

Figure 1.1- Map of Southwestern Mesoamerica showing regions and localities mentioned in the text.

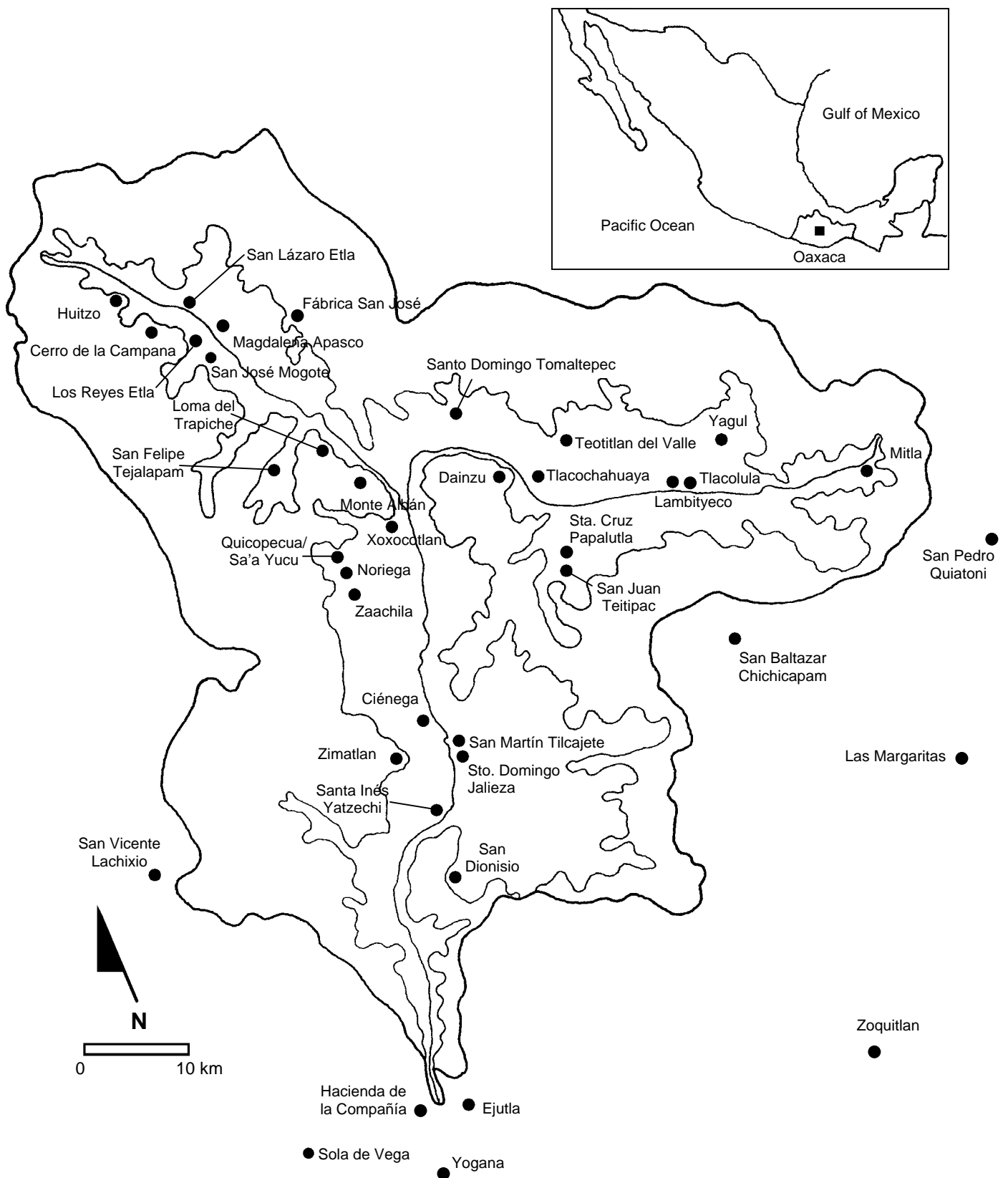
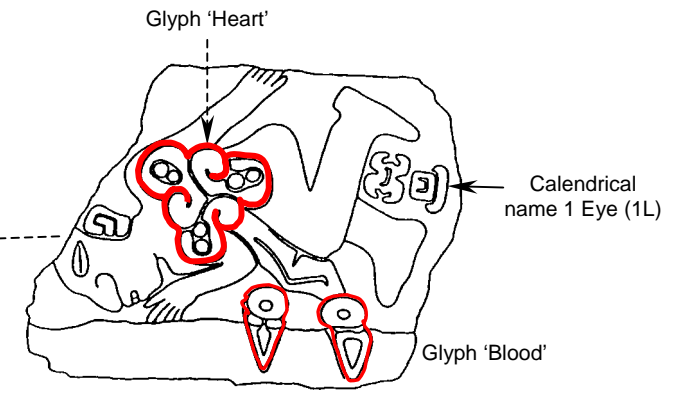
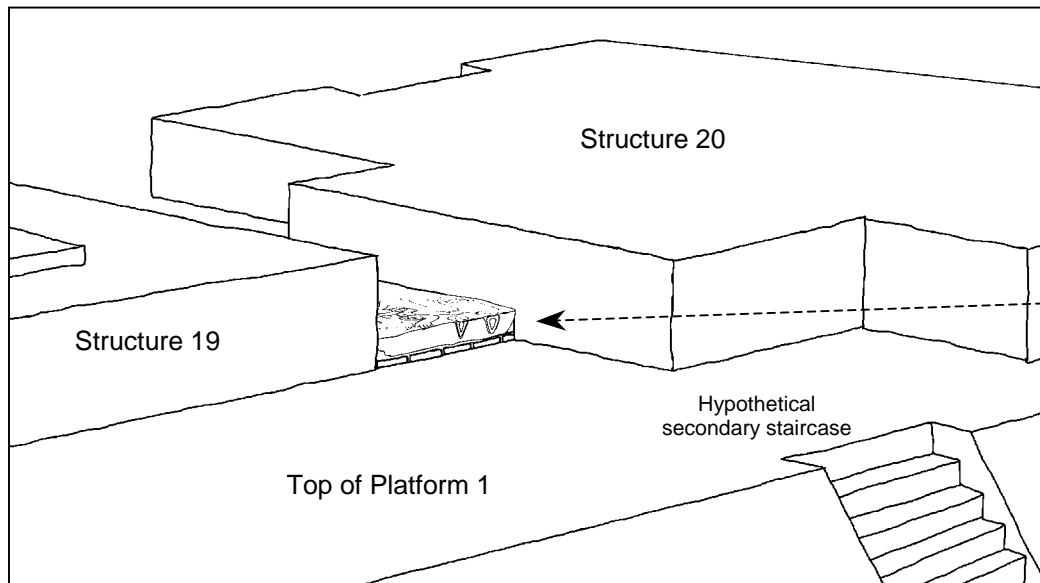
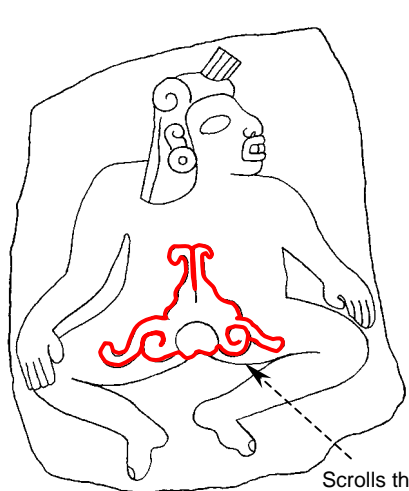


Figure 1.2- Map of the Central Valleys of Oaxaca with localities mentioned in the text.

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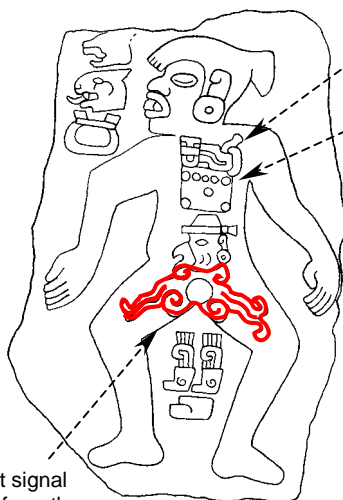


San José Mogote, Monument 3
(ca. 600 BCE)



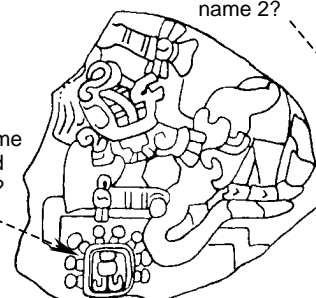
Monte Albán, Building
L-sub, Stone D-57

(ca. 450 BCE)

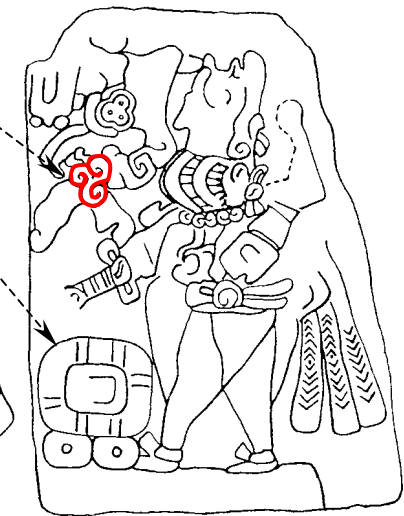


Monte Albán, Building
L-sub, Stone D-55

Personal name
of defeated
ballplayer ?



Dainzu, Building A, Stone 3

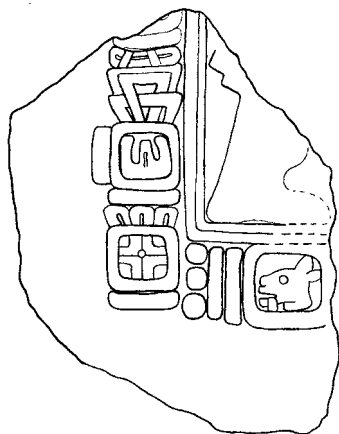


Dainzu, Building A, Stone 1

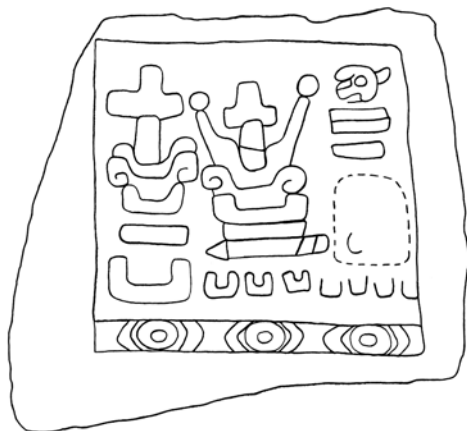
(ca. 200 BCE)

Figure 1.3- Middle and Late Formative narratives from the Central Valleys of Oaxaca
alluding to self-sacrifice, warfare, ritual combat, and human immolation.

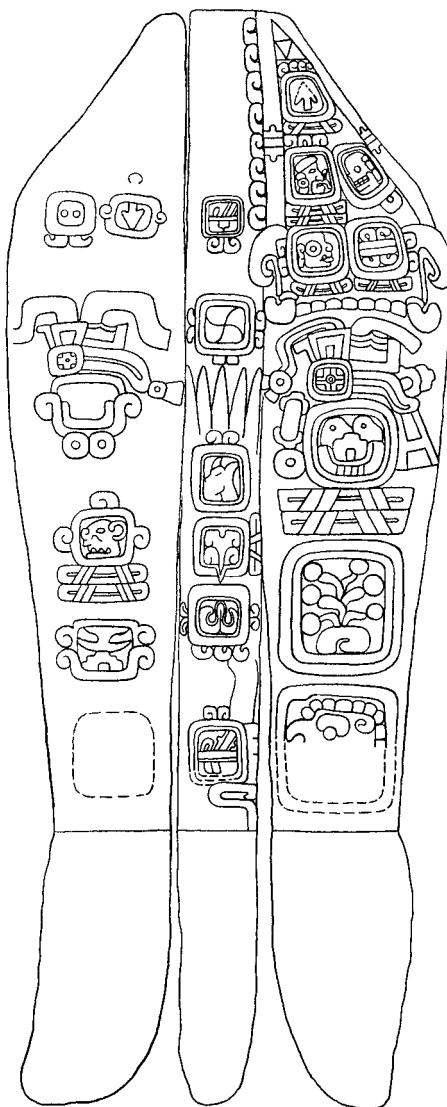
© Javier Urcid. All rights reserved.



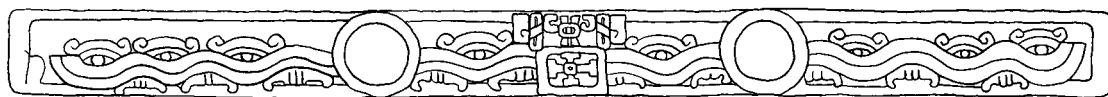
Yaguila Monument 2.
Embedded in the wall of a
house (height 50 cm)



San Pedro Nexicho Monument 10. Museo
Comunitario of San Pedro Nexicho
(height 39 cm)



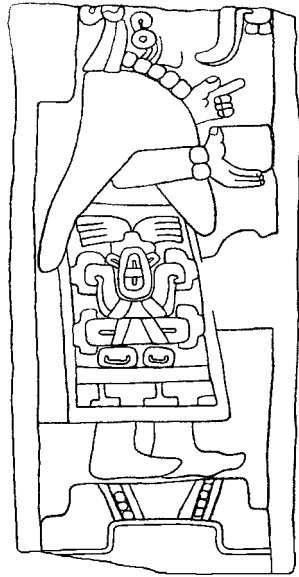
Yaguila Monument 1. In the
plaza of the community
(height 2.78 m)



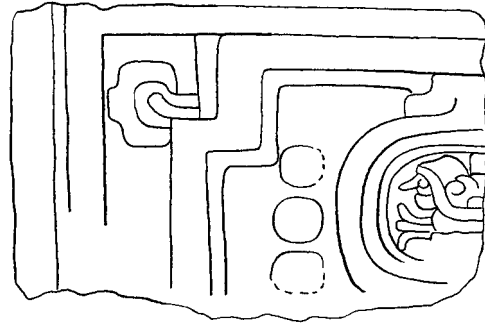
San Pedro Nexicho Monument 18. Used
today as base to the altar in the church of the
community (height 21 cm)

Figure 1.4- Inscriptions in Zapotec style from the Northern Sierra of Oaxaca.

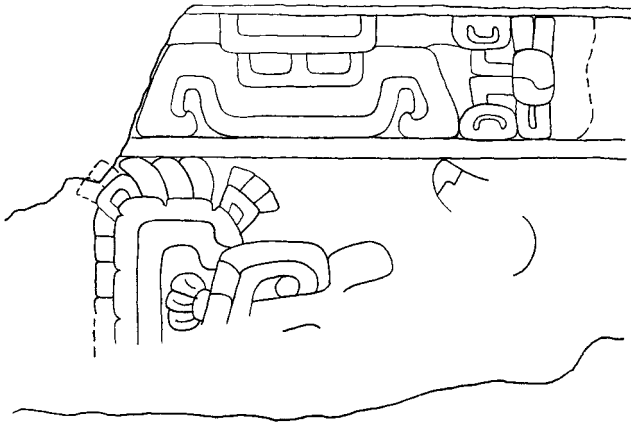
© Javier Urcid. All rights reserved.



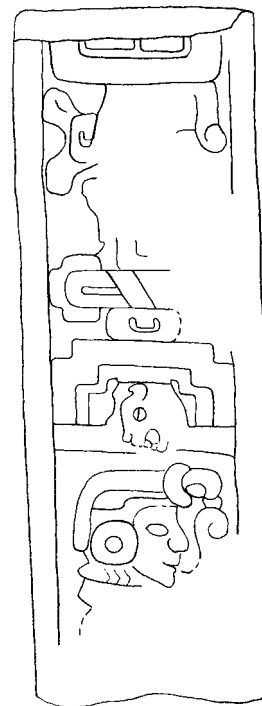
Santito las Margaritas Monument 1
Museo Nacional de Antropología e
Historia (height 1.05 m).



Santito las Margaritas Monument 2
Unknown, may still be in situ at the site
(max. height 30 cm)



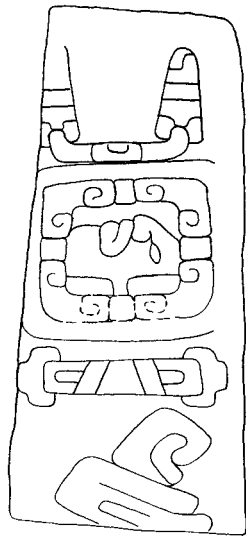
Zoquitlan Monument 3. Rollout drawing of
carved column inside the Municipal
building in the community
(max. height 58 cm)



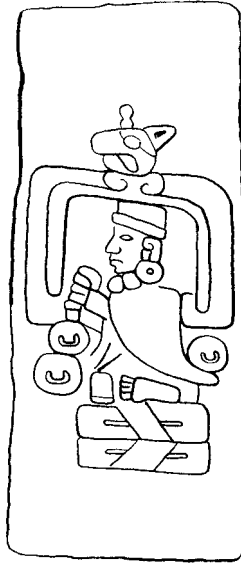
Zoquitlan Monument 4. Inside the
Municipal building in the community
(height 1.67 cm)

Figure 1.5- Inscriptions in Zapotec style from the Eastern Mountains of Oaxaca.

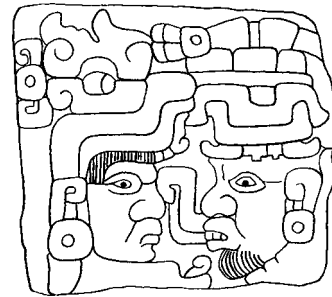
© Javier Urcid. All rights reserved.



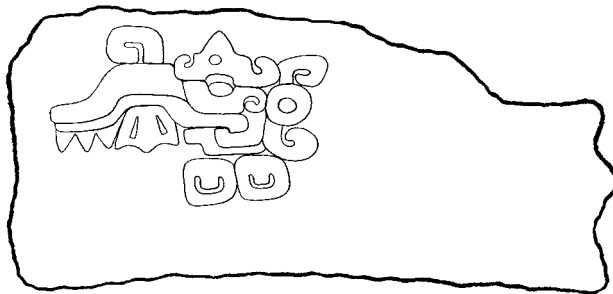
Ejutla Monument 4
(Embedded in the façade of
the church) (height 94 cm)



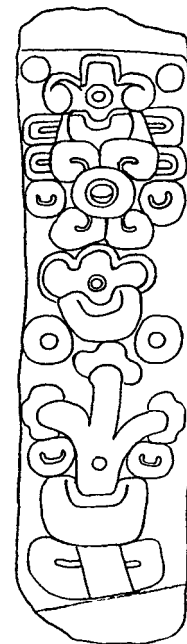
Ejutla Monument 2
(based on a photo in the Saville
archives, American Museum of
Natural History, New York)
(data on height not available)



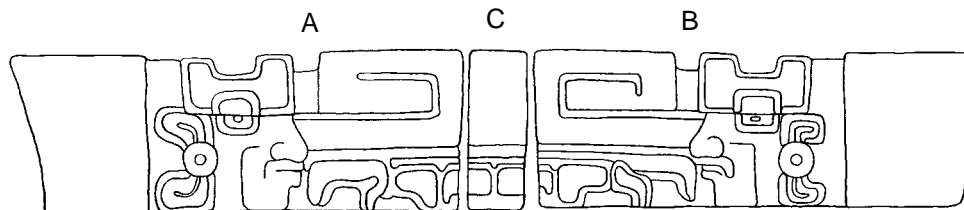
Hacienda de la Compañía,
Ejutla. Museo de las Culturas
de Oaxaca (height 38 cm)



San Miguel Sola Monument 1 (Embedded
in a wall of the church) (height 44 cm)



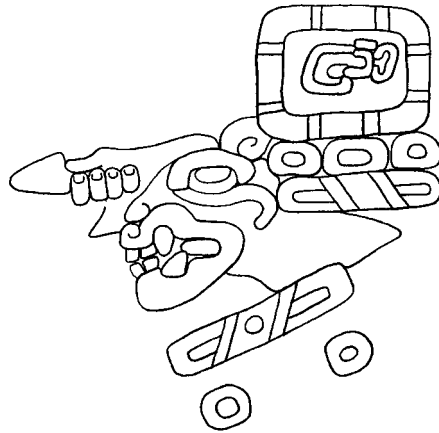
San Juan Sola Monument 1
(In the plaza of the
community) (height 1.40 m)



San Francisco Sola monument 5. Tenon head with three carved
surfaces. (Now in the Museo de Cuernavaca, Morelos) (height 51cm)

Figure 1.6- Inscriptions in Zapotec style from the Ejutla and Sola de Vega valleys.

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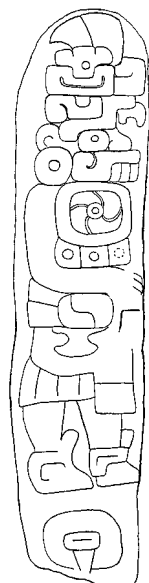
San Vicente Lachixio
(in a cave nearby)
(approx. height 30 cm)



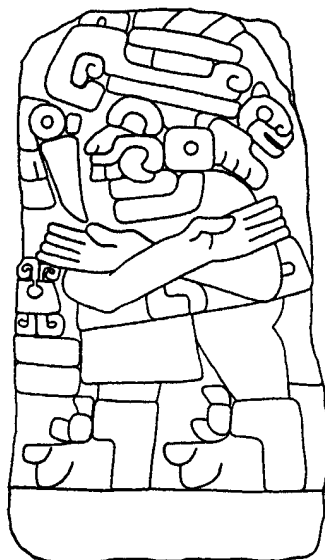
San Pablo Coatlan (hand
drawing based on Martinez
Gracida 1910 [2]: plate 40)
(height 45 cm)

Figure 1.7- Inscriptions in Zapotec style from the Southern Mountains of Oaxaca.

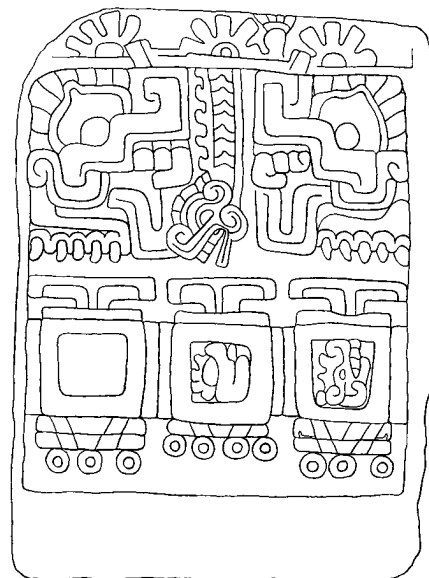
© Javier Urcid. All rights reserved.



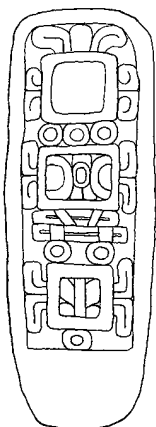
Rio Grande Monument 4. At the entrance of the school in the community (height 2.32 m)



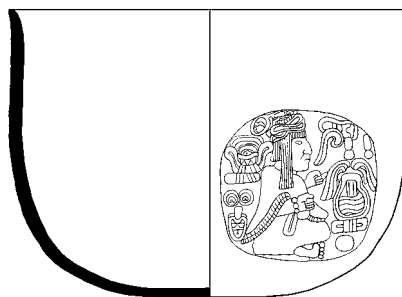
Rio Viejo Monument 8. In situ (height 2.02 m)



Cola de Palma Monument 3. In situ (height 2.32 m)

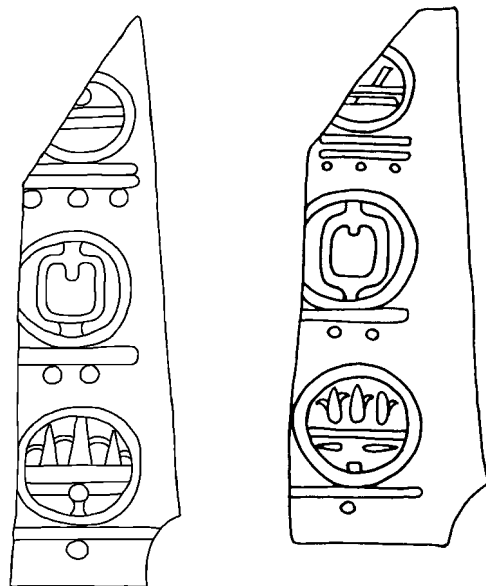


Piedra Labrada, Guerrero, Monument 11. Next to the basketball court in the school of the community (height 1.23 m)

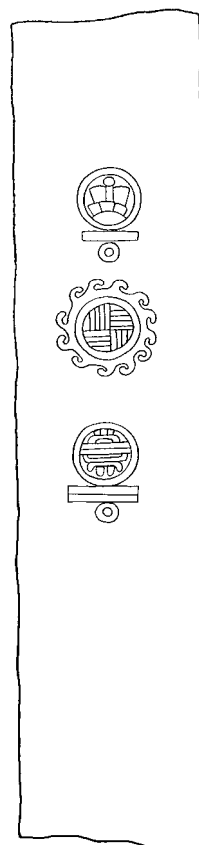


Ceramic vessel of Talun carved type. Unknown provenience, Kerr vessel database # 8596 (height 11.5 cm)

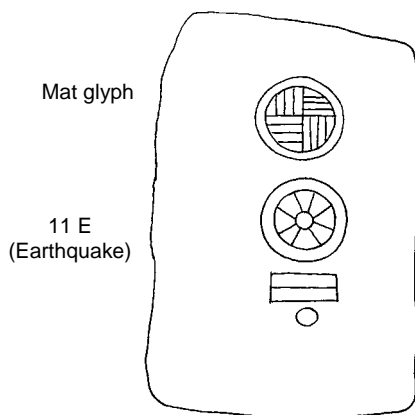
Figure 1.8- Inscriptions in Zapotec style from the Pacific littoral of Oaxaca and Guerrero.



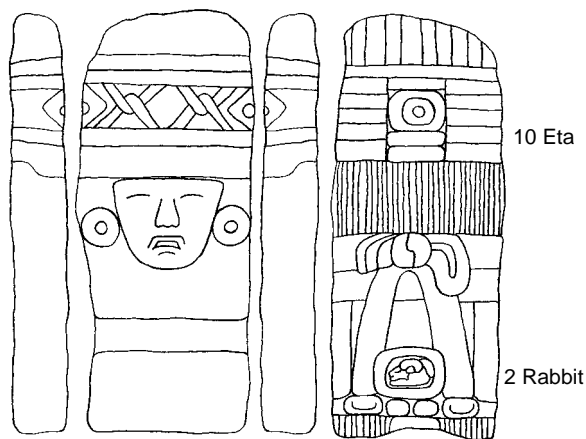
Zanacatepec Monument 1, Tehuantepec, Oaxaca. Left drawing is a hand copy of an illustration by Martínez Gracida 1910 [2]: plate 129; right drawing after Navarrete (1976: 33) (height 1.25 m). The configuration of the glyphs do not conform to Zapotec graphic conventions



Los Horcones Monument 2, Cerro Bernal, Chiapas (height 2.40 m). The 'Mat' glyph, a pan-Mesoamerican sign, is present in Zapotec style inscriptions, and only one example of the RE glyph is known from coastal Oaxaca (see Figure 2.9, upper right)

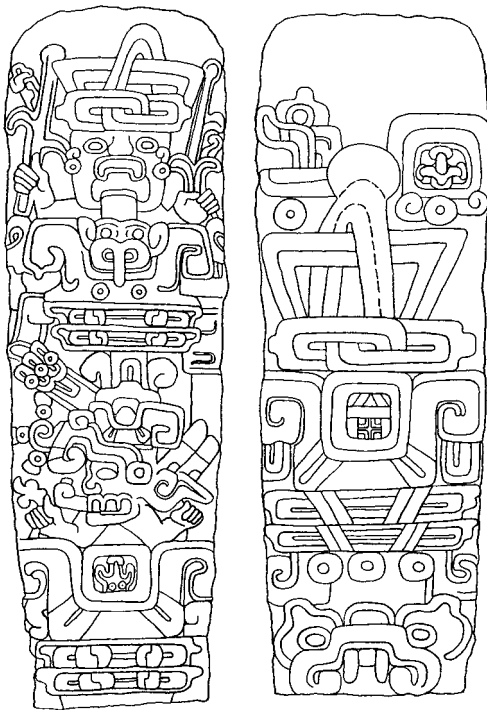


Fracción Mujular Monument 2, Chiapas (height 1.40 m). Both glyphs partake with Zapotec graphic conventions

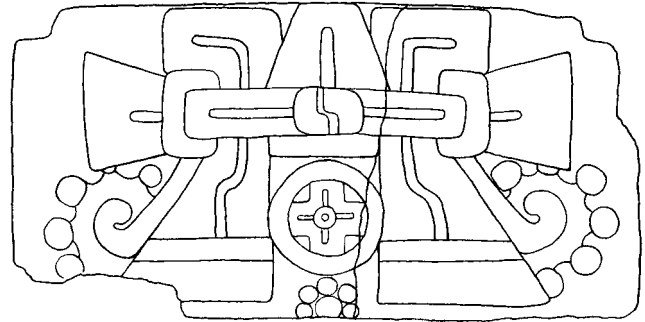


López Mateos Monument 6, Chiapas (height 1.20 m). Both glyphs partake with Zapotec graphic conventions (based on photographs in Navarrete et al. 1993: 62-63)

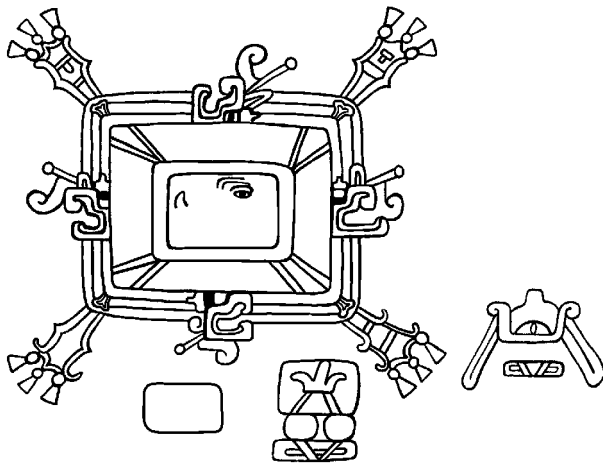
Figure 1.9- Inscriptions in Zapotec and non-Zapotec styles from the Isthmian region of Oaxaca and Chiapas.



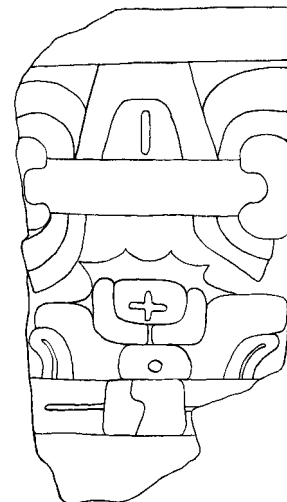
Cerro Yucundaba, Micaltepec.
Monument 1, Southern Puebla.
In the plaza of the community
(height 1.75 m)



Cerro de la Calavera, Tequixtepec del
Rey, Monument 1, Mixteca Baja,
Oaxaca (now in the Museo de
Teotihuacan) (height 65 cm)



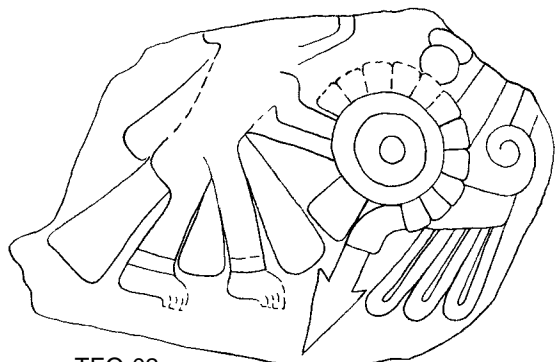
El Puente Colossal, Tepelmeme de Morelos,
Coixtlahuaca, Oaxaca. In situ, in the northeast
sector [interior] (height 1.30 m)



Cuquila Monument 1. Mixteca
Alta, Oaxaca. In the Municipal
building of the community
(height no data)

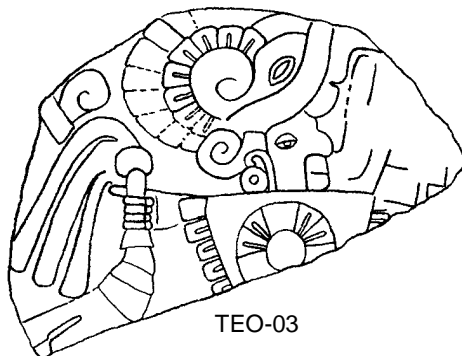
Figure 1.10- Inscriptions in Ñuiñe style from several locations
in Northwestern Oaxaca and Southern Puebla.

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TEO-02

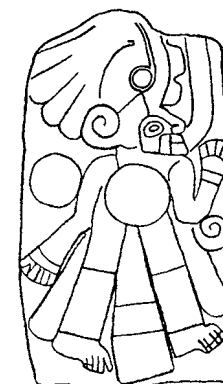
Embedded today in the municipal palace of Macuilxochitl, but known to have been left there in a failed attempt to transport the monolith from Teotitlan del Valle to Oaxaca city (Rickards 1918: 23)



TEO-03



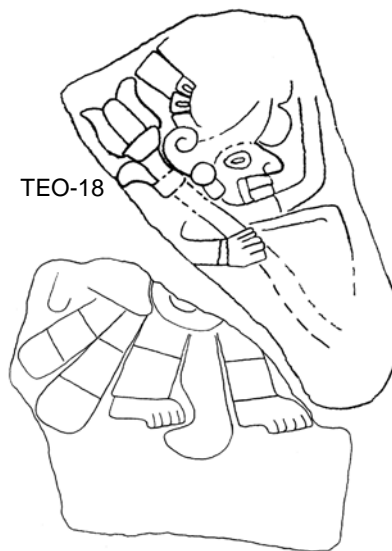
TEO-05
(drawing after Seler
1904: 349, fig. 76b)



TEO-07

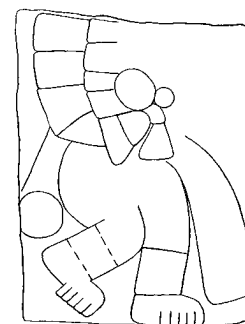


TEO-27

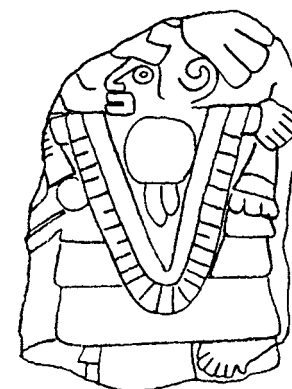


TEO-18

TEO-26



TEO-06



TEO-08



Figure 1.12- Carved monoliths that must have been part of a monumental narrative program (a procession) built during Late Postclassic times at Teotitlan del Valle.

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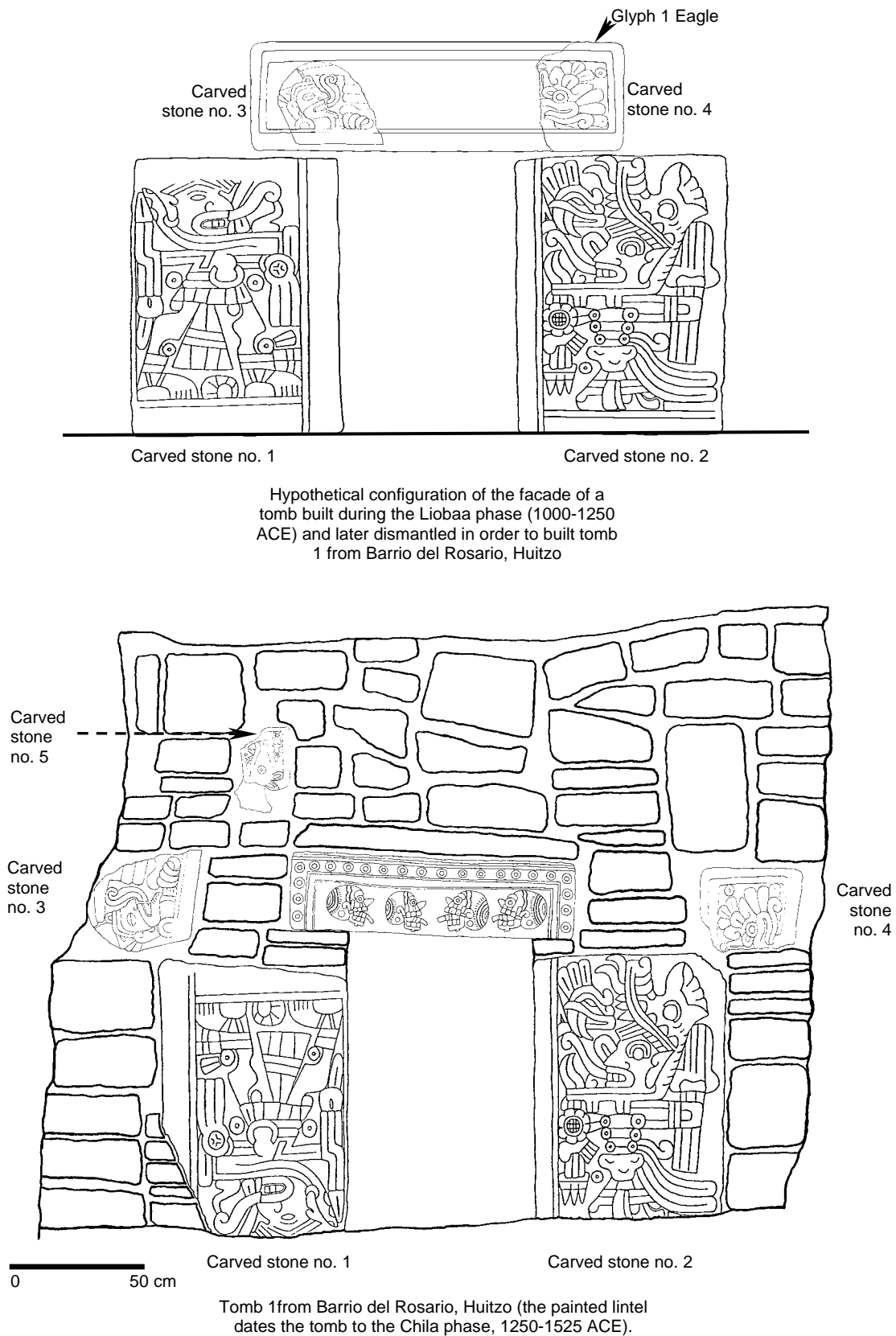
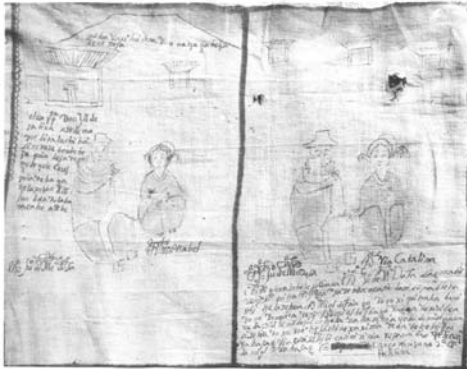
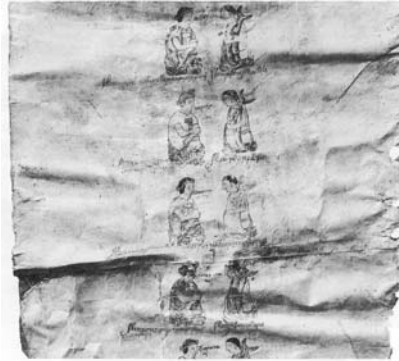


Figure 1.13- Tomb 1 from Barrio del Rosario, Huitzo.

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Detail of a section of the Lienzo de Tiltepec, Northern Mountains (photo by John Paddock)



Detail of a section of the Genealogy of Macuilxochitl, Central Valleys (after Oudijk 2000: figure 17b)



Detail of a section of the Lienzo de Santa Cruz Papalutla, Central Valleys (photo courtesy of Ron van Merr)

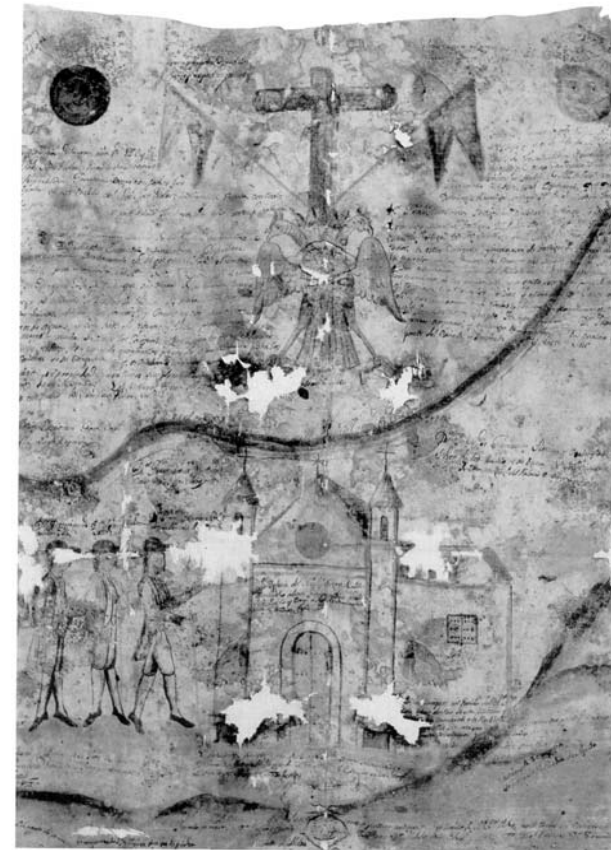


Detail of a section of the Genealogy of Quialoo, Central Valleys (after Oudijk 2000: figure 24a)

Figure 1.14- Examples of 16th century documents in cloth, paper, and hide that render the Zapotec language with the Spanish alphabetical script.

transcription	
<i>niz collao quiba baqui taa ya</i> <i>ga bi yee: quita pa go cio</i> 13	Niycollao guibaba guitaaya gabiye guitapa goçio
<i>bi ye — yagxoho — 1</i>	biye yagxoho 1
<i>bi ye — yolaha — 2</i>	biye yolaha 2
<i>bi ye — yohochi na — 3</i>	biye yohochina 3
<i>bi ye — llolobia — 4</i>	biye llolobia 4
<i>bi ye — yohoxoho — 5</i>	
<i>bi ye — Cuataha — 6</i>	
<i>bi ye — bibachi na — 7</i>	
<i>bi ye — nalobia — 8</i>	
<i>bi ye — yolo xoho — 9</i>	
<i>bi ye — bilaha — 10</i>	
<i>bi ye — llaiti na — 11</i>	
<i>bi ye — nobi ya — 12</i>	
<i>bi ye — quiceto he — 13</i>	
translation	
Niycollao guibaba guitaaya gabiye guitapa goçio	
period One Earthquake	1
period Two Lightning	2
period Three Deer	3
period Four Soapplant	4

First set of thirteen years of the Zapotec Calendar Round as reckoned in 1695 in the jurisdiction of Villa Alta, northern Sierra of Oaxaca. Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Manuscript 85, file 882-20, folio 431r. bis (facsimile page after Alcina Franch 1993: figure 28)



The Lienzo from San Pedro Nexicho, an 1858 copy of an earlier document with imagery in European style and glosses in Spanish. The document was painted and written by a Zapotec scribe to prove the territorial claims of the community to the Spanish colonial administrative system (photograph after Cordero Avendaño 2001: 83)

Figure 1.15- Examples of native documents using alphabetic script to render the Zapotec language (left) and the Spanish language (right).

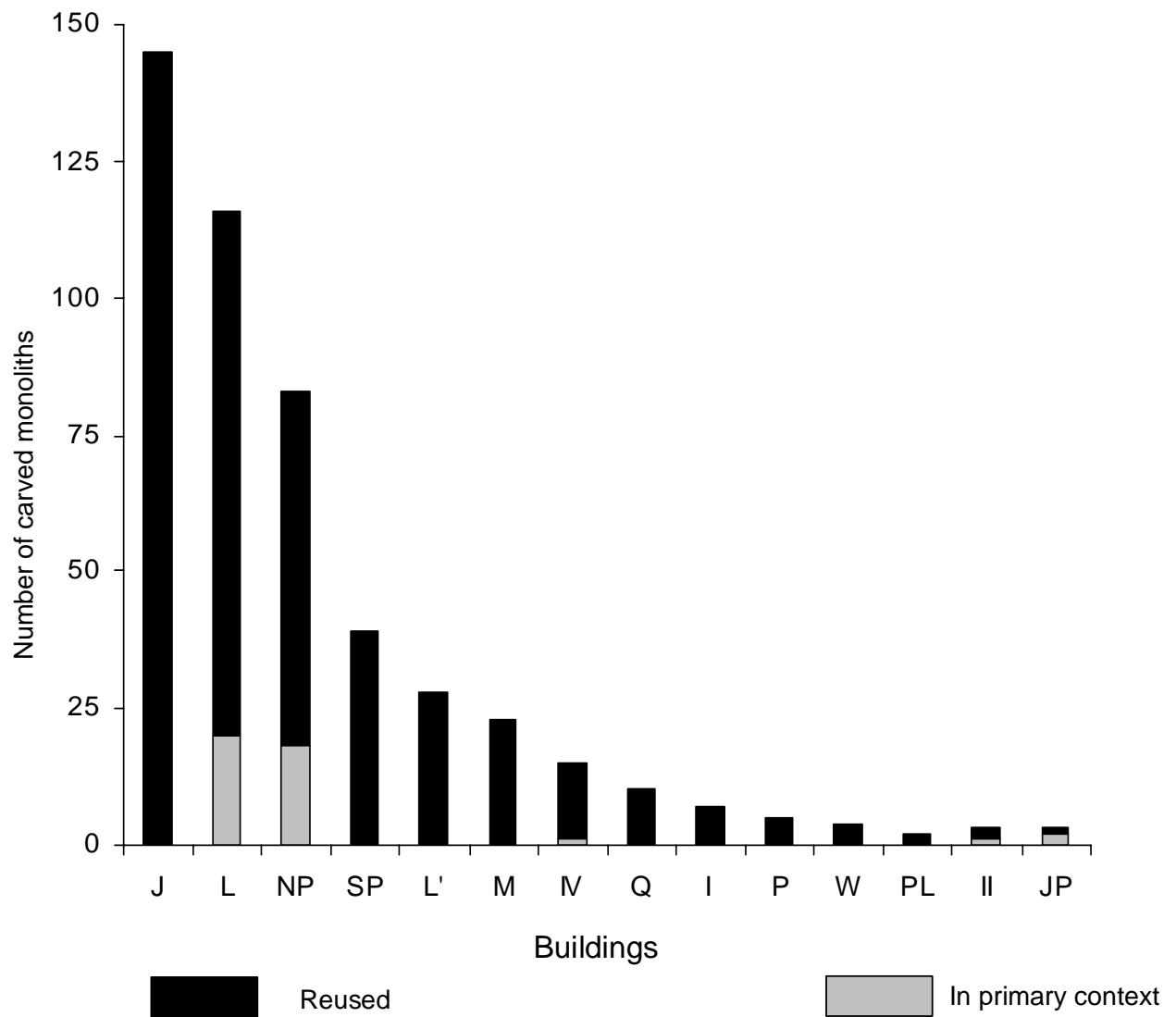
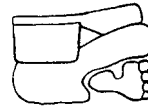


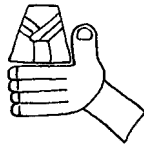
Figure 1.16- Histogram of carved monuments in the buildings of the Main Plaza at Monte Albán.



