ZAPOTEC WRITING

KNOWLEDGE, POWER, AND MEMORY IN ANCIENT OAXACA

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May 2005

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INTRODUCTION

Since the publication of "Zapotec Hieroglyphic Writing" (Urcid 2001) prevailing methodological constrains in pursuing issues concerning the phonetic decipherment of the script has prompted me to extend a broader semiotic cast onto the available inscriptions, focusing on their semasiographic component and exploring not only semiological relations between image and text but also paying particular attention to the physical backdrops by means of which writing was displayed. From such a perspective, the definition of "decipherment" acquires a different meaning. I still maintain that an understanding of how speech is graphically encoded in the script is critical to elucidate the actual content of the inscriptions and that these are crucial steps for a more comprehensive view of the Zapotec scribal tradition and its societal uses, but acknowledge that by extending the contextual framework of analysis beyond the epigraphic one it is feasible to bring insights concerning semantic meanings embedded in the visual communication and ultimately throw light on the broader cultural code underlying the production and apprehension of writing. The aim of this essay is therefore to highlight how the construction of knowledge (astronomical, calendrical, mantic, and scribal) was linked to the production of social memory and ultimately to political and economic power. My intent is not to cover such links throughout the known uses of the script, uses than spanned more than a thousand years. Rather, I will focus on the scribal production that occurred between the 5th and 9th centuries after the Common Era.

In doing so I will rely on the cornerstones that I laid out in "Zapotec Writing", especially on the conclusions regarding the structure of the Zapotec Calendar Round and the reconstruction of the 20-day name list of the mantic calendar. I will also incorporate or build upon the exegesis of some inscribed materials published before and after "Zapotec Hieroglyphic Writing" that were aimed mostly to Spanish readers and that appear in forums perhaps seldom read by English speakers. I will begin the exposition by providing a general introduction to Zapotec writing and by commenting explicitly on the methods that I have employed in studying the ancient script. Subsequently, I will discuss two broader contexts in which writing was deployed: the monumental and the domestic. While the former may have exposed particular inscriptions to wider audiences in a more direct way, the latter may have accomplished the same albeit indirectly.

The example that I will use to illustrate the link between writing and political power centers

on the carved monoliths that were found forming the corners of the South Platform at Monte Albán. While this example may seem already familiar, as it was amply detailed in chapter 5 of "Zapotec Writing", its recapitulation in this context is framed within a discussion of a series of rulers from Monte Albán that can now be identified based on semasiographic and epigraphic data, and the reiteration of the case serves to introduce a newly found carved monolith that was evidently part of one of the two sequential narrative programs that were rendered in these monoliths.

To illustrate the link between writing and the production of memory, I will conduct an analysis of writing in elite domestic contexts. Much of the surviving instantiations of "household" writing are found in mortuary contexts, and such inscribed practices include genealogical records and allusions to a rich ritual life that centered on ancestor veneration. I will therefore focus on the exegesis of four kinds of epigraphic and semasiographic materials, namely painted tomb murals, portable carved slabs, blocks that formed composite friezes decorating mausoleums, and tableaus of ceramic effigy vessels. Yet, before specific exemplars of these types of visual records can be approached, I embark in an even broader contextual analysis that lays out key aspects of Zapotec mortuary practices, reviewing not only the skeletal evidence but also the associated material culture and the architectural settings of burials. The particular cases that I will use to "read" the cultural code underlying elite domestic writing include the inscribed materials from tomb 104 at Monte Albán and from tomb 5 at Cerro de la Campana, near Santiago Suchilquitongo. I also delve into an alternative interpretation of a portable slab that, although commented and published by other scholars before, had not been examined through semiotic lenses. To discuss genealogical records that were displayed in mausoleums, I will introduce as centerpiece a carved block now in a private collection in the United States.

Both the exegesis of the mortuary narrative program from tomb 104 at Monte Albán and the interpretation of the carved block in the private collection incorporate examples that illustrate how tableaus of ceramic effigy vessels, some of them veritable three-dimensional renditions of "glyphs", were an integral component of varied technologies of communication in the service of elite interests. Given that the ceramic chronology of the central valleys of Oaxaca has been expanded and refined since Caso and his colleagues first outlined a general framework (Flannery 1968, Flannery and Marcus 1994, Lind 1991, Marcus 1983, Markens 2003, Martínez López 1994,

Martínez López et al 2000), I am introducing here an alternative series of phase names that reflect those changes (Table 1.1).[1]

Part I- THE ZAPOTEC SCRIBAL TRADITION

The script that was used in the Central Valleys of Oaxaca constitutes the earliest evidence of writing in the American continent (Figures 1.1 and 1.2). The first tangible, yet piece-meal manifestations of the graphic system can be dated to approximately 600 years before the Common Era (Flannery and Marcus 2003). This precocious Mesoamerican script had subsequently a long trajectory of use that lasted more than 1,500 years.

While the earliest known inscription comes from San José Mogote, a settlement that reached its political peak before the establishment of Monte Albán, the largest corpus of inscribed monuments has been documented at this later settlement, including a sizable set of exemplars that date to the times shortly after its foundation. From this evidence it has been surmised that the inception of writing in Oaxaca is related to chiefly competition, and to increasing forms of political centralization that eventually led to statehood and urban life (Marcus 1992a: 227, 1992b: 32-41; Marcus and Flannery 1996: 130).

The early evidence of writing in Oaxaca does not necessarily imply that the Zapotecs invented the first Mesoamerican system of phonetic writing. The nature of the archaeological record generates differential preservation of the media through which writing was probably conveyed, and since it is plausible that early scribes used as well perishable materials like wood, cloth, bark paper, and deer hides, several aspects of the origin of writing and its early societal uses in Oaxaca and in Mesoamerica in general may lay beyond our reach.

The semasiographic theme associated with the known early inscriptions spanning between

[1] The new phase names from 500 BCE to 1521 ACE and their chronometric anchorage were accorded by Lind, Markens, Martínez, Urcid, and Winter during a meeting in Oaxaca City in the summer of 2003.

600 BCE to about 200 ACE, and found at the ancient settlements of San José Mogote, Monte Albán, and Dainzu, appear to be related to a set of sacred propositions linking self-sacrifice, the oracular invocation of ancestors to ensure success in warfare raids, the taking of captives, ritual combat with them, and the enactment of human immolation to petition for agricultural and human fertility (Figure 1.3) (Urcid 1998a and 1999a). The elaboration and monopoly by the elites of an ideology that centers on a primordial covenant between humans and the divine (Joyce 1997, 2000; Joyce and Winter 1996), and their choice to commission the carving of monuments that bolster community well-being instead of the self-aggrandizement of paramount and charismatic leaders suggest that early forms of political centralization in Oaxaca were corporate, or at least presented as such, rather than exclusionary (Blanton et al. 1996). This in turn suggests that some of the societal uses of writing served the purpose of internal power building strategies stemming from factionalism (Brumfiel 1992: 557) and the masking of inequalities by promoting group identities, the latter being crucial in the context of synoikism.[2]

If so, the social process that may have lead to the origins of pristine writing in Oaxaca may not be that different in terms of identity formation from those leading to secondary scribal developments. Many if not all instances of recent, historically documented inventions of writing that sprang from native contexts, like the Cherokee (Walker 1981: 146-153; Walker and Sarbaugh 1993), Vai (Dalby 1970), and Hmong (Smalley et al. 1990), are known to have developed in the context of messianic movements aimed at promoting and reinforcing social and cultural values in the face of oppression emanating from unequal power relations. However, an important difference between primary and secondary developments of writing is that pristine cases seemingly unfolded in the context of power contestations (power over), while the latter did

[2] The "coming together" of communities for the founding of Monte Albán in the model of disembedded capital (Blanton 1978) and the model of synoikism (Marcus and Flannery 1996) imply cooperation in the face of external competition. The difference is that the former model involves a confederation against archaeologically unattested competitors outside the Central Valleys of Oaxaca, while the latter model attempts to account for the settlement data known from within the Central Valleys.

so as expressions of resistance (power to) (see also Houston 2004a: 10).

While the maximum extent of Zapotec style inscriptions has not been determined yet, it is now clear that the script was eventually used in several regions closer and distant to the Central Valleys of Oaxaca. The processes by which scribal practices extended over such a wide area were most likely varied. In some instances it must have been directly imposed by the powerful polity centered at Monte Albán, but in other cases one may assume that emulation by elites of autonomous polities led them to appropriate the script.

Major loci of carved monuments bearing Zapotec style inscriptions outside of the Central Valleys of Oaxaca are located in the Northern Sierra (Figure 1.4) (see also Oudijk and Urcid 1997), the Eastern Mountains (Figure 1.5), the valleys of Ejutla and Sola (Figure 1.6) (see also Marcus 2002), the Southern Sierra (Figure 1.7), and the Pacific littoral of Oaxaca and Guerrero (Figure 1.8) (see also Urcid 1993, Urcid and Joyce 2001). Although much research is needed to determine the easternmost extent of Zapotec style writing, inscribed monuments from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and Chiapas (Figures 1.9 and 7.11, upper right) bearing a different graphic style may be instantiations of a fluctuating boundary of scribal traditions.[3] Another boundary that delimits the northwestern extent of inscriptions in Zapotec style involves parts of the Mixteca Alta and the Mixteca Baja, where another distinct scribal tradition developed between the 4th and 8th centuries after the Common Era (Figure 1.10). Current evidence suggests that this tradition, known as Ñuiñe, derived from the Zapotec script and played an important role in mutual borrowings with the Central Mexican tradition, particularly in the forms of visual communication attested at Teotihuacan, Xochicalco, Teotenango, and Cacaxtla.

By the 10th century after the Common Era, and apparently as the result of the political collapse of Monte Albán, the Zapotec script began being replaced by another style of writing whose subsequent trajectory led to a phonic and decidedly "open" script exemplified, for instance, by the inscribed bones found in tomb 7 at Monte Albán, the painted murals in Mitla,

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[3] The few known examples of the Middle Classic period script from Chiapas seemingly conforms an "open" writing system (Houston 2004b: 275).

and the surviving screenfolds from the neighboring mountainous region of the Mixteca Alta. By the 13th century ACE this later form of writing (in Mixteca-Puebla style) eventually became widespread too, encompassing most of Southwestern Mesoamerica and other distant regions (Figure 1.11). The paucity of inscriptions spanning between the 10th and 13th centuries ACE makes it difficult to model the specific processes that may have lead to the obsolescence of the Zapotec style script (Houston, Baines, and Cooper 2003: 435). A sociolinguistic explanation related to its loss of prestige may be applicable, but so far little is known of a target, more prestigious writing systems that may have been adopted. The genealogical and historiographic (dating of events) content of the few known inscriptions produced during those centuries is similar to one of the societal uses of Zapotec style writing that prevailed until the 10th century, so the 'sphere of exchange' model, which implies shifts in the uses of the script, does not seem to apply. The 'demographic' model, in which the specialization of writing and reading became increasingly confined to a smaller group of knowledgeable practitioners may have played a role, but if so it is evident that eventually the number of scribes and readers increased at least by the 13th century ACE.

An apparently striking contrast between Zapotec and Mixteca-Puebla style writing is the media of presentation. Most of the known written record in the latter style is in the form of screenfolds or was rendered in portable objects, and except for a few instances, there is as of yet a paucity of monumental inscriptions (Fig. 1.12).[4] Zapotec style writing in several parts of Oaxaca, on the other hand, was frequently deployed in monumental backdrops, and no pre-Hispanic screenfolds in the Zapotec script are known. Such a difference is certainly due to the

[4] Marcus (1976: 133-134) incorrectly attributed to the Late Formative or Early Classic some of the carved stones from Teotitlan del Valle illustrated in Figure 1.12, including TEO-03, TEO-06, TEO-07, TEO-08, and TEO-18. A Late Postclassic date of what must have been a narrative program set in an architectural context is evinced by the way the feet of the personages are rendered, as well as by attributes of the headdresses and the objects being carried, including the depiction of shields and darts. The church in the community, where several of the carved stones are embedded today, was built on top of a monumental complex that included a palace like those at Mitla, decorated as well by entablatures with a variety of step-fret designs. It is known that the Postclassic occupation in Teotitlan del Valle was, together with Sa'a Yucu (near Cuilapan de Guerrero) and Mitla, a Rank I settlement in the Central Valleys (Kowalewski et al 1989: 317).

perishable quality of books and to archaeological sampling bias. We know for instance that in the sixteenth century, Friar Juan de Córdova recorded the *Zapotec divinatory calendar* in the Tlacolula arm of the Valley of Oaxaca while looking at a screenfold painted in *Mixteca-Puebla style* (Seler 1904, Urcid 1992a, Whitecotton 1982). As to the apparent paucity of monumental inscriptions in Mixteca-Puebla style, perhaps the balkanized political landscape of Oaxaca during the Late Postclassic rendered economically and socially burdensome for a single polity to engage in the procurement, mobilization, carving, and setting of inscriptions in monumental contexts. While continuities between the two forms of writing are discernible, not only in regard to their 'openness' and in specific aspects of the graphic systems but also in terms of underlying ideological principles that have pervaded through millennia, there are also marked differences between Zapotec style writing and the later scribal tradition, differences that were most likely brought about by particular socio-political factors.

At the eve of the Spanish intrusion and conquest of Southwestern Mesoamerica, a number of regional writing styles seemingly derived from the Mixteca-Puebla style proliferated in several parts of Oaxaca, particularly in the production of lienzos. Much of this native scribal production was used to make territorial claims in the context of the Spanish administrative system, in litigations between native elites and between them and Spaniards (Figure 1.13). As early as the later part of the 16th century, Zapotec peoples appropriated the Spanish alphabetical system to render graphically their own language, writing surreptitiously about their traditions (Figure 1.14). This strategy for reaffirming their identity and their past based on the use of an alphabetic script continues to this very day.

ALTERNATIVE METHODS IN THE STUDY OF THE ZAPOTEC SCRIPT

During the first half of the 20th century, several scholars had already inklings that Zapotec style writing encoded certain aspects of a spoken language. Yet, the majority of subsequent studies have shied away from linguistic considerations. Such methodological myopia is due in part to the difficulty in demonstrating that early inscriptions were produced by speakers of an ancient version of the Zapotec languages that today are still spoken in Oaxaca by nearly half a

million people.[5] The assessment of a partial overlap between Zapotec style inscriptions and the distribution of the Zapotecan languages attested from the 16th century onwards, made possible only after assembling data at a macro-regional level, favors such a conclusion. In addition, the pervasive continuity in certain aspects of the script, evinced in the accumulated data currently available, adds support to argue that even the earliest known inscriptions from Oaxaca must encode an ancestral version of contemporary Zapotec dialects. Yet, two major drawbacks that have impeded phonetic decipherment are the lack of an ancient biscript and of a linguistic synthesis on the variability within the Zapotecan family of languages that would enable to better define linguistic clades and phylogeny (Nichols 1997) and draw an outline of the core properties of the ancestral languages through time (but see Fernández de Miranda 1995, Kaufman n.d., and Swadesh 1947). These obstacles, however, do not justify interpretative attempts that ignore the linguistic mappings potentially inherent in the writing system.

The first step in the study of any system of writing is the gathering of a sample of inscriptions that are as faithfully reproduced as possible. In contrast to the data available for other Mesoamerican scripts, like Isthmian, Maya, or Aztec, the number of available Zapotec inscriptions is relatively small. Yet, the research of the last two centuries strongly suggest that the paucity of data does not mean scribes in ancient Oaxaca seldom practiced their specialty, but rather that archaeological searches for inscriptions in non perishable media have to focus on the appropriate loci of scribal production and display. With the corpus of inscriptions collected thus far it is feasible to implement two alternative methods to study the script, namely contextual and comparative.

The contextual method aims at understanding inscriptions in relation to their settings and their material backdrops. In the Zapotec case this means architectural contexts and their closest

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[5] According to the 2000 Mexican Federal census there were 452 887 Zapotec speakers (including zapoteco, zapoteco de Cuixtla, zapoteco de Ixtlán, zapoteco del Istmo, zapoteco del rincón, zapoteco sureño, zapoteco vallista and zapoteco vijano) (http://www.inegi.gob.mx).

physical associations, as well as the way inscribed surfaces were used. Viewing the inscriptions as they were originally displayed is a first step to hermeneutic and phenomenological approaches considerations (Hodder 1991, see also Johnsen and Olsen 1992). For Monte Albán, the great majority of the epigraphic data has been found in non-primary contexts, a fact that makes it difficult to determine how inscriptions were originally displayed (Figure 1.15). However, we know now that many if not all the known inscriptions associated with monumental architecture formed part of larger narrative programs. Buildings and their surroundings were sometimes decorated with complex compositions that utilized many constitutive elements, including orthostats, jambs, lintels, and stelae.[6]

The information contained in each one of the parts might be self-contained, but the apprehension of the whole can only be gazed by reconstituting as much as possible entire programs. It is necessary to reassemble the narrative programs first before tackling the problem of semantic decipherment. In order to do so, one needs to take into account certain archaeological data, including the type of stone, the size and form of the blocks, the way they are inscribed, their state of preservation, and their context when found. These are categories of data that, if collected carefully and systematically, can yield important clues.

There are instances, of course, in which despite the availability of adequate contextual data, multiple cultural uses and subsequent formation processes that eventually produced the archaeological record, obliterated all hints that would allow the making of inferences regarding the original setting of inscriptions. Even so, the contextual method is useful by imposing recognizable limitations as to the kind of inferences one might be able to do. Later on I will demonstrate, with several examples, concrete applications of the contextual method.

The other method that can be profitably applied in the study of Zapotec hieroglyphs is the

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[6] For a discussion of one of the few narrative programs still extant at Monte Albán, on the North Platform adjacent to the main ballcourt (NP in Figure 1.16), see Urcid 1997.

comparative approach. While in "Zapotec Hieroglyphic Writing" my aim was to understand the script in its own terms, explicitly refraining from making interregional comparisons, here I will expand the comparative framework in my attempt at discerning meaning. At its lower level, the comparison of Zapotec signs is bound to give us a sense of the range of variation in their form, which in turn allows more refined groupings and classification. Internally, the comparisons are not only at the level of individual signs but also at the level of their relationships, that is, their order, combinations, and relation to other signs in a given inscription. The latter comparisons may potentially allow for the detection of formats, reading order, substitutions, grammatical equivalences, allomorphic signs (when different signs have the same meaning), and polyvalency (when the same sign has multiple meanings depending on its epigraphic context). The diverse presentation of inscriptions evinces that writing was an aesthetic craft and that scribes thrived to play visually with signs, conflating them, seeking alternative forms, and/or inverting glyphs. Thus, we can assume, based on features in other Mesoamerican scripts, that scribes sought to encode, among other things, semantic couplets, metaphors, metonymies, anagrams, palindromes, and puns.

STRUCTURAL PROPERTIES OF THE ZAPOTEC WRITING SYSTEM

The use of the contextual and comparative methods allows sketching certain aspects of the writing system. Although there are still many details that require solution, its general characteristics can be outlined. Like other pristine forms of writing, Zapotec signs are mostly iconic, that is, the relationship between signifier and signified is based on mimesis. Yet, one has to keep in mind that, depending on the role of native interpretants, iconic signs could have been construed as indexes (based on an intrinsic relation between signifier and signified) or symbolic (when the relation between signifier and signified was based on arbitrary yet shared conventions). But for epigraphers, even certain instances of iconically motivated signs are not

obvious (Figure 1.16).

While mixed systems can have hundreds and even thousands of signs in their repertoires, "purely" syllabic writing systems have signaries ranging between 40 and 150 signs, and "purely" alphabetic systems have less than 40 signs (Friedrich 1957: 152, Gelb 1952: 115, 164). As of now, there is evidence that, at least during the early span in the use of the Zapotec script at Monte Albán, the repertoire of signs involved more than 100 different graphs, supporting the contention that the writing system is a mixed logo-syllabic script.

Although the epigraphic analysis of later Zapotec inscriptions that will be commented later on suggests that the script became through time increasingly "open" (Houston 2004b: 275)[7] and logophonic—in which each sign seemingly stood for a morpheme in the ancient language but that could be read as well in other languages--, the comparative study of writing systems worldwide makes it evident that, unless a graphic system is used to render a restricted range of information, no phonetic script can be purely logographic. The constraints can be easily recognized: the number of morphemes in any natural language is considerable. Also, morphemes constitute open systems by the continuous invention of new words. Thus, their rendering in a graphic system aimed at conveying wider ranges of information would require ample number of signs, much training in the acquisition of the scribal skills, and ample memorization by scribes and readers in the absence of scriptural regimentation or simplification.

Thus, as in all other known pristine forms of writing, a mixed system can incorporate to a

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[7] The timing of the shift from "closeness" to "openness" in early scripts from western Mesoamerica as the result of interactions with Teotihuacan (Houston 2004b: 277; Houston, Baines, and Cooper 2003: 457) is difficult to assess in the case of the Zapotec script. A number of linear texts seemingly conforming to "the transparent linguistic commitment in closed systems" (Houston 2004b: 276), including the 'Lápida de Bazán' and the inscriptions from the corner stones in the South Platform at Monte Albán (to be commented later) where actually commissioned during the period of greater interaction with Teotihuacan, and the production of texts with a syntactical structure rendered as narrative semasiography seemingly continued in the Central Valleys of Oaxaca until the 8th century ACE (see Urcid 2003a).

logographic base certain features that make the script more manageable. Among these is the use of the homophonic principle (that is, when signs do not convey a semantic value derived from their iconicity but for a phonetic value that takes advantage of homophones in the language), the use of semantic determinatives (morphemes that index categories of meaning but that are not spelled out), or the introduction of smaller phonetic units that stand for syllabic spellings or even phonemes.

Even though the iconicity of many Zapotec glyphs can be discerned, the possibility that the homophonic principle could be involved requires interpretative caution. For example, monument SP-9 from Monte Albán depicts individuals in procession accompanied by short glyphic notations that, on the bases of structural analysis, include their calendrical and personal names.[8] One of these glyphic compounds involves the iconic representation of an elite house or a temple and a road with footprints (Figure 1.17). A reading of the signs for what they represent iconically, based on the graphic similarity between the glyph "House" or "Temple" and representations of similar structures in the Tetila murals from Teotihuacan, postulates that the associated personage in the carved stone leaves Tetitla in an ambassadorial mission to Monte Albán (Marcus 1983c).[9] Yet, the logographic value of these signs, as recorded by fray Juan de Córdova in his 16th century Spanish-Zapotec dictionary, are respectively ***Yoho*** (House or Temple) and ***Neza*** (Road). In another entry in the same dictionary, Córdova recorded the Zapotec word for "walker or traveler" as ***Yohoneza***. Thus, a reading of the glyphic compound based on the homophonic principle suggests that the glyphic compound carved on SP-9 could

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[8] Ethnohistoric sources also make evident that prior to the Spanish Conquest, people in Oaxaca had both a calendrical and a personal name (Caso 1965b, Smith 1973a, Whitecotton 1982).

[9] Structurally, this interpretation assumes that the non-calendrical compounds in the monolith give the place of origin of the represented individuals instead of their personal names. Since the compounds are different, Marcus's interpretation of all the personages as visitors from Teotihuacan requires postulating that the presumed toponyms refer to other unknown place names from that urban center.

give the personal name of the represented personage (derived from his trade as long distant merchant?) and may have nothing to do with an ambassadorial delegation from Teotihuacan.

One of the best-known Mesoamerican writing system, the Maya, is known to be logo-syllabic as well. The way certain Zapotec glyphs were structured as compounds-- where certain signs appear in diverse combinations--opens the possibility that scribes made limited use of a sillabary in tandem with logography, particularly in the case of personal names and toponyms. In addition, some of the inscriptions from Monte Albán have structural properties that appear to reflect a syntax by the way signs are ordered in patterned sequences. It is now possible to discern several lineal formats that seemingly follow a grammar. Given the relative position of signs in these sequences, it appears feasible to determine which graphs stand for a subject, a verb or verbs, and a predicate. There are also locatives and temporal markers. Given the structure of these sequences, it is evident that reading orders varied. In contrasts to other writing systems with more regimented readings orders, Zapotec linear texts were read from top to bottom (the most prevalent reading order), from bottom to top, from left to right, from right to left, or even the latter two combined in the case of inscriptions "split" along a central axis (Figure 1.18).

The presumed phonetic component of Zapotec writing was often accompanied by semasiography, the latter depicting scenes with human beings portrayed in varied postures, involved in different kinds of activities, and holding or decked with items of material culture. The case studies to be discussed below are aimed at exploring the relationship between these two components of ancient Zapotec visual communication.

THE ANCIENT ZAPOTEC CALENDAR

One of the most conspicuous features of Zapotec inscriptions throughout the historical trajectory of the script is the occurrence of signs accompanied by numerals. Such signs are usually described as "calendrical glyphs". Yet, their specific meaning depends on their chronographic or nominative functions. The former function implies that the signs are a direct index of calendrical reckonings. Yet, since in ancient Oaxaca--as in other parts of Mesoamerica--people were named according to the day in which they were born or the day in which their

destiny was mantically determined, signs accompanied by numerals may have a nominative function. In such cases, calendrical names are indirect indexes of the ancient calendar.

Irrespective of their function, the comparative method was used in "Zapotec Hieroglyphic Writing" to analyze signs accompanied by numerals to address two formerly contended issues regarding the structure of the Zapotec calendar: one was the synchronic and diachronic glyphic reconstruction of the 20 day-name list; the other the way the Calendar Round was reckoned. The synchronic reconstruction of the 20 day-name list presented in Figure 1.18 was accomplished in some cases by anchoring ***the iconicity of signs with meanings of the Zapotec day names*** recorded by fray Juan de Córdova (1987b), and in others, by comparisons with other day-name lists from other regions of Mesoamerica.[10]

Two examples of such anchorages, involving the day names in the 10th (***Tella*** – sliding knot [glyph A-a knot) and 15th (***Naa*** – mother → sustenance → corn field [glyph J-a corncob) positions provide additional support to the contention that the inscriptions encode an ancient version of the Zapotec language, since these day names and their iconic representation are unique within the Mesoamerican context. Since "Zapotec Hieroglyphic Writing" was published, slight modifications have been done to the glyphic day name list, specifically in regard to the anchorage of variant signs. Glyph Eta has been placed in the 9th position under the assumption that its iconicity is that of a jade bead, an item of material culture that in many Mesoamerican graphic systems stood for "Water". Glyphs Iota and Kappa have been linked to the 13th position because their trefoil configuration comes close to that of glyph D. And glyph K (the icon of a leg) has been removed because of the extremely weak evidence of its existence as a sign accompanied by numbers.

The diachronic reconstruction of the list also attests to the pervasive continuity in certain aspects of the graphic system (Figure 1.20). While much data is still lacking for the earlier periods, the glyphs M (Cociyo)[11], F (Owl), Z (Water), A (Sliding Knot), O (Monkey), N (Soap

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[10] Emphasis is added to the correspondences between the iconicity of some signs and the 16th century Zapotec day names to refute the assertion that the reconstruction of the day-name list is based on "guessing" (Macri 2001: 261).

[11] The "j" sound in Spanish does not exist in the Zapotec language. Thus, words documented in the 16th

Plant), B (Jaguar), J (Maize), E (Earthquake), C (Rain), and X (Lord) were used without change throughout some 1,500 years. Such a conservatism contrasts with the graphic discontinuities in the representation of day names between the Zapotec and the later Mixteca-Puebla style day lists. The Zapotec glyphs F (Owl), Ñ (Human profile face with buccal mask and tied hairdo), A (Sliding Knot), D (Reed), J (Maize), L (Eye), E (Earthquake), P (Human profile face with angled lines), C (Rain) and X (Lord) were eventually dropped and substituted by other signs in the later graphic conventions.

The other calendrical problem that was resolved by means of the comparative method is the determination of how the Zapotec Calendar Round was reckoned. The solution to this much debated problem entailed confirming first the identification by Caso (1928) of the glyph that signals the vague solar year, as well as in making headway in the problem that he left unresolved concerning which where the year bearers and what was their position in the 20 day-name list. In Chapter 4 of "Zapotec Hieroglyphic Writing" (Urcid 2001), using a sample of 70 annual dates, I conclusively demonstrated that the sign marking the solar year is the iconic representation of a royal headband, whose material referent was actually used in rituals of enthronement in most of ancient Mesoamerica (Urcid 1999b: 228). David Stuart (n.d.) later established that the use of such a sign refers to a metaphor by which the name of the year was conceived as the one "governing" or "carrying the burden" during a given solar cycle.

Based on the same sample of annual dates, there is also no doubt whatsoever that the Zapotec year bearers corresponded to set II, that is, they occupied positions 2-7-12-17 in the 20 day-name list, and that the reckoning of the Calendar Round began with the bearer "Earthquake" (glyph E in the 17th position), followed by the year bearer "Lightning" (glyph M in the 2nd position), followed by the year name "Deer" (glyph D in the 7th position), and then by the bearer "Soap plant" (glyph N in the 12th position). After this name, the sequence of these four names repeats itself in a continuous fashion. Data from the 17th century indicate that in the Northern

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century with the J letter (like Cocijo), will be transcribed hereon with the letter Y to better reflect Zapotec phonemics.

Zapotec Sierra, the coefficient with which the year bearer Earthquake initiated the Calendar Round was 1 (Alcina Franch 1993; Justeson and Tavárez 2004). Yet, it remains to be assessed if the pre-Hispanic reckoning of the Calendar Round in the Central Valleys of Oaxaca initiated with the year 1 or 13 Earthquake.[12] Although the analysis of year bearers actually identified 6 different signs associated with the icon of a royal headband, it became evident that two of these were alternative variants to the year bearers "Earthquake" (glyph Alpha) and "Soap Plant" (glyph U), that is, the year names that open and close the primary, 4-year sequence of the Calendar Round (Figure 1.21). Despite some novel graphic variations (Urcid and Winter 2003), the new additional examples of annual dates that have surfaced since the publication of "Zapotec Hieroglyphic Writing" fully conform to these conclusions (Figure 1.22).

The problems that have been resolved regarding the structure of the Zapotec calendar seemingly suggests striking differences in the way reckonings of time were recorded in several Mesoamerican scribal traditions. For example, Isthmian and Maya scribal practices specified an event in terms of multiple concurrent cycles, always using a fixed point of departure (i.e. the Long Count). Early Zapotec scribal practices between 200 BCE and 200 ACE situated events in terms of year and a day anchored to a lunar cycle, marked by glyph W (Justeson and Kaufman 1994). In contrast, most historical records in the late Zapotec tradition, as well as in Ñuiñe, Central Mexican, and Aztec writing, simply recorded the year of occurrence within a given Calendar Round. During Postclassic times, scribes in Oaxaca, including the Central Valleys, situated events in their accounts in reference to two points within a given Calendar Round: the year and day. Since, for the time span that concerns us here there is no evidence that recounted events were temporally situated in terms of a count of a lunar cycle, of thirteen day cycles, or of days in the mantic cycle, the great majority of glyphs accompanied by coefficients that appear in later Zapotec inscriptions must be the calendrical names of individuals, some of them clearly members of ruling elites and nobility.

The comparative method has been useful not only to solve problems related to the structure

[12] Epigraphic analysis from a set of inscriptions at Monte Albán suggests a reckoning that began with year 13 Earthquake (13E) (Urcid 2001: 376-379).

of the ancient Zapotec calendar, but also to tackle the phonic reading of some glyphs. Since many inscriptions contain non-calendrical versions of day names, the anchorage of signs to the day name list provides clues to read or to consider closely related semantic fields to the lexemes suggested by the graphic signs. To give another example carved on monument SP-9 from Monte Albán (Figure 1.17), the non-calendrical glyphic compound in front of the last personage carved on the stone includes the glyphs M and E. A phonic reading of these glyphs as derived from the reconstructed day list, renders respectively the lexemes ***Laa*** and ***Xoo***, terms that together can be translated as "Powerful or Strong Lightning"[13], a personal name well documented in early colonial Zapotec genealogies (Whitecotton 1982: 328-329).

Part II- WRITING IN MONUMENTAL CONTEXTS: RULERSHIP, POWER, AND PUBLIC DISPLAYS

The use of jaguar imagery or of its anatomical parts in the production of material culture has deep historical roots in Mesoamerica, and undoubtedly conferred a multiplicity of meanings that were conveyed in diverse forms and contexts. By appropriating a natural model, the feline was cognitively transformed into cultural statements and weaved into the political and religious ideology. As part of a strategy of legitimization, jaguar symbolism became inextricably associated with notions about hereditary rulership, with war, and with human sacrifice (Benson 1998, Saunders 1994). Mesoamerican stories of creation incorporated metaphors that implicated the jaguar as the symbolic expression of aristocratic power. Furthermore, it has been argued that in certain egalitarian societies, the prestige derived from the association between wild cats and shamanism served as a model upon which divine rulership in ranked societies developed (Coe 1972: 10-11).

The jaguar figured prominently in the mantic arts and in conceptions about the dual identity of individuals and their animal protectors, as well as in belief systems concerning the

[13] The lexeme ***Xoo*** does not only mean "Earthquake". By metonymy, it also means "force", "fury", "impetus", "courage", "strength", or "vigor" (Córdova 1987a: 201v [fuerça]; 1987b: 114).

bodily transformation by certain individuals with special characteristics as a prelude to establish communication with the ancestors and the divine (Furst 1968). The dissolution of native elite power after the Spanish conquest radically modified conceptions about the dyadic relationships between humans and jaguars, and consequently altered the use of feline imagery. Yet, to this day, threads of continuity pervade in certain cultural practices, including the enactment of fertility rituals and origins stories, or the belief in the *tona* and *nagualismo*. Such continuities have been amply attested in the ethnohistoric and ethnographic record from Guerrero, Oaxaca, Chiapas, and Guatemala (Alcina Franch 1971; Beals 1945, Carrasco 1960, J. de la Fuente 1949, Kaplan 1956, Kearney 1972, W. Miller 1956, E. Parsons 1936, Saler 1964, Villa Rojas 1947, Weitlaner 1961, Weitlaner and Castro 1954 and 1973, Wonderly 1946).

The imagery of the jaguar in Southwestern Mesoamerica was common, figuring the felines in anthropomorphic and zoomorphic postures, or by representing human figures with jaguar attributes (Figures 2.1). In the first modality it is impossible to determine the sex of the personages, but the partial conflation of human and feline features in the second modality allow to make at times gender identifications. While there is evidence that in ancient Mesoamerican societies women occupied paramount political offices, data from codices, lienzos, and Spanish documents (litigation proceedings, censuses, and dictionaries) make it apparent that in matters of inheritance and succession to some offices, there was a marked preference to follow male lines.

The representation modalities described before indicate that on certain occasions male rulers dressed with the skins of large cats, and given the natural distribution of these animals in Mesoamerica, the most obvious candidates would have been the *Felis* and the *Panthera onca* (Coe 1972: 2; Saunders 1994: 104). As in Teotihuacan or Copan, elites from southwestern Mesoamerica sacrificed jaguars and placed their cadavers in offerings that were then sealed underneath architectural features. For instance, the excavations under the “adoratory” at the center of the sunken plaza in the North Platform at Monte Albán—the material seat of political authority of a most powerful Zapotec polity—exposed an offering that included the articulated skeletons of a jaguar and an eagle (Caso 1935: 6). While the ruling elites most likely acquired felines through interregional interaction, it is quite possible that the nobility organized expeditions to hunt or capture jaguars alive in order to maintain or augment their prestige.

Diverse representations in the material culture from various regions of Oaxaca indicate that the heads and the attached dangling skins of felines were also displayed as headdress insignia (Figure 2.1, nos. 4-5). Sometimes the long bones of wild cats were carved with narrative scenes and used as scepters (Figure 2.2).[14] The canine teeth and the claws were turned into personal ornaments, and with the skins that were not worn, certain craft specialists covered stools and thrones that signaled high rank. Potters were commissioned to manufacture special vases in the shape of jaguar paws. In the Central Valleys of Oaxaca, the ubiquity of conjoined or separate paired vases, one with the glyph 1 Jaguar and the other with the glyph 2 Maize (two consecutive day names in the calendrical list) —suggest that this type of containers allude to a primordial couple (Marcus and Flannery 1996: 224). All these instantiations of material culture must have been used in diverse situations, but invariably were symbols of high status, governance, militia, and of the underlying ideology that supported them.

FELINES AND THE ROYAL DYNASTIES FROM MONTE ALBÁN

Although ancient Zapotec elites in the Central Valleys of Oaxaca deployed writing to render many genealogical records, and that Monte Albán has provided the majority of inscribed monuments known thus far, little is known about the identity of the rulers who held political and economic power during the long history of the city. Yet, based on the postulate that jaguar imagery was symbolic of royal and noble elites, the occurrence of carved stones found in the monumental core of the Main Plaza that depict personages represented as jaguars accompanied by their calendrical names allow making several identifications. By ordering those carved monuments using stylistic criteria, a sketch of their possible temporal sequence can be generated. For now, it is impossible to trace if or how these individuals were related, or to determine how succession to high office took place. But for the span between 400 and 800 ACE, there is evidence of at least 11 different rulers who financed their representation in stone monuments (Figure 2.3).

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[14] The naming of pre-Hispanic painted screenfolds in Figure 2.2 and elsewhere in this study follows the nomenclature proposed by Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 2004 (see Table 2.1 for equivalences).

Among them was a ruler named 5 Jaguar whom, during his rule sometime between 350 and 550 ACE, commissioned a small quadripartite commemorative structure, set most likely in the center of a plaza (Figure 2.4-1). Six of the eight viewable narrow surfaces in the lintels from the four enclosures recorded his accession to power, showing 14 secondary personages presenting him vassalage while at the same time paying homage to his deceased predecessor—most likely his father--, who is identified as 13 Soap Plant (13N). The 14 secondary personages may have been the leaders of the wards into which Monte Albán seems to have been internally organized (Blanton 1978: 21).[15] Nothing is known of the rulership of 5 Jaguar, except that he was succeeded eventually by another ruler named 13 Night (13F) who seemingly became even more famous by commissioning one of the most ambitious and impressive narrative programs known from that period at Monte Albán (Figure 2.4-2). To create it, Lord 13 Night ordered the dismantling of the quadripartite memorial built by Lord 5 Jaguar, reusing the lintels and complementing them with newly quarried blocks in order to carve on their larger surfaces parts of what, as a whole set, is a celebration of his enthronement.[16] Such an event commensurate a 'binding' of a Calendar Round, that is, the end-beginning of a 52-year cycle, and recounts his claimed military deeds. Seven carved orthostats containing a major section of the narrative program may have decorated the side of a large pyramidal structure, showing the paramount ruler overseeing a procession of 6 captives bound by their arms and legs (Figure 2.5).[17] One of the higher-ranking prisoners is also depicted as a jaguar, implying that he was the ruler of an important kingdom that Lord 13 Night proclaimed having conquered.

In a previous work I assumed that "perhaps other facades within the same platform or in superimposed tiers were also decorated, forming a still larger and more inclusive narrative composition" (Urcid 1992a: 263). The discovery in 1993 by Marcus Winter of a corner stone

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[15] Blanton identified 15 wards, including the monumental core of the city. I am assuming that 5 Jaguar himself and his predecessor 13N governed the central sector.

[16] Marcus (1994) also reached this conclusion, but her interpretation did not consider the carved monoliths as a set, leading her to propose that the name of the ruler was 12 Jaguar.

[17] The associated inscriptions may name other captives not shown in that section of the program (see Urcid 2001: 399).

with traces of a prisoner on the larger surface and a linear text on the narrow face that includes the name 13 Night not only rebuts the objections by several scholars to the hypothetical reconstructions commented thus far (Balkansky 2002: 904; Houston 2002: 24)[18], but allows to consider even further implications regarding the narrative program commissioned by Lord 13 Night. One is that the structure containing the narrative had its basal corners inscribed, and that the fourth cornerstone still remains unaccounted for. The other implication is that such a quadripartite setting of carved corner blocks most likely alludes to an important component of the enthronement rituals performed by Lord 13 Night. According to native and early colonial accounts from several regions of Mesoamerica, when acceding to high office, rulers kindled a new fire, shot arrows or darts to the four corners of the world to symbolically demarcate the territory under their control, and sent four lords—each to the four ends of such claimed territory, to distribute the land among nobles (Oudijk 2002). Such a symbolic expression of the ruler's role as axis mundi (to center the world) and of territorial proclamation in ceremonies of enthronement is not only alluded to in the architectural setting of the narrative program commissioned by 13 Night, but it also appears to be rendered in another carved monument that shows a jaguar lord named 11 Rain standing over a large glyph E (the quadripartite conception of earth) that has in each corner a dart (Figure 2.6).

It remains unknown who succeeded Lord 13 Night in ruling Monte Albán and its polity, but it is evident that eventually, a close or remote successor ordered the dismantling of the narrative program commemorating his enthronement, reusing the carved monoliths to mark the four corners of the South Platform (Figure 2.4-3). Although such a placement implies that the stones where still politically 'charged' and were given a new meaning, nothing of the inscriptions from the commemorating structures built by 5 Jaguar and 13 Night were visible then

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[18] Balkansky's characterization of the reconstructions as "speculative" evinces his adherence to a positivist paradigm that dismisses alternative epistemologies in archaeology, particularly one based on clues. For discussions of such an alternative mode in constructing knowledge, see Ginzburg 1980 and 1989.

since the entire Platform was most likely plastered and painted.[19]

The suggested reconstruction of the narrative program commissioned by Lord 13 Night allowed discovering a standard sequence in the associated texts (Urcid 1992a: 295-308 and 2001: 379-397). Although not all the texts have glyphs that correspond to all the positions in the standard sequence, all of them begin with an annual date. The presence of 10 annual dates in the texts provided an excellent opportunity to test the proposed sequence in the Zapotec reckoning of the Calendar Round. Although there could be alternative interpretations as to the reading order of these annual dates, the one I previously proposed generates a span of 60 years (Table 2.2)[20], suggesting that the temporal framework of the dated narrative encompasses a human life span, implying in turn much historicity in its content. Furthermore, the unfolding of the annual dates shown in Table 2.2 generates spans of four years between two of the year dates, four more that are multiples (two 8-year spans, and two 12-year spans), and one 2-year span, implicating that engagements in warfare raids were calendrically prescribed. The ritualized practice of warfare that was commensurate with the quadripartite structure of the calendar was seemingly a pan-Mesoamerican phenomenon, as evinced in the story of creation recounted in what remains of a manuscript now known as 'Historia de los Mexicanos por sus Pinturas', attributed to Fray Andrés de Olmos and written in the Basin of Mexico ca. 1533. In the section on the events that transpired after the creation of the sun and the moon, the story tells us that:

> In the ***fourth year*** of the fourth [set] of thirteen [years], after the great flood, there was a loud noise in the sky, and a double-headed dear fell from it, and Camaxtli ordered it to be picked up and told the men living then in Cuitlahuac, three leagues from Mexico [Tenochtitlan], that they took the deer as their god, and so they did, and they fed him during ***four years*** with

[19] The dismantling of memorials by successors may imply either usurpation in dynastic succession and the attempt to rewrite history, or acts of termination that ended the power vested on individuals as a prelude to its transference to the next legitimate heir.

[20] Table 2.2 reads from bottom to top. The first column on the right provides the cumulative count of years, and the second column the number of years between annual dates. The vertical line on the left side links the position of the three annual dates carved on the most important monolith, that is, SP-1. The lines at the center of the table indicate the relation between the paired set of annual dates rendered in SP-3 and SP-5. The vertical line on the right side encompasses the cycle of 52 years being reckoned in the narrative.

> rabbits and snakes and butterflies. And in the ***eighth year*** of the fourth [set] of thirteen [years] (that is, ***four years*** after), there was war between Camaxtli and neighboring peoples, and in order to defeat them he took the deer, and carrying him on his back, he vanquish them. And in the ***second year*** of the fifth [set] of thirteen [years] (that is, ***two years*** after the end of a Calendar Round), the god Camaxtli offered a celebration to the sky, kindling many fires and sponsoring feasts, and until the end of the fifth [set] of thirteen [years] after the great flood Camaxtli made war, and with it he fed the sun (Garibay 1996: 37) (translated by the author, emphasis added).

