls were used to spin a fine fiber such as cotton, and larger whorls a heavier fiber, probably maguey (M. Parsons 1972). The analysis of the Tetla whorls utilized maximum whorl and hole diameters, weight, and height to define the two Chalcatzingo whorl types, A and B. The Chalcatzingo whorl types are not identical to those found in the Texcoco region and the Teotihuacan Valley, so letter designations for our types have been chosen in order to avoid confusion with Parsons’ Types I, II, and III, and to emphasize their difference, which is probably both temporal and regional rather than functional. Histograms of measurements of the four attributes on all sixty-eight whorls (Fig. 25.7) show that the greatest difference between the two whorl types is weight, followed by whorl diameter. Whorl height was found to be of little importance in distinguishing the two types, except that an increase in height (or diameter) will obviously increase the weight.
Figure 25.6. Spindle whorls from Burial 160.

Figure 25.7. Histograms of measurements of Type A and Type B spindle whorls.
The clear bimodal separation between our Type A and Type B whorls seems to support Mary Parsons' analysis and conclusion that two sizes of whorls were used to spin two kinds or sizes of fiber. Fig. 25.8 shows that variation exists within Type A, for most mold-made whorls are larger than undecorated or incised examples. This could indicate that different weights of the same fiber, presumably cotton, necessitated a slightly different-sized whorl, and that spinning tool kits had various sized whorls to accommodate thread weight.

Mary Parsons worked primarily with whorls from Late Aztec contexts. She was therefore uncertain whether the presumed cotton whorls (her Type III, our Type A) had been present in similar quantities earlier, or whether perhaps the large number of these whorls might relate to increased cotton procurement through trade or tribute during the Late Aztec period. Our data do not clarify that question, but do demonstrate that during the Early Aztec period (Middle Postclassic), small whorls predominate and thus cotton was apparently the primary fiber spun at Tetla-Chalcatzingo. The Cave 2 finds (Appendix A) include a quantity of raw cotton as well as some cotton thread.

Type B whorls, used for a heavier fiber such as maguey, are relatively uncommon in the Chalcatzingo sample. This seems to imply that everyone within our sample universe had easier access to cotton, and that maguey thread was rarely spun. This is in agreement with the project's data on crops grown in the Río Amatzinac Valley today and at the time of the conquest. Maguey is rare in the area, but cotton may have been an important crop in the southern valley. Maguey spinning may have become widely used in central Mexico only after the Triple Alliance restricted the wearing of cotton garments to the nobility. At the same time they demanded heavy tributes in cotton garments from provinces in Morelos.

The Tetla spindle whorls came primarily from within one residential structure. Our excavation data thus cannot tell us whether twenty-four whorls is an unusually high number for a residence. If in the future other residences are excavated at Tetla, their spindle whorl yield will be of interest. An unequal distribution of whorls between domestic structures across the site would suggest some specialization within the site.

BOTANICAL REMAINS

Thirty-one carbonized corn cob fragments were recovered from the hearth area in Room B. The sample is homogeneous, consisting of ears with a slight taper, little or no twist, hollow cobs, and eight rows. The cupules are broad (5–7 mm) with relatively long, hard glumes. No cobs had attached kernels, nor were there any loose kernels in the sample. The largest cob is 33 mm long and 10 mm in diameter (David Bugé, personal communication).

It is difficult to be certain without evidence from the kernels, but the type of corn represented in the Tetla samples seems closely related to the eight-rowed corn of west Mexico, Harinoso de Ocho. The width of the cupule, the thickness of the cob, and the consistent occurrence of eight rows fit almost nothing else. The modern variety of corn grown at Chalcatzingo is Pentipila (see Chapter 26), which is distinguished by a high row number (average 15.5) and long, narrow-beaked kernels (Wellhausen et al. 1952). The Tetla samples likewise do not compare with the corn recovered from Chalcatzingo Cave 2 (apparently Middle Postclassic). The majority of Cave 2 corn is classifiable as Nat-Tel-Chapalté, which has eleven or twelve rows and small kernels.

The Tetla samples also differ from the modern corn of Tepoztlán (E. Anderson 1951) in displaying significant influence from west Mexico. Edgar Anderson (ibid.: 449) noted that Morelos lies at the border of the western Mexican and central Mexican regions and was surprised to find so little influence from west Mexico in the corn today. It seems, however, that Chalcatzingo shows three separate influences in its corn: an early Nat-Tel-Chapalté, probably imported from the Gulf Coast, an eight-rowed corn from west Mexico, and the modern Pentipila which is found throughout the Balsas region. The last seems to be a very recent introduction, given the lack of archaeological evidence for its early arrival.

CERAMICS AND DATING

The Tetla ceramic typology, based primarily upon surface treatment, decoration, and paste texture, is presented in Appendix I. Six decorated ceramic wares were defined, and when appropriate, a ware was subdivided into descriptive decorative types. Four undecorated wares and an "eroded" category were also defined.