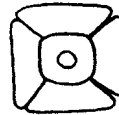
Hand holding three celts



Half cross-seated human body. The sign appears to have the semantic value of 'accession' (van Meer n.d.b.)



Hand holding an arrow



Iconic symbol that stands for the four directions and the center. Yet, its meaning remains unknown



Fish glyph

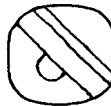


Rabbit glyph

Signs whose iconic motivation is known



Open cartouche with a circle and a diagonally divided square



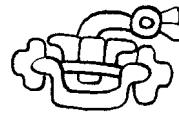
Cartouche with diagonal band and semicircle below the band



Oval-shaped cartouche with diagonal division within a U shaped base



The sign appears to be a toponym related to Monte Albán, but its iconicity is unclear



A day sign known to occupy the 19th position in the day list, a position that refers to "Drop" or "Rain" but whose iconicity seemingly involves a bundle of maize leaves

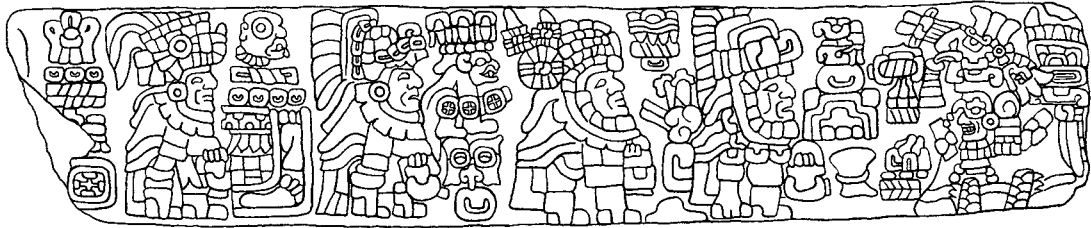


Oval-shaped cartouche with fringes and tassels

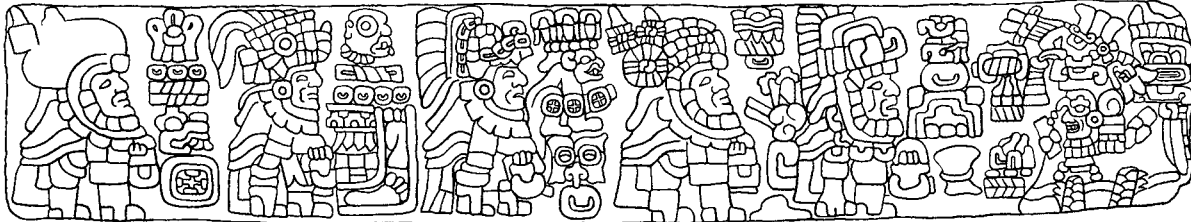
Signs that may not be iconic, or whose iconic motivation is unknown

Figure 1.17- Types of signs in the Zapotec graphic repertoire.

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Condition of stone SP-9 when it was embedded in antiquity in the NW corner of the South Platform at Monte Albán



The complete stone during its primary use

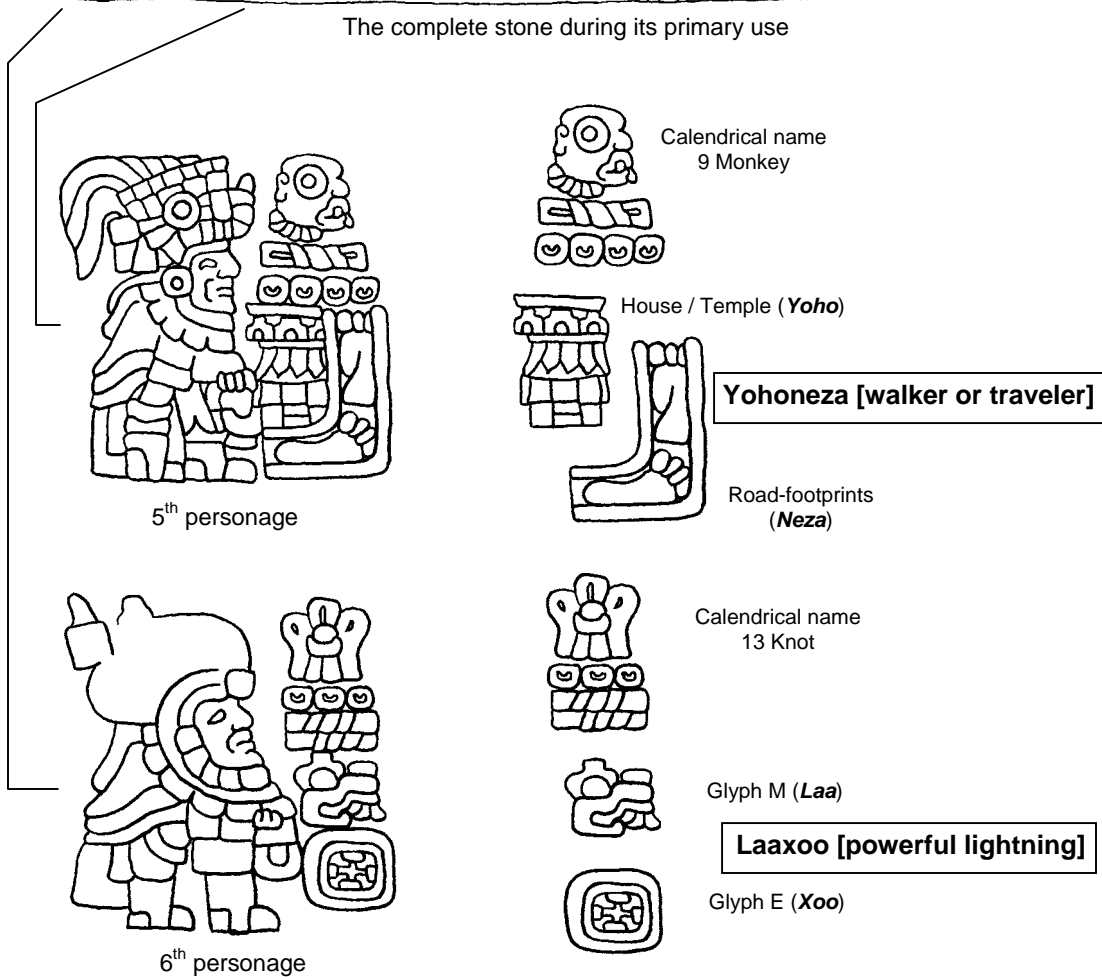
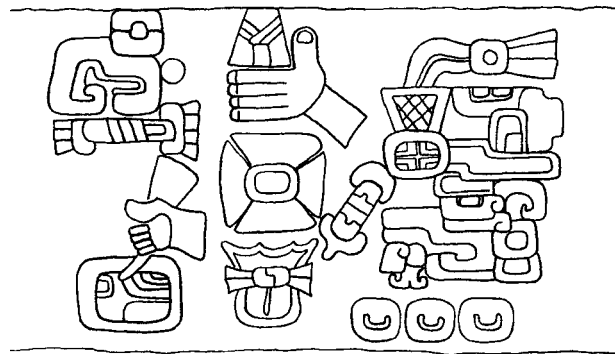
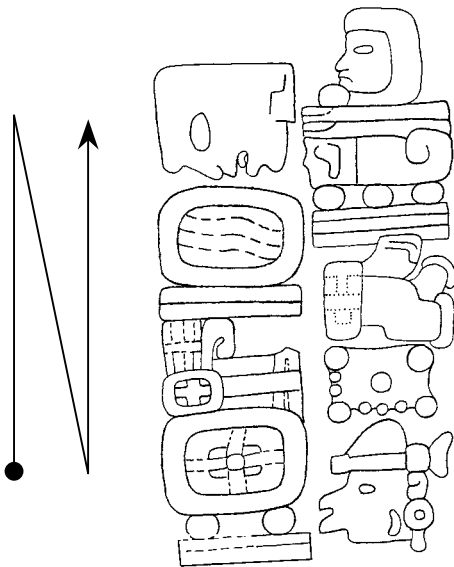


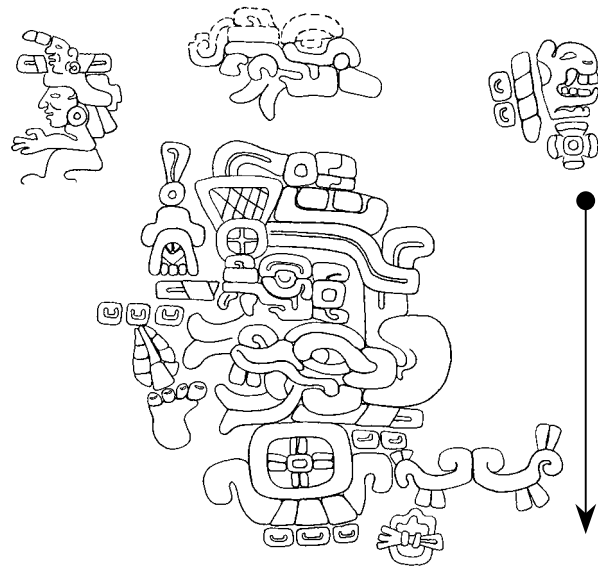
Figure 1.18- Possible example of homophony in a Zapotec inscription from Monte Albán (5th personage), and phonetic reading of a personal name attested well into the colonial period (6th personage).



Cerro de la Campana, tomb 6, lintel of niche
(The text reads from right to left)





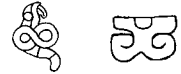






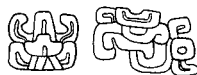










Monte Albán Stone M-21, found loose in plaza of building M, originally from the facade of Building L-sub. Museo de Monte Albán (the text reads from bottom to top and left to right, with a third column missing)



Inscriptions on the back, arms, and neck of a ceramic effigy. Unknown provenience, Leigh Collection (LGH-7756), ex-Museo Frissell, Mitla (the text reads from top to bottom)


























































































Figure 1.19- Examples of texts and reading orders in Zapotec style writing.
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Day	Zapotec	English	Letter(s) to arbitrarily designate the glyphs	Glyph(s)
* 1	Chilla	Alligator	V	
● 2	Laa	Lightning	M	
3	Guela	Night	F	
4	Lachi	Ballcourt	Ñ / S	
5	Zee	Bad omen	Y / Delta	
* 6	Lana	Smell of meat, soot	H	
● 7	China	Deer	G	
8	Lapa	?	T	
9	Nica	Water	Z / Eta	
10	Tella	Knot	A	
* 11	Loo	Monkey	O	
● 12	Piya	Soap plant	N / U	
13	Quij	Reed	D / Iota / Kappa / Beta	
14	Lache	Heart ?	B	
15	Naa	Corn field	J	
* 16	Loo	Eye	L (and I ?)	
● 17	Xoo	Earthquake	E / Alfa	
18	Lopa	Damp, cold	Q / P / Epsilon	
19	Lape	Drop ? (Rain)	C / Gama	
20	Loo	Ruler, lord	X	

* The Cociyos of the sacred calendar
 ● The year bearers of the solar calendar

Figure 1.20- Synchronic glyphic reconstruction of the 20 day-name list in the Zapotec calendar.

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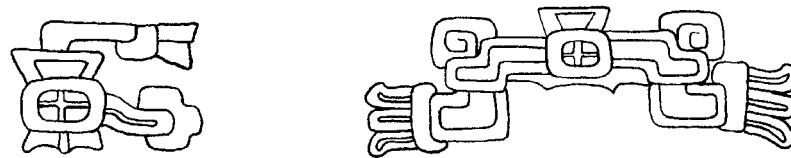
	Danibaan phase (500-300 BCE)	Niza phase (100 BCE- 200 ACE)	Tani phase (200-400 ACE)	Pitao phase (400-500 ACE)	Peche-Xoo phases (500-800 ACE)	Liobaa phase (800 1250 ACE)	Chila phase *
1						1	
②						2	
3						③	
4						4	
5						5	
6						6	
⑦						7	
8						⑧	
9						9	
10						10	
11						11	
⑫						12	
13						⑬	
14						14	
15						15	
16						16	
⑰						17	
18						⑱	
19						19	
20						20	

○ Year bearers

* From Screenfold Tonindeye (after Caso 1969: 87)

Figure 1.21- Diachronic reconstruction of the glyphic version for the 20-day name list in the Zapotec calendar.

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A

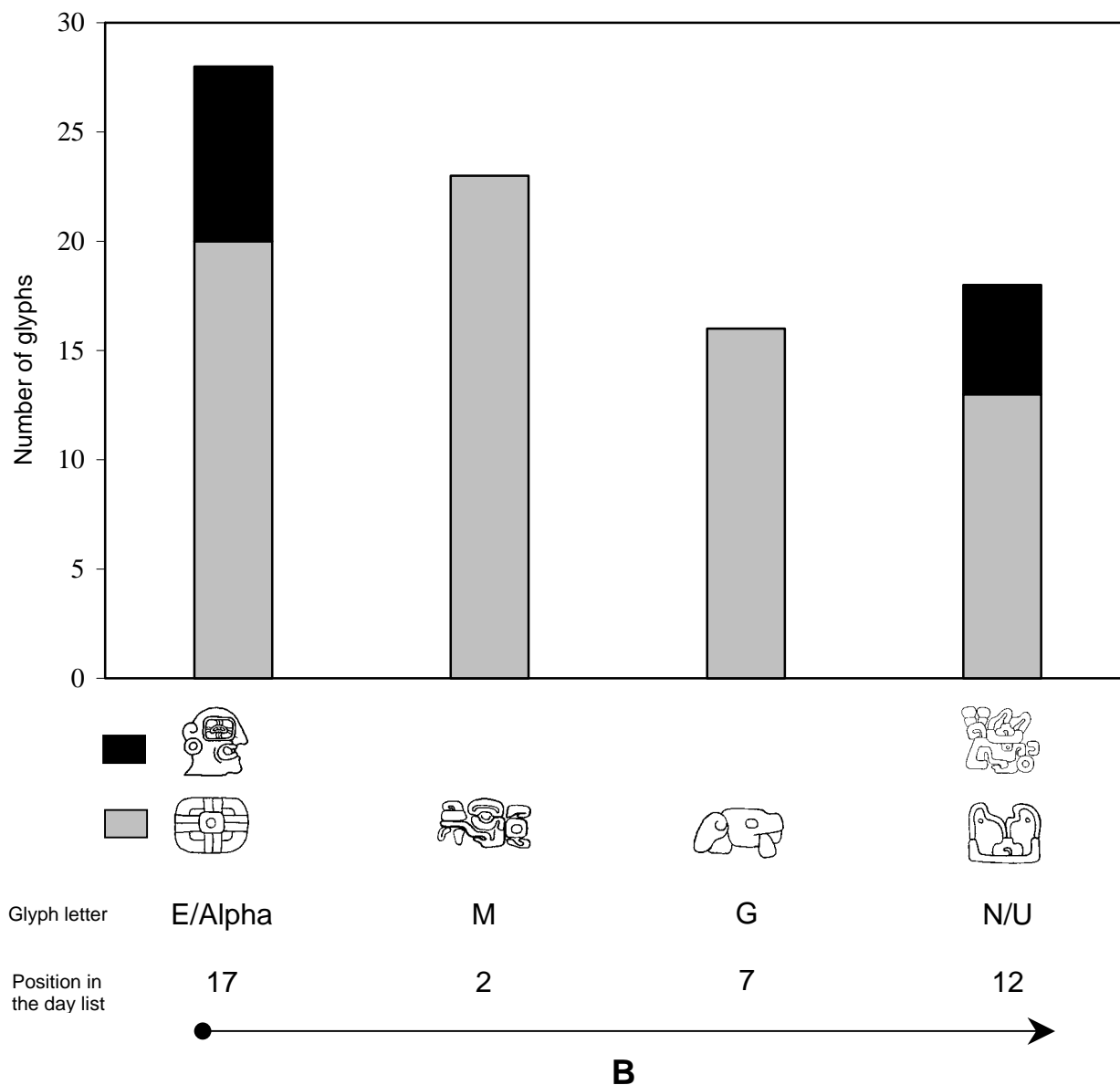
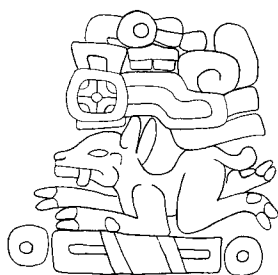
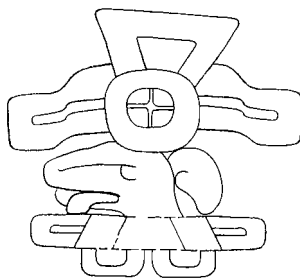


Figure 1.22- [A] The year glyph (profile and frontal versions), and [B] the reckoning sequence of the Year Bearers in the Zapotec Calendar Round.

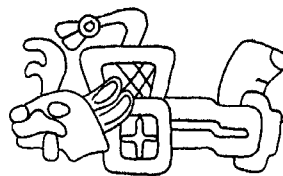
© Javier Urcid. All rights reserved.



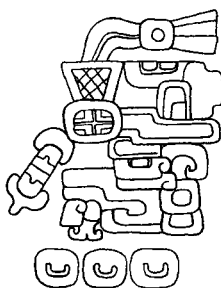
Nexicho, Monument 8
Annual date 7 Deer



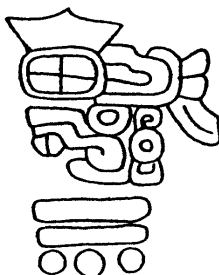
Monte Albán, Vértice Geodésico
Stone 3. Annual date 7 Deer
(reconstructed)



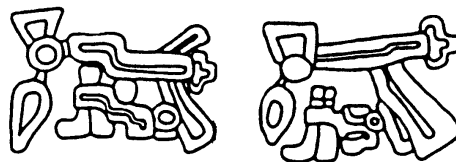
Monte Albán, Vértice Geodésico
South, Column 5. Annual date
? Deer (numeral is missing)



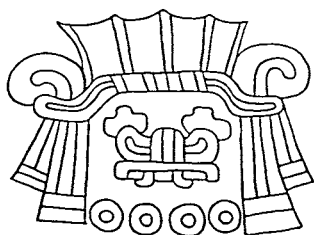
Cerro de la Campana,
tomb 6, Stone 2. Annual
date 3 M



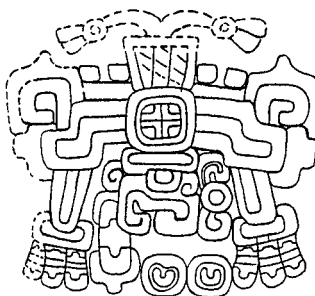
Monte Albán, Vértice
Geodésico East, Monument
2. Annual date 13 M



Unknown provenience, Museo de las
Culturas, Mexico City (cat. no. 10-448455).
Two annual dates M (the coefficients are
implied, and could be 1 or 13)



Monte Albán, Vértice
Geodésico East, Stone
14. Annual date 4 M



Unknown provenience. Private
collection in Oaxaca City.
Annual date 2U



Unknown provenience,
Monument 1, Museo de las
Culturas, Mexico City.
Annual date U (the coefficient is
implied and could be 1 or 13)

Figure 1.23- Annual dates that have surfaced after the
publication of “Zapotec Hieroglyphic Writing”.

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①



Small ceramic container in the shape of a personage wearing a loincloth and covered with the head and skin of a jaguar poised as a predator stocking its prey (Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich, cat. no. 10.3493; height 8 cm, length 16 cm).

②



Polychrome ceramic sculpture representing a seated jaguar. Similar representations in terracotta or stone are known from various regions of Mesoamerica. This example was found complete but fragmented in a trash dump adjacent to the West Platform of Building M at Monte Albán (Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia, height 88 cm).

④



Ceramic effigy vessel from Cerro de las Minas, Huajuapán de León, Mixteca Baja. It represents a ruler named 9 Deer carrying as headgear the head and the hanging anterior extremities of a feline (ex- Museo Frissell cat. no. 7419, height 45 cm).

③



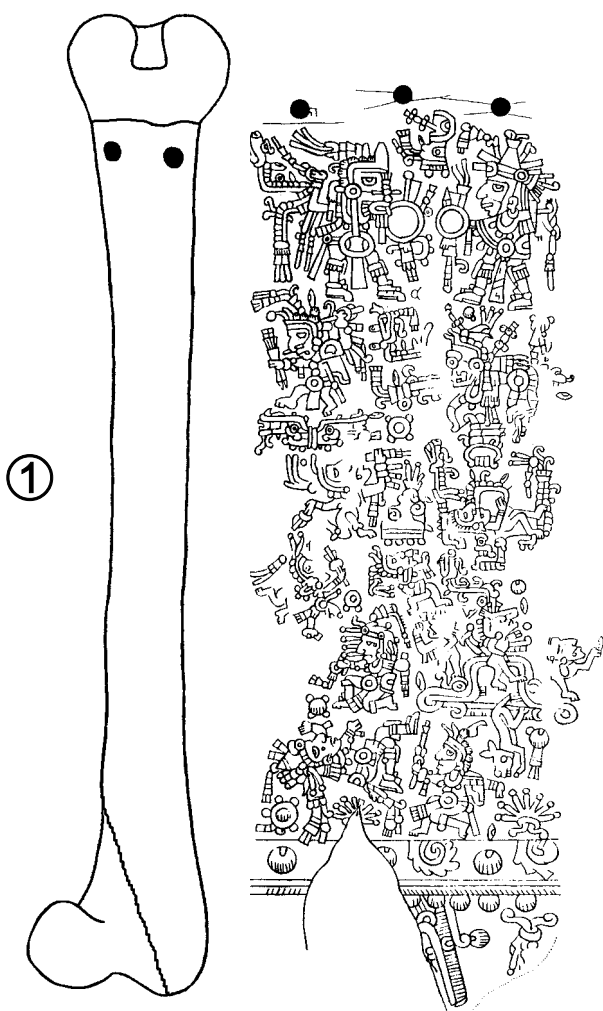
Ceramic effigy vessel representing a female wearing a jaguar helmet and seated over a 'Hill' or a pyramidal platform that may signify "kingdom". The piece was found in tomb 95-1 from Monte Albán (height 53 cm).

⑤



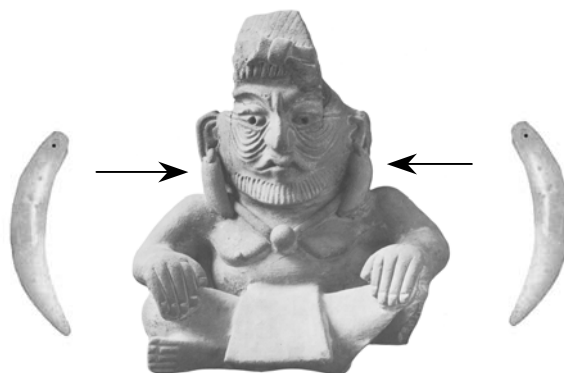
Stela 1 from Río Grande, Coast of Oaxaca. The imagery renders a ruler in a funerary box wearing as headgear the head and the hanging anterior extremities of a jaguar. Below are two calendrical names [7 "Tail of Fire-Serpent" and 3 Jaguar] (Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia, height 1.70 cm).

Figure 2.1- Human representations from ancient Oaxaca dressed as jaguars.



①
Femur of a wild cat incised with a narrative in Mixteca-Puebla style and used as a scepter. El Puente Colosal, Tepelmeme, Coixtlahuaca (length 21 cm; ex-Museo Frissell cat. no. 8502) (drawing by Ross Parmenter)

②



②
Ear pendants found in tomb 6 from Lambityeco. The ornaments were manufactured from the canine of a jaguar, cutting it longitudinally and perforating both halves in the apex (length 5.3 cm). This type of ear pendants is sometimes rendered in ceramic effigy vessels, like the one shown here representing an elder nobleman.

③



③
A noble woman named 13 Serpent seated on a stool covered with the pelt of a feline. Screenfold Tonindeye, page 35.

④






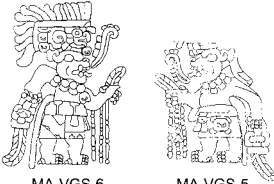
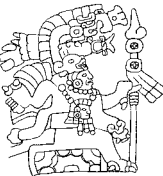





④
Ceramic vases in the shape of jaguar paws showing the claws and, in one case, simulating the spotted pelt. The vase on the left has the glyph 1 Jaguar with a speech scroll. While both objects pertain to different epochs, both come from localities in the Central Valleys of Oaxaca (maximum height 11 cm; ex-Museo Frissell cat. no. 1241 [left] and Museo de las Culturas de Oaxaca [right]).

⑤



⑤
Paired ceramic vases with the glyphs 1 Jaguar (left) and 2 Maize (right). The names appear to be those of a primordial couple (maximum height 11 cm; ex-Museo Frissell cat. nos. 8007-8008 [top], and 4151a - b [bottom]).

Figure 2.2- Material culture from ancient Oaxaca made of, mimicking, or representing jaguar anatomical parts.

CHRONOLOGY	MONUMENT	GLYPH	NAME	NOTES
ca. 800 ACE	 MA-VGE-2	7Ñ	7 Bailcourt	The jaguar lord has the 'Blood' glyph in front of the jaws
	 MA-TR-1447	1L	1 Eye	Only the bust of the personage is rendered, a visual convention for representing ancestors. He wears a jaguar headdress and holds a conch shell with one hand and a copal pouch with the other.
	 MA-VGS-1	1M	1 Lightning	The personage wears a jaguar headdress and carries a fish glyph in one hand and a copal bag in the other.
	 MA-VGS-6 MA-VGS-5	8 F	8 Night	The name of the jaguar lord on MA-VGS-5 is unknown. Both personages hold long beaded strands and copal bags.
ca. 550 ACE	 MA-SP-1c	13 F	13 Night	The ruler wears the complete pelt of a jaguar, including the head, the paws with claws, and the tail. He holds a lance with a bone tip and seats on a stool covered with a feline pelt
	 MA-SP-1a MA-SP-8b	5 B	5 Jaguar	The jaguar personage seats on a "Hill" glyph that has the "Heart" glyph inside
	 MA-SP-9	13 N	13 Soap plant	The ruler is not dressed as a jaguar, and only the torso is shown. He wears a bird's mask profusely adorned, and holds a scepter in each hand. Below are the open jaws of an alligator, indicating that the ruler is descending into the underworld, that is, he is dead.
	 MA-PA-2	4 V	4 Alligator	The representation lacks the head, but the jaguar was shown seated on a platform with a staircase in the center and decorated with the imagery of the alligator
	 MA-Md.II-1	11 C	11 "Rain"	The ruler stands on a glyph E, which has in turn a dart in each corner
ca. 400 ACE	 MA-TR24-1	8 E	8 Earthquake	The jaguar lord stands on a "Hill" glyph, with the personage's calendrical name conflated over the center

Rulers represented in the monoliths that marked the four corners of the South Platform at Monte Albán

Figure 2.3- Some of the rulers from Monte Albán represented as jaguars (the exception is the ruler's bust carved on MA-SP-9).

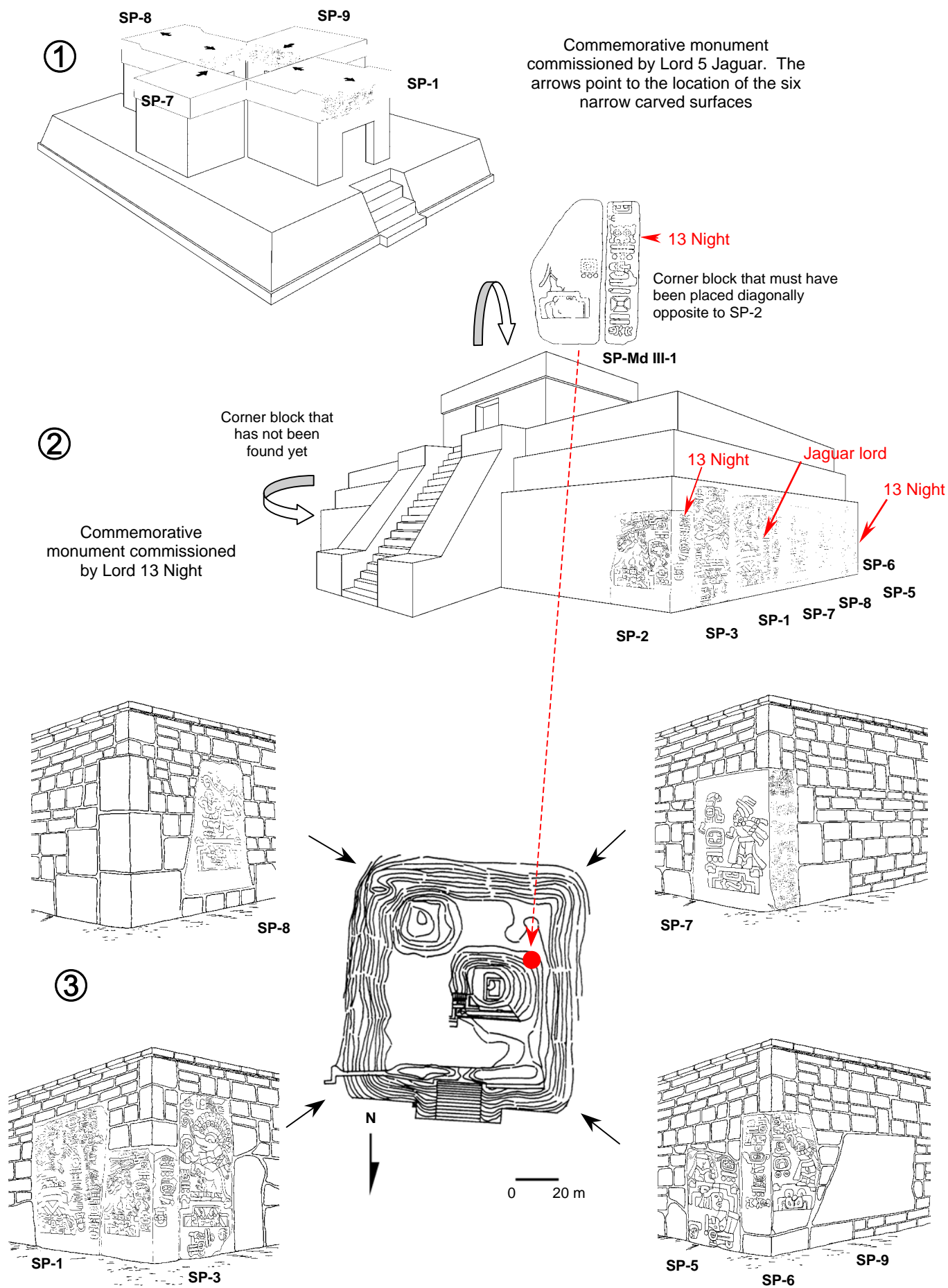


Figure 2.4- Multiple uses of the monoliths found marking the four corners of the South Platform at Monte Albán.

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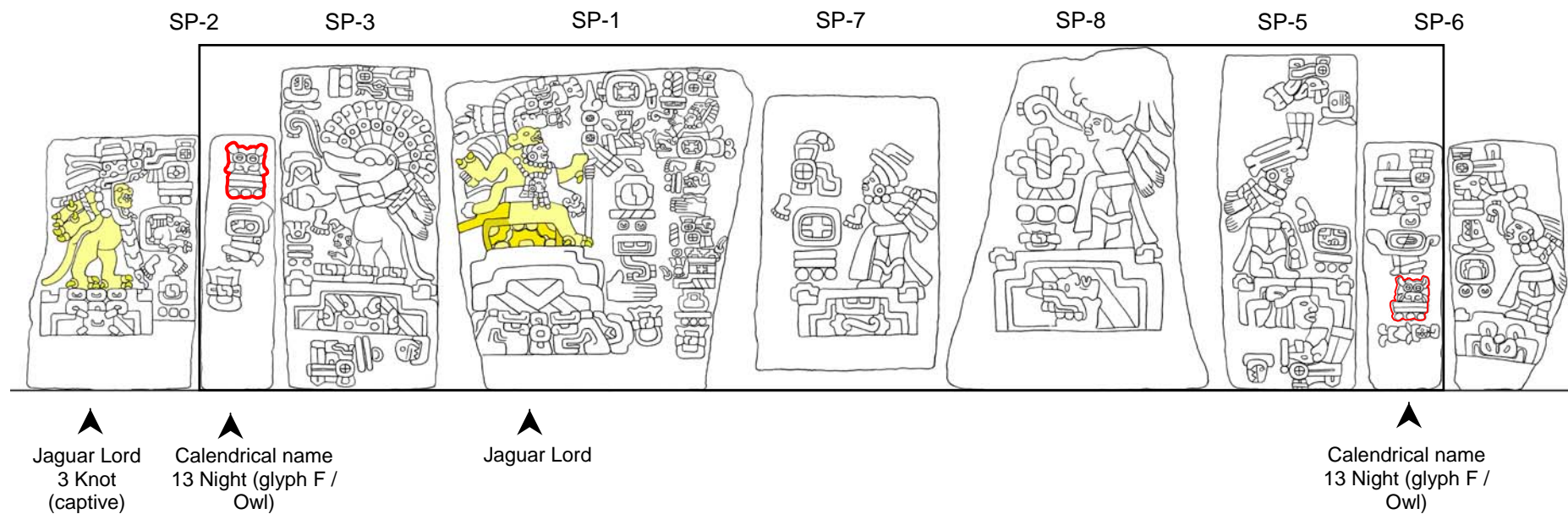


Figure 2.5- Hypothetical reconstruction in frontal view of the main section of the narrative program commissioned by Lord 13 Night (maximum height 2.27 m).

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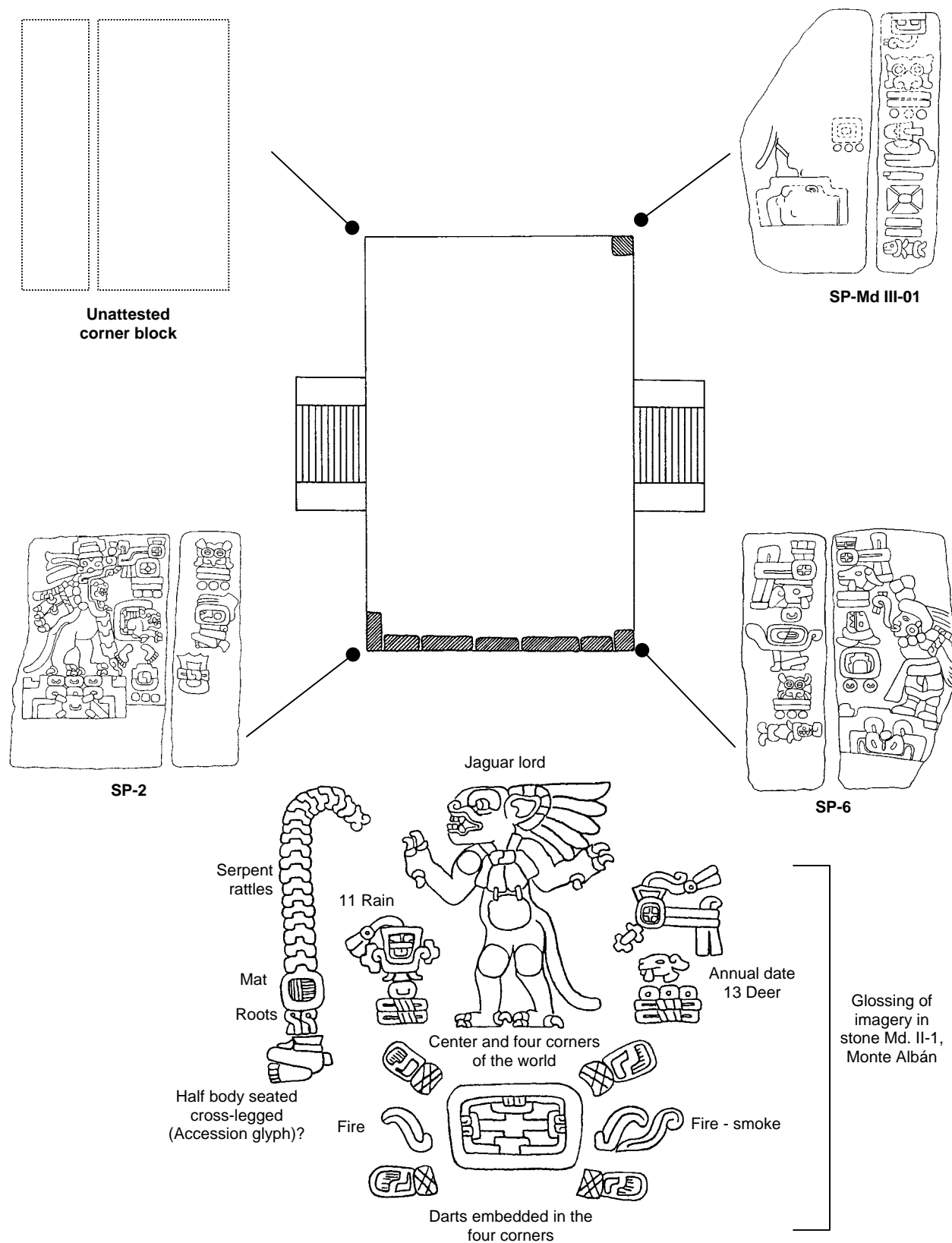


Figure 2.6- Architectural and narrative allusions to world-centering and quadripartite territorial claiming through symbolic conquest enacted by rulers during enthronement rituals.
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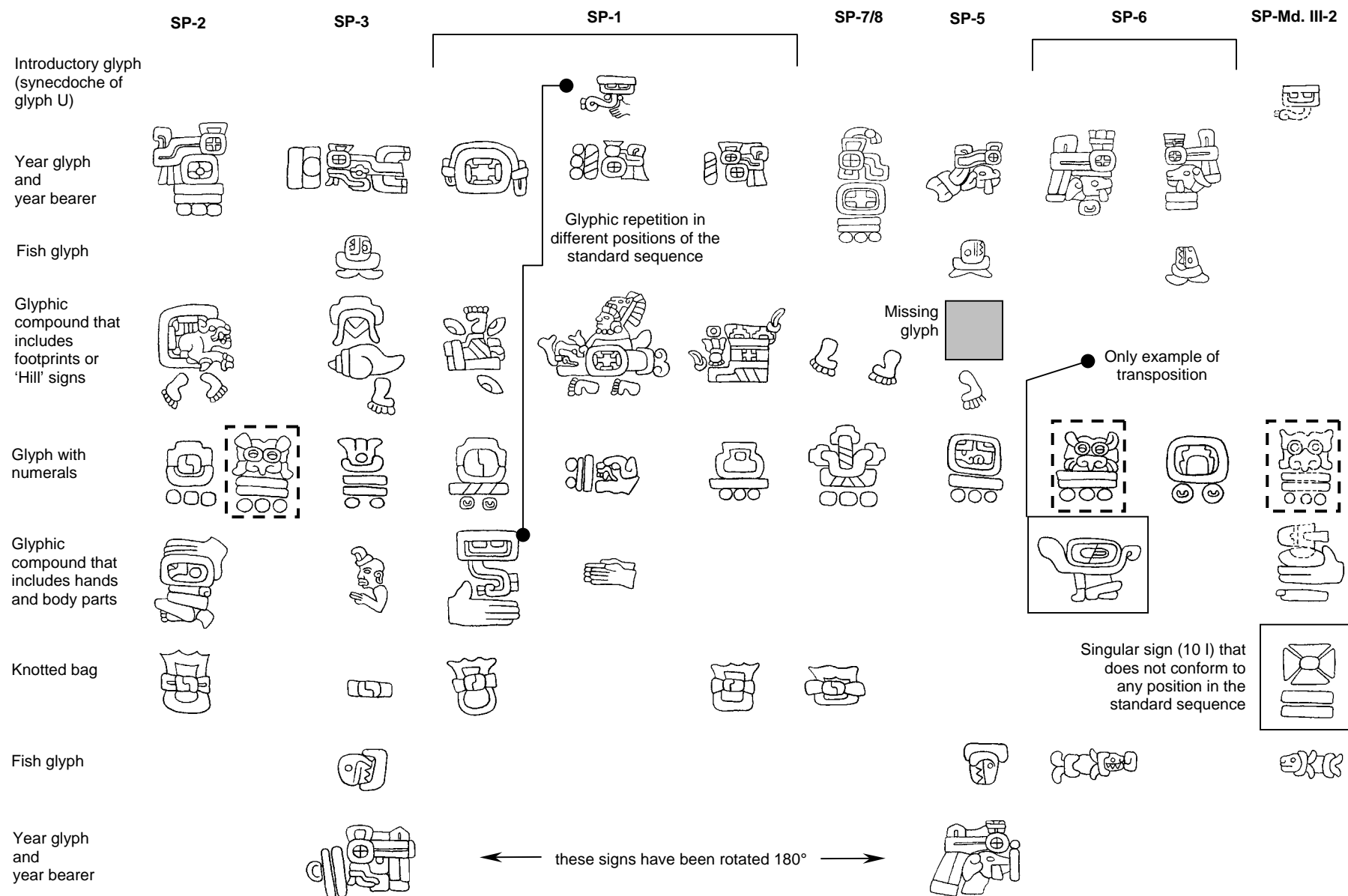


Figure 2.7- Standard sequence in the texts from the second narrative program carved on the monuments found in the corners of the South Platform at Monte Albán.

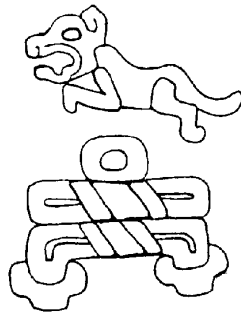
© Javier Urcid. All rights reserved.



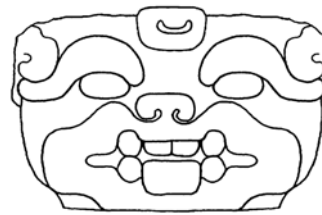
Glyph 5 Jaguar.
Monte Albán,
Monument SP-8b



Glyph 5 Jaguar.
Monte Albán,
Monument SP-1a



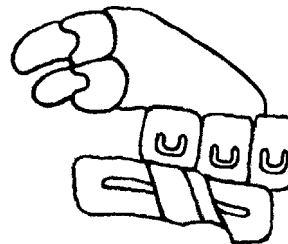
Glyph 11 Jaguar.
Ceramic cylinder. Unknown
provenience, Museo Amparo,
Puebla (cat. no. 1307)



Glyph 1 Jaguar.
Monte Albán,
Monument VG-4



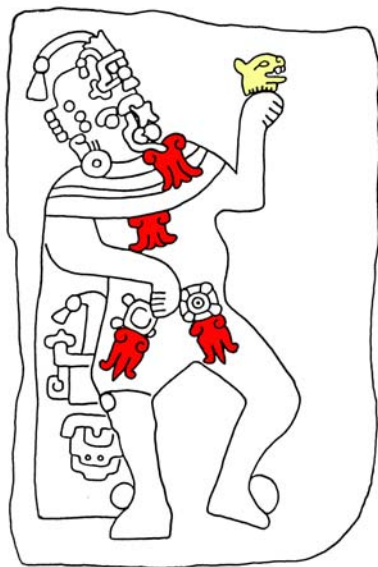
Glyph 7 Jaguar.
Yagul, tomb 28, lintel 1



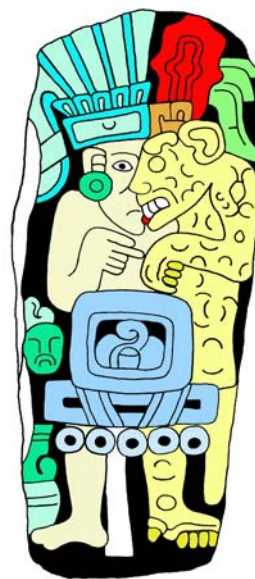
Glyph 8 Jaguar.
Unknown provenience.
Slab in unknown
Private Collection.

Figure 2.8- Alternative variants in the representation
of the 14th day name in the Zapotec script.

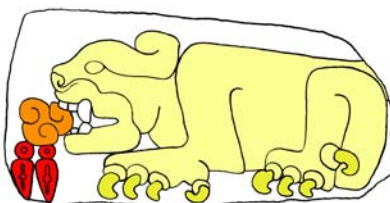
© Javier Urcid. All rights reserved.



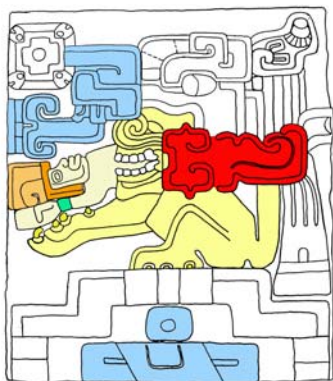
Monument J-41 from Monte Albán. The scene represents an impersonator of the Storm God holding the decapitated head of an enemy jaguar lord. Blood drips from the mouth onto the torso of the impersonator (height 1.34 m).



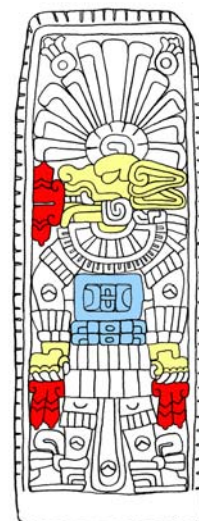
Stela 1 from Cerro del Rey, Río Grande, coast of Oaxaca. The carving shows a ruler named 5 Alligator (glyph RE). Its representation is half human, half feline. The 'Blood' glyph tops the headdress in the jaguar half (height 2.10 m).