The next position in the standard sequence is occupied by the "Fish" glyph, followed by glyphic compounds that must be toponyms because of the presence of footprints and "Hill" glyphs. The standard sequence continues with the calendrical names of the protagonists (the ruler and the captives). The fifth position in the sequence includes glyphic compounds that, by virtue of depicting body parts, like hands, appear to be verbs. The sequence ends with the iconic representation of a tied bag, sometimes rendered by synecdoche as a knot. In the case of the columnar texts in monoliths SP-3 and SP-5, the inscriptions repeat signs that correspond to the first two positions of the standard sequence, that is, the "Fish" glyph and an inverted annual date.

When comparing the standard sequence with the columnar text in the newly found corner stone, several differences become apparent (Figure 2.7). While the new text begins with the synecdoche of glyph U and a speech scroll, an introductory compound that initiates other linear inscriptions and that highlights the importance of one of the texts carved on SP-1 (the monolith that has the representation of Lord 13 Night), there is no annual date. The new text follows with the reiteration of the ruler's calendrical name (13F), followed by a verbal compound of a numeral unit represented by a finger followed above by a hand that holds what looks like a laurel-shaped knife and the glyph "Leaf".

The text in the newly found corner stone continues with the glyph 10 I and ends with the "Fish" sign. Glyph I seemingly has a pan-Mesoamerican use to convey notions of wholeness, (time and space integrated in ritual order, like in the first page of screenfold Tezcatlipoca) and completion (end of cycles and celebration of the binding of the Calendar Round, like in page 34 of the screenfold Cihuacoatl). I had suggested before that glyph I, aside from being used infrequently as a day name, "dealt with counts of certain units or period endings" (Urcid 1992a:

198-202, and 2001: 247-250). Until now, the values of the accompanying coefficient never exceed 13, with the attested numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, and possibly 13 (when the coefficient is omitted). Glyph I frequently appear in texts that include at least one annual date, and if one assumes that its quadripartite form indexed multiplying the accompanying coefficient by 4, it is possible that the sign may anchor an event in the quadripartite division of the Calendar Round (four sets of thirteen years). Yet, knowing that in the first page of screenfold Tezcatlipoca a large glyph I encompasses the 20 days of the calendar, one can postulate alternatively that the reckonings recorded by Zapotec glyph I are somehow related to the thirteen day count of the Sacred Calendar. While its numerical working remains elusive, and as will become evident in later sections of this essay, the preeminent funerary contexts of most of the known examples of glyph I appear to be related to the commemoration of death events or death anniversaries, as well as with the presentation of offerings to the ancestors. If so, the inscription in the newly found cornerstone may allude to the presentation of a sacrifice (hand with knife and leaf) to commemorate the death or a related anniversary of the ruler's father, whose identity remains unknown.

THE JAGUAR LORDS AND THE PRIMORDIAL COVENANT

Since the remote times when the Mesoamerican calendar was invented, the jaguar constituted a meaningful ontological unit in the mantic arts. As has become already evident (see Figure 1.20), the 14th day name of the ritual calendar alludes to the jaguar, and in Oaxaca—as in other parts of Mesoamerica—its graphic representation included the iconic rendering of the feline either full bodied (both frontal and profile views), or by means of synecdoche, representing only the head (both frontal and profile views) or the paw with claws (Figure 2.8).

The role that the jaguar played in divination must have constituted a complex interplay of significations that not only contributed in prognostications aimed at coping with diverse life crises, from birth, marriage, death, disease, interpersonal conflicts, and warfare, but also in the formation of personal identities, including the adoption of the name according to the day in

which people where borne or mantically marked, the identification of an animal companion (*tona*), and in certain cases, of an alter ego (*nagual*) attainable through corporeal transformation.

Several lines of evidence strongly suggest that in ancient times, the representation of rulers as jaguars did not constitute exclusively a symbol of aristocracy, but that it signaled as well a special office, one entailing the perceived ability of rulers to acquire an alter ego (Urcid 1993: 152). In several parts of Mesoamerica to this day, the jaguar is considered a "strong" and "powerful" *nagual* (Wonderly 1946). Such a virtue was seemingly necessary to cope with the responsibilities that high political offices entailed. Thus, in order to secure the well being of the community, ensure agricultural production, and to maintain social control, rulers had to procure the necessary goods, including human offerings, to dedicate them in the ritual reiterations of a primordial pact with the divine. In several parts of Oaxaca, Guerrero, and the Central Highlands, the representation of jaguar-rulers devouring hearts, human beings, or with residue of blood dripping from the jaws or the claws was used as a visual metaphor to refer to the paramount office of supreme sacrificer and to human immolation (Figure 2.9). This metaphor may explain why the Zapotec name of the fourteenth day (***lache***) documented by fray Juan de Córdova seemingly translates as "Heart" and not as "Jaguar".

Part III- WRITING IN ELITE DOMESTIC CONTEXTS: MEMORY AND THE CONTINUITY OF CORPORATE GROUPS

Chàba, tija – Celebration sponsored by the son to commemorate his parents, their accomplishments, and deeds (Córdova 1987a: 196).

A large portion of the known Zapotec inscriptions occurs in mortuary features associated with elite domestic contexts. The walls of masonry tombs built under the houses where painted with elaborate narratives, sometimes complementing them with information carved on jambs, lintels, facades, and/or slabs that sealed the entrances to the crypts. Ever since the scientific investigation of Zapotec tombs began, the paradigms that have guided the interpretation of tomb narratives, particularly those rendered in murals, have changed. One interpretative position assumed that the painted themes had to do with the representation of anthropomorphic deities

(Caso 1938, 1965a); another position maintained that their character is rather historiographic and that the painted murals allude to prominent mortals (Marcus 1983a, 1992a: 206-209 and 287; A. Miller 1995; Saville 1904). The premise taken here is a middle ground between these two poles: I assume that the represented individuals played important social roles during their lives, embodying divinely sanctioned attributes or impersonating deities as an ideological strategy to validate their position and to contest or perpetuate the prevailing social order. If so, the study of the tombs and of the messages painted and/or carved in them should bring insights into the way society was organized and of its ideological underpinnings.

The main thesis guiding the exegesis of scribal practices in elite domestic contexts is that, in a highly ranked and unequal society, the transfer of property between human generations is central to the reconfiguration or reproduction of the social system, and that ancestor veneration, particularly among the higher-ranking corporate groups, constituted a cultural institution deployed in order to legitimize such transferences. This premise will allow me to address the question of why certain Zapotec tombs were inscribed and what were the intended goals of those practices.

To do so it is necessary to approach the study of Zapotec tombs from multiple angles, including their spatial and architectural context, their biological content (the human remains), the associated material culture (the offerings), and the visual language that activated them as social stages. Given the temporality of the evidence currently available and the two examples I have selected, the thrust of this section is on Zapotec mortuary practices that prevailed between 400 and 800 years after the Common Era. I will first discuss the way ancient Zapotecs treated their dead and what is known about their social organization during the early colonial period. I will then reiterate a few remarks on calendrical names and genealogies as a prelude to consider the narrative programs in tomb 104 from Monte Albán and tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana. These two cases are illustrative of a much widespread phenomenon.

ZAPOTEC MORTUARY PRACTICES

Although some 300 tombs have been excavated in the Central Valleys of Oaxaca since the turn of the 20th century, very few have been thoroughly analyzed, and except for a handful (Caso 1969; Kuttruf and Autry 1978; Lind 2002; Lind and Urcid 1983; Martínez López 1998; Martínez

López, Winter and Juárez 1995; Winter et al. 1995), none has been published adequately.[21] Consequently, our understanding of Zapotec funerary practices is still poor. Yet, the data accumulated thus far allow delineating several generalizations.

Discrete areas with large concentrations of interments that are physically bound within or outside ancient communities are only known in a few settlements from the Formative and Early Classic periods. One of them, in Santo Domingo Tomaltepec, dates between 1150 and 850 BCE (Whalen 1981). Another one, approximately coeval with the former, was found at San José Mogote (Flannery and Marcus 1983: 55). Still one more, datable to between 200 and 350 ACE, appears to be present in terrace C at Yagul, where at least 22 individuals were recovered within an area of some 28 m^2 (Urcid n.d.a.) (Figure 3.1).

But for the subsequent periods that concern us here, the spatial distribution of human burials was very different. Archaeological data indicate that the interments were most often made within household units. The information derived from the osteological analysis of the sample of burials recovered from the site of Lambityeco supports such a conclusion. There, the mortality curve generated from data on age at death (n= 88 individuals), all of them recovered from domestic contexts, approximates a U-shaped distribution typical of a natural population, where the probabilities of dying are greater among newborns (given their biological vulnerability) and old people (given the aging process and eventual death) (Acsádi and Nemeskéri 1970) (Figure 3.2). If from the excavation of household units one obtains a burial sample that approximates a natural distribution, we can then conclude that between the 5th and 9th centuries after the Common Era, human burials were not placed in cemeteries and that the great majority of inhumations in the Central Valleys of Oaxaca were done in a dispersed fashion within residential areas, either in masonry tombs, in stone-lined cists, in unlined graves, inside or covered by ceramic containers, or in reused domestic features such as underground storage pits and abandoned ceramic kilns.[22]

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[21] Other studies with valuable data, some of them unpublished, include Autry (1973); C. Bernal (1969); I. Bernal (1958); Drennan (1976: appendix XIV); Hernández (1978); Herrera (1989); Paddock, Mogor and Lind (1968); Martínez López (1998); Urcid (1983); and Winter, Deraga and Fernández (1979) and Zárate (1992).

[22] Tombs are masonry features that have an entrance. Cists are stone-lined features, with or without a

The most common position of the burials, independently of their specific context, was supine and extended, although in few cases—especially when non-funerary domestic features were reused for burial purposes, the skeletons appear flexed given the need to fit the size of the cadaver within the limited space of ad hoc features (Martínez López, Winter and Juárez 1995: 95-96; Romero 1983; Winter et al. 1995: 25-26). Fetuses and neonates were usually placed inside ceramic vessels (Martínez López, Winter and Juárez 1995: 239), so most often their skeletons are also slightly flexed.

Although there is much variation in the layout of residential units in the Central Valleys of Oaxaca, they all conform to a basic quadripartite model in the distribution of domestic space (Winter 1974). Such a model includes a central open courtyard surrounded by rooms (Figure 3.3). Houses vary in size, number of rooms around the central courtyard, construction materials, and the applied finishes. While there are some exceptions, masonry tombs were usually built under the room of the house oriented towards the East. On the other hand, other inhumations appear under the floor of the courtyard or the floors of the rooms, and sometimes even outside the confines of the house proper but within the surrounding household plot. The demographic profiles of burials placed within tombs and those deposited outside them--generated from the data on age and sex--are quite distinct. Later on I will comment in greater detail the case of burials placed inside the tombs. As to the inhumations that were done outside the crypts but within the boundaries of the household units, these include a wide gamut of ages, from fetuses to old adults. Both sexes are represented in those age categories in which sex can be determined from skeletal analysis.

It becomes evident that many household units in ancient Zapotec communities had a diversity of burial types, but it is also a fact that not all known burials were associated to houses. Several adult burials have been found in contexts that were not exclusively domestic, and others are associated with architectural complexes of the type known as “Temple-Plaza-Adoratory” (hereon TPA) (Figure 3.4). For instance, the human remains found in an offering under the one-

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roof, that lack an entrance. Graves are simple excavations in a natural or artificial matrix without any stonework.

room precinct atop TPA-IV at Monte Albán were those of a sacrificial offering, as could be attested by the presence of a skull accompanied by the first three cervical vertebrae, and a laurel-shaped flint knife. Also found associated with this type of architectural complexes in Mitla and Lambityeco are paired burials that were placed simultaneously under the main axis of the structures, under the plaza and in front of the main access staircase.[23] Since these graves did not penetrate the floors of the plazas, these burials were evidently placed as dedicatory offerings when the structures were built.[24]

Unique in the known archaeological record of the Central Valleys is the direct burial of a child (age unknown) seemingly deposited as a consecrated offering upon the construction of the fourth in a sequence of five known superimposed two-room temples forming Mound 1-bis at Quicopecua (Figure 3.5) (I. Bernal 1958: 24-32; Saville 1922: 50-51).[25] The burial, apparently primary, appears to have been decked with a composite pectoral or garment that included more than 400 green stone and jadeite beads of different size and 35 shells of different types that were perforated for suspension. Tesserae of mother of pearl and obsidian suggest the inclusion of at least one mirror whose base had disintegrated. The burial also had a pair of clay earplugs, 4.5 cm in diameter, inlayed in their anterior flat surface with thin pieces of highly polished hematite. Seventeen green stone anthropomorphic figurines surrounded the burial, and the skeletal remains and associated objects were heavily strewn with cinnabar. The style of the figurines and the architectural context date the burial to circa 500 ACE.

It is plausible that the individuals whose remains appear in public and/or sacred contexts

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[23] The architectural template "Temple-Plaza-Adoratory" (Winter 1986, 2001b, 2002; see also Peterson 1992) includes structures with a greater range of variation encompassing contexts other than sacred (as denoted by the term "temple"). The cited example from Lambityeco, for instance, has a house instead of a temple, but the adjacent large plaza surrounded by ample rooms suggests the integration or formalization within the domestic realm of administrative functions.

[24] Méndez (1986b: 80) reports having found offertory burials under the corners of some of the excavated structures at Cerro de la Campana, a practice that in Oaxaca appears to go back to at least the Rosario phase (650-500 BCE) (Flannery and Marcus 1976: 215).

[25] Quicopecua refers to the Classic period occupation of Sa'a Yucu, near Cuilapan de Guerrero (Paddock 1983).

may not have been autochthonous to the communities where they were buried, but the available sample is so small as to render the analysis of discontinuous traits impractical. As of yet, attempts to extract DNA from these burials and from those in domestic contexts from diverse communities for comparative purposes have not been carried out.

Some of the explored tombs seemingly appear to be associated with structures of a non-domestic character. The case of tomb 7 at Monte Albán was classed as an example of such a category (Flannery 1983: 132 and 135). Yet, the recent expansion of Caso's excavations in the area of the tomb to better understand its architectural context has revealed that the crypt was used in the course of occupying and remodeling three superimposed houses, the second of which incorporated over the tomb a two-room shrine (Martínez López 2002; Winter 2001a: 57-62). As already commented by Martínez López (1998: 319-321), more archaeological research is needed to better understand instances of multiple superimposed architectural configurations in the case of tombs that appear to be associated to non-domestic contexts. For the time being, the existence of tombs associated to "temples" during the time span of our concern has not been conclusively demonstrated.

Returning to a consideration of the residential contexts, several domestic locales have yielded more than one tomb. In many instances, such a multiplicity of crypts is related to the presence of several phases of construction. Many of the earthen mounds that dot today the landscape in the Central Valleys of Oaxaca are the result of a series of houses built upon each other. This implies that a given tomb could be continuously used during the successive occupation of these remodeled houses. At times, the vertical growth of the houses in a single locality eventually incorporated two or more tombs in different stratigraphic positions (Figure 3.6).[26] There are several alternative interpretations to account for the occurrence of multiple tombs in a single locality. It is possible that as houses kept accruing vertically, it became

[26] Other examples of this phenomenon in Monte Albán are those of tombs 77-78 and 95-96 (Caso, Bernal and Acosta 1967:283-284, plan 9), tombs 108-109 in terrace 1457, and tombs 97-43 in terrace 171 (Caso 1938: 32bis and plans 16 and 19); examples from Lambityeco include tombs 1, 5 and 6 in Mound 195 (Lind 1993); examples from Quicopecua include tombs 1 and 1b in Mound 1 (Bernal 1958); and in Yagul, tombs 35 and 10 in Mound 5W (Brockington 1955).

increasingly difficult to reach the original crypt. This could have led to the construction of a new tomb, in tandem with a new house remodeling, at a lesser depth. When a domestic local was occupied from a long span but does not exhibit constructional superposition, the need for space for inhumations must have dictated the construction of several tombs at the same underground level. Or, if there were changes in residence, the new inhabitants in a given locality may have built another tomb to place their own dead.

The size and the architectural features of the crypts co-vary with the size and elaboration of the associated house(s). Some tombs are actually symbolic features since they are stone-lined boxes that have a non-functional entrance but appear where tombs are usually built. Lambityeco 'tomb' 4 is a good example of such symbolic crypts (Urcid 1983: 101-103), as are the four cists built under the east room of one of the smaller known houses at Monte Albán, located in terrace 634 (Winter et al. 1995: 46-52). In addition, tombs associated with low-ranking houses were invariably built after the houses were finished, while those associated with high-ranking houses were an integral component of the architectural design and were built prior to the construction of the houses.[27] In several instances, crypts were evidently modified through time, usually adding to them new extensions.[28]

Regarding tombs' contents, the crypts generally have the remains of several individuals. One, sometimes two skeletons appear in anatomical position, while the bones from other individuals are disarticulated, mixed, and pilled up or dispersed. With rare exceptions, the skeletons inside the tombs are those of adult individuals of both sexes. The few exceptions to this pattern documented at Lambityeco included only the isolated remains from grown up children or adolescents.[29] In

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[27] There are several cases at Monte Albán, as well as at Lambityeco (tombs 2, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12) (Lind 1993, Urcid 1983).

[28] Examples of this phenomenon include tombs 2 and 6 from Lambityeco (Lind and Urcid 1983) and possibly tomb 4 from Monte Albán (Caso 1932: 15-16 and fig. 21).

[29] Middleton et al. (1998: 300) report the presence of a child approximately 5 years old in one of the tombs from Ejutla, but they do not provide a detailed osteological inventory. Their graphic illustration of the other three adult burials in the tomb (idem, figs. 4 to 6) and the omission of the child's skeleton suggest that the Ejutla case follows a similar pattern as the one detected at Lambityeco.

order to give an idea as to the type of deposits found in tombs, I will discuss the case of Lambityeco tomb 6, a crypt that was found in Mound 195. This mound contained 6 superimposed houses (Lind 2002). The tomb was built when the second house was constructed, but at that time the crypt had a single chamber. The associated house had two contiguous Patio Complexes, each one with a central courtyard surrounded by 8 rooms. The tomb lay under the East room of the larger Patio Complex. During the occupation of the third house its occupants decided to enlarge the tomb by building a chamber behind the first one and connecting the two through a niche that was originally built in the back wall of the first chamber. It was during the occupation of the fourth house that someone commissioned the making of a narrative mortuary program associated to the tomb, including the construction of a mausoleum on top of the tomb whose recessed entablatures were decorated with figures of male-female pairs modeled in stucco (Figures 3.7 and 3.8). Also added to the façade of the tomb were larger than life-size busts with the representation of another couple. The last of six burials that were placed in the tomb, that of an adult woman (burial 68-22), was done by excavating through the top of the mausoleum until reaching the second chamber and not through the entrance to the crypt. In the process of doing so, loose human remains of burials that had been formerly placed inside the tomb were left on top of what remained of the inferior cube at the center of the mausoleum (Figures 3.9 and 3.10).

Many of the studies that have focused on Zapotec mortuary practices, beginning with Caso (I. Bernal 1958: 18; Caso 1933: 645 and 1942: 36; Caso and Rubín de la Borbolla 1936: 11; Flannery 1983: 135; Westheim 1977), assume that the tombs were static features, the result of a single depositional event. The disarticulated human bones found inside them, designated as "secondary burials" have been interpreted as the remains of important personages that were exhumed from other localities in order to eventually re-inter them in the crypts. Equally as well, it has been assumed that the articulated skeletons found inside or adjacent to the tombs are the remains of sacrificial victims placed as offerings to accompany the important individuals (Figure 3.11-A).

The model of secondary interments proposed by Caso resembles several ethnographic examples of double burials (Danforth 1982, Hertz 1907, Metcalf and Huntington 1992, Miles 1965). It is also congruent with the scheme of rites of passage proposed by van Gennep (1960), whereby

the change from one status to another (from life to death) is characterized by a liminal period. In the funerary rituals of many cultures, this liminal period corresponds to the conception of the time it takes for an incorporeal entity to leave the body and reach its final resting destination. Caso's model postulates that the liminal phase in Zapotec mortuary practices was a prolonged period that began with a first inhumation. After some time the already dried remains were exhumed, painted red, and then interred for a second time in the tombs when victims were sacrificed to accompanied them. There are some ethnographic data in support of the Zapotec practice of human immolation to accompany the dead. Fray Juan de Córdova (1987a: 367v) included an entry with the expression *Totiia penitooga*, which means, "to sacrifice to a lord or a lady a man or a woman that died to be buried with them." Another expression documented by the friar is *Pènitòca tòoga.l.penitòga*, which he translated as "Two women that were buried with a lady when she died so that they will serve her there. And they killed them first" (Córdova 1987a: 277v).[30]

However, since the exhumation of a burial can potentially generate two types of mortuary deposits (Figure 3.12-A), including one in which certain bones are not collected (secondary burial type A) and another made up by the remains collected and placed at another locality (secondary burial type B), one would expect to find in a large sample similar amounts of both types of deposits.[31] Yet, this implication is not supported by the available data from Lambityeco (Figure 3.12-B). For instance, when comparing the frequencies of type A and type B secondary burials, or the frequencies of these with other types of burials, their relative proportion is low and can be explained in terms of other formation processes of the archaeological record. Since many houses present evidence of continuous remodeling, one would expect occasional accidental disturbances of previous burials and their re-interment in other places within the household units. Therefore, postulating the practice of double burial and the immolation of sacrificial victims

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[30] Córdova 1987: 367v) records two other linked purposes for the sacrifice of humans: warfare and success in agricultural production (to sacrifice a man upon defeat in war; to sacrifice a man or a child for rain; to sacrifice a man for the cornfields).

[31] A notable example of a secondary burial from Monte Albán than includes only the skulls or mandibles of 24 individuals between 1 and 15 years of age, as well as the long bones of several adults, is amply described in Martínez López et al. 1995: 151-175.

does not account for the known mortuary variability documented so far, and there is no other line of evidence in support of those inferences.

Alternatively, the content of the tombs can be interpreted following other premises. The context of multiple phases of construction for many tombs, the architectural additions to some of them, and the fact that the human remains found inside the crypts include both articulated and disarticulated remains from several adults of both sexes, suggest that the tombs where not the result of a single event (Figure 3.11-B).[32] If one redefines the disarticulated remains as primary burials disturbed *in situ* instead of "secondary interments", the data on age and sex could reflect the presence of couples, heads of families that conformed a succession of several generations. This interpretation, which as will be seen later on, provides a paradigm to interpret the painted murals and the epigraphic record inscribed in the tombs, allows estimating the approximate minimum span for the use of a tomb and of its associated house. As an example, mound 190 at Lambityeco included a tomb (no. 2) associated to at least 5 superimposed houses (Paddock, Mogor and Lind 1968). The crypt was enlarged during the occupation of the second house--also with two contiguous Patio Complexes--by adding a chamber in front of the previous one. The tomb contained the remains of at least 7 adults, three of which were identified as females and three as males. The sex of the remaining individual could not be determined. Seven individuals could represent 4 successive generations of conjugal pairs, which implies—assuming some 25 years between each human generation—that mound 190 and its five superimposed houses were the result of some 100 years of occupation. Thus, unless there were instances of simultaneous multiple deaths, tomb 2 would have been reopened at least seven times during that span.

Other osteological evidence that supports the idea that the tomb deposits resulted from accumulative events include the presence of red pigment (cinnabar) in some of the human remains and the concordance of antimeric pairs—the left and right bones of the same anatomical element--, between the small bones found outside and inside the tombs. A. Miller (1995: 249, note 5) argues that the red pigment could have been applied to a corpse and adhered to the bones

[32] Romero (1983:92) had already anticipated this conclusion when commenting that "secondary burials are the piled up remains of primary burials, which, in the case of the tombs, was done in order to use the space to deposit another burial" (translation by the author).

through the process of decomposition. Yet, in the tombs at Lambityeco cases of cinnabar applied to the already eroded surfaces of bones, in the endocranium, and in the distal surfaces of teeth imply that the paint was also applied to already dry bones. Furthermore, two forms of application have been detected: by sprinkling them or through the application with a brush. Ceramic bowls with the remnants at the bottom of a thick dried layer of pigment have been found in some crypts. The red pigment was also used to paint motifs in the facades of the tombs (Figure 3.13) and was applied as well to some of the offerings, especially ceramic effigy vessels and objects made from deer bones like spatulas and weaving battens.[33]

The practice of painting human remains in ancient Oaxaca has been interpreted as evidence of the cult to Quetzalcoatl by arguing a homology between the use of the red color—taken as symbolic of fire—and the cremation of human remains, a burial treatment that was never practiced in Oaxaca (Sejourné 1960). It has also been proposed that the red paint represents blood, and in a metonymic sense linage (A. Miller 1995: 170, 202). Such interpretations do not take into account that red paint was almost never used in burials found outside the tombs. On the other hand, the use of red paint was a more generalized phenomenon, being found not only in crypts but also in caches dedicated in the inauguration of buildings (for example in the corner offerings of the South Platform at Monte Albán [Acosta 1959: 14]), and in architectural decoration, including facades, walls, and floors. Therefore, it is evident that the meaning of the red color must have been polyvalent. Yet, as previously suggested by Caso (1938: 73, 1942: 36), there is no doubt that the red paint in the tombs—on the human remains, some of the associated offerings, and in several parts of the crypts (both inside and outside)—formed an integral component in ancestor commemoration.[34]

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[33] For a photograph of this type of objects see Lind 2002: 61, fig. 21.

[34] Notions regarding the relation between the red color, origins, and the ancestors prevail to this day. For Mixtec speakers from the coast "red is a special color, the elders say that it is the color of a god that was present the day the first Mixtec people appeared. To this day some elders still hang a red ribbon from the neck of their cloaks because it is a divine color, that is the meaning of the color" (Anders, Jansen and Cruz 1994: 144) (translation by the author).

Regarding the antimeric pairs from one or more individuals found outside and inside the tombs, these are most often teeth and the small bones from the hands and feet. Their spatial distribution suggests that when tombs had to be prepared in order to place a new burial, the larger and more visible anatomical elements of the previous burials were shuffled and piled up against the walls of the crypts, and that the small and inconspicuous bones ended up outside the tombs in the process of sweeping and cleaning the floors of the crypts.

Some tombs have evidence of behaviors that were not necessarily related to interment rituals. The mortuary program decorating the mausoleum built on top of tomb 6 at Lambityeco shows personages in a prone position who carry in their hands human femora and wear human mandibles as bracelets in their upper arms (Figure 3.8; see also Rabin 1970: 4-5; Urcid 2001: 434, fig. 6.15). In order to determine if there had been intentional removal of human bones in tomb 6, its skeletal content was compared to that of the other tombs from Lambityeco taken as a group. When comparing the frequency of inventoried anatomical elements with the expected frequency based on the minimum number of individuals detected in each tomb, a chi-square analysis generates two important observations (Figure 3.14 and Table 3.1). One of them is that, in general, the human remains from tomb 6 are poorly represented. Ten of the 14 bone categories certainly are, especially the long bones since they contribute to a large extent to the value of X^2. Only the metatarsals appear "over-represented". Since the long bones are large and of compact tissue—which makes their fragmentation and obliteration more difficult--, their apparent absence in tomb 6 and their graphic representation in the associated mausoleum suggests that elite domestic groups removed from the crypts certain anatomical elements of their ancestors in order to use them as symbols to validate their status (Lind and Urcid 1983: 81). The absence of small bones in the tombs is most likely due to their obliteration as a consequence of the multiple reentries of the tombs and the constant re-arrangements of their contents.

These observations bear important implications because in some instances, the evidence used to substantiate the practice of human immolation in the context of funerary rituals is based on the lack of anatomical elements in some of the articulated burials found in the tombs. Caso, without benefiting from a detailed anatomical inventory (Rubín de la Borbolla 1933: 190), interpreted the deposits in tomb 10 from Monte Albán in those terms:

> In tomb 10 we found two skeletons. The one in the back, a secondary burial, had next to it all the objects. The one next to the entrance was a primary burial and was surely decapitated since no skull bone was found, in spite of the fact that the mandible is one of the bones that most resist destruction. This case is probably that of a slave who was decapitated on the occasion of the transfer to the tomb of the chief's bones, and buried with him so that he could serve him in the afterlife (Caso 1933: 645) (translated by the author).

The same data can be interpreted using the alternative model that is being proposed here. The "secondary" burial would be that of the individual(s) previously buried in the tomb whose remains were disturbed *in situ* in order to open room for a subsequent interment, the last one to be placed in the tomb. Some time later the tomb was reopened and the skull of the last burial retrieved. The simple lack of a skull is not conclusive evidence to demonstrate decapitation. Only if the hyoid bone or the initial cervical vertebrae were missing, and the first vertebra that would have been present exhibited evidence of cutmarks, such an interpretative scenario would have gained strength. On the other hand, the distribution of the offerings inside tomb 10 could have resulted from the continual re-arrangements of its contents each time the facility was reopened.

If at times human bones were retrieved from the tombs to use them as validating heirlooms, one would expect to find in the archaeological record evidence of isolated worked or un-worked bones. Objects manufactured from human crania, for example, have been found at Lambityeco and Yagul, including perforated disks and trapezoidal plaques. Examples of skulls carved with inscriptions are known as well (Figure 3.15).

Sometimes tombs appear to have been reopened for other purposes. There are several examples of crypts, associated to both rich and poor houses, which have been found partially or completely emptied. This phenomenon becomes more obvious in the case of elaborate tombs. Crypts that are architecturally complex and lavishly decorated, like tomb 105 from Monte Albán, tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana, and tomb 28 from Yagul, contained few materials already fragmented and left in disarray, but their entrances were sealed or had an undisturbed offering at

the entrance (Figure 3.16).[35] Without ignoring instances of ancient or more recent lootings, it seems that the removal of human remains and offerings from some tombs coincided with the abandonment of residences and settlements, and thus constituted another practice essential to the continued commemoration of ancestors.

Some of the scholars interested in determining the degree of social differentiation that prevailed in ancient Zapotec society have used a simplistic dichotomy that takes the tombs as the funerary deposits of the elite and the grave burials as the funerary deposits of commoners (Figure 3.17-A) (Caso, Bernal and Acosta 1967: 392; Wilkinson and Norelli 1981; Blitz 1995). The limitations of such an approach become evident if one realizes that both types of interments occur in the same household unit. If the known burials from Lambityeco found in tombs and in graves are ranked according to the number and diversity of offerings, and the data is organized by household units (Figure 3.18-A), two observations become apparent:

1) The tombs, as a group, exhibit a gradient in their ranking, with marked differences at either end of the scale.

2) In some instances, grave burials of adult females and children found in elite houses have a higher rank than burials found inside the low-ranking tombs from non-elite houses.

Although few, the known examples of non-tomb female burials with substantial offerings mentioned in the second entry present a distinctive pattern. At Lambityeco there are three examples of such inhumations done in simple graves but placed directly above or parallel and adjacent to tombs (burials 68-3 and 69-1 associated to tomb 2; and burial 77-5 associated to tomb 11) (Figure 3.19). The first one was found disturbed by ancient human activities, which obliterated the evidence to determine the sex of the remains and its rank based on the associated offering (most of which was apparently retrieved). But the other two examples were female burials, and given the quantity and diversity of their associated offerings (10 objects with each one), these are the higher-ranking interments that do not come from tombs. The spatial pattern

[35] Photographs, drawings, and an interpretation of the inscriptions associated to tomb 28 from Yagul appear in Urcid 1997: 50-53.

and their comparison with the rest of the burials suggest that these females could have been secondary wives to one of the males buried in the adjacent tombs (Urcid 1998b), an interpretation that—as will be seen later on—is based on data concerning the practice of polgyny in the early colonial period.

The two observations mentioned above allow me to conclude that ancient Zapotec society must have been much more complex[36] (Figure 3.18-B). With this clarification, it is now possible to re-address the issue concerning the practice of human sacrifice in relation to funerary rituals. The citations taken from Córdova that were mentioned before could refer exclusively to the immolation of individuals to accompany in death the principal lords and ladies who occupy the paramount echelon in the social system ***at the regional level***. Until now, no one has reported—given the known forms of ritual execution in Mesoamerica—evidence that would be expected on skeletal tissue of sacrificial victims (like cutmarks or peri-mortem trauma)[37] in the osseous materials found in high-ranking tombs, although of course, several of them have been found practically empty.

On the other hand, the evidence for the sacrifice of animals as part of funerary rituals is substantial, and involves the offering of dogs, most often puppies, and of small birds. When graphically representing the frequency of these animals in the ranking scale of several tombs dating between the 5th and 9th centuries ACE (Figure 3.18-B), it becomes evident that the sacrifice of dogs was a generalized practice irrespective of social and economic differences.[38] Actually, the sacrifice of dogs was also common in the case of burials placed in cists or simple

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[36] The ranking of tombs and other burials should be taken as a heuristic approximation that does not necessarily reflect the conceptual categories that ancient Zapotecs had regarding the social order. It has been much debated if those categories included only two echelons (nobles and commoners) (Flannery 1983: 133; Marcus 1992a: 221-222), or several social strata. Winter et al (1995: 76), for example, propose three social levels. Several entries in Córdova's dictionary concerning social categories of people support Winter et al's proposal, but it is impossible to determine the extent to which the cognitive European paradigm of Córdova distorts those lexical categories.

[37] Peri-mortem refers "at the time of death", as opposed to ante- (before) or post-mortem (after death).

[38] In Figure 3.18-B, the bars plotting frequencies of dogs and birds illustrate their number per tomb and not their representation in terms of numbers of items per individual.

graves (Winter et al. 1995: 20, 50-51). In contrast, the sacrifice of birds tends to be a phenomenon restricted to higher-ranking tombs, and as of yet has never been reported in association to burials outside tombs.

The sacrifice of dogs must be related to a pan-Mesoamerican believe concerning the role that such an animal played during the liminal period when the soul of the dead destined to the underworld reached its final destination.[39] According to Sahagún, among the offerings that the Nahuas from central Mexico placed near the corpse during its preparation:

> And also they caused him [the deceased] to carry a little dog, a yellow one; they fixed about its neck a loose cotton cord. It was said that [the dog] bore [the dead one] across the place of the nine rivers in the land of the dead… And when the four years had ended, thereupon [the dead one] went to the nine lands of the dead, [where] lay a broad river. There the dogs carried one across. It was said that whosoever came walking [to the bank] looked over to the dogs. And when one recognized his master, thereupon he came to throw himself into the water in order to carry his master across. Hence the natives took pains to keep the dogs. And it was said that the white dogs and the black ones, those which were black, could not carry one over the river to the land of the dead. It was said that the white dog said: "I have just washed myself." And (one which was black said: "I have just stained myself black." Only a yellow [one] could bear one across. And there at the nine lands of the dead, the [dead] were completely destroyed (Sahagún, in Anderson and Dibble 1952, Book 3, First Chapter of Appendix: 41-42).

The conception of dogs assisting the dead crossing a river to the underworld was amply documented ethnographically in the early part of the 20th century in several parts of Oaxaca, including Mitla (E. Parsons 1936: 152-153), San Dionisio (idem: 152, note 211), and in the Mazatec region (Starr 1903). Yet, these accounts make it clear a preference on the part of the living for black rather than white colored dogs.

The sacrifice of birds may have been linked to ideas concerning resurrection and the destiny of the soul in the paradise of the sun, a place related in many ideological systems of Mesoamerica with cornfields and other places where flowers and fruit trees were cultivated, and

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[39] In the case of the other two destinies for the ‘soul’ in the belief system of Nahuas from Central Mexico, that is the realms of the god of Rain and the Sun god, the dog did not play a role.

where birds abounded (Taube 2003 and 2004). Later on, when dealing with the mortuary narrative in tomb 104 from Monte Albán, I will elaborate on other aspects of the sacrifice of birds.

In sum, Zapotec mortuary practices between the 5th and 9th centuries ACE were varied and complex, with two main categories of funerary treatments: 1) interments in residential units and 2) burials in seemingly sacred, non-domestic contexts that in most if not all cases involved human immolation. Within the residential units there was a clear distinction in the mortuary treatment of the conjugal pairs that constituted the heads of domestic groups in each generation. These individuals were buried in the tombs and only in the case of low-ranking houses these persons were placed in stone cists that by virtue of their location in relation to the layout of the abodes had the character of symbolic tombs. The other members of the residential units, from fetuses to elders of both sexes were buried in stone cists, graves and other funerary repositories distributed below the floors of the rooms, the courtyard(s) or peripheral to the houses but within the confines of the household units.

As to the social order, the economic inequality at the level of the community and the region was patently expressed in the way the dead were treated. The context and material content of the tombs evinces a high degree of social differentiation. The tombs associated to elaborate houses were architecturally complex, had paintings and inscriptions, their burials were accompanied by numerous and diverse offerings, and at times certain bones were retrieved to be used as legitimating heirlooms. On the other hand, although funerals evidently varied according to social status, all residential groups, whether rich or poor, shared a set of common ideas and values centered in the commemoration of ancestors, including the spatial dichotomy between burials placed in tombs and interments deposited outside them, the use of cinnabar to paint bones and offerings in the tombs, the offering of dogs, and in some instances the removal of the remains of their ancestors when localities were abandoned. Thus, while all the domestic groups in the society commemorated, took care, and propitiated their own ancestors, all members of society must have revered those from the groups that occupied the top social echelons. Possibly in such context human sacrifice was practiced. No wonder why in the 16th century Relaciones Geográficas of Oaxaca (del Paso y Troncoso 1905 [IV]), the Spaniards mistook as gods the

ancestors of the paramount social groupings that had ruled many communities before the conquest (Marcus 1978: 174).[40]

ZAPOTEC SOCIAL ORGANIZATION DURING THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD

According to colonial documents, Zapotec society at the eve of the Spanish conquest was organized as a network of corporate groups each one constituted as a conical ramage (Whitecotton 1977: 153). Such groupings operated under a legal sanction that granted them authority to preserve certain rights and obligations en perpetual succession. Given the agricultural base of Zapotec economy, one of those rights was access to land and control of the associated labor force. Other rights were centered in certain offices and social roles, particularly those that required prolonged training and access to privileged knowledge. The members of the conical ramages defined their membership by tracing descent from a common apical ancestor, and such descent tracings followed the rules of cognatic affiliation, that is, they recognized descent from either the maternal or the paternal line (Whitecotton 1977: 154-155 and 2003: 329). The genealogical closeness or distance from an apical ancestor, as well as the prestige of the latter, generated inequality between corporate groups. Those who monopolized political and economic power occupied the paramount echelon. Thus, the maintenance of written and oral records concerning bloodlines and descent was crucial to facilitate the trans-generational transfer of the social and material assets of those corporate groups.

The cognatic lineages, in contrast to those structured exclusively on unilineal principles, allowed individuals to have simultaneous membership in several ramages since descent was not limited by sex (matri or patri-lineages). Consequently, males and females contributed to the

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[40] However, as will become evident later in this work, I do maintain that Zapotec religion included—at least from the Late Formative on--an array of deities that were commensurate with the ritual calendar and the mantic arts. We may not fully know how such a 'pantheon' mimicked socially constructed relations, but the insistence that Zapotec cosmogony had no sacred notions with divine ontological status (Marcus 1978, 1983b: 144-146, 1983e: 345; Marcus and Flannery 1994: 57) results from imposing the western dichotomy of 'natural' and 'supernatural' (see Hallowell 1960, and Saler 1977), resorting in addition to a unilineal evolutionary paradigm that ascribes 'animatism' to relational epistemologies that presumably "attributed life to many things *we consider* inanimate" (Marcus 1978: 174) (emphasis added). Marcus' (idem: 180) claim that ancient Maya religion also lacked deities has been amply debated as well (Houston and Stuart 1996; Stuart, Houston and Robertson 1999; Taube 1992).

reproduction of the ramages (Fox 1983: 147). Given cognatic descent and the social inclusiveness so generated, conical ramages were rarely exogamous. It was also impractical for all its members to live in the same place (idem: 149-150), which suggests that during the early colonial period certain restrictions of residence dictated membership in the ramages, that is; only those who lived with the group belonged to it.

Although Zapotec conical ramages during the 16th century were to a large extent endogamous (marriage was among members of the same corporate group), one of the characteristics of high-ranking ramages was the economic solvency of some of its members to finance polygyny. In addition to solidifying the economic bases of certain ramages, polygyny and a few exogamic marriages of a man with several women allowed the building of alliances between several ramages, augmenting the economic power and the political influence of some of them but at the same time highlighting problems of succession and the transfer of assets from one generation to the other and thus potentially weakening the stability of corporate groups.[41] The constant coalition and fission of corporate groups must have been part of the social dynamics, but the commemoration of ancestors became a central institution aimed at guarantying their perpetuity.

The production of maps and lienzos during the early colonial period was a direct result of the preoccupation of elites to maintain in the social memory the records of succession and thus the differential access to rights and obligations (Oudijk 2000; Whitecotton 1990, 2003). As mentioned before, these records acquired great importance in the legal processes that were carried out within the Spanish colonial administrative system between native elites, and between native elites and Spaniards.

We cannot ascertain that eight centuries before Zapotec society was organized as in the 15th and 16th centuries, but since one of the ancient societal uses of writing was precisely to maintain genealogical records in mortuary contexts, the use of the direct historical approach provides with an

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[41] The Relaciones Geográficas from Ixtepeji and Guaxilotitlan (Huitzo) mention the practice of polygyny among the Zapotec nobility of the 16th century (del Paso y Troncoso 1905 [IV]: 18, 198). The RG from Guaxilotitlan explicitly states that "the customs and laws they had were that the caciques married fifteen or twenty women..." (translated by the author).

initial interpretative framework.

THE RITUAL CALENDAR, NAMES OF INDIVIDUALS, AND GENEALOGICAL RECORDS

Before embarking in the analysis of painted and carved mortuary narratives it is necessary to establish a number of points of departure. Citing again information compiled by Fray Juan de Córdova (1987b: 202) regarding certain Zapotec customs in the 16th century, it is important to stress that in ancient times people were named according to the day in which they were born or when their destiny was charted through divination. This practice most likely goes back in time to the inception of the Common Era, if not before. In the Zapotec reckonings of time, as in other coeval Mesoamerican societies, the names of the days were generated through a combinatory process established in the sacred count of 260 days. Twenty "concepts" with sacred meanings were combined with a numerical count whose coefficients ranged in value between 1 and 13.[42] Córdova also recorded—using an alphabetic orthography based on Latin characters—the appellatives in the Zapotec language of those 260 day-names. In the epigraphic record of the tombs there is an abundance of glyphs accompanied by numbers, and the value of those coefficients ranges precisely between 1 and 13. This is not the first time that those glyphs are considered as names taken from the sacred calendar (Caso 1928: 20), but since the position of each one of the 20 signs in the day-name list of the calendar is now well established, it is possible to identify with greater accuracy those nominal glyphs (Figure 1.20).

In contrast to Caso, I will assume that the mortuary programs decorating some of the tombs do not make direct allusion to deities but to the individuals buried there. Since such an assumption implies that the personages named in the mortuary narratives traced genealogical relations among them, one of the main interpretative problems is to determine the initial point of departure of the genealogical records. At times, the differential preservation of the narrative programs, or their complexity, makes it difficult to establish the sequence of the rendered names. For example, the

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[42] Kaufman (personal communication, 2003) proposes that the 20 names of the days in the Mesoamerican calendar distill excerpts from passages in a very ancient story of creation whose only known colonial version is the one recorded in the Quiche epic account of the Popol Vuh.

façade of tomb 6 at Lambityeco and the mausoleum built above the crypt contains a genealogical record of at least five generations (the minimum number of individuals found inside the tomb was six, which implies the presence of at least three generations). In the process of building the last house, most of the friezes at the top of the mausoleum were destroyed. During archaeological excavations, some fragments of the modeled stucco figures that decorated them were found out of their original context. Given the way they were represented, their elaboration, and position, one can assume that the couple shown in the façade of the tomb are the apical founders of a ramage, but it is not clear how the genealogical sequence proceeds from there. Perhaps, as in some of the carved portable slabs, the progression goes from bottom to top, but it is not obvious if the personages depicted in the friezes on the right side have precedence over those depicted in the friezes on the left side.