The comparison of Tetla ceramics to other Postclassic ceramic assemblages met with initial problems in 1974 when the analysis was begun. Little is known and almost nothing is published on Postclassic Morelos ceramics, and data are even scarcer for eastern Morelos. Thus, the use of ceramics alone as a means of dating the occupation at Tetla rested on shaky ground.

The two decorated ceramics which were most abundant at Tetla, painted and incised Polished Red ware and Black-on-Orange ware, were the most useful in establishing a ceramic phasing for the Tetla occupation. The Tetla Black-on-Orange ceramics (Figs. 1.1–1.3) are very similar to Culhuacan Negro sobre Narancio or Aztec I (Griffin and Espejo 1947; 1950; Séjourné 1970), and the Painted Red wares (Figs. 1.4–1.8) are most similar to those found in association with the same Black-on-Orange ceramics at several locations in the southeastern portion of the Basin of Mexico (Jeffrey Parsons, personal communication; Blanton and Parsons 1971: 298–299, O'Neil 1962: 121–141).

There are also a number of Postclassic ceramic types which are common in the central highlands of Mexico but conspicuously absent at Tetla. These include Red-on-Buff Mazapan varieties and Black-on-Orange types II, III, and IV. The Black on Orange ceramic types were once thought to be temporally sequential, mutually exclusive, and a part of the Postclassic ceramic assemblage perhaps as early as the Early Postclassic Mazapan ceramics (Franco 1949: 185, Griffin and Espejo 1950: 13, Séjourné 1970: 63). New Basin of Mexico data (Jeffrey Parsons, personal communication; Sanders, Parsons, and Santley 1979; Charlton 1979), supported also by the Tetla analysis, indicate that Mazapan ceramics are earlier than the Black on Orange ceramics. Black on Orange types I and II are contemporaneous and regionally separate, and Aztec III ceramics continue into colonial times.

Thus, while the Tetla ceramics are contemporaneous with Aztec I–II (Second Intermediate: Phase Three) in the Basin of Mexico, they postdate the AD 950–1150 Mazapan ceramics and predate the Late Horizon Aztec III–IV ceramics. This dating is confirmed by two radiocarbon assays from the Tetla house. A charcoal sample from Room B (USGS 508) produced a date of 720 ± 75 BP (AD 1230 ± 75), while a lime kiln feature...
intrusive into Room B [ISGS 509] dated 610 $\pm$ 75 BP [AD 1340 $\pm$ 75].

**A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE MIDDLE POSTCLASSIC AT TETLA**

Data obtained during the surface surveys of Tetla and the analysis of ceramics underlying the Middle Postclassic Tetla-11 house platform indicate that there was also a relatively extensive Late Classic occupation at Tetla. During the Early Postclassic, however, despite various references to Toltec expansion into Morelos (e.g., Hirth 1977; Muller 1949) or to strong ties between eastern Morelos and Tula (Hirth 1977), there is very little evidence at Tetla either for a significantly large local population or for Toltec influence. The near absence of an Early Postclassic component suggests either a partial abandonment of Tetla at that time or a local Late Classic to Middle Postclassic transition lacking “diagnostic” Toltec and Mazapan materials.

During the Middle Postclassic, settlement in the Basin of Mexico was heavily weighted toward the southern part of the basin. Surveys have identified six or seven large nucleated sites, including Culhuacan, Xochimilco, Cuitlahuac, Mixquic, Chalco, Xico, and Ameacameca in the mountains to the southeast. There is a clear economic and/or sociopolitical separation in the Basin of Mexico between southeast and northwest areas.
The most obvious material difference is in the decorated ceramics, where the contemporaneous Aztec I and Aztec II Black-on-Orange ceramics have independent distributions. A strong economic and/or sociopolitical link is most probable between the Chalco-Xochimilco region in the south and the Puebla-Cholula area, while the northern Basin of Mexico seems to be more closely linked to the collapsed Tula sphere (Sanders, Parsons, and Sanlty 1979:149–153).

As should be expected on the basis of geographical proximity, ceramic similarities link Tetla most closely to the southeastern Basin of Mexico and the Puebla-Cholula area. Nearly 95 percent of the Tetla decorated ceramics are like the predominant decorated wares in the southeastern basin of Mexico at Culhuacan (Griffin and Espejo 1947; 1950; Scigone 1970), Chalco-Xochimilco (O’Neill 1962; J. Parsons et al. 1981), and Texcoco (J. Parsons 1971). Although the decorated wares occur in different frequencies at various sites, they generally include Aztec I (and some Aztec II) Black-on-Orange, several types of Polished Red ware, ceramics similar to some of the Tetla Orange ware polychromes (e.g., Chalco polychromes), and the Red on Burnished Buff (and zoned incised type) ware. The similarities to the Puebla-Cholula area’s ceramics (Noguera 1954; Muller 1978) and those of the Tehuacan Valley (MacNeish, Peterson, and Flannery 1970) are more often in vessel and appendage form than in surface decoration.