Monument 1 from Cerro Grande, San José de las Huertas, Ejutla. The carving renders a jaguar devouring a heart with two dripping 'Blood' glyphs (height 62 cm).



Monument 3 from Cerro de la Caja, Tequixtepec del Rey, Mixteca Baja. The inscription renders a jaguar ruler named 6 Lightning devouring a human being, with blood in the corners of the jaws (height 1.56 m).



Stela 3 from Piedra Labrada, Guerrero. The carving represents a ruler named 10 Knot as a Jaguar-Sacrificer. Blood drips from the jaws and the claws (height 2.28 m).

Figure 2.9- Semasiographic allusions from several parts of Southwestern Mesoamerica to the jaguar alter egos of rulers as paramount sacrificers.

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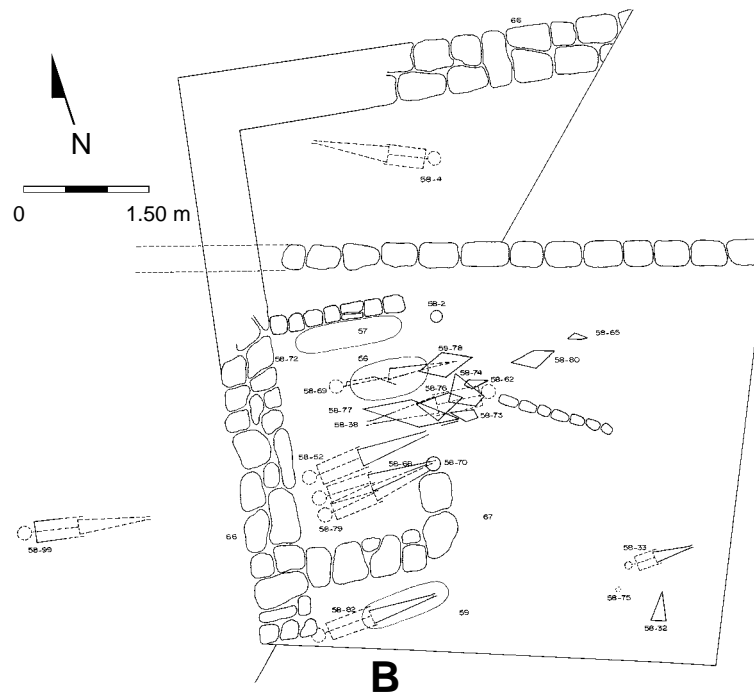
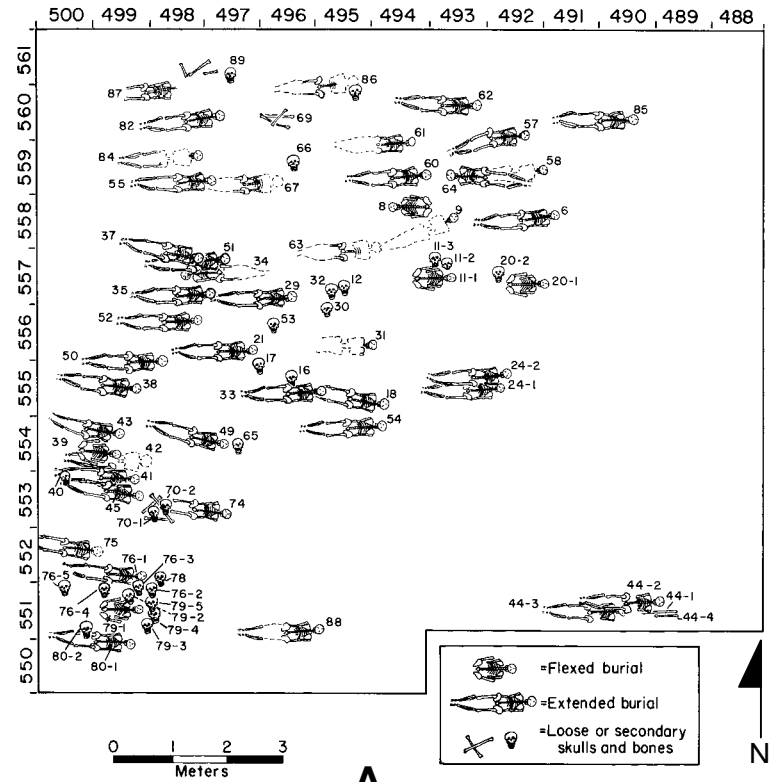
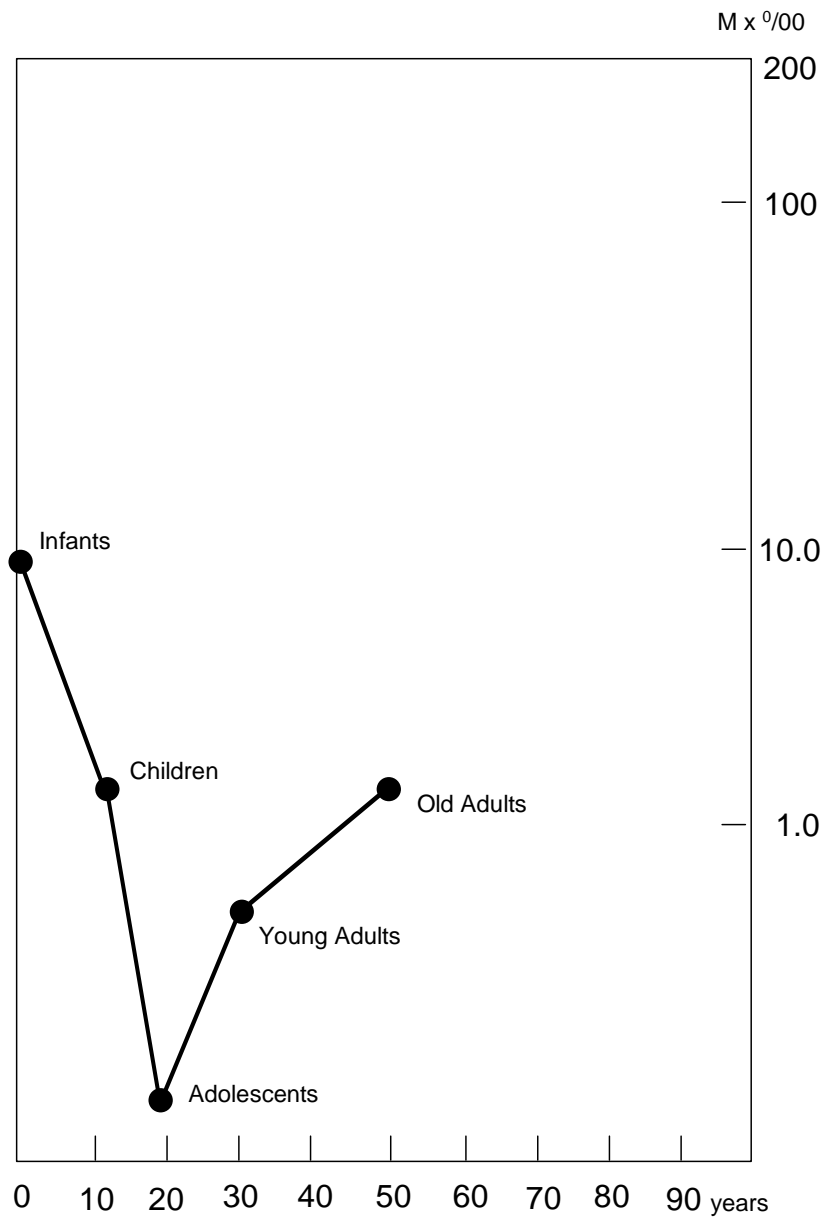


Figure 3.1- [A] Cemetery near Santo Domingo Tomaltepec (taken from Whalen 1981: 49); [B] possible cemetery in Terrace C at Yagul (the walls are later intrusions).

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The mortality curve was generated following the formula

$$M_x = \frac{D_x}{P_x}$$

where M_x = Mortality of individuals in age x
 D_x = Number of individuals dead at age x
 P_x = average of the population in age x

Figure 3.2- Mortality curve of the burials from Lambityeco (n= 88).

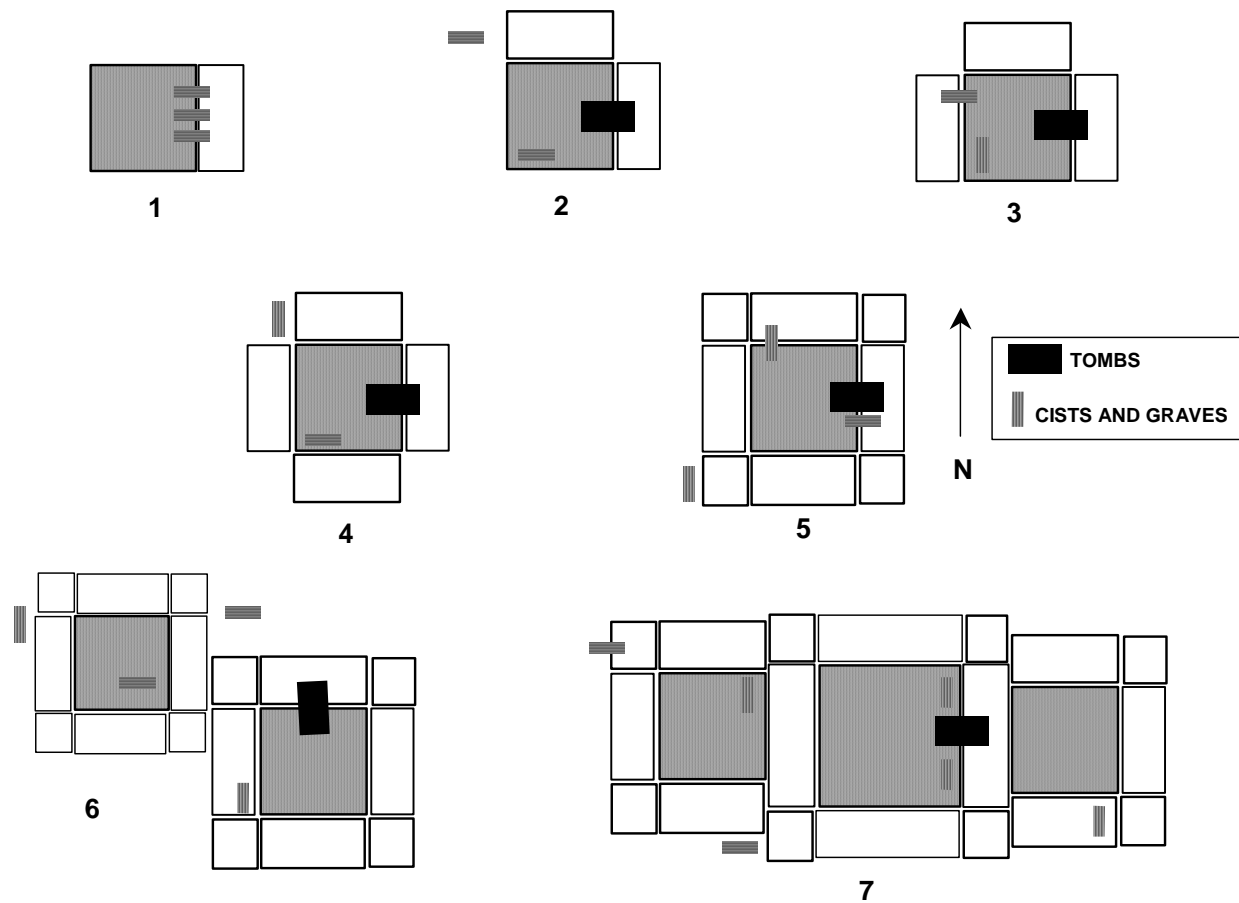


Figure 3.3- Variations in the configuration of domestic space among ancient Zapotecs.

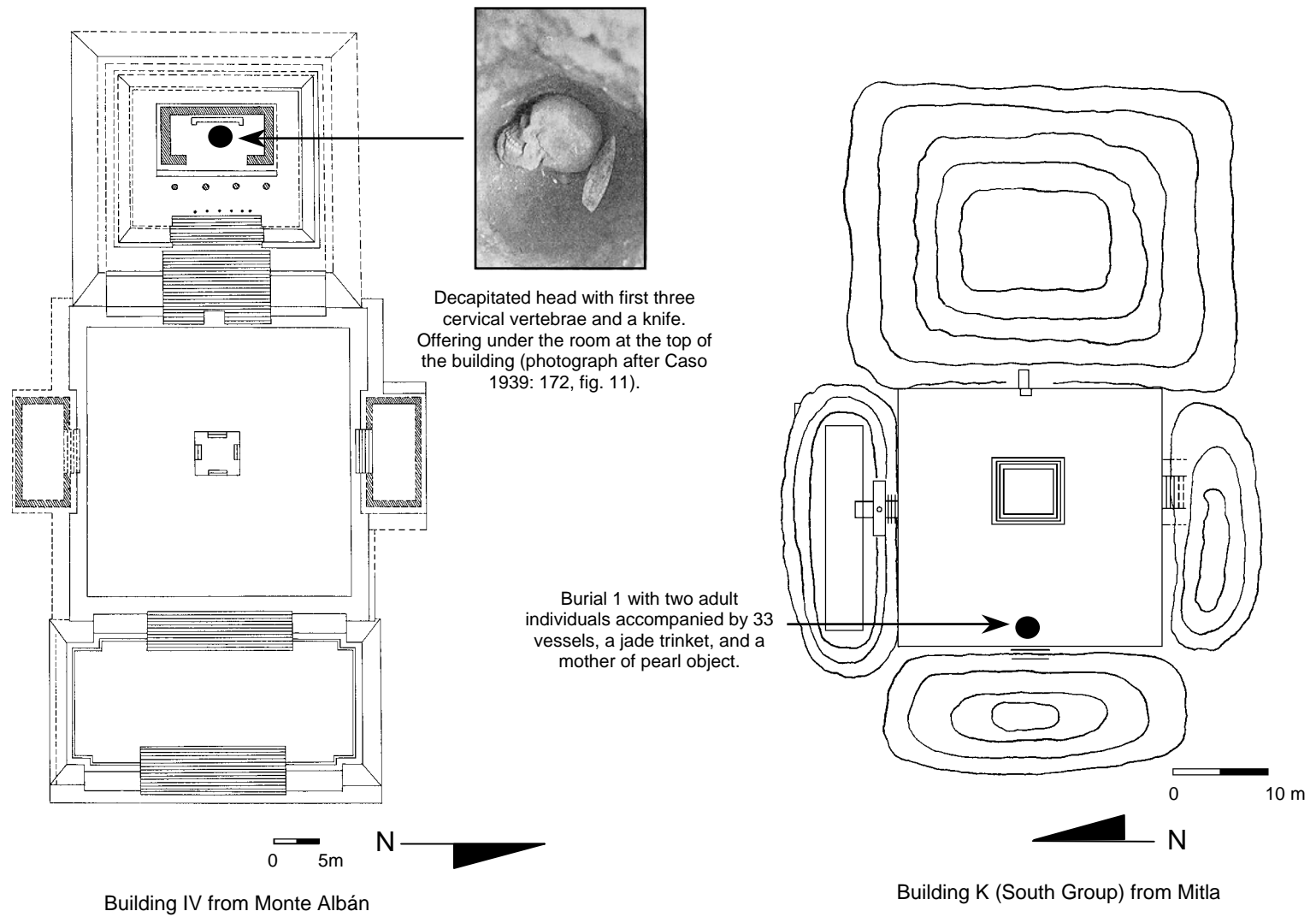


Figure 3.4- “Temple-Plaza-Adoratories” in Monte Albán and Mitla with burials of sacrificed individuals.

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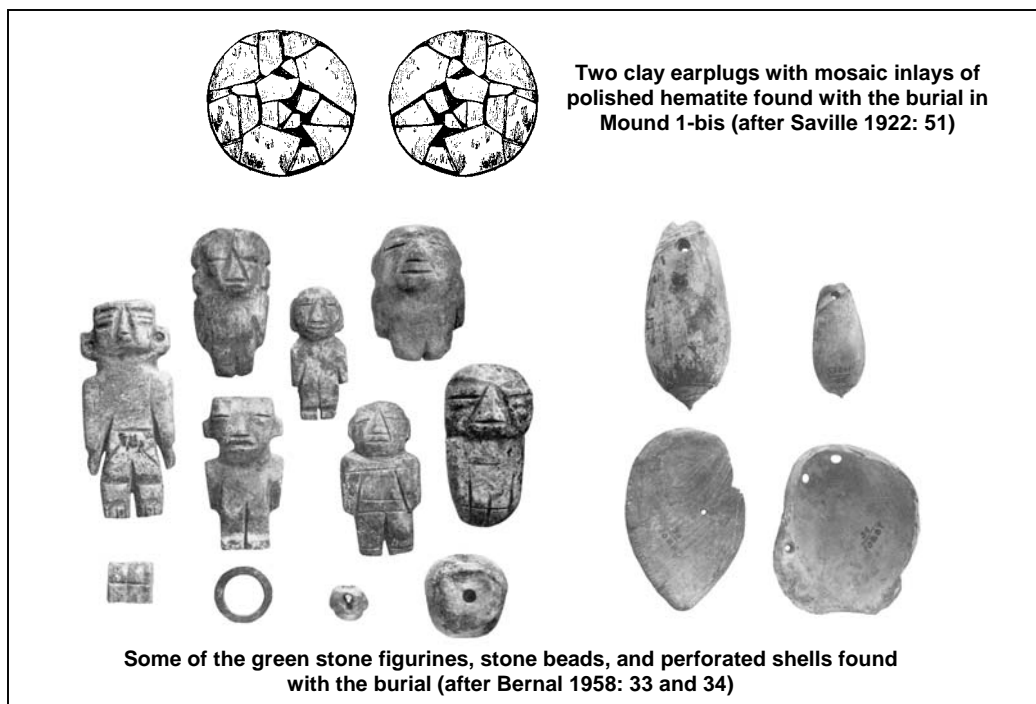
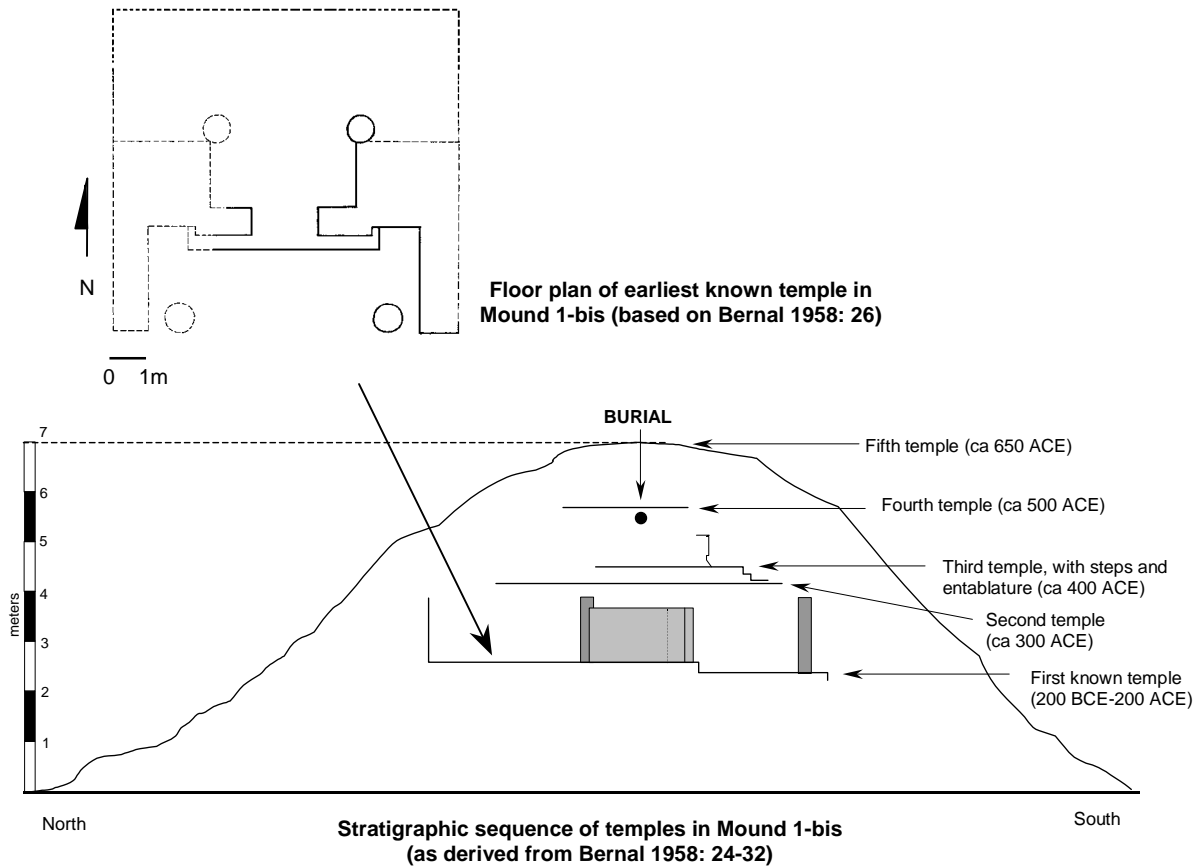


Figure 3.5- Consecrated burial of a child in the context of superimposed two-room temples in Mound 1-bis from Quicopecua.

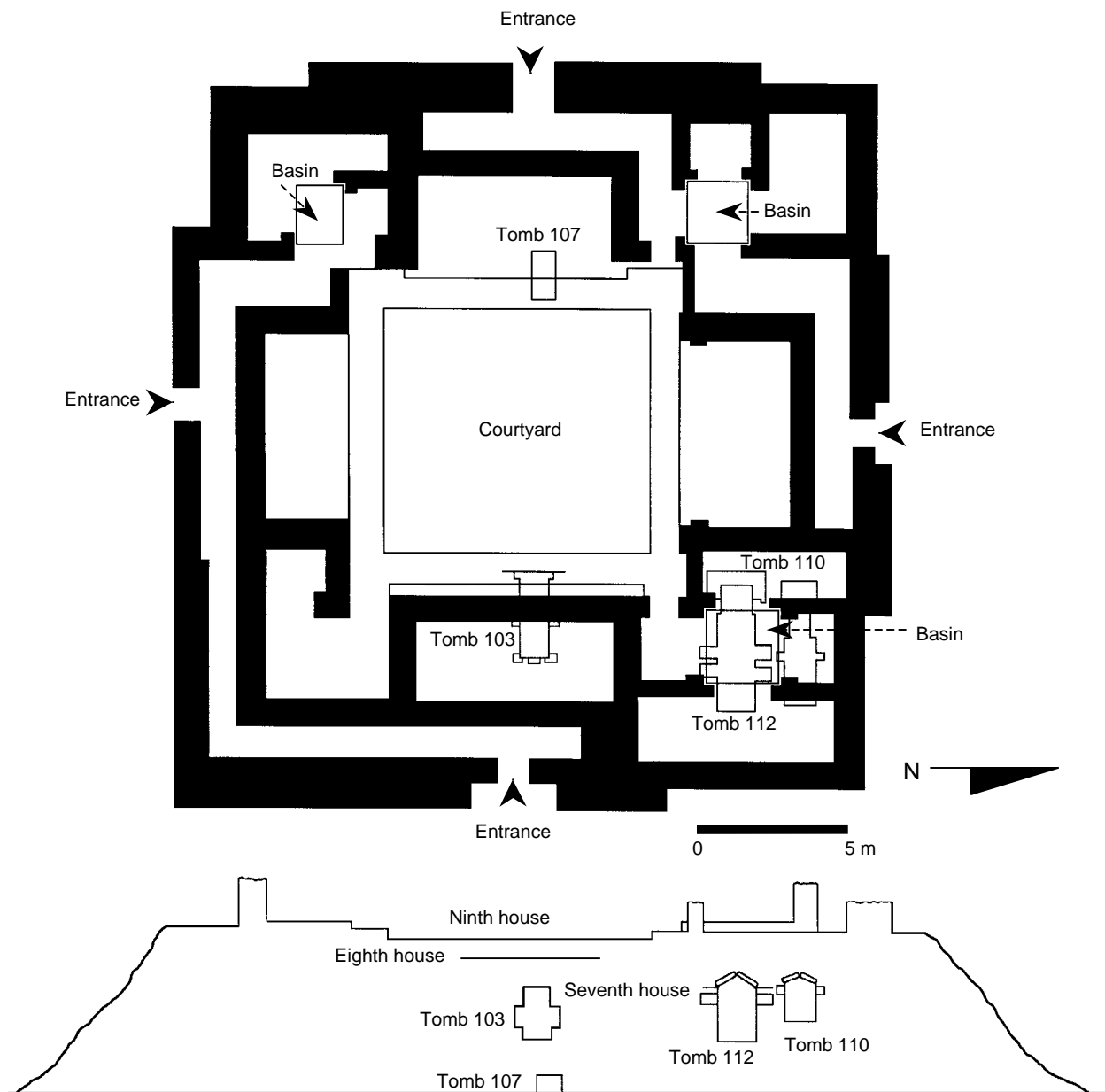


Figure 3.6- Superimposed houses in the mound on terrace 18 at Monte Albán, and several tombs in different stratigraphic positions.

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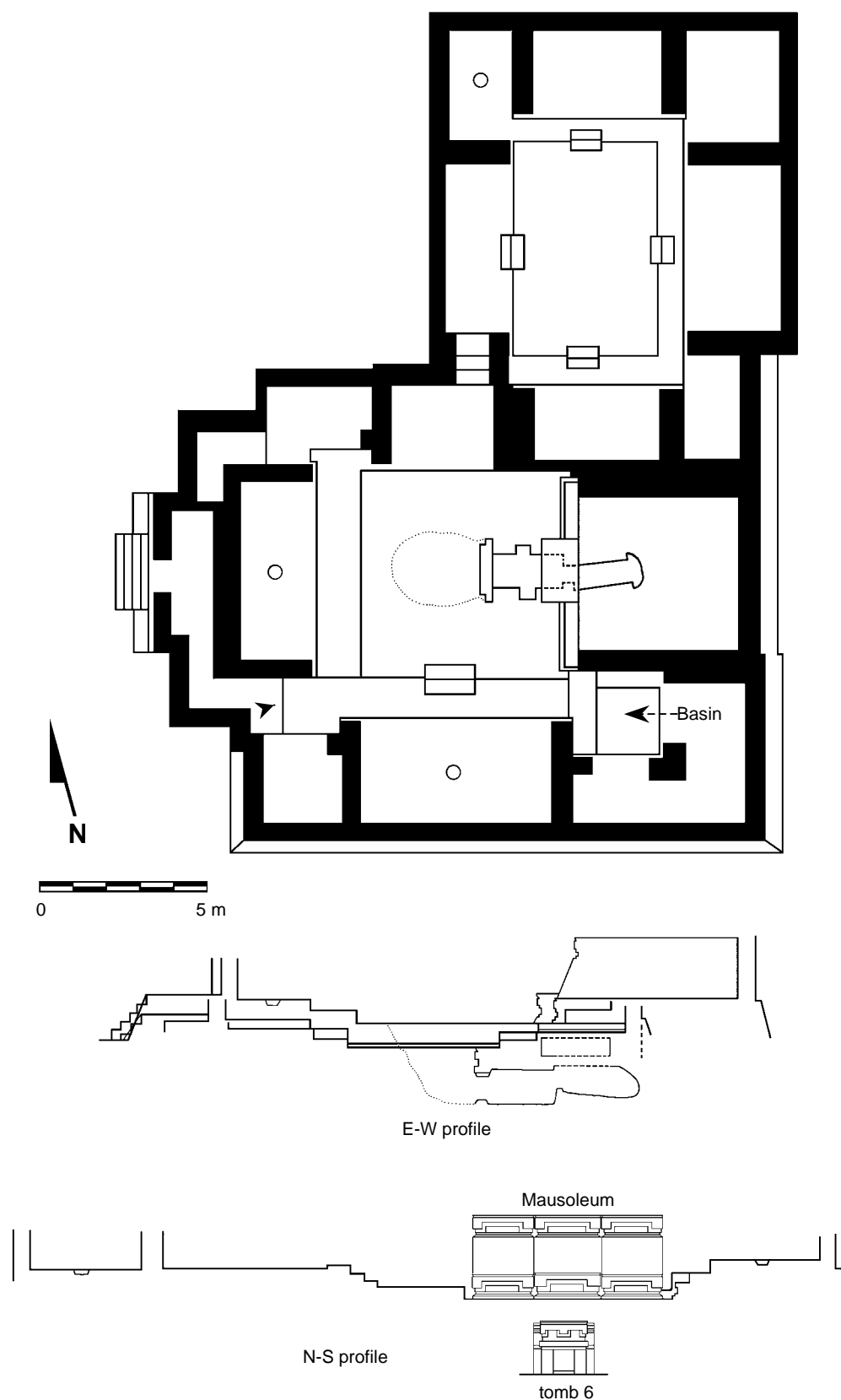


Figure 3.7- Floor plan of the fourth house in mound 195 at Lambityeco with tomb 6 and the mausoleum built above the crypt (drawing based in a floor plan by Lind [1993 and 2001]) (the arrow in the entrance corridor indicates the point of view for the perspective shown in Figure 3.8).



Facade of tomb 6 with the stuccoed representations of a man named 1Ñ (left) and a woman named 10J (right). (photograph courtesy of Michael Lind)

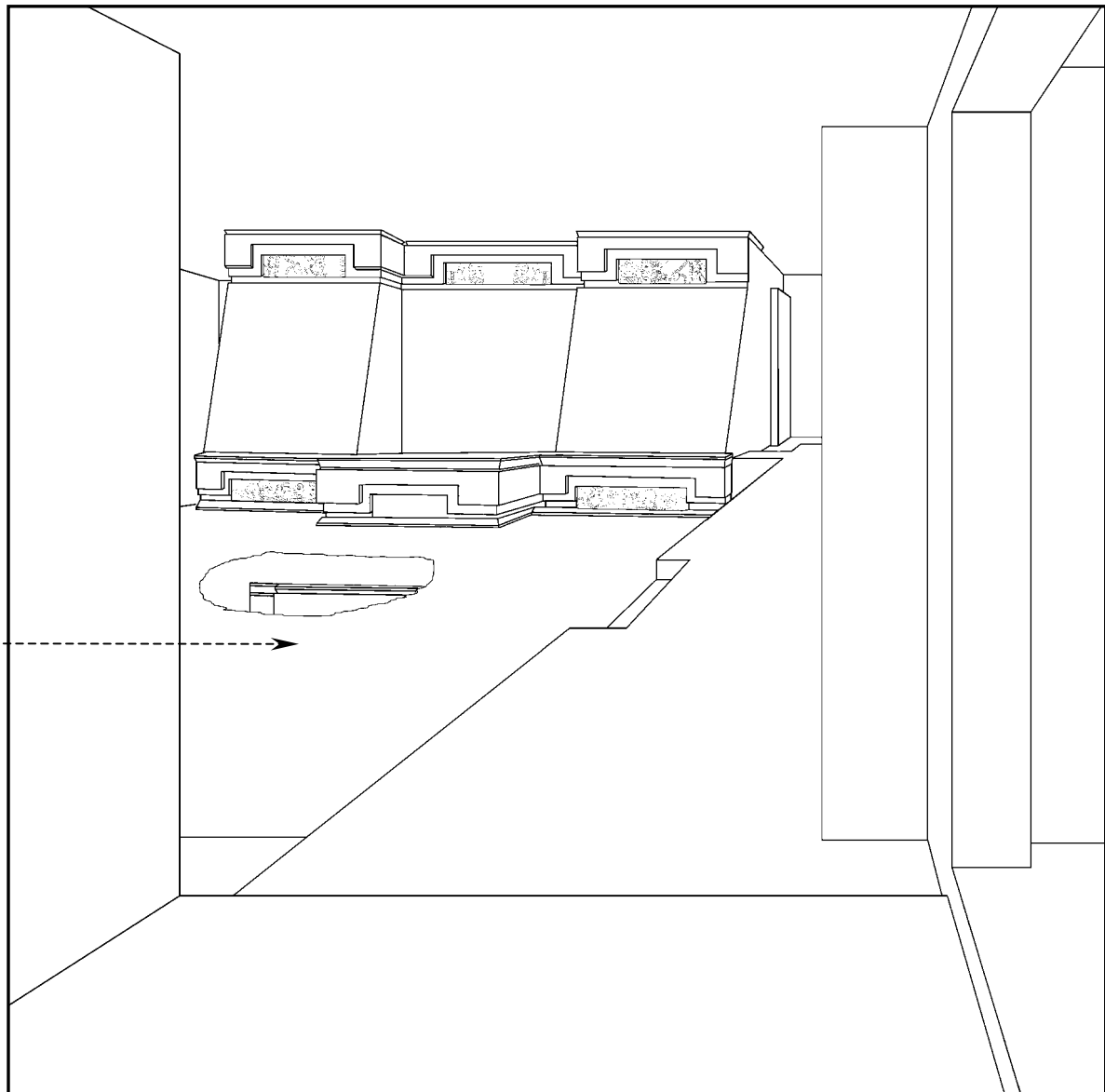


Figure 3.8- Three-dimensional view of the mausoleum built above tomb 6 from Lambityeco (the point of view is indicated with an arrow on Figure 3.7).



Figure 3.9- Floor plan of Lambityeco tomb 6 showing the distribution of burials and offerings (based on drawings by Joseph R. Mogor).

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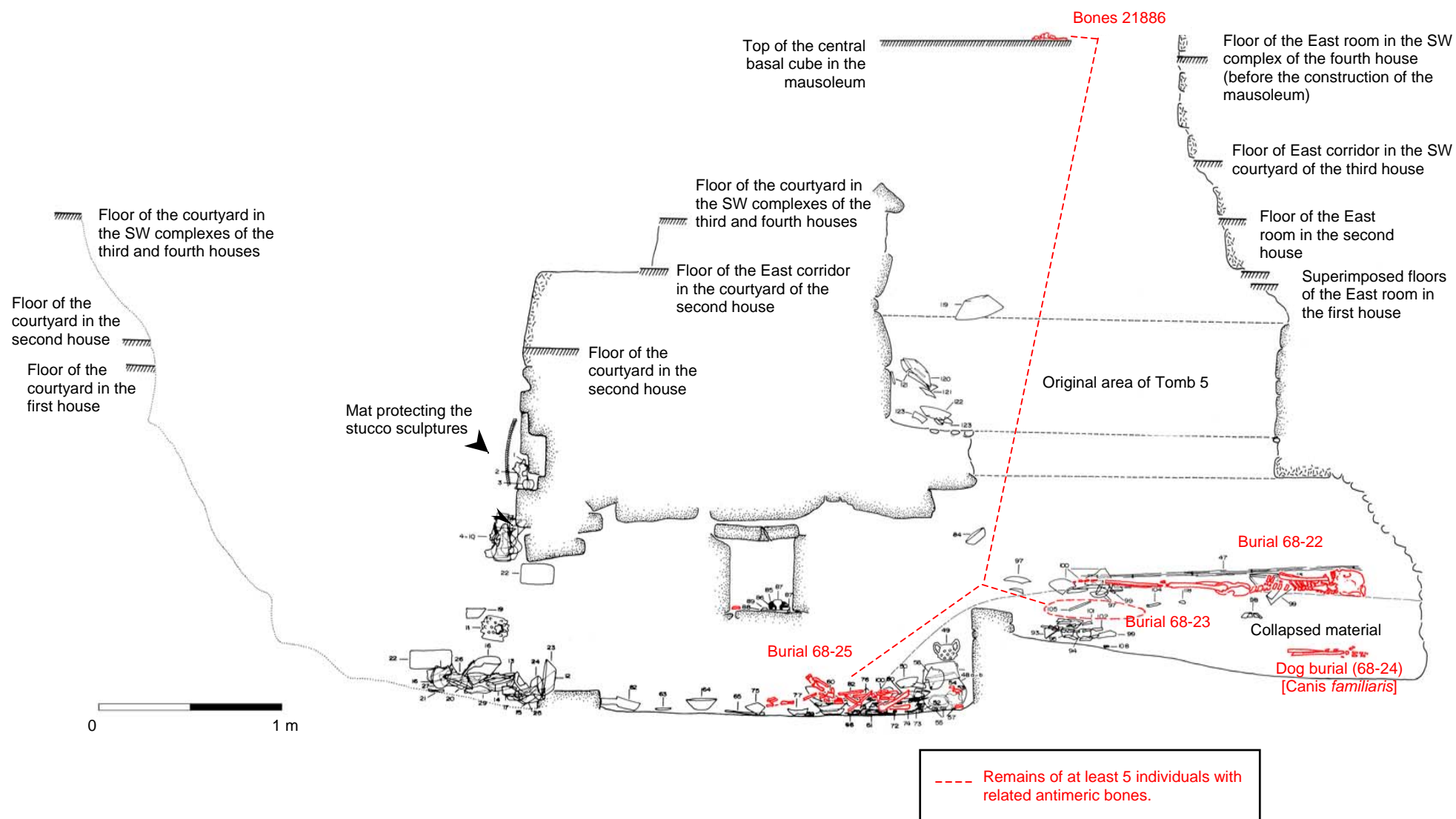
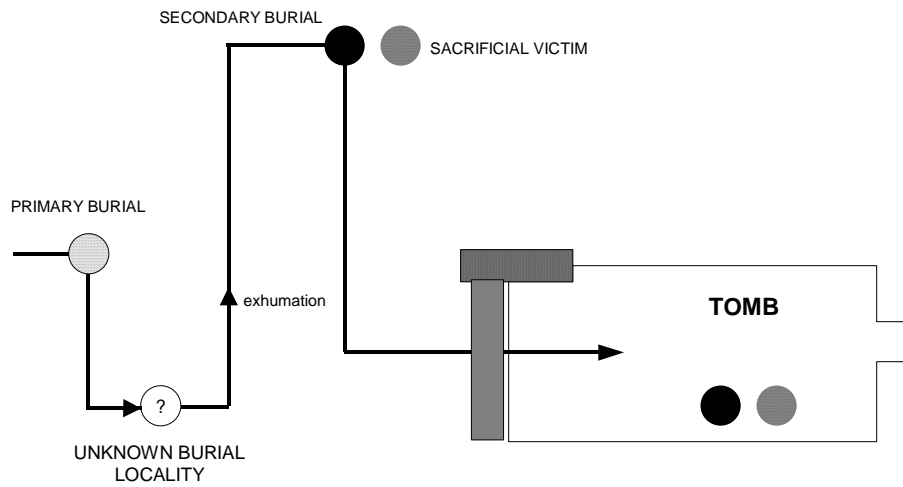
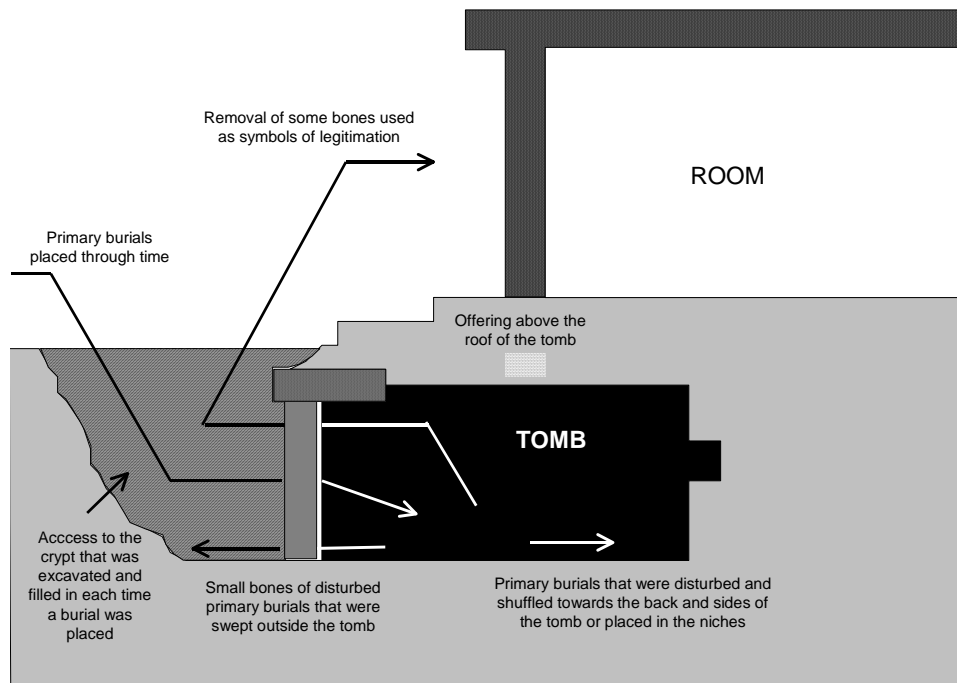


Figure 3.10- Profile view of Lambityeco tomb 6 showing the distribution of burials and offerings (based on drawings by Joseph R. Mogor).

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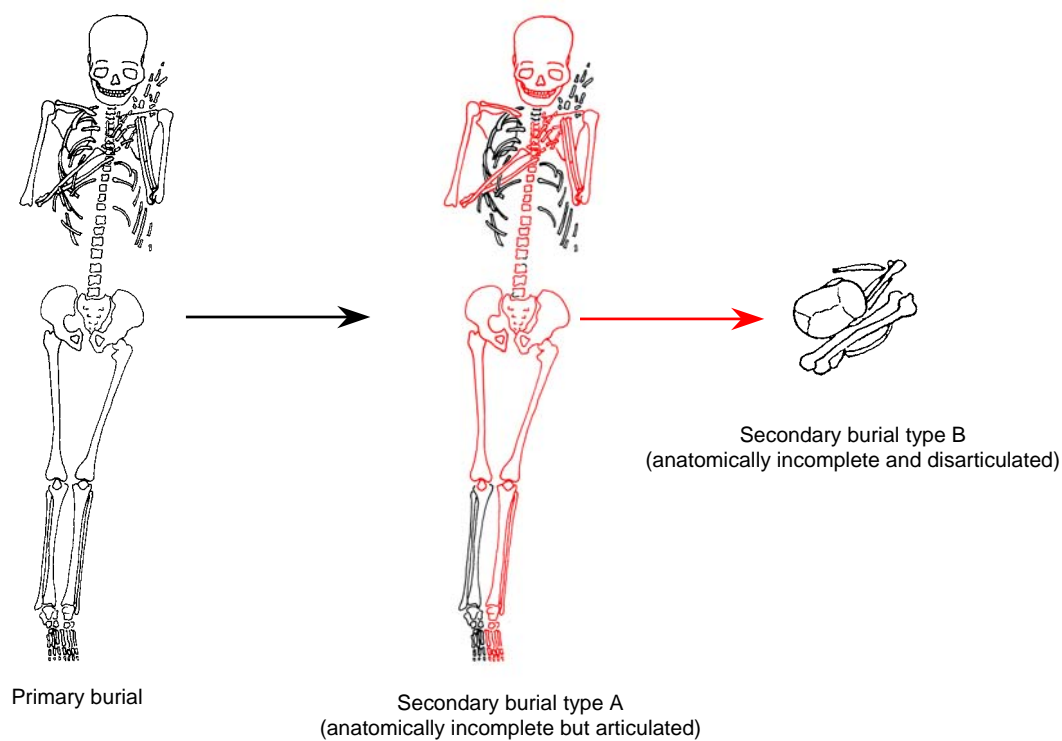
A



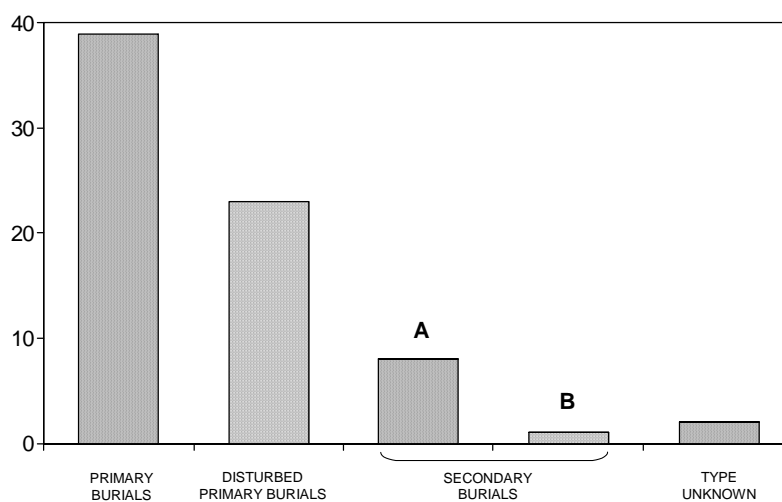
B

Figure 3.11- [A] Model of Zapotec mortuary practices according to Caso;
[B] Alternative model of Zapotec mortuary practices.

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A



TYPES OF BURIALS AT LAMBITYECO

B

Figure 3.12- [A] Formation of secondary burials types A and B; and [B] relative proportion of interment types in the burial sample from Lambityeco.