As will be demonstrated below with other narrative programs that are complete, a semiotic approach that resorts to the concept of "syntagm" (Saussure 1959: 122-134; Barthes 1964:62-64; Harris 1995:113-133) allows formulating guidelines to establish the genealogical successions. The structuring of meaning in both the spoken and written discourses is based on the relations and differences between linguistic units, and these operate in a different way. One is through *lineal concatenation*, which eliminates the possibility of simultaneously speaking or writing two or more linguistic units. The combinations that are based on lineal concatenation are precisely syntagms. Thus, two or more consecutive units form a syntagm (for example *recurrent* [re – current], *infinite* [in – finite]). If the position of those units is reversed, then no meaning is constituted (current – re, or finite – in). Consequently, in the spoken and written discourses the syntagm allows for a given term to acquire meaning by entering in contrast with all that precedes or follows it. The notion of syntagm does not only apply to single words, but also to groups of words, simple and complex phrases and to complete sentences.

The other way by which meaning can be structured is based on *associative relations*. In this case a linguistic unit is linked with another because they share something in common (Sausurre 1959: 123). The word "*necromancy*" can lead us to think of other closely related terms or semantic fields, such as "*sorcerer*", "*ancestors*", "*mantic arts*", "*divination*" or "*conjuring*". Many scholars of Mesoamerican graphic systems emphasize exclusively

associative relations. For instance, the representation of a conch shell is associated, in the mind of the researcher, with "water" and thus with "fertility". One has to take into account, however, that there is nothing natural in those associations because they are constituted on the basis of shared and arbitrary conventions and are therefore culturally specific. In addition, some of conventions could be contested, leading to new codes. The same representation of a conch shell in a Mesoamerican context can be associated with "wind instrument" → "calling to assembly". These examples show how syntagmatic relations are manifested "in presence" (either as sound or graphic units), while associative relations are manifested "in absence" (that is, they constitute a mental phenomenon) (Sausurre 1959: 123).

In written language and other semiotic systems like food and clothing, the syntagm is defined as "a combination of signs that have space as a support" (Barthes 1964:58). In the spoken language, the syntagm is temporally bound and thus it is lineal and irreversible; but in graphic representations the syntagm is spatially bound and is therefore not necessarily lineal or irreversible. In the case of graphic systems of communication, a syntagmatic approach postulates that not only the signs or any kind of graphic representation have meanings in themselves, but that the ***spatial relations*** between signs and between these and the written surface could form an integral component of the messages. These relationships are marked by means of variables that include the relative position of signs and images, their size, direction or orientation, their relation with other signs, and the articulation of all these features with the specific characteristics of the carved or painted surface.

Returning to the discussion of Zapotec tombs, the interpretative paradigm of Caso regarding the referencing of deities in the narrative programs should not be necessarily discarded. The fact that the crypts include names taken from the mantic calendar implies that the painted and carved inscriptions indirectly signal sacred concepts. As attested by the divinatory screenfolds of later centuries, the sacred count further incorporates a higher level symbolic system that integrates two alternating embodied sets of sacred propositions: a series of 13 deity impersonators and another of 9. As will be argued later on, the garments of the personages represented in the mortuary programs make also allusions to what evidently constituted a complex belief system about the sacred and the divine. Thus, instead of taking a dichotomous position of either mortals or deities, the analysis of

mortuary programs presented below assumes the existence of multiple levels of signification, where the historiographic record of the genealogies is but one part of a broader ideological context that conflates mortals with deities.

Several Zapotec tombs inscribed with genealogical programs are known, some of them only through a painted medium. In the sections that follow I will limit myself to comment in detail two illustrative examples. This sample will allow me to demonstrate how the narrative programs rendered in various media were articulated and the degree to which information contained in the painted murals complemented the one carved in the facades, in the jambs, lintels, and the slabs that sealed the entrances to the crypts. It will also allow establishing that the theme of the programs include genealogical records that vary in the number of recorded generations and thus in their historical depth. The analysis of the rich symbolic imagery rendered in the mortuary programs will also facilitate outlining some of the ideological principles underlying the veneration of ancestors, as well as some of their political and economic implications. The two tombs to be considered were used between 400 and 800 ACE, and since now it is possible to approximate their temporality within that span, the discussion will follow a chronological order.

Tomb 104 from Monte Albán

This tomb is associated to a palace, built on terrace 20, that includes three contiguous Patio Complexes differing in size. These complexes are closely spaced but appear to be separated by internal corridors. Each Patio Complex includes rooms around a central courtyard (Figure 4.1). That all these Patio Complexes form a single unit becomes evident by the fact that a wall runs on the west side between Complex C (the one with the tomb) and the north edge of the North Platform, delimiting the entire residential compound and separating it from the series of superimposed houses that formed the high mound on terrace 18 (to the west). Compared to other known house layouts, the configuration of the main and most secluded Patio Complex (C) appears unique given the fact that it lacks a room closing the courtyard on the East side and lacks a hidden access (compare this layout with that on Figures 3.6 and 3.7). Yet, since the courtyard with the tomb is part of a larger residential compound that involves Patio complexes C, D and E extending over the entire terrace, the entry to the palace must be located southeast of the yet

unexplored Patio F. The explorations of Caso apparently yielded several offerings associated to the Patio Complex built over the tomb. While the spatial distribution and actual contents of these offerings remain to be determined, Figure 4.1 presents some of the objects from the offerings for which data has been published.

If from the perspective of architectural layout the palace is unique, in a certain sense the tomb is atypical as well since it is located under the western rather than the eastern room of the main Patio Complex. But it is evident that the builders chose such a location to avoid possible landslides if the patio and the tomb would have been built closer to the eastern edge of the terrace. This portion of the palace appears to have a single construction phase. In addition, the tomb had the remains of a single individual that was never disturbed (Figure 4.2-A). These characteristics suggest a short period of use for the tomb, and thus for the occupation of the associated Patio Complex. Caso found at least two offerings in the open courtyard of Complex C (nos. 6 and 8), and one in the courtyard of Complex D (no. 7). Unless offering 6 included heirlooms, the contents of these caches suggest a continuous occupation of the palace from the Niza phase (100 BCE. to 200 ACE) until the Xoo phase (600-800 ACE) (the phase to which the object in offering 7 of Complex D can be assigned to). Equally as well, burial VI-7 found closer to Complex F had at least the figurine of a dog that, according to Caso and his colleagues corresponds to the ceramic assemblage of the Pitao phase (350-500 ACE). In contrast to Complexes C and D, Patio E appears to have been remodeled at least once, enlarging the size of the rooms bordering the central courtyard on the north and east sides. On the other hand, Caso, Bernal and Acosta (1967: 365-378) demonstrated that the ceramic assemblage in the tomb contained materials from both the Pitao and the Peche phases, which temporally situates the use of the tomb between 450 and 550 after the Common Era.

The mortuary program decorating the crypt was executed in painted murals and carved stone. In addition, the tomb had a ceramic effigy vessel embedded within a niche set in the entablature on the upper portion of the façade, incorporating another medium in the visual narrative (Figure 4.2-B). The slab that sealed the entrance to the crypt has three carved surfaces. Yet, only the inscription facing towards the interior of the tomb bears any relationship with the painted murals inside. The other two surfaces were evidently carved during prior uses of the

monolith and thus their respective inscriptions are not related to one another.

By unfolding the three carved surfaces to see them simultaneously (Figure 4.3), one can see that the corresponding inscriptions have different orientations. Such a detail, together with data on the state of preservation of the edges of the slab, allow proposing that the stone was initially used as a lintel with only one of its narrow surfaces carved. At that time, the stone must have been larger than its present size. Given the type of inscription, the stone could have been the lintel of another tomb.[43] Eventually, the stone was retrieved from such a context in order to carve another inscription in one of its larger surfaces. There is no clue to determine what its second context might have been, but it was probably set as an orthostat, that is, embedding the stone in a wall in such a way that the previous inscription was not visible. Before being carved for a third time, and probably while removing it from its second context, the monolith broke off on two sides, leaving the second inscription slightly incomplete along its upper border and reducing the dimensions of the stone to its actual size. The third use of the slab was to make it part of the mortuary program associated to tomb 104. In order to accomplish that, those who worked on the stone simply turned it over and placed it upside down. This explains the different orientation of the inscription in relation to the other two and makes it evident that the scribe confined it within the already diminished area that resulted from the stone's previous fragmentation.

The comparison of this third inscription with the epigraphy in the painted murals inside the tomb reveals several glyphic repetitions (Figure 4.4). From these, it is also possible to argue that the text in the slab and the painted murals were conceptually linked as well to the tableau of ceramic effigy vessels that was left immediately behind the entrance to the tomb (Figure 4.2-A). From these links it becomes evident that the mortuary program alludes three times to a personage named 1Ñ and two times to another individual named 5E. The inscription on the slab is the only one with annual dates. Given the sequence of year bearers in the Zapotec Calendar Round discussed earlier (see also Urcid 2001: 113-150), it is feasible to calculate the alternative spans between dates and

[43] This inscription reads from left to right, starting with an annual date (9 Lightning), and continues with an allusion to an offering of 15 balls of rubber, identifies a personage named 5B (5 Jaguar), and ends with the glyphs "Leaf" and "Bag".

thus provide at least a relative temporal framework. The year bearer on the left side is 7G [7 Deer], and the one to the right is 11E [11 Earthquake]. The temporal spans generated by the possible reading sequences of these year bearers are 22 and 30 years (Table 4.1):

From year 7G to year 11E	=	0 - 30 years
From year 11E to year 7G	=	0 - 22 years

Table 4.1- Temporal spans generated by the possible reading sequences of the year bearers carved on the slab from tomb 104.

There are two syntagmatic details that highlight the year 7G (Figure 4.5). One is the presence of the abbreviated version of glyph U, topped by a bar with diagonal lines, adjacent to the year glyph and the year bearer 7G. As commented while discussing the texts in the narrative program commissioned by Lord 13 Night, such a synecdoche introduces or marks the beginning in other known texts. The other detail is the direction of the glyphs, which allow dividing the inscription in two parts according to the opposing orientation of the texts. While the annual date 7 Deer alludes to an event that involved the personages named 5 Earthquake (5 E) and 6 Serpent (6 Y), the year bearer 11 Earthquake is associated to the individuals named 1Ñ and 5 Lightning (5 M). I will defer for the moment the problem of whether the temporal span is 'active' (counting forward from year 7 Deer) or 'retroactive' (counting backwards from year 7 Deer), but it is evident that the chronological framework given by the alternative sequences is but of one generation or possibly two, a temporal span that is congruent with what was deduced from the contextual analysis of the tomb, including the presence of a single construction phase and the buried skeletal remains of one person.

Before tackling the question of what was commemorated by those two annual dates, it may be useful to outline the structure of the mortuary program. To do so I will focus on the paintings in the back and lateral walls of the tomb (Figure 4.4). The unfolding of the imagery in the three surfaces allows making two observations. One is that there are 7 glyphs accompanied by numerals occupying the portions that go from the lateral niches towards the back of the crypt, two sets of non-calendrical signs painted above the lateral niches, and two personages represented in the lateral walls between the niches and the crypt's entrance. The other

observation is the bilateral symmetry of the narrative program given by the facing direction of the personages, the glyphs, and the relative size of the signs. This configuration makes of the calendrical glyph painted in the back of the wall--the largest of all--the focal point of the composition. This syntagmatic detail suggests that this glyph names the apical ancestor of the genealogy. Its importance is further underscored by its relation to a quadripartite structure signaled by all the niches--with the name associated to the fifth one marking centrality--, and by the unfolded version of glyph U placed above the calendrical name. This particular example of glyph U, although devoid of any additional motif, has below the eyes two opposing diagonal bands that are frequent in numeral bars, similar to the example carved on the slab.

In order to consider the meaning of glyph U, the graphic relationship between the full and abbreviated versions discussed thus far requires clarification (Figure 4.6). The known calendrical versions of the glyph, including its instantiations as a year bearer, always render a zoomorphic image in profile view, including an eye with a supraorbital plaque, an earplug, and a prominent facial extension that curves downwards and then inwards. Atop this extension appears a curl decorated at times with a vertically placed nose plug of the tubular type that ends with a spherical bead. The unfolded version of glyph U results from duplicating as a split image the profile form, adding then a gum line with teeth along the lower border. It should be noted that this latter attribute is never rendered in the calendrical versions of the glyph. The synecdochic version of glyph U includes the eyes and the supraorbital plaques, often rendered as a numeral bar. The imagery of glyph U is also known from ceramic effigy vessels dubbed by Caso and Bernal (1952: 199-222) as the “Bird Deity of the Broad Beak” (*Dios del Ave de Pico Ancho*).

It has been amply established that the iconicity of glyph U is derived from a bird (Caso and Bernal 1952:199-216; Taube 1988; Urcid, Winter and Matadamas 1994:22-24). It is also evident that the imagery of glyph U is homologous to what Mayanists call “The Principal Bird Deity”. In some of the carved monuments from Izapa and in Maya polychrome painted vessels from the Classic period, the representations of the “The Principal Bird Deity” assume the role of Vucub Caquix (7 Macaw), the arrogant bird that according to the Popol Vuh ruled the world prior to the creation of humans, who considered himself the *sun* because his eyes and *teeth* were

resplendent like precious stones, and who was vanquished by the twin heroes Hunapu and Xbalanque, knocking him down from his tree with their blowguns (Tedlock 1985: 86-94).

The symbolism of Zapotec glyph U has been variously interpreted, but the ideas advanced thus far are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Based on its preeminently mortuary and genealogical context, Marcus (1983d: 191) proposed that the glyph connotes "royal descent." While there is evidence that in Maya semasiography the "Principal Bird Deity" occurs in contexts of accession rituals and legitimating ceremonies (Taube 1987: 8), the fact that Zapotec glyph U occurs in mortuary programs that vary considerably in size and degree of elaboration suggest that the sign was not of exclusive use by the ruling elites but was pervasively deployed by different gradients of the nobility (Figure 4.7). The recent reassessment of Zapotec effigy vessels as impersonators of the 9 "Lords of the Night" opens the interpretative possibility that glyph U symbolizes the Zapotec deity *Pitáo Cozáana* (Sellen 2002a: table 5.3), a divinity specifically identified as the 'god of ancestors' by Balsalobre (1988:111 [1656]). Its rearrangement in the first place within the series of the 9 "Lords of the Night" proposed by Sellen would equate *Pitáo cozaánna* with the deity variously described by Fray Juan de Córdova (1987a [1578]) as the "god creator of everything," "god thirteen," "great engenderer," "*sun*," "ruler above the lineage," "great ruler and judge," "creator," "eternal ruler" (Smith Stark 2002: 95-110). Perhaps the numeral bar frequently present in the unfolded and synecdochic versions of glyph U is part of the deity's calendrical name (5U).

Aside from determining the position of the apical ancestor in the painted program of tomb 104 from Monte Albán, another criterion that allows suggesting the genealogical sequence of the other calendrical names in the genealogy is the age of the represented personages. The one on the left side is an elder man, as can be deduced by the pronounced mandibular prognathism that signals the ante-mortem loss of teeth. In contrast, the one to the right is a young man, as can be deduced by the lack of attributes of old age. This contrast between old and young ages could signify that the calendrical glyphs to the right (on the north wall) are those of recent, younger, ancestors and that those on the left (on the south wall) are the older ancestors, that is, the earliest and closest to the apical ancestor. Figure 4.8 orders the genealogical record in the narrative program of the tomb following these arguments.

There are several points that need clarification and commentary on Figure 4.8, beginning with the identification of Lord 10 Y (10 Serpent). The size difference between the pair of calendrical glyphs on the left wall, with the one below (10Y) larger than the one above it (2M), suggests that the former indexes the personage represented behind. Such a link is also marked by the fact that glyph 10Y is accompanied below by the representation of a box, an object similar to the one shown above the niche, that is, in front of the old man. Establishing that 10 Serpent is his name implies then that the appellative 2 M (2 Lightning) was that of his wife. The gender identification of the subsequent pair in the genealogical sequence (10 Gamma and 10 F), assumes that just as in the left wall the inferior glyph names a man, the same applies to the glyphs on the opposite wall. The male identification of the personage 1Ñ is based on the assumption that the nominative glyph, painted above the right niche, indexes the young man that is represented immediately behind. His personification in the ceramic effigy vessel placed inside the tomb's threshold, which is deck with garments proper to the male gender supports such an assumption as well.[44] By its context, the glyphic compound "Heart-Leafs" painted below the calendrical name must be the personal appellative of 1Ñ, a personal name known from other inscriptions associated to other calendrical names (Figure 4.9-A).

Regarding the gender attribution of the personage 5 Earthquake, it is based on the sexual identification of the skeleton found in the tomb (Caso 1938: 82; Romero and Fastlicht 1951: 47).[45] The ceramic effigy vessel embedded in the façade of the crypt may be his personification. It is worth mentioning that among the objects in the offerings of the skeleton there was a small gray spouted vessel of the G-3 type, with polished black slip and with a glyph 9E (9 Earthquake) painted in green and red colors (Figure 4.9-B).[46] Perhaps this name identifies his wife, mother of 6 Serpent. The latter individual, the last member of the genealogy, only appears mentioned in the slab

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[44] In the later section on mausoleums, I will discuss further evidence in support of the claim that the garments of the effigy vessel mark the personage as a male.

[45] Both sources identify indirectly the sex of the individual by referring to the burial as "possibly that of a priest", but it is nuclear if that interpretation was based in the osteological analysis of the skeleton.

[46] Caso identified the glyph as 4E [4 Turquoise] (Caso, Bernal and Acosta 1967: 369 and 373, table XV).

and thus, as in the case of the apical ancestor, it is not possible to identify its gender.

As to the personages rendered in the murals, their postures and gestures are the same, and both carry incense pouches. The manner in which they extend a hand is actually identical to the gesture of the effigy vessel embedded above the entrance to the tomb, a rendition that holds as well a copal bag (see Figure 4.13). Yet, the garments of the painted figures exhibit some differences. The old man wears a decorated loincloth and a circular clasp with two stripes protruding from behind, sandals, and a knotted headdress with an anterior stripe decorated with a circle, a tied bag and two bundles of feathers. Other ornaments include earplugs and a collar with composite beads whose iconicity seemingly stands for drops of water. The young man wears similar garments, but has in addition a tiered set of stripes protruding from the back of the clasp and a fan-shaped panoply of feathers in the lower back. The imagery in his headdress renders a zoomorphic profile with an upturned nasal extension of the buccal mask. This attribute is also constitutive of representations of prone figures that combine human features (hands and feet) protruding from the carapace of a turtle, an imagery that is homologous to the 'Yahui' in Mixtec graphic conventions and to the 'Fire Serpent' in Nahua imagery, both visual metaphors that signal an alter ego and the office of sacrificer (Jansen 1981: 94). The Mixtec word 'Yahui' means necromancer (a person who communicates with ancestors) (Smith 1973b: 63); so does the Zapotec lexeme 'Xicani' (Córdova 1987a: 216v).

Caso (1938: 79) noted that the paintings exhibit drippings, deducing that the murals were executed with haste. This observation and the hypothetical genealogical sequence presented in Figure 4.8 would have the following implications:

1) It was Lord 5 Earthquake who commissioned the construction of the palace and of tomb 104 as an integral part of the architectural design. It is plausible that, in anticipation of his own death, he also commissioned the painting of the crypt in order to leave a genealogical record of his line of descent. Yet, he died unexpectedly and the paintings had to be done quickly.

2) Six Serpent commissioned the slab not only to commemorate his/her father but also his/her grandfather 1Ñ, thus legitimizing his/her position. Once the body of 5 Earthquake was placed

in the tomb, his persona was immortalized by the ceramic effigy vessel embedded in the facade, and the impersonation of his father in the tableau of ceramic effigy vessels in the center of the tomb's entrance was left there to 'protect' him. The tomb was sealed after the funerary ritual, never to be reopened until its discovery by Caso.

What do the annual dates in the slab commemorate? One possibility is that they stand for the death dates of Lord 5 Earthquake (5E) in the year 7 Deer, and of Lord 1Ñ 22 years before, in the year 11 Earthquake. The close syntagmatic relation between the synecdoche of glyph U that introduces the text on the left side of the slab with the glyph 5E topped by a footprint suggests a semantic reading of "5 Earthquake ascending to *Pitáo Cozáana* (the sun)", possibly a visual metaphor for "death" or "apotheosis".[47] In addition, the interval between the two dates in the slab comes close to the span of 25 years that was used in the osteological and contextual analysis of the tombs. It is plausible then that Lady 9 Earthquake and her offspring 6 Serpent were the ones who had to abandon the palace and the tomb, without having the motivation or the economic means to re-open the tomb and gather the bones of their most immediate ancestor. Not having emptied the crypt when abandoning the household stands in sharp contrast with an important theme of the mortuary program. According to the previous argumentation, Lord 10 Serpent in both his semasiographic and epigraphic versions is rendered twice in the south wall as the custodian of a box. On the other hand, the inscription on the slab provides the name of Lord 1Ñ immediately above the representation of another box. Thus, it becomes evident that a theme parallel to the genealogical sequence is the transference, from 10 Serpent to his grandson 1Ñ (through 10 Gamma?), of a special prerogative, that is, the custody of an apparently sacred object.

Before commenting on the meaning of the boxes it is important to point out two syntagmatic recourses employed by the painter. One is the speech scroll in front of the nominal glyph of Lady 10 F, which links the distant couple in the genealogy directly to the apical ancestor. The other detail is the glyph 5E painted in the back wall of the tomb, whose location and size breaks with the

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[47] Similar compounds of a calendrical name associated to a staircase with two legs or a foot ascending towards glyph U will be commented in the discussion of the slab found inside tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana (see page 103-104).

bilateral symmetry of the composition (B. de la Fuente 1999: 152). This detail suggests that Lord 10 Serpent appears pronouncing that glyph since there is a speech scroll above the appendix adorning the nose of his nominal glyph. If so, the paintings would also make allusion to the transference in the custody of the box to Lord 5 Earthquake.

In order to consider the significance of the boxes represented in the narrative program of tomb 104 I will rely on the inquisition trial that Dominican friars carried between 1544 and 1546 against Don Domingo, Don Francisco, and Don Juan, the former natural lord and the latter governors of Yanhuitlan (Jiménez Moreno and Mateos Higuera 1940; Sepúlveda 1999). As will become evident, although this extensive document was written almost a thousand years later and in a region distant from Monte Albán, its use is justified by the pervasive continuity in ancestor veneration precisely because it was a cultural institution at the core of pre-Hispanic social organization and ideology. In addition, references to boxes are explicitly made in alphabetic glosses written in Zapotec on the Genealogy of Quialoo (Santa Cruz Mixtepec), and in the inquisition trials dating to 1560 and 1574, these ones against the natural lords of the Zapotec community of Titiquipaque [Teitipac], in the Tlacolula valley (Oudijk 2000: 137-138 and 163-164; van Meer n.d.a), where there is also a wealth of information about boxes, their relation to ancestors, and the guarding of their tombs.

What transpires from several of the accounts given by the witnesses in the Yanhuitlan inquisition trial who testified against the accused is that Don Domingo kept the custody of 20 bundles—designated in one textual passage as "petacas" (chests)— that had, each one, its calendrical name. It appears then that each chest represented a named ancestor.[48] Revealing as well are the declarations that describe the contents of the boxes, which included, among other things, green stone anthropomorphic figurines (known in the archaeological literature as "penates"), balls of rubber, incense (copal), bundles of bird feathers, and the paraphernalia of self-sacrifice. Given the surreptitious nature of their activities, Don Domingo, Don Francisco

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[48] Córdova's dictionary establishes a semantic equivalence between the Castilian words 'caja' (box) and 'petaca' (chest), since both are translated into Zapotec as *Quiña* (Córdova 1987a: 76v [Caxa] and 313v [Petaca].

and Don Juan were in the need of constantly transferring the chests from one place to another, helped by nobles of subject communities who operated according to the former priestly organization. The charges against the accused were that they often used the boxes in domestic settings and sacred landscapes, like hills and caves, to conduct rituals and invoke the ancestors of Don Domingo in order to petition them for rain, good harvests, and health. These ceremonies on behalf of the welfare of his corporate group and the community at large involved human and animal immolation, including the sacrifice of dogs and birds of different kinds. In one textual passage it is mentioned that the bundles contained the ashes of the burned human hearts that had been removed in ritual practices, and another one explicitly describes the sacrifice of parrots.[49]

These data allow me to argue that the boxes shown in the narrative program of tomb 104 are chests that represent the ancestors, and that the parrot painted mostly in yellow on top of one of the boxes on the south wall of the tomb stands for an offering dedicated to the apical ancestor.[50] Caso's interpretation (1938: 80) of the possible corn kernel in the bird's beak acquires prime importance in this context, since it could denote specifically that the offering was intended to propitiate a good crop. One can further contextualize the role of 1Ñ as a sacrificer and thus a rainmaker (the allusion to 'Xicani' in his headdress). The information contained in the Yanhuitlan inquisitorial trial also helps in discerning other details of the inscription on the slab. Caso (1938: 76) had already commented on the iconic representation of an anthropomorphic figurine to the right of the annual date 11 Earthquake, which according to him stood for a "little stone idol". The rendering of the figurine appears to have a numeral bar below, implying the allusion to 5 ancestors. As was established in Figure 4.8, the retroactive succession from 1Ñ includes precisely 5 ancestors (♀10 F = ♂10 Gamma, ♀2 M = ♂10 Y, and 10X).

Below and to the left of the annual date 7 Deer appear 4 cartouches each one with three semi-circles inside followed by three numeral bars placed in a vertical position. The presence of similar

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[49] Appendix 1 provides facsimile excerpts taken from the study of Jiménez Moreno and Mateos Higuera (1940), from where the data relevant to this discussion were synthesized.

[50] The remains of the skeleton of a parrot (*Ara militaris*) where found in the excavations of mound 195 at Lambityeco, but not in association to tomb 6. No data is available to determine if this specimen exhibits evidence of having been sacrificed.

semi-circles in the representations of ballgame handstones, in the helmets, and in the garments of the ballplayers rendered in the murals from the main chamber in tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana in Suchilquitongo (see discussion below) (Figure 4.10-A), suggest that the cartouches inscribed in the slab from tomb 104 represent balls of rubber, and that this part of the inscription refers to an offering of 18 (1 x 15 + 3) or 60 (15 x 4) of them. Immediately to the right there is an incense bag accompanied below by the numeral 7 (Figure 4.10-B). Therefore, this other section of the inscription on the slab appears to make reference to 7 incense pouches. The last glyph in the slab's inscription to be commented is the sign below the glyphic name of 6 Serpent (Figure 4.10-C). The sign resembles a type of pectoral commonly represented in the ceramic effigy vessels that seemingly depicts corn kernels (inside) that are planted in the milpa [signaled by the cartouche] (Sellen 2003). Its context suggests two interpretative possibilities: that it is a sign associated to the glyph 7I below—which, as argued in an earlier section of this essay is seemingly related to the presentation of offerings to the ancestors—or could be the personal name of 6 Serpent.

As to the glyphs painted in the jambs of the tomb, the presence of two different signs is evident. One of them, which appears four times in the narrow walls of the jogs that received the sealing slab, is the "Blood" glyph (Figure 4.10-D). Its context could make allusion to the sacrifice of animals or to the practice of human self-sacrifice. The other sign is a cartouche decorated above and below by a motif that signals vegetation and that is a common graphic mark for maize (Figure 4.10-E). A diagonal band decorated in turn by a semi-curved motif on one side and a circular motif on the other internally divides the cartouche in these four glyphs. The sign is placed three times in normal position, but the fourth example on the left side of the entrance appears inverted. The glyph seems to be a variant of a sign that frequently occurs as infix to the "Hill" glyph. Caso equated it with the Nahua sign 'Ilhuitl' ('observed festivity' or 'day').[51] In Zapotec writing, the association of this glyph [Diagonal band with reversed lateral scrolls] suggests that the sign may make a generic allusion to space. The fact that it occurs four times in the entryway of the tomb most likely situates

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[51] The *ilhuitl* glyph glossed in Codex Telleriano Remensis (Quiñones Keber 1995: folios 1V and 32V) does not bear any formal resemblance to the sign under discussion. I will thus designate it as the sign "Diagonal band with lateral reversed scrolls".

the inscription carved on the surface of the slab facing the interior of the tomb, if not the entire narrative program, within a quadripartite conception of the cosmos (Figure 4.11).

Viewing these glyphs as rendering a fourfold structure underscores that the sign associated to the SE quadrant is the one that appears inverted. It also becomes evident that the "Blood" glyphs are also seemingly placed in the "four corners". The tableau of ceramic effigy vessels also implies such a fourfold conception, signaling their setting within the cosmos as an overarching conception or within important subsets, including the totality of the land assets of the corporate group or the generic notion of "the cornfield". While the category of small effigy vessels like the ones in this tableau have been simply dubbed in the literature as "companions" by several authors (Caso and Bernal 1952: 119-141, Boos 1966: 249-282, Marcus and Flannery 1996: 212), the multiple vertical striations incised on top of their heads undoubtedly are an iconic reference to the silks of the corncob. A similar yet single and larger effigy vessel with polychrome painting recovered in tomb 103 from Monte Albán has traces of yellow color on the area of the striations, further supporting a conceptual link between the striations and corn (Figure 4.12).[52] The central position of the main vessel in the tableau found in tomb 104, surrounded by four small maize impersonators situates the grandfather of 6 Serpent in the axis mundi and ascribes him the role of rainmaker. Besides defining the quadripartite structure of the cosmos, implicating the enactment of world centering, and alluding to the "mountain of sustenance" (López Austin and López Luján 2004), the tableau also recreates the story of the origins of humans (and by extension that of the conical ramage of 10X) from maize.

As denoted by the attributes in the headdress, the ceramic effigy vessel embedded in the facade of the tomb is also a rendering of a 'Xicani' impersonator (Figure 4.13). The personage wears a short cape with a decorated border and dotted with large spherical buttons, a pectoral tied to the neck by a thick rope that includes a maskette with a knotted band and three dangling shells, and a platted piece of garment under the cape and the pectoral that covers all the frontal portion of the torso. As noted by Sellen (2002a: 229-248), this constellation of attributes in the headdress and

[52] Caso and Bernal (1952: 133 and 139) had already argued that certain variants of the "acompañante" effigy vessels were homologous to the nahua 'tlaloques', while others were related to maize.

garments--appearing with minor variations in other carved personages or their representation in effigy vessels--, including the main one in the tableau placed inside the tomb--, signals a specific priestly role. As I argued before, such an office seemingly involved the role of sacrificer. The personage appears seated on top of a box carved on its frontal surface with the imagery of the alligator (the snout adorned with nose or lip plugs, bifid tongue, and the "blood" glyph in the corners of the mouth) framed by a quadripartite configuration.[53] Thus, the semasiography of the effigy vessel alludes to the role of a priest as paramount sacrificer in charge of offering sacrifices to the earth. As commented before, it is plausible that the effigy vessel may be the impersonation of 5 Earthquake, who inherited from 1Ñ the role of rainmaker, sacrificer, and custodian of the boxes that symbolically substituted the ancestors of his ramage.

Based on the amount of offerings deposited in the tomb, there is no doubt that 5 Earthquake was the head of a high-ranking corporate group.[54] Although there are some discrepancies in the published sources, which make it difficult to derive a precise inventory, the number of objects found inside the crypt may have range between 93 and 101 (Figure 4.14 and Table 4.2).[55] Independently of the exact number of items, if one compares the wealth as measured by the amount of associated material culture with the ranking of tombs from the Xoo phase presented in Figure 3.18-B, it becomes evident that 5 Earthquake received four times the average number of objects accorded to the individuals buried in Lambityeco tomb 11 (25 objects per person). The lack of canine skeletal remains may be only apparent since there is seemingly a symbolic substitution by the ceramic figurine of a dog (Figure 4.14, no. 76). The absence of avian remains may be due to the fact that the

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[53] The imagery of the alligator is typical of the boxed effigy vessels, except that all the known urns of this type include in their covers impersonations of Cociyo and not 'Xicani' (see Caso and Bernal 1952: 17, 44-45).

[54] However, as will become evident when discussing tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana, it is quite unlikely that the corporate group headed by 5 Earthquake would have been, during his time, the highest-ranking ramage at Monte Albán.

[55] Caso employed a numerical system to make the inventory. The highest number that was published is 79, but there are two objects designated with number 1 and another one is listed as "without number". If there were no gaps in the numerical sequence, and if the stone trinkets are added to 79, then the total number of objects found in the tomb's offering would have been 103.

tomb was never reopened, and suggests that the sacrifice of birds was not part of funerary rituals but of invocation ceremonies to the ancestors when tombs were reopened.

As to the 10 ceramic effigies found inside the tomb (representing 8 males and 2 females), it is evident the lack of correspondence between them and the individuals mentioned in the genealogy (10 calendrical names [6 men? and 4 women]). I argued before that some of the effigy vessels from the tomb do embody some of the members of the genealogy (see Figure 4.8), and that others –as commented before- - are homologous to the "tlaloques" who steal the maize from the mountain of sustenance and spread it to the four corners in order to feed humanity. As noted by Caso, Bernal and Acosta (1967: 372), the offering in the tomb must have included another tableau with 7 anthropomorphic figurines of unbaked clay. The recreated scene may have centered in the largest figurine, which depicts a seated man with open arms (Figure 4.14, no. 13). This figurine probably appeared facing two smaller ones depicting standing individuals with the arms frontally extended and with the palms of their hands joined (Figure 4.14, nos. 12 and 78).[56] Two other figurines in the tableau are of seated personages with their arms crossed over their chest. Since their bent legs are free, these figurines must have been resting on top of boxes or stools made also of long gone unbaked clay or other perishable material (Figure 4.14, no. 14 and without no.). It is feasible that the main figurine in the recreation embodied 5 Earthquake, but there is no reason to assume that the remaining figurines stand in an iconic relation to the other members of the genealogy. The amount of small green stone trinkets with anthropomorphic carvings found among the offering is quite reveling considering that, according to the accusations made against the natural lord from Yanhuitlan—such objects formed part of the content of the boxes that represented his ancestors.

A vexing problem that becomes apparent when comparing the depth of the genealogy (6 generations) with the evidence of a single interment in the tomb needs to be addressed. Immediately west of the palace of tomb 104, on the northern end of terrace 18, stands a tall mound that was the focus of several explorations by Caso (1938, 1939) (Figure 3.6). These explorations not only exposed the uppermost portion of the mound, which yielded the layout of a house and a

[56] This hand gesture occurs also in several effigy vessels (see Figure 4.6, upper left; also Boos 1966, fig. 412; Paddock 1966, fig. 130).

tomb under the east room (no. 103), but also detected a long history of architectural modifications with at least 9 construction phases and three additional tombs (nos. 7, 110, and 112). Based on associated materials, the vertical accretion in the locality seemingly spans some 700 years, from the Pe phase (300-100 BCE) to the early part of the Peche phase (500-550 ACE).

While tomb 103 had the remains of several individuals (although no osteological data is available)[57], and both tombs 103 and 112 exhibit painted narratives and/or genealogical records, none of the legible names in them match each other or any of the names in the genealogy from tomb 104 (Figure 4.15). In addition, the identity of the apical ancestors in tombs 103 and 112 is uncertain, in the former case because it was apparently rendered in an effigy vessel that would have been placed in the niche at the center of the back wall and seemingly retrieved or simply left on the floor of the chamber after the last use of the tomb (Figure 4.16)[58], and in the latter case because of the obliteration of the paintings in the posterior wall. Epigraphic evidence painted on the exterior of tomb 103 opens the possibility that the apical ancestor for the genealogy recorded there was named 3Ñ (a single glyphic name painted in the center of the lintel, see Caso 1938: plano 15, lower right). Although now obliterated, Caso (1965a: 866) described that the jambs of tomb 112 were "decorated with complicated glyphs which we cannot read, but the principal one suggests the glyph of the planet Venus. It is cruciform, picked out in red, bordered with yellow on the green background". Such a description suggests that the main glyph was E, but no mention of an associated coefficient was made.

The layout of the last house at the top of the mound, while generally conforming to the typical distribution of domestic space, presents three peculiar features not seen in other known house layouts (see Figure 3.6). One is the occurrence of four entries, one on each side of the structure, suggesting that at least in its last version, the entire building had corresponding staircases that, when climbed, led first to a corridor along the entire perimeter of the structure. The second feature is that,

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[57] Caso's comment (1965a: 866) that tomb 112 was "robbed" in pre-Hispanic times suggests that its skeletal remains and associated offerings were retrieved prior to the construction of tomb 103.

[58] Figure 4.15 hypothetically places the effigy vessel impersonating the Young Maize God in the central niche because, given its size, is the only one that fits there.

by means of internal corridors that generate hidden entries, the four main entrances eventually lead to only two internal points of entry at either side of the west room (the one opposite to the room under which tomb 103 was built). The third unique feature is that three of the four corner rooms have plastered quadrangular basins. Although these basins do not have drainages, the third and fourth houses from Mound 195 at Lambityeco (see Figure 3.7) included a similar sunken and plastered square basin. This one, however, appears to have functioned as a small courtyard (2 x 2m) with a drainage channel in its southeast corner surrounded on two sides by corridors and flanked on the other two sides by interconnected rooms once covered with thatched roofs (Lind 1993: 90). A passage in the second chapter of the 'Historia de los Mexicanos por sus Pinturas', which deals with how the world was created and by whom, seemingly provides a clue to interpret the architectural peculiarities in the house of tomb 103:

> Regarding the god of water, [the informants] say that he has an abode with four rooms, and in the center of a large courtyard there are four large containers with water: one has good water, the one that rains when bread [maize] and seeds are growing, and it comes down when the weather is good. The other is bad when it rains, causing spider webs to grow in the bread [maize], spoiling it. The other is when it rains and [maize] freezes; the other when it rains but [maize] does not produce kernels and dries out (Garibay 1996: 26) (translated by the author).

We may assume that the sequence of types of rain given in the account quoted above begins in the East (the starting direction in pre-Hispanic cartographic documents). The architectural features of the house of tomb 103 seemingly produce a fourfold kinetics starting with the four staircases of the building or at least the four attested external entrances to the structure. The hypothesized perimetral corridor, or at least those reached after passing the four entrances, most likely led to circumambulatory movements that eventually ended in the central courtyard surrounded by four corner rooms, three of which contained basins that, when ritually filled in, symbolically stood for the "good rain" (the northeast basin)[59], "the bad rain" (the

[59] As can be noted in Figure 3.6, the room with the basin for "good rain" has tombs 110 and 112 underneath.

northwest basin), and the "rain that came with hail" (the southwest basin). The fourth corner room, without a basin (on the southeast), would have stood symbolically for the "unproductive rain" (that is little or no rain). This latter symbolic attribution seemingly explains the inversion of the "Diagonal band with reversed lateral scrolls" glyph painted on the left exterior jamb of tomb 104 (see Figure 4.11). The architectural kinetics and symbolic ground mapping of rituals that entailed the prognostication of rain, imply that the generational heads of the long lasting corporate group that inhabited this locality carried, like those male individuals named in the genealogical record of tomb 104, the office of diviners and rain makers. This inference opens the possibility that the lineage of 5 Earthquake probably was an offshoot of the ramage that inhabited through time the superimposed houses built in terrace 18, perhaps even a case of the fission of a corporate group and the contestation of power.[60] These scenarios could then explain why tomb 104 was used to bury but a single individual.

Tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana, Suchilquitongo

The ancient settlement of Cerro de la Campana sprawls over a range of hills between the modern communities of Huitzo and Santiago Suchilquitongo, in the western end of the Etla valley (Figures 1.2 and 5.1).[61] The settlement appears to have gain prominence since the Danibaan phase (ca 400 BCE), and by the Pitao phase (ca 400 ACE), it became a Rank III occupation in the Valley settlement system with evidence of 16 mounds and an estimated population of nearly 1,800 people

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[60] Another instantiation of a seemingly contested genealogical link to an apical ancestor is apparent in the murals from tomb 112, where the southeast panel was crisscrossed (Caso 1965a: 866, see also A. Miller 1995: plate 8).

[61] Although most authors who have written on tomb 5 (Franco Brizuela 1993; Méndez 1983 through 1988, A. Miller 1995, Trujillo 1986) refer to Cerro de la Campana as *Huijazoo* (higher place or watchtower)--a Zapotec garrison which according to Burgoa (1934 [II]: 11) was built to repel the incursions of the Culhua-Mexica--, Paddock (1993) and González Luengas (2002: 14) conclusively clarified that, according to Burgoa himself, such a fortress must be situated to the north and not to the south of Huitzo. The survey of the mountains north of the Etla valley (Drennan 1989: 380-381) identified three large fortified sites (nos. 154, 176, and 188) dating to the Chila phase (1250-1500 ACE), and one of these must be Huiyazoo.

(Kowalewski et al. 1989: 227-229). By the Xoo phase (ca 700 ACE), the settlement became a Rank II site, with 33 mounds and an estimated population of nearly 4,000 inhabitants, rivaling with Loma del Trapiche, another Rank II settlement situated in the Etla valley (idem: 260). The monumental core of the site occupies the easternmost spur, and includes a "Temple-Plaza-Adoratory", a ballcourt, and a palace. Tomb 5 was built underneath the north room of the palace (Figure 5.2). This structure (Mound K), as well as the rest of the palace, was seemingly modified by occupations that predate and postdate the construction and use of the tomb. For example, it is known that a small tomb (tomb 7) was built during Postclassic times immediately east and above the construction fill that sealed the staircase leading to tomb 5 (Figure 5.6). In addition, the probing done in the courtyard of the palace evinced at least three superimposed plastered floors, and 1.40 m below the earlier one, a Formative period tomb (tomb 8). Thus, it is evident that a more comprehensive exploration is needed to better understand the architectural history of the palace and its changes in relation to the tomb. The edifice that must have been built atop Mound K, probably intended as a mausoleum associated to tomb 5, rested on a platform approximately 2 meters high that was accessed from the courtyard of the palace through a central staircase. When the steps to this staircase were made, fragments of several carved stones were incorporated as building material (Figure 5.3). The tomb itself is 5 m underneath the last floor of the palace's courtyard, and was erected by excavating into bedrock. It must have been therefore an integral element of the palace.[62]

The ground plan of the tomb is a miniature replica of the typical quadripartite configuration of domestic space (Figure 5.4) (Urcid 1992b: 75). It consists of a small quadrangular central courtyard surrounded by a corridor and by four precincts on each side that include an internal vestibule (on the south side), two lateral small rooms (on the east and west sides), and the main chamber of the crypt (on the north side). The latter is higher, as if on top of a platform, and can be accessed by means of a small central staircase with three steps. The facades on either side of the staircase are decorated with recessed entablatures. The central area

[62] This is deduced from Méndez' (1988: 9) statement that "parts of the [tomb's] lateral walls, as well as the posterior walls of the lateral rooms cut through a conglomerate stratum and where then plastered" (translated by the author).

of the internal vestibule actually forms the passageway leading from the interior of the tomb to the external vestibule and eventually, through the staircase, to the courtyard of the palace. It is evident then that the layout of the tomb mimics actual houses like those illustrated in Figures 3.6, 3.7, and 3.19.