Five percent of Tetla’s decorated sherds, the Black on White and some of the Orange ware polychromes, are found more frequently in western Morelos and northern Guerrero (Paul Schmidt 1977; M. Smith 1981; Jorge Angulo, personal communication).

During the Middle Postclassic, eastern Morelos was apparently not densely populated and lacked a nucleated center the size of those in the southeast Basin of Mexico. The Río Amatitlan Valley was on the southern periphery of a large interaction sphere encompassing rapidly growing nucleated centers in the Basin of Mexico and the Puebla-Cholula region to the east. The strongest sociopolitical and/or economic ties were in those directions.

It was suggested above that one commodity which the Río Amatitlan Valley had to offer in trade and exchange (within that interaction sphere) was cotton (M. Parsons 1972:65; Hirth 1977:44). Imports into the valley certainly included lithic raw materials (obsidian, metamorphic stone, etc.) and possibly some ceramics as well. While Tetla’s undecorated utilitarian ceramics were probably locally made, some of the decorated ceramics (less than 4 percent of the ceramic assemblage), figurines, and spindle whorls could have been imported (ceramic whorl molds indicate some local manufacture as well). A petrographic analysis of clay minerals and temper from the Tetla ceramic sample is now in progress and may help differentiate local from imported artifacts.

RESUMEN DEL CAPÍTULO 25

Las excavaciones realizadas durante 1974 en la zona de Tetla en Chalcatzingo fueron enfocadas a la estructura residencial localizada al poniente de los montículos principales del Postclásico. La casa de cuatro cuartos fue construida en dos etapas, siguiendo el modelo de construcción de piedra y adobe típico de las habitaciones del Postclásico del centro de México. Los artefactos fueron localizados “in situ” dentro del plano levantado de los pisos de la casa, y sus distribuciones fueron usadas para definir las unidades de actividad. Las actividades de preparación general de alimentos estaban confinadas a dos de los cuartos, así como a un área de patio al suroriental de la casa. Las labores de perforación o costura, dedicadas por la presencia de lewas de hueso, parecen haber tenido lugar en uno de los cuartos, en donde también se trabajó la obsidiana. En base a la analogía etnográfica, se puede postular que algunos cuartos de la casa se reservaron para las actividades femeninas, y otros cuartos para las masculinas.

Un artefacto importante, que en la distribución del interior de la casa aparentemente resulta ser al azar, es el malacate, de los cuales veinticuatro se encontraron en la casa, en el patio, y en las áreas de basura. Éstos y otros malacates de Tetla se clasificaron como Tipo A (pequeña) y B (grande), siendo los dos tipos claramente identificables por su peso. En base a la analogía con los malacates de la Cuenca de México, se sugiere que los malacates Tipo A hayan sido usados para una fibra fina, posiblemente algodon, y el Tipo B para una fibra más pesada tal como la de maguey. La superioridad numérica de los malacates Tipo A en Tetla encaja bien con la información etnográfica acerca de la importancia del cultivo de algodón en Morelos durante el Postclásico.

Los olotes de maíz que se recorrieron de uno de los hogares en la casa aparentemente representan una variedad de maíz intimamente relacionada con el ocho-líneas Harinoso de Ocho del poniente de México. Este maíz es diferente del Pepetilla de hoy día en Chalcatzingo y aún del Nal-Tel-Chapalote que fue el maíz que se recorrió de los componentes del Postclásico Mejizo en la Cueva 2 en el Cerro Delgado.

Se definieron seis acabados decorados y cuatro sin decorar para la cerámica de Tetla. Estos son Negro sobre Naranja, Rojo Pulido, Polícrómico Naranja con Baño Blanco, Negro sobre Blanco, Rojo sobre Amarillo Quebrado, Café con Velas Bajado Naranja, Café o Naranja Bañado Utilitario, Quebrado sin Baño, Tetla Burdo, y Mica Templado Burdo. En base a las semejanzas de cerámica, Tetla parece haber estado ligado íntimamente a los sitios del suroriental de la Cuenca de México y el área de Puebla-Cholula. Los dos acabados más abundantes: eran el Rojo Pulido, pintado y con incisiones, y el Negro sobre Naranja (el cual es muy semejante al Azteca I), y resultaron ser estos dos acabados muy útiles para establecer las fases de la cerámica.

Los diagnósticos de cerámica Mazapan Postclásico Temprano y los tipos posteriores, Negro sobre Naranja II, III, y IV se encuentran ausentes en Tetla, cuyo poblamiento se coloca en el rango de 1150–1350 DC (Intermedio Segundo: Fase Tresi), ésta es una fecha que confirma dos ensayos de radiocarbono en materiales provenientes de la casa. Por ello, el sitio aparentemente carece de poblamiento del Postclásico Temprano y Tardío, pese a las referencias sobre expansiones “Tolteca” hacia esta área y los mapas de conquista de este período, así como a las narraciones sobre la existencia de una población del Postclásico Tardío conocida como Chalcatzingo.