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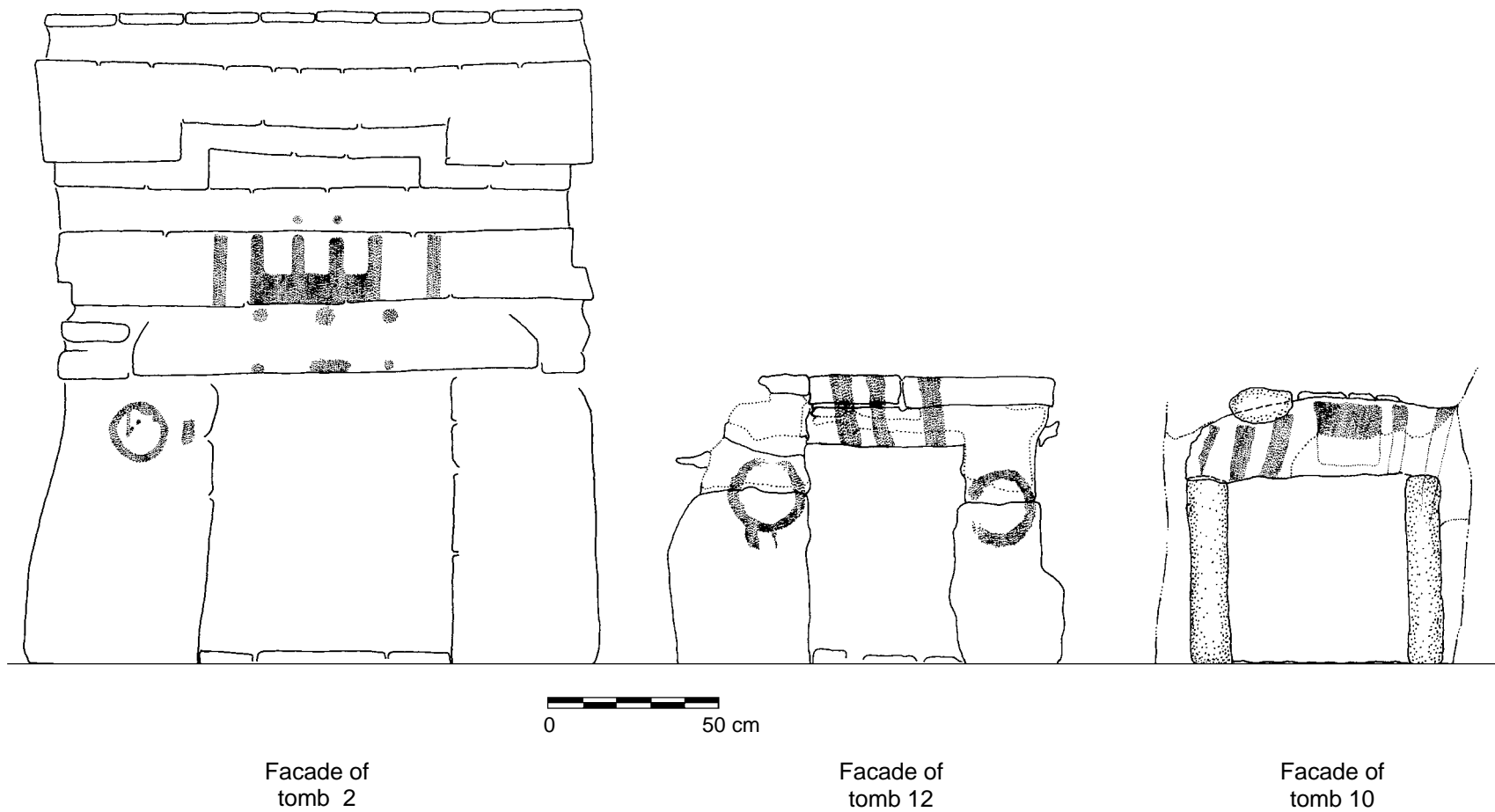


Figure 3.13- Motifs painted with red pigment on the facade of several tombs at Lambityeco.

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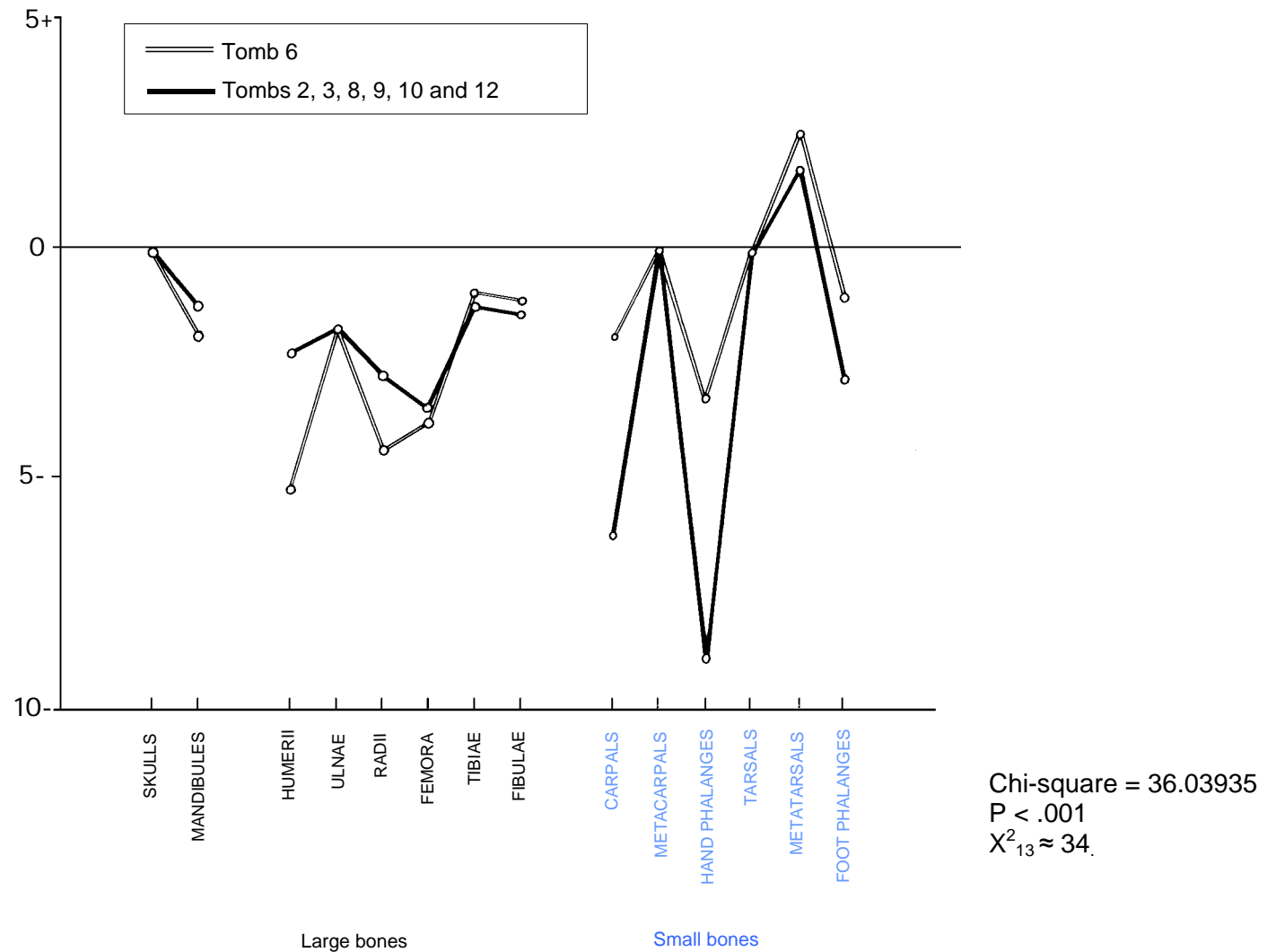


Figure 3.14- Chi-square analysis comparing the observed and expected frequencies of bones in the skeleton based on the minimum number of individuals detected in the tombs from Lambityeco.

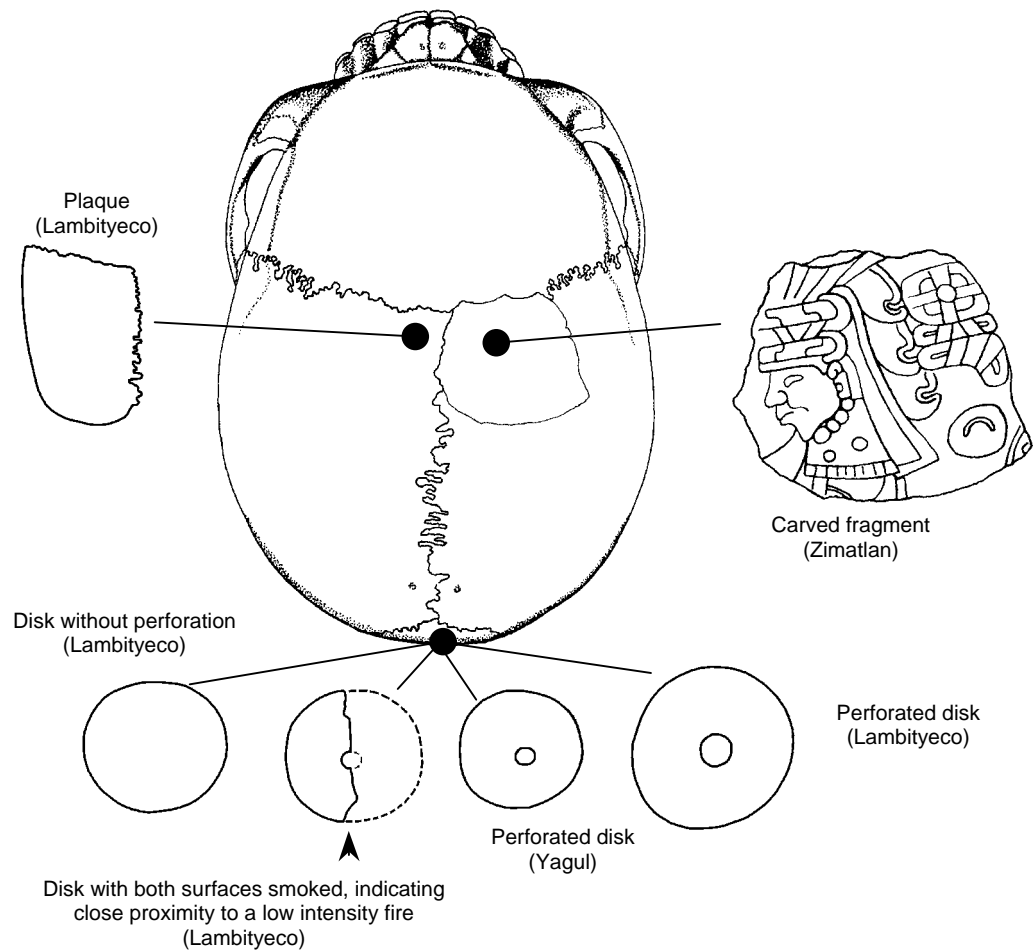


Figure 3.15- Objects manufactured from skulls that could have been heirlooms removed from tombs (the scale of the objects is in relation to the size of an adult skull).

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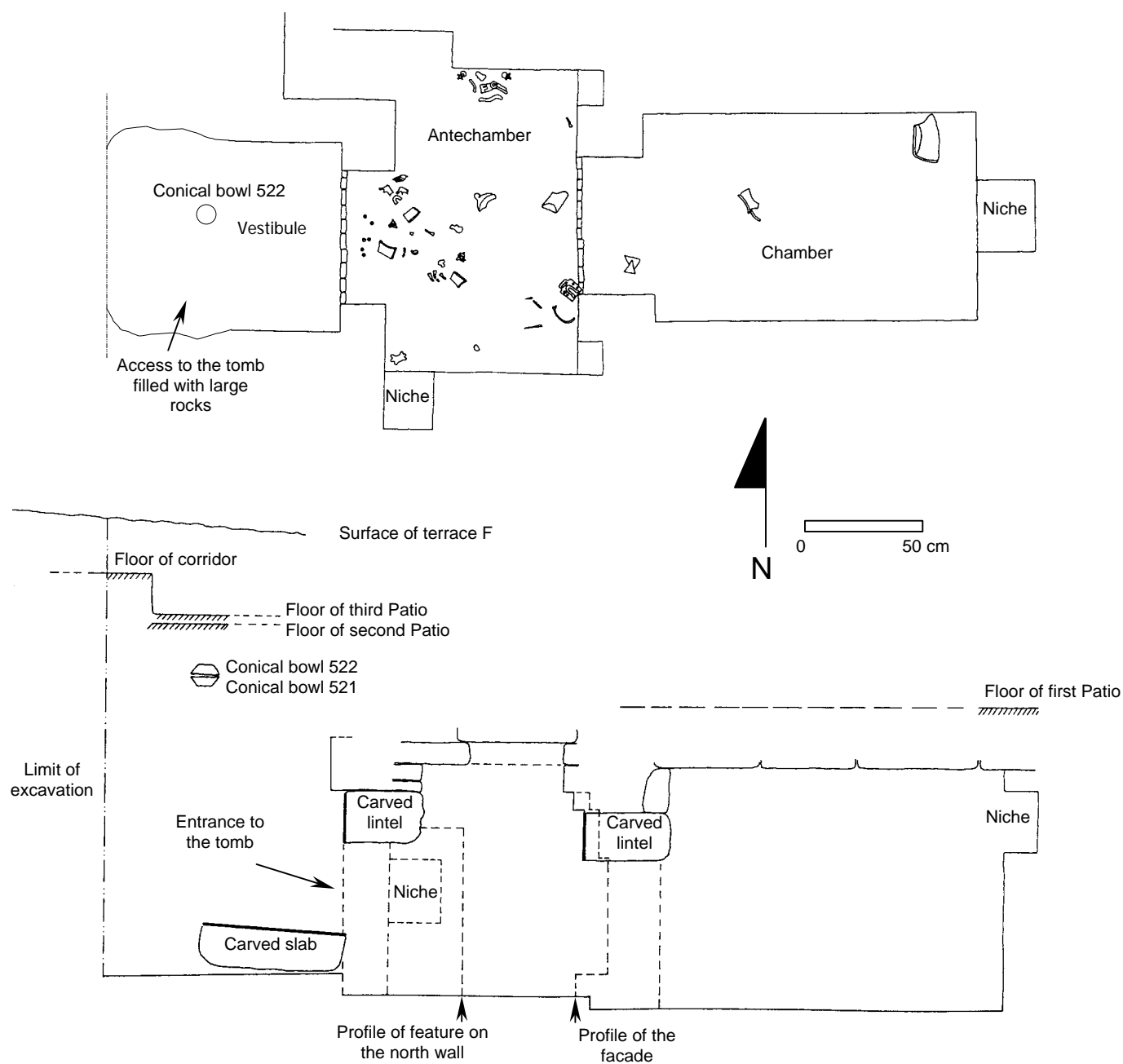
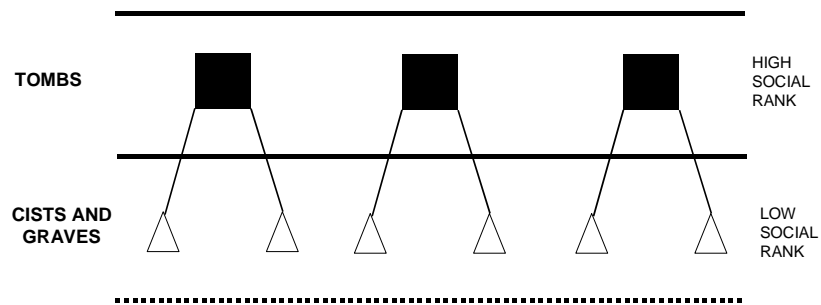
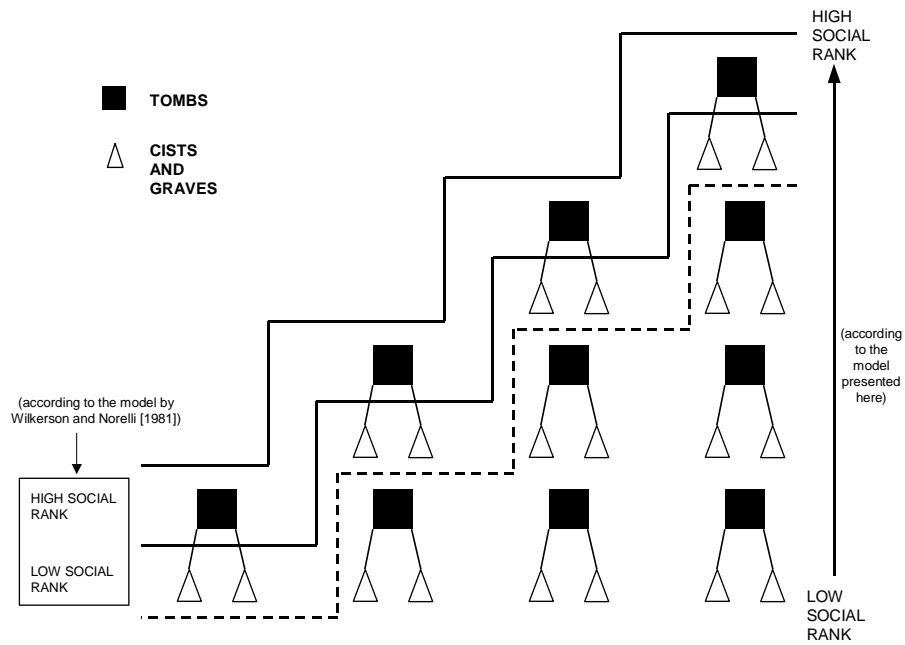


Figure 3.16- Plan and profile drawings of tomb 28 in terrace F at Yagul, Oaxaca (400-600 ACE) (plan drawing based on Flannery 1958).

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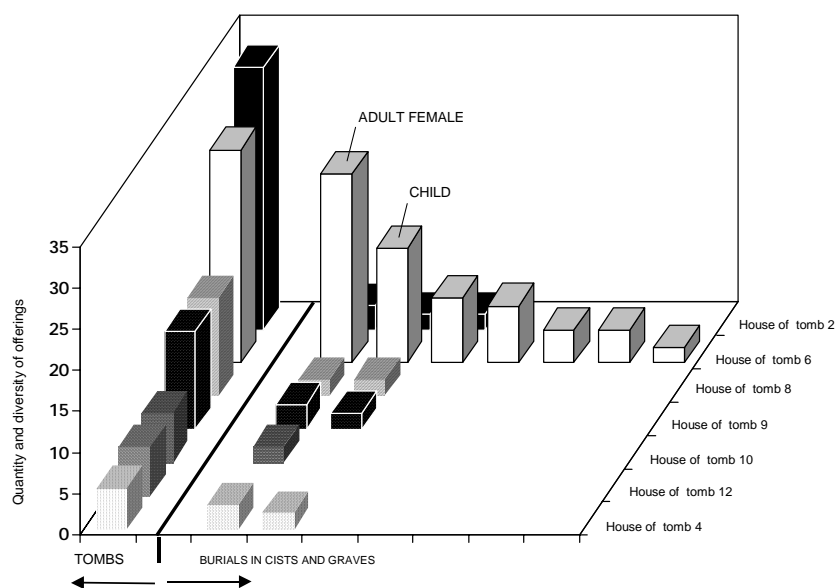


A

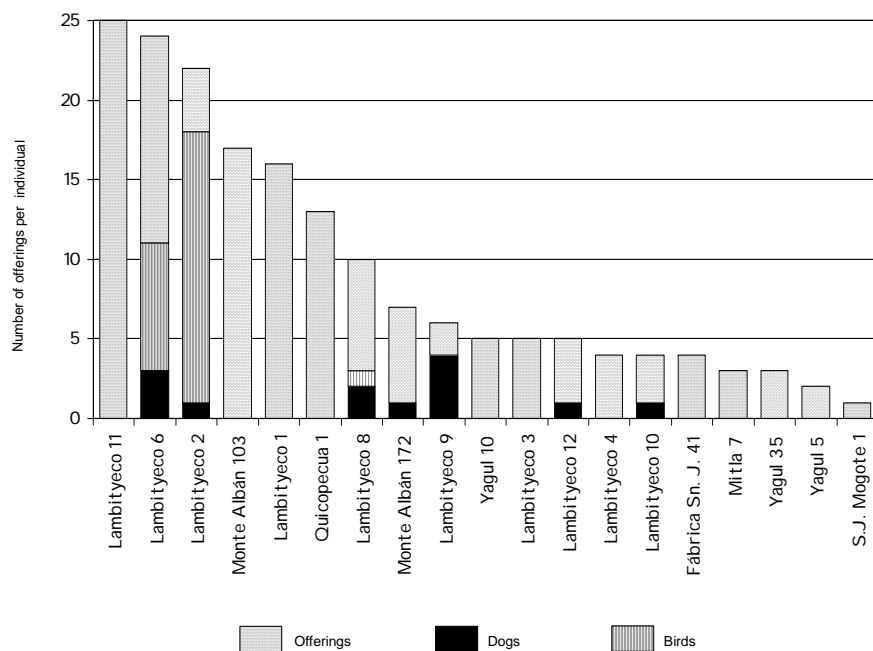


B

Figure 3.17- [A] Model of social differentiation at Monte Albán according to Wilkinson and Norelli (1981); [B] alternative model of ancient Zapotec social differentiation.



A



B

Figure 3.18- [A] Ranking of burials from Lambityeco based on quantity and diversity of offerings arranged by household unit; [B] Frequencies of dogs and birds plotted against the ranking of tombs from the Xoo phase.

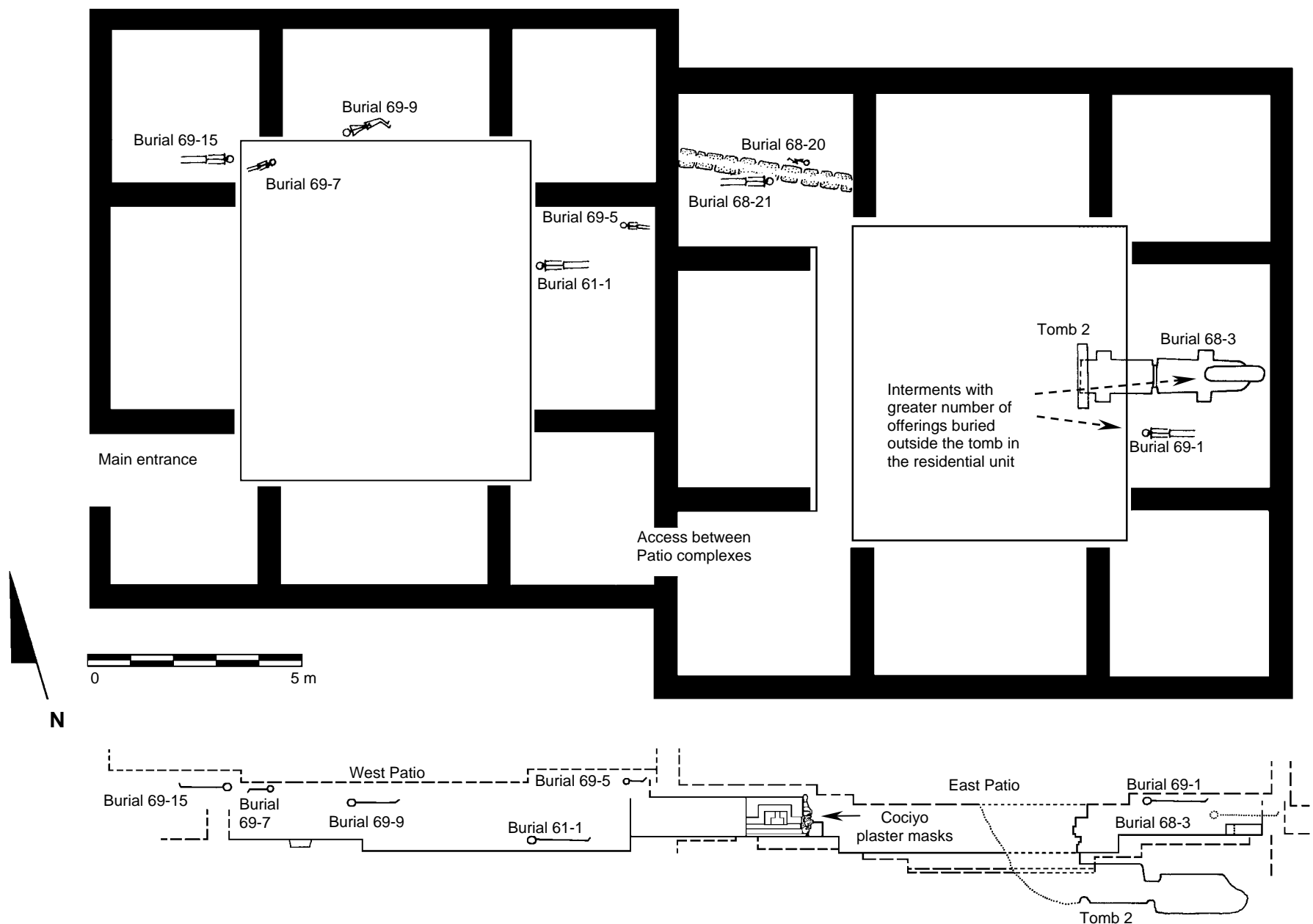


Figure 3.19- Plan and profile drawings of the third out of at least five superimposed houses in mound 190 at Lambityeco, and location of higher-ranking interments buried outside Tomb 2.

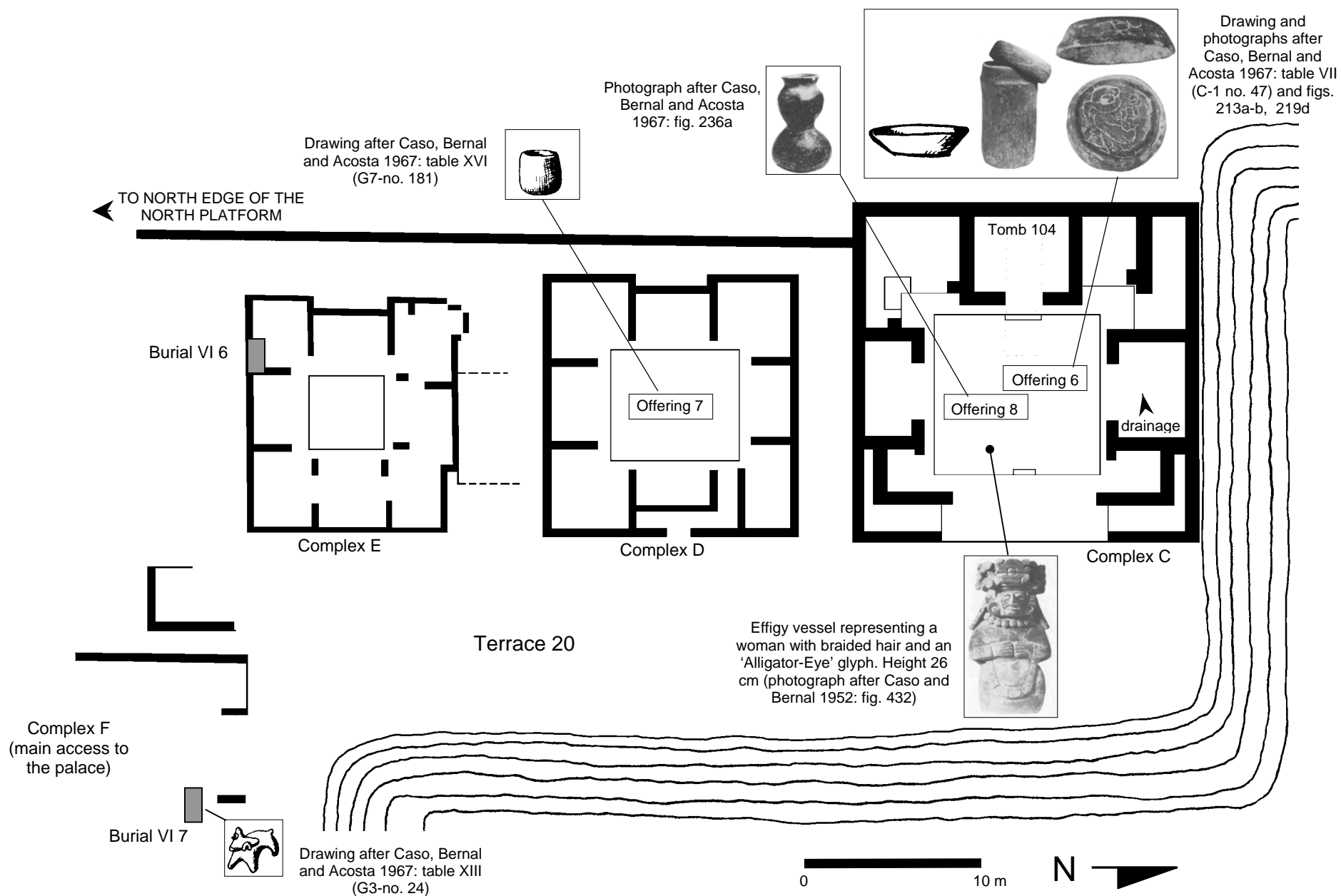


Figure 4.1- Palace with three Patio Complexes, and tomb 104 from Monte Albán (the exact provenience of the offerings and of the effigy vessel is unknown).

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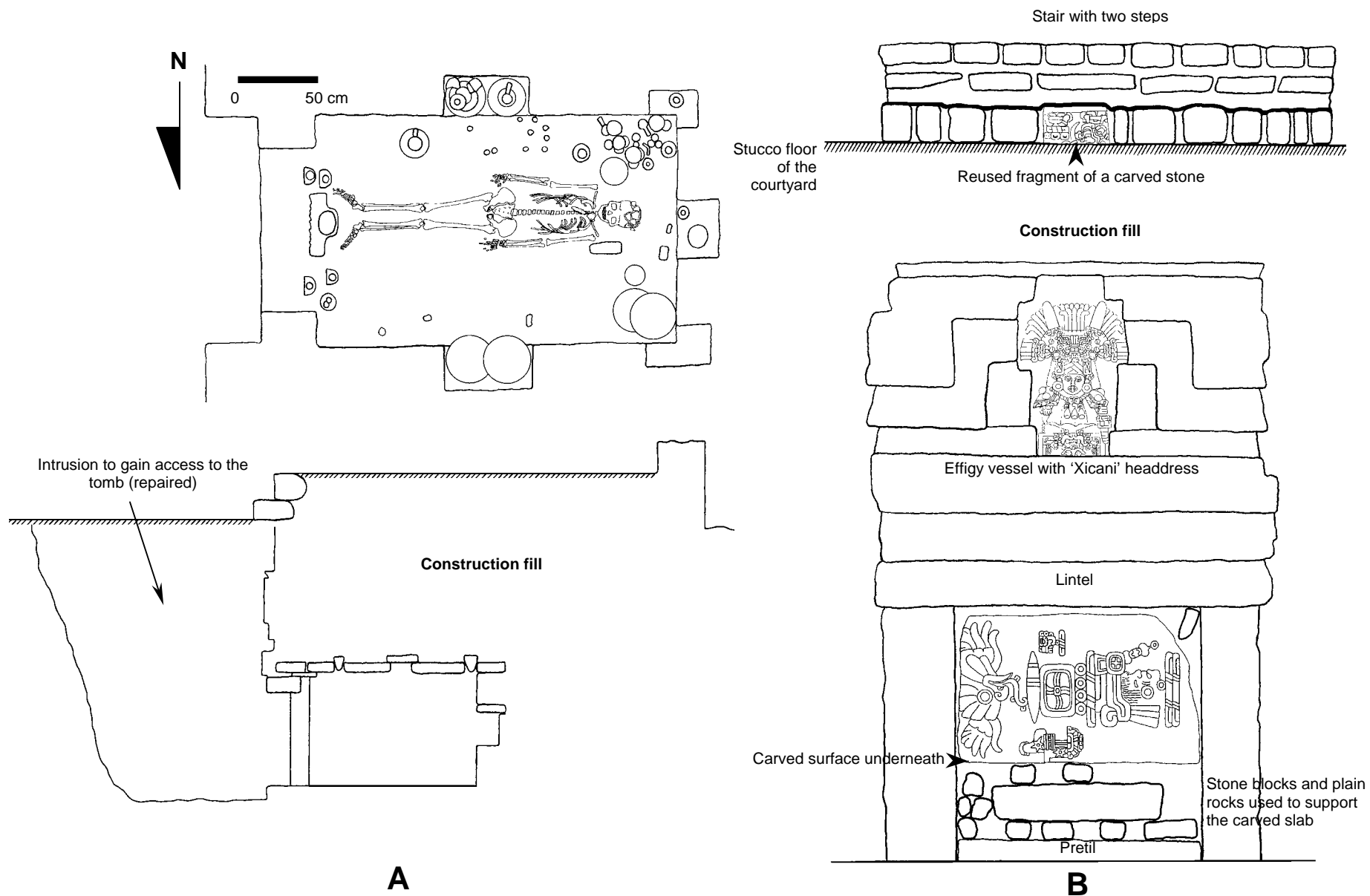


Figure 4.2- [A] Plan and profile drawings of tomb 104 from Monte Albán;
[B] frontal view of the facade with the entrance sealed.

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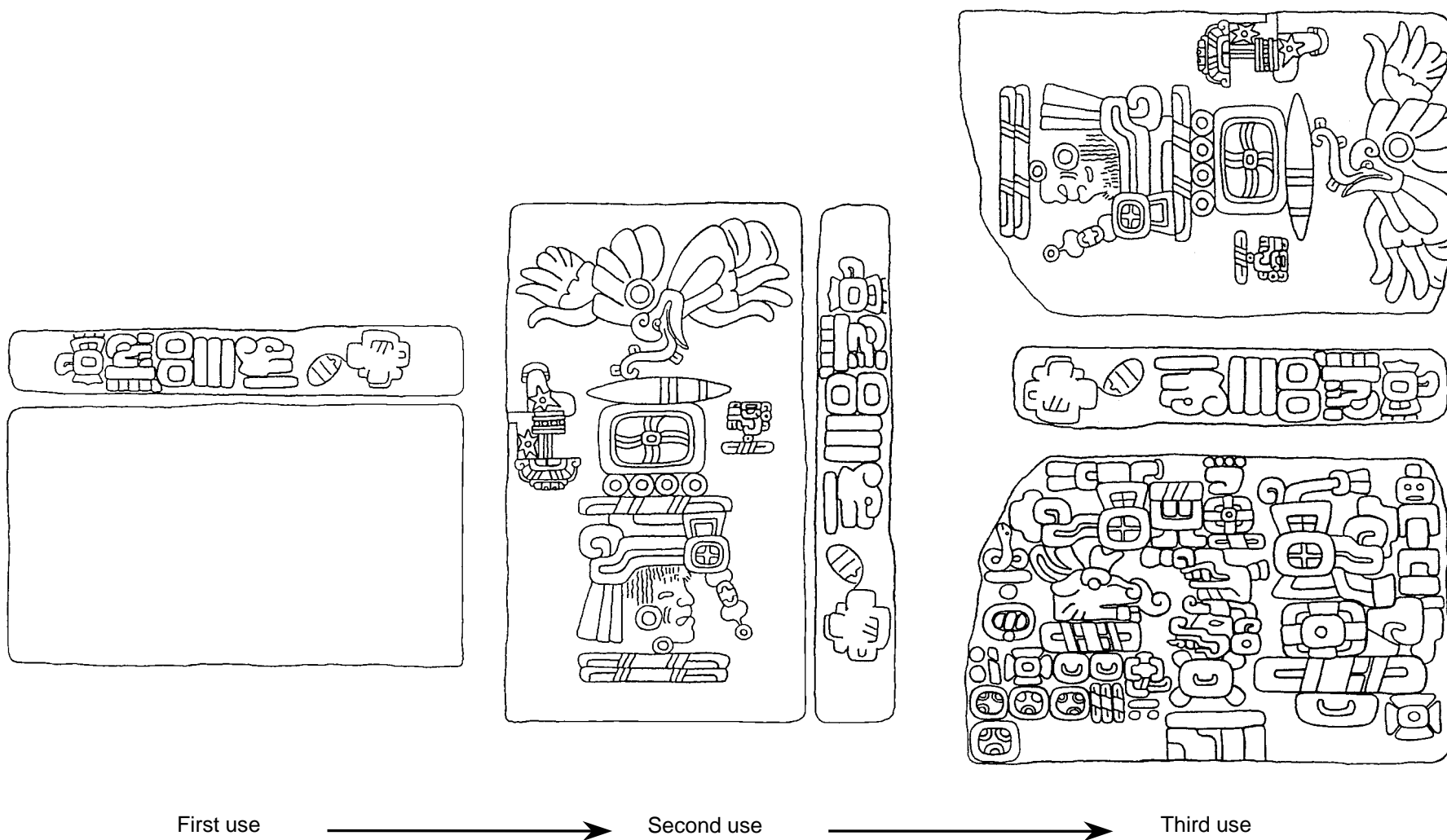


Figure 4.3- Sequence of reuse of the carved slab that sealed the entrance to tomb 104 from Monte Albán.

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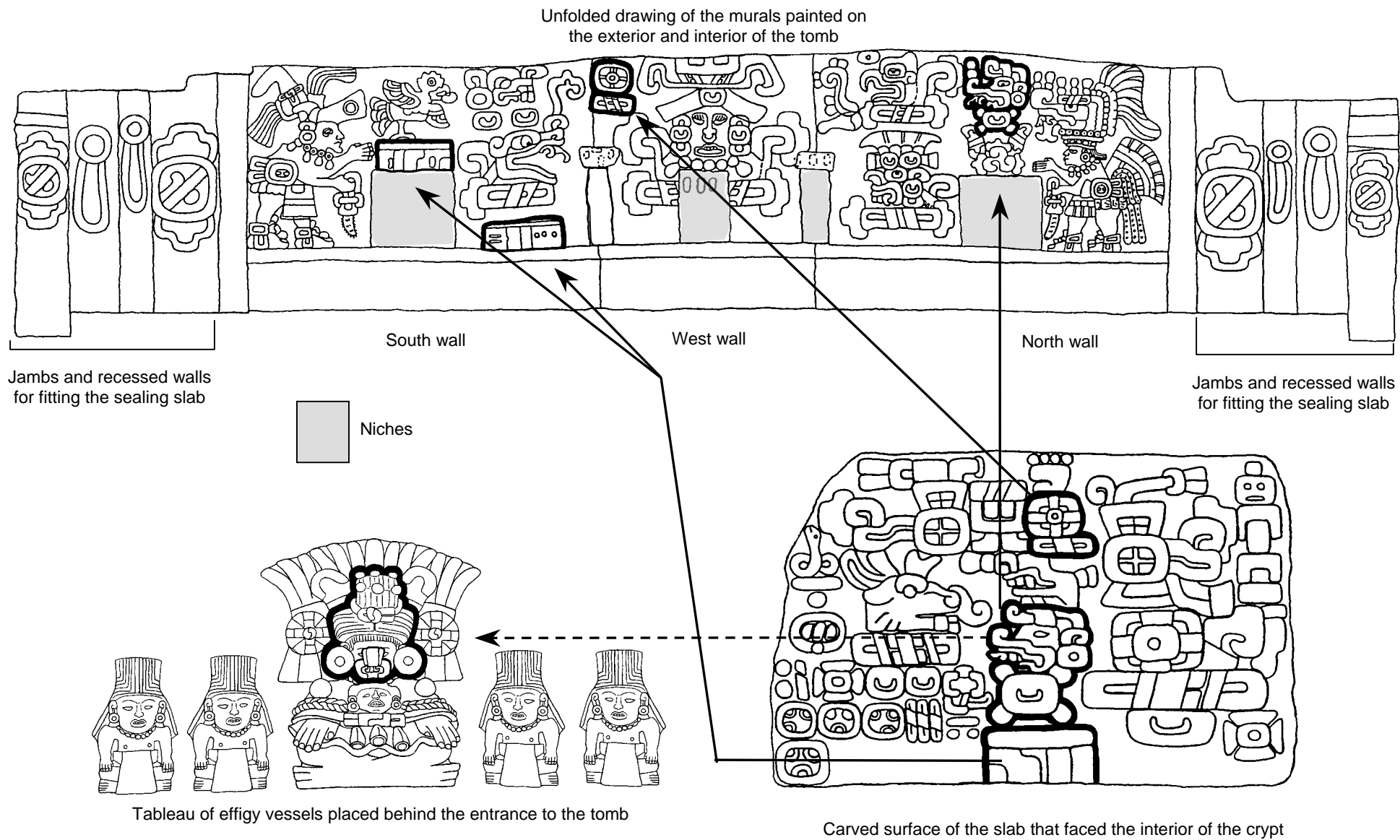


Figure 4.4- The entire narrative program in tomb 104 from Monte Albán
(arrows indicate glyphic repetitions between the different media).

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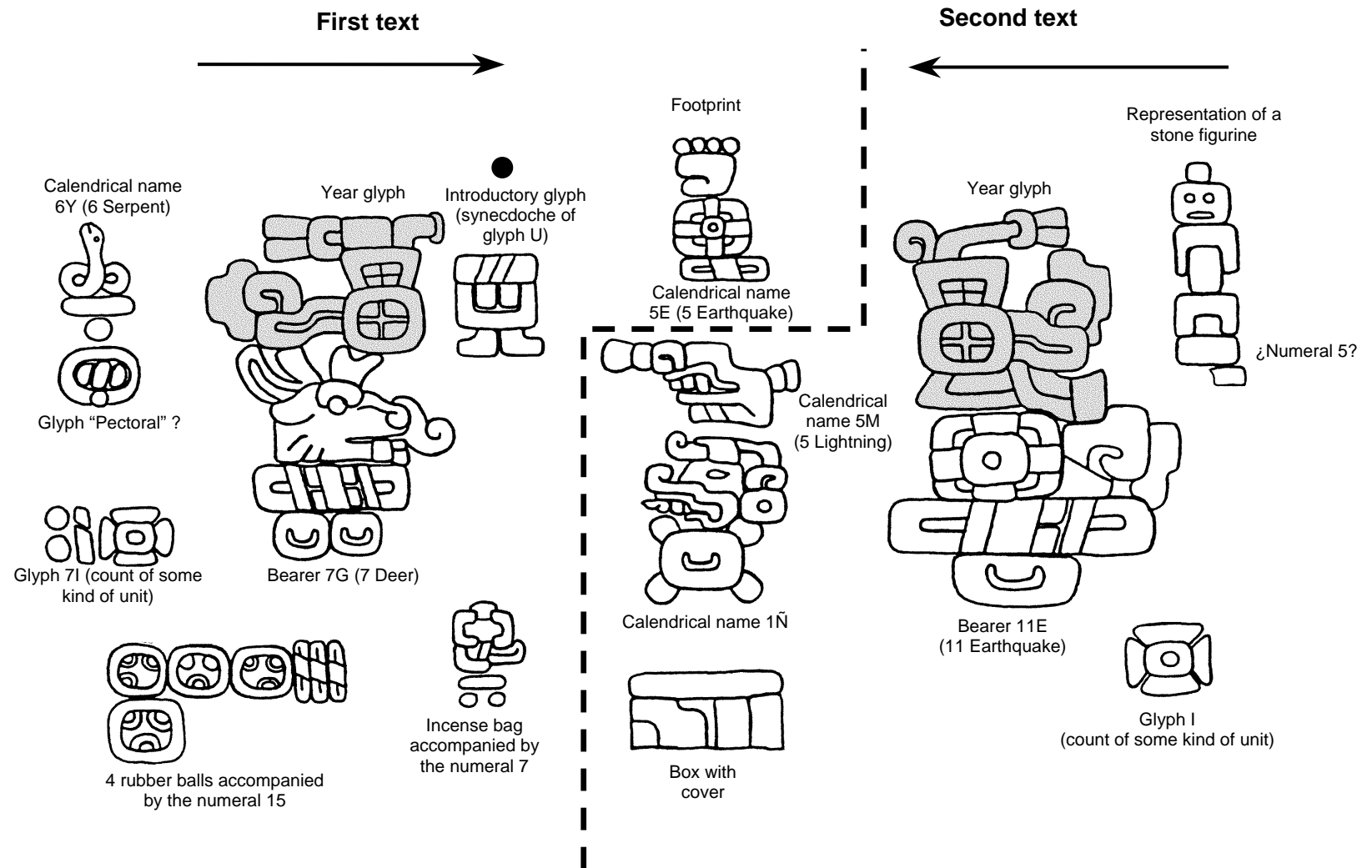


Figure 4.5- Direction of the texts and glossing of the inscription on the interior surface of the slab in tomb 104 from Monte Albán (the black dot marks the beginning of the inscription).

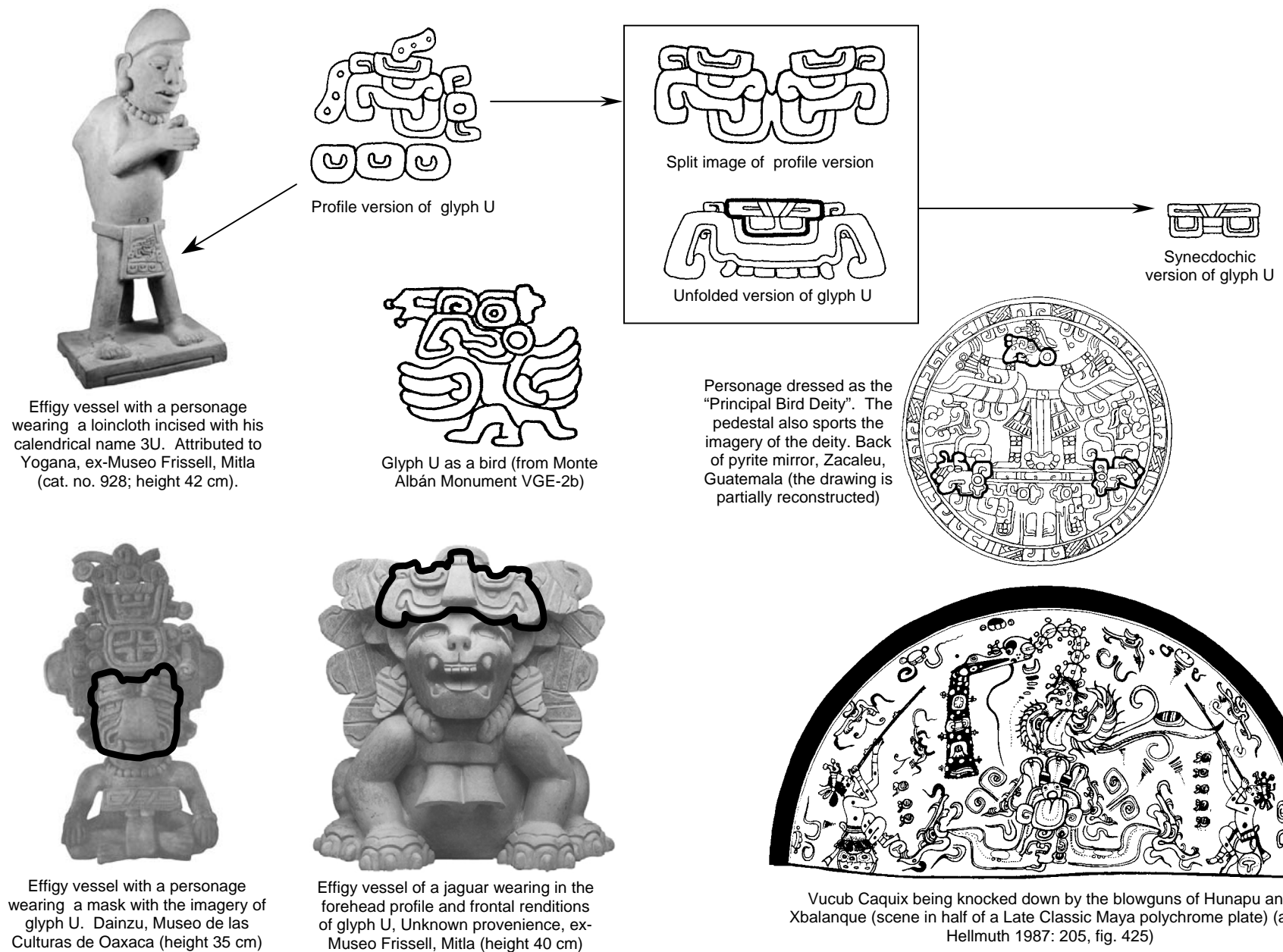


Figure 4.6- Graphic versions and iconicity of Zapotec glyph U compared to the imagery of the Maya 'Principal Bird Deity'.