Structurally, the crypt includes 10 monolithic pillars and several masonry walls. The pillars in turn function as jambs that support five lintels. Aside from providing the support to three roofed areas, the jambs and lintels define the entrance to the tomb and the accesses to its internal partitions. The smallest roof is the one covering the internal vestibule. It is flat and consists of five large slabs resting over the two lintels that cover the entrance to the crypt and the access to the central courtyard. The latter lintel and the other three that mark the entrances to the internal rooms must be the ones that bear a great deal of the weight generated by the four megalithic slabs in the angular roof over the central courtyard. The barely visible walls that form the corners of the courtyard must also support the rest of the structural weight. The third roof is the one covering the main chamber. It is composed of four pairs of large slabs set at an angle and resting on top of the lateral walls of the chamber.

The four internal spaces in the crypt were decorated with polychrome murals (Figure 5.5). In addition, all the jambs are carved in their frontal surfaces and, except for those flanking the entrance to the tomb, they are painted in their visible lateral faces. Only the jambs flanking the entrance to the courtyard were painted on their posterior surfaces as well. Besides their structural function, each pair of jambs and their corresponding lintel support a recessed entablature. Only those entablatures that form the facades to the tomb's entrance and to the main chamber were decorated with sculptures assembled with cut stone and then covered with stucco (Franco Brizuela 1993: 34 and 66), although in certain parts the details were modeled exclusively by means of plaster. There are also two painted texts, each one on the posterior surface of the lintels that cover the passageway from the entrance to the inner courtyard.

In order to reach the tomb from above, it is necessary to descend 9 steps until reaching the external vestibule. The number of steps, not including the raiser to the earliest known courtyard of the palace (floor 3), seemingly mimics the conception of nine layers of the underworld (Figure 5.6). The exterior vestibule is delimited on three sides by a wall 80 cm in height. Masonry walls also

flank the staircase, and slightly above the upper level of where the staircase ends, to the left of the tomb's entrance, there are two carved stones embedded in the lateral wall. Their carving style differs. One includes the rendering of a biconical brazier that has in its upper portion a human face with a headband, a representation that has actual ceramic counterparts seemingly dating to the Tani phase (200-350 ACE). The style of the other carved stone, rendering a glyph U as support to a tied cartouche with dangling beads, could date *terminus ad quem* the construction of the flanking walls towards the latter part of the Peche phase or the early part of the Xoo phase (ca 600 ACE). When the tomb was sealed for the last time, someone left a spiked brazier on top of the lintel, on the left side. The brazier, with the face of a bat protruding from the rim and adorned with a rosette at the juncture between the bowl and its pedestal, is a ceramic form typical of the Xoo phase (600-800 ACE).[63]

The available data regarding the excavation of the tomb indicate that the crypt was found practically empty, although the recovered debris yielded several objects, some of which could be partially assembled (Figure 5.7). The characteristics of the ceramic assemblage, including both complete and incomplete objects, indicate that at least the last offering or offerings were deposited towards the later part of the Xoo phase (600-800 ACE). Figure 5.7 locates some of the materials that were recovered inside the tomb, including a stela carved on four of its surfaces that was originally set vertically at the back of the main chamber. Although without giving its exact location, Franco Brizuela (1993: 12) mentions the discovery of a small offering in the interior of the tomb that included a few fragments of an immature skull (presumably human), human teeth, and a tiny stone inlay (suggesting adult dentition). Another offering (unless it is the same one mentioned by Franco Brizuela) was located in a small hole dug and sealed by a stucco plug in the center of the courtyard (see Figure 5.5, middle left). This offering contained several human phalanges and an incomplete obsidian blade (Enrique Fernández, personal communication 1993). During the restoration work in the main chamber, several fragments of human bones were found among the fallen pieces of painted stucco, and almost all had traces of red paint. The analysis of these remains

[63] Almost identical braziers are illustrated in Caso and Bernal 1952: 90.

indicates that they pertained to at least one young adult (Franco Brizuela 1993: 24 and 142).[64]

Several human remains retrieved from the tomb are now exhibited in the Community Museum in Santiago Suchilquitongo. The inspection through the glass cases yields a minimum of two adults, a female and a male (Table 5.1). Méndez (1986a: 15) also reports having found human remains under a large quartz slab placed over the bottom last 4 steps that led to the tomb. A photograph of this feature in one of his field reports (Méndez 1984: 12, photo 35) indicates the presence, from left to right, of a fibula, a tibia, and a radius. Given the spatial relationship of these bones, the burial could have been primary, and if so it would have been placed in flexed position over its left side. The poor condition of these remains noted by Méndez may have resulted from the weight of the slab placed on top of the burial.[65]

[64] The determination of age at death and sex from very small bone fragments is practically impossible. Furthermore, the criteria used to make those determinations are not explicated.

[65] Méndez (1986a: 15 and 16) reports as well a burial found immediately behind the slab that sealed the entrance to the crypt, adding that "based on the analysis of the materials found inside the tomb, we inferred it was buried alive". Such an unfounded interpretation, which attempts to account for the broken nature of the offerings and the exfoliation of some of the mural paintings as resulting from the desperate act of a sacrificial victim entombed alive, implies that the remains where in primary position, but it is unknown if some of the bones exhibited in the museum pertain to this burial.

Anatomical element	Age	Sex	Features	Notes
Cranium				Sex and age cannot be assessed without proper inspection
Mandible	+ 35 years old	Woman [cat. no. 19]	Evidence of weathering	Sex determination based on its morphology; age assessment based on slight dental wear
Mandible	+ 25 years old	Male [cat. no. 22]		Sex determination based on its morphology; age assessment based on post-mortem loss of second left molar and second right premolar with complete alveolar resorption
Tibia			Traces of red paint	Distal condyle only
Thoracic vertebra				Arch only
Several thoracic vertebrae				Fused
1st Lumbar vertebra			Osteophytes in the margins of the body	
Femur				Head only, right side?

Table 5.1- Human remains from tomb 5 exhibited in the Community Museum of Santiago Suchilquitongo.

Two reused carved stones were found in the cube of the staircase that gives access to the tomb (Figure 5.8).[66] One of them, found amidst the construction debris that filled the staircase, shows a personage dressed as a jaguar sporting a serpent helmet. The figure holds a bone tipped lance and seemingly pronounces—as evinced by a speech scroll—his calendrical (11 Lightning [11 M]) and personal names (glyphs M-Knot-Fringed/tasseled oval). The carving style of the stone undoubtedly corresponds to the early part of the Xoo phase (ca 600 ACE). The style of the other stone, which was found leaning against the left side of the entrance to the tomb, imply that the last opening of the tomb must have occurred during the first half of the 9th century ACE. The inscription in this incomplete and eroded slab includes the annual date 2 Rabbit, that is, a set III year bearer that does not follow the usage of set II year bearers that prevailed during the apogee of Monte Albán. As may be recalled from the discussion of the Zapotec Calendar Round, the earlier set of year bearers were Earthquake (17), Lightning (2), Deer (7) and Soap Plant (12). Thus, the slab under discussion

[66] To free the staircase it was necessary to remove some 45 cubic meters of construction fill (Méndez 1988: 8).

denotes the reckoning of a Calendar Round with year bearers Flint (18), House (3), Rabbit (8) and Reed (13). These names are shifted by one position in relation to the place they occupy in the 20-day name list (see Figure 1.20).

In addition to follow a shifted count in the Calendar Round, the slab also evinces other scriptural changes, specifically in terms of the double anchorage of an event (in terms of year and day) and in the convention to mark the year sign and the coefficients. Regarding the first observation, the slab also includes a day date 6 Reed. As commented in the section on the Zapotec calendar, in inscriptions of previous centuries the temporal marks only specified the year but not the day of occurrence of an event. The year sign carved in the slab remains the iconic rendering of a royal headband, like in the previous scribal conventions, but the interlace on top of the headband is like the one typical of the Ñuiñe script, which in turn is a clear stylistic antecedent of the interlaced year symbol used during Postclassic times all over Oaxaca. In terms of the convention to render numerals, it will be noted that the coefficient of the day date 6 Reed is indicated by dots only, another departure from the previous convention of bar and dot numeration. Yet, it is evident, as indicated by the numeral in the upper right portion of the slab—where the coefficient 5 is represented—that the bar and dot convention had not been completely abandoned.[67] In sum, several lines of evidence date the construction of the tomb around 600 years ACE and its continuous use for some 300 years until its final reopening around 900 ACE.

In a previous preliminary study (Urcid 1992b) I posited the presence of two successive mortuary programs associated to the tomb. I argued that the first one, formed by the jambs and the sculptures covered with stucco, contained a genealogical record of at least 5 generations of a lineage that during the 6th and 7th centuries ruled over Cerro de la Campana. I also commented that a second mortuary program, rendered in the stela found in the main chamber and in the text painted in the back of the lintel over the entrance to the tomb, detailed the continuation of the genealogy described in the first program. This later part of the genealogy encompasses at least three more generations. In addition to this record, I described other epigraphic materials associated to the tomb

[67] Although the numeral bar in the upper right portion of the stone is topped by two 'tied bars', the difference in size and in the tying stripes in the three bars seemingly indicate that the upper two are not coefficients.

that yield the names of six additional paired males and 13 single individuals, but it was not feasible to relate them to the genealogy.

At the time that exegesis was written, I did not have at my disposal the data on the painted murals. Although their content does not modify the main conclusion of a long genealogical record in the tomb, consideration of the painted narratives does throw important new insights, especially in regard to the possible sequence in which 4 and not just 2 narrative programs were incorporated so as to adhere as much as possible to an overall scheme, as well as to the linear succession for the entire genealogy so as to encompass a deeper generational record. Another important modification is the identification of the apical ancestors (previously interpreted as those who commissioned the tomb), and of at least 4 egos who commissioned the different narrative programs.

The aesthetic quality of the murals varies, and the differences must be the result of both non-coeval painters and of several artists working simultaneously who may have belonged to a single workshop under the leadership of one or a few masters assisted by apprentices with a wide range of skills. Thus, not all the observable variation in style necessarily reflects temporal differences, as proposed by A. Miller (1995: 185) who, on the other hand, argues that the jambs must have been sculpted simultaneously by at least 4 different carvers (idem: 178). In some murals, the hastiness in the application of the brushes is obvious, as can be deduced by the dripping of the paint and by the lack of details in the painted forms. There are also instances, as noted by Franco Brizuela (1993: 63), of sketches that were subsequently modified without erasing the original forms. Because of the difficulties in assessing differences of style and to associate them temporally, in some cases syntagmatic rather than stylistic details have guided this new attempt to discern the complex history of use for the tomb.

In order to better understand the entire visual record in the crypt, three levels of analysis are required. First, I will outline some of the general characteristics of the painted murals and the carved programs. A subsequent analysis will focus on the description of the mortuary narratives, but discussing the materials as sets and following the kinetics as one enters the tomb. It remains to be determined to what extent the narrative groups were intended to follow a sequence once the central courtyard is reached, but since some of the murals in the lateral rooms are differentially preserved, it is convenient for purposes of clarity to begin with the room on the West side and then

continue with the one on the East side. The third analytical step will serve the purpose of synthesizing several patterns in the epigraphy and the semasiography of the narrative programs in order to propose a comprehensive interpretation.

Spatially, the painted murals in the tomb form four discrete groups, all of them with the same structure consisting of three horizontal registers. The two upper ones, of approximately the same height, render narrative scenes with individuals engaged in ritual performances. The lower register, of only 15 cm in height, consists of a band decorated with green volutes over a red background. It should be noted that the painted scenes are devoid of inscriptions.

Since the carved jambs frame the painted narratives, some general remarks on them are in order. Given that they were conceived in sets of two, each pair displays marked bilateral symmetry in terms of composition (Figure 5.9).[68] Their carved surface also displays a tripartite scheme, starting at the top with the unfolded version of glyph U (already interpreted in the discussion of tomb 104 from Monte Albán as the symbolic representation of the paramount Zapotec deity *Pitáo Cozáana*). The glyph is accompanied by another sign partially superimposed in the center, followed by short inscriptions in the middle portion, and then—at the bottom--by the representation of a richly attired personage carrying a staff and an incense bag (Figure 5.10).

A distinctive characteristic of the graphic style in the jambs is the varied representation of the human body (Figure 5.11). In several instances its rendering combines profile and frontal views. The representation of both legs in profile denotes movement, as if the individuals were walking in a procession. On the other hand, and only in the case of most of the male personages, the frontal view of their torsos leads to the representation of both arms and hands, with the extremities placed at either side of the torso. In the case of the two female personages, their torso is shown in profile, and only one of their upper extremities is shown.[69] Two male

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[68] For purposes of clarity, I have modified the previous nomenclature of two of the jambs (Urcid 1992b), exchanging the designations of jambs 6 and 7.

[69] The female representations painted in the murals deviate from this convention by showing both arms and hands.

personages also have their torsos in profile, but both hands were rendered in front of their bodies.

The four male personages carved in the jambs placed along the central axis of the tomb and facing the interior courtyard appear dressed as jaguars, including the feline heads covering the human faces (Figure 5.12). The anterior clawed extremities protrude from the forearms, leaving the human hands of the personages exposed. In contrast, the hind legs, also with claws, appear as footgear. At least in one instance the tail of the jaguar is shown as part of the outfit. The pendant shown in each personage appears suspended by means of a strap tied behind the neck (Figure 5.13). In two instances, these pendants include profile human faces with dangling conch shells. Two other are rhomboid ornaments with incised lines, an attribute that in certain effigy vessels is related to the imagery of bats (Caso and Bernal 1952: 71). Beneath them dangle representations of nose or lip plugs. The objects hanging from the arms of the personages appear to be the frontal depiction of bat faces with exposed teeth, combined with the representation of a prominent bifid tongue. The staffs carried in one of their hands are topped by exemplars of glyph J (Maize). In the other hand they hold an incense pouch.

The jaguar personages, as well as the rest of the male figures, wear a short kilt tied at the waist with a broad strap profusely decorated. The circular plated clasp in front is large, and in some cases, although omitted, its presence seems to be implicit. Other attributes of the garments worn by the jaguar personages that are shared as well by the other male figures include the fan-shaped panoply of feathers fixed in the lower back, the earplugs, and the elaborate headdresses. The latter, to be commented shortly, include zoomorphic representations accompanied by a profusion of signs, topped in turn by two bundles of feathers. In the case of all the male representations, the headdresses are held with chinstraps, as indicated by the zoomorphic mandibles that protrude from under their faces. In contrast, the headdresses of the only two rendered females are equally elaborate but have no chinstraps.

The garments of the women includes a long skirt with a lower fringe decorated with step-fret designs, and one of them is shown wearing a blouse with a strap dangling behind the skirt (Figure 5.14). As in the case of the male figures, they also wear the broad and elaborate

waistband tied by the circular plated clasp. Their personal adornments include earplugs and composite collars. They carry an incense bag. Barefooted, they are the only ones in the program of the jambs that appear as if speaking, an action signaled by the speech scrolls in front of their faces.

Since the other male figures that are not shown as jaguars also wear tied headdresses with a profusion of signs, what sets them apart are three attributes: 1) the relative simplicity of their garments, 2) composite collars devoid of pendants, and 3) the staffs they carry with the glyphs "Leaf" and "Fringed/tasseled oval" (Figure 5.15). Their garment includes a short kilt held in place by a broad strap adorned and tied by a circular plated clasp. They wear high sandals that cover their ankles and appear tied over the instep. Earplugs and bracelets are other personal ornaments, and they also carry an incense bag (Figure 5.16).

Based on the distribution of the paraphernalia just described, it is possible to order the personages in four ranked groups:

1. Jaguar personages (4)	Jambs 9-10
2. Their female consorts (2)	Jambs 9-10
3. Secondary male figures with imagery of bats and the staff with glyph "Fringed/tasseled oval" (2)	Jambs 1-2
4. Secondary male figures with the staff topped by the "Leaf" glyph (4)	Jambs 5-6/7-8

The elaborate headdresses seem to reinforce the alluded ranking (Figure 5.17). Those worn by the jaguar personages include, from top to bottom, a profiled glyph U-Cociyo-Alligator (jambs 9 and 10), and imagery of Leafs-conflation of Knot/Maize-unfolded glyph U (jambs 3 and 4). What signal the importance of the jaguar personages are of course the renditions of glyph U. The imagery in the female headdresses on jambs 9 and 10 includes allusions to birds, and in the case of jamb 9, the synecdoche of Alligator (the eye in the posterior end of the headdress). The imagery in the headdresses of the secondary male personages involves renditions of Cociyo-Alligator (jambs 1 and 2), Maize-Leafs-Alligator (jambs 7 and 8), and of

plated serpents with renditions of Cociyo-glyph D (jamb 6) and 'Xicani' (jamb 5).

The imagery in the headdresses constitutes visual symbolic expressions that map the layered conception of the cosmos, with sky motifs usually on top of terrestrial allusions. The symbolic equivalences can be glossed as follows (Table 5.2):

Sky level	glyph U	-	Icon of a bird that symbolically represents Pitáo Cozáana (the sun)
	glyph M	-	Cociyo, god of Rain and Lightning
	Xicani	-	Fire Serpent, flying sacrificer (capable of transformation)
	Birds	-	One is seemingly an owl (notion of darkness, the night sky?)
Terrestrial level	Leafs	-	A plant of special importance in rituals related to ancestors
	Knot	-	Synecdoche of incense bag, essential in conjuring ancestors
	Maize	-	Sustenance
	Serpent	-	Reference to omen?
	Alligator	-	Surface of the earth

Table 5.2- Symbolic equivalences in the imagery of the headdresses worn by the personages carved in the narrative of the jambs.

The short epigraphic notations placed above the personages, although seemingly agglutinated, can be glossed into compounds that vary between two and four glyphs (Figure 5.18). Three of the jambs with texts having four parts include a variant form of the Zapotec year glyph (Figure 5.19). It consists of the profile representation of an elder's face, wrinkled and toothless (as indexed by the pronounced mandibular prognathism) that carries in his back the sign that names the year, that is, the year bearer. In jamb 3 the year is 5 Earthquake, in jamb 5 the year is 6 Earthquake, and in jamb 6 the year is 1 Earthquake.[70]

These three annual dates provide the chronological framework of the narrative program carved on the jambs. The various alternatives for 'reading' the sequence of these dates, with the intervals and minimum temporal spans that they generate, are summarized in Table 5.3:[71]

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[70] For a discussion of the conceptual link of an elder's representation to stand for the seniority of the year bearer Earthquake in the Zapotec Calendar Round and of other graphic attributes typical of the year sign in these three annual dates, see Urcid 2001: 130-133.

[71] The unfolding of these alternatives is given in Table 5.4.

1. 5E → 6E → 1E (0 → 40 → 08 = 48 years)
2. 5E → 1E → 6E (0 → 48 → 43 = 91 years)
3. 1E → 5E → 6E (0 → 04 → 40 = 44 years)
4. 1E → 6E → 5E (0 → 44 → 12 = 56 years)
5. 6E → 5E → 1E (0 → 12 → 48 = 60 years)
6. 6E → 1E → 5E (0 → 08 → 04 = 12 years)

Table 5.3- Possible sequences in the reading of the three annual dates in the program of the jambs in tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.

These alternatives yield a temporal frame ranging from 12 to 91 years. I will defer for the third level of analysis the problem of establishing which of these "reading" sequences most likely applies. In this context, suffice is to say that, except for the shortest span of 12 years, those generated by the other alternatives range between 44 and 91 years, suggesting that not all the individuals represented in the jambs were coeval. This observation constitutes an initial clue to later determine the possible genealogical relation between the personages.

Proceeding with a discussion of the inscriptions in the jambs, all of them have a glyph accompanied by numerals. These must be the calendrical names of the represented personages. Jambs 4 and 9b have actually two such glyphs (Figure 5.20). The fact that they accompany the representation of a single personage poses an interpretative problem. Yet, there is a detail that suggests which of the two glyphs is the one naming the associated personage. The short inscriptions that accompany 6 of the 12 personages in the jambs include a glyphic compound of four speech scrolls rendered as inverted and opposed pairs accompanied by glyph D (Reed) (Figure 5.21). Since this glyphic compound occurs in inscriptions with only one calendrical name, it must be related to the nominal signs. Based on the syntagmatic relations of the glyphs in jambs 4 and 9b it is feasible to unambiguously determine the calendrical names of the personages represented in them as ♂ 8A and ♂ 3O respectively. I will defer for the third level of analysis a consideration of what the two other calendrical signs (11E and 2E) may stand for, but for the moment it is possible to generate a list of calendrical names in the program of the jambs (Figure 5.22).

The inscriptions in the jambs include another glyphic compound of non-calendrical signs. Although in diverse combinations, several of these compounds include the signs “Jaguar”, “Leaf”, and ‘Xicani’. The fact that each compound is different strongly suggests that, rather than standing for titles, they identify the personal names of the represented personages (Figure 5.23). Since there is no substitutive or complementary relation between the non-calendrical compounds that include the “Jaguar” sign and the personages rendered as jaguars (jambs 5 and 6 do not render jaguar personages and their personal names do not include the “Jaguar” sign), the jaguar dressing is what signals--as commented in the section on the jaguar rulers from Monte Albán--the title of paramount lords. This also suggests that personal names may have been gender-specific, so that women’s names seldom included the “Jaguar” sign.

The jambs have in their upper section the unfolded version of glyph U as if presiding over the representation and names of the personages (Figure 5.24). The glyphs include, at the top, the band tied with opposing diagonal lines. In contrast to the renderings of this attribute in the examples from 104 at Monte Albán, these bands have their ends twisted upwards. The other conspicuous attribute is the rendering of the teeth with different forms of modification. While the alterations to the teeth are overemphasized, they seem to correspond to *types* attested in human burials, including those designated as A-2, B-5, and C-9 (Romero 1970: 51) (Figure 5.25). While in Jambs 7 and 8 glyph U includes the entire row of teeth, no similarity can be established with archaeologically documented *patterns* of dental modification dating to the Classic period (Romero 1986: 45 and 48-50), but the lack of correspondence could be due to archaeological bias. It should also be kept in mind that the representations of glyph U are symbolic and thus render an unpaired central tooth.

The glyph U in all the jambs except 7 and 8 has superimposed over the central lower portion a single sign (Figure 5.26). The position of those with anthropomorphic or zoomorphic imagery evinces the intent of rendering them as if facing down, making them analogous to the descending personages carved on portable genealogical slabs (see Figure 6.8). The signs, paired in each set of jambs, include the renditions of ‘Xicani’ (jambs 1-2), Maize-Moist [rendered with the trefoil sign and “Hairpin” glyph] (jambs 3-4), glyph Ñ (jambs 5-6), glyph “Bag” (jambs 9a and 10b), and the buccal mask of Cociyo with a beaded trefoil sign [maize] (jambs 9b and 10a).

As to the two painted texts in the tomb, both are in the sector of the interior vestibule (Figures 5.4 [profile] and 5.27). One of them (text I), in excellent state of preservation, was painted on the posterior surface of the lintel supported by jambs 3 and 4 that mark the entrance to the courtyard. Thus, it is visible as one enters the tomb. The surface of the lintel was evidently well-dressed and smoothed in order to apply a thin layer of stucco to support the painted text. The glyphs were outlined in black and most of their interior spaces were filled in with red color. The other text (no. II), painted directly over the undressed, roughed surface on the posterior side of the lintel supported by jambs 1 and 2 that frame the entrance to the tomb, becomes visible only if one turns around in the vestibule or as one exits the crypt. The glyphs of this text were outlined in black, but their interior spaces were left blank. This text is not as well preserved as the other one. Although the ends of the numeral bars in the four signs on the extreme right and the last two glyphs in this end are now partially obliterated, enough remains to reconstitute their original configuration.

In terms of their structure, both texts are very similar. The year glyphs and their corresponding year bearers appear in the center of the inscriptions. To the right of the annual dates, each text has a compound that includes: a glyph I, a "Hand" sign, and a glyph with a numeral. To the left there are a variable number of signs accompanied by coefficients. Despite their horizontal organization, they share certain properties with the texts carved on the interior surface of the slab that sealed the entrance to tomb 104 from Monte Albán. These and several other texts conform to another standard sequence that has been amply discussed in another work (Urcid 2001: 247-250, and figures 4.153-4154, 4.156-4.158). Despite their structural similarities, the stylistic differences of the texts and the differential treatment of the supporting surfaces strongly suggest that they were not painted at the same time. As will be argued later on, it appears that text I was painted first and that text II was rendered during a later re-opening of the tomb. Unless these chronological markers refer to events not related to the moment of painting, this implies that the annual date in text I (year 2 Earthquake) signals an earlier event than the one marked by the year date in text II (year 11 Soap Plant). Before considering how these annual dates may relate to one another and to the annual dates carved in jambs 3, 5, and 7, it is necessary to proceed with the second level of analysis, one that accounts for the painted

murals and other epigraphic data.

The Exterior Facade

The entrance to the tomb is framed by jambs 1 and 2 and by the lintel that supports the recessed entablature decorated with a stone and stuccoed sculpture (Figure 5.28).[72] The carving on the left jamb is much eroded, but it evidently depicts a male personage facing to the right and identified above by his calendrical and personal names. The carving on the right jamb also depicts a male figure facing left accompanied by his calendrical and personal appellatives. Both personages seemingly had almost identical garments. The differential obliteration of the carvings in both jambs evidently resulted from the erosion caused by the repeated removal and resetting of the huge block used to seal the entrance to the tomb.[73] The sculpture decorating the façade's entablature is a large version of the calendrical name 10 V (10 Alligator), whose associated numeral consists of two bars placed below the saurian representation. From its open jaws emerges the representation of a bird's head, while its wings appear at either side of the Alligator's image. In this context, the bird most likely stands for the personal name of the personage alluded by the sculpture. A fan-shaped panoply of feathers tops the Alligator glyph. Over the central section of the headdress appears the abbreviated version of glyph U, topped in turn by the bar marked with diagonal lines. As commented while discussing the visual record in tomb 104 from Monte Albán, glyph U signals an introduction to inscriptions. In the context of the sculpture in the façade, its presence not only underscores the importance of this named personage but it also marks the beginning of the entire mortuary program. A circled line toped by a solid rectangular red stain was applied at the center of the lintel. A vertical linear red stain

[72] The drawing of the façade in Figure 5.28 includes a reconstruction of eroded portions in jamb 1. For an illustration of its actual condition see A. Miller 1995: plate 27.

[73] This plain monolith measures 1.50 x 1.60 x .40 m and has grooves in the corner edges that must have facilitated its transport from the quarrying source and its placement in the tomb's entrance. It also has on the surface facing the interior of the tomb, near the center, a shallow quadrangular depression that may have had originally some kind of inlay.

also runs from the center of the numeral, crossing the middle of the bird's head and the bifid tongue, palate, central teeth and snout of the Alligator's image. Red spots were applied as well to its upper lateral gums.

The Interior Vestibule

The painted murals that decorate this vestibule span its lateral walls as well as the posterior and lateral surfaces, those facing the entrance corridor, of jambs 3 and 4. This part of the program is not well preserved since the paintings in the two upper registers on the lateral walls and the one in the middle register on the posterior surface of jamb 3 are almost completely faded. It is also unclear if the upper registers on the posterior and lateral surfaces of the jambs were painted at all. By unfolding a reconstructed version of this part of the narrative, including the carved anterior surfaces of jambs 3 and 4, an overall compositional symmetry becomes evident (Figure 5.29). A couple, lead by a female and followed by a male dressed as a jaguar appears at either side.

The women are shown dressed with a blouse, a long skirt, and dangling ornaments in the back of their garments. Their personal adornments include earplugs and beaded collars. Their headdresses are almost identical, sporting a large supporting frame with panoply of feathers behind and decorated in front with the profile image of a bird's head tied to the frames. The three-pronged version of the glyph "Blood" hangs from the tips of the beaks, and a wing decorated with feathers appears above the profile heads. The women appear barefooted, carrying in one hand an incense pouch and poised with the other hand as if offering a "Leaf". Although the jaguar lord painted on the NW wall is almost completely faded, the one on the NE wall is shown wearing an Alligator helmet, a short kilt with two flaps, the waist strap with the circular clasp, the dangling frontal face of a bat, and the fan-shaped panoply of feathers in the lower back. He carries in one hand a spear decorated at the top by a cartouche with feathers and what may be a hafted two-pronged bone tip. In the other hand, the personage holds an incense pouch. It seems that the painter of this figure rendered the spotted pelt of the jaguar at least on the upper left leg.

The processional direction of these four personages follows towards the interior of the tomb; a flow that is broken by the orientation of the jaguar lords carved on the anterior surfaces of jambs 3 and 4. As will become evident when discussing the compositional structure in the programs on the West and East rooms, such a confronting direction of males-females in certain junctures of the entire program suggests their pairing into couples. This observation is reinforced if the movement towards the interior of the tomb is taken into account. The kinetics implies that female consorts follow the jaguar lords carved on the anterior surfaces of jambs 3 and 4, as is clearly the case with the couples rendered in jambs 9 and 10. This interpretation strongly suggests that the now obliterated paintings on the lateral walls of the interior vestibule included the rendition of two additional females proceeding behind the jaguar lords painted on the posterior surface of jambs 3 and 4. What remains of these female representations are the zoomorphic imagery of their headdresses.

The overall symmetry of the program in the interior vestibule is broken on the upper register of the West wall. Here, one can still discern traces of two signs accompanied by numerals: 10? and 11 Monkey (11O).[74] In contrast to the surviving paintings on the upper register of the East wall, which includes the faint traces of a bird's head in profile seemingly topped by panoply of feathers, the glyph 11 Monkey faces towards the entrance and not the interior of the tomb.

Given its position, it appears that painted text I is related to this part of the program. Further support of this possibility is the fact that the text includes, besides the annual date and the glyphic compound "3I-Hand-Face looking upwards", a total of six signs accompanied by numerals. These may be the names of the personages painted in the lateral walls of the interior vestibule and the back/lateral surfaces of jambs 3 and 4.

The West Room

Jambs 5 and 6 frame this narrative set. The lintel above them has in the center a squared

[74] The glyph 11O was outlined with black paint and colored with ochre and red pigments. The rendering of the glyph by A. Miller (1995: 182, fig. 69) includes two numeral bars only. For a photo of this detail see Figure 5.5, middle right.

stain of red paint. The paintings on the middle register in the back and part of the right walls are now completely exfoliated, but enough survives to render a complete reconstruction (Figure 5.30).[75] The unfolding of the narrative evinces one focal point centered on the upper register of the back wall. The scene in question shows two seated personages engaged in a ritual aimed at a funerary latticework box. The personages themselves might be seated inside funerary boxes but this detail cannot be ascertained because of the loss of the painted stucco in the lower portion of the register. But if that were to be the case, the scene would show two funerary bundles of recent ancestors commemorating the bundle of a more distant ancestor(s). Given the presumed remoteness in time, the image of such a founder(s) is not rendered, but the funerary box is decorated along the upper border with tied bags topped by stiff ornaments with curved or angled straps identical to those worn by the warriors and ballplayers painted in the narrative scene of the main chamber (see below). The box has also, over most of its frontal surface, a rectangular motif divided into columnar squares that may be the rendition of a textile.

The gender of the personages is difficult to discern, but the physiognomy of the one to the left suggest a female. The figure is shown wearing a cape over the torso and a headdress with a conical base that supports the representation of a bird. The avian imagery has a nose or lip plug in the beak. The representation of the object in the hand of the personage is now obliterated, but a speech scroll above it is still visible. The personage painted on the right side of the scene appears to be a male. Except for variations in the decorating motifs on the cape and the lack of a nose or lip plug in the beak of the bird on the headdress, the garment is almost identical to that of the opposite figure. Yet, in this case, the iconicity of the object being held by the personage is recognizable: it is a hand held incense burner with volutes of smoke emanating from the bowl. This identification not only clarifies what the woman is holding but allows assuming that at the foot of the funerary box, on the woman's side, there was another smoking incense burner, or that its presence was alluded by synecdoche (volutes of smoke). At the base of the box, on the man's side, there were other motifs but their configuration is now unrecognizable because of the

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[75] For an illustration of the actual condition of these murals see A. Miller 1995: 188, fig. 77.

incompleteness of the mural.

Four other personages that converge towards the main scene, three on the left side and one on the right one, are attending this commemorative ritual. The procession on the left side is lead by two personages that wear a plain loincloth and simple headdresses that seemingly consist of a cap with an extension dangling on their backs. They are shown as if presenting offerings. Their garments and postures suggest that they are lower ranking individuals. The object being offered by the first figure may be a circular fan with hanging feathers. The smaller personage behind carries a stack with a knot that may render cotton mantles. Both individuals are shown with speech scrolls. Behind them appears a third personage, this one apparently of higher rank as evinced by his clothing. He wears a decorated loincloth and sandals. His waist strap is partially covered by the bat pendant and he carries the fan-shaped panoply of feathers in the lower back. His face and chest are adorned with a noseplug, a composite earplug, and a beaded collar. His headgear seemingly includes an anthropomorphic figure with an extended arm that wears an earplug in the shape of the "Blood" glyph and sports as headdress the beak of a bird. The personage carries an incense bag and a lance with a stone tip. Like the personages in front of him, he is also shown with a speech scroll. The personage on the right side of the main scene is also of high rank since his outfit is almost identical to the one just described. Conspicuous differences appear in the headdress, which includes the image of 'Xicani'; in the lance, which has a hafted bone tip and two cartouches with glyph E; and the lack of a noseplug. The speech scroll associated to this personage seems to be topped by the iconic rendering of a two-pronged bone tip.

The woman represented to the right of this last personage is the one that, together with the personages depicted in the middle register, break the symmetry of the composition by virtue of the rightward direction in which they appear to walk. Two earlier horizontal lines crossing about halfway the woman's body are clearly visible (see Figure 5.5, bottom right), so are two other vertical lines immediately behind her representation. These lines are part of an initial separation of the area before the paintings were applied. Their arrangement makes it evident that originally, the composition on this wall was going to be identical to that in the lateral walls of the East room, that is, with a larger representation of the woman's figure spanning the lateral portion of the middle register and a large section of the corresponding upper register. Eventually, the painter decided to

reduce the dimensions of the female figure. The apparent reason may be related to what the entire middle register in this program is all about, that is, a march of warriors whose progression away from the focal point of the narrative is seemingly a visual strategy to incorporate the procession to the one painted in the walls of the main chamber. If so, the facing direction of the female personage was intended to denote her pairing with the male figure carved in jamb 6. There is no doubt that this was a high-ranking woman, as evinced by her garments. Besides the blouse and long skirt, she is shown wearing an imposing headdress with the imagery of Cociyo. Her personal ornaments include earplugs and a beaded collar. She is depicted barefooted, carrying in one hand an incense pouch and in the other--as if offering it--a "Leaf". She speaks as well, as denoted by the associated speech scroll.

It is evident that the procession of warriors in the middle register had originally 15 of them, but six – including five that were painted in the back wall—are not extant. Among those that are still present there are similarities as well as differences. For example, they all appear barefooted and wear an almost identical headdress. This headgear consists of a bonnet-like cap decorated at the base with a horizontally projecting plated band topped in front by a bundle of feathers. In some instances, the bundles appear to be clasped by a bead. The differences lay in the garments and the diversity of their weapons. Although all are lances, some have obsidian points, another a sharpened bone tip, and another may be a bifacial blade. The lances being brandished by the last two warriors appear to have a thick upper portion so as to haft very short tips. Some of the warriors, in different places along the procession, are shown wearing a loincloth, but the rest appear protected by a large robe padded with cotton that covers their bodies all the way down to the level of the knees. This type of protective garment is also represented in clay figurines dating to the Xoo phase (Figure 5.31) and is well described in ethnohistoric sources. For instance, the Relación Geográfica from Chichicapam states:

> ... And thus, in the time of their infidelity, everything was conflict, that they did not have peace: they went to war armed with cushioned tight jackets with much cotton capable of resisting an arrow ...(del Paso y Troncoso 1905 [IV]: 117) (translated by the author).

The hand gestures of the second and third warriors in the procession suggest that they are signaling a call, although no speech scroll was painted.

The East Room

Jambs 7 and 8 frame this narrative set. The lintel above them has in the center a squared stain of red paint. The unfolding of the narrative evinces that the focal point was centered on the middle register of the back wall, where most of the paintings are now missing. Yet, the few discernable details and their comparison with the focal point of the narrative in the West room allow proposing a hypothetical reconstruction (Figure 5.32).[76] The scene seemingly rendered two personages wearing turban-like headdresses flanking the representation of another latticework funerary box. Behind each of the central personages, painted on the lateral walls, remain the traces of two warriors wearing long tunics and headdresses similar to those worn by the warriors in the procession painted in the opposite room. The leading warrior at each side seemingly carries a shield. They all brandish lances, although only three have obsidian points.

The upper register in the back wall shows four personages converging in pairs from either direction towards the center of the composition. These converging processions, and those painted in the upper registers of the lateral walls, most likely are continuations of those represented in the middle register. The four personages in the back wall are males. They are shown wearing stamped loincloths and capes with a triangular folding hanging behind the thighs. They wear sandals and a simple plated headband that seemingly holds a long and exuberant bundle of hair. These locks of hair are folded forward and are seemingly tied by a large knotted band. They also appear wearing in their earlobes white cloth strips reminiscent of those worn by Maya prisoners destined for sacrifice (see Schele 1984: 21, and fig.12). Yet, these personages are by no means depictions of prisoners. It is evident that they wear flayed facial skins painted yellow with a vertical red line across the cheeks, features that allow linking them to the cult of Xipe Totec. These masks resemble the yellow and stripped masks on top of the headdresses of two of the ballplayers rendered in the narrative from the main chamber (see below), as well as

[76] For an illustration of the actual condition of these murals see A. Miller 1995: 187, fig. 76.

the flayed mask with traces of yellow paint in the Xipe Totec impersonator rendered in one of the three effigy vessels found in tomb 103 from Monte Albán (Figure 5.33). In other colored renditions of Xipe Totec from several parts of Mesoamerica, yellow is one of the main coding that signals the flayed skin of sacrificial victims. It may be noted that the representations of Xipe Totec impersonators taken from screenfolds and illustrated in Figure 5.33 have cloth stripes, usually painted with white and red bands, traversing their earlobes, as well as the red vertical line crossing the cheeks and the eyes. Fray Juan de Córdova wrote down several entries in his Spanish-Zapotec vocabulary that hint at a few aspects of the cult of Xipe Totec in ancient Oaxaca:

1-	Flayed and stuffed head with which they danced in antiquity [*Cabeça desollada el cuero lleno con que bailaban antiguamente*]	- Petihui, pitihui, pitiñequiqueni (63v)
2-	Flayed human face and head stuffed with straw and worn during their ancient dances [*Cara y cabeça de hombre desollada y llena de paja que trayan en los bayles antiguamente*]	- Petehue, petehui, petihui, pitihui (63v and 72)
3-	Skin of a man [*Cuero de hombre*]	- oeni pitihui pitiñe (101v-102)
4-	To flay, generally [*Desollar generalmente*]	- Totixiaquiti, tibeetiñea, tibeexahua (134v)
5-	Flayed man with stuffed skin, or animal [*Ombre desfollado y lleno el cuero, o animal*]	- Pítiñe, pénipitijñe, pènipítihui.l.pitíhui folum (292)
2-	To flay a man or animal, alive or dead [*Dessollarse hombre o bestia, vivo o muerto*]	- Teroxia (134v)
3-	To be so flayed [*Dessollado assi*]	- Nipitoxi natoxitiñe quiti lati xahueni (134v)

The long and folded hair of these personages, the stripes in their earlobes, and the flayed facial masks identify them as high-ranking religious specialists. Another entry in Córdoba's vocabulary that supports such an interpretation alludes to the "hairs of the popes (paramount priests) of the idols [Cabellos de los papas de los ydolos-*Qichaquixitiquíquehuitào*] (Córdova

1987a: 64)". Also, Ruíz de Alarcón has a relevant description, although his observations were done among 16th century Nahua communities in Guerrero and the Central Highlands:

> There were in each village certain old people dedicated to the ministry of the sacrifices of penitents (whom they call [in Nahuatl] *tlamàceuhque).* And those old men used to be called *tlamacazque,* which means "priests." ….There used to be in each village something like a large well-swept courtyard, delegated for such purposes, like a church. Everyone had the obligation of bringing green firewood to this courtyard for the old men, who were distinguished by a long lock of hair which they let grow on their heads… (Ruíz de Alarcón 1984 [1629], Treatise 1, chapter 4: 54).

Among the various ranks of priests described by Sahagún, the *Tlamacazcayaque* or *Tlamacaztequihuaque* were those who had a military office and had captured three or four warriors (in López Austin and García Quintana 2000 (III): 1329). Fray Alonso de Molina also provides in his Spanish-Nahuatl dictionary entries for *papatli,* which refers to the 'hair of those who serve in the temples of the idols', and to the "tangled and long hair of the ministers of the idols" (Molina 1977: 22v and 79v).[77] Further support of the priestly role of the individuals painted in the narrative from tomb 5 is provided by triangulating the features of the personage rendered on the south jamb from building A at Cacaxtla (Figure 5.34)--shown with long, folded, hair and with the body painted black--, with the personage carved on Monument 21 from Bilbao, Guatemala—shown with a sacrificial knife and a human heart rendered as an anthropomorphic cacao pod—, and with Sahagún's description of a group of senior priests from Mexico-Tenochtitlan who participated in the rituals of the 6th month (*Etzalcualiztli*):

> After each daily offering came several elders whom they called *Cuacuacuiltin* and who had their faces painted in black, completely shaved except from the top of the head, where they had long hairs, in contrast to the other priests (in López Austin and García Quintana 2000 (I): 2001) (translated by the author).

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[77] Garibay (1996: 137) further discusses the etymology of this word: "*Papa, papas,* the term used by the Spaniards to refer to the priests of the idols. The word derives from *papahua*: he who has hair tangles (*papactli*), that is, long compressed hairs hanging from their heads and stiffed by the ritual black paint and blood".

In his description of the range of activities that were carried out in the Main Temple complex of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, Sahagún also refers to the role of children servants that were educated in the *calmecac*, whose duty was to "make the black paint with which, everyday at dawn, priests smeared their entire body" (in López Austin and García Quintana 2000 (I): 293).[78] It should be stressed that the hairdo of the ruler-high priest rendered on the south jamb of building A at Cacaxtla and the personage carved on Monument 21 from Bilbao is similar to the hairdo of the figures painted in tomb 5, which in turn is characteristic of Zapotec glyph Ñ and effigy vessels dubbed by Caso and Bernal "Dios del Moño en el Tocado" (God with the knotted headdress).

The paramount religious specialists painted in the back wall of the East room in tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana hold vertically in their hands a tubular object with a stripe that protrudes from the upper end. Their iconicity is not clear, nor is that of the circles decorated with the Earthquake sign (a quadripartite motif with a dot in the center) painted black and white and decorated with tassels around their circumference. The latter may be objects being carried in the other hand, or perhaps pendants suspended from their necks. The processions that follow these priests on both sides are almost identical and include, each one, four warriors. Those leading the processions carry a lance with a banner painted with horizontal stripes. The one on the right procession carries in addition a shield, followed by another warrior with a similar garment but different weapon and headdress. Behind follows another warrior dressed with a stamped loincloth and a helmet in the shape of a human skull. What distinguish the warriors in this position in each of the processions are the different types of banners that they carry. Closing the processions at either side there is another warrior carrying a lance and wearing a simple headdress and a long tunic. The size of the last two warriors in each procession is smaller in comparison with the others, and resulted from the reduced space that remained after painting in the middle register, near the edges of the lateral walls, two women that proceed as if to exit the

[78] Durán (1995 [I]: 348, chapter XXXVIII) also provided similar information on priests with long hairs and painted black. The paramount figure rendered on the first illustration in codex Mendoza, folio 2r, is actually shown with these attributes. For a post-contact rendition of a Mexica high-priest painted

room. Given their size and their garments, these renderings are of high-ranking women. Their garments are similar, including the blouse, long skirt and the ornaments dangling on their backs. They both wear earplugs and beaded collars, and carry in one hand an incense pouch while with the other appear to offer a "Leaf". Their headdresses are also very similar. They include a large supporting framework with panoply of feathers behind, and tied to the front, profile images of the "Alligator" topped by profile renderings of Cociyo. They are the only personages in the narrative that appear speaking. Their speech scrolls have at the top a split volute that in other contexts seem to refer to the bone tip of lances. Their orientation suggests that they were conceived as cohorts of the men carved on the jambs.