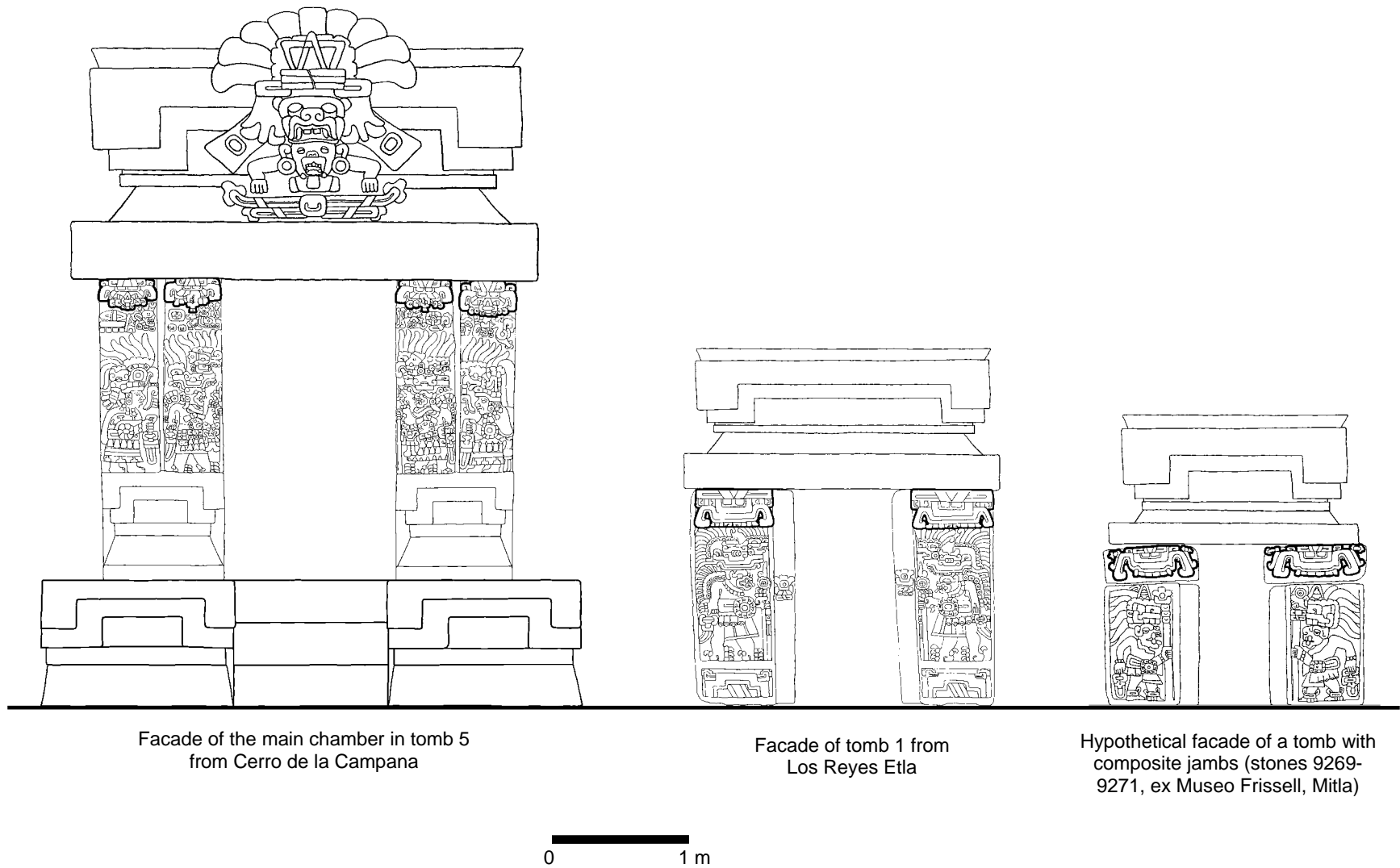


Figure 4.7- Differences in the elaboration and size of tomb
facades that render instantiations of glyph U.

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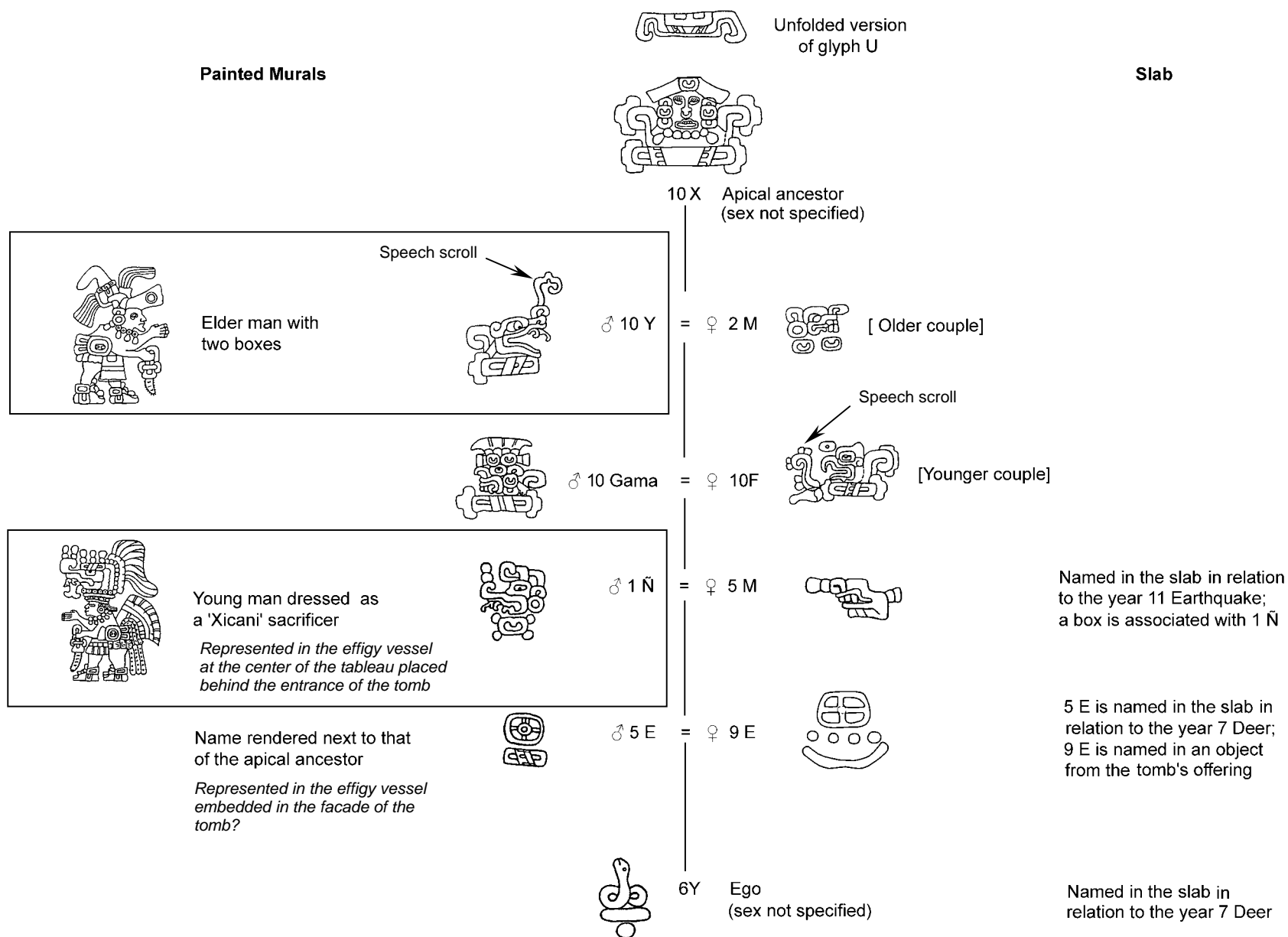
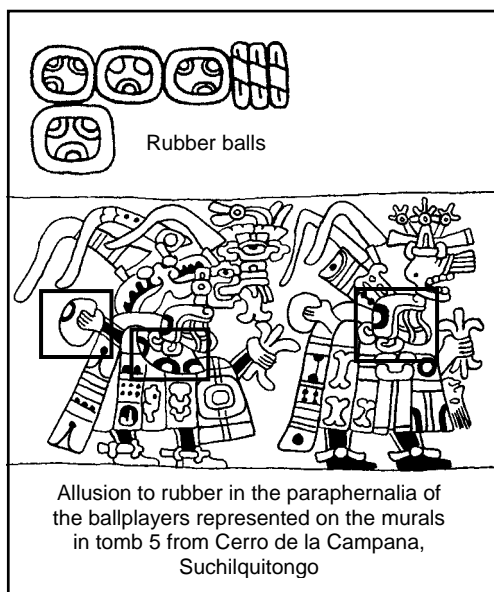
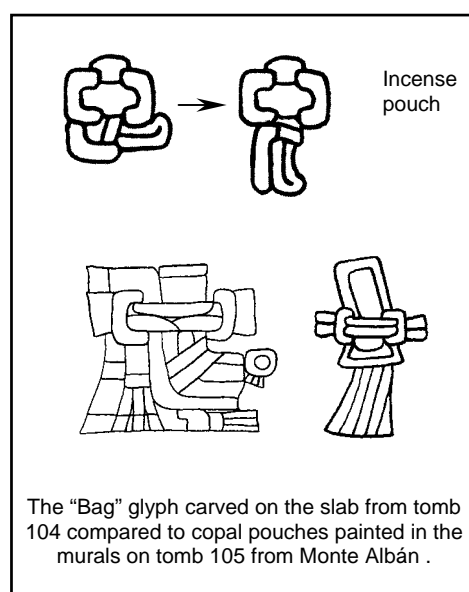


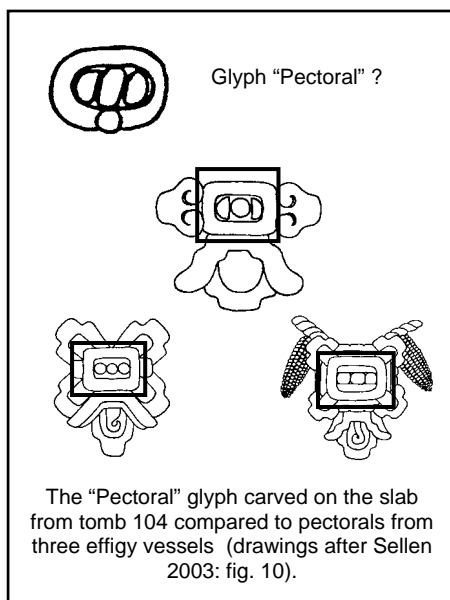
Figure 4.8- The genealogy in the mortuary program of tomb 104 from Monte Albán.



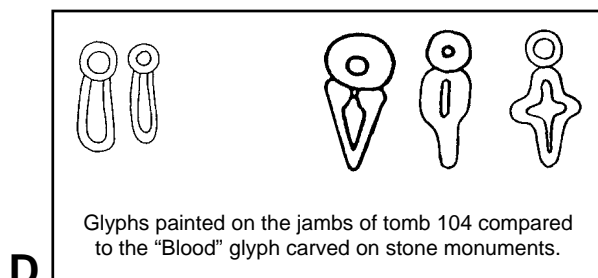
A



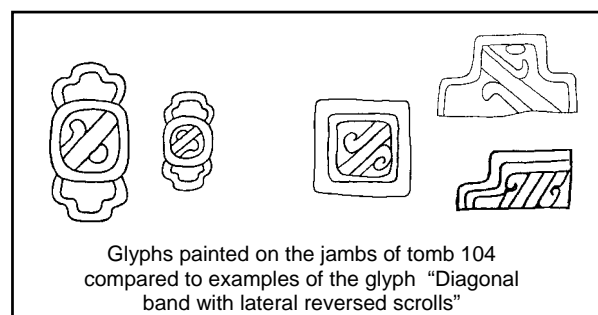
B



C



D



E

Figure 4.10- The iconic origin of several signs in the epigraphy of tomb 104 from Monte Albán.

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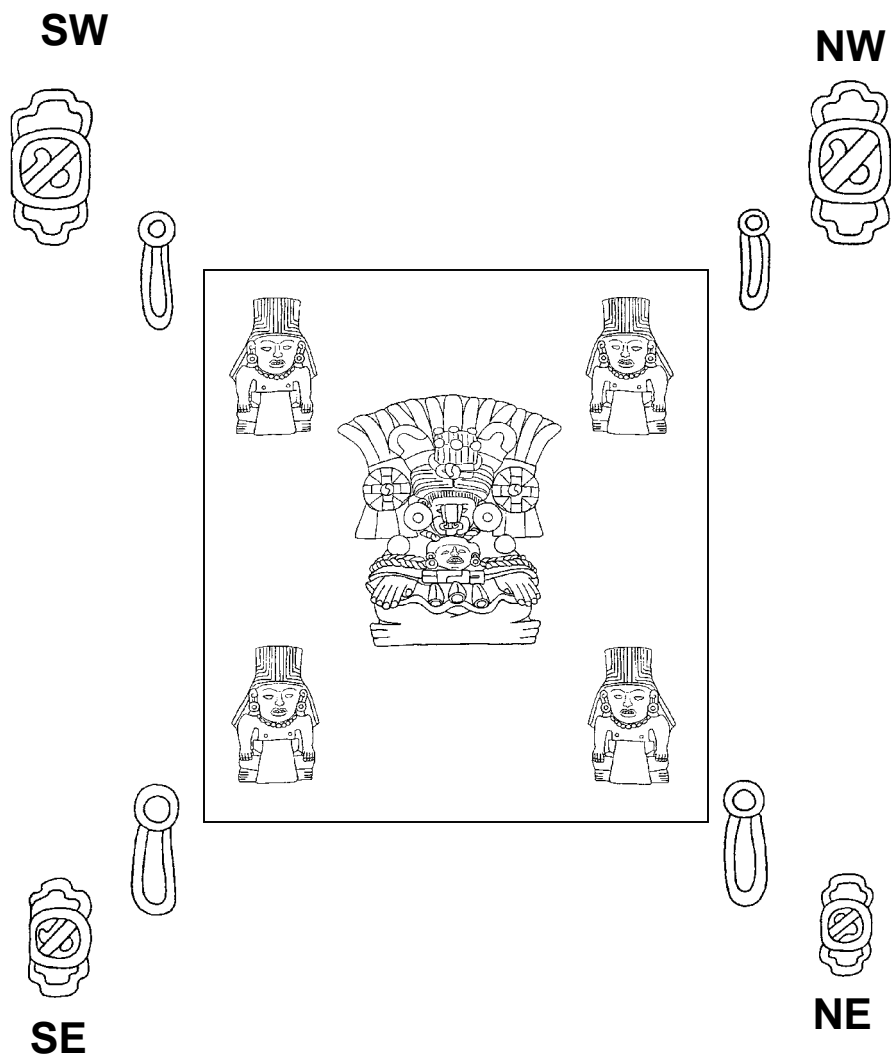


Figure 4.11- Embedded quadripartite arrangements at the entrance of tomb 104 from Monte Albán.

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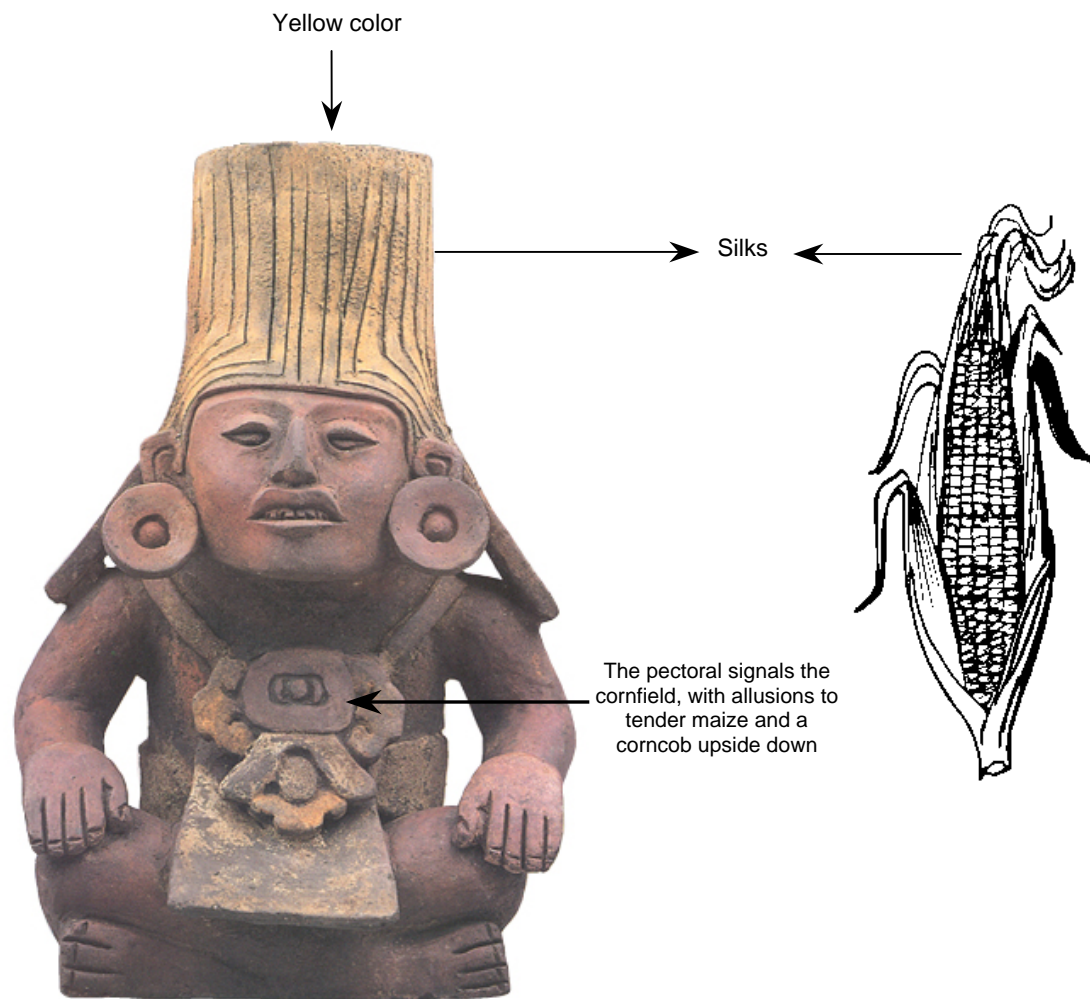


Figure 4.12- Effigy vessel in tomb 103 from Monte Albán with the personification of the Maize god.

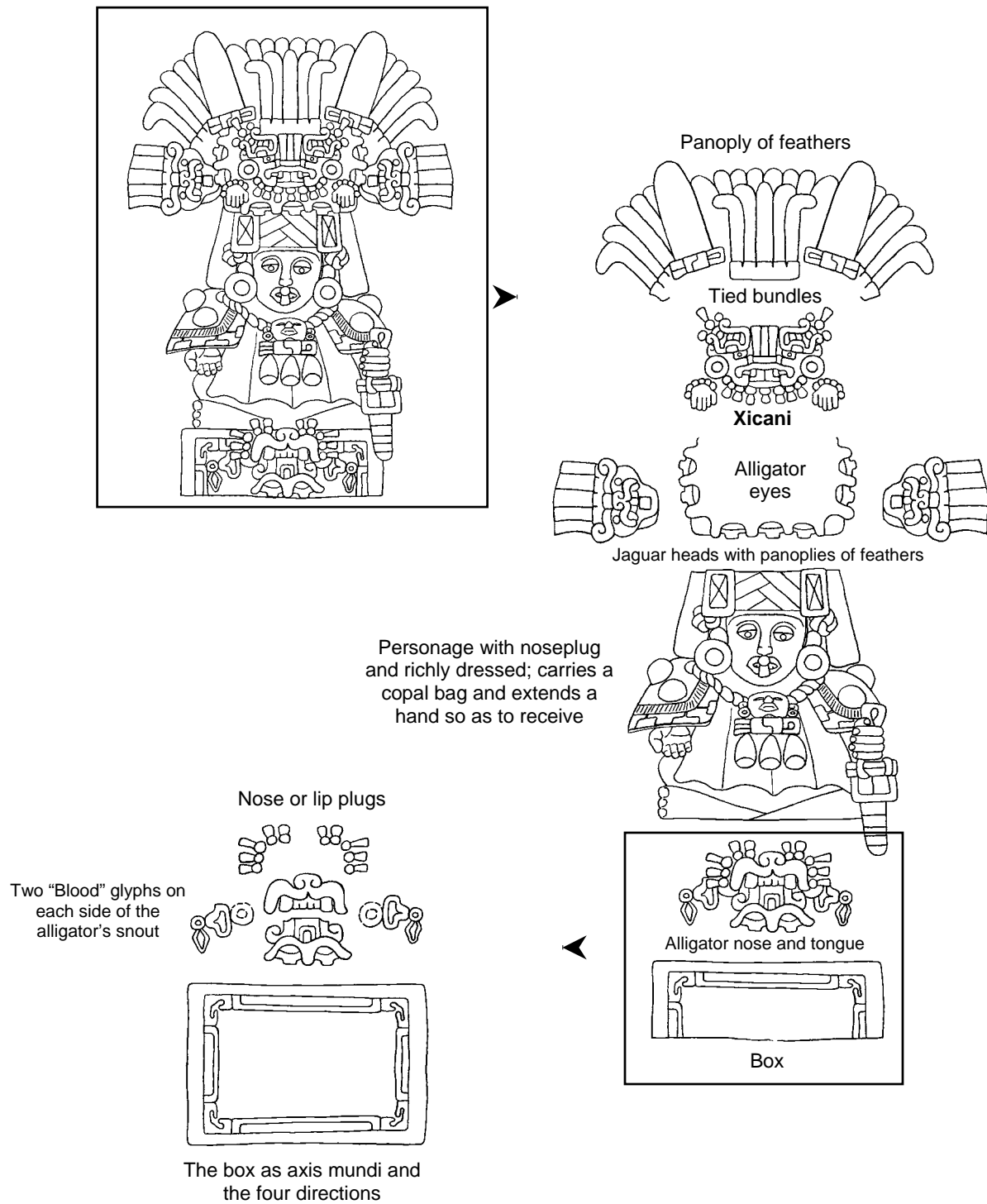


Figure 4.13- Glossing of the imagery in the effigy vessel embedded in the façade of tomb 104 from Monte Albán.

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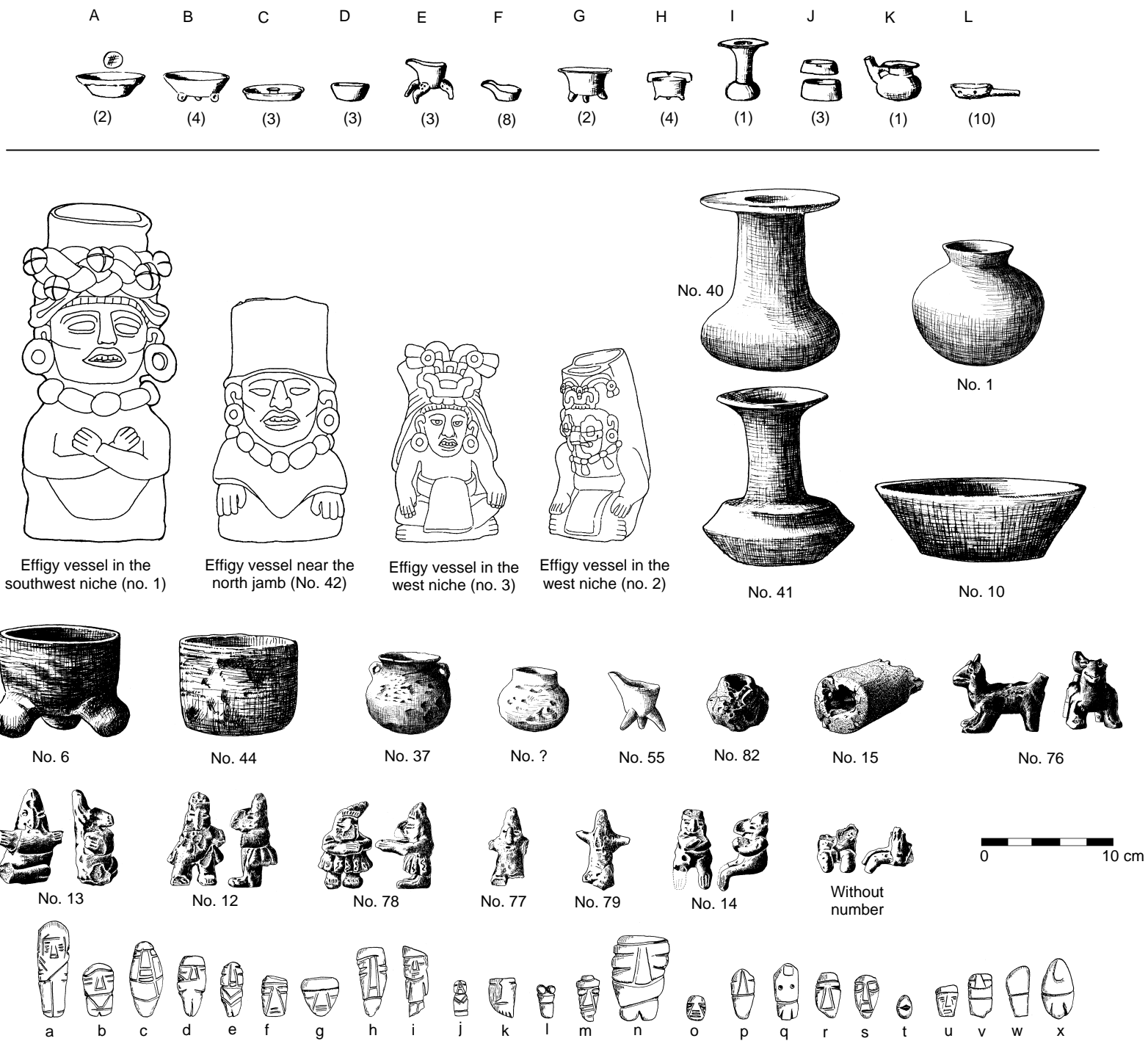


Figure 4.14- Objects in tomb 104 from Monte Albán published by Caso and his colleagues (drawings after Caso, Bernal and Acosta 1947; Caso and Bernal 1952; Caso 1965b; and Sellen 2002a).

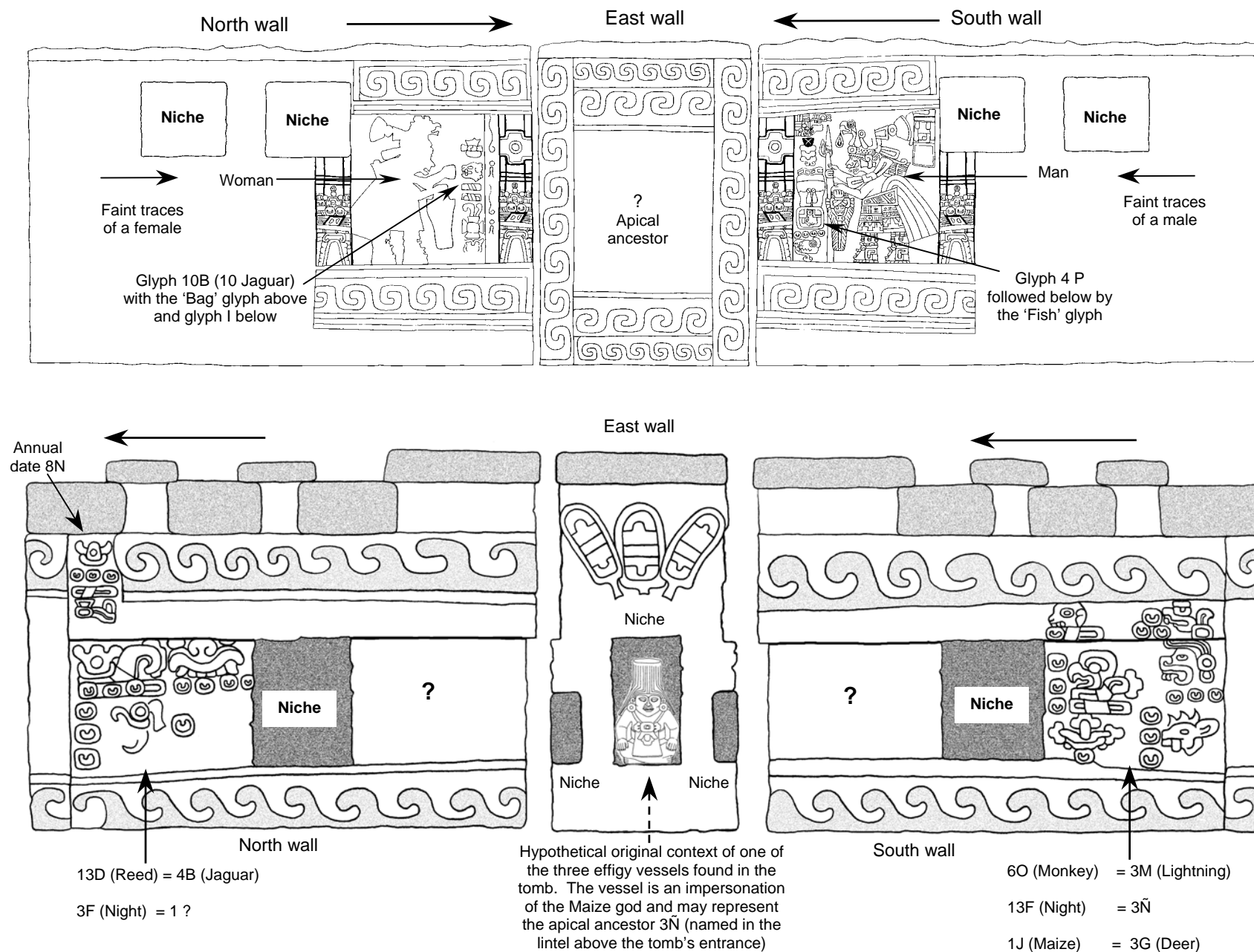


Figure 4.15- Painted murals in tombs 112 (above) and 103 (below) from Monte Albán
(note the quadripartite number of niches in both crypts, with the central one in the back of tomb 103 representing the center).

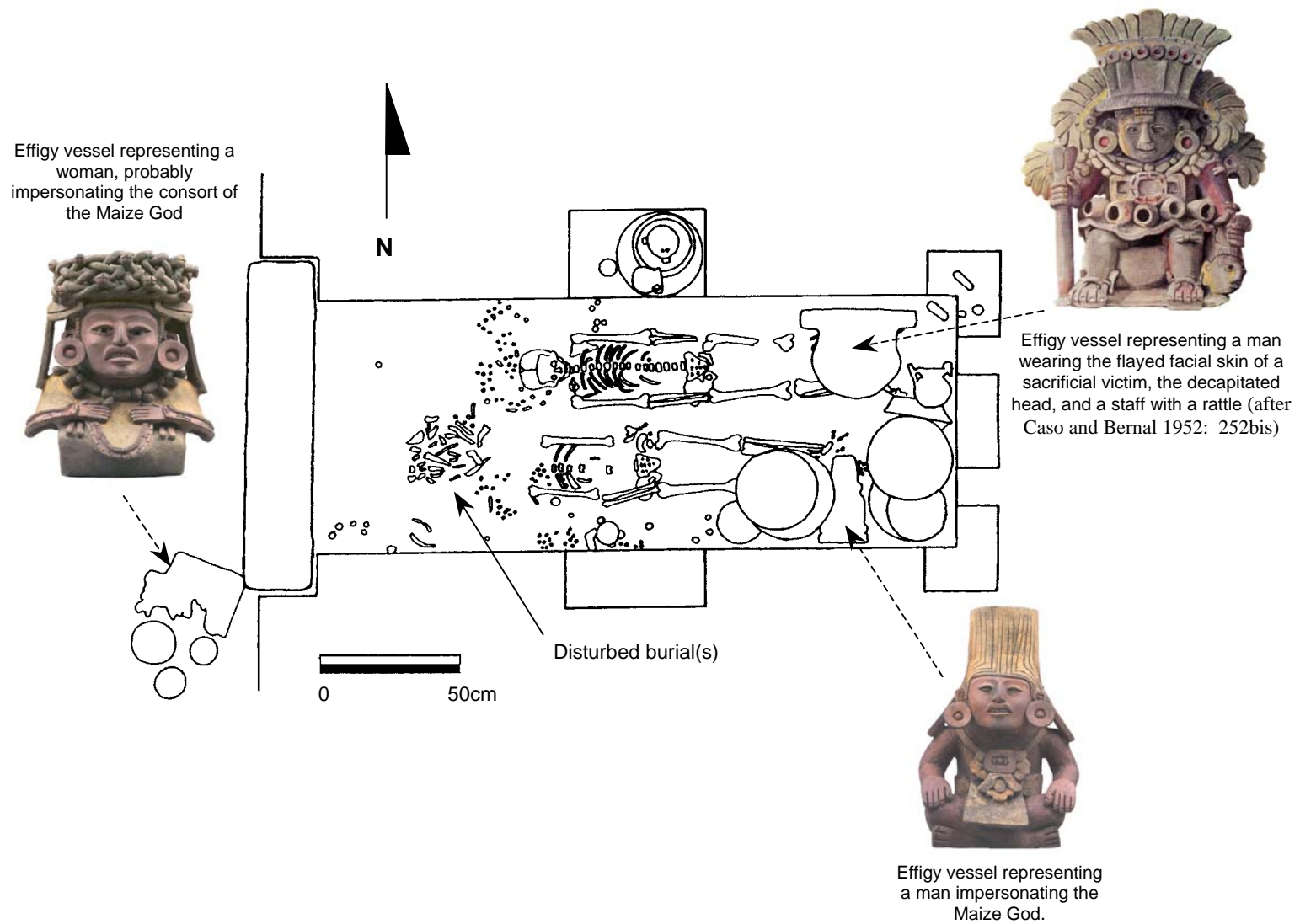


Figure 4.16- Plan of tomb 103 from Monte Albán and associated effigy vessels (drawing of the tomb's floor plan after Sellen 2002a (II): 37, fig. 3.12).

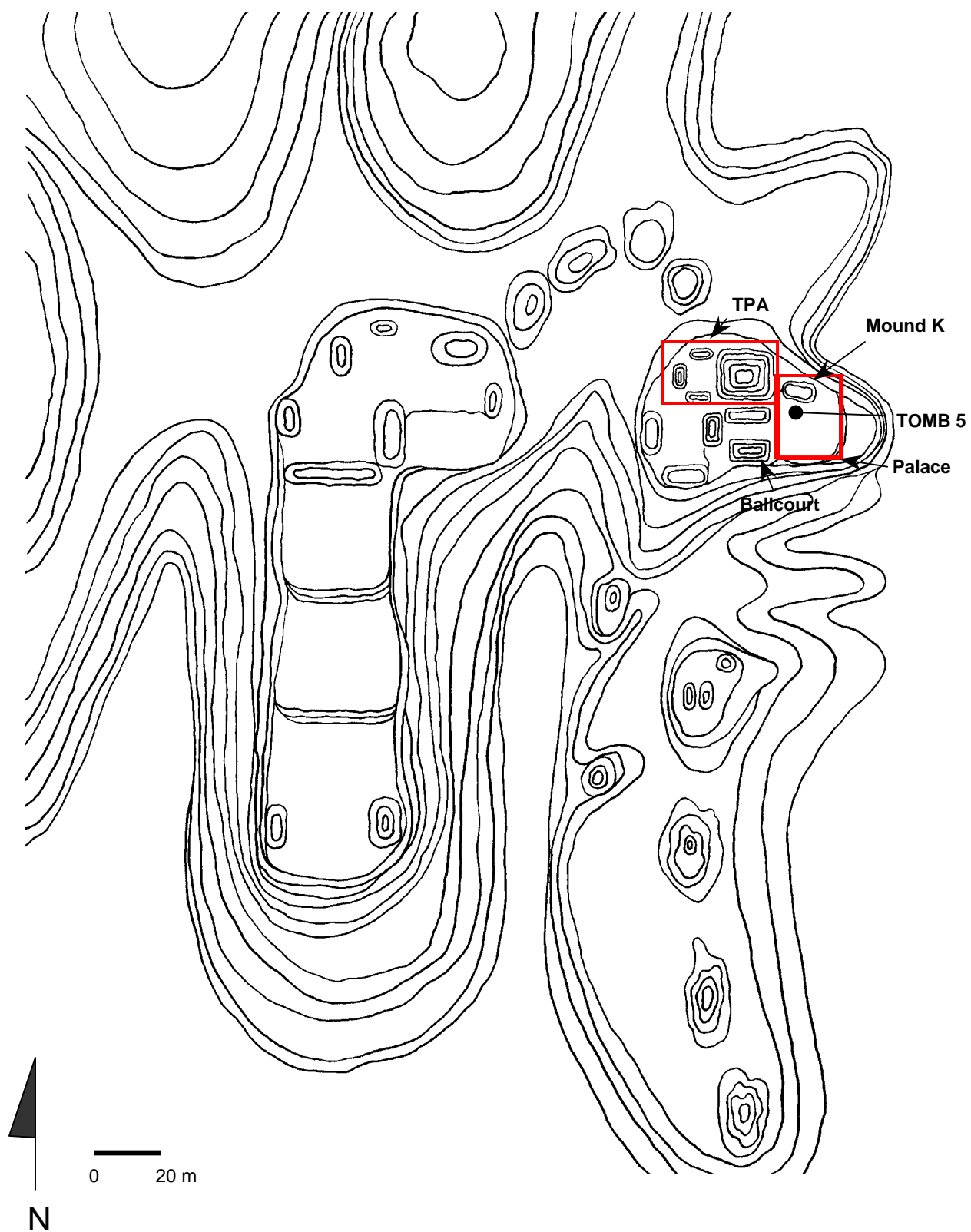


Figure 5.1- Map of Cerro de la Campana showing the location of the palace with tomb 5 and the distribution of major mounded architecture.

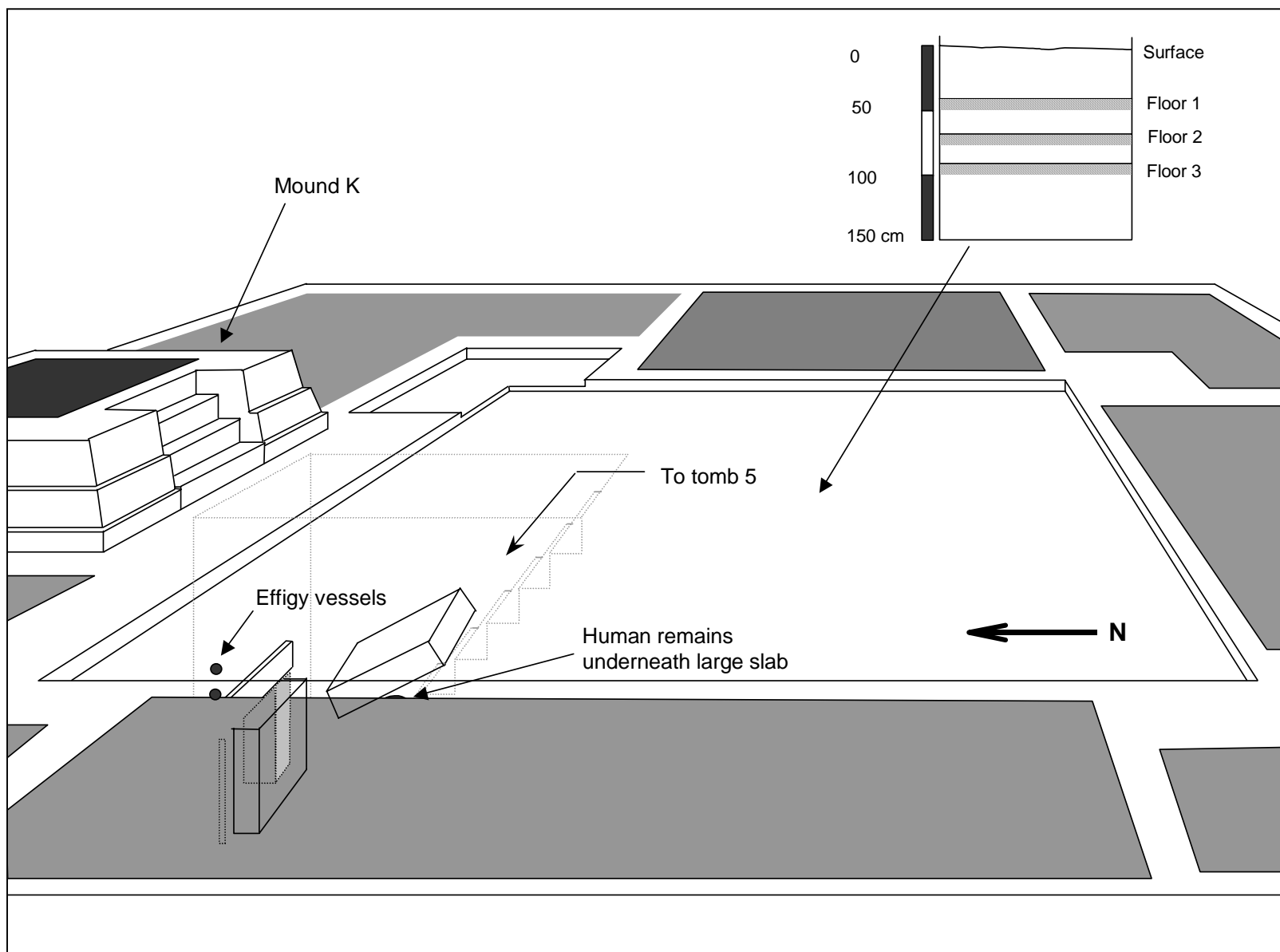


Figure 5.2- View from the west of the royal palace at Cerro de la Campana.
Tomb 5 was built under the north room (Mound K).

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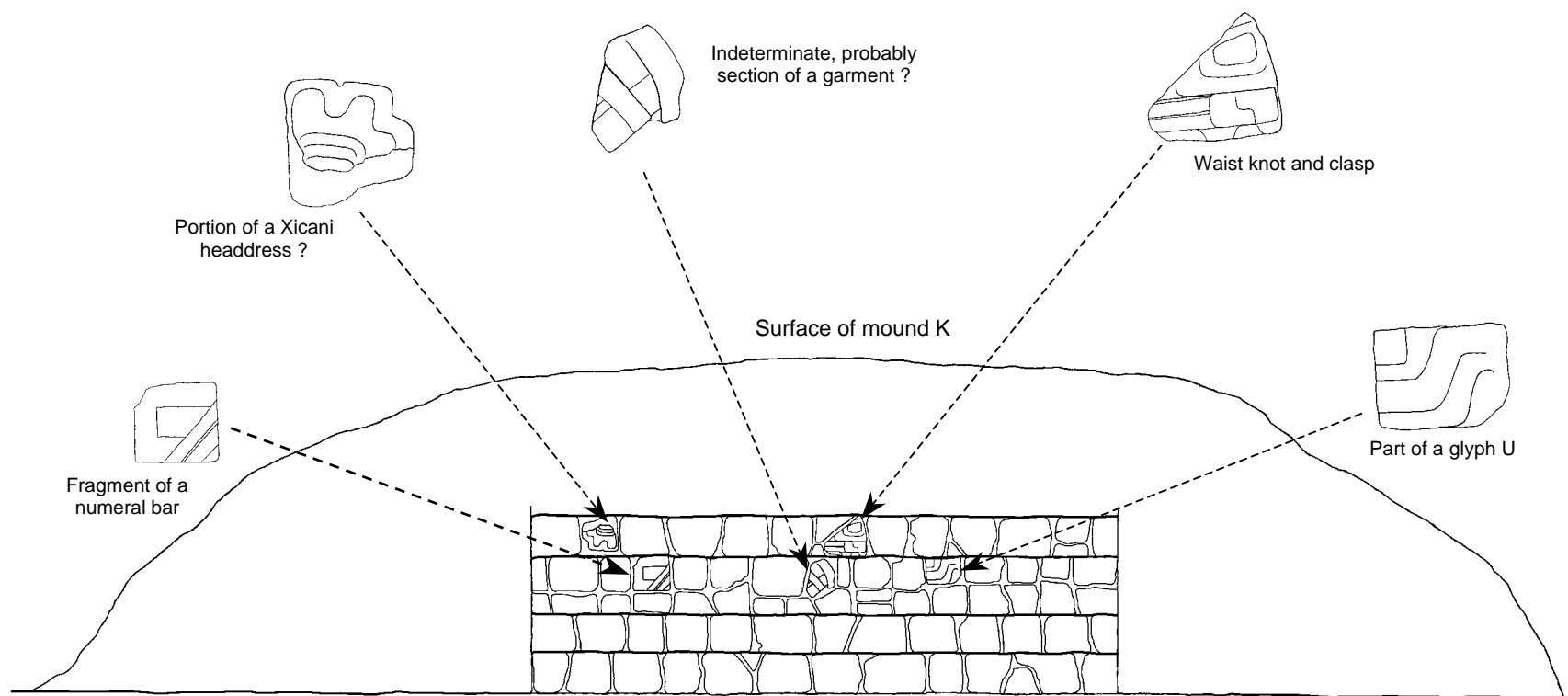


Figure 5.3- The staircase of Mound K at Cerro de la Campana showing reused carved fragments.

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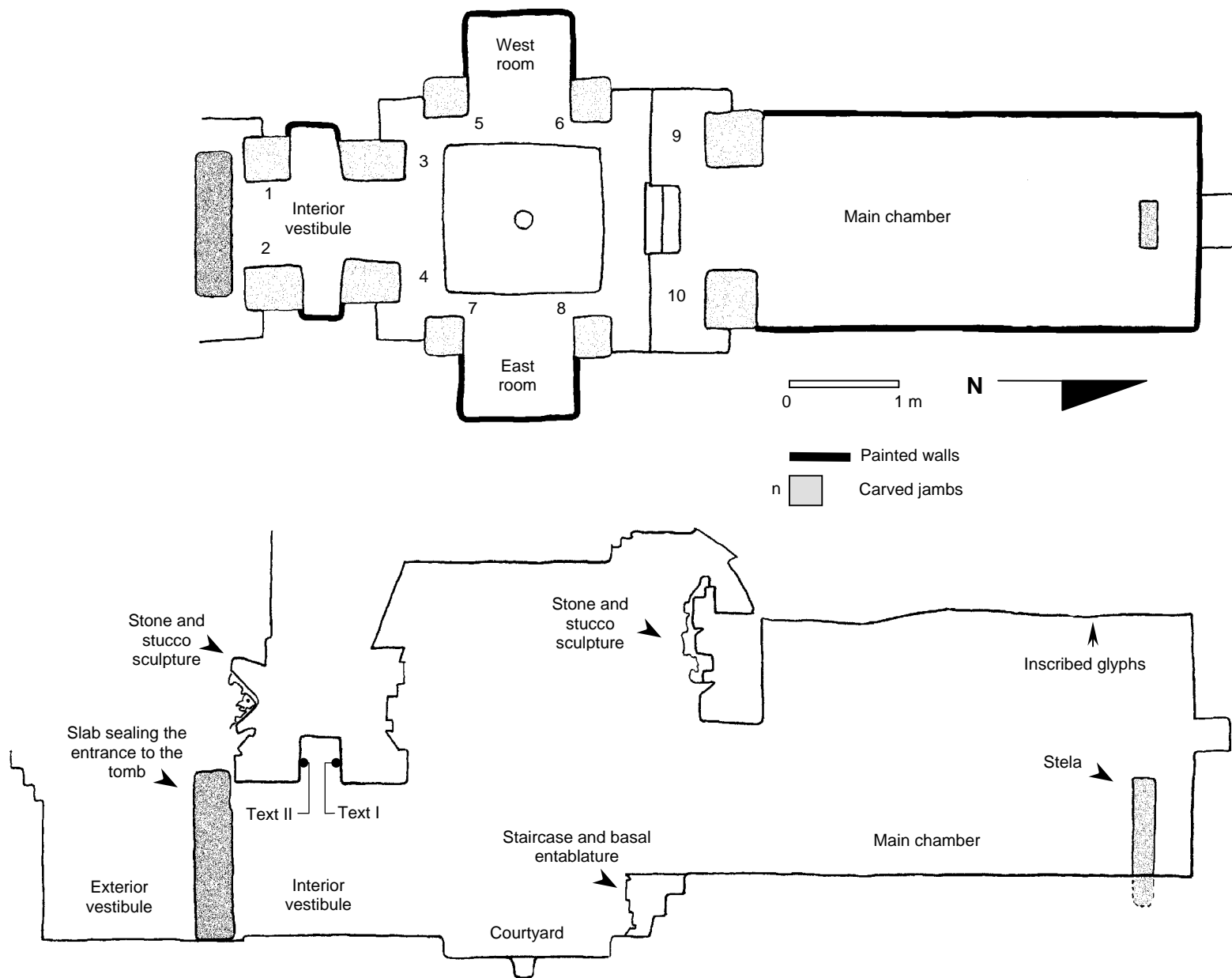


Figure 5.4- Plan and profile of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.



Stone and stucco sculpture in the façade of the entrance to the tomb (photo by the author)

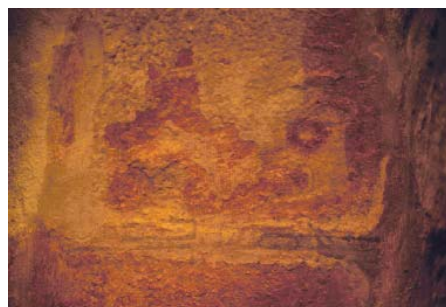


Male personage painted on the lateral surface of jamb 10 (photo by John Paddock)



View of the slabs forming the ceiling above the tomb's courtyard (after Franco Brizuela 1993: 40)

Stucco plug that sealed the hole in the center of the tomb's courtyard (photo by John Paddock)



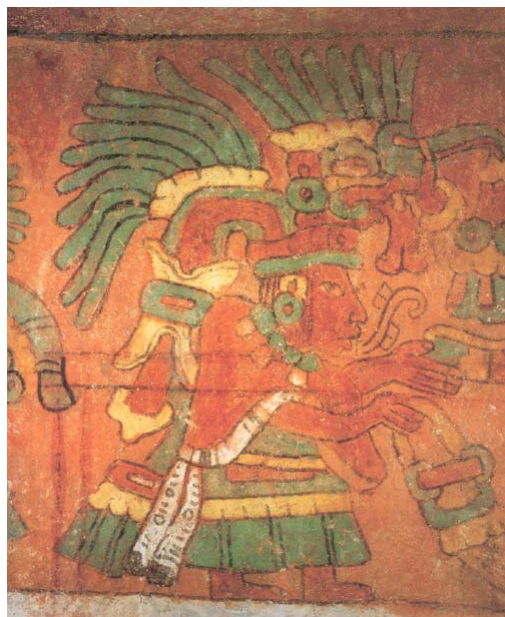
The glyphs 10? And 11 Monkey painted on the upper register in the west wall of the internal vestibule (photo by the author)



One of the corners of the tomb's courtyard showing the carved jambs 6 (left) and 9 (right) (photo by John Paddock)



Architectural detail in the upper portion of the tomb's courtyard (after Franco Brizuela 1993: 38)



Female personage painted in the upper register of the north wall in the west room. Traces of an earlier partition for the mural's composition can be noted behind and halfway the woman's body (photo by John Paddock)

Figure 5.5- Details of the architectural and visual record in tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.

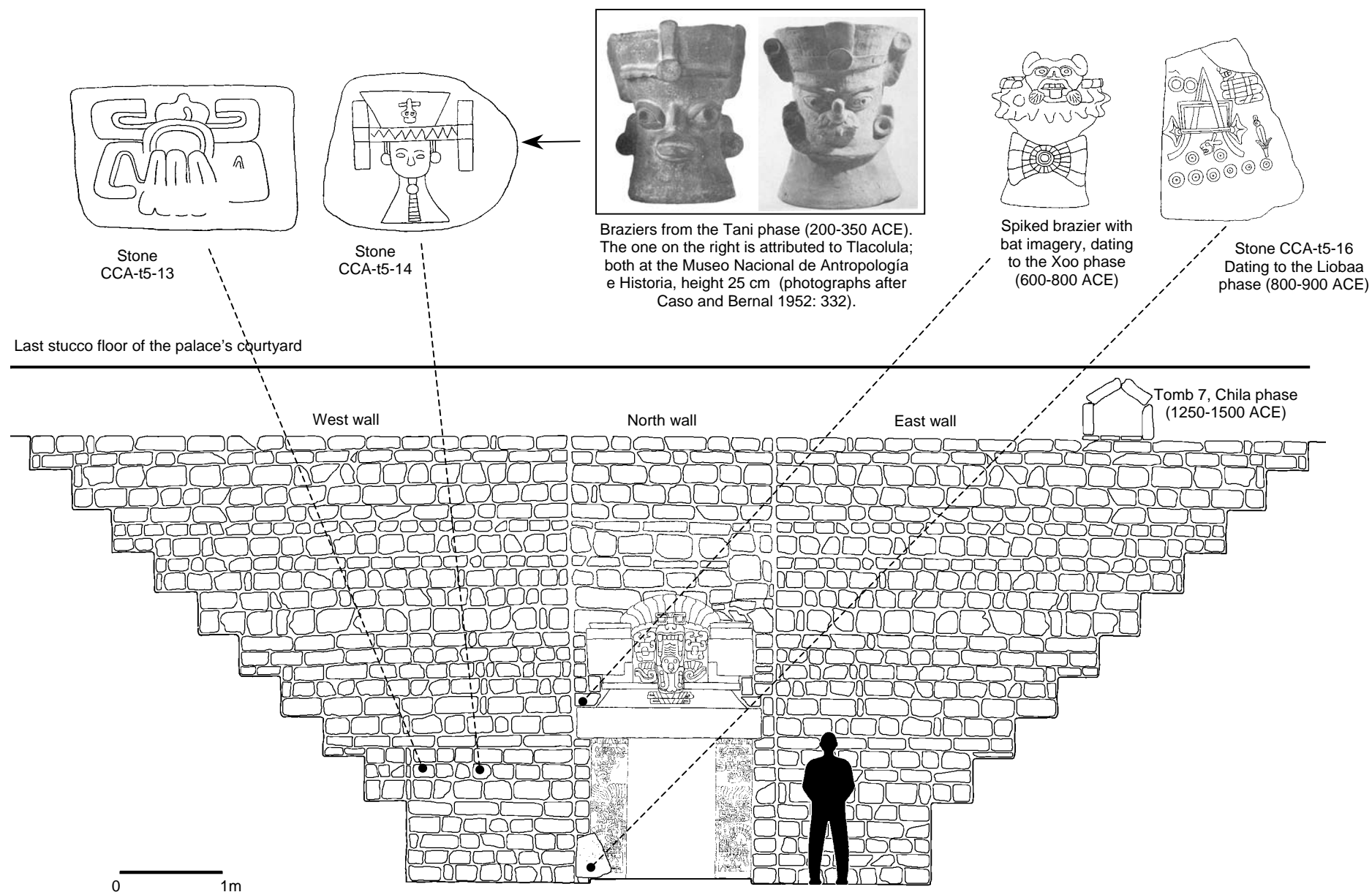


Figure 5.6- Façade of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana and the lateral walls delimiting the crypt's staircase.

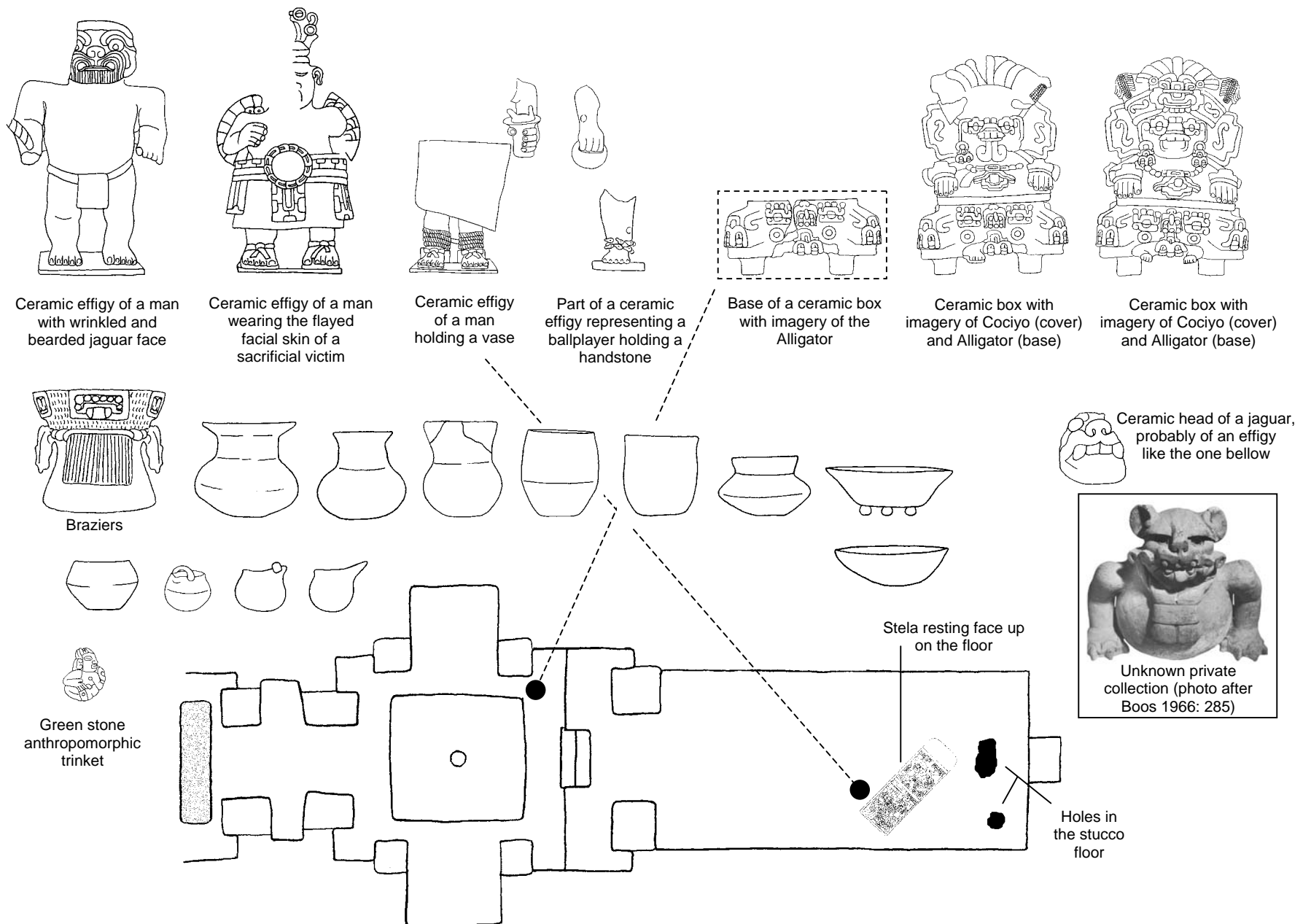
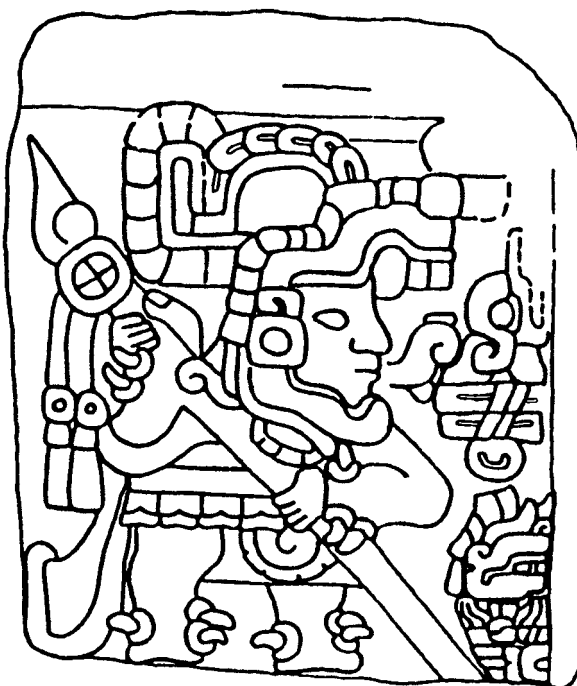


Figure 5.7- Some of the objects found inside tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.

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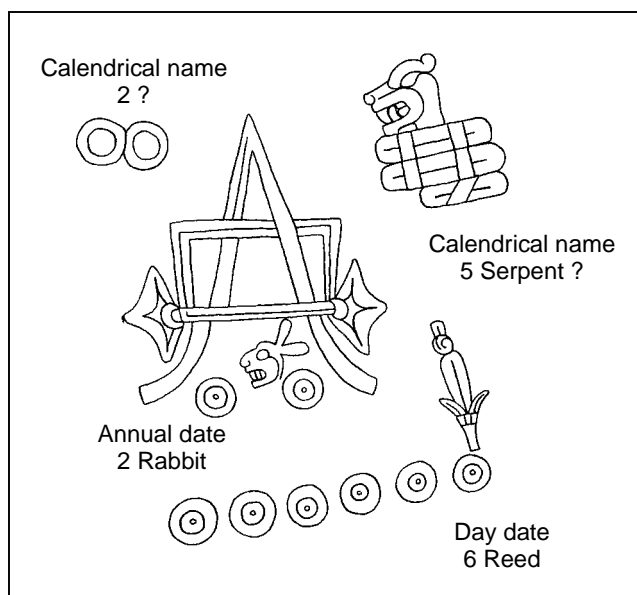
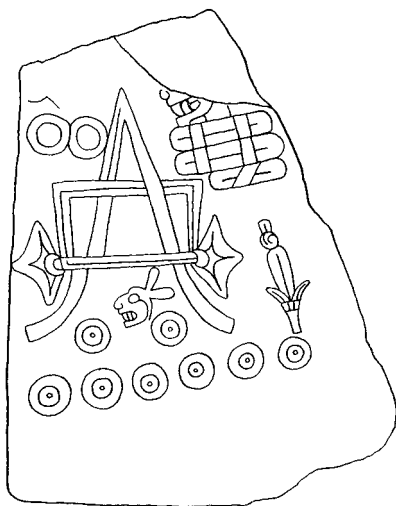
Personage dressed as a Jaguar, wearing a Serpent helmet, and yielding a lance with a sharpened bone tip



Calendrical name
11 Lightning (11 M)

Personal name,
including glyphs M
(Lightning), glyph A
(Knot), and glyph 142

Stone CCA-t5-15



Stone CCA-t5-16

Figure 5.8- Carved stones found in the access staircase (above) and to the left of the tomb's entrance.

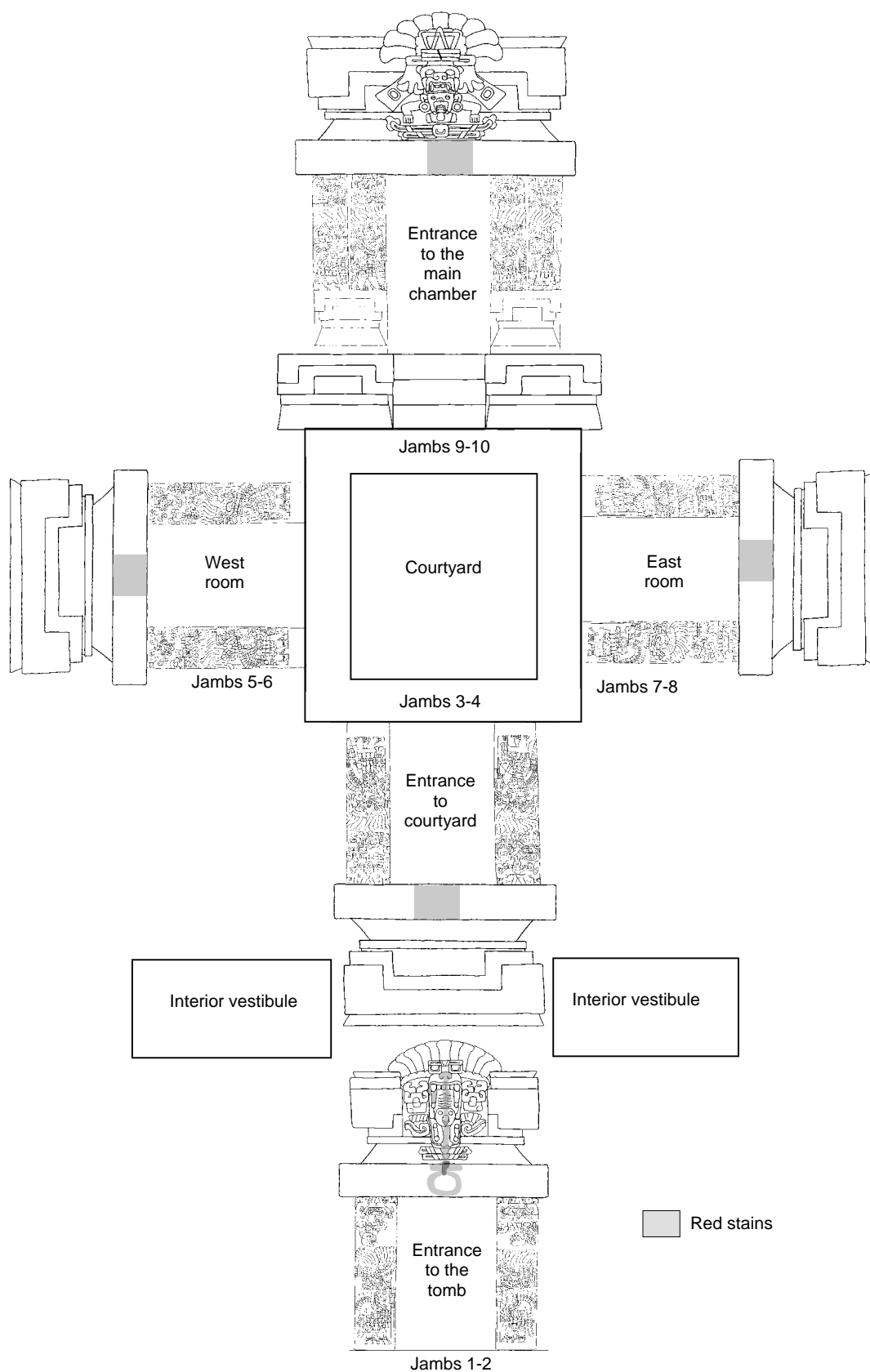
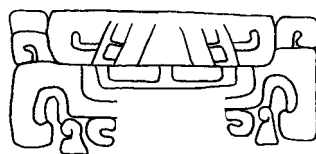


Figure 5.9- Entablatures and paired jambs in the layout of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.

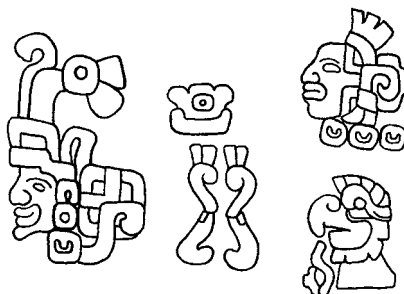
Unfolded version of glyph U



Glyph in descending position



Short inscription



Richly attired personage carrying an incense bag and a staff

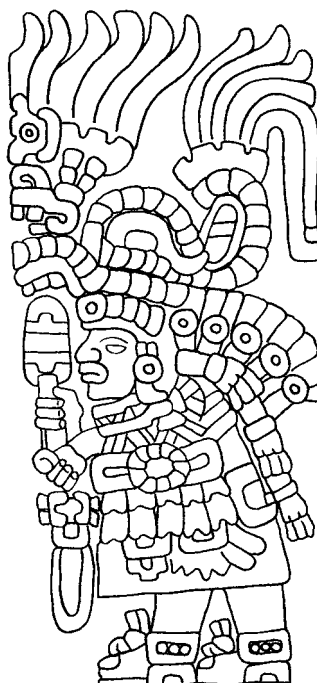


Figure 5.10- Tripartite compositional format in the carved surface of the jambs.

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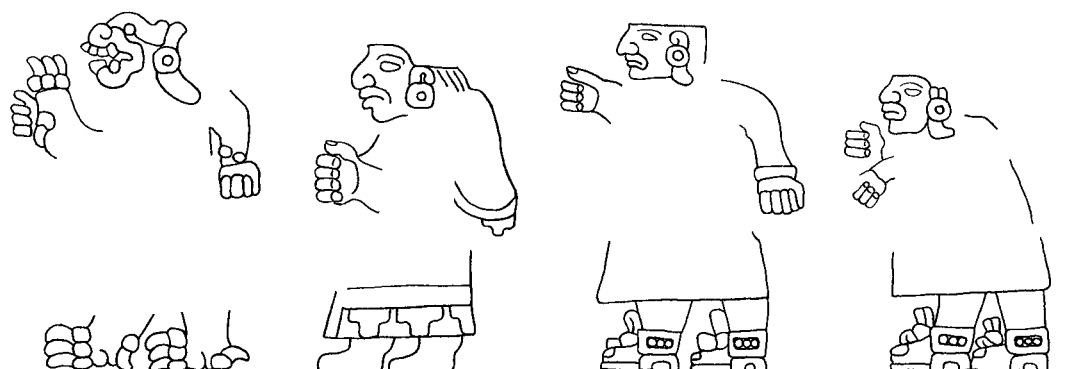


Figure 5.11- Graphic conventions for representing the human body in the carved jambs of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.

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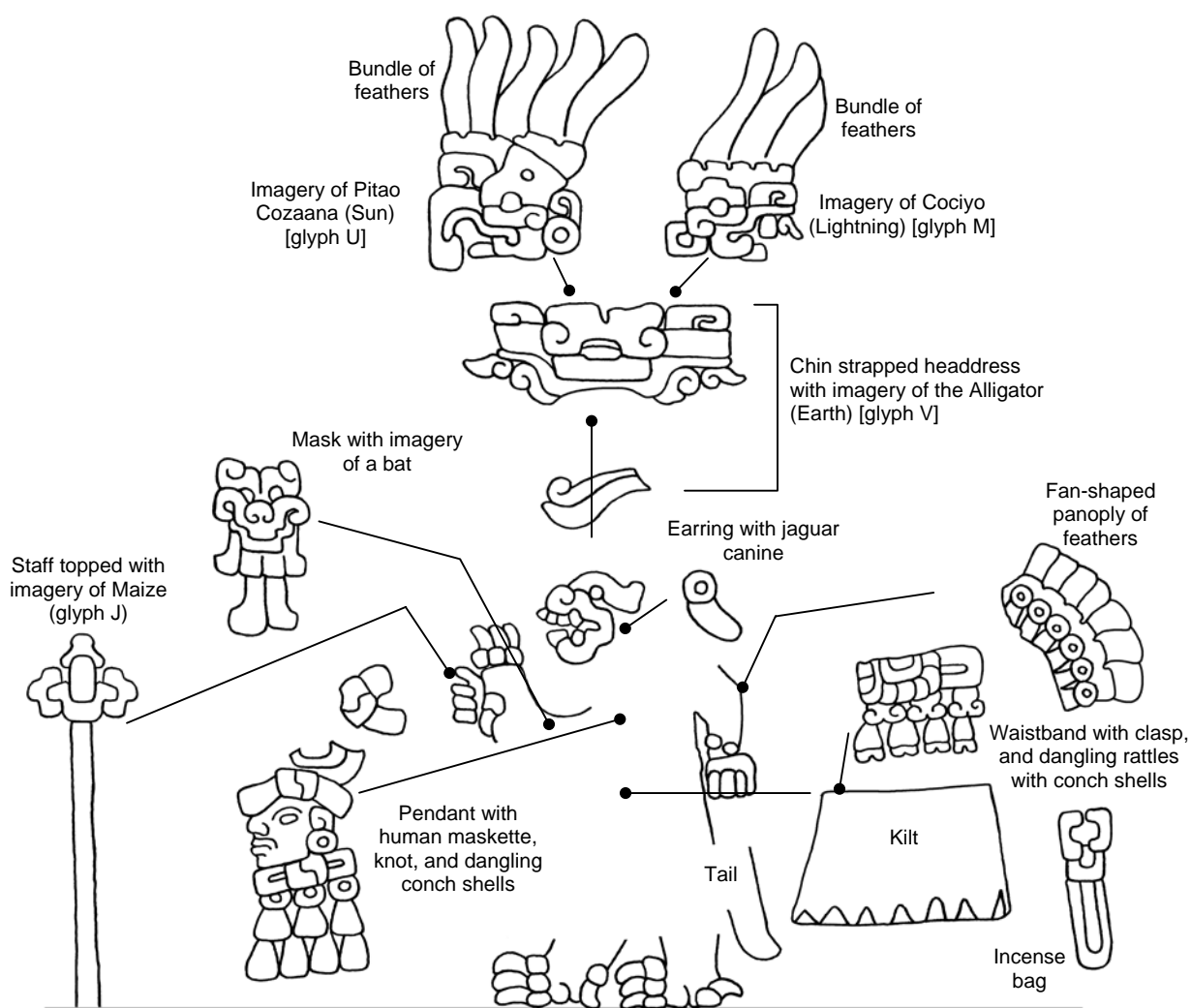


Figure 5.12- Glossing of the paraphernalia of the jaguar lords carved in the jambs of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana (composite of jambs 3 and 10a).

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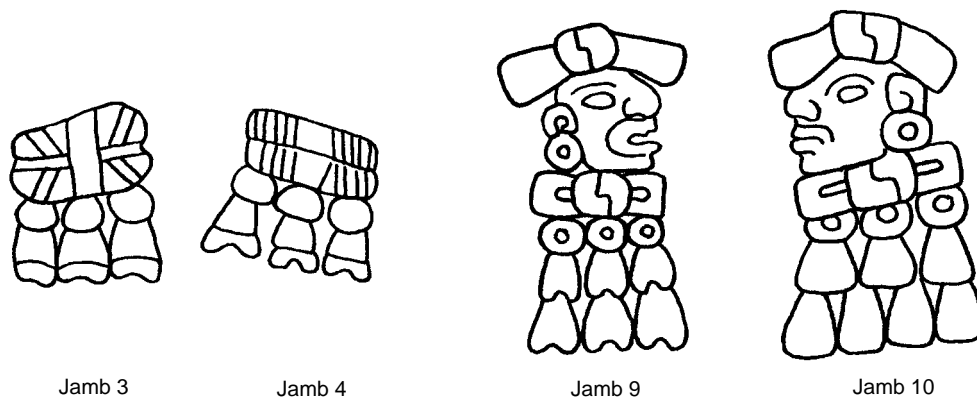


Figure 5.13- Pendants worn by the jaguar lords carved in the jambs of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.

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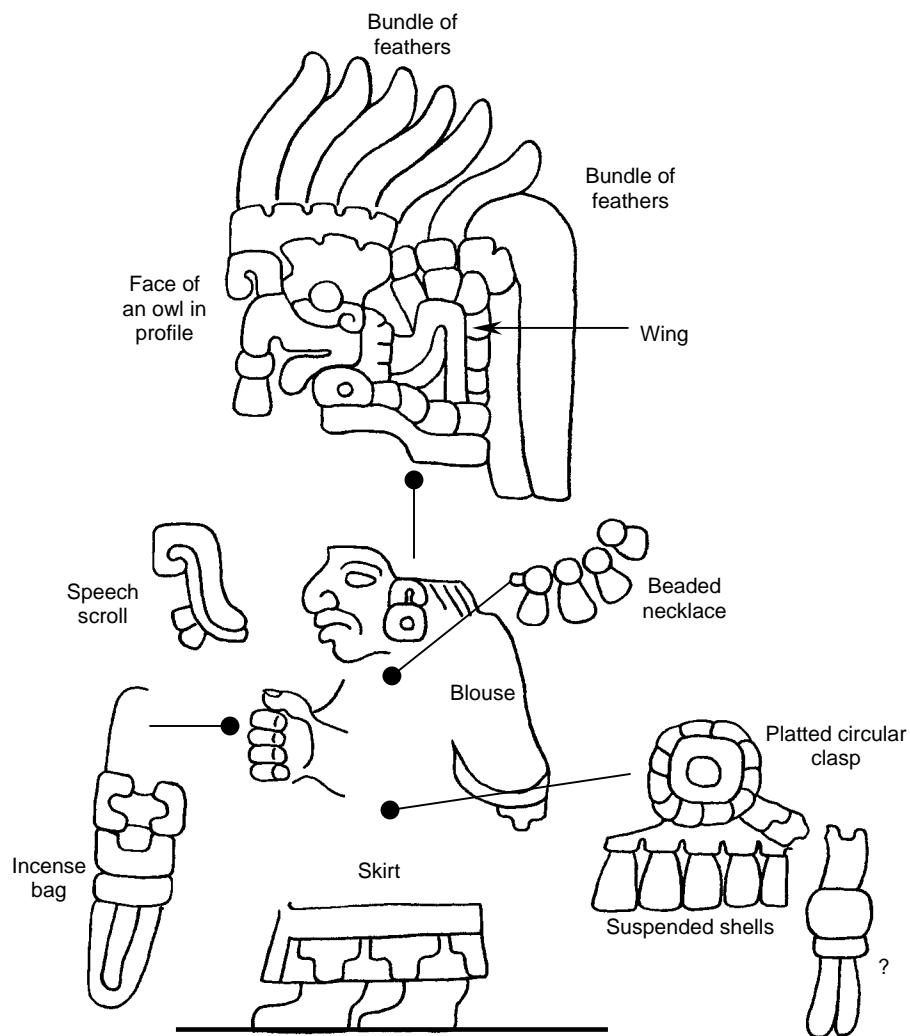


Figure 5.14- Glossing of the female companions in jambs 9 and 10 of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.
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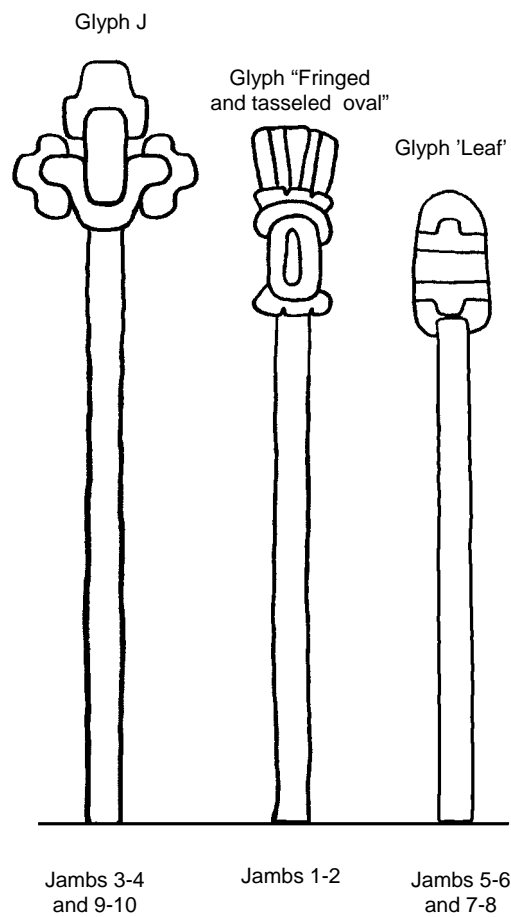


Figure 5.15- The staffs held by the male personages carved in the jambs of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.

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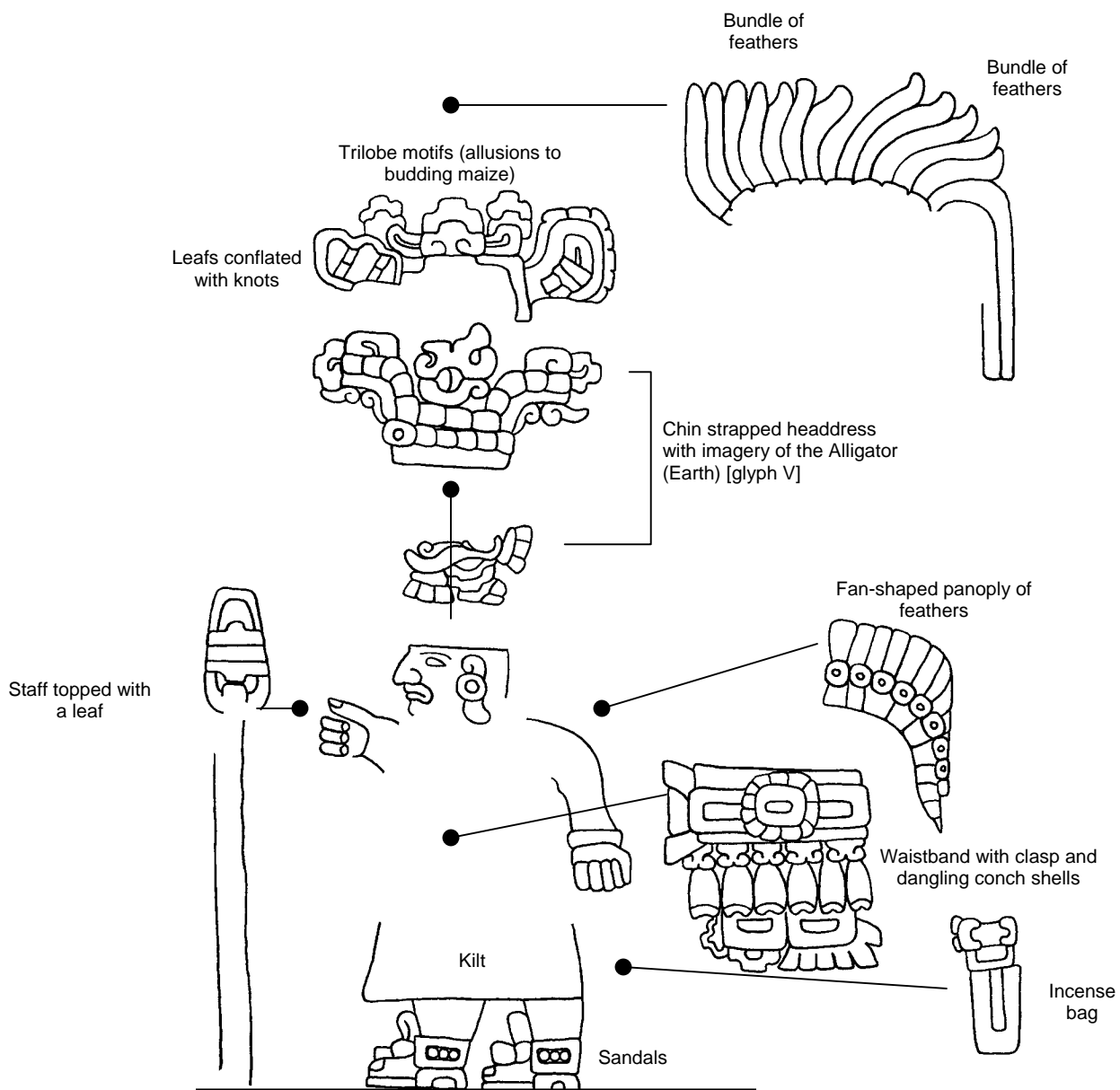


Figure 5.16- Glossing of the male companions carved in jambs 1-2, 5-6, and 7-8 in tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.

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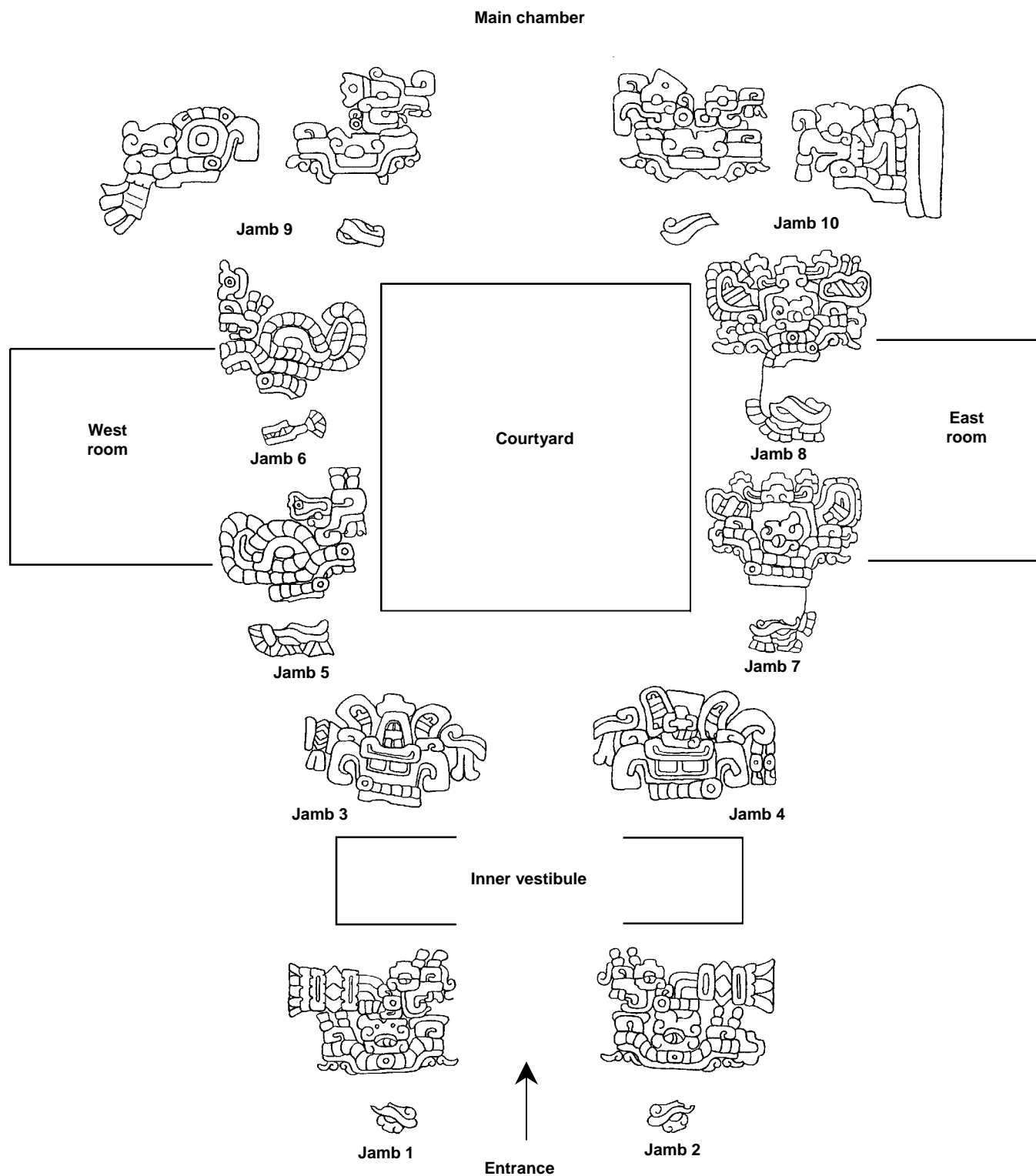


Figure 5.17- Headdresses worn by the personages carved on the jambs of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana placed according to their position in the layout of the crypt.

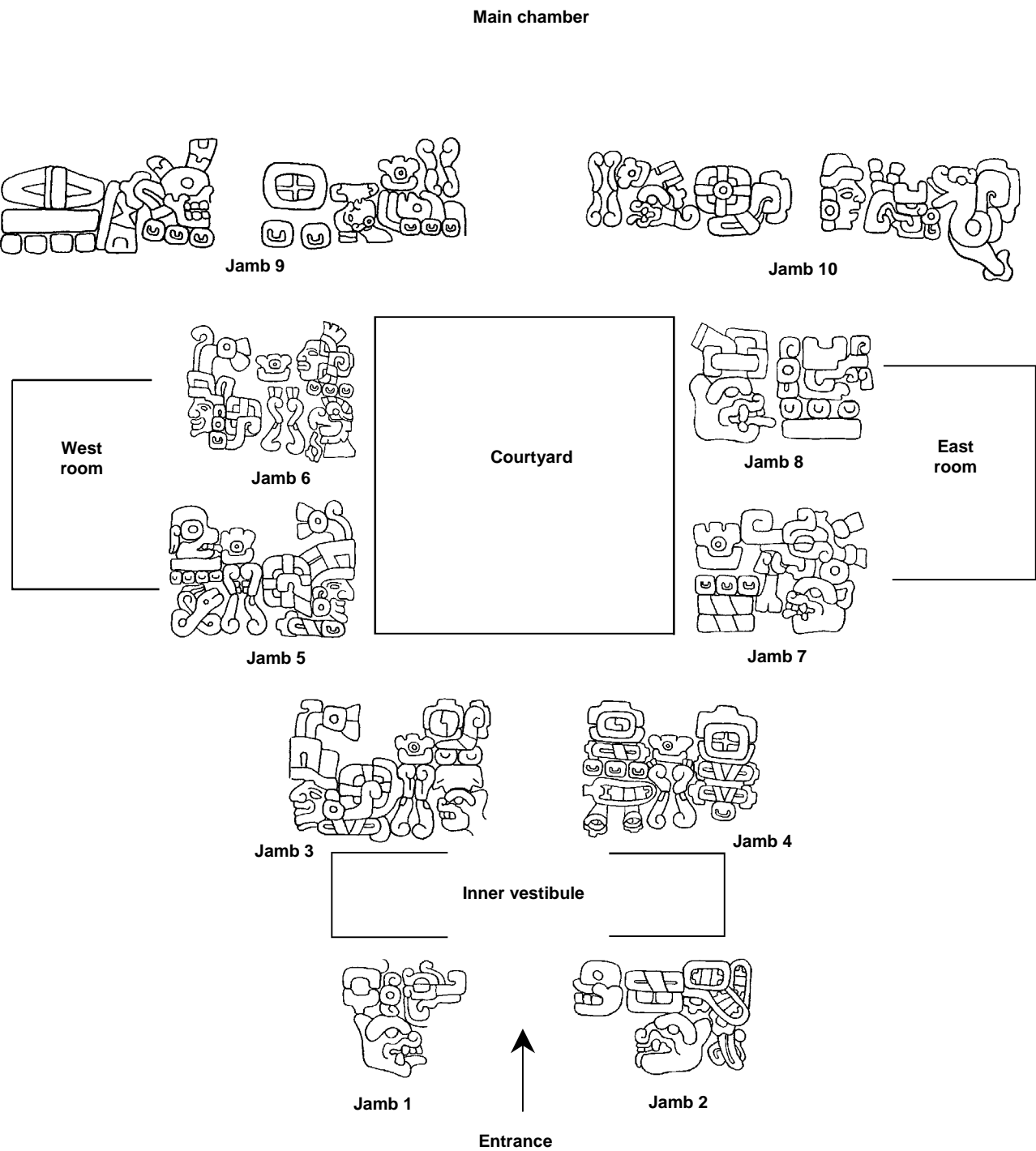


Figure 5.18- The inscriptions carved on the jambs of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana placed according to their position in the layout of the crypt.