The Entrance to the Main Chamber

This access is framed by jambs 9 and 10 and by the lintel that supports the recessed entablature decorated with a stone and stuccoed sculpture (Figure 5.35). The lintel has a large squared red stain in the center. Each of the jambs is actually a single monolith with a small entablature carved on the lower portion. The area above is divided in half by means of a vertical deep groove that defines two panels on the frontal surface, each one depicting a jaguar personage (in the medial panels) followed by a woman (in the lateral panels).

The sculpture in the entablature includes the representation of an individual whose face—constituted by a glyph O—wears a jaguar helmet topped by an imposing headdress. The flexed arms of this personage are placed at either side of the feline helmet suggesting that the personage was conceived as in a prone position, a pan-Mesoamerican visual recourse to signal the representation of ancestors. Below the personage is the numeral 11. If we establish a homology between the personages depicted in the jambs as jaguars and this figure, it can be concluded that the individual is not only identified by his calendrical name 11 Monkey (11O) but that its gender was male. His headdress is formed by a band surmounted by a triangular and trapezoidal interlace, with lateral straps decorated in their ends with a circle. Although this sign is usually

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black and with long hair who impersonates the Rain god 'Tlaloc', see Figure 7.10.

referred to as the "Teotihuacan year glyph", it is obvious that in this context it does not have a chronological function because neither glyphs O nor B are year bearers in the Zapotec Calendar Round. The iconicity of the headdress, however, is known to stand for a royal headband, and its presence in this context clearly marks the wearer as a paramount ruler.

The Main Chamber

By its location within the crypt and its graphic content, it is obvious that the narrative scene in the main chamber is the most important of the entire program (Figure 5.36).[79] The way in which the parade of personages carved on the anterior surface of jambs 9 and 10 was integrated to the flow of the processions rendered in the walls of the main chamber was by the inclusion of two personages painted on the medial surfaces of the jambs as if walking towards the interior of the main chamber. Although their posture is different, these personages are almost alike. The figure on the left side has its left arm extended in front of the body, grasping with it a spear with two cartouches near the top decorated with dangling feathers and with a two-forked bone tip. The right arms is placed behind the torso, holding with the hand an incense bag. The personage on the right side holds the same objects but in front of the torso. Both personages, with sandals, appear to wear a short kilt with two flaps. The one in front is decorated with vertical stripes; the back one has a fringe of hanging conch shells. The kilt is seemingly tied with a waistband partially hidden by a clasp in the shape of a bat's face. They also sport fan-like panoply of feathers tied to their lower backs. Their sumptuary goods include a nose plug and a beaded collar. Their composite headdresses consist of a plated headband and a frame decorated in the back with panoply of feathers. In front, the headdresses have the imagery of a jaguar topped by the profile rendering of glyph U. A bundle of feathers in turn surmount the latter. Both individuals are shown with speech scrolls.

The facing direction of all the individuals painted on the lateral walls of the chamber is towards the back wall, and specifically towards the scene in the upper register. This section

[79] This Figure shows some reconstructed portions. For an illustration of the actual condition of these murals see A. Miller 1995: plates 41 and 44.

depicts two personages facing each other and seated inside funerary boxes. The practice of exhibiting shrouded or lavishly decked cadavers in latticework boxes before their underground inhumation or their placement inside caves appears to have had a wide spatial and temporal distribution in Mesoamerica, ranging at least from Oaxaca to Highland Guatemala and from early Classic times through the late Postclassic. In ancient Oaxaca, these funerary boxes are also represented in another mortuary program from a tomb looted in the late 18th or early 19th centuries at or near San Lázaro Etla, as well as in a stela from Río Grande in the Pacific littoral (see Figures 2.1-5, 5.49, and 7.6-2). These examples are approximately coeval with tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana. Similar ritual displays are also represented in several of the screenfolds from the Mixteca Alta (Figure 5.37). Eric Thompson cites a description made in the 16th century by Fray Román y Zamora, missionary in Alta Verapaz in Highland Guatemala, concerning the mortuary treatment of high-ranking nobles:

> They placed the corpse in a public place while awaiting the arrival of the chiefs and vassals. It was in a seated position, for thus were the inhabitants of this province buried, and they dressed it in rich and precious clothing, which everyone, according to his rank, used to collect as soon as he [the deceased chief] began to grow old so that they should be placed on his shoulders when he died and he should be buried with them. When the day of the interment came all those chiefs brought jewels and other gifts and at least one male or female slave, and some brought one or the other to sacrifice, and they placed all these jewels on the deceased. Afterwards they covered him with many mantles, and they placed him, well wrapped up in them, in a large box of wood or stone so that he filled it when squatting on his haunches, for that was their usual manner of sitting (Thompson 1939: 283-284).

Furthermore, the burial of individuals in wooden latticework boxes has been archaeologically attested in elite tombs at Kaminaljuyu that were coeval with the Pitao phase (350-500 ACE) in the Central Valleys of Oaxaca (Kidder, Jennings and Shook 1946: 88-89).

In the upper register of the back wall in the main chamber of tomb 5 from Cerro de Campana, the personages sitting in the latticework boxes appear lavishly dressed and with very similar garments: their faces appear covered with a bird mask carrying a nose or lip plug in the beak, and their heads are decked with a composite headdress that has, below, another winged avian representation with a nose or lip plug in its beak, and above, the profile version of glyph U

decorated with several “Leaf” glyphs. The personages do not appear identified by their calendrical name, but based on their garments the one to the left appears to be female and the one on the right a male. The woman is shown wearing a pendant in the shape of a flower, while the man wears a pendant in the shape of an inverted “Hill” glyph. This type of pendant is seemingly typical of personages in the ceramic effigy vessels that wear a bird mask (Figure 5.38). The processions painted in the other registers in this narrative show different groups of people converging towards the funerary bundles.

The middle register in the back wall has four personages of highest rank painted as pairs that confront each other. These personages are shown wearing jaguar helmets topped by the unfolded version of glyph U. The following two groups in the procession, rendered on the lateral walls, include 10 elders on the left side and 9 young personages painted on the opposite wall. As commented in the context of the discussion of Monte Albán tomb 104, this graphic detail contrasting elder and young ages supports the inference concerning the syntagmatic structure of the compositions and the way the genealogical records proceed from the apical ancestor to ego. But in the context of tomb 5, there appears to be an additional contrast, one between the terrestrial (to the right) and the underworld (to the left) levels of the cosmos.

All the elders on the left wall are depicted wearing the same garments that include a loincloth and a headdress with a winged and tailed bird whose body is decorated in front and behind by rosettes. In contrast with the bird headdress of the main shrouded bundles, the ones topping the elders’ heads include a human face whose mouth and nose is covered by a beaked mask. The sumptuary goods of the elders include beaded collars with one strand hanging down their backs and legs. They also wear circular earplugs with dangling jaguar canines (see Figures 2.2-2 and 5.12). They appear barefooted, and each one carries a rattle in each hand. All were rendered as if invoking or chanting, as signaled by the associated speech scrolls.

Two individuals whose high rank is clearly marked by their garments precede the procession of younger adults in the upper register of the right lateral wall. Although much obliterated, it appears that the representation of these two personages was very similar. In contrast to the following 7 individuals, these first two figures wear headdresses with the imagery of ‘Xicani’. Both probably carried incense bags. The other personages behind are shown

wearing a loincloth, a short cape and a miter-shaped headdress profusely decorated with feathers. Protruding from the posterior aspect of the headdresses is a vertical rod with several knotted motifs that include a curved strap at the top, a fan-shaped panoply of feathers, and a long strap that hangs down so as to almost touch the ground level. This strap is larger and is seemingly being dragged on the floor by the third personage in the procession. The personages also wear circular earflares and a pectoral with a human maskette in profile and a knotted band below with a series of dangling conch shells. This type of pectoral also appears in many ceramic effigy vessels and other stone carvings (see Figures 4.4, bottom left, 4.12, 5.13, and 7.7). The individuals are decked with sandals. Although they also hold in each hand a type of rattle different from the one held by the elders painted on the opposite wall, none of them have a speech scroll.

The last groups of individuals included in the processions painted in the main narrative are two teams of ballplayers, each one with six players. Two or perhaps three individuals that do not appear dressed as ballplayers head these teams. However, the paintings near the corners of both lateral walls with the back wall are so eroded that nothing can be said about the personages that head the teams. What survives in the west wall suggests that, if indeed there was a personage there, it had a unique garment that differed from everybody else. What is obvious is that the two processions of ballplayers are identical to each other. Thus, it is only necessary to describe one of them.

The leading pair in each procession is shown wearing a loincloth, simple sandals, and a helmet without a protective facial lattice. In one case (first personage on west wall) a composite earplug protrudes over the cheek. On top of the helmet they wear a turban-like cap decked with stiff ornaments and long stripes that are almost identical to those worn by the rest of the ballplayers. It is obvious then that the garments of these two pairs of personages include paraphernalia of the ballgame, but at the same time are different by carrying a lance and an incense pouch. As to the ballplayers (Figure 5.39), each one is shown wearing a cape divided into four flaps. These flaps have stamped decorations that include ringed circles and semicircles (allusion to rubber?), representations of long bones (allusion to war trophies?), rattles of snakes, and a motif in the shape of an S in horizontal position (allusion to clouds). They are also decked

with sandals, but the laces in the ankles vary in details.

Their heads appear shielded by a helmet covered with a protective facial lattice.[80] From the back of the helmets protrudes a long stripe that dangles to near the level of the ground. This piece of garment appears stamped with motifs like those on the capes. Elaborate headdresses with variable imagery top the anterior portion of the helmets. On the posterior end, the helmets have stiff ornaments with long stripes like those worn by the leading personages. The only difference is that in the ballplayers these stripes are shorter. Also, as commented before, these stiff ornaments decorate the tied bags placed atop the funerary boxes rendered in the back wall of the East and West rooms.

The variable image on the headdresses, from front to back, include representations of: 1) Jaguar, 2) Alligator, 3) 'Xicani', 4) flayed facial skin (Xipe Totec), 5) Skull, and 6) Cociyo with glyph C. Each one of these images is accompanied by other motifs. For example, the first three ballplayers on the East wall, and the first, second, and fourth players on the West wall wear at the top of their headdresses a sign with two hook-like motifs that frame an Earthquake sign (glyph E). It may be noticed that this same sign also decorates the upper part of the mortuary bundle painted on the right side of the back wall (Figure 5.39). The 'Xicani' representation in the headdress of the third player is adorned with feathers, and the skull decorating the headdress of the fifth player has a laced triangular motif decorated at the top with protruding trefoil ornaments. The laced motif, which seems to be the synecdoche of an incense bag, is the same as the glyph partially carved on top of the unfolded version of glyph U in jambs 9a and 10b (see Figure 5.26).

The players hold in one hand the handstone or 'manopla' used to play the game. Although this type of objects has not as of yet been recovered from archaeological contexts in Oaxaca, several stone representations are known.[81] The exemplars, plain or carved, seem to date to the

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[80] The use of such protective devise for the ballgame can be attested in Oaxaca as early as the Tani phase (200-350 ACE) in the ballplayer carvings from Building A at Dainzu (see Figure 1.3; also I. Bernal 1968, Bernal and Seuffert 1979).

[81] For a general survey of handstones in Mesoamerica see Borhegyi (1961), as well as Clune (1963) and Borhegyi (1964) for a criticism and rebuttal concerning the interpretation of their function. The data

Xoo phase (600-800 ACE) (Figure 5.40 and Table 5.5). Each ballplayer carries in the other hand a small bundle of grass. Although framed within Christian ideology, an entry in Córdova's dictionary is suggestive to interpret these bundles as coming from a plant that played in antiquity an important ritual role. In the 16th century the Dominican friars designated certain plant bundles with the word "sin" (*Tola)*. According to Córdova, it was

> A grass that in ancient time they made into threads or bundles and they took them to confession, and placed them on the ground in front of the pigana [priest] and they confessed of all the sins they wanted to. The grass they call it Tola, which is a plant from the grasslands, and from that its name remained tola, for the sin and thus they say Lao tola, the place of sin or the place of confession, *although it is also an obscure and esoteric thing* (Córdova 1987a: 228v) (translated by the author, emphasis added)

It is worth mentioning that the fifth player on both walls, one of those whose cape is decorated with motifs of long bones and that wears in its headdress the representation of a human skull, also carries a pendant of an inverted head with hair, apparently curated as a trophy head. Aside from many examples of such representations in clay figurines from the Xoo phase (see Figure 5.31, lower examples), there is an outstanding exemplar of a ceramic effigy vessel that provides additional observations on this type of items (Figure 5.41). There, in addition to the curated and inverted head, one can see a collar manufactured with human maxillae. Note too that the effigy seemingly held in each hand a jaguar paw vessel like the one shown in Figure 2.2-4.

The Xoo phase (600-800 ACE) ceramic brazier of a Xipe Totec impersonator found in tomb 58 from Monte Albán also holds in its left hand, grabbing it from the hair, a curated head (Figure 5.42). The figure carries in the other hand a playing ball. In addition, a number of human maxillae dangle from the collar (see Caso and Bernal 1952: 253, fig. 400). As noted by Scott (1993: 52), this type of pectoral is identical to those decking some of the captives that were consecrated to the construction of the 'Temple of the Feathered Serpents' at Teotihuacan (Cabrera, Sugiyama and

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from Oaxaca on this type of objects (painted in the walls of tomb 5 and rendered in one of the ceramic effigy vessels found inside the crypt [see Figure 5.7, upper center) lends full support to Borhegyi's position.

Cowgill 1991: 80; Sugiyama 1989: 90). In addition, the clay statue of a Xipe Totec impersonator recovered from near Xolalpan, Teotihuacan (Figure 5.42) holds a bat claw vessel. These comparisons allow linking several items of material culture, namely trophy heads, pectorals of human maxillae, and jaguar paw or bat claw vessels to warfare, the enactment of the ballgame, and to the practice of human sacrifice and subsequent flaying of immolated offerings. This behavioral complex evidently was carried out over Central and Southwestern Mesoamerica at least since the Classic period.

In sum, the narrative centered in the funerary ritual depicted in the main chamber of tomb 5 includes two decked mortuary bundles placed inside funerary boxes and 41, perhaps even 43 personages that proceed towards them to pay honors. The composition of the narrative appears to allude to two parallel processions. One, associated with the underworld, includes elders who embody the social category of distant ancestors and whose ballgame team represents the chthonic level. The other, associated with the world of the living, includes young adults who may represent nobles and secondary lords. The ballplayers in the procession painted on the right lateral wall are those who, as recounted in the Quiché story of the Popol Vuh, would confront the gods of the underworld.

The Stela and Text II

Although found lying on the floor of the main chamber (Méndez 1988: 15, photograph no. 10), the stela was originally set in vertical position near the back of the main chamber, a deduction based on the presence of a hole cut through the chamber's floor, the un-worked inferior surface of the stone, and the clear boundary between its painted and unpainted portions.[82] Except for its inferior surface, the stela has all its sides well dressed and smoothed, and the exposed section is completely covered with cinnabar. Four of the slab's surfaces are carved with imagery and/or texts (Figure 5. 43, left). A plain band divides the front surface (A) into two

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[82] In light of the published field photograph of the main chamber as it was found, it is unknown why A. Miller (1991: 217 and 1995: 263, note 40) considered the possibility that the stela had been laid down by Méndez.

registers, each one showing a pair of personages accompanied by their calendrical names and facing each other. The narrow lateral surfaces (B and C), as well as the superior one (D) have linear texts, all divided as well by a central plain band.

The first problem to tackle is to determine the reading sequence of the carved surfaces. A clue to accomplish this is provided by the lateral texts in the left and right surfaces. These are texts that read from bottom to top. When comparing them to other known columnar texts (Figure 5.44), it becomes evident that the inferior halves of the lateral inscriptions begin with the synecdoche of glyph U followed by a year glyph and a year bearer. A. Miller (1991: 218) interpreted the iconicity of the motifs dangling from the introductory glyphs as "outwardly splayed feet". At the top, the texts end with the "Bag" glyph. The reading sequence of the lateral texts suggest that the registers in the anterior surface of the stela also read from bottom to top, a conclusion further supported by the known fact that other genealogical slabs also read this way (Figure 5.45).[83] The short arrangement of glyphs in the upper surface of the slab must read from the center to the sides, as these begin in the middle with the unfolded version of glyph U (left side) or its synecdoche (right side) (Figure 5.46).

Having established the reading sequence of each of the carved surfaces, the next problem is to determine how they are related to one another. To tackle this problem it is necessary to comment first on the annual dates inscribed in the stela (Figure 5.43, right). The anterior surface has three of them, two in the inferior register and one in the upper register. The latter forms part of a short columnar text that also reads from bottom to top. These three dates and those that occur in the inferior half of the lateral texts yield a total of five annual dates, and these constitute the chronological framework of the narrative rendered in the stela.

While evidently carved practically at the same time, the year glyphs exhibit variations. The simpler representations that omit several of the attributes of the typical year sign are those carved in the inferior register of the anterior surface. They consist of a circular diadem with four partitions, a trapeze element above, and a stripe with a circle and two tassels at the end. In

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[83] For a commentary on the slab shown in Figure 5.45, bottom right, see Urcid and Winter 1989.

addition, the year bearers associated to these signs are carved above and not below the annual marker, another detail that reinforces a reading sequence of the registers from bottom to top. While the year glyphs in the lateral texts are shown in profile and include all the constitutive attributes of annual markers, including the royal headband, the one in the superior register on the anterior surface is shown frontally, as indexed by the two stripes decorated by the circle and the tassels that protrude from the trapeze element. This sign lacks the royal headband and the posterior knots at either side. In addition, the associated year bearer is placed to the right, and the numeral dot is superimposed over the platted garment of the adjacent personage. Considering that the registers in the anterior surface of the stela read from bottom to top, the two possible alternative temporal sequences for the three annual dates on that surface are:

1. 4E → 6E → 11N (0-28-31 = 59 years)
2. 6E → 4E → 11N (0-24-07 = 31 years)

The first alternative yields an interesting implication since the annual dates carved on the lateral texts (years 3N and 2N) can be plotted within the span of 59 years (Table 5.6). That is not the case in the second alternative, which can only include the annual date 3N.[84] Based on this property, only further implications of the first alternative will be explored. The calendrical unfolding that results from the first alternative, together with the plotting of the lateral annual dates generates the sequence: 4E → 2N → 6E → 3N → 11N (0-11-17-23-8 = 59 years) (Figure 5.43, right). While this chronological framework allows determining the relation between the anterior and lateral surfaces, it does not provide a clue to determine how the glyphs carved on the superior surface relate to the rest of the narrative.

[84] The unfolding of the second alternative appears in Table 5.7. It will be noted that in this case, the annual date 2 Soap plant (2N) can fall in two positions. One is 17 years before the first date in the lower register of the anterior surface. The span of the five annual dates would then be of 49 years (2N → 6E → 3N → 4E → 11N). The other position is 4 years after the fourth date in the upper register of the anterior surface. The span of the five annual dates would then be of 35 years (6E → 3N → 4E → 11N → 2N).

In order to determine what the dates commemorate, it is necessary to address first who the protagonists in the recorded events are. The two personages shown in the lower register appear seated cross-legged over stools of woven mat and facing each other (Figure 5.47). Based on their garments, the personage to the left is a woman. She apparently wears a fringed long skirt and blouse. A headband decorated with a net-like design topped by two protruding flaps and a fastened bundle of feathers form her headdress. The personage to the right is a male wearing a fringed kilt. Both have as personal ornaments a necklace of spherical beads and earplugs. The one worn by the woman is more elaborate since aside from the circular earflare it has a hanging tubular bead with a spherical one at the end. The headdress of the man includes a knotted flap in the forehead, a tall miter-like cap, a bundle of feathers in front, and a strap hanging from behind. While the representations are not portraits, it is evident that they render adult individuals. The male shows a wrinkle in the cheek and is bearded.

The individuals are identified by their calendrical names. Their distribution undoubtedly names the woman as 12 Soap Plant (12N). The annual date 4 Earthquake (4E) is clearly associated to her. The man's name is 11 Knot (11A), and he is associated to the year date 6 Earthquake (6E). Given their profile representation, only one arm and hand is shown extending from the body, and they hold conical bowls containing a small bird, a serrated artifact, and a draping stripe.

The upper register also depicts two individuals identified by their calendrical names. The one on the left, named 12 Monkey (12O), wears a kilt and a headdress identical to that of Lord 11 Knot (11A). The lack of aging attributes in his face indexes a youthful age. He is shown seated cross-legged over a stool of woven mat and holding in his hand a conical bowl with the same contents as those held by Lady 12 Soap Plant and Lord 11 Knot in the lower register (Figure 5.48). A speech scroll in front of his mouth implies that he is "speaking" the text carved in the upper register. The personage in front of 12 Monkey is identified as 13 Monkey (13O). Given the paraphernalia and the size of the figure it is the main personage in the narrative of the stela. The bust appears inside a funerary box with step-like supports that outline in negative a "Hill" glyph. The box signals that 13 Monkey is shown as a mortuary bundle. Despite the stiffness of the representation, the personage is pointing with an index finger to the text that is

being “voiced” by 12 Monkey. The personal ornaments include a beaded necklace and a composite earplug. The elaborate headdress includes a short cap with two frontal cone-like projections decorated below by fringes. This section is topped by the imagery of ‘Xicani’, including a bust that shows a beaded necklace and one of the upper extremities surrounded by an undulating motif decorated with alligator eyes. A panoply of feathers in turn tops the later element. While the platted upper garment that is partially superimposed over the upper border of the funerary box does not allow to easily engender 13 Monkey, the comparison with similar personages in other carved stones and effigy vessels suggests he is a man (Figure 5.49; see also the effigy vessel of a ‘Xicani’ impersonator in Figure 4.13 who wears the same platted upper garment).

The rendering of a funerary bundle explains the nature of the offerings being presented by the other three personages carved on the stela. Based on the archaeological data reviewed in the section on mortuary practices, as well as on ethnohistoric documentation (Balsalobre 1988), the offerings are of birds to be sacrificed in honor of the ancestors. The serrated object, interpreted by A. Miller (1991: 220) as the iconic rendition of an agave thorn, was probably used to kill and bleed the birds, while the dangling stripe most likely represents a piece of cloth or paper used to collect the blood.

Regarding the three texts in the slab, two in the lateral surfaces and the one in the upper register, their glossing shows how they include another sign accompanied by numerals besides the year bearers (Figure 5.50). In the texts on the left and right surfaces, this sign occupies--from top to bottom--the fifth position in the linear sequences, followed by two other signs. The sign with a numeral in the text on the upper register occupies the fourth position, which ends the short inscription. That these glyphs have a nominative value is supported by the pattern in the lateral texts. The glyph in the text on the right surface is 12 Soap Plant (12N), that is, the name of the woman depicted in the lower register of the anterior surface, and the glyph in the text on the left surface is 12 Monkey (12O), that is, the name of the young man depicted in the upper register of the anterior surface.

The glyphs on the lateral texts that occupy the fourth position are compounds that include a rectangular base with a crossed motif on the left end and an L shaped motif in horizontal position

with circles or tassels pending from it on the right side. On top of the base is the profile head of a jaguar with a headband above. These signs, which are also present in the inscription carved on jamb 8, appear to be personal names (see Figure 5.23). The penultimate position in these texts includes glyphic compounds that seemingly refer to some kind of count. The one in the text on the left surface includes a hand that indicates with the extended fingers the number 3, while the compound in the text on the right surface has a hand that signals with the fingers the number 2. While A. Miller (1991: 221) interpreted these numbers as giving the birth-order of the personages named in the texts, it should be pointed out that in both instances the number indicated by the fingers corresponds to the number of bivalve shells carved adjacent to the hands, and that they in turn correspond to the coefficients of the associated year bearers. A similar pattern has been noted in other texts (see Urcid 2001: 398, examples 3-6), suggesting that the alluded count is somewhat related to the reckoning of the Calendar Round.

The text carved on the upper register of the anterior surface includes, in addition to the annual date 11 Soap Plant (11N) and the calendrical name 7 Soap Plant (7N), a glyph I topped by a head in horizontal position facing upwards. This head has a cap identical to the one worn by Lord 13 Monkey. In the discussion of the slab that sealed the entrance to tomb 104 from Monte Albán, it was suggested that glyph I may signal the presentation of offerings on the occasion of annual dates that refer to a death event or its commemoration. In the present context, the apparent rendering of the head of 13 Monkey in horizontal position supports that assumption.

The short inscriptions carved on the superior surface of the stela have, in addition to the full and synecdochic versions of glyph U that mark their beginning in the center, glyphs accompanied by numerals (see Figure 5.46). There is nothing indicating a chronological function of these glyphs, leaving the alternative that they signal the calendrical names of other personages. The glyph on the right half of the surface is 5 Rain (5C), topped by a foot in profile. The inscription on the left half of the surface has the calendrical name 7 Water (7Z) followed by two legs in profile climbing a staircase, as if a personage would be vanishing within the jaw of glyph U. The position of these inscriptions on the top surface of the stela is a syntagmatic detail suggesting that the named individuals, whose sex is unidentifiable, represent an ancestral couple to those represented and mentioned in the anterior and lateral surfaces of the stela. The explicit

depiction of the legs or a foot that leads to glyph U, analogous to the glyphic set of "Footprint-glyph U" in the interior inscription on the slab of tomb 104 from Monte Albán, disambiguates the fact that this couple is already dead and reinforces their status as distant ancestors.

Taking into account the span of time recorded by the annual dates in the stela, the identity of the personages that are represented or simply named, and the nature of the activities depicted semasiographically, one of the contents of the narrative is undoubtedly genealogical. While several details remain obscure, a possible interpretation would be: In the year 4 Earthquake Lady 12 Soap Plant sacrificed birds as an offering to her ancestors 7 Water and 5 Rain. Eleven years later, in the year 2 Soap Plant, her grandson Lord 12 Monkey is mentioned for the first time in relation to an event of unknown nature (registered in the left lateral text). Seventeen years later, in the year 6 Earthquake, the husband of Lady 12 Soap plant, Lord 11A, sacrificed birds to his ancestors. In another event of unknown nature that took place 23 years later, in the year 3 Soap Plant (registered in the right lateral text), Lady 12 Soap Plant is mentioned again. Eight years later, in a year 11 Soap Plant, 12 Monkey sacrificed birds to his ancestors and commemorated the death of his father 13 Monkey, shown in the narrative within a funerary box and dressed as a 'Xicani' sacrificer. As I will argue in the exegesis of the slab MNA-6-6059 (see below), the structure of the inscription carved in the upper register of the stela from tomb 5 suggests that the calendrical name 7N at the end of the text (see Figure 5.50, middle text) refers to an ancestor, one that—given its position within the compositional format of the four carved surfaces in the monument—is not as remote as those mentioned in the upper surface. Considering this detail and given the sequence of events mentioned above, it was 12 Monkey who commissioned the carving of the slab, and the relation of the personages represented and/or named in the stela would have been as follows (Table 5.8):

First generation	7Z	=	5C
Second generation	♂ 11A	=	♀ 12N
Third generation	7N		
Fourth generation	♂ 13O		
Fifth generation	♂ 12O		

Table 5.8- Genealogical sequence and possible line of inheritance depicted in the stela of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.

The naming in the lateral surfaces of Lady 12 Soap Plant (second generation) and the young Lord 12 Monkey (fifth generation) may indicate the line of succession from ♀ 12 Soap Plant to 7N to ♂ 13 Monkey to ♂ 12 Monkey. Given this scenario, Miller's identification of the motifs dangling from the introductory glyphs that begin the lateral texts as "outwardly splayed feet" cannot be taken as analogous to the legs, feet, or footprints moving upwards towards glyph U, which would imply that the lateral annual dates would signal as well death events. Otherwise, it would be necessary to maintain that the individual who commissioned the slab intended to remain anonymous, rendering the whole purpose of the slab uncertain. Thus, the iconicity of those dangling motifs-- or at least their meaning--remains unresolved.

The genealogy recorded in the stela seems to be related to the text painted on the posterior surface of the lintel that spans the entrance to the tomb (Figure 5.51). Both share the annual date 11 Soap Plant, the glyphic compound "I-Dead head", and the calendrical name 7 Soap Plant (7N). The text also includes four other calendrical names that seemingly extend forward the genealogical record registered in the slab. If paired, and assuming that the succession followed the male line, the text may record two more generations of household heads, namely Lord 7 Monkey (7O) - Lady 7 Soap Plant (7N) and Lord 5 Knot (5A) – Lady 7 Maize (7J). The latter couple would have commissioned the painting of the text, most likely at the time 7 Monkey or his wife 7 Soap Plant were buried in the tomb, linking their lineage to one of the ancestors mentioned in the stela (7N). The recorded event seemingly involved the presentation of an offering of 15 (5 x 3) stacks of fine blankets to the grandfather of 5 Knot, a deduction based on a semantic 'reading' of the glyphic set of three bar-like motifs and a hand showing five fingers painted below glyph I. Yet, there are two possible scenarios to account for the annual date in the text: that it is a retroactive date

commemorating a death anniversary of Lord 13 Monkey ‘Xicani’, or that the date occurred 52 years after, affording a span of time to accommodate the two succeeding generations named on the right side of the painted text. Whatever the case, the naming of the ancestor 7N would have been a strategy by those who commissioned the painting of the text to legitimate their ancestry.

Other Epigraphic Materials in the Tomb

It appears that during a later reopening of the crypt two glyphs were incised near the upper corners of the last roof slab, on the left side, of the main chamber (Figures 5.4 and 5.52, top). Such a temporal deduction is based on the observation that “the area occupied by each glyph exhibits a lighter color, while the surrounding surface appears darker by time and probably smoked by the use of torches” (Franco Brizuela 1993: 108). One of the signs is clearly accompanied by a numeral, rendering the glyph 1 Soap Plant (1N). Attached to the right is the glyph “Leaf”. It is quite likely that the other sign carved on the roof slab is also a sign with a coefficient. Below the frontal representation of an owl there are traces of an unfinished attempt at carving a numeral, probably a dot, yielding the glyph 1F. Since the glyph “Leaf” signals personal names in jambs 2, 4, 9b, and 10a (see Figure 5.23), the glyphs incised on the roof slab must have a nominative function, identifying two other individuals not named anywhere else in the tomb.

One of the fragmented ceramic objects found inside the tomb, a large jar with three small handles near the rim and now restored, has an incised scene of two seated personages facing each other and identified by calendrical names that are not mentioned in the other narrative programs in the tomb (Figure 5.52, bottom). The one on the left is a woman who appears seated with her legs flexed under her torso. She appears clothed with a long skirt, a short blouse, is barefooted, adorned with an earplug, and wears a headdress with the imagery of a bird decorated behind with a bundle of feathers. The avian representation has nose plugs and a bead with tassels that hangs from the tip of the beak. Her calendrical name is 6 Night (6F). The personage on the right is a male seated cross-legged, wearing a loincloth, decked with a double stranded beaded necklace, and an earplug. He sports a headdress with a similar imagery as that of his consort’s headdress, except that the bird has a glyph D above the eye. His name is 13 Reed (13D). The scene is

presided by the unfolded version of glyph U, with a sign pending from it. The latter appears to be the inverted and partially hidden version of glyph J (Maize).[85]

The Programs in the Tomb as an Integrated Narrative

The analysis of the tomb's semasiography discloses the presence of three painted narratives depicting three obsequies where funerary bundles of prominent couples are being paid homage by processions of priests, warriors, ballplayers, and/or lower-ranking personages carrying offerings. While none of the mortuary bundles or the array of individuals paying honors to them are identified, the funeral rites are set in the context of a genealogical record. Determining the structure and sequence of such a genealogical record presents interpretative difficulties, but several syntagmatic patterns allow setting a number of anchorages (Figure 5.53). The bilateral symmetry that characterizes each pair of jambs and their conception as supports to entablatures hint that the main personages in the tombs record are those named by the stuccoed sculptures. These not only preside over the two main passages along the axis of the crypt but also constitute the largest, almost three dimensional, calendrical and personal names in the tomb. Since their preeminence is analogous to the largest sign painted in the back wall of tomb 104 from Monte Albán, the stuccoed sculptures must name the apical ancestors of the ramage. It seems congruent to assume that this same couple, although not individualized by calendrical names, is the one pictured in the back wall of the narrative painted in the main chamber. Since the male apical ancestor rendered in the entablature at the entrance to the main chamber wears a jaguar helmet, the other jaguar lords depicted in the jambs and in the narrative painted in the internal vestibule must be his direct linear descendants.

Determining the sequence of succession of the carved jaguar lords can be based on spatial proximity to the male apical ancestor and by the same pattern noted in the murals of tomb 104

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[85] A similar inverted and dangling representation of glyph J can be attested as early as the Tani phase (200-350 ACE) with an example carved on a monolith that was later reused to build the third phase of construction of Building J at Monte Albán (stone MA-J-43). The epigraphic context of this example, showing the profile of a stream with a plant growing from it, followed by the "Hill" sign, and ending with the glyph in question, reinforces its identification as an inverted glyph J (see Caso 1947: 81 or García Moll et al 1986: plate 17, no. 37).

from Monte Albán, namely that in which older members appear located on the left side of the tomb's main axis (in the west) and the more recent ones on the opposite side (in the east). While the jaguar disguises mask the aging attributes of the lords, the alluded pattern is clearly evident in the lateral walls of the main chamber by the age distinction in the processions (old men shaking rattles and chanting on the west side and young men in the same activity on the east side). This pattern then allows determining the linear sequence of five generations of jaguar lords sculpted and carved in the program of the jambs.

Doing so discloses that the first and fourth jaguar lords after the apical ancestors are the ones who have in their associated inscriptions an extra calendrical name (2E and 11E) (see Figure 5.20). One possible way to account for these additional names is that they stand for a sixth and last couple registered in the genealogy carved in the jambs. Given the emphasis accorded to the male line in this portion of the genealogy, one can assume that the extra name that appears with the second jaguar lord is that of a male (♂ 2E), and that the extra name that appears with the fourth jaguar lord is that of a woman (♀ 11E), a deduction that is syntagmatically supported by the several instances in the semasiography of females following after the jaguar males. From these inferences, three other important observations ensue: 1) that this sixth couple was the one who commissioned the first narrative program rendered by the stuccoed sculptures, the carved jambs, and the three painted narratives that center on the mortuary bundles, 2) that, although not depicted, the jaguar lord 2E commissioned the placing of his name directly below the name of the male apical ancestors to boast his claim of descent, closing the genealogy—so as to encompass the entire linage—with the name of his wife, and 3) that the lateral narratives depicting anonymous obsequies must allude to two of the four couples between the apical ancestors and the royal heads who commissioned the construction of the tomb.

Note must be made that the inferences made thus far yield a genealogical sequence whereby only four female consorts were named. These include Lady 10 Alligator (identified in the façade of the entrance to the tomb and wife of the apical ancestor), Ladies 8 Skull and 5 Serpent (consorts of the jaguar lords in jambs 9 and 10), and Lady 11 Earthquake (one of the consorts who commissioned the construction of the tomb and named but not depicted on jamb 4).

The female consorts of the jaguar lords in jambs 3 and 4, painted in the medial surfaces, were apparently not identified by their calendrical names. Another structural detail of the first program in the crypt is the reversed compositional relation between calendrical and personal names in the stuccoed sculptures above the entrances to the tomb and the main chamber. In the case of the former, the personal name (bird) is rendered within and to the sides of the jaws of the alligator, while in the latter the calendrical name 11 Monkey is rendered within and below the jaws of the jaguar helmet. A final property that gives a sense of unity to the original program is the overall bilateral symmetry of the three painted obsequies, centered on the depictions of the funerary boxes. The exception is the middle register of the narrative in the West room, but the depiction there of a continuous processional line of warriors in a northward direction was evidently a visual recourse to integrate the scene to the processions depicted in the murals from the main chamber.

Having established the "boundary" of a first narrative program, it seems reasonable to assume that the three annual dates in it (carved on jambs 3-5-6) may provide the death dates of three jaguar lords (including that of the apical ancestor) or the dates when the bundled remains of three of the five ancestral couples where honored. To explore which of these two possibilities applies, I shall return to the pending problem of the reading sequence for the three annual dates glossed and unfolded in Tables 5.3 and 5.4. Assuming the kinesis of entering or exiting the tomb, options 1 (0-40-8 = 48 years) and 4 (0-44-12=56 years) are the only linear sequences that do not require "jumps" in the reading of the three annual dates.[86] If one considers that the genealogy of jaguar lords begins from the inside of the crypt and proceeds to the outside, then option 4 can be singled out.

A notable feature of the reading options 1 and 4, and for that matter of all except option 2, is that the intervals are always multiples of 4, a pattern strongly suggesting that the annual dates in the jambs are not death dates, since in such cases one would expect randomness in the intervals, but rather the calendrically prescribed dates when mortuary bundles where displayed

[86] In the previous exegesis of the epigraphy in the tomb (Urcid 1992b) I favored the sequence 5E→ 1E→ 6E (0-48-43 = 91 years), but in order to read the annual dates following a linear sequence it was necessary to assume a counterclockwise kinesis around the tomb's courtyard.

and honored. As in the instances of rituals of enthronement, it becomes apparent that the honoring of ancestors based on multiples of a four-year cyclicality played a crucial role for the constant need to validate rights and prerogatives. Yet, these celebrations must be, after all, closely linked with death events since the average number of years that results when dividing by 3 (the painted obsequies) the total span yielded by option 4 is 18.6 years, a span that comes close to the average between human generations that have been considered all along (25 years). That average also comes close to the distance (22 years) favored in the analysis of annual dates in the slab from tomb 104 at Monte Albán. The association of the three annual dates with commemorating rituals closely linked with death events seems to be reinforced by their location in relation to the cardinal orientation of the tomb. As can be elicited in Figure 5.53, the year dates occur only on the west side of the tomb's courtyard, implying their symbolic association with the setting sun.

What remains to be accounted for in this first narrative are the personages carved in jambs 1-2, 5-6, and 7-8 that are not represented as jaguars. Given their seemingly lesser rank one can assume that they are collateral kin to the main line of descent. If we take into account their architectural setting, the four individuals rendered in jambs 5-6 and 7-8 are obviously placed in a quadripartite fashion, although they certainly display features that distinguish those carved in jambs 5-6 (on the west) from those carved in jambs 7-8 (on the east). These features include the fact that the males in jambs 7-8 lack in their associate inscriptions the compound "scrolls-glyph D", the sign that descends from glyph U, and as commented before, year dates.

Considered as a group, the secondary personages flanking the courtyard of the tomb also display another asymmetry, since those rendered in jambs 6 and 7-8 are accompanied by unnamed female consorts painted on the lateral interior surfaces whereas the personage carved in jamb 5 (cardinally positioned in the SW) deviates from this pattern by having on the lateral interior surface of the block the painted representation of another male. The meaning of this asymmetry appears to be analogous to the inversion of the glyph painted on the left exterior jamb of tomb 104 at Monte Albán (seemingly marking one of the corners of the cosmos, the land estate of the corporate group, or the cornfield) and the peculiar pattern of basins in the corner rooms of the house of tomb 103 from Monte Albán, although in the latter cases the cardinal

position of the tomb and the house places the sign and the room without a basin on the SE quadrant. Yet, the syntagmatic relations of carved and painted gendered personages in the jambs flanking the courtyard of tomb 5 seemingly allude to the impossibility of human reproduction by the male-male pair in jamb 5.

The quadripartite pattern displayed by the secondary personages carved on jambs 5-6 and 7-8 may also carry a political symbolism. When discussing the structure of the narrative program commissioned by Lord 13 Night from Monte Albán, reference was made to the component in Mesoamerican rituals of enthronement whereby four lesser lords were dispatched to the four corners of the territory symbolically claimed by the ruler when shooting arrows. Thus, it may well be that, in the context of tomb 5, these collateral kin members of the main lineage represent lesser lords that ruled subject communities in the fringes of the political district controlled by the royal house centered at Cerro de la Campana.

The two secondary personages that flank the entrance to the tomb display certain features that contrast them with the pair carved on jambs 7-8. The fact that the inscription associated to the personage carved on jamb 2 includes the abbreviated version of glyph U (which marks the beginning of inscriptions) appears to give precedence to the east, rather than the west. In addition, these personages, while also devoid of the glyphic compound “scrolls-glyph D”, are accompanied by glyphs that descend from the unfolded version of glyph U, and these allude to ‘Xicani’ (sacrificer) ancestors. In that regard, these two personages are more akin to those rendered on jambs 5-6 since the glyph that appears descending in their associated unfolded version of glyph U are instantiations of glyph Ñ, that is, representations of a priestly role intimately related with the ballgame and human immolation. As in the case of the secondary personages carved on the jambs that flank the tomb’s courtyard, the individuals carved and seemingly identified on jambs 1-2 must be collateral kin members of the main jaguar lineage, but their precise relation to the genealogy remains undeterminable.

The second narrative that was apparently incorporated into the scheme of the first program is the one painted in the interior vestibule, including text I (see Figure 5.29). Given the configuration of the vestibule, the paintings do not have an explicit focal point, but their bilateral symmetry helped unite the theme depicted in the exterior facade with the scenes rendered around

the courtyard and the main chamber. As commented before, the narrative executed in the interior vestibule includes two more jaguar lords probably accompanied by their female consorts.[87] Although the painted murals lack epigraphic markers, the name of these four individuals may be rendered in the inscription of text I, accounting for four of the six calendrical names included in it. The remaining two calendrical names may be the nominal signs of the couple who commissioned this second narrative. Given the interpretation of text II in a previous section, it may be feasible to detail this section of the genealogy.

Text I displays the standard sequence typical of mortuary inscriptions that includes an annual date probably marking a death or a funeral anniversary. To the left appear the glyph 3I and the name of the anchoring ancestor [3 Eye (3L)] to which the rest of the calendrical names, rendered to the right of the annual date, appear to be linked. It may be noted that, as in the case of the inscriptions in the stela and text II, the year bearer in text I is placed above the year sign. This means that the inscription has an overall structure that proceeds from bottom to top, a crucial detail to account for the sequence of calendrical names on the right side of the text. Thus, the name 10 Serpent (10Y) must antecede those placed above, an assumption further supported by the fact that the glyph is larger than the others. I assumed, as in the case of text II, that the four calendrical names above read from left to right and in pairs [7 Rain (7C) – 3 Alligator (3V)] and [9 Water (9Z) – 5 Earthquake (5E)]. If the calendrical name 10 Serpent is paired with the name of the anchoring ancestor 3 Eye named on the left side of the text, it would be feasible to assign both names to the couple rendered on the left side of the program in the interior vestibule. By assigning the pair of names 7 Rain and 3 Alligator to the couple rendered on the right side of the program in the interior vestibule, one can assume that the remaining couple (9 Water and 5 Earthquake) was the ones who commissioned the painted text.

Notable is the fact that on the left wall of the internal vestibule were rendered the names of the apical ancestors from the first program, namely 12 Monkey (12 O) and 10 Alligator (10 V), although the glyph—but not the numeral--of the second name is now obliterated. The reiteration

[87] It may be recalled that the females painted on the medial surfaces of jambs 3 and 4, seemingly the consorts of the jaguar lords carved on the anterior surfaces, were part of the original program.

of these names indicates that the couple that commissioned the second program was keenly interested in disambiguating their direct link to the main lineage. Given the hypothesized sequence of the two narrative programs, the annual date in text I (2E) falls 36 years forward from the last date (5E) in the presumed sequence given by the annual markers carved on the jambs (Table 5.9). This lapse would encompass two generations (the two painted jaguar lords) distanced by an average of 18 years (a span close to the 18.6 year average between the three annual dates carved in jambs 3-5-6).