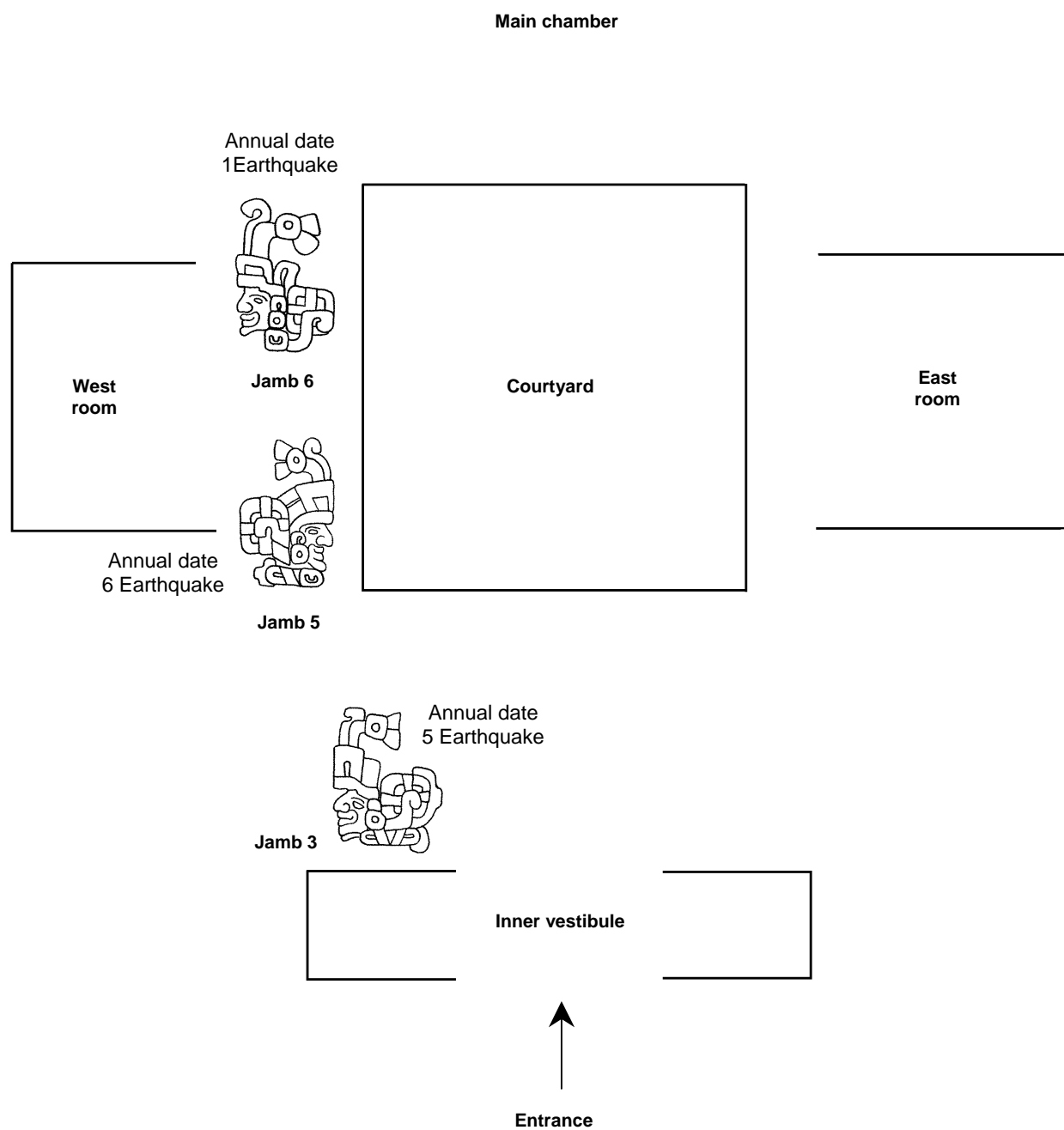


Figure 5.19- The year glyph and year bearers in jambs 3, 5, and 6 of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.

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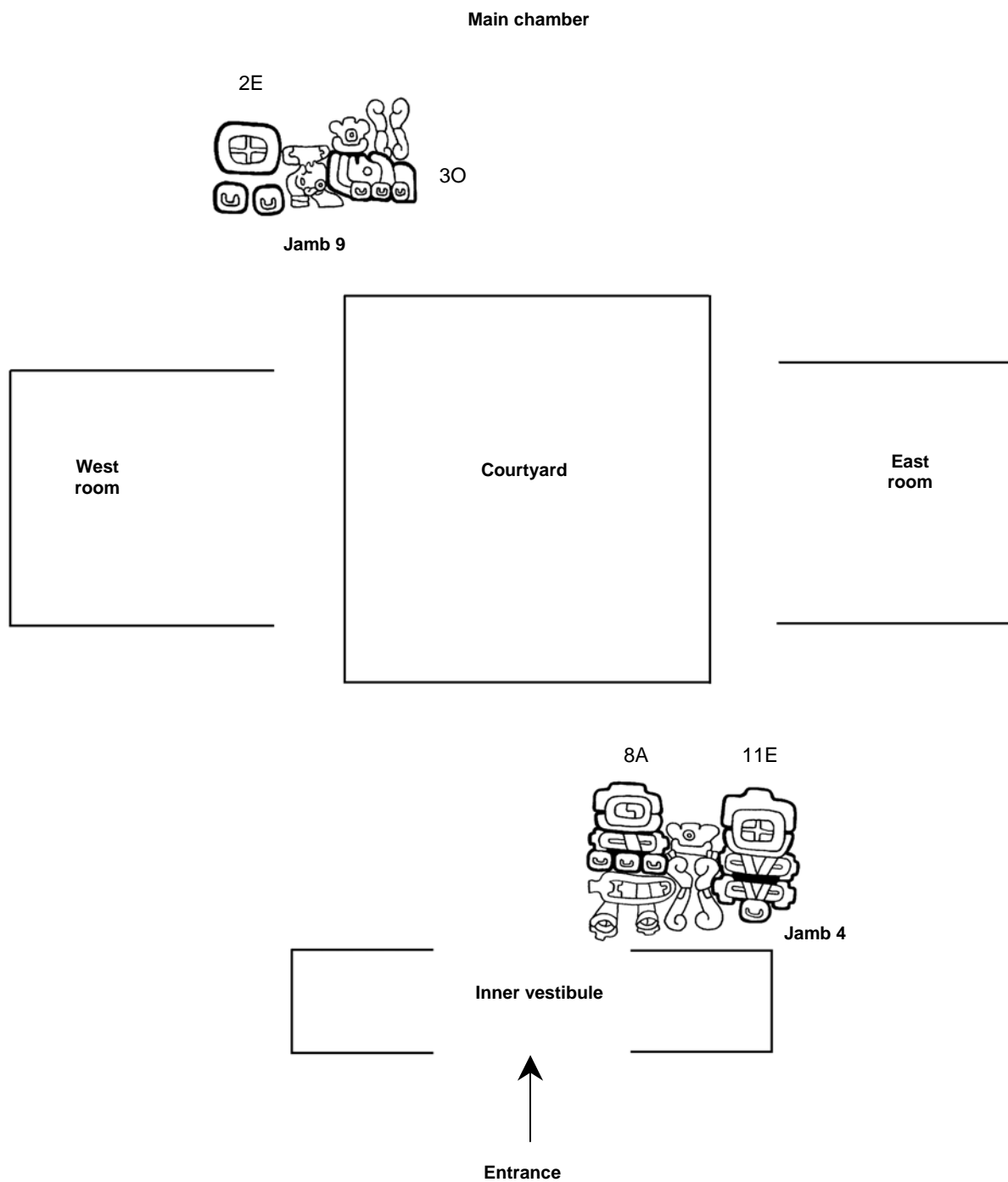


Figure 5.20- The inscriptions on jambs 4 and 9b of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana with two calendrical names each. The inscriptions are placed according to their position in the layout of the crypt.

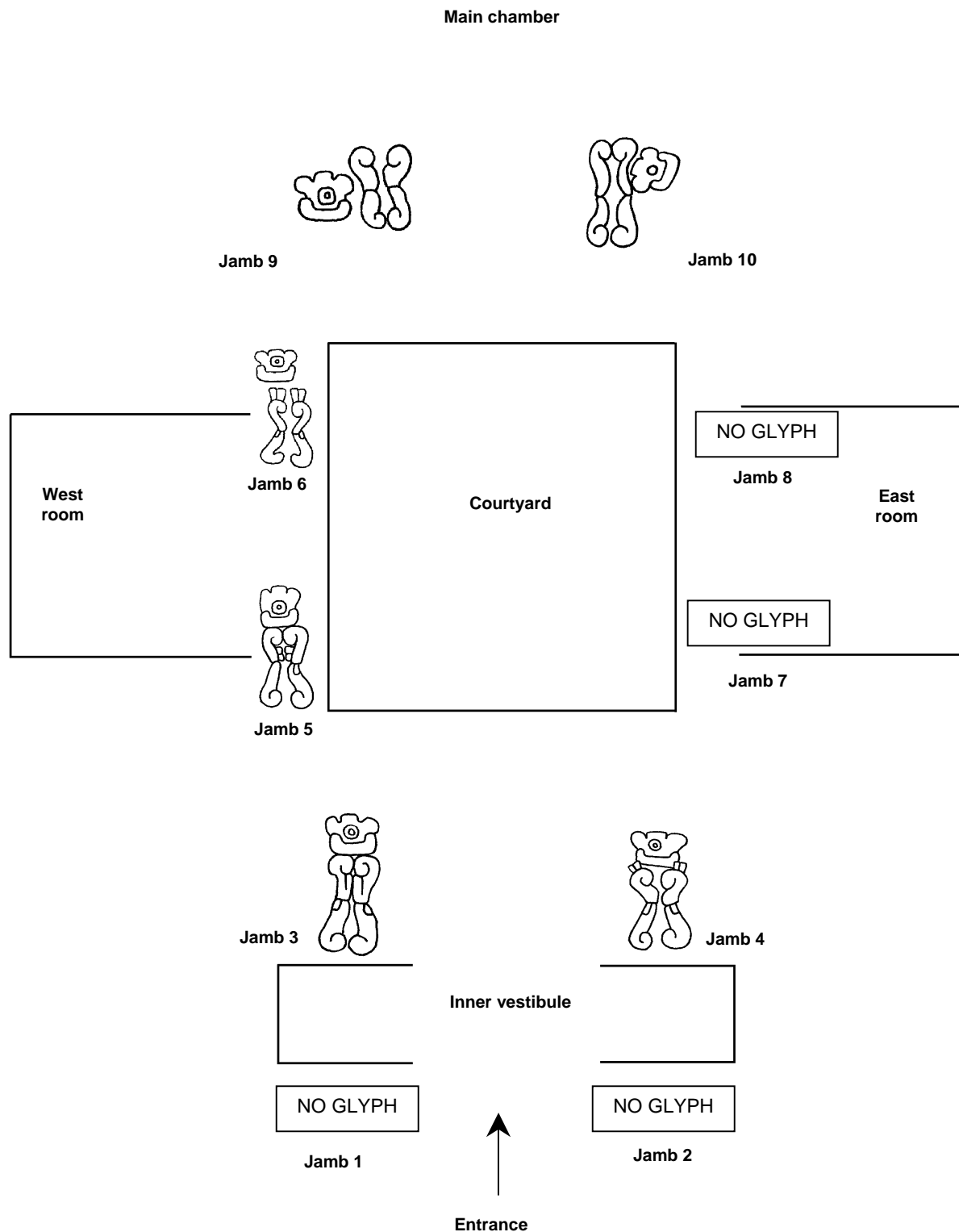


Figure 5.21- Glyphic compound of two paired volutes accompanied by glyph D carved on the jambs of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana. The inscriptions are placed according to their position in the layout of the crypt.

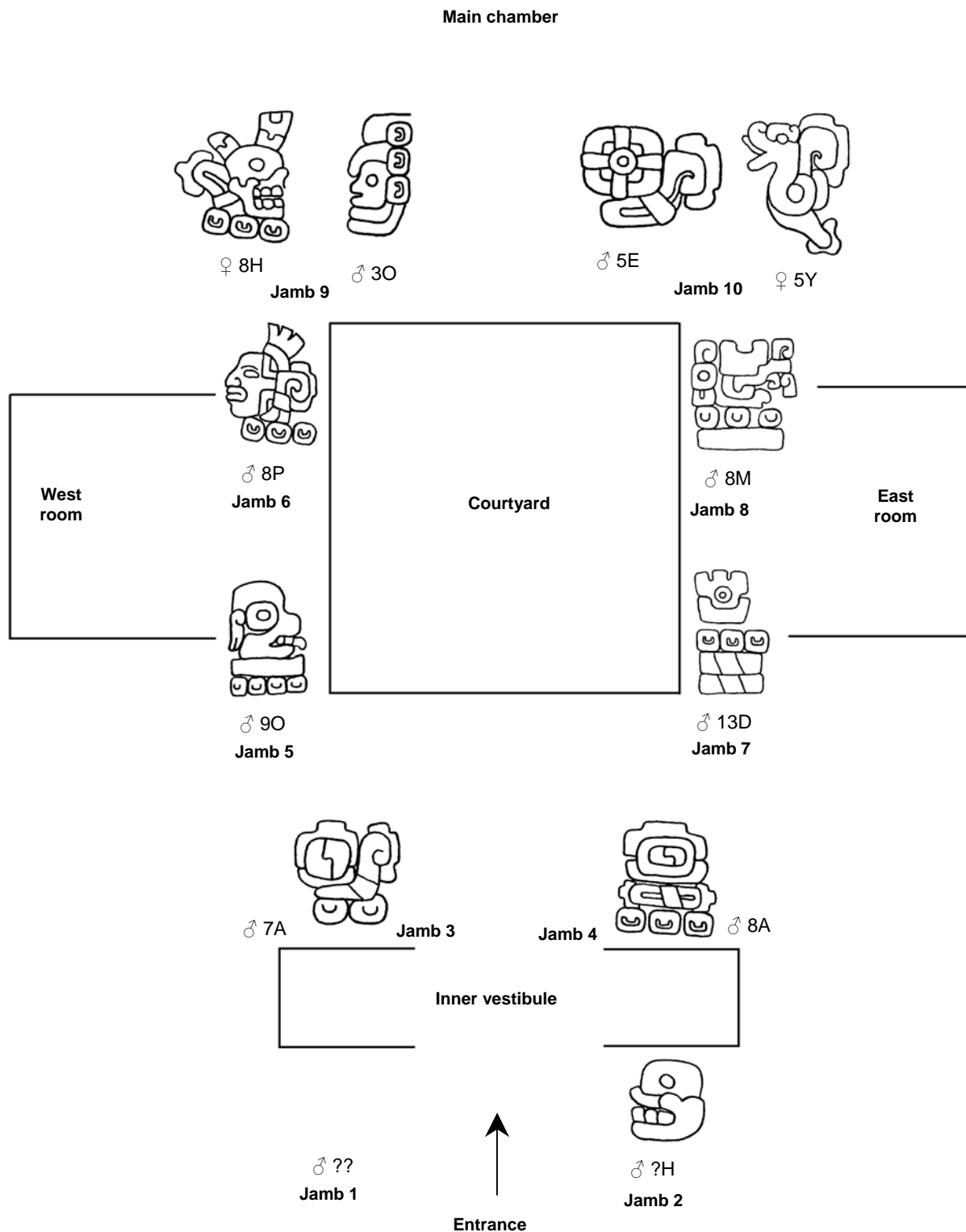


Figure 5.22- Calendrical names in the jambs of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.
 The glyphs are placed according to their position in the layout of the crypt.
 (For clarity, glyph 3O on jamb 9b has been rotated 90° counterclockwise).

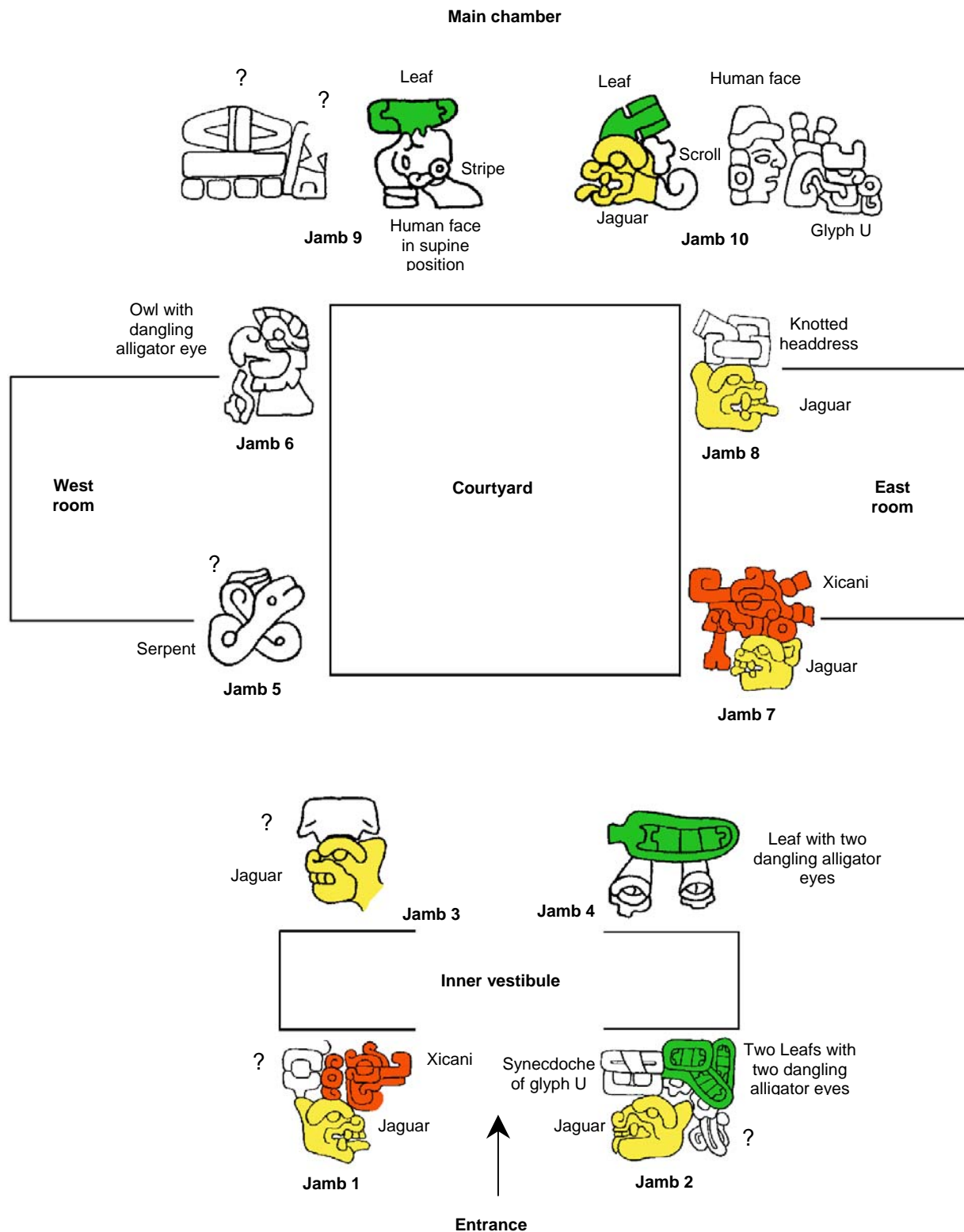


Figure 5.23- Personal names in the jambs of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana placed according to their position in the layout of the crypt (color coding indicates the use of the same primary signs in some of the glyphic compounds).

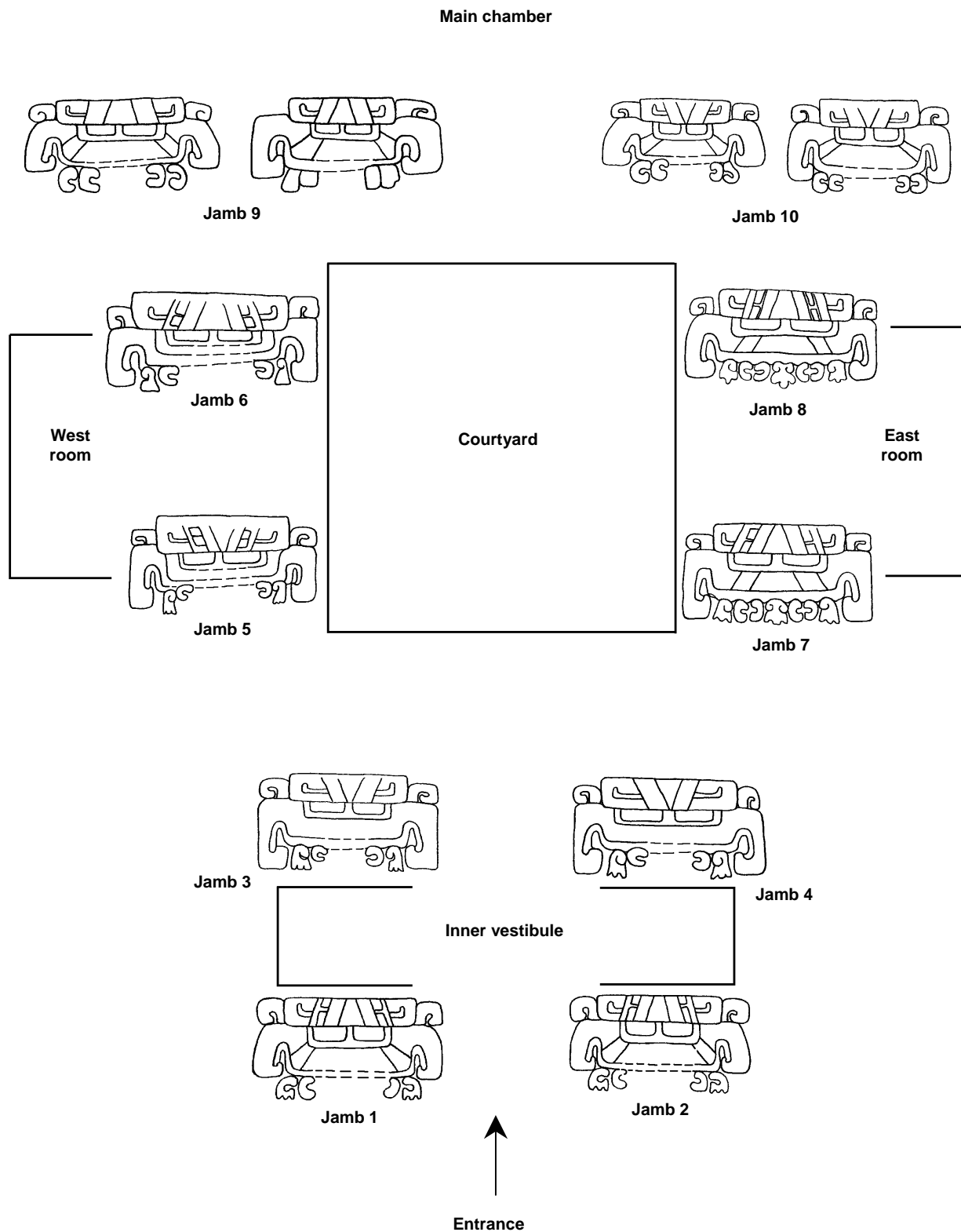


Figure 5.24- The unfolded version of glyph U that presides over the scenes carved on the jambs of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana placed according to their position in the layout of the crypt.

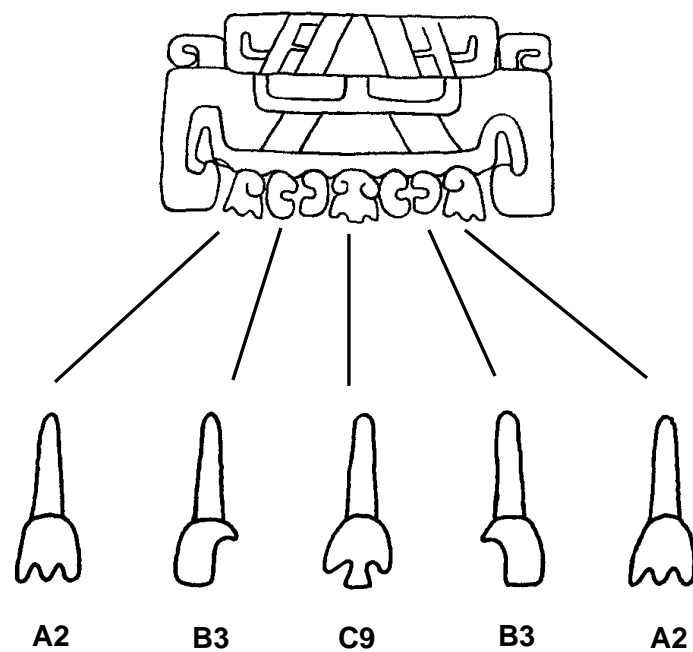


Figure 5.25- Possible types of dental modification in the unfolded versions of glyph U carved in the jambs of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.

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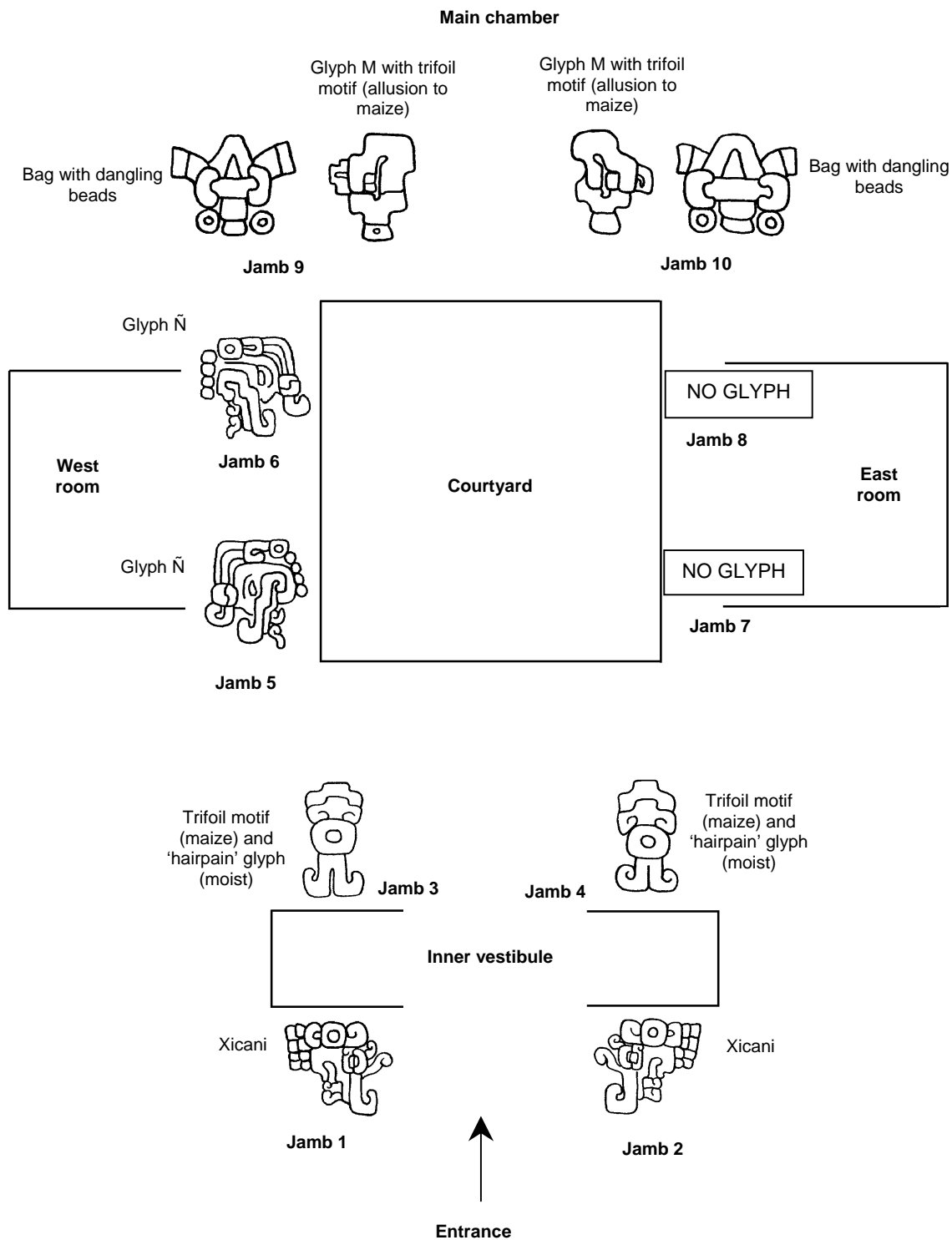
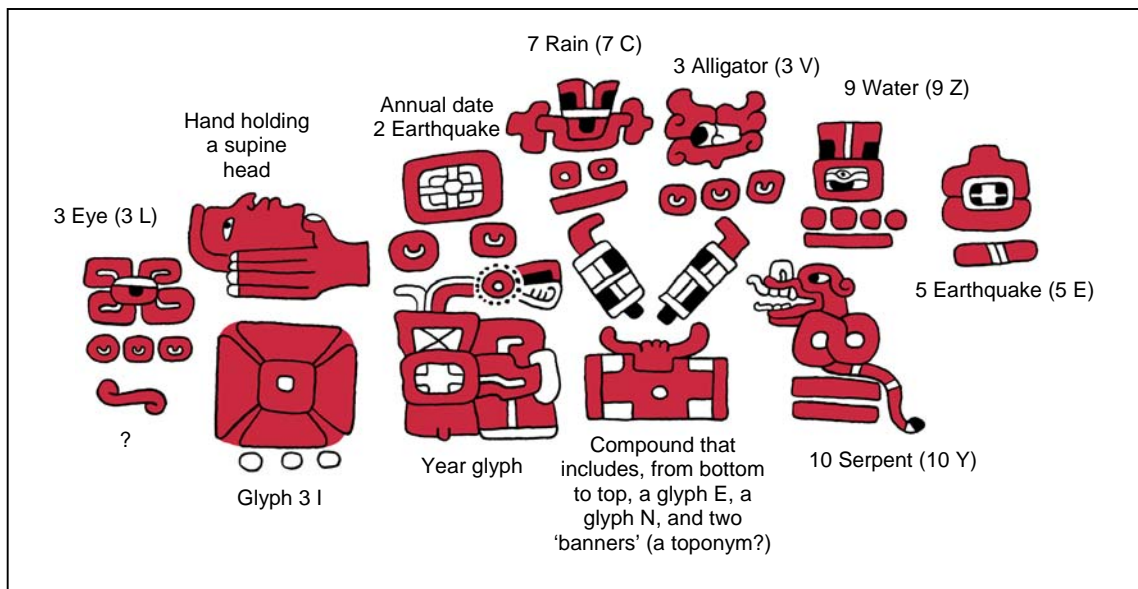
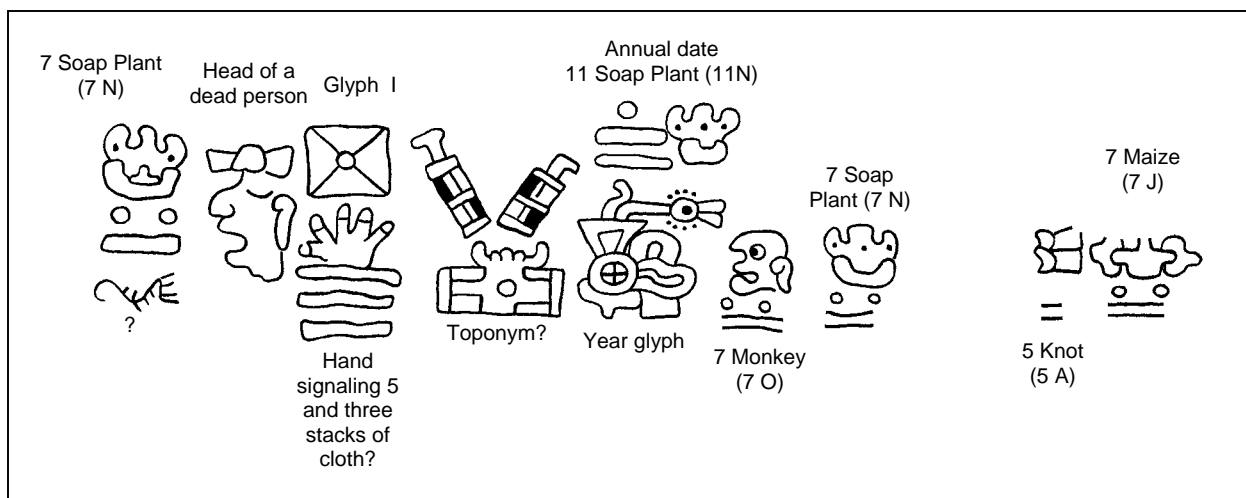


Figure 5.26- Signs that appear as if descending from glyph U on the jambs of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana placed according to their position in the layout of the crypt.



Text I



Text II

Figure 5.27- The texts painted in the lintels covering the inner vestibule of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.

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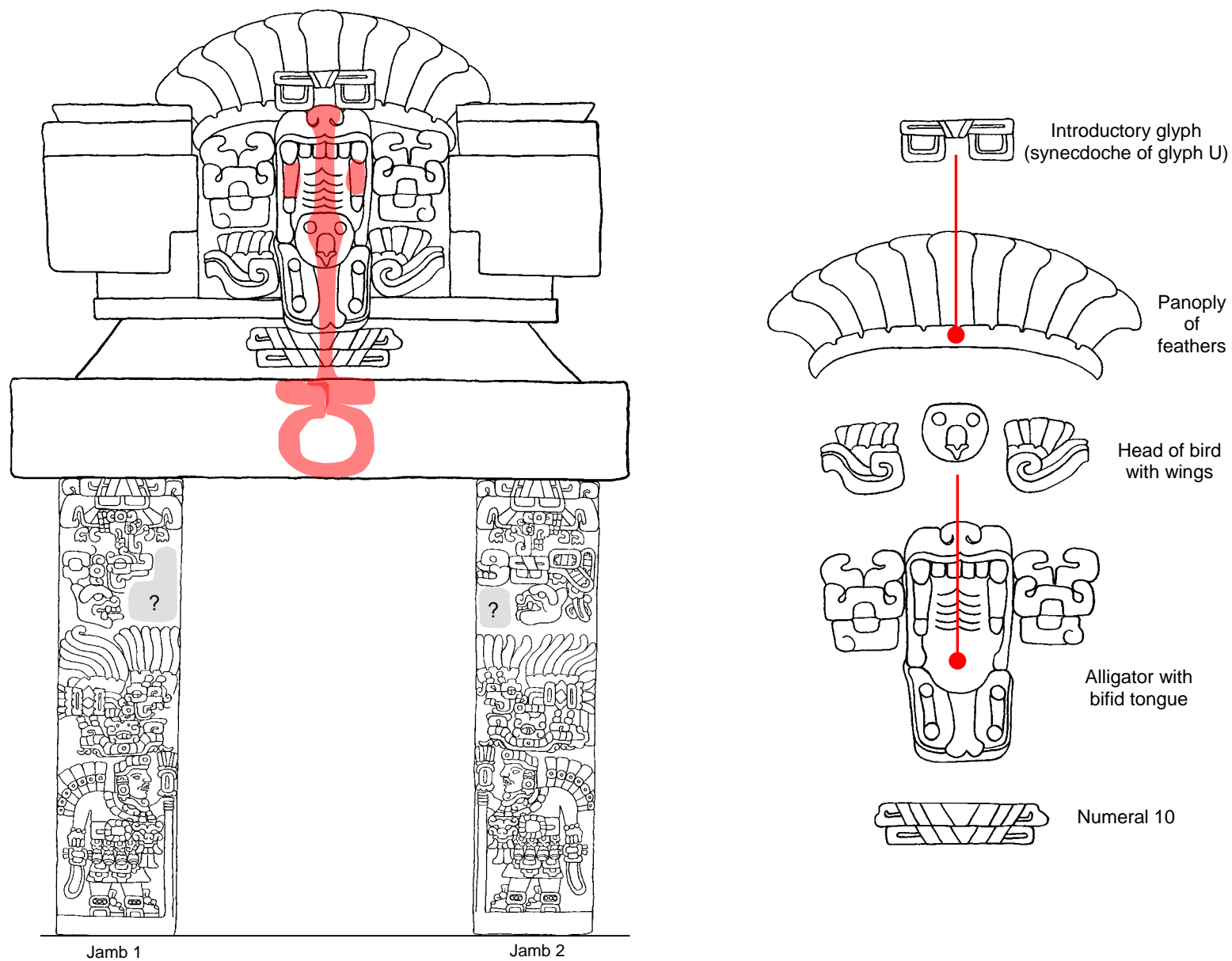


Figure 5.28- The facade of the entrance to tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana and glossing of the stucco sculpture.

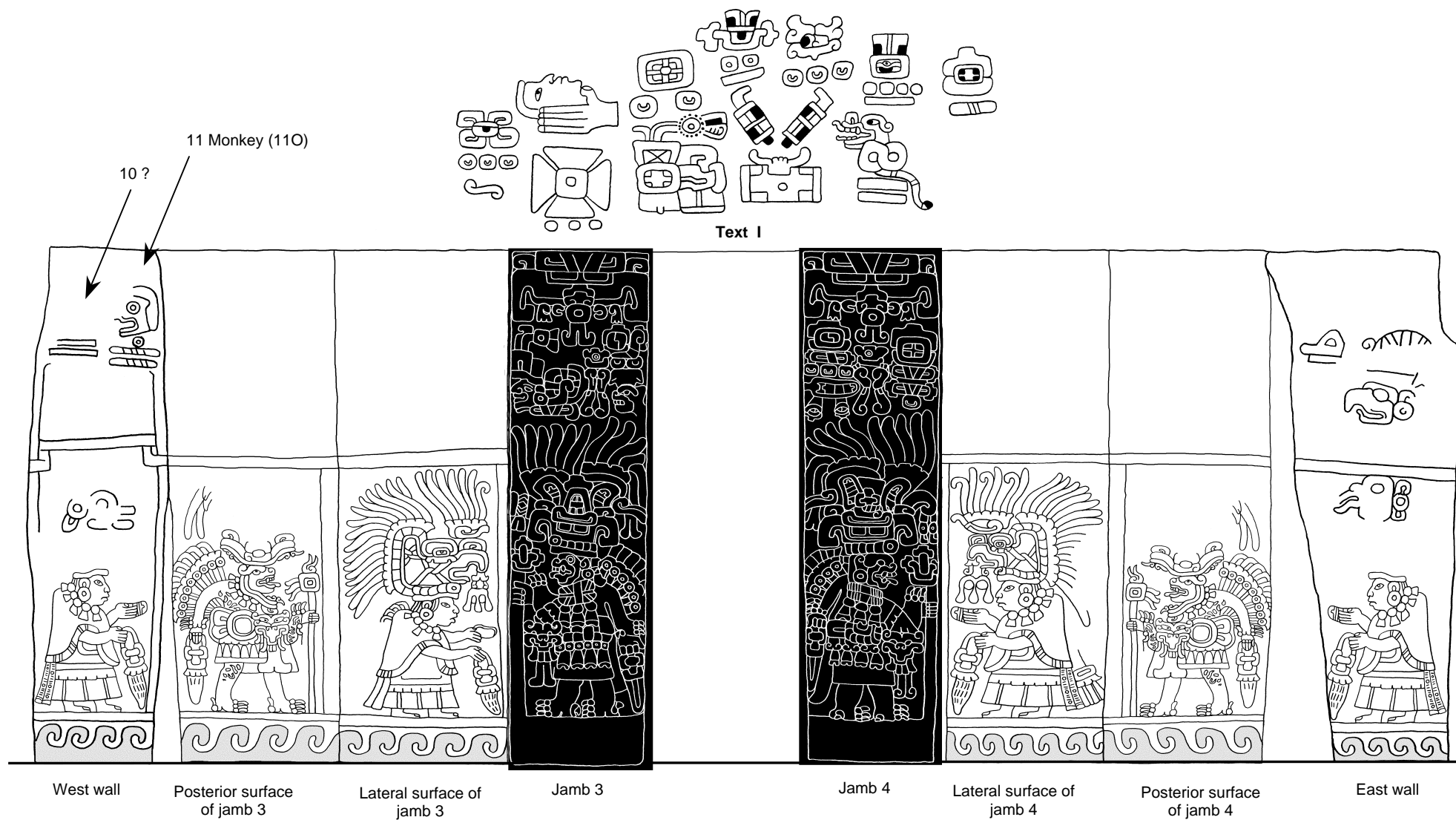
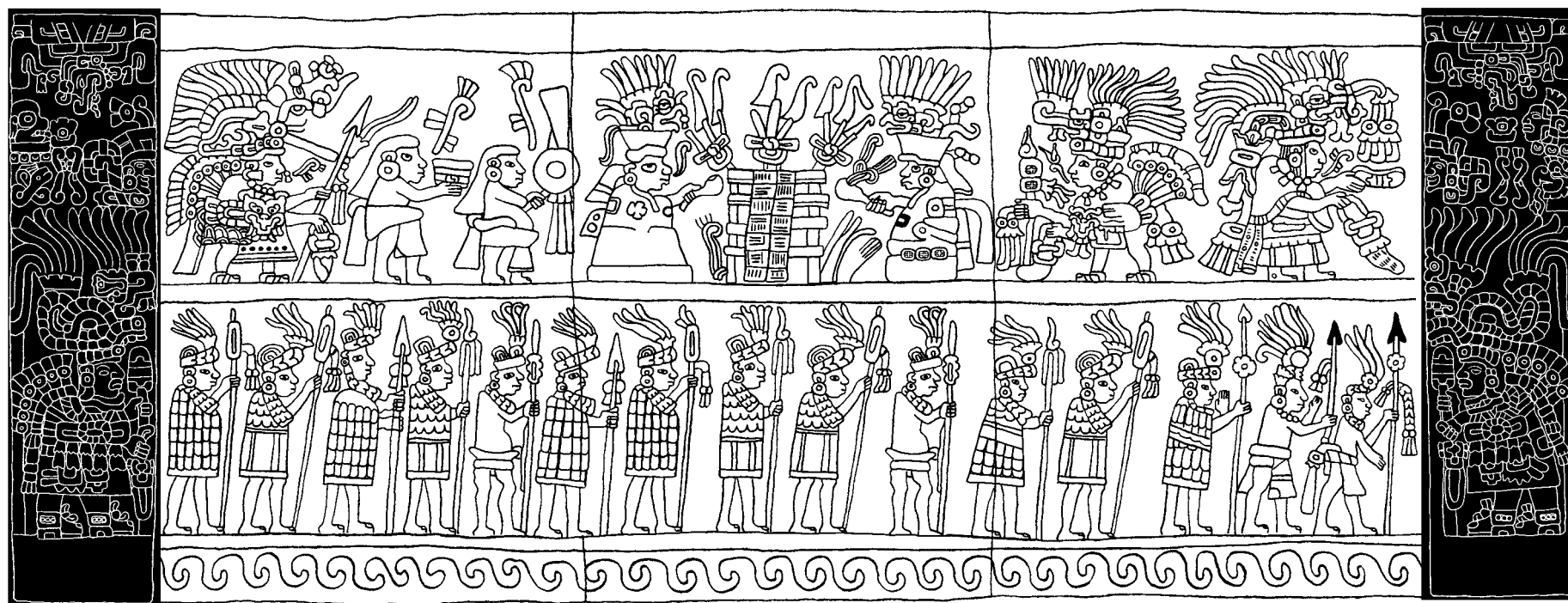


Figure 5.29- The unfolded narrative program in the interior vestibule of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana (the personages in the west and east walls, as well as on the posterior surface of jamb 3, are hypothetical reconstructions).



Jamb 5

South wall

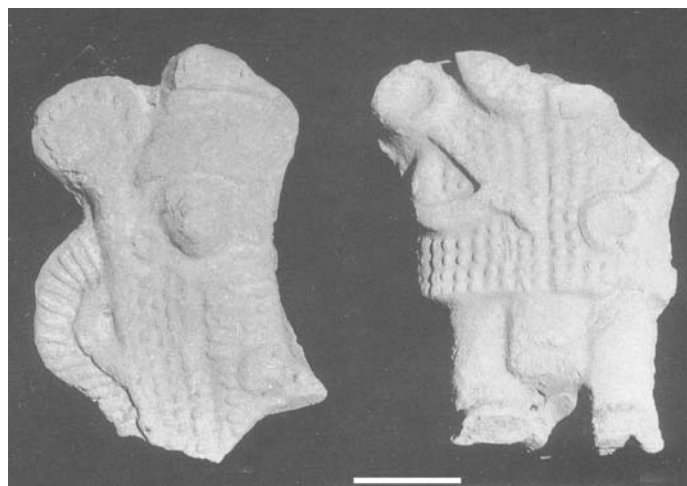
West wall

North wall

Jamb 6

Figure 5.30- The carved jambs and painted murals in the West Room of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana unfolded (the middle register in the back wall is reconstructed).

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0 2.5cm

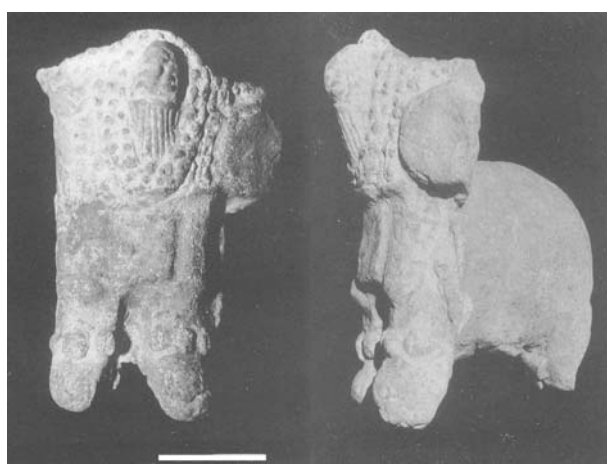


Figure 5.31- Ceramic figurines from Lambityeco representing warriors wearing cotton-padded jackets. The two lower examples have a shrunken inverted head as pectoral (photographs after Scott 1993: figures 36a-b, 37a-b, 42, 43a-b).