The third narrative program that was added during subsequent uses of the tomb is represented by the carved stela. Its presumed earlier date (year 4 Earthquake), falls 28 years after the date 2 Earthquake in text I (Table 5.10), not a reasonable span to accommodate the four generations comprising the ancestry of 12 Monkey, the lord who seemingly commissioned the commemorative monument. Yet, if an entire cycle of 52 years is introduced, the lapse between those two dates would have spanned 80 years, a reasonable amount of time to accommodate four generations at average 20-year intervals. Subsequent to the erection of the stela in the main chamber of the tomb, which practically blocked the view of the main painted obsequies of the original mortuary program, and upon a later use of the crypt, text II was commissioned. This text makes reference to either the same annual date hypothesized to have been the last in a temporal sequence of five years dates carved on the stela, or a date 52 years after. The latter option could easily account temporally for the two succeeding generations named in the text.

In sum, the proposed sequence in which the epigraphic and semasiographic record was incorporated into the tomb rests on the following premises: 1) that the jambs, being structurally integral to the construction of the tomb, were carved prior to being set, instead than the other way around (first set and then carved). The prominent location of the stuccoed sculptures suggest that the names they represent (12 Monkey and 10 Alligator) are those of the apical ancestors; 2) that the narrative program in the interior vestibule was added later, as can be deduced by the naming of the apical ancestors 12 Monkey and 10 Alligator on the left side wall. While reference to another anchoring ancestor (3 Eye) is made in text I, this strategy evinces the interest of those named in that program (text I) to clearly establish their relation to the original founding ancestors of the ramage; 3) that the portable stela was introduced later, placing it so as

to “substitute” the focal point of the main painted narrative in the original mortuary program of the tomb and thus shifting the anchoring of genealogical tracing to a new, more recent, apical ancestor (7N); 4) that subsequently text II was painted, referring retroactively to the more recent anchoring ancestor 7N to disambiguate as well the nexus of later successors to the genealogy recorded in the stela. These premises yield the genealogical sequence shown in Table 5.11.

Taken comprehensibly, the tomb appears to record a genealogical sequence of at least 16, perhaps even 19 generations. In addition, the first part of the genealogy (comprising 6 generations) seems to involve six named individuals that presumably were collateral kin members of the main linage. Furthermore, the female consorts of three of these individuals were painted but not named. Although there is a marked preference to emphasize genealogical descent through the male line (by rendering named female consorts behind male figures or by representing them but omitting their names), a notable exception is the case—recorded on the stela--of Lady 12 Soap Plant, a woman that seemingly played a crucial role in the consecutive succession to power of Lords 13 Monkey and 12 Monkey.

It cannot be determined if or how the additional couples rendered in one of the roof slabs of the main chamber and named in the large but portable ceramic vessel, whose temporal introduction in the tomb cannot be specified, are linked to the genealogical record in the tomb. The same can be said of the named individual carved on the block found loose within the construction fill of the tomb’s staircase (see Figure 5.8, top). While this stone must come from a different context, it depicts a jaguar lord identified by his calendrical and personal names, which do not match any of the names in the genealogical record inscribed in the tomb. Nor is it feasible to assess if the two individuals named in the early Liobaa phase carved stone (see Figure 5.8, bottom) left leaning against jamb 1 when the tomb was open and closed for the last time conform another couple related to the genealogical record in the crypt, or if the latter represent the last household heads of such a long genealogical succession. The identification of different sequential epigraphic episodes singles out four couples who commissioned them, namely ♂ 2 Earthquake = ♀ 11 Earthquake (the tomb with the jambs, sculptures, and the painted obsequies), 9 Water = 5 Earthquake (the program in the interior vestibule and text I), ♂ 12 Monkey (the stela), and 5 Knot = 7 Maize (text II). Their presumed position in the genealogical sequence

would imply that the tomb eventually housed the remains of at least 22 individuals representing 11 generations (numbered 6 through 16 in Table 5.11). Unless there were instances of simultaneous deaths, the tomb would have been re-opened at least that many times during a span of some 275 years. The state of disarray in which the contents in the interior of the crypt was found, and the fact that the tomb was sealed, indicates that those who opened the 'house of the ancestors' for the last time not only retrieved much of its content but performed a termination ritual, breaking most of the objects not intended to be carried away and carefully laying down the stela previously erected at the back of the main chamber. The motivation for doing so was probably to retrieve an heirloom cache that may have been placed under the carved stone when it was originally set in place.

PORTABLE GENEALOGICAL SLABS

The archaeological record from the Central valleys of Oaxaca has yielded until now some 40 small and portable carved slabs. Of these, only four have been found inside tombs (Figure 6.1).[88] The rest, now in museums and private collections, are of unknown provenience and context. Of the few found in crypts, half are only fragments. While the scanty contextual data suggests that some were narrative programs ultimately associated to tombs, their portability enhances the possibility that, prior to their eventual placement in crypts, this type of objects played an important role in the contestation of rights and in the construction of social memory in contexts and rituals other than those related to funerals. One may even envision that, if displayed outside the tombs, they formed center-stage in social negotiation that allowed the participation of larger audiences. If this type of slabs were intended to be used exclusively inside tombs, their messages and those rendered on paintings or carvings fixed to the architecture of the crypts would have been exposed to only a few viewers, mostly members of the same corporate groups

[88] The claim that the slab from Noriega (see Figure 5.45, upper left) was placed in a tomb (Marcus 1983d: 191) is incorrect because the stone was reused to form most of the roof of a cist (see Urcid 1999b). For a commentary on the slab shown in Figure 6.1 upper right see Urcid 1992a (I): 379, note 34.

that commissioned them.

Ever since George Kubler (1962: 97-98) argued that this type of slabs depicts marriage scenes, and that these were forerunners of marital narratives painted in the much later pre-Hispanic screenfolds, scholars have taken a narrow view of the imagery rendered in them. Generally, the relation between image and text in the slabs is usually construed as being either complementary or redundant, without exploring variability that, in specific circumstances, can enrich the intended meaning of a given narrative. It is my goal here to illustrate, using one example, the advantages of studying the slabs as integrated texts that, by virtue of their spatial syntax, skillfully encode multiple layers of meaning.

The Carved Slab MNA-6-6059

One of the most interesting examples of compositional design and carving technique in the Zapotec scribal tradition is a small rectangular stone slab housed today in the Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia in Mexico City. The slab measures 60 cm in height by 38 cm in width by 8 cm in thickness (Figure 6.2). Unique to the piece are the traces of white stucco over the carvings. While it cannot be disproved that this layer may have been applied in recent times, such a treatment raises the possibility that the imagery was originally painted with multiple colors over a stucco base.[89] In contrast, other Zapotec slabs—like the stela in tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana--are covered with cinnabar applied directly on the stone, that is, without a stucco base (see also Urcid 1995b).

One cannot fail to notice that, except for the plain borders on the left half, the anterior surface of the slab is fully used. The other five surfaces are plain but well dressed. The anterior surface of the block has a rectangular inset divided into two registers, each one carved with imagery and glyphs. Inscribed on the right half of the slab, along three borders, is a text. The

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[89] Assuming that no screenfolds were produced in earlier times, perhaps such a hypothetical treatment on the slab represents a technical antecedent to the known books, whereby bark-paper or deer hides served as bases that were covered by a thin layer of white stucco and then painted with multiple colors. Polychrome traces on the slab might only be detected with microscopic observations and/or trace analysis.

year sign and its associated year bearer [8 Soap Plant (8N)], rendered at the bottom, clearly indicates that the reading sequence of the inscription--and thus of the registers with imagery--proceeds from bottom to top, just as in the case of the slab in tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana (Figure 6.3). Most of the glyphs in the text are accompanied by coefficients, and the three signs placed on the upper border appear rotated 90 degrees counter clockwise.

The lower register in the anterior surface depicts a couple (Figure 6.4). Based on their garments, the personage on the left side is a woman identified by her calendrical name placed in front of her face. She wears a blouse, a long skirt, and holds with her hands a small bowl. A feather tops the hairdo, with braided hair entwined with ribbons. Although she wears an earplug, she lacks a beaded necklace. She appears seated with her legs flexed under her torso and over a "Hill" glyph. The man in front of her--seated cross-legged and with his arms crossed over the chest--also appears over a "Hill" glyph. He is shown dressed with a kilt with flaps above and below a plain belt. Although the carver did not render the sole of his foot, the torso appears naked. He wears a tall cap adorned with a frontal flap and two feathers on top. No beaded collar is rendered, so the only personal ornament is an earplug. Most significant is the presence of a beard and wrinkles in the cheek, as well as a speech scroll next to his mouth. It may be noted that both "Hill" glyphs in the register are devoid of glyphic compounds that would code them as toponyms. Rather, they simply include a pair of diagonal bands inside the framed space. The slanting of the bands within the glyphs is reversed in relation to one another.

The upper register contains a more elaborate scene. On the left side, the artist rendered a woman holding in her hands an open bowl containing a long and slender object that protrudes from the rim. Her posture and garments are almost identical to those of the woman in the lower register, except that she appears seated over a thin cushion, her blouse has a fringed border, and her hairdo is not adorned with a feather. Her sumptuary ornaments include ear spools and a beaded necklace. She appears identified by a glyph with coefficients placed behind her. While in the lower register it is the male who has a speech scroll, in the upper register it is the woman. The speech scroll next to her face signals her active participation in the depicted ritual. The male consort holds a spherical object. He also appears seated, but cross-legged and over a thin stool of woven mat. He is dressed with a kilt with fringed borders and a broad waistband tied so has to

produce several folds. Barefooted and with a naked torso, he wears an identical headdress as the one worn by the male in the lower register. His jewels include ear spools and a beaded necklace. His glyphic name appears behind him. Between the couple, and as if growing from the surface, is a plant with two leafs and a flower.

Preceding this upper scene, above, the scribe who carved the slab rendered the unfolded version of glyph U, including the rectangular eyes, the lateral nasal extensions topped by curls, and the upper jaw with teeth. Adjacent to the lateral nasal extensions are spiral signs with scalloped outer edges marked by small circles. As if descending from the open jaw of glyph U, the composition renders the upper portion of a personage wearing the tied hairdo and upturned buccal mask with fangs characteristic of glyph Ñ and the 'Xicani' imagery. The descending figure appears holding with a hand a beaded strand. Other distinguishing traits are the ear spool and the beaded necklace.

Previous Studies of the Slab

The carved stone has been known at least since 1918, when Constantine Rickards published the first known photograph of it. Although he did not comment on its provenience, he mentioned that the piece used to belong to the Heredia collection.[90] Rickards (1918: 21) made a summary description of the imagery, noting in addition its double-register layout and the text that occupies the right half of the slab's frame. Although he did not interpret the carvings, Rickards thought that the text included some 21 glyphs that indicated dates in the ancient calendrical system.[91]

A second commentary on the slab appeared in Alfonso Caso's seminal work on Zapotec writing (1928: 109-111). In his comments, Caso attributed Herbert Spinden—who had

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[90] It is known that Guillermo Heredia was an architect who at the turn of the 20th century purchased some 33 collections to create his own, and that *ca* 1909 he offered in sale 4,655 objects from different regions of Mesoamerica to the National Museum of Anthropology (Adam Sellen, personal communication 2003).

[91] Actually, the registers and the text combined include only 19 signs with numerals, including the annual date.

published a photograph of the slab four years earlier, in 1924-- for giving Zaachila as the provenience of the stone. However, as already noted by Marcus (1983d: 193), no such statement appears in the works by Spinden.[92] The highlights of the commentary by Caso include the interpretation of the descending personage in the upper register as a deity with a buccal mask of a serpent. He also assumed that the upper couple presents offerings to the descending god and noted the plant growing between the personages. He also referred to the age differences between the males, considering that the old couple below was seated on thrones in the shape of "Hill" glyphs. Caso read the inscription on the right side of the slab's frame from top to bottom and left to right. At the bottom of the slab, he identified the year glyph and the corresponding year bearer, and thus pointed out the occurrence of an annual date in the text. Given his glyphic identifications (Table 6.1), he concluded that the signs naming the personages on the upper register were repeated in the upper portion of the text (Figure 6.5). Although he employed the word "dates" while describing the glyphs in the text, and stated that "…[these] do not seem to bear relationships that would allow us to order them as a sequence of day signs" (1928: 26), he concluded that:

> In the present case, I believe that—with the exception of the [glyphs at the bottom of the slab], the other signs do not have chronological value but rather ***represent the names of gods or kings*** (Caso 1928: 111) (translated by the author, emphases added).

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[92] Spinden (1924: xi and 96bis, plate 2) published the slab to support the argument for the unity of the Mesoamerican calendar. The caption to the plate states: "A fine Zapotecan tablet with Bar-and-Dot Numerals and artistic influences from the Mayas. Original in the National Museum, Mexico". The text simply points out that "a very fine Zapotecan inscription is reproduced in plate 2 (idem: 98)". Works on Mesoamerican topics by Spinden before 1928 do not mention or illustrate the slab (Spinden 1913: 226-227, and 1917: 137-145). In the earliest study, while discussing the potentials that could be derived from a stylistic seriation of Zapotec carvings, Spinden states that "in the best of these pieces [referring apparently to MA-NP-9] there is used a characteristic assemblage of details that likewise occurs on small sculptured slabs from Etla, Zaachila, Tlacolula and Cuilapan (1913: 227), citing for Etla and Tlacolula illustrations of Zapotec carvings published by Caecilie Seler (1900) and Eduard Seler (1904). None of these references include the slab under consideration. Thus, Caso made a citation mistake. Perhaps he had access to an unknown source that attributes the slab to Zaachila.

Kelemen (1943: 135-136) did a brief comment on the slab, mostly in the context of demonstrating stylistic differences among diverse artistic traditions in Mesoamerica. He focused on gender attributions based on the garments and hairdos, and specifically identified those of the females as corresponding to the '*tlacoyal*' still in use today in Oaxaca and the Guatemalan Highlands, that is, "heavy strands twisted around the head in the manner of a turban, with the loose ends left to hang down the back of the head like a tassel". Glyph U was interpreted as the "open jaw of a monster with six large teeth" with an emerging figure holding a garland in its hand and "a bubble coming out of its mouth signifying speech, probably an emanation". Misrepresenting the interpretation by Caso, he noted that the text included an "unusual number of day signs" (Kelemen 1943: 136).

Krickeberg's (1949: 182) comments on the slab emphasized its aesthetic quality and focused mostly on glyph U, which following Caso, was taken to represent the 'Mouth of the sky', with nostrils (instead of eyes), and downward lips. The imagery of the descending personage was thought to depict a deity, specifically the sun god identified by its eagle helmet who held a strand of semiprecious stones in his hand. Focusing on the curls above the nasal extensions of glyph U, Krickeberg reiterated Caso's interpretation of inward facing scrolls placed along the frames of other slabs as rendition of clouds, noting in passing that in other Zapotec carvings Cociyo is the descending deity.

In his compendium on art and architecture of ancient America, Kubler (1962: 97-98) summarized the thematic content of the known Zapotec slabs that had been published by Caso, including the one that concerns us here. Although he did not illustrate the slab, it figures prominently in his discussion.[93] Thus, "above the upper couple a sky symbol of doubled serpent jaws [i.e. glyph U]…, disgorges a head or hands bearing jewels. The name-glyphs are calendrical, in the classic Zapotec system of bar-dot numerals and day signs. The terraced place-name sign in the lower register resemble those of the Zapotec stelae". Indirectly, while

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[93] Kubler (1962: plate 48b) illustrated his arguments with a photograph of slab 2 from the MNA, and although the caption attributes it to Zaachila, other records give different provenances for this other slab. In subsequent editions of his work, the photograph was substituted for that of the slab from Noriega, near Cuilapan (1975: plate 64b; 1984: 175, fig. 129).

discussing another slab from Ciénega, in the Zimatlan Valley, Kubler hinted that the descending personages in the slabs represented ancestors. He concluded that these carvings were antecedents of the screenfolds from the Mixteca Alta in both compositional layout and subject matter, particularly the sequential arrangements of seated couples and themes concerning rulership, dynastic founders, marriage ceremonies, and legitimization of descendants.

Joyce Marcus commented on the slab on several occasions. In the first version (1980: 61-63), and following Kubler, she interpreted the upper scene as depicting a marriage, and that the descending personage was "perhaps ancestral, perhaps mythical". The spiral glyphs at either side of glyph U were assumed to represent icons of conch shells. Marcus also posited that the lower couple was ancestral to one of the personages depicted above. As to the text, she described it as Caso did, from top to bottom and left to right. Since she also followed many of Caso's glyphic identifications (Table 6.1), Marcus also mentioned and illustrated the seeming repetition of the 10^{th} and 11^{th} glyphs in the text with those on the upper register. Thus, she concluded that the monument constituted a genealogical register, adding that "the vertical series records the names of the ancestors of the husband or of the wife (or of both) in the upper panel" (Marcus 1980: 62). The marriage, according to her, is dated by the annual glyph at the bottom center of the slab.

In a subsequent commentary, Marcus (1983d: 193) debated Caso's temporal placement of the slab, arguing that it most likely pertained to Monte Albán period IIIB (ca 600-850 A.D.).[94] She also elaborated on the temporal implications of the age differences among the males noted by Caso. Thus, while the upper register depicts a marriage alliance "in the recent past", the lower one renders a "scene in the more distant past". Her explicit criterion to identify the upper scene as a marriage rests on the woven mat upon which the male is seated, a graphic convention whose meaning is well attested in the later script in Mixteca-Puebla style. As to the text, this time Marcus read it first from bottom to top, beginning with the sign next to the lower right

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[94] Once the chronological sequence from Monte Albán was better understood, Caso tentatively placed the slab in period IIIA (1965a: 857), but in another article he dated it to period Monte Albán IIIB-IV (Caso 1965b: 942).

corner of the bottom register. After enumerating the glyphs placed above using most of Caso's identifications, she proceeded to comment the text backwards, that is from top to bottom and left to right. Paraphrasing Caso, Marcus reiterated that the long series of day signs in the text do not reflect a sequence of the sacred count, and that consequently the glyphs most likely named ancestors.[95]

In her most recent commentary (Marcus 1992a: 242-245, and caption to fig. 8.15) some details were added. Marcus remarked that the small size of the slab requires close reading, and that perhaps its context was a tomb antechamber.[96] The hand glyph in the text was read as a verb with the meaning "to give one's hand in marriage". Considering the presumed glyphic repetitions between signs in the text and in the upper panel, and given their position in the sequence, Marcus argued that the last two glyphs in the text could be the names of the children from the couple depicted in the upper register. She elaborated on such possibility, including the implication that the slab commemorated retroactively the marriage and that the monument was commissioned after the death of one of the persons depicted therein. Marcus (1992a: 245) concluded her commentary by "assuming that [if the slab] was found in the antechamber of a tomb sacked by looters, it would be interesting to know in whose tomb (out of all the people listed) it was placed".

On occasion of an exhibit on Mexican art at the Metropolitan Museum, Marcus Winter commented on the slab. Accompanying the commentary is the only color photograph of the slab that has ever been published (Winter 1990: 133-134, and fig. 58). After making a general description, Winter conceded with previous authors about the overall meaning of the imagery, alluding to the commemoration of a marriage and the tracing of genealogical links. Winter also made some specific iconographic interpretations. For instance, the beaded strand in the hand of

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[95] Oddly enough, she added that "since [Caso] must have known from Córdova that the Zapotecs named their children after the day of birth in the 260 day calendar, it is surprising that it did not occur to him that these might be the listed names of ruling family members" (Marcus 1983d: 195). Obviously she was unaware of the statement by Caso quoted above.

[96] This deduction is supported by the actual finding of the slab in tomb 1 from Quicopecua, which excavated by Saville (1904) and studied by Bernal (1958) (see Figure 6.1 upper right).

the descending personage was assumed to be a symbol of marital union, and the plant in the bottom center of the upper register to represent fertility and growth. Anticipating Marcus's comments about the possible audience and original context of the slab, Winter argued that "the small size and fine detail of the carvings indicate that [it] was kept and viewed privately in a tomb or residence". The lack of a plain base in the stone also suggested to him that it was a portable item meant to be placed in a niche. Winter also noted that the slab is made of a brownish-pink volcanic tuff that is common in Suchilquitongo and its environs, concluding that the commemorative stone could have been found there or at least manufactured at that locality and transported somewhere else as a commissioned work. Regarding the signs with numerals in the text, Winter read them from bottom to top and followed the glyphic identifications that I had proposed in manuscript form in 1989.[97]

Piña Chán (1992: 102-105) elaborated further on the first commentary by Marcus. He assigned semantic values to some of the glyphs. For instance, he also took the spiral signs at either side of glyph U as pictographs of sectioned conch shells, proposing then a metonymic reference to Venus, and then deducing that the descending personage is probably a representation of Quetzalcoatl. In his opinion, the object inside the vessel in the hands of the woman in the upper register depicts an agave thorn and hence represents an instrument for self-sacrifice. The plant between the upper figures was taken as a pictographic representation of a lotus [Zapotec *guiegbeheñe*], a possible reference to Zaachila based on a "folk tale about the former existence there of a lake with water lilies" (Piña Chán 1992: 105).[98] The similarities in the headdresses of the males were taken to indicate a father-son relationship. Piña Chán took the reading order of the side text to proceed from bottom to top and right to left.

In his opinion, the slab commemorates simultaneously several events, including a marriage in the upper register--a union blessed by the descending god--, the death of the groom's father shown in the lower register, and the enthronement of the groom to the rulership of Zaachila

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[97] The paper with the glyphic identifications was subsequently published (Urcid 1992b: 102).

[98] Geomorphological studies have amply demonstrated that such ancient lake in the central Valleys of Oaxaca never existed (Flannery and Marcus 1990: 20-21).

(hence the growing plant as a toponym and the presentation by his newly wed wife of the instruments of self-sacrifice, symbols of governance). Piña Chán took the annual date in the text to record the time of the groom's father death. The "Hand" glyph signals, according to him, that the recently deceased ruler procreated 13 children whose names are listed afterwards. The interpretation of the signs with numerals in the text differs, in some cases substantially, from Caso's readings (Table 6.1). Thus, he only established a repetition between the tenth glyph in the sequence and the name of the groom in the upper register. From such repetition, Piña Chán deduced that the new ruler was the tenth child of the previous couple (the one in the lower register).

An Alternative View of the Slab

While several authors (Kelemen 1943: plate 84b; Krickeberg 1949: plate 41a; Whitecotton 1990: 145; Piña Chán 1992: 102; Masson and Orr 1998: 13; Houston 2004b: 276), have attributed the slab to Zaachila based on the seemingly mistaken attribution by Caso, Bernal et al (1965, no. 167) identify it as coming from Cuilapan (Quicopecua). Winter (1990: 134) also mentions that the slab has been attributed to Monte Albán, but he does not provide the source of such a claim. Thus, it is evident that the provenience of the slab cannot be ascertained.

There are three lines of evidence to suggest that the slab could have been manufactured in a carving workshop from the Etla valley, and specifically at Cerro de la Campana, Suchilquitongo. One line of evidence is the color and type of stone, which as noted by Winter (1990:134), is a pink volcanic tuff like the one so common in the quarries there. Another line of evidence is the carving style, which comes closer to known examples from the Etla valley than those from the Tlacolula or Zimatlan valleys. The third line of evidence is the structure of the text, which resembles those painted in the interior vestibule of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana (Figure 6.6). Although the linear arrangement of the compared texts is different, they all have an annual date followed by a compound that includes glyph I, and then a number of signs accompanied by numerals. In the slab MNA-6-6059, the compound consists of a bird's head, glyph I, and a human hand in palm view. This compound is followed by a sequence of 13 signs with numerals, the last two of which read from right to left as dictated by the direction of the

signs.

As noted by Marcus, such a reading order in the text reinforced the viewer to proceed with the 'reading' of the imagery from the bottom register to the top panel. Yet, it is also the case that the upper register is larger than the lower one. Its semasiography is also more complex. Thus, the upper register tends to draw the attention first. This is also evident by the reviewed commentaries, all of which begin by describing the upper register. The possibility of a dual reading order in the slab, however, is not simply the outcome of the compositional design. The main theme of the slab also enhances such a possibility. For instance, since genealogical records reflect a linear, temporal character, it is feasible to read them either from ego to a distant ancestor or vice versa. Depending upon emphasis or the purposes of a specific story telling, one can began at any point in the genealogical succession, and resort to relays to move from one section to another. Thus, because of its representational layout and theme, and despite the structural properties of the text, the slab does not seem to be bound to a single or inflexible reading order. Its composition is a clever device that allows multiple reading orders.

In light of the glyphic reconstruction of the 20-day name list of the ancient calendar presented in Figure 1.20, it is only necessary to modify two of Caso's sign identifications in the slab (Table 6.1). One of these changes, however, brings an important implication to the way the genealogical record has been previously interpreted, particularly by Marcus and Piña Chán. The first modification involves the name of the male personage in the lower register. His name is 8 Soap Plant (8N) and not 6/8D (6 or 8 Flower). This correction stems from the fact that none of the Zapotec day names documented by Córdova translate as "Flower", and by the anchorage of glyph N--one of the year bearers--to the 12th position in the 20 day name list. As to the numeral, the spatial separation in the composition of the coefficients from its associated sign has the semiological effect of 'bracketing' the name of the personage, signaling him—as does the speech scroll-- as the main protagonist in the scene.[99]

[99] The slab from Matatlan (Urcid 2003b) is another example in which the coefficients of the calendrical names are spatially separated. Their lumping never violates the maximum possible range of values in the coefficients of day names, which goes from 1 to 13.

The other epigraphic modification involves Caso's initial consideration that parallel undulating lines inside a cartouche represent the body of a serpent. This made him class such signs as variants of glyph M, a glyph that was thought by him to represent an ophidian head (Caso 1928: 40). Caso defined another glyphic category that had also parallel undulating lines as a constituent element, but he could not recognize its iconic origin. This other category was labeled with the letter Z (idem: 43-44). Later on, he recognized that glyphs with undulating lines in cartouches were distinctive enough to class them separately under a category labeled M' (Caso 1947: 11 and 50, figure 17). However, he did not consider that categories M' and Z could be grouped together by assuming that their iconic origin is the depiction of water, either by rendering undulating lines only or by conflating them with the representation of a jar.

With this other modification we can surmise that the name of the woman in the upper register is 3 Water (3Z). Since the glyph in the upper right corner of the text is indeed 3M, the sign in the text and the glyph associated to the woman on the upper register do not constitute an epigraphic repetition and consequently refer to different individuals. Before advancing an interpretation of the text and of the genealogical sequence of the calendrical names, it is necessary to first consider some additional aspects of the semasiography.

As commented by Caso, given the composition of the upper register it seems likely that the consorts are mutually presenting an offering to the descending personage, rather than exchanging objects with one another. The content of one and the form of the other indicate that no vessel for sharing a drink is depicted, a tell tale feature that according to Marcus (1983d: 191) signals a marriage ceremony. Piña Chán's interpretation of the objects held by Lady 3 Water as the paraphernalia for self-sacrifice is reinforced by the semasiographic evidence in the stela of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana (see Figure 5.48). This identification in turn suggests that the spherical object held by Lord 6 Eye is a ball of rubber, an item that was burned in braziers during rituals aimed at invoking the ancestors (Figure 6.7, slabs 3-4). Thus, rather than a marriage scene (as argued by Marcus), or the presentation of symbols of governance from the woman to the man (as advanced by Piña Chán), both consorts appear actively engaged in the conjuring of the descending ancestor, offering the sacrifice of birds (alluded by the vessel with the cutting instrument) and burning of rubber (alluded by the ball). In light of these deductions, the plant

depicted between the couple must stand for another item crucial in invocation rituals, as is iconically transparent in another slab that depicts an individual named 1 Lighting (1M) offering a bundle of leafs like those in the plant under discussion to another individual, seemingly an ancestor, named 1 Night (1F) (Figure 6.8). The fact that one of the leafs in this scene is decorated with broken and straight lines links this item to the many instances rendered in the narrative programs of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana of women presenting similar offerings. Thus, the items rendered in the upper register of slab MNA-6-6059 (instruments for the sacrifice of birds, rubber ball for burning, and leafs) identify both consorts as mediator between humans and ancestors, entitling them with the responsibility to intercede with the divine for the benefit of their corporate group and the community. Although such a role does not necessarily imply rulership, it denotes at least noble, high-ranking status.

While discussing the mortuary program in tomb 104 from Monte Albán, I commented that *Pitáo Cozáana* (glyph U) is the homologue of the Maya 'Principal Bird Deity', and that an important association of the latter's imagery is in the context of rituals of enthronement. While such an association applies as well to several Zapotec narratives, it is equally evident that glyph U also appears in contexts that are not related to accession ceremonies, like the tomb narratives considered in previous sections.

The strand of beads held by the descending personage is known to occur in other Zapotec carvings (Figure 6.9). It has also been detected in several Classic period images from localities in Veracruz, such as Maltrata (Orizaba), El Tajin, and Las Higueras. The versions depicted in the round columns from Monte Albán are seemingly larger, and the example from Las Higueras appears associated with a conch shell, with the entire ensemble painted blue. The deployment of a beaded strand in the scenes from El Tajin and the slab from Noriega appears in the context of rituals of enthronement (Koontz 2003: 9; Urcid 1999b). Yet, the fact that in other Zapotec slabs with descending personages these individuals carry in their hands other items, like leafs or a net-like bag (see Figure 6.7, slab 1), suggest that these different objects may constitute symbols that signal more generally the trans-generational transference of some kind of property, privilege, title or right, and that such transfers are presided and thus legitimized by *Pitáo Cozáana* (glyph U) (Urcid 2003b).

The spiral glyphs at either side of glyph U present interpretative problems. Very few examples are known in Zapotec inscriptions, limiting our understanding of its contexts. In Ñuiñe writing, however, it is much more prevalent (Figure 6.10), yet its iconic motivation is not readily apparent. Assuming that the spiral glyph may represent a sectioned conch shell, as suggested by Marcus and Piña Chán, it seems difficult to substantiate the latter's identification of the descending personage as Quetzalcoatl. This is surmised from the other known cases of glyph U with descending personages, where the attributes of the individuals and of glyph U vary (Figure 6.7, slabs 1-3). It may be noted that none of these cases include the spiral glyph. As commented before, the descending personage in MNA-6-6059 has the attributes of a 'Xicani', including the tied hairdo and the retroflexed buccal mask with fangs. One may assume that the descending figure, shown in the role of supreme sacrificer, is the apical founding member of a ramage.

Assuming again that the crossed section of a shell motivates the iconicity of the spiral glyph, its occurrence in the slab could be related to notions about descent. The visual trope of rendering human figures emerging from shells is well known in other Mesoamerican graphic systems, sometimes in clear contexts of genealogical continuity (Figure 6.11). The scene in the lower register of slab MNA-6-6059 also appears to allude to the offering of birds by Lady 11 Monkey to Lord 8 Soap Plant. The vessel held by her resembles the object offered by Lady 3 Water. The fact that no cutting instrument protrudes from the bowl is most likely due to synecdoche. The still posture of Lord 8 Soap Plant contrasts with the speech scroll. His importance is also underscored by being framed by his calendrical name, seemingly a device to codify another layer of meaning. Thus, as suggested by Piña Chán, he might be shown here as a recently deceased man.

The mortuary character of the ritual depicted in the lower register seems to be supported by some traits in the text below. The reason why the annual date in the slab is more likely to refer to a death, or a death anniversary, than to a marriage event is based on its comparison with other similar inscriptions, like those in tomb 104 from Monte Albán and tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana. Furthermore, as commented before, of all the known texts with glyph I, the majority come from funerary contexts. Examples of inscriptions with glyph I whose context are not directly funerary, like those associated to monumental architecture, include genealogical records

but most often the associated semasiography does not depict marriage scenes (i.e. Monuments MA-NP-9 and MA-NP-5, see footnote 6).

Regarding the hand below the glyph I in slab MNA-6-6059, the conceptual link that Marcus establishes between marriage and "to give or accept the hand" of a wedding partner is not universal, but rather a western cultural construct. It is doubtful therefore, that the hand sign has such a meaning in Zapotec writing. As commented in the exegesis of the other funerary inscriptions included in this essay, the comparative analysis of compounds with glyph I shows a frequent association with hands and fingers, suggesting that they quantify funerary offerings. The representation of a bird's head above glyph I on the slab, in combination with the extended hand below may refer to an offering of 5 birds. Therefore, the annual date, which is conveniently placed below Lord 8 Soap Plant, most probably refers to his death or an anniversary of his demise and the presentation of such an offering.

If we consider the close link between image and text in the panels, it strikes that the descending 'Xicani' personage in the upper register would pass unidentified. At the same time one can notice that, in comparison to the other calendrical names above it, glyph 13A (13 Knot) in the lower right corner of the slab is slightly larger and off the right border, as if to set it apart from the other calendrical names. The temporal sequencing of old and young couples encoded in the imagery on both panels is crucial to argue that this glyph corresponds to the name of the descending figure in the upper panel, signaling its preeminence in the composition. Thus, its position in the text as first calendrical name reinforces the idea that this individual is the apical ancestor, founder of the dynasty, who was then succeeded by several generations of descendants. The genealogical list might be given by pairing consorts or by single succession of individuals (Figure 6.12). Each one of these two alternatives bears temporal implications. If we assumed paired names, as is suggested by the imagery on the registers, and 25 years of average span between generations, the recorded genealogy would include 8 generations encompassing a maximum of 200 years of lineal descent. If we assume that each name represents a generational succession—yielding 14 generations--, the maximum span of the documented lineage would have been of some 350 years.

The position of the text on the right half of the slab is certainly not capricious. Most likely it provides reference as to how the line of succession is recorded. The text 'brackets' only the male figures in the registers and suggests that the linkage goes from Lord 8 Soap Plant in the lower register to Lord 6 Eye on the upper one. The emphasis on the male side is reinforced as well by the direction of the descending personage, whose head faces Lord 6 Eye. The position of the text also suggests that throughout the genealogy, the succession went through the male line, and--if the names are to be paired--such a syntagmatic emphasis would imply that the first name of each couple are those of the males. The text, however, does not specify the sex of the founder, but its identification as a 'Xicani' sacrificer would also imply a male gender. In summary then, the text probably gives the death date or a death anniversary of Lord 8 Soap Plant, makes reference to an offering of 5 birds, and then lists the descendants of the apical ancestor 13 Knot. From the perspective of ego, the slab gives the ancestry of 6 Eye, son of Lord 8 Soap Plant.

The genealogical succession presented above resolves inconsistencies in the interpretations by Marcus and Piña Chán. Let's consider Marcus's model first:

> (a) If the couple in the lower register represent the immediate ancestors of one of the individuals in the upper register, and
>
> (b) if the names of the couple depicted in the upper register occupy the 10^{th} and 11^{th} place in the text, and
>
> c) if the last two names correspond to the children of the upper couple,

then why where the names of Lady 11 Monkey and Lord 8 Soap Plant not placed in the 8^{th} and 9^{th} positions in the text? There are also two reasons why Piña Chán's genealogical interpretation cannot be maintained. First, the repetition of a calendrical name in the record does not necessarily imply that it refers to the same individual. Several of the known genealogies from the Valley of Oaxaca (Oudijk 2000, Whitecotton 1990) and Tehuantepec (Oudijk and Jansen 1998: 79), both pre-Hispanic and colonial, include individuals in the same line of descent but from different generations who have identical calendrical names. Piña Chán's interpretation also ignores what is known about rules of inheritance from 16^{th} century sources. From these

documents it is clear that descent was traced by cognatic affiliation, with a preference towards males because of patrilocal residence, and that inheritance of wealth and political power followed ideally the principle of primogeniture. So unless we are to assume that Lord 8 Soap Plant had first nine daughters and that none of them got married and had first-born son's who could compete for inheritance with the tenth born and only son of the ruler, his scenario seems farfetched.

In sum, the slab makes reference to several events, including the designation of a male heir to head a corporate group, the death or an anniversary of the former head of the ramage (also a male), and the validation and traditional legitimization of such events. The imagery signals the propitiation of the apical ancestor to legitimize the transfer of power, to petition for sexual reproduction and hence the continuation of the line of descent and of the corporate group, and to grant Lord 6 Eye and Lady 3 Water the prerogative of communicating with the ancestor as their political responsibility towards their corporate group. Only indirectly does the slab refer to two marriages, and the extent to which these were advantageous alliances between high-ranking local or extra-local corporate group is certainly not specified.

The upper register is the point where the two ends of the genealogy meet. It is evident then that the reading sequence can proceed in two or multiple directions, involving shifts and temporal relays that are not mutually exclusive or contradictory. Other implications are that the slab was commissioned by Lord 6 Eye and his wife Lady 3 Water, and that, if indeed eventually placed in a tomb, it was most likely buried in the family crypt, a burial facility that could have had the skeletal remains of some or all the members of the genealogy listed in the slab. As commented before, the portable character of the slab and the themes alluded by the imagery and the text open the possibility that this and other similar carved stones were not intended originally to serve as funerary offerings. Their eventual placement with deceased ancestors simply marked the end of their use within contexts of the living.

Considering the possible quarrying source for the stone, the stylistic dating of the slab to the Xoo phase (600-800 ACE.), and the genealogical sequence proposed here, it is interesting to note the lack of epigraphic relation with the royal dynasty recorded in tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana. If the slab was commissioned locally, the noble house of 6 Eye was evidently not the

highest-ranking corporate group at Cerro de la Campana. But if the slab was not locally commissioned, then Lord 6 Eye may have been the head of a high-ranking corporate group from another settlement, perhaps even the leader of a royal house that governed a nearby or distant political district subject to Monte Albán.

GENEALOGICAL RECORDS DISPLAYED IN MAUSOLEUMS

The examples of mortuary narratives that were fixed to the architecture of the underground tombs whose access had to be cleared and then refilled each time the crypts where used imply that potential viewing audiences were spatially and temporally restricted, and that the ancestors themselves were among the intended "readers". In contrast, the portable character and the thematic content of carved slabs suggest that the legitimating claims of genealogical records could have been aimed at wider audiences. While this possibility cannot be presently substantiated, there is ample evidence to support the idea that such legitimating claims were indeed displayed in such a way so as to be seen by wider audiences, specifically by means of commemorative structures erected above ground, over the subterranean tombs. While these contexts allow us to consider such structures as veritable mausoleums, some evidence suggests that in certain instances commemorative structures with genealogical records were set in monumental contexts. Although monumentality does not necessary imply "public" access, the placing of genealogical records in contexts seemingly detached from actual funerary features bespeaks of overt strategies of legitimization.

On the other hand, the known layout of houses clearly indicates the existence of a single entrance to the domestic compounds, most often with indirect paths that blocked an immediate visual scanning of the abodes' interior. It also appears that houses lacked windows, at least on the exteriors, with the main source of sunlight and ventilation being the central open courtyard. Such an "inward", private, ethos in domestic life implies that the commemorative structures with genealogical records built on top of tombs were not subject to public viewing. Yet, while access to the houses was "controlled", the spread of knowledge and information regarding rights and obligations could have been accomplished by means of "targeted" audiences. Elite houses most

often had more than one compound, and as illustrated by the series of superimposed houses in Lambityeco mound 195 (see Figure 3.7), the compound with the mausoleum built above tomb 6 was most likely the locus where the political and economic decision making processes affecting the ramage that headed a high-ranking corporate group would have taken place. The 'making of business' in such contexts was thus permanently backed up by the presence of the ancestors named in the visible genealogical record and by their remains buried in the invisible tombs.

What follows is the description and interpretation of the imagery carved in a small stone block. While singular, this exemplar is relevant to demonstrate relationships between various social, ideological, and technological aspects deployed by elites to guaranteed the perpetuation of corporate groups. Specifically, I will argue that the carved stone in question, most likely originally set in a funerary context, includes part of a genealogical record that alludes to the transference between two individuals, members of a high-ranking ramage, of a preeminent role in the ancient social organization: the office of rainmaker.

A Carved Stone in a Private Collection

The collection of Daniel M. Friedenberg, in Greenwich, Connecticut, includes a small stone carved in Zapotec style (Figure 7.1). The provenience of the piece is unknown, and no information is available as to how it was retrieved from its original context, nor when it was brought to the United States. According to his present owner, he purchased the stone from a dealer who in turn acquired it from another collector. Given the aesthetic, historic, and anthropological importance of the piece, and that the stone is in a private collection, its inclusion here will provide an opportunity for both specialists and the general public to know about it.

The piece is a limestone block that measures 41 cm in length by 38 cm in height. Its thickness is approximately 16 cm. The lateral and posterior surfaces are well dressed and smoothed. The anterior surface has a carving in deep and low relief. Except for minor damages in the edges of some of the carved planes, its state of preservation is excellent. Based on the style of the carving, it is feasible to temporally situate its manufacture to sometime between the 6^{th} and 7^{th} centuries ACE. The workmanship is similar in its crafting quality to that of a lapidary workshop that must have been centered somewhere in the Etla valley, probably near Magdalena

Apasco or Santiago Suchilquitongo (Figure 1.2).

The Imagery on the Stone

The carved scene shows two personages seated cross-legged and facing each other (Figure 7.2-A). Judging from the representation of a loincloth, the one on the left side is a man identified by his calendrical name 3Ñ. The three dots that form the coefficient of the name appear immediately below the necklace and the earring. The orientation of the U-shaped grooves carved inside the dots indicates that the numeral is inverted. The main sign of the name includes three attributes that encompass the face and headdress of the personage, including a buccal mask, the eye(s) decorated with scrolls, and the tied hairdo. This configuration is that of glyph Ñ. It should be noted that, occasionally, the lines around or across the eyes of glyph Ñ are the scrolls that typify glyph L (Figure 7.2-B, right) or the lines characteristic of glyph P (see 18th position in Figures 1.20 and 1.21). I have already commented how glyph Ñ has its counterparts in the type of ceramic effigy vessels that Caso and Bernal (1952: 101-116) called " *Dios con Moño en el Tocado*" [God with the knotted headdress] (see Figure 4.4).

Two extraordinary examples of this category, besides the one found behind the entrance of tomb 104 from Monte Albán, that are not as well known appear illustrated in Figure 7.3. It appears that the personage represented in the effigy vessel from the Kerr collection is also identified by his calendrical name. Yet, the numeral of the name cannot be given by the row of dots placed along the waist since the convention to represent number 5 in Zapotec writing is by means of a bar. Rather, it is the plaque below the head that appears to signal the coefficient of the calendrical name. The later includes a bar with twisted ends and two inverted dots in the center. Thus, this numeral and the face of the effigy vessel identify the personage as 7Ñ. The inversion of coefficients or parts of them appears in other epigraphic examples of glyph Ñ, as exemplified by the two middle glyphs in Figure 7.2-B. Although the personage rendered in the effigy vessel formerly in the Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute does not wear a buccal mask, it has other attributes of glyph Ñ, including the characteristic tied hairdo and the straight lines that run from the forehead, cross the eyes and reach the mandible. The two dots on the flap of the loincloth identify the personage as 2Ñ. Another effigy vessel with attributes of glyph Ñ is now in

the City Art Museum in Saint Louis. This piece almost replicates, three-dimensionally, the representation of 3Ñ carved on the stone in the Friedenberg collection (Figure 7.4). The only difference is the lateral flaps of the headdress in the ceramic representation and the 4 rosettes that adorn it.

As shown in the glyphic reconstruction of the 20-day name list of the Zapotec calendar (Figure 1.20), glyph Ñ corresponds to the fourth day, making it analogous to the Nahuatl day name *Cuetzpallin* (Lizard) and to the Maya day name *Kan* (Maize) (Urcid 2001: 245-247). On the basis of this correlation, the calendrical name of the personage carved on the stone could be transcribed—using the alphabetic orthography of fray Juan de Córdova to record the Zapotec language of the 16th century—as ***Peolache*** (from *peo* [three] and ***lachi*** [plain field]). The root of this name may be an allusion to the Zapotec lexeme for "ballcourt".[100] The linkages between these three closely related semantic fields are further supported by the apparent relation between glyph Ñ as the iconic rendition of a religious specialist and the office of 'Xicani' sacrificer (see Figure 5.34). It may be noted that the glyphic variant in the day name list for the fourth position is the icon of the stepped tail characteristic of the representations of the Mixtec 'Yahui' and Nahua 'Fire Serpent'.

The other personage carved on the block in the Friedenberg collection has more elaborate garments (Figure 7.5). It is difficult to determine the sex, but some of the elements in the paraphernalia suggest that it is also a male. For instance, as far as it can be currently determined on the basis of effigy vessels and other graphic examples, the representation of females never include the pectoral with a hanging maskette or the cape decorated with large buttons. Returning to the representation in the carved stone, there are two glyphs place in front of the personage's headdress. The one below is an example of glyph M, that is, the graphic allusion to Cociyo, the Rain god. The sign is accompanied by the rendering of a tied headband, but only its posterior portion is visible because of the conflation of the glyph above. The later is the partial

[100] In the Cuicatec screenfolds Tutepetongo and Tepeucila one of the prominent warring lords appears identified as 7 Ballcourt, using the iconic rendition of a playing field to render his name pictographically (see van Doesburg 2001:155-156). This sign in the screenfolds must be homologous to Zapotec glyph Ñ and occupy the 4th position in the Cuicatec glyphic day list.

representation of a stripe that ends in a circle that has two tassels. This type of headband, including the stripe with a circle and two tassels, are characteristic attributes of the Zapotec year glyph (Figure 7.6-1). Although glyph M happens to be one of the year bearers in the Zapotec Calendar Round, the partial conflation of both graphs in the stone cannot stand for an annual date because of the lack of the required numeral. As already commented in the section on the ancient Zapotec calendar, since the year glyph is the iconic representation of a royal headband, its presence in this contexts appears to signal that the personage on the right side of the carved stone was the leader of a high-ranking corporate group and probably the ruler of a dependency subject to Monte Albán.

The sign above glyph M is glyph A, that is, the iconic representation of a sliding knot. The trilobe endings that decorate it are graphic allusions to maize (Urcid and Winter 2003). Above glyph A is the representation of a panoply of feathers. A speech scroll appears behind and above the headdress of the personage.[101] This sign seemingly reinforces his high status since it is well known that in Mesoamerica rulers were those who "spoke on behalf of the community". Behind the headdress is a composite item that includes the head in profile of a jaguar, a tied bag, and three pendants in the shape of the "Blood" glyph. There are other known representations of richly attired personages that carry behind their headdresses similar objects that combine the representation of animal heads (jaguar and monkey), the bag (sometimes rendered by means of synecdoche with the knot only), and with the "Blood" or "Leaf" glyphs (Figure 7.6-2).[102] This set of signs seems to denote that the represented personages are supreme sacrificers. The animal heads may refer to their alter egos, the "Blood" glyph allusions to sacrifice, and the incense bag to the ritual reiterations of human and faunal immolations.

Behind the jaguar head and the incense pouch are two dangling elements that have different motifs. The one above is identical to the element that protrudes from behind the headdress of Lord 3Ñ. The one below has an undulated band that runs vertically in the center

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[101] Similar volutes are also present in some effigy vessels, like the one illustrated in Figure 7.3-A.

[102] Incense bags are also represented in some effigy vessels. See the example shown in Figure 7.3-B, where the knots of lateral bags appear at the level of the headdress.

and has three semi-circular rings at either sides of the band. The face of the personage is partially covered by a short and straight buccal mask (an attribute of glyph M, that is the Rain god) decorated above with a volute that ends with a trilobe marking, a motif that signals the germinating bud of a maize kernel (Sellen 2002b: 11; Urcid and Winter 2003: 126). The personage also wears an elaborate pendant hanging from the ear. The effigy vessel illustrated in Figure 7.3-B has an almost identical ornament that includes from top to bottom a motif in the shape of a horizontal 'S', an inverted glyph J, and motifs in the shape of 'hairpins' (droplets).[103] From other epigraphic and semasiographic contexts it appears that these signs stand respectively for 'Cloud', 'Corncob', and 'Light rain', 'Moist', 'Dew' or 'Damp' (Figure 7.6-3) (Sellen 2002a: 184 and 2002b: 12, fig. 9; Urcid 2001: 178-182, and 2002: 97, fig. 14).

Except for the elaborate headdress and the ear pendant, the personage on the right side of the carved stone in the Friedenberg collection is very similar to the personage represented in an approximately coeval ceramic effigy vessel attributed to Tlacochahuaya (Figure 7.7). The similarities include the pectoral with maskette –although the one in the ceramic piece appears inverted and lacks the pendant conch shells--, the short cape decorated with large buttons, the buccal mask of Cociyo, and the lace that tie the overlapping bands that form the inferior portion of the headdress.

There is no doubt then, that this personage is decked so as to impersonate the Rain god. His posture suggests that he is in the act of presenting something to Lord 3Ñ. The object that he carries on the left hand (in the foreground) is an incense bag that –except for the curved handle— is almost obliterated (Figure 7.8). The item held in the right hand (in the background) appears on first sight to be unique in the known Zapotec graphic repertoire. It consists of a double, long, undulated, vertical band that curves inwards at the top. Different motifs are appended to the band. One is a pair of diagonal stripes that occurs three times along the band. There are also, here and there, iconic representations of nose or lip plugs, two long and triangular elements, a conch shell, and a bivalve shell. This is then a composite representation that includes five

[103] This type of ear pendant is known from other effigy vessels (Sellen personal communication, March 2005).

graphic elements.

The long and undulating band is similar in form to known representations of bolts of lightning in the semasiographic systems from central Oaxaca, Teotihuacan, Chiapas, Cacaxtla, Ixcaquixtla (Puebla), the Mixteca Alta and Mexico-Tenochtitlan. While the representations of lightning do not seem to be frequent in the Central Valleys of Oaxaca, one of the clearer examples appears in the busts of Cociyo impersonators modeled in stucco that decorate the facade of a raised room in an excavated house of a domestic unit from Lambityeco (see Figure 3.19). Such representations hold in one hand a jar with spilling water and in the other bolts of lightning (Figure 7.9). These details in the modeled busts allow corroborating an old argument concerning the homology between the Zapotec Rain god (Cociyo) and the Nahua Rain deity (Tlaloc). A passage in Chapter II of the 'Historia de los Mexicanos por sus Pinturas' states:

> To make rain, this god of water created many ministers with tiny bodies, which are in [the four] rooms of the said house and have in one hand a jar with which they collect the water from the said tubs, and in the other hand sticks [thunder bolts]; and when the god of water asks them to irrigate the land, they take their jars and sticks and irrigate with the water they are asked to, and when it thunders, is when they break the jars with the sticks, and when lightning comes it brings what was inside the jars, or parts of them…. When asked about the thunders and lightning, [the informants] said that the god of rain had many subjects created by him, each one carrying a jar and a stick, and from the jars they poured water, and they make the thunder when breaking the jars with the sticks, and lightning ensued from the content of the jars (Garibay 1996: 26 and 70) (translated by the author).

Representations of bolts of lightning also appear in some Zapotec effigy vessels that render personifications of Cociyo. The two examples illustrated in Figure 7.9 (bottom) give an idea of the range of variation in the representation of the motif, either as a single undulated band with a groove in the center, or as an undulating band with alligator eyes in the interstices. In both examples, the representations of lightning are topped by the 'Maize' sign (glyph J) or by the trilobe motif that denotes the kernel.

The identification of the pan-Mesoamerican convention to render bolts of lightning as an undulated band, sometimes substituted by a serpent, goes back to the early 20th century, when

Beyer (1965 [1923]) commented on several examples. Although Beyer was not explicit about it, his thorough knowledge of the work of early native historians enabled him to accomplished many insightful semasiographic interpretations. Thus, it seems that his work on assessing the graphic representation of bolts of lightning must have been based on the depiction of the God of Rain (Tlaloc) and its accompanying gloss included in the 16th century codex compiled by the Texcocan historian Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl (Figure 7.10). The annotation that explains the illustration states:

> The third idol called Tlaloc is the god of rain, they called him the bountiful of the earth and good rainy seasons. His image was also made of sculpted wood and to the life size of a man and his garments signified rain and its fruits in abundance. His body was smeared with sooth and covered with a sap called holi in the Mexican language [i.e. rubber], which they extract from certain trees that grow in hot lands, the same material from which they made balls with which the natives play [the ballgame]. [Tlaloc] has in his right hand a *folded sheet of hammered gold that signifies the bolt of lightning*…(Codex Ixtlilxochitl, folios 109-110) (translated by the author, emphasis added).[104]

Today, many more representations of bolts of lightning are known, in many instances on semasiographic contexts that suggest the prerogative of paramount rulers as controllers of lightning and thus as main rainmakers (Figure 7.11). The rulers, as impersonators of the god of Rain, brandish bolts of lightning and carry jars filled with water and decorated with the imagery of the deity, or hold bundles of corncobs. The representations of lightning illustrated in Figures 7.11 and 7.12 are in turn accompanied by: 1) volutes [water], 2) sets of triangles [signaling the glow of lightning], 3) the sign for 'Reed' [synecdoche of dart], 4) eyes [a reference to the eyes of the alligator as a synecdoche for earth], and 5) thorns.

Several graphic representations of lightning are of symmetrically undulating bands, in contrast to the rendering on the carved stone in the Friedenberg collection, which curves at the

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[104] It will be noted that the illustration of Tlaloc in codex Ixtlilxochitl shows its impersonator with black paint and long hair, adding support to the discussion of the identification of religious specialists rendered in the murals of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.

top. Nevertheless, occasionally, when lightning is represented as a serpent, the ophidian shows a similar curvature, like in the representation on screenfold Tonalpouhqui illustrated in Figure 7.12. The varied motifs associated to the representations of lightning are undoubtedly metonymic references. The substitution between a serpent and the undulating band may stem from an iconic relation between the morphology of a descending bolt of lightning and the movement of a serpent. The same can be argued for the instances in the relationship between the discharge of a lightning bolt and the act of throwing a dart. The allusions to water and earth (the eyes of the alligator) connote agricultural fertility.

Beyer (1965: 52), who interpreted the triangular motifs appended to the bolts of lightning drawn in the scene on screenfold Yoalli Ehecatl shown in Figure 7.12 as icons of thorns (similar motifs also appear associated to the undulating band on the carved stone in the Friedenberg collection), was of the opinion that they denote the negative aspect of lightning as a destructive force. At times, like in the case of the back mural in the tomb from Ixcaquixtla or in scenes on the Yoalli Ehecatl and Tonalpouhqui screenfolds, the bolts of lightning are decorated with knotted bands, a convention that may be analogous to the diagonal bands rendered on the carved stone in the Friedenberg collection. The underlying metonymy of such ornaments remains unknown. On the other hand, the renderings of nose or lip plugs appended to the bolt of lightning shown in the carved stone could as well be graphic metaphors for drops of water (Sellen 2002a: 183). The fact that these sumptuary objects were sometimes made of jade and other green/blue stones also extends their semantic connotations with water and thus with something “precious”. The iconic renderings of a conch shells and a bivalve shell could be taken equally as well as metonyms for ‘water’.

Because of their implications in interpreting the imagery on the carved stone in the Friedenberg collection, it is worth commenting in more detail the representations from the Magliabechiano codex and the screenfold Tonindeye shown in Figure 7.11. The ritual festival illustrated on page 91 of codex Magliabechiano (Boone 1983: facsimile page 79) shows an impersonator of the god of Rain (Tlaloc), who carries in his hands a bolt of lightning and a bundle of corncobs, while drops of rain rendered as decorated green beads (chalchihuites) fall behind him. In the background is the representation of a temple with the blood of human

immolation running down the steps of the staircase. A female impersonator of Ciuacoatl with an offering of maize above her appears to the right of this scene (not shown in Figure 7.11). No Spanish gloss annotates the drawing on page 91 of the codex, but as will become evident below, the scene may refer to the festival of Atemoztle. The codex has another illustration on page 44 that shows a Tlaloc impersonator seated over a box (allusion to an ancestor like in tomb 104 from Monte Albán?). The personage wears a yellow disk-like pendant like the pectoral of the rainmaker painted in the tomb from Ixcaquixtla. Drops of water are shown as if falling, and the impersonator holds a decorated staff. The Spanish gloss that accompanies this scene states:

> This feast they called Atemoztli, which means falling of water, because during it they asked their god for water in order to begin sowing the corn. The demon who was feasted during it was called Tlaloc, which means with earth, because his influence was in that which was born in the earth. This feast was held mainly by the chiefs and lords. And these lords sacrificed slaves in the hills and offered feathers. And in the water they drowned children in the place that their god might give them water (Boone 1983 (I): 198-199).

The scene painted on page 5 of screenfold Tonindeye shows, in a descending posture, an ancestor who impersonates the god of Rain (Dzahui), brandishing in one hand a bolt of lightning and with the other pouring water from a jar to bathe an individual named 8 Wind who wears an eagle helmet. In their commentary to this scene, Anders et al (1992: 97, note 22) add that "to be hit by a bolt of lightning means to have been chosen to serve as a priest dedicated to the cult of rain, o to be entrusted as a curer with special powers to heal ailments of the '*tona*' (animal companion). One can then argue that the scenes in screenfold Tonindeye and on the carved stone in the Friedenberg collection are analogous, and that the Rain god impersonator in the stone is shown in the act of handing the bolt of lightning to Lord 3Ñ, implying the transference—perhaps from father to son-- of the office of rainmaker.[105]

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[105] The office of rainmakers in Mesoamerica seems to have entailed further specialization. In 'Advertencias a los Confesores de Indias', written in the Basin of Mexico ca. 1600, fray Juan Baptista describes, under the heading of 'idolatrous superstitions', the role of "other sorcerers named *teciuhtlazque* who conjure clouds when these want to hit like stone so that hail is rendered ineffective. They are also called *nanahualtin*" (Garibay 1996: 152) (translated by the author).

It may be noted that in the graphic representations illustrated in Figures 7.11 and 7.12, the size of the bolts of lightning in relation to the human figures is larger. In contrast, the known representations of lightning in the material culture from several parts of Mesoamerica are miniaturized versions (Figure 7.13). The use of color in some graphic representations and the type of materials from which the miniature forms were made reinforce or amplify the already discussed significations. Beyer (1965: 52) had already established the connotations of the blue and yellow colors—pigments with which lightning is sometimes painted in polychrome murals or codices—as indexical to water and fire respectively.[106] In other instances lightning is painted black, most likely to denote obsidian.[107] The miniature serpent-bolts from Teotihuacan illustrated in Figure 7.13 are made precisely of obsidian, a material imbued in native perceptions with the 'quality of luminosity' (Saunders 2001: 232), and one of the examples found in one of the offerings associated to the Main Temple from Mexico-Tenochtitlan was manufactured from travertine, a stone that originates from water calcareous depositions.[108] Notable is the similarity, despite the temporal and geographic differences, between the miniature version of a lightning bolt from another offering in the Main Temple of Mexico-Tenochtitlan illustrated in the same figure (upper right, left item) and the representation of bolts of lightning in the Cociyo busts from Lambityeco (see Figure 7.9). Along the length of the example from Tenochtitlan were glued pyrite incrustations, and their circular shape resemble the small disks that decorate the bolts of lightning branded by the Cociyo impersonators at Lambityeco.

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[106] Of the examples illustrated in Figures 7.11 and 7.12, the serpent-lightning on the north jamb in building A from Cacaxtla is painted blue (as well as the associated volutes), and the 'Reed' sign that signals 'Dart' in the central interior curvature is yellow. In the scenes from screenfolds Tonindeye and Tonalpouhqui, the bolts of lightning are yellow, although in the later case the tone is darker. In the scene from codex Magliabechiano the rendering of lightning is blue in color.

[107] That is the case of the bolts of lightning held by the rainmaker painted in the back wall of tomb 2004-1 from Ixcaquixtla. The spiked triangular motifs in this mural, which denote the glow of lightning, are painted white with sets of small parallel lines in a yellow-orange color.

[108] Other serpent-bolts found in offerings from the Main Temple at Mexico Tenochtitlan, measuring no more than 15 cm in length, were manufactured from wood, flint, and green marble (López Luján, personal communication, March 2005).

The Carved Block as Part of a Larger Composition

Despite the elaborate paraphernalia worn by the impersonator of the Rain god rendered in the carved stone in the Friedenberg collection, his name is seemingly not given. Such a detail suggests that the block was part of a larger composition. If so, the identity of the personage would have been carved on an adjacent block. As illustrated by the examples in Figure 7.14, there is ample evidence for the existence of friezes with genealogical records assembled by conjoining in mosaic-like fashion several constitutive slabs.

To hypothesize the configuration of the structure that supported the narrative program of which the carved block in the Friedenberg collection may have been part of, I will comment in detail the examples illustrated in Figure 7.14. While some proveniences are unknown, they all seem to be approximately coeval with the carved block in the Friedenberg collection. Examples 3 and 4 suggest that this type of ensembles combined an axial representation in frontal view (a visual allusion in the genealogical records to an apical ancestor) flanked on both sides by human figures or zoomorphic substitutions—full bodied or abbreviated-- in prone, profiled position, or simply by the calendrical names of individuals. The profiled prone position of full-bodied human figures was a pan-Mesoamerican graphic recourse used to represent ancestors. Their lateral placement in relation to the frontal depiction of apical founders implies that they represent descendants from the paramount ancestor or more recent ancestors in a given lineage.

The first example in Figure 7.14, attributed to a locality in the district of Zimatlan, was part of a frieze composed of two limestone blocks that include, to the right, a personage with attributes of glyph X followed behind by his calendrical name 5 Reed (5D), and to the left, an impersonator of the Rain god whose calendrical name must have been rendered behind, in an adjacent block.

The second example illustrated in the same figure, also attributed to a locality in the district of Zimatlan, is a single plaque of fired clay with the partial representation of a woman in prone position and an extended arm identified by her calendrical name 6 Earthquake (6E). She is shown with a nose or lip plug, wearing--at the level of the neck--a knotted band that may allude through synecdoche to an incense pouch. The representation is framed by a “Hill” glyph.

The third example in Figure 7.14, attributed to Ejutla, formed a frieze constituted by several limestone blocks. Although not all the ensemble is available, the sequential arrangement of the three blocks on the left end generates the figure of a personage in prone position.[109] The figure is accompanied by the calendrical name 7 Earthquake (7 E) and by the personal name "Leg with anklet". If the prone position is modified and the personage is placed in standing position, the resulting figure resembles the individual carved on the right side of the carved stone in the Friedenberg collection, especially in regards to the incense bag and the headdress (Figure 7.15). The other personage in prone position on the right side of the composite frieze is clearly a woman whose calendrical name, carved on the now missing adjacent block to the right, included at least 2 dots. At the center of the composition was the representation of the apical ancestor, whose face and chin strap identifies him as 5 Lord (5X). Note that the representations of 7 Earthquake and 5 Lord have nose or lip plugs.

The fourth example illustrated in Figure 7.14, said to be from a site in the district of Zimatlan, formed a composite frieze with three plaques of fired clay. The lateral plaques show two personages whose zoomorphic representations denote their calendrical names: 3 Alligator to the left, and 2 Jaguar to the right. Several attributes associated with these personages indicate that they adjudge themselves the role of rainmaker (The face of 3 Alligator is that of Cociyo, including the bifid tongue, and he brandishes with the anterior extremities a bolt of lightning) and sacrificer (2 Jaguar voices the lexeme "Blood" and sports on top of the torso volutes that allude to water). The glyph in the central plaque of the frieze must be the calendrical name (6 Reed [6 Kappa]) of the apical ancestor. Viewing at the entire ensemble, the imagery in the three plaques appears framed by two "Hill" glyphs, the one in the central plaque being embedded within a larger one whose halves delimit the lateral plaques.

The fifth example illustrated in Figure 7.14, purportedly from a site in the Zimatlan district, may have repeated as many as four times in several contiguous limestone blocks the representation of the same male individual, a personage adorned with a nose or lip plug that in

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[109] These three blocks were published as separate pieces by Bernal and Méndez (1974: figs. 31-35), and by Boos (1966: 467-468).

block LGH-12679a is identified by the calendrical name 6U (behind his face) and by his personal name "Hand with awl" carved over his headband. The fact that the nominal glyph has behind it a hand pointing with the index finger in the opposite direction to the facing gaze of the personage suggests the presence of missing lateral carved blocks. The hypothetical orientation of the personage also implies the existence of central blocks now lost.

For the sixth and last example illustrated in Figure 7.14 there are only five blocks of pink volcanic tuff, and their hypothetical order includes four women wearing a blouse and long skirt who do not appear to be identified by their calendrical names. They all have the mask of Cociyo that includes a bifid tongue. While four of the blocks do not have provenience, the fifth one is in the Community Museum in San Pablo Huitzo, implying the nearby origin of the carved stones. It may be that, originally, the program of which these blocks formed part was analogous to the tableau of ceramic effigy vessels found under temple 35 built on top of Platform 1 at San José Mogote (Figure 7.16),[110] an arrangement that renders an ancestor who impersonates the Rain god accompanied by 4 attendant women. As I have proposed elsewhere (Urcid 2003c), this tableau—like the one found in tomb 104 from Monte Albán--, recreates the story of how the Rain god and the lesser attendants from the four quarters of the world free maize from the mountain of sustenance in order to feed humanity with it.

The evidence provided by the so-called 'maquetas' allows proposing a hypothetical architectural context of friezes with composite genealogical records, including the carved stone in the Friedenberg collection. Although the 'maquetas' have been invariably interpreted as miniature stone versions of temples (Caso 1969: 40, Hartung 1977, Marcus and Flannery 1996: 222-223; Whittaker and Dhinaut 1999: 94), there are reasons to assume that instead they are small, portable representations of mausoleums or of the facades of tombs. Some of these miniature stone versions appear to be two-dimensional renditions of quadripartite structures, like the hypothesized commemorative structure commissioned by the ruler of Monte Albán 5 Jaguar (see Figure 2.4-1). Such inference permits accounting for 17 fired clay plaques, seemingly originating from Santa Inés Yatzechi, in the Zimatlan Valley, that evidently formed a single

[110] This tableau is very ancient, dating approximately to 50 BCE (Marcus and Flannery 1994: 67).

ensemble. Today, some of its constituent parts, with traces of a thin stucco cover, are in the City Art Museum of Saint Louis and in the Leigh collection of the former Museo Frissell in Mitla (Figures 7.17 and 7.18) (see also Boos and Shaplin 1969). Not all the genealogical program is available, but it appears that the commemorative structure rendered an apical ancestor named 1J (1 Maize) in the upper entablatures above the four entrances. Its frontal representation shows this individual as impersonating the Rain god, in one instance flanked by outward facing bird heads, and in another by inward facing jaguar heads. The upper lateral entablatures make reference to two couples, each one rendered twice. These couples are named Lady 5 Earthquake (5E) and Lord 7 Reed (7 Kappa), and Lady 11 Lightning (11M) and Lord 7 Alligator (7V). All the upper friezes are framed by "Hill" glyphs marked in the upper corners with what seem to be deer heads facing outward. The occurrence of another plaque that renders, at a slightly larger scale, Lord 7 Reed (although the numeral bar is missing), suggests that the two couples of the genealogy were depicted again in four of the eight basal entablatures. The lower tiles were seemingly not framed by "Hill" glyphs.

Other stone miniature versions of commemorative structures include triads of calendrical names or show above the entrance the frontal, prone, representation of an apical ancestor.[111] These features also imply genealogical records. While it is known that actual mausoleums were built directly above some tombs, like the one with entablatures decorated with a genealogy erected above tomb 6 from Lambityeco (see Figure 3.8), there is evidence that commemorative structures with genealogical records were also built at the center of plazas delimited by monumental buildings (see Figures 2.4-1 and 7.19, lower right),[112] suggesting that, as in

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[111] The example of a miniature stone mausoleum shown in Figures 7.17 (upper left) and 7.19 (upper left) (see also Figure 2.3, 9th figure from the bottom) shows an ancestor holding a shell, a symbol that, as discuss in the context of the slab MNA-6-5059, seemingly alludes to "descent".

[112] It should be noted that the apical ancestor wearing a jaguar headdress and named 1 Eye in the miniature version of the commemorative structure shown in Figures 7.16 and 7.18 (upper left) has been taken as one of the jaguar Lords from Monte Albán (see Figure 2.3). The argumentation supporting the hypothetical reconstruction and architectural context of the structure illustrated on the lower right side of Figure 7.18 appears in Urcid 1995a.

Teotihuacan and the Maya area, some Zapotec pyramids had a funerary commemorative function even if tombs are not directly associated to them. An implication of such reasoning is that the 'maquetas' sporting genealogies or the single representation of an apical ancestor are, in a sense, analogous to the portable genealogical slabs.

Considering the size, form, and graphic composition of the carved stone in the Friedenberg collection, it is possible that it may have formed part of a composite frieze that decorated the entablature of a domestic mausoleum built over a tomb, or of a quadripartite structure like the ones illustrated in Figures 7.17, 7.18 and 7.19. If the rest of the frieze(s) were to surface eventually, it may be possible to further consider the content of the carved block in the Friedenberg collection within a broader historiographic perspective.

Part IV- DISCUSSION

The preceding analyses disclosed one of the major societal uses of Zapotec writing between the 5th and 9th centuries after the Common Era. Whether in monumental or domestic contexts, a main concern was the reckoning of genealogies to assert political power and the privileged economic position of elites. The contextual approach, and in particular the concept of syntagmatics, which stresses semantic values generated by the spatial relation between signs, seemingly revealed a number of rules in Zapotec visual narratives, particularly in the way in which genealogical records are to be read. Among these rules is the apparent rendering of apical ancestors always in the axial dimension of tombs or commemorative structures, either as the largest glyphs placed at the back of crypts or as busts/calendrical names protruding from the entryways. Both tomb 104 from Monte Albán and tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana include renderings of elders to the left of the crypts' axis, while younger individuals are represented to the right of the axis. This pattern has been interpreted respectively as the rendition of remote ancestor, closer to the apical founders, and as recent ancestors further removed from them, enabling the sequential unfolding of the genealogies. Although there is a wider range of variation in the structure and format of narrative programs associated to monumental and domestic contexts, the guidelines derived in this essay constitute a model that can help in the

exegesis of other known genealogical records (Urcid 2004).

The archaeological investigation of many Zapotec tombs in the last 100 years has made it evident that in the ancient cosmology the realm of the ancestors had a profound relevance in the social life of corporate groups, communities, and polities. In the semasiographic rendition of what evidently constituted a rich ritual life centered on commemorating and invoking ancestral figures, it becomes clear how the temporal and spatial dimensions of the living and the dead were intertwined. Mortuary rituals and the contexts where these were enacted, together with the associated scribal practices, constituted social practices and cultural arenas critical for the production and reproduction of traditions that strove at contesting, fomenting, and perpetuating a social memory. It was through these rituals, the form of treating the dead, and the display of inscribed genealogies that social agents negotiated individual and corporate interests. The commemoration of ancestors played an important role in the formation of group identities and in the transference from one generation to the next of properties, social roles, and other prerogatives and obligations.

An integral analysis of tombs built and used between the Pitao and Xoo phases (400-800 ACE) has allowed explaining the dynamic processes that led to their formation. Equally important are the social and ideological implications that can be derived from the contextual analysis of the crypts. At a macro-social level it becomes evident that during those centuries, Zapotec society was highly differentiated and articulated by means of a network of corporate groups that maintain differential access to land and certain offices. In order for such groups with greater political and economic power to secure in perpetuity the privileged usufruct of resources, it became necessary to preserve genealogical records so as to legitimate origins from powerful apical ancestors, whom in turn proclaimed to have had the ability to mediate between the human and the divine realms.

There is still much to understand—at a micro-social level—about the kinship system (including rules of descent, residence, and marriage) that regulated the social life of corporate groups. Critical to define membership and to maintain control of property and estates—particularly land and the associated labor force--, was to disambiguate the relation of ego with a prestigious lineage founder. Thus, writing in elite domestic contexts was used, among other

things, to stress genealogical records necessary to validate the social links and assert membership in high-ranking ramages. Although some of these reckonings apparently emphasize unilineal descent, particularly through the male line (as in the case of tomb 104 or the slab MNA-6-6059), other genealogies emphasize the female line (like in the stela of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana).[113] One of the advantages of cognatic affiliation, whereby ego could trace descent through either the maternal or the paternal lines, is the flexibility that it confers regarding the membership in corporate groups, especially in cases of demographic pressure when access to land tenure and estates may have been increasingly constrained. If a corporate group grew too much in relation to their properties and resources, membership through cognatic affiliation could have been redistributed to other groups and their estates (Fox 1983: 153). In this context it is interesting to note that, according to current data, the epigraphic emphasis on genealogical records in elite domestic contexts began slightly before the onset of the Pitao phase, when at the regional level there was considerable population growth while at the same time new occupations avoided settling on the more fertile lands (Kowalewski 1982: 173-176, Kowalewski et al. 1989: 212-213).

It has been argued that systems of lineal descent (matri- o patrilineal), principles of membership (by residence or affiliation), forms of marriage (hypogamy or hypergamy),[114] affinal strategies (endogamous or exogamous), and modes for transferring rights and obligations (through inheritance or appointment) generate excluding organizational tendencies (Lévi-Strauss 1982). The fact that Zapotec genealogical records between the 5th and 9th centuries ACE evince a system of cognatic affiliation like the one still prevailing during the early colonial period suggest that ancient Zapotec society must have been structured in a way in which rules in apparent opposition operated simultaneously, which in turn implies the existence of "houses", understanding this concept not as the physical architectural manifestation of residential groups but as flexible corporate organizations with jural validation (Figure 8.1) (Lévi-Strauss 1982: 172-187; see also Gillespie 2000 and Chance

[113] For other examples of the tracing of descent through the female line see Urcid, Winter, and Matadamas 1994 and Urcid 2003b.

[114] Hypogamy refers to the marriage of a high-ranking female with a lower-ranking male, and hypergamy refers to the marriage of a high-ranking male with a lower-ranking female.

2000). The more nuance hierarchical distinction between "big houses" and "lord houses" described by Chance (2000; see also Houston and McAnany 2003: 36-37) cannot presently be addressed because of paucity of data on Zapotec royal and noble palaces.[115]

Four of the cases presented here yielded genealogical records that vary in their historical depth. Such differences are seemingly related to the different moments in the cycles of the ramages when the programs were commissioned, their possible segmentation, and perhaps even factionalism, or the claimed continuous link with more remote ancestors whose remains may not have been necessarily buried in the tombs. One such case, set in a monumental context at Monte Albán, included but two generations (the narrative program commissioned by Lord 5 Jaguar). Although the narrative program that legitimized the paramount position of Lord 13 Night must have been built soon after, it is unclear if the succession involved the same ramage or represents a case of contestation and usurpation of power. The record in tomb 104 from Monte Albán makes reference to six generations, and those in tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana and the portable slab MNA-6-6059 register at least 16 and 9 generations. The longest genealogy evinces shifts through time in the apical ancestors to which subsequent generations anchored their descent, a feature probably related to the diachronic segmentation of the ramage. A broader consideration of the genealogical record in tomb 104, taking into account the epigraphic evidence from the tombs in the neighboring house built in terrace 18, also indicates shifts in the anchoring to apical ancestors that may reflect not only the segmentation of a ramage and the concomitant establishment of a nearby new residence but the fission of a corporate group and the contestation of privileges.

Two of the cases yielded a sequence of rulers (Monte Albán) and a royal dynasty (Cerro de la Campana) whose male members commissioned their portrayal as jaguar lords. From the perspective of the settlement system, Cerro de la Campana appears to have been subject to

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[115] Besides the excavated palaces from Lambityeco (Lind 2001) and the scanty probing on terraces 18, 20, and the house of tomb 105 at Monte Albán (Caso 1938), few other palaces are known. A royal palace from El Palenque near San Martín Tilcajete was built and used during the Pe phase (300-100 BCE), predating the temporal span under consideration. In addition, it lacks mortuary features (Spencer and Redmond 2004). Other royal palaces from Yagul and Mitla date to the Chila phase (1250-1500), postdating the temporal span under consideration. Although these palaces have associated tombs, they

Monte Albán throughout the historical trajectory of both central places, yet none of the high-ranking tombs so far known from Monte Albán rivals in grandeur (as measured by the mobilization of labor and resources) the royal tomb from Cerro de la Campana. To what extent could the paramount rulers from both settlements be related? To what extent do the jaguar lords from Cerro de la Campana represent a contending dynastic faction striving for autonomy and local power? We can ascertain that the jaguar lord (3 Knot), who was claimed to have been captured by Lord 13 Night from Monte Albán, is not included in the dynastic sequence recorded in tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana, but eliciting any relation is hampered by the fact that the enthronement of Lord 13 Night may have slightly predated the construction of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana. Yet, none of the names of the jaguar lords that held power in Monte Albán after the rule of 13 Night match any of the names of the jaguar lords in the dynastic sequence from tomb 5 at Cerro de la Campana.

In light of the evidence presented here, the 'changing patterns of stone monuments after the fall of Monte Albán between A.D. 600 and 900' argued by Marcus (1983d) needs to be reevaluated since it takes the limited view of the media of presentation (stone), rather than content. Her argument is that, through time, there was a shift from militaristic themes rendered in large monuments to genealogical reckonings carved in small stones. We now know that such records set were set in monumental contexts at least since the 5th century ACE (the commemorative structure commissioned by Lord 5 Jaguar of Monte Albán), perhaps even meshing them with militaristic themes (the program ordered by Lord 13 Night), and that large stelae emphasizing genealogical links were set in monumental contexts slightly before the political demise of Monte Albán (Urcid n.d.b; Urcid, Winter and Matadamas 1994). Thus, the indirect allusion to marriage alliances in some of these records was most likely one of the strategies of power building pursued by the royal elites with both internal and external corporate groups well before and not just after their abandonment of Monte Albán. In addition, at least one known inscription on a small portable object that apparently postdates the elite abandonment of Monte Albán seems to allude to a conquest and contains a genealogical record (see Urcid 2003a).

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were devoid of epigraphy or semasiography (Bernal and Gamio 1974).

It is also evident that genealogical records began being painted in tomb murals at least some 400 years before the paramount and other high-ranking corporate groups from Monte Albán saw their fortunes change, and that the seeming proliferation of genealogical records fixed in tombs (particularly in jambs, lintels, and actual mausoleums) or rendered in portable slabs coincides to a large extent with the political apogee of Monte Albán and not after. Assuming that the presumed shift in media of presentation (from painting of tombs to carving of portable objects) is not an illusion of archaeological sampling bias, the emphasis on portability strongly suggests that access to genealogical records outside underground and most often sealed mortuary facilities became increasingly important in power contestations and estate litigations and that, consequently, portable slabs and miniature renditions of mausoleums and tomb facades were not intended originally to furnish tombs, although eventually some of them—in some cases already broken--ended up being placed in such contexts. Finally, as I have argued here and elsewhere (Urcid 1995b, 1999b, 2003b, Urcid and Winter 1989) the theme of portable slabs is not focused exclusively on marriage alliances, but as well in tracing descent and validating the trans-generational transfer of corporate assets and privileges.

The visual record of genealogical programs and tableaus of ceramic effigy vessels indicate a continuous effort to commensurate human needs with divine favors. The narratives painted inside the tombs or rendered in mausoleums present reckonings of descent within an ideological framework that bespeak of the preoccupation of an agrarian society for ensuring land productivity and thus the successful reproduction of the key social units. A calendar derived from systematic astronomical observations allowed coordinating agricultural work, and was integrated with a mantic system to prognosticate and intercede on meteorological phenomena. To ensure success in agricultural production, critical to attain the economic and biological viability of corporate groups, required the creation of several offices with specialized knowledge. One of these offices, held by the heads of high-ranking corporate groups, entailed the ability to conjure the ancestors, personifying the Rain god to prognosticate rainfall, and control lightning and winds in order to attract or repel them. The evidence provided by the painted murals of tomb 104 from Monte Albán and the carved stone in the Friedenberg collection allude to such

paramount social role whose enactors were entrusted with divine mediation through the conjuring of ancestors. The custody of heirloom boxes with the necessary paraphernalia to conduct rituals of invocation figures prominently in the painted and inscribed record of tomb 104 from Monte Albán, recording the presentation of offerings to ancestors that included birds for sacrifice, balls of rubber, incense bags, and small anthropomorphic stone trinkets.

In addition, the office of rainmaker and sacrificer was conflated with secular roles like administration and warfare. Thus, ritual functions were more generalized rather than being the exclusive domain of a professional priestly organization. Additional specialties aimed at the production of diverse technologies of communication supported the interests of noble and royal houses, particularly high-ranking ones (Figure 8.2). Among these specialties were those of excellent craftsmen that inscribed the genealogical records on stone or painted them in diverse media, of consummated potters that manufactured effigy vessels according to certain specifications that included generic representations individualized by the calendrical names of the patrons who commissioned them, and of architects who designed the physical backdrops (tombs and mausoleums) necessary to display genealogies. The built environment was marked, in both monumental and domestic contexts, with small but impressive commemorative constructions lavishly inscribed with dynastic reckonings, sometime incorporating more elaborate visual narratives than the simple enumeration of calendrical names and of their consanguine and affinal relations. Such visual displays played a key role in contesting rights and privileges. The production of effigy vessels was equally aimed at perpetuating or questioning the prevailing social order and in fomenting a collective memory. It is now evident that several of them were used to codify three-dimensionally social privileges and obligations. Eventually, many of these effigy vessels were deposited in the tombs or offered to consecrate the construction of large buildings, particularly of those that did not have a domestic function.

The close proximity of the palace housing tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana to a TPA and a ballcourt supports the contention that such a configuration of monumental buildings were the seats of political and economic power (Blanton 1978: 19-24; Winter 2001b: 295 and 2002: 79), specifically the places where the higher-ranking corporate groups resided and conducted administrative and ritual activities. The implicit allusion in the murals painted inside tomb 5 to

the enactment of human sacrifice (the Xipe Totec impersonators wearing flayed facial masks and ballplayers carrying curated heads) and the representation of individuals with military regalia, imply that the members of the royal house centered there had the prerogative to engage in warfare, take captives, play the ballgame, and offer human immolations as part of their preeminent role as rainmakers. The pervasive allusions in the mortuary programs of tomb 104 from Monte Albán and tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana to embodiments of earth, maize, lightning, and rain, allow establishing a link between ancestors, land tenure, and the continuity of noble and royal houses. It is also evident that the highest-ranking ramages deployed a legitimating ideology in which ancestors and their descendants personified as well the nine and thirteen divine embodiments intimately associated with the sacred calendar including, among others, Pitáo Cozáana, Cociyo, Pitáo Cozobi, and 'Xicani'.[116]

Conclusion

Writing in ancient Oaxaca was a technology that allowed the physical instantiation of knowledge (astronomical, calendrical, and mantic) crucial in the process of elite identity formation. Itself another component of specialized knowledge, writing was pervasively deployed as a strategy in power building and contestation, with the ultimate goal of inscribing through generations a collective memory.

Considering the long-term trajectory in the uses of the script, it appears that both corporate and network strategies for building power (Blanton et al. 1996) were actively deployed in tandem during the inception of writing in ancient Oaxaca. The masking of exclusionary interests through corporate interests in monumental settings that emphasize 'cosmic renewal', is evinced by individuating the calendrical name of prisoners without identifying the captor(s) (as in the case of Monument 3 from San José Mogote), by identifying some members of warrior sodalities and sacrificial victims by their personal names yet singling at the same time a few

[116] Despite the fact that the graphic attributes that distinguish these deity complexes have been amply discussed in the literature (Caso and Bernal 1952; Sellen 2002a, 2002b; Urcid 1992a, 2001), some scholars continue to fail in distinguishing them, confusing for instance tenoned heads in ballcourts rendering representations of 'Xicani' with those of Cociyo (Marcus 2002: 105-109).

paramount individuals by their calendrical names (the narrative program in Building L-sub from Monte Albán), or by representing and identifying by its calendrical name a ruler while, if at all, naming with the personal appellative a vanquished opponent (narrative program in Building A from Dainzu). Corporate strategies during the Late Formative appear to be reflected as well by the existence in several settlements of communal burial grounds.

By at least the 5th century ACE, the ruling elites from Monte Albán and subject central places fully unmasked their exclusionary interests. Paramount and secondary rulers commissioned inscribed monuments glorifying specific individuals, and burial practices across societal gradients shifted to placing interments in household contexts as a means of legitimating claims to land and other assets. Royal and noble houses promoted the production of written genealogical records to define membership in those groups and ensure their economic and political continuation. Such genealogical records were initially set in underground mortuary facilities within domestic contexts, although royal elites set them also in monumental contexts to enhance their visibility. These practices were carried on despite sustained interactions with Teotihuacan, whose leaders operated with an underlying ethos based on strong corporate strategies of power building and consolidation. By 600 ACE, when interactions with Teotihuacan dwindled, demographic growth, segmentation of corporate groups, and the concomitant pressure on available land seemingly led to increased contestations for landed estates and political offices. These trends promoted the production of genealogical records on portable items and the construction of actual mausoleums in domestic and monumental contexts, allowing greater visibility of their content. Supporting these practices were scribes, potters, and architects who produced a wide array of material culture under commission so as to imbue in the social memory genealogical records and the remembrance of prestigious ancestors.

The conjunctive analysis and exegesis of seemingly disparate lines of evidence (the human-built environment, mortuary practices, effigy vessels, and inscriptions with known or unknown broader contexts) has provided insights on certain aspects of the ancient political economy, particularly the links between social organization, ideology, and diverse technologies of communication. While the emphasis of this interpretative exegesis has been both sociological and ideological, future studies aimed at better understanding other cognitive aspects of the

ancient worldview, especially regarding eschatological principles, appears to be a promising line of research. The practice of sacrificing dogs implies notions about a final destiny of the 'soul' in the underworld. The representation in many painted murals of bands with scrolls (like those in tombs 112 and 103 from Monte Albán, and tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana) may allude to the incorporeal realm of the Rain god, and the offering of birds in elite tombs perhaps constituted a materialization of conceptions about immortality and resurrection in the paradise of the sun. The pervasive representations of bundles of leafs are seemingly related to moral principles, implying in turn elaborate codes of transgressions and redemption through ritual observances.

An important feature of the Zapotec 'cultural code' that became evident throughout the exegesis of inscriptions in monumental and domestic contexts is the quadripartite conception of time and space. This enduring normative structure of world centering evidently pervaded all social practices, mundane and special purpose. The fact that house layouts replicate it imply that such a norm became ingrained in individuals through the habits of daily live, extending it to ritual practices of all sorts, from the preparation of cornfields, to mortuary practices and their physical staging (tomb layout and distribution of niches, or architectural configuration of mausoleums), to reiterations of origins with tableaus of effigy vessels, to rituals of enthronement.

Zapotec writing indeed remains phonetically undeciphered, and many vexing problems in the case studies discussed here remain to be resolved. But broader encoded meanings in the content of inscriptions and the societal uses of writing evinced that, despite a regional manifestation unique to the ancient Zapotec culture, the inferred social, ideological, and technological configurations were part of a pan-Mesoamerican worldview with deeper historical roots.

Acknowledgements

The Social Science Research Council supported fieldwork in Oaxaca between 1985 and 1987, when a large body of data on inscribed monuments was assembled. The Latin American Studies Program at Brandeis University, through the Jane's Grant, has supported continuously since 2000 the search for inscribed monuments in different parts of southwestern Mesoamerica. Special thanks to Alejandro González, Art Joyce, Ana María Alonso, Teresa Morales Lerch, Michel Oudijk, John Pohl, Iván Rivera, Bas van Doesburg, and Marc Winter for leading me in search of undocumented inscribed monuments or sharing photos of unpublished monuments. The osteological analysis of the Lambityeco burials between 1980 and 1983 would not have been possible if not for the indefatigable support of John Paddock (†). Michael Lind shared with me his data on the household units from Lambityeco and made me aware that the architectural context of the burials was an essential step to understand Zapotec mortuary practices. Bonnie Hole conducted the Chi-square analysis of the osseous data from the Lambityeco tombs. I extend a special acknowledgement to Ron van Meer not only for making me aware of the inquisition documents from Teitipac but also for many stimulating conversations in remotes parts of Oaxaca that have opened new ways in my research. Similar synergies in the urban context of Mexico City involved my colleague Adam Sellen, an expert in Zapotec effigy vessels. A note of appreciation goes to Leonardo López Luján and Guilhem Olivier for their incisive comments, which have obliged me to look beyond the archaeological and ethnohistoric data of Oaxaca. This essay is dedicated to my wife Elbis Domínguez Covarrubias. Her understanding and support in the face of adversities have been unwavering.

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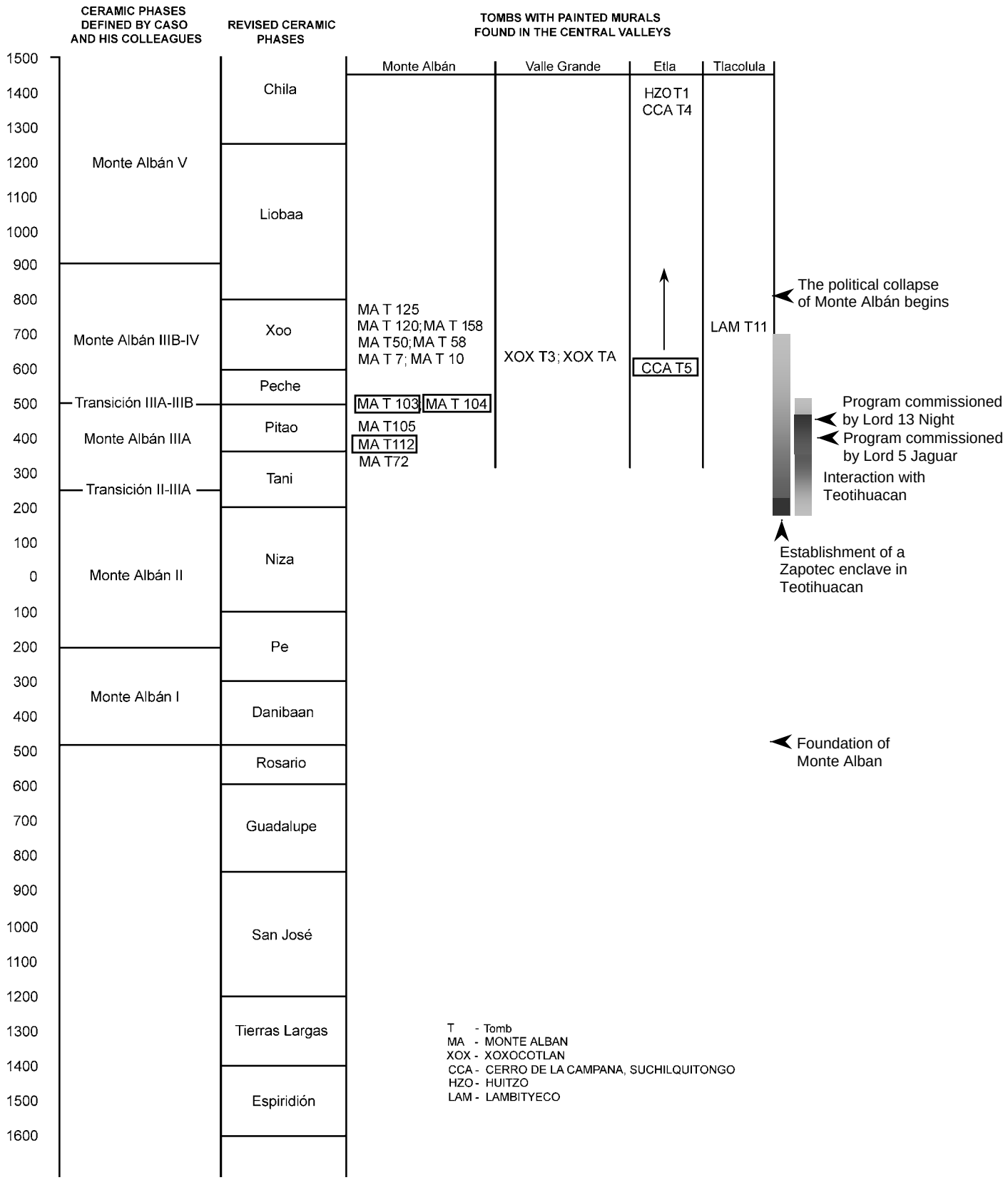

Table 1.1- Names of ceramic phases used in the present work, anchoring of key events discussed in the text, and chronological position of tombs with painted murals (the crypts analyzed or mentioned here are shown within rectangles).

New Name	Meaning	Previous Name(s)
Tonindeye	Lineage story	Zouche/Nuttall
Iya Cochi	Lord 3 Wind	Becker II
Yoalli Ehecatl	Night and Wind	Borgia
Tonalpouhqui	Book of the diviner	Vaticanus 3773 [B]
Tezcatlipoca	Book of the smoking mirror	Fejérváry Mayer
Tutepetongo	Name of a kingdom	Porfirio Díaz
Tepeucila	Name of a founding place	Fernández Leal
Cihuacoatl	Woman-Serpent	Borbonicus

Table 2.1- Equivalences between the names of pre-Hispanic and early colonial screenfolds used in this study and their non-native names (after Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 2004, and based on van Doesburg 2001).

13	E	latest annual date (recorded in SP-1 and SP-7)	60	3
12	N			
11	G			
10	M	ninth annual date (recorded in SP-3)	57	12
9	E			
8	N			
7	G			
6	M			
5	E			
4	N			
3	G			
2	M			
1	E			
13	N			
12	G			
11	M	eighth annual date (recorded in SP-3 as inverted date)	45	7
10	E			
9	N			
8	G			
7	M			
6	E			
5	N			
4	G	seventh annual date* (recorded in SP-5)	38	12
3	M			
2	E			
1	N			
13	G			
12	M			
11	E			
10	N			
9	G			
8	M			
7	E			
6	N			
5	G	sixth annual date (recorded in SP-5 as inverted date)	26	4
4	M			
3	E			
2	N			
1	G	fifth annual date (recorded in SP-6b)	22	4
13	M			
12	E			
11	N			
10	G	fourth annual date (recorded in SP-6a)	18	2
9	M			
8	E	third annual date (recorded in SP-1)	16	8
7	N			
6	G			
5	M			
4	E			
3	N			
2	G			
1	M			
13	E	second annual date recorded in SP-2	8	8
12	N			
11	G			
10	M			
9	E			
8	N			
7	G			
6	M			
5	E	earliest annual date (recorded in SP-1)	0	0

* reconstructed date

Table 2.2- Unfolding of the annual dates in the second program on the monoliths in the corners of the South Platform at Monte Albán.

Table 3.1- Skeletal Inventory from the tombs at Lambityeco and Chi-square analysis.

	SKU	MAN	HUM	ULN	RAD	CAR	MCAR	H-PHAL	FEM	TIB	FIB	TAR	MTAR	F-PHAL
Tomb 2 (NMI = 7)														
Expected	7	7	14	14	14	112	70	196	14	14	14	98	70	196
Presente	6	7	10	10	9	21	32	40	12	11	7	59	52	52
Ausente	1	0	4	4	5	91	38	156	2	3	7	39	18	144
Tomb 3 (NMI = 5)														
Expected	5	5	10	10	10	80	50	140	10	10	10	70	50	140
Present	5	4	10	9	10	52	43	92	8	7	8	63	47	57
Absent	0	1	0	1	0	28	7	48	2	3	2	7	3	83
Tomb 6 (NMI = 6)														
Expected	6	6	12	12	12	96	60	168	12	12	12	84	60	168
Present	4	2	5	4	4	24	33	48	3	4	4	51	47	57
Absent	2	4	7	8	8	72	27	120	9	8	8	33	13	111
Tomb 8 (NMI = 5)														
Expected	5	5	10	10	10	80	50	140	10	10	10	70	50	140
Present	3	3	7	4	9	26	27	58	7	7	9	53	38	67
Absent	2	2	3	6	1	54	23	82	3	3	1	17	12	73
Tomb 9 (NMI = 7)														
Expected	7	7	14	14	14	112	70	196	14	14	14	98	70	196
Present	4	4	8	6	6	29	23	58	4	2	3	39	23	61
Absent	3	3	6	8	8	83	47	138	10	12	11	59	47	135
Tomb 10 (NMI = 4)														
Expected	4	4	8	8	8	64	40	112	8	8	8	56	40	112
Present	2	1	7	3	3	3	4	9	4	2	2	13	10	8
Absent	2	3	1	5	5	61	36	103	4	6	6	43	30	104
Tomb 12 (NMI = 3)														
Expected	3	3	6	6	6	48	30	84	6	6	6	42	30	84
Present	2	2	6	3	6	10	14	20	3	2	3	18	13	32
Absent	1	1	0	3	0	38	16	64	3	4	3	24	17	52
Totals														
Expected	37	37	74	74	74	592	370	1036	74	74	74	518	370	1036
Present	26	23	53	39	47	165	176	325	41	35	36	296	230	334
Absent	11	14	21	35	27	427	194	711	33	39	38	222	140	702
All tombs except no. 6														
Expected	31	31	62	62	62	496	310	868	62	62	62	434	310	868
Present	22	21	48	35	43	141	143	277	38	31	32	245	183	277
Absent	9	10	14	27	19	355	167	591	24	31	30	189	127	591

Table 3.1- Skeletal Inventory from the tombs at Lambityeco and Chi-square analysis (cont.)

All tombs except no. 6														
Exp - Pres	21.78378	19.27027027	44.40541	32.67568	39.37838	138.2432	147.4594595	272.2972972973	34.35135	29.324332	30.16216	248	192.7027027	279.8378378378
*	.0021461	.1552632576	.2909806	.1653366	.3330798	.0549734	.1348626853	.08121789283398	.3875433	.0957529	.1119830	.0362903	.4885372048	.0287785370845
Exp – Abs	9.216216	11.72972973	17.59459	29.32432	22.62162	357.7568	162.5405405	595.7027027027	27.64865	32.67568	31.83784	186	117.2972973	588.1621621622
*	.0050725	.2550753518	.7343795	.1842322	.5798056	.0212427	.1223496526	.371249158509	.4814932	.0859321	.1060891	.0483871	.8025968365	.0136923524020
Tomb 6														
Exp – Pres	4.216216	3.729729730	8.594595	6.324324	7.621622	26.75676	28.54054054	52.70270270270	6.648649	5.675676	5.837838	48	37.29729730	54.16216216216
*	.0110880	.8021934978	1.503400	.8542389	1.720912	.2840295	.6967905405	.4196257796258	2.002307	.4947233	.5785786	1875000	2.524108892	.1486891082699
Exp – Abs	1.783784	2.270270270	3.405405	5.675676	4.378378	69.24324	31.45945946	115.2972972973	5.351351	6.324324	6.162162	36	22.70270270	113.8378378378
*	.0262080	1.317889318	3.794294	.9518662	2.995662	.1097538	.6321398718	.1918120652298	2. 487715	.4439824	.5481271	.2500000	4.146750322	.0707438207438

(*) (Observed variables – expected variables) ^2/expected variables

Table 4.2- Inventory of objects associated to tomb 104 published by Caso and colleagues.

Id.	Ceramic form	Paste	Notes and references	Discrepancies	No. of pieces
A	Conical bowls	G35	CBA 1967, table XV		2
B	Tripod conical bowls	G35	CBA 1967, table XV		4
C	Bowl with cup in the center	G3	CBA 1967, table XV	In table XV, CBA (1967: 373) list three examples, but on page 371 they report seven. One example served as cover to a miniature tripod vase (see entry H)	3 or 7
D (no. 10)	Shallow conical bowl	G7	CBA 1967, fig. 300b		1
D	Shallow conical bowls	G35	CBA 1967, table XV		3
E (one of them is no. 55)	Spouted vases with spider supports	K14	CBA 1967, table XV and fig. 302		4
F	Miniature spouted vases without supports	K14	CBA 1967, table XV		8
G	Large tripod vases	G3	CBA 1967, table XV		3
H	Miniature tripod vases	K14	One had as cover a bowl with cup in the center		4
I (one of them is no. 40)	Globular ‘floreros’	G3	CBA 1967, table XV	In table XV, CBA (1967: 373) list two examples, but on page 369 imply the presence of only one (no. 40 in Figure 37)	1 or 2
J	Bowls with straight walls and a cover	G3	CBA 1967, table XV	In table XV, CBA (1967: 373) report 3 examples, but this ceramic form is not discussed or illustrated in the text.	0 or 3
K	Small spouted jar	G3	CBA 1967, table XV		1
	Small spouted jar	G3	Painted and with the glyph 9E. See Figure *B		1
L	Incense burners with handles	G35	CBA 1967, table XV		10
01	Effigy vessel	Ceramics	Southwest niche (no. 1). Caso		1

	representing a woman with braided hair, seated with hands across the chest		and Bernal 1952: fig. 438		
42	Effigy vessel representing a woman with corncob in her headdress, seated, with hands on knees.	Ceramics	Near the north jamb. Caso and Bernal 1952: fig. 215		1
03	Effigy vessel of a man with glyph C in corncob headdress, seated.	Ceramics	West niche (no. 3). Caso and Bernal 1952: fig. 217		1
02	Effigy vessel of a man with Cociyo mask and glyph C in corncob headdress, seated.	Ceramics	West niche (no. 2). Caso and Bernal 1952: fig. 43		1
Without number	Effigy vessel of man with mask and headdress of glyph Ñ, seated.	Ceramics	At the center of the entrance. See Figure **. Caso and Bernal 1952, fig. 168		1
Without number	Effigy vessel of man with corncob headdress.	Ceramics	At the center of the entrance. See Figure **. Caso and Bernal 1952: fig. 205		1
Without number	Effigy vessel of man with corncob headdress, seated	Ceramics	At the center of the entrance. See Figure **. Caso 1938: fig. 101		1
Without number	Effigy vessel of man with corncob headdress, seated	Ceramics	At the center of the entrance. See Figure **. Caso 1938: fig. 101		1
Without number	Effigy vessel of man with corncob headdress, seated	Ceramics	At the center of the entrance. See Figure **. Caso 1938: fig. 101		1

Without number	Effigy vessel of man with Xicani headdress, seated	Ceramics	Embedded in the facades entablature. Caso and Bernal 1952: fig. 72		1
40	Globular 'florero'	G3	CBA 1967, fig. 306c	See comment in entry I	-
41	Biconical 'florero'	G3	CBA 1967, tabla XV		1
01	Large jar	G3	CBA 1967, fig. 308. With red paint		1
44	Small vase with convex body		CBA 1967, fig. 304b	CBA (1967: 368) describe this type and illustrate an example (no. 44), but in table XV there is nothing under column 13.	1
37	Miniature jar with handles	K1	CBA 1967, fig. 309		1
82	Miniature jar without handles	Unfired clay	CBA 1967, fig. 315b		1
15	Cylinder	Unfired clay	CBA 1967, fig. 315c		1
76	Figurine of a dog	Unfired clay	CBA 1967, fig. 315a		1
13	Anthropomorphic figurine	Unfired clay	Seated personage with crossed legs. CBA 1967, fig. 314		1
12	Anthropomorphic figurine	Unfired clay	Standing personage with joint hands in front. CBA 1967, fig. 314		1
78	Anthropomorphic figurine	Unfired clay	Standing personage with joint hands in front. CBA 1967, fig. 314		1
77	Anthropomorphic figurine	Unfired clay	Standing personage with open arms. CBA 1967, fig. 314		1
79	Anthropomorphic figurine	Unfired clay	Standing personage with open arms. CBA 1967, fig. 314		1
14	Anthropomorphic figurine	Unfired clay	Seated personage with legs hanging and arms crossed. CBA 1967, fig. 314		1

Without number	Anthropomorphic figurine	Unfired clay	Seated personage with legs hanging and arms crossed. CBA 1967, fig. 314		1
a-j and l-x	Trinkets	Green stone	16 are anthropomorphic, full-bodied or just the head. Seven of them do not seem to be anthropomorphic. Caso 1965b, fig. 15		23
k	Trinket	Jadeite	Represents a face. Caso 1965b, fig. 15		1
TOTAL					93 or 101

5E → 6E → 1E

1 Xoo
13 Piya
12 China
11 Laa
10 Xoo
9 Piya
8 China
7 Laa
6 Xoo
5 Piya
4 China
3 Laa
2 Xoo
1 Piya
13 China
12 Laa
11 Xoo
10 Piya
9 China
8 Laa
7 Xoo
6 Piya
5 China
4 Laa
3 Xoo
2 Piya
1 China
13 Laa
12 Xoo
11 Piya
10 China
9 Laa
8 Xoo
7 Piya
6 China
5 Laa
4 Xoo
3 Piya
2 China
1 Laa
13 Xoo
12 Piya
11 China
10 Laa
9 Xoo
8 Piya
7 China
6 Laa
5 Xoo

5E → 1E → 6E

6 Xoo
5 Piya
4 China
3 Laa
2 Xoo
1 Piya
13 China
12 Laa
11 Xoo
10 Piya
9 China
8 Laa
7 Xoo
6 Piya
5 China
4 Laa
3 Xoo
2 Piya
1 China
13 Laa
12 Xoo
11 Piya
10 China
9 Laa
8 Xoo
7 Piya
6 China
5 Laa
4 Xoo
3 Piya
2 China
1 Laa
13 Xoo
12 Piya
11 China
10 Laa
9 Xoo
8 Piya
7 China
6 Laa
5 Xoo
4 Piya
3 China
2 Laa
1 Xoo
13 Piya
12 China
11 Laa
10 Xoo
9 Piya
8 China
7 Laa
6 Xoo
5 Piya
4 China
3 Laa
2 Xoo
1 Piya
13 China
12 Laa
11 Xoo
10 Piya
9 China
8 Laa
7 Xoo
6 Piya
5 China

1E → 5E → 6E

6 Xoo
5 Piya
4 China
3 Laa
2 Xoo
1 Piya
13 China
12 Laa
11 Xoo
10 Piya
9 China
8 Laa
7 Xoo
6 Piya
5 China
4 Laa
3 Xoo
2 Piya
1 China
13 Laa
12 Xoo
11 Piya
10 China
9 Laa
8 Xoo
7 Piya
6 China
5 Laa
4 Xoo
3 Piya
2 China
1 Laa
13 Xoo
12 Piya
11 China
10 Laa
9 Xoo
8 Piya
7 China
6 Laa
5 Xoo
4 Piya
3 China
2 Laa
1 Xoo

1E → 6E → 5E

5 Xoo
4 Piya
3 China
2 Laa
1 Xoo
13 Piya
12 China
11 Laa
10 Xoo
9 Piya
8 China
7 Laa
6 Xoo
5 Piya
4 China
3 Laa
2 Xoo
1 Piya
13 China
12 Laa
11 Xoo
10 Piya
9 China
8 Laa
7 Xoo
6 Piya
5 China
4 Laa
3 Xoo
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13 Laa
12 Xoo
11 Piya
10 China
9 Laa
8 Xoo
7 Piya
6 China
5 Laa
4 Xoo
3 Piya
2 China
1 Laa
13 Xoo
12 Piya
11 China
10 Laa
9 Xoo
8 Piya
7 China
6 Laa
5 Xoo
4 Piya
3 China
2 Laa
1 Xoo

6E → 5E → 1E

1 Xoo
13 Piya
12 China
11 Laa
10 Xoo
9 Piya
8 China
7 Laa
6 Xoo
5 Piya
4 China
3 Laa
2 Xoo
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2 Laa
1 Xoo
13 Piya
12 China
11 Laa
10 Xoo
9 Piya
8 China
7 Laa
6 Xoo

6E → 1E → 5E

5 Xoo
4 Piya
3 China
2 Laa
1 Xoo
13 Piya
12 China
11 Laa
10 Xoo
9 Piya
8 China
7 Laa
6 Xoo

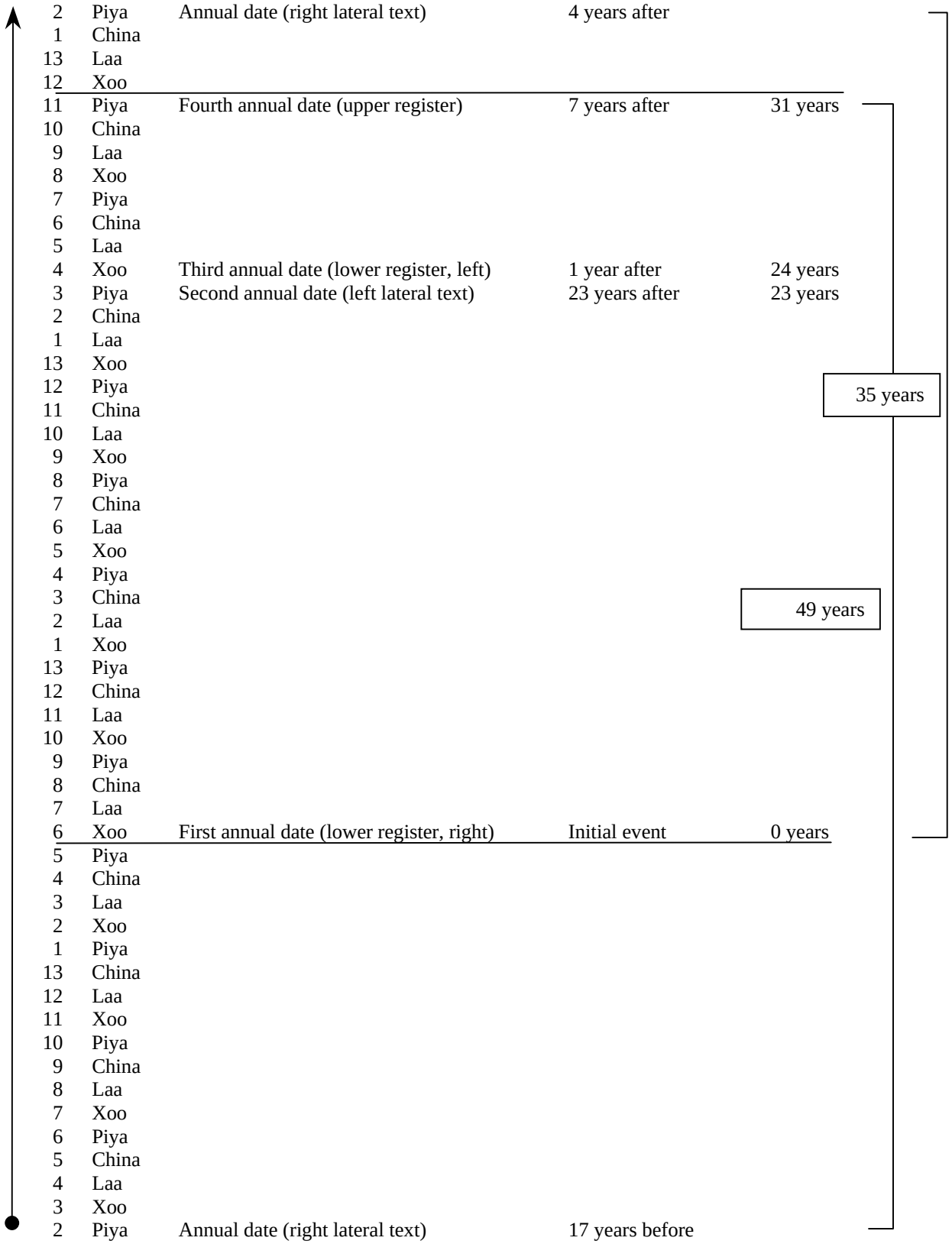
Table 5.4- Unfolding of the possible sequences in the reading of the three annual dates in the program of the jambs in tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.

Table 5.5- Data on handstones from Oaxaca.

No.	Provenience	Carving	Present location	Notes
1	Tomb in Etla	Jaguar face topped by a 'Xicani' face	Ethnographic Museum in Berlin	Diameter 13.5 cm. Use to belong to the collection of Martínez Gracida, who provides data on provenience. He sold it to Seler. Documented by M. Gracida 1910 [II]: plates 13 y 14; published by Leyenaar and Parsons 1988: 169, no. 49 [these authors attribute the handstone to the Classic period, but the provenience is given as the Southern Gulf Coast Lowlands or the Pacific littoral of Guatemala; Anonymous 1992: 96 [attributed to Oaxaca but dated to Postclassic times].
2	Unknown	Jaguar face topped by a 'Cociyo' face	The Art Museum, Princeton University	Diameter 14 cm. Attributed in the Museum records to Veracruz. Published by Goldstein 1988: 24, no. 171[the author interprets the lower image as that of a jaguar]; M. Miller 1989: 30, fig. 16 [the author interprets the lower image as the skeletal head of a deity]
3	Monte Albán	Bat face with seven 'Blood' glyphs	Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia, cat. no. 10-3289 (6-77)	Diameter 10.4 cm. Used to belong to the Sologuren collection. Published by Seler (1904: 364, fig. 111) and Fernando (1992: no. 14)
4	Central Valleys of Oaxaca	Plain	Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia, cat. no. 10-392947 (6-7978)	Diameter 12.5 cm. Published by Fernando (1992: no. 15).

11	Piya	Fifth annual date (upper register)	8 years after	59 years
10	China			
9	Laa			
8	Xoo			
7	Piya			
6	China			
5	Laa			
4	Xoo			
3	Piya	Fourth annual date (left lateral surface)	23 years after	51 years
2	China			
1	Laa			
13	Xoo			
12	Piya			
11	China			
10	Laa			
9	Xoo			
8	Piya			
7	China			
6	Laa			
5	Xoo			
4	Piya			
3	China			
2	Laa			
1	Xoo			
13	Piya			
12	China			
11	Laa			
10	Xoo			
9	Piya			
8	China			
7	Laa			
6	Xoo	Third annual date (lower register, right)	17 years after	28 years
5	Piya			
4	China			
3	Laa			
2	Xoo			
1	Piya			
13	China			
12	Laa			
11	Xoo			
10	Piya			
9	China			
8	Laa			
7	Xoo			
6	Piya			
5	China			
4	Laa			
3	Xoo			
2	Piya	Second annual date (right lateral text)	11 years after	11 years
1	China			
13	Laa			
12	Xoo			
11	Piya			
10	China			
9	Laa			
8	Xoo			
7	Piya			
6	China			
5	Laa			
4	Xoo	First annual date (lower register, left)	Initial event	0 years

Table 5.6- Unfolding of the preferred sequence for the five annual dates in the stela of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.



2	Piya	Annual date (right lateral text)	4 years after		
1	China				
13	Laa				
12	Xoo				
11	Piya	Fourth annual date (upper register)	7 years after	31 years	
10	China				
9	Laa				
8	Xoo				
7	Piya				
6	China				
5	Laa				
4	Xoo	Third annual date (lower register, left)	1 year after	24 years	
3	Piya	Second annual date (left lateral text)	23 years after	23 years	
2	China				
1	Laa				
13	Xoo				
12	Piya				35 years
11	China				
10	Laa				
9	Xoo				
8	Piya				
7	China				
6	Laa				
5	Xoo				
4	Piya				
3	China			49 years	
2	Laa				
1	Xoo				
13	Piya				
12	China				
11	Laa				
10	Xoo				
9	Piya				
8	China				
7	Laa				
6	Xoo	First annual date (lower register, right)	Initial event	0 years	
5	Piya				
4	China				
3	Laa				
2	Xoo				
1	Piya				
13	China				
12	Laa				
11	Xoo				
10	Piya				
9	China				
8	Laa				
7	Xoo				
6	Piya				
5	China				
4	Laa				
3	Xoo				
2	Piya	Annual date (right lateral text)	17 years before		

Table 5.7- Unfolding of the non-preferred sequence for the five annual dates in the stela of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.

2	Xoo	Annual date in text I	(36 years)
1	Piya		
13	China		
12	Laa		
11	Xoo		
10	Piya		
9	China		
8	Laa		
7	Xoo		
6	Piya		
5	China		
4	Laa		
3	Xoo		
2	Piya		
1	China		
13	Laa		
12	Xoo		
11	Piya		
10	China		
9	Laa		
8	Xoo		
7	Piya		
6	China		
5	Laa		
4	Xoo		
3	Piya		
2	China		
1	Laa		
13	Xoo		
12	Piya		
11	China		
10	Laa		
9	Xoo		
8	Piya		
7	China		
6	Laa		
5	Xoo	Annual date in jamb 3	(0 years)

Table 5.9- Unfolding of the yearly sequence from the date 5E (in jamb 3) to the date 2E (in text I).

4	Xoo	Presumed earliest date in the stela	(28 years)
3	Piya		
2	China		
1	Laa		
13	Xoo		
12	Piya		
11	China		
10	Laa		
9	Xoo		
8	Piya		
7	China		
6	Laa		
5	Xoo		
4	Piya		
3	China		
2	Laa		
1	Xoo		
13	Piya		
12	China		
11	Laa		
10	Xoo		
9	Piya		
8	China		
7	Laa		
6	Xoo		
5	Piya		
4	China		
3	Laa		
2	Xoo	Annual date in text II	(0 years)

Table 5.10- Minimum span between the year 2E (painted in text II) and the year 4E (presumed earliest date carved on the stela).

Original program (stucco sculptures, jambs, and the painted obsequies)									
Founders		♂	11 O	jaguar lord	=	♀	10 V	facades
	2	♂	3 O	jaguar lord	=	Lady	8 H	Jamb 9
	3	♂	5 E	jaguar lord	=	Lady	5 Y	Jamb 10
*	4	♂	7 A	jaguar lord	=	Lady	?	Jamb 3, consort represented but not named
	5	♂	8 A	jaguar lord	=	Lady	?	Jamb 4, consort represented but not named
	6	♂	2E		=	♀	11E	Not represented, but named in Jambs 9 and 4; they commissioned the tomb and the program
*		♂	**9O**			♂		Jamb 5, male consort painted but not named
*		♂	**8P**		=	♀		Jamb 6, consort painted but not named
		♂	**13D**		=	♀		Jamb 7, consort painted but not named
		♂	**8M**		=	♀		Jamb 8, consort painted but not named
		♂	**?**					Jamb 1
		♂	**?H**					Jamb 2
Narrative in the vestibule and text I									
*	7	♂	3L	jaguar lord	=	Lady	10Y	Murals on left side of vestibule. Named in text I
	8	♂	7C	jaguar lord	=	Lady	3V	Murals on right side of vestibule. Named in text I
	9	♂	9Z		=	♀	5E	Not represented. Commissioned interior vestibule murals and text I
Carved slab and text II									
	10	♂	5C		=	♀	7Z	Upper surface of stela
*(2)	11	♂	11A		=	♀	***12N***	Lower register in surface A of stela
*	12				7N			
*	13			♂	13O			Upper register in surface A of stela
*(2)	14			♂	12O			Upper register in surface A of stela, commissioned the stela.
	15	♂	7O		=	♀	7N	Text II
*	16	♂	5A		=	♀	7J	Text II. Commissioned text II
Other inscriptions									
	17		1F	=			1N	Roof slab
	18	♂	13D	=		♀	6F	Ceramic vessel
**	19		2?	=			5Y	Damaged carved stone leaning against jamb 1

*(n) association with and number of annual dates (set II year bearers)
** association with an annual date (set III year bearers)
bold collateral kin members of the lineage
italics shift in cognatic affiliation to a female
□ prominent anchoring ancestors

Table 5.11- Hypothetical genealogical sequence in the written record of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.

Table 6.1- Different readings of the calendrical names in MNA-1.

Caso	*Interpretation*	*Marcus*	*Interpretation*	*Piña*	*Interpretation*	*Urcid*	*Pictograph*	*Meaning*	*Day*
3M	Serpent	**3M**	Serpent	**-**	Water	**3Z**	Water	Water	9th
6L	Stelar eye	**6L**	Earthquake	**-**	Earthquake	**6L**	Eye	Eye	16th
11O	Monkey	**110**	Monkey	**-**	Monkey	**11O**	Monkey	Monkey	11th
6? D	Flower or Water	**6/8D**	Flower	**6/8-**	Flower	**8N**	Soap plant	Soap plant	12th
10Y	?	**10Y or M**	Serpent	**10M**	Serpent	**10Y**	Serpent	Serpent	5th
13J	Cave/House	**13J**	Open mouth of Jaguar ?	**13D**	Flower	**13J**	Maize	Corn field	15th
3M	Serpent	**3M**	Serpent	**3?**	Alligator	**3M**	Cociyo	Lightning	2nd
6L	Stelar eye	**6L**	Earthquake	**6L**	Earthquake	**6L**	Eye	Eye	16th
1N	Bat	**1N**	Cleft head ?	**1N**	Bat	**1N**	Soap plant	Soap plant	12th
2Z	?	**2Z**	Vessel of water	**2?**	-	**2Z**	Water	Water	9th
1F	Owl	**1F**	Owl ?	**1F**	Owl	**1F**	Owl	Darkness	3rd
4G	Deer	**4G**	Deer	**4G**	Deer	**4G**	Deer	Deer	7th
4C	Nose/mouth of Jaguar	**4C**	Nose/mouth of Jaguar ?	**4C**	Earth on fire	**4C**	Drop of water ?	Rain	19th
4E	Turquoise	**4E**	Precious stone or sun ?	**4E**	Kan cross	**4E**	Earth	Earthquake	17th
5B	Jaguar	**5B**	Jaguar head ?	**5B**	Jaguar	**5B**	Jaguar	Jaguar	14th
10L	Stelar eye	**10L**	Earthquake	**10L**	Earthquake	**10L**	Eye	Eye	16th
13A	Knot	**13A**	Knot	**13A**	Knot	**13A**	Knot	Knot	10th
8N	Bat	**8N**	Cleft head ?	**8N**	Bat	**8N**	Soap plant	Soap plant	12th

Appendix 1

This appendix contains excerpts from the documentation that accompanied the inquisition trial of Yanhuitlan, taken from Jiménez Moreno and Mateos Higueras (1940). Although much more comprehensive, the study of the inquisition trial published by Sepúlveda (1999) does not include a transcription of the calendrical names of the boxes given in the elite, divine language. The translation of those appellatives, shown here in italics and within brackets, is based on the day names published by Smith (1973a: 24-26). The most relevant passages for the interpretation of the mortuary program of tomb 104 from Monte Albán appear in bold face.

E después de los susodicho, día mes e año susodicho, Don Juan, cacique del pueblo de Nochistlan (dijo) (2ª) ... (que) puede haber tres meses poco más o menos tiempo que los susodichos (Don Francisco y Don Domingo) tenían ídolos en sus casas, **y que en casa del dicho Don Domingo está un papa que este testigo no sabe si es baptizado, el cual tiene a su cargo 20 envoltorios de ídolos, que el uno de ellos se llama Quaquxio** *[¿1 o 2 Caña ?]* **y otro Quaquxiq** *[11 Venado, según Jiménez Moreno y Mateo Higueras 1940: 49]* **y todos los demás tienen sus nombres** y que el dicho Don Domingo los adora cada noche y sus fiestas e preguntando por los demonios de Don Francisco dijo ... que uno de los dichos ídolos se llama Xioco *[10, 11 o 13 Lluvia]*, que es un envoltorio al cual llama el dicho Don Francisco cuando ha de ir a alguna parte, y que tiene otros muchos que no sabe como se llaman ... y el dicho Don Juan tiene ni más ni menos ídolos en su casa ... (página 44, columna izquierda)

E después de lo susodicho día mes e año susodicho, Xaco *[¿1, 2 o 12 Lluvia?]*, indio no cristiano natural del pueblo de Molcaxtepeque ... dijo ... (2ª) ... que este testigo ha seido papa del dicho Don Domingo de ocho años a esta parte con otros muchos indios que el dicho Don Domingo tenía por papas, y que el uno de ellos se llama Xixa *[10, 11 o 13 Águila]*, que es principal del pueblo de Miquiapa, que es sujeto de Yanguitlan, y otro que se llama Naguaco *[8 Flor]*, que es mozo de quince años principal de Xiutla, y otro que se

llama Quihuizo *[4 Jaguar]*, que es principal del pueblo de Yanguitlan, con otros muchos los cuales guardaban y han guardado los diablos de Yanguitlan y del dicho Don Domingo ... **que son cuatro demonios de piedra chalchuitl y que los dos tienen figura de hombre y los dos de mujer y con los dichos demonios habían otros demonios y aparatos de pluma y otras cosas que ya están podridas** y que cada día ordinariamente hacían sus sacrificios de plumas y piedras y palomas y codornices y otras cosas y encomendaban al dicho Don Domingo al demonio, porque todo se hacía en su nombre ... (3ª) ... **y que en una fiesta del diablo porque no llovía mandó matar a una muchacha de poca edad, puede haber seis años; fuéle preguntado quien la sacrificó: dijo que el papa que se llama Xixa** *[10, 11 o 13 Águila]* y que puede haber cuatro años que el dicho Don Domingo mandó matar un niño en sacrificio y que también lo mató Xixa, y que puede haber seis años que el dicho Don Domingo mandó matar un niño en una fiesta que se hacía por toda la comunidad y por todo el pueblo y que después en otra fiesta el dicho Don Domingo mandó matar a un muchacho, y puede haber cuatro años, y que este testigo, por mandado del dicho Don Domingo , puede haber ocho años que mató un muchacho en lo bajo del cerro de Tiltepeque ... y que el dicho Don Domingo tiene en su casa una india vieja que se llama Xiyo *[10, 11 o 13 Serpiente]*, la cual manda que se busquen los muchachos para sacrificar ... (página 45, columna izquierda).

.. y el dicho don Juan e don Francisco tuerto mandaron a todos los principales de las estancias que trujesen sus demonios y ... fueron al pueblo de Mozcaltepeque y trujeron los diablos y este testigo y otros sus compañeros trujeron los dichos demonios a cuestas y de noche los metieron en casa del dicho cacique porque ansi se lo auia mandado porque como este testigo y los demás trujeron los dichos demonios, un día en amaneciendo fué allí el dicho Francisco de las Casas y Juan de las Casas *[encomenderos de Yanhuitlan]* y el dicho Juanico por su mandado **abrió las dichas petacas y envoltorios y sacó los dichos demonios** en presencia de este (¿testigo?) y de don Juan y de los Francisco tuerto Domingo *estumeca*, y vio todo lo que habían traído: **las piedras y demonios echó en una petaca** y lo mandó llevar a su casa al dicho Juanico su criado ... ” (Tenía Xaco *[¿1, 2 o 12 Lluvia?]* 21 años. Don Domingo el cacique le ordenó fuese papa y que no fuese a la iglesia).

(Declaración de Diego, indio de Etlatongo, quien menciona a los papas de Yanhuitlan, llamados "Catuta" *[1, 2, o 12 Agua]* y "Caco" *[1, 2, o 12 Lluvia]* y dice ... (3ª) ... **que todos los años, a la cosecha del maíz, que es por Todos Santos, en una fiesta del demonio, que se llama *huicatuta*, mandaba el dicho don Juan sacar todos los demonios y, desatados, a cada envoltorio mataba una paloma o codorniz o otra ave y sobre ello lla(¿ma?)ba al demonio y echábales copal").**

(Declaración de Caxaa ***[1, 2 o 12 Águila]***, que era muy viejo y que fue "cuatro años o más tiempo" papa de Yanhuitlán "y que tenía a su cargo los ídolos del dicho pueblo, juntamente con otros tres papas , que el uno se llamaba Cagua *[1, 2, o 12 Perro]*, y el otro Quizo *[4 ?]* y el otro Caquiyo *[1,2 o 12 Caña]*, y que este testigo especialmente tenía cuidado del diablo del agua, que se dice Zaguii *[Dzahui]*" ... y que (3ª) ... "dende niño, por mandado del cacique de Yanhuitlán que es ya muerto, este testigo fue ha estar con los papas que tenían cargo de los ídolos del pueblo y siempre ha residido y estado en la casa de los demonios que está en Tamaxcaltepeque ... y que ya que fué de edad este testigo tomó a su cargo el diablo del agua por muerte del que lo tenía a su cargo y que cuando a este testigo le metieron en este cargo dejó a su mujer preñada de un hijo que se llama Xaco *[¿1, 2 o 12 Lluvia?]*, que es testigo de esta causa".

"... Fuéle preguntando qué vida tenía este testigo y compañeros: y dijo: que todos estaban en una casa grande donde dicho tiene y que cada un papa tenía cargo de su diablo y estaba en su cámara y apartamiento por sí y que cada uno tenía cargo del servicio que había de hacer a su demonio sin saber el uno del otro y que los demonios del pueblo y del cacique tenía un papa que dicho tiene que se llama Cagua *[1, 2, o 12 Perro]* ... Fuele preguntado como se había con su demonio y de que manera le sacrifica(ba?), dijo: **que cuando no llovía este testigo sacaba su ídolo y lo ponía delante de sí con mucha reverencia, el cual ídolo era de piedra, y luego este testigo se ponía en cuclillas delante del ídolo y le ofrecía copal , plumas, sangre, y decíale que se doliese, que los maceguales tenían hambre , que pues era dios del agua que lloviese, que él le prometía de sacrificalle palomas, codornices, perros, papagayos de los grandes y alguna persona conforme la intención que este testigo tenia y tomaba agua en una jícara y derramábala hacia arriba encima de lo que tenía ofrecido al ídolo y tomaba una pelota de esta tierra que se llama vle que es resina y goma de árboles y la**

echaba en el suelo que saltase y después quemaba la dicha pelota y con aquella resina untaba al demonio y luego, hecho su sacrificio, hacía llamar al cacique y a Don Francisco para que trujesen todas aquellas cosas y la persona que habían de sacrificar porque este testigo no encerraba al demonio hasta le haber dado todo lo que le había prometido este testigo y luego el dicho Cacique y Don Francisco le enviaban todo lo que él les pedía, poque tenían siempre muchachos en depósito para sacrificio. Fuele preguntado a este testigo cuantas personas mató e hizo matar en el tiempo que fué papa y qué los hacían (sic); dijo: que en el tiempo que este testigo fué papa mandó matar y mató cuatro muchachos en veces porque se tardaban las aguas. Fuele preguntado de qué manera lo hacían; dijo: que él se iba a un cerro el más alto que había y llevaba su ídolo y la persona que había de sacrificar y ponía el ídolo en una parte donde le parecía y delante le daba humo de copal y hablaba con el ídolo un rato y después ponía el muchacho delante y lo sacrificaban, y que a este demonio del agua no se ofrecía personas grandes sino niños y que sacrificado el dicho niño le sacaba el corazón por el pecho y lo ponía ante el ídolo y ansí se estaba dos días o más tiempo, **y después quemaba el corazón, y la ceniza la tomaba y ponía con todo lo demás ofrecido al ídolo y lo hacía un envoltorio y lo guardaba.** Fuele preguntado qué tantas personas matarían todos los otros papas en este tiempo que este testigo lo fue: dijo que no lo sabe porque cada papa está por sí y tiene cuidado de su ídolo y no da parte ni dice a los otros lo que hace ni ha de hacer ...". (páginas 45-46).