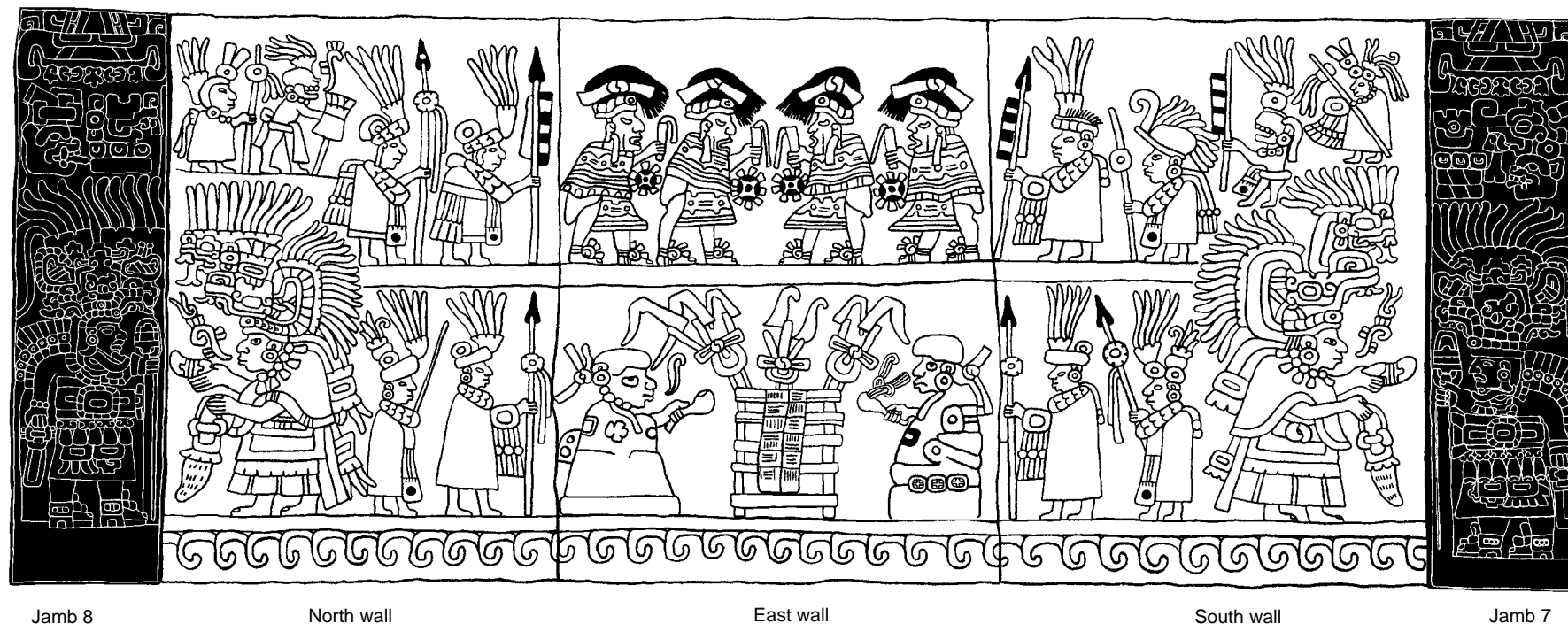


Figure 5.32- The carved jambs and painted murals in the East Room of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana unfolded (the middle register in the back wall is reconstructed).

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Flayed facial skin in
headdress of fourth
ballplayer, east wall of
main chamber in tomb
5, Cerro de la Campana

One of the four personages painted in the back wall
of the East room of tomb 5 from Cerro de la
Campana (modified after Miller 1995: plate 36)



Effigy vessel in tomb 103 from Monte Albán
(after Caso and Bernal 1952: 252bis)



Screenfold Tonalpouhqui page 68



Screenfold Tonalpouhqui page 62

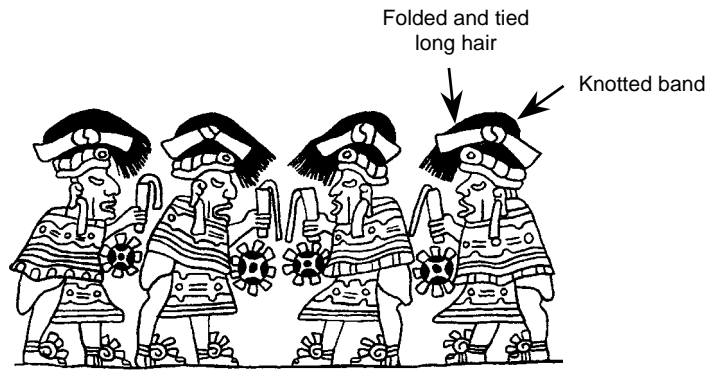


Screenfold Yoalli Ehecatl page 25



Screenfold Yoalli Ehecatl page 24

Figure 5.33- Polychrome representations of Xipe Totec impersonators.



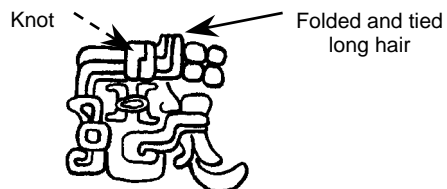
Personages painted in the upper register of the back wall in the East Room of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana



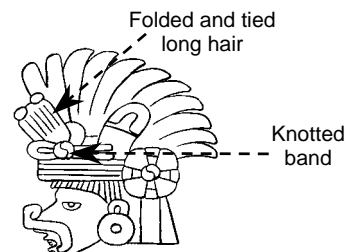
Personage painted in the south jamb of Building A, Cacaxtla



Personage carved on Monument 21, Bilbao, Guatemala



Example of Glyph Ñ carved on Monument MA-SP-8b



Profile view of effigy vessel behind the entrance to tomb 104 from Monte Albán (after Caso and Bernal 1952: 116, fig. 184bis-b)

Figure 5.34- Religious specialists in Mesoamerica with characteristic long hair compared to attributes in Zapotec glyph Ñ and its three-dimensional counterparts in effigy vessels.

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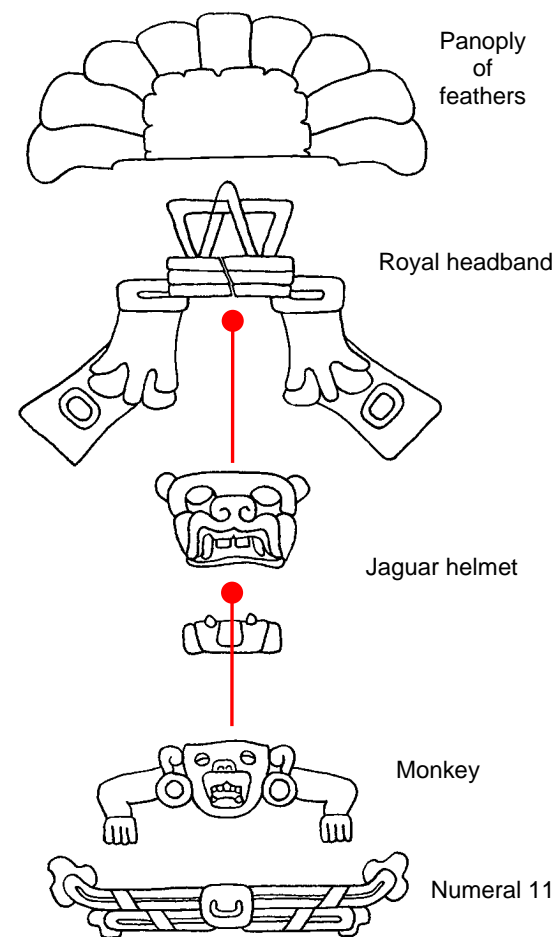
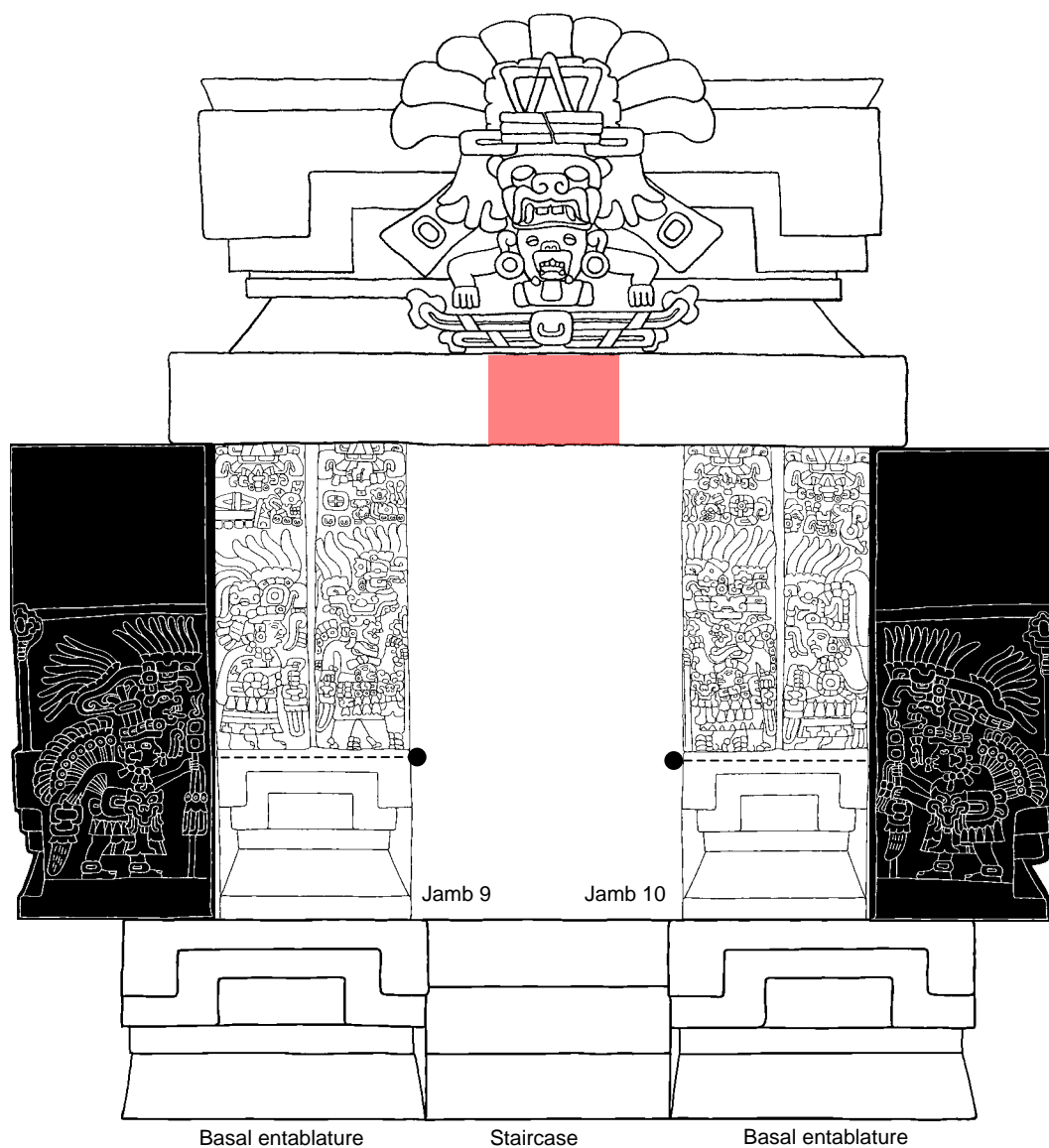
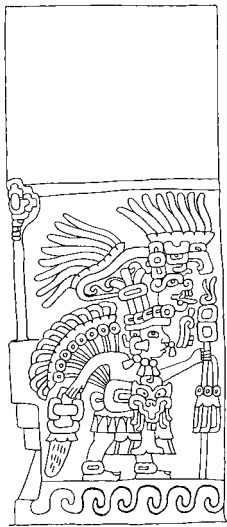
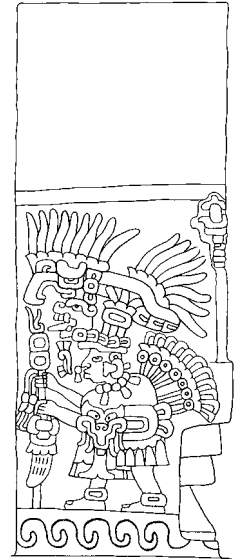


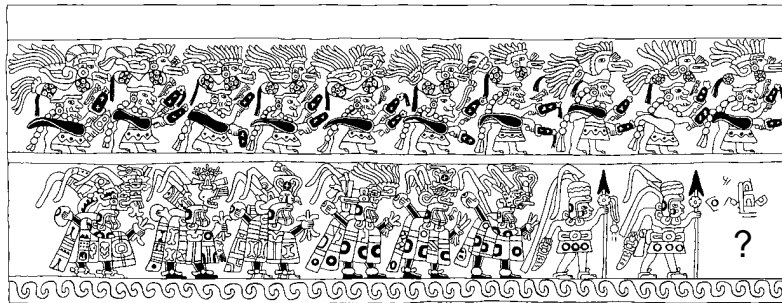
Figure 5.35- The facade of the main chamber of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana and glossing of the stucco sculpture.



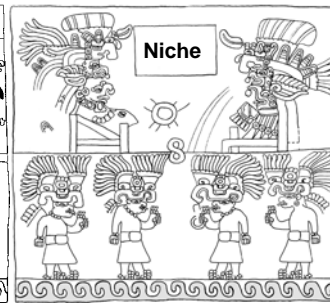
Medial lateral surface
of jamb 9



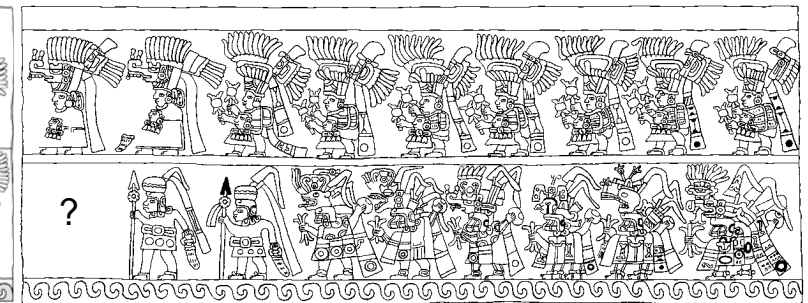
Medial lateral surface
of jamb 10



West wall



North wall



East wall

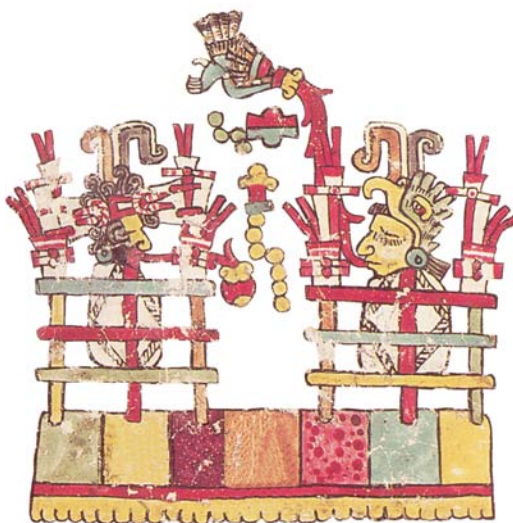
Figure 5.36- The narrative program painted in the main chamber of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana unfolded (imagery in the middle register of the north wall and on the north end of the upper register in the east wall is reconstructed).



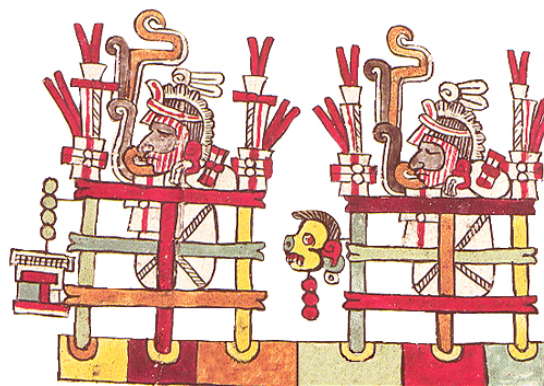
Offering of incense to the bundle of an ancestor. Its calendrical name, once on the upper left, is now obliterated. Screenfold Iya Cochi, page 6



The bundle of an ancestor. Screenfold Tonindeye, page 20



Mortuary bundles of two individuals named 7 Flower and 4 Earthquake whom are offered blood from a heart and a decapitated bird. Screenfold Tonindeye, page 4



Mortuary bundles of two individuals named 4 House and 3 Monkey. Screenfold Tonindeye, page 81

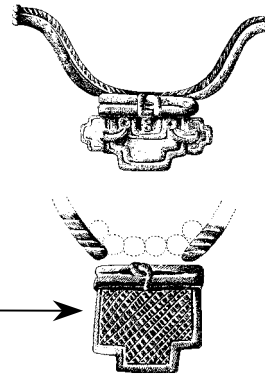
Figure 5.37- Funerary boxes with mortuary bundles depicted in pre-Hispanic screenfolds from the Mixteca Alta, Oaxaca.



Ceramic effigy of old man
with bird mask and "Hill"
Glyph pendant (after
Caso and Bernal 1952:
191, fig. 322)



Ceramic effigy of old man
with bird mask and "Hill"
Glyph pendant (after
Caso and Bernal 1952:
193, fig 325)



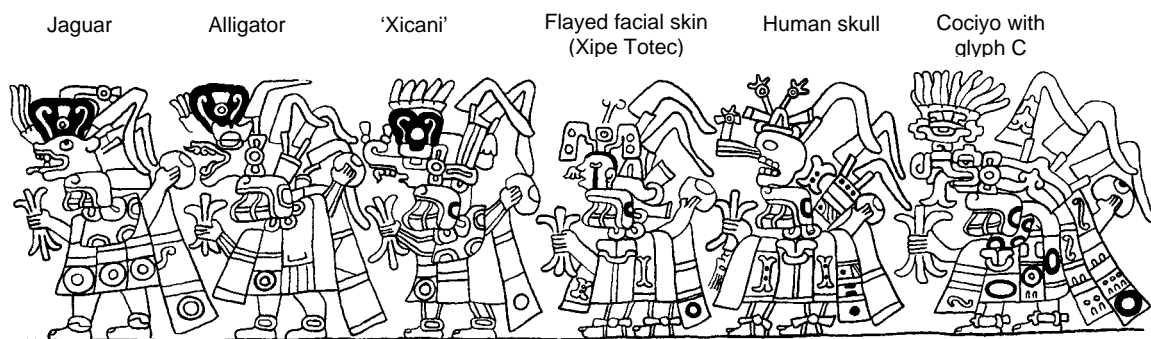
"Hill" Glyph pendants (after
Caso and Bernal 1952: 194,
fig. 327)



Male personage with bird mask and "Hill" Glyph
pendant (right side of north wall in the main
chamber of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana)

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Figure 5.38- Bird masks and 'Hill' glyph pendants in the accoutrement of personages.



Six ballplayers painted in the middle register of the East wall in the main chamber of tomb 5

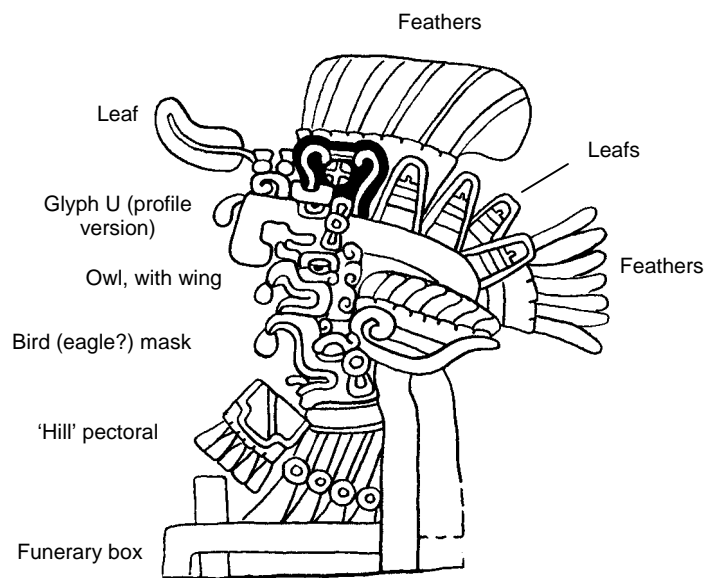
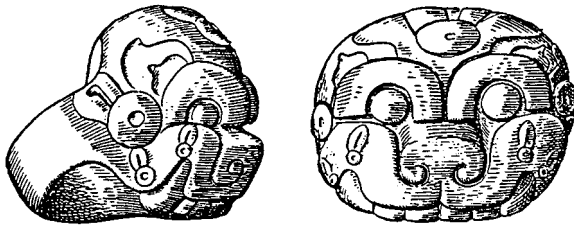
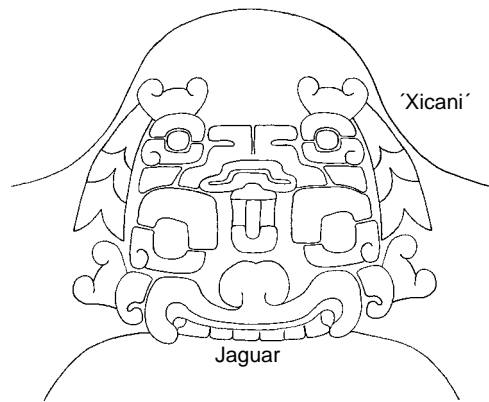


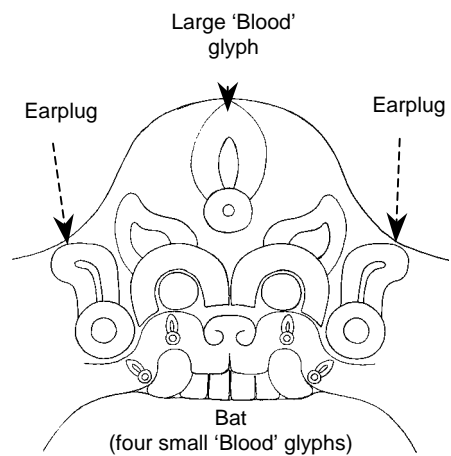
Figure 5.39- Comparison of sign in three of the ballplayers' headdresses and atop the headdress of the personage on the right side of the north wall in the main chamber of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.



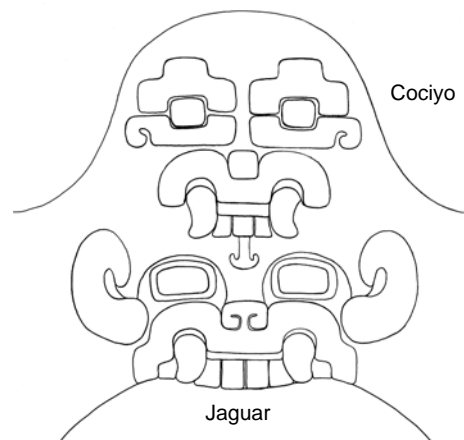
Handstone attributed to Etlá. Formerly in the collection of Martínez Gracida. Now in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (photograph after Anonymous 1992: 96)



Handstone attributed to Monte Albán. Formerly in the Sologuren collection. Now in the Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia (cat. no. 6-77) (drawing after Selser 1904: 364, fig. 111)



Handstone in the Princeton Museum of Art (attributed to Guatemala, but probably from central Oaxaca) (photographs after M. Miller 1989: 30, fig. 16 [left], and Goldstein 1988: 24, no. 171)



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Figure 5.40- Carved handstones from Oaxaca.

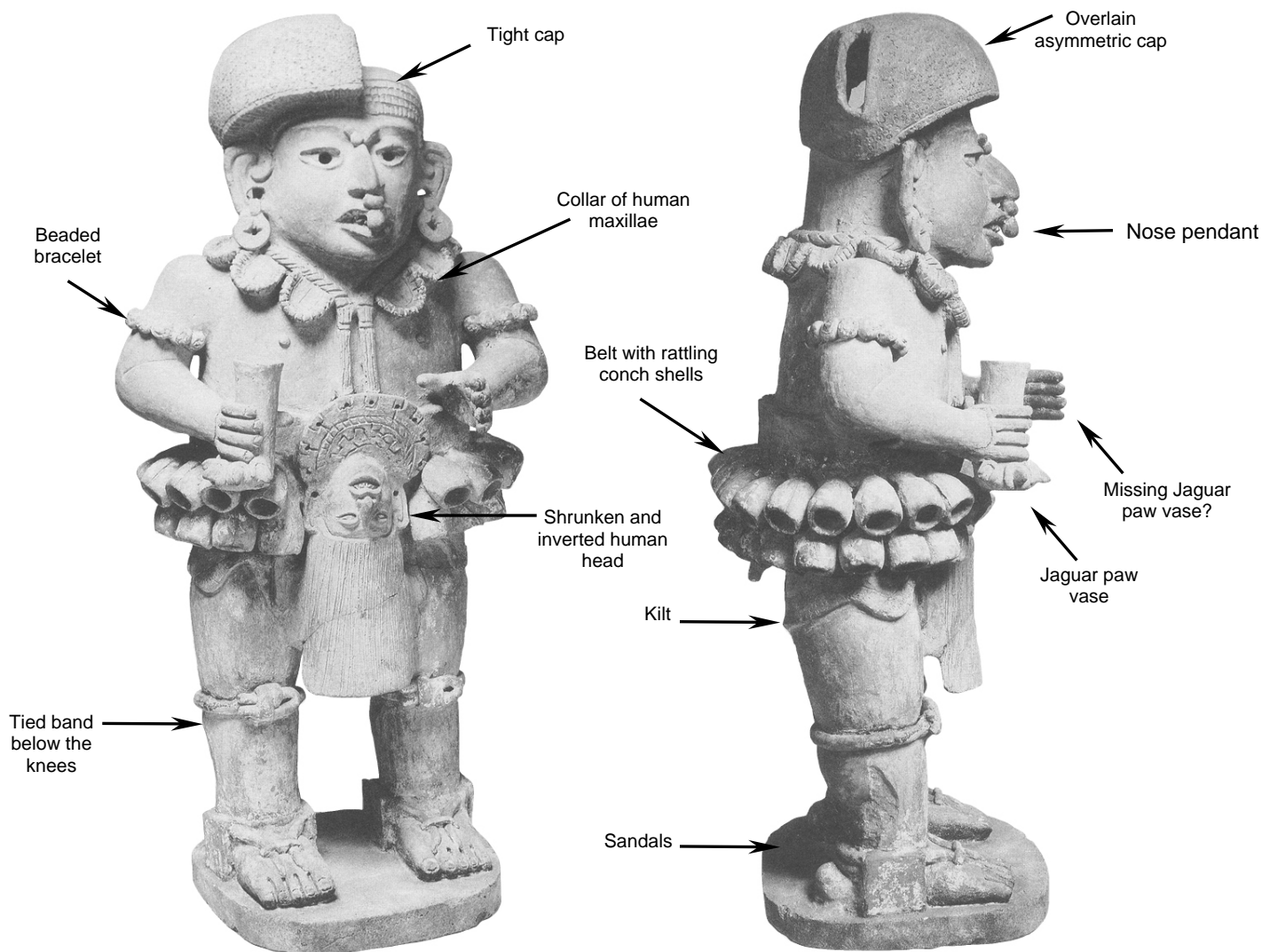


Figure 5.41- Ceramic representation of a high-ranking personage wearing military regalia, including a shrunken inverted trophy head. Said to have been collected near Mitla, height 74 cm. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (cat. no. 19/5806) (photographs after Scott 1993: plates 17-18).

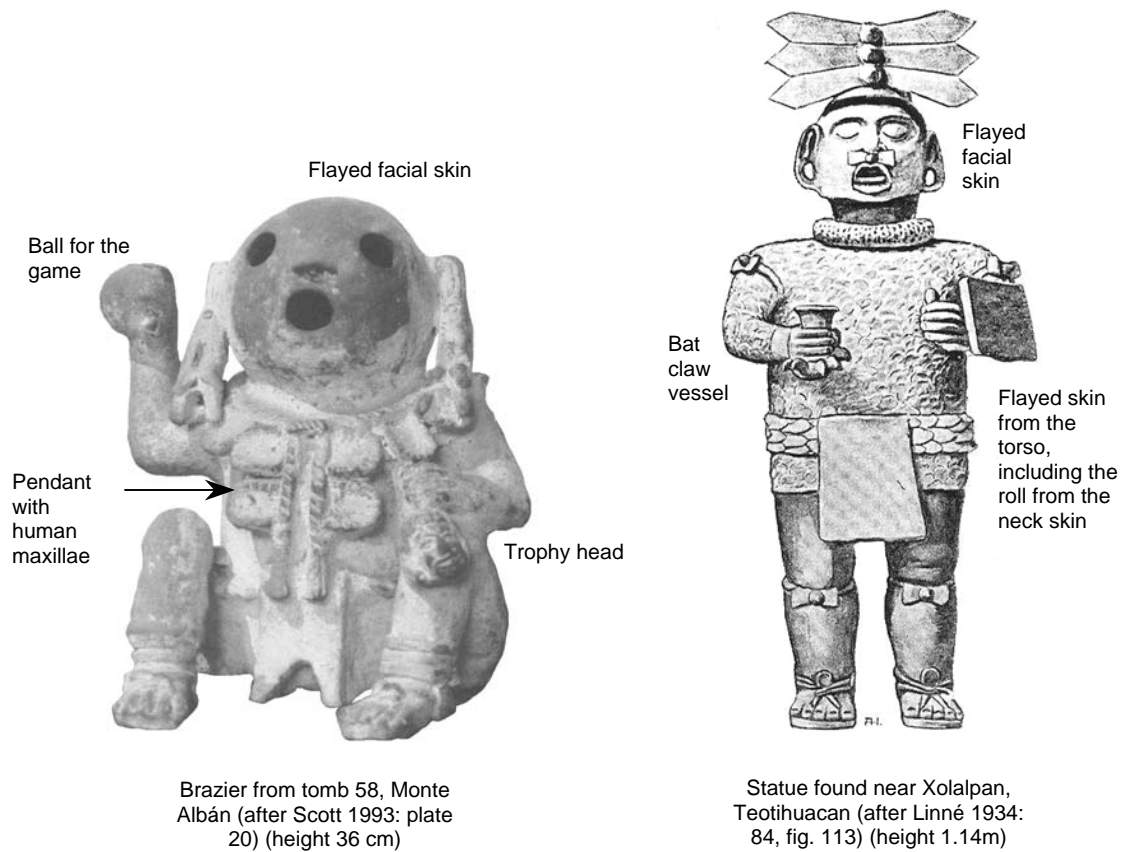


Figure 5.42- Ceramic representations of Xipe Totec impersonators from Monte Albán and Teotihuacan.

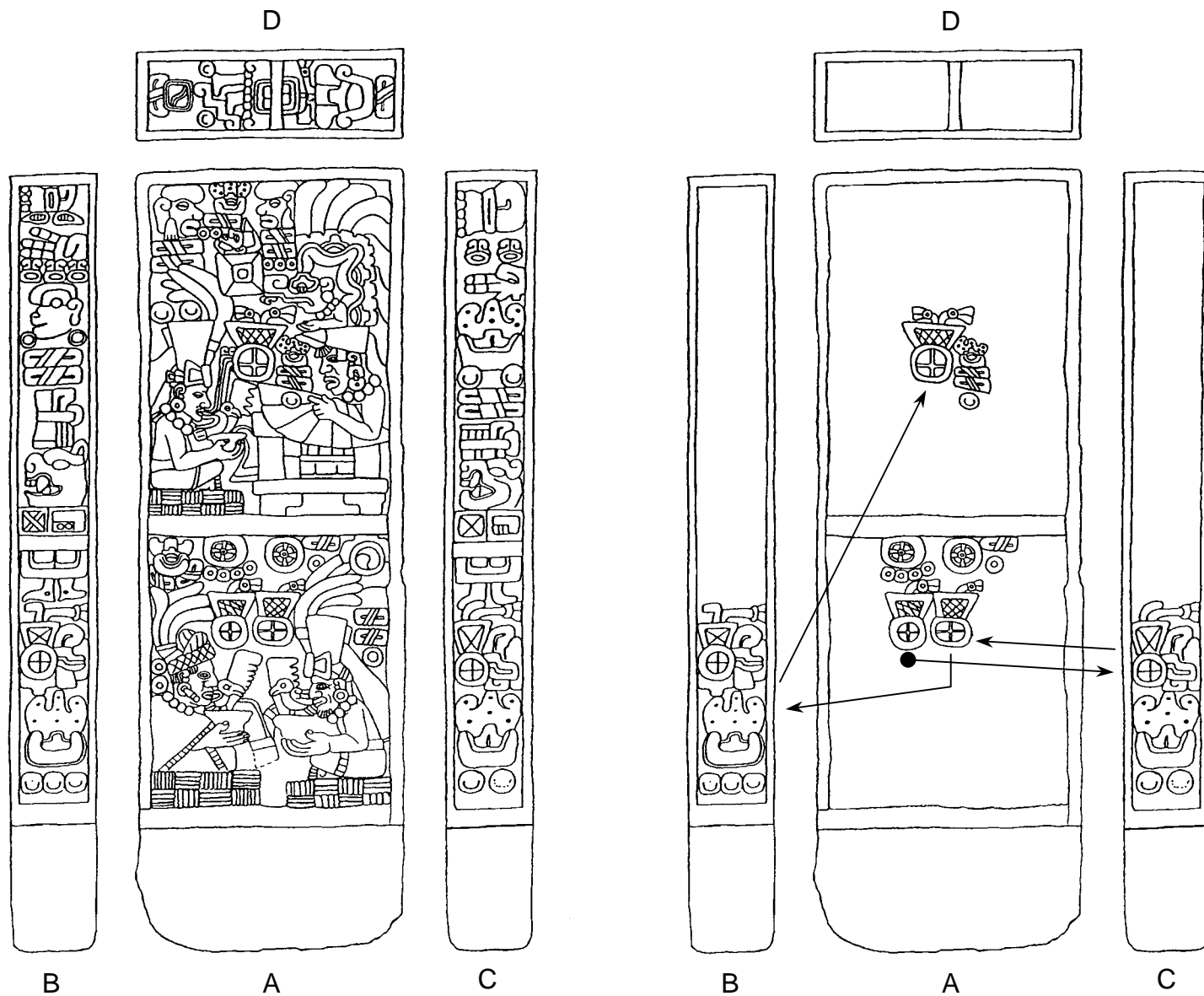


Figure 5.43- Rendering of the stela in tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana showing simultaneously all the carved surfaces, height 1.30 m. The drawing on the right shows the location of the annual dates (arrows indicate their presumed temporal sequence).

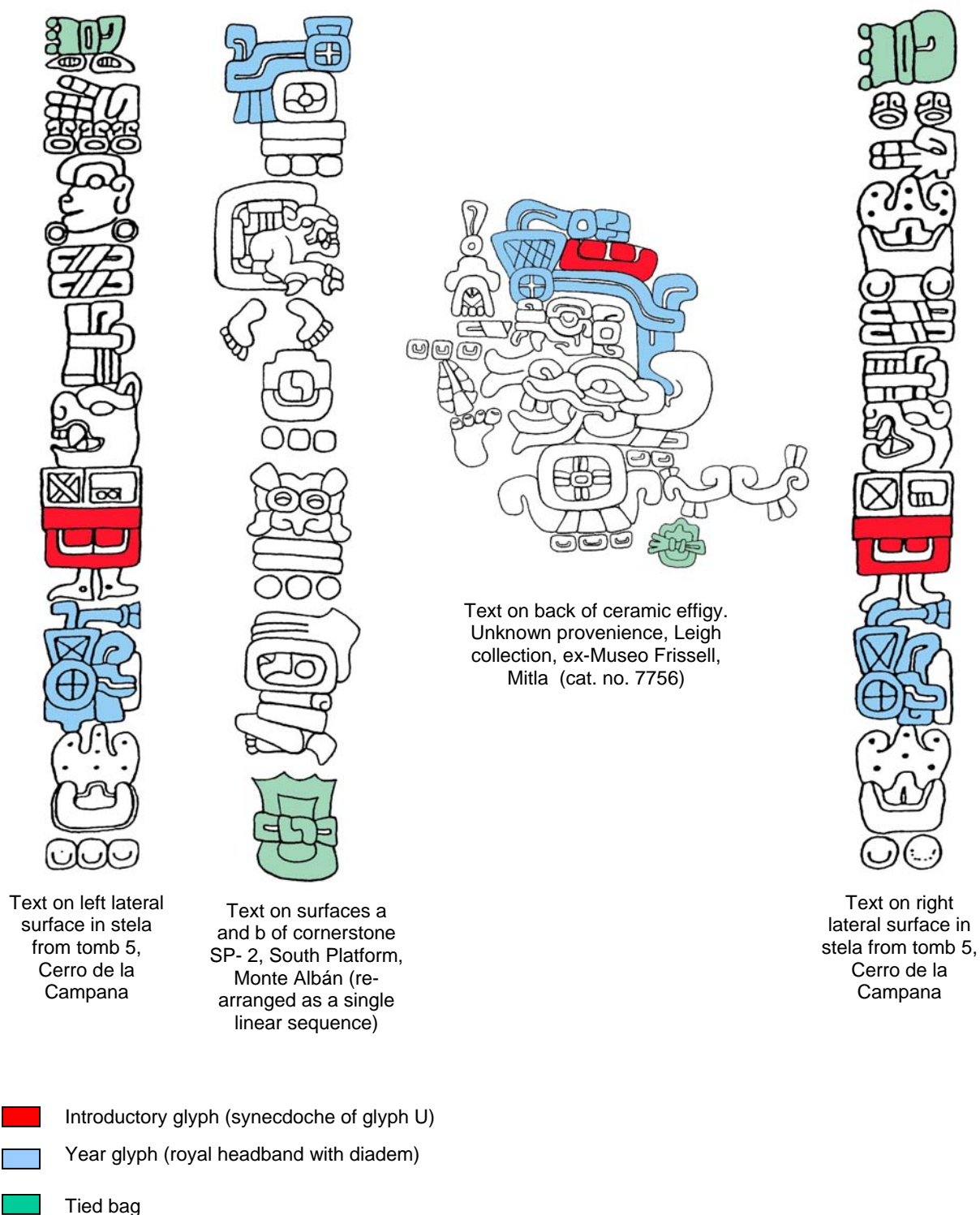
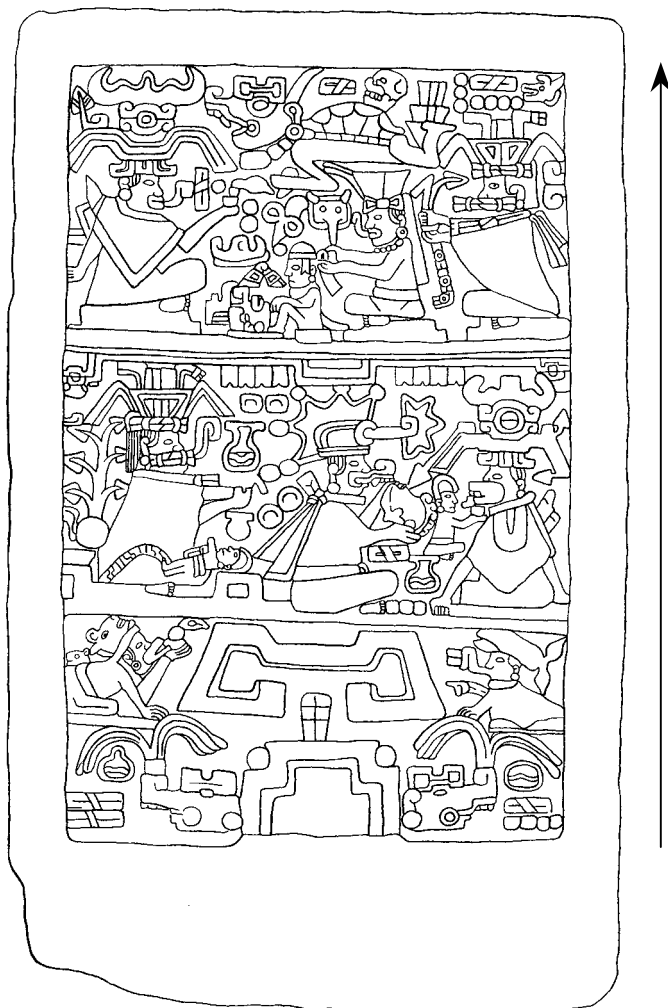
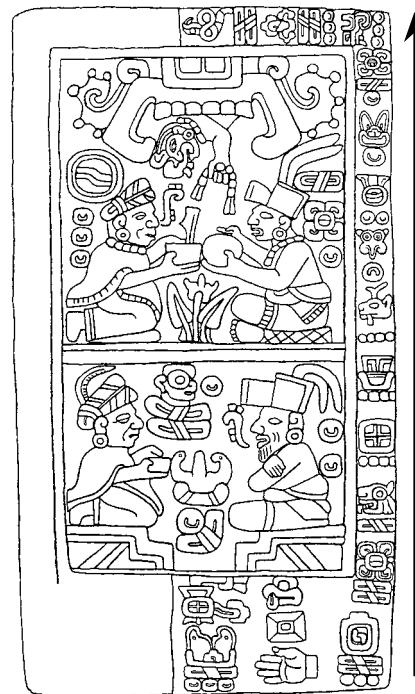


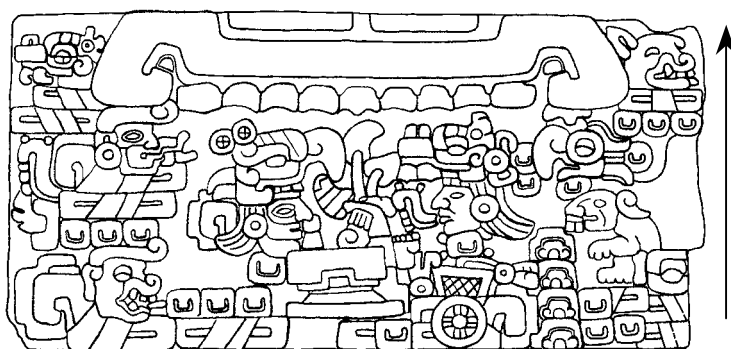
Figure 5.44- Comparison of the columnar texts on the lateral surface in the stela with two other known linear texts that read from top to bottom.



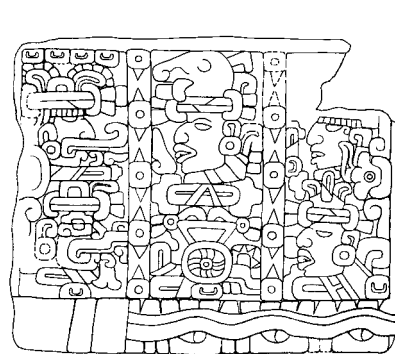
Slab 1 from Noriega. Museo de las Culturas, Oaxaca City , height 1m.



Slab 6-6059, Unknown provenience. Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia, height 60 cm.



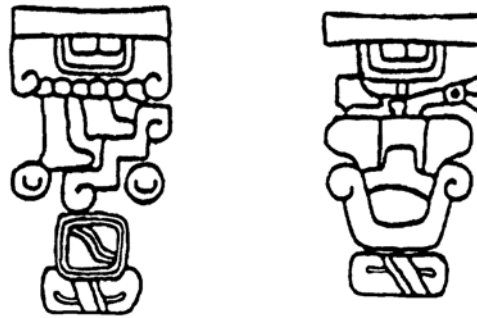
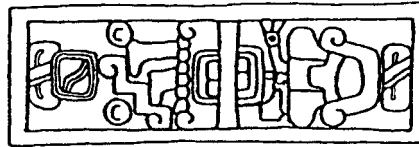
Slab attributed to San Baltazar Chichicapam. Present location unknown, approx. height 50 cm.



Slab of unknown provenience. Private collection in Oaxaca City, height 42 cm.

Figure 5.45- Other known Zapotec slabs with a bottom to top reading sequence.

Surface D of the stela



Upper inscriptions rotated 90° (shown sharing the same boundary band)

Glyph U (unfolded)



Glyph U (synecdoque)

Feet climbing stair



Foot with tassel ?

Glyph 7 Water (7 Z)



Glyph 5 Rain (5 C)

Figure 5.46- Glyphic sequences carved on the superior surface of the stela from tomb 5 at Cerro de la Campana.

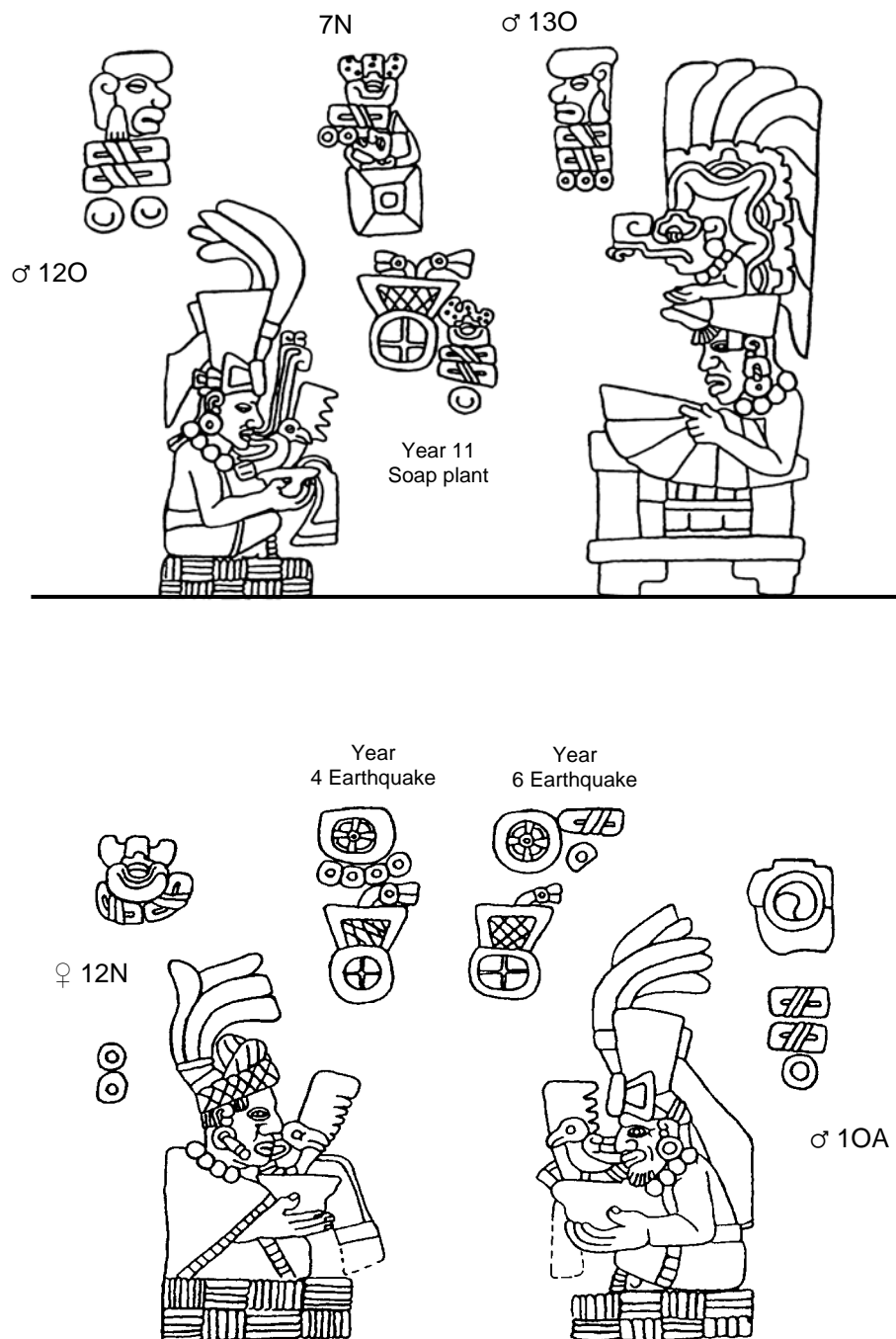


Figure 5.47- Glossing of the imagery in the registers of the anterior surface in the stela of tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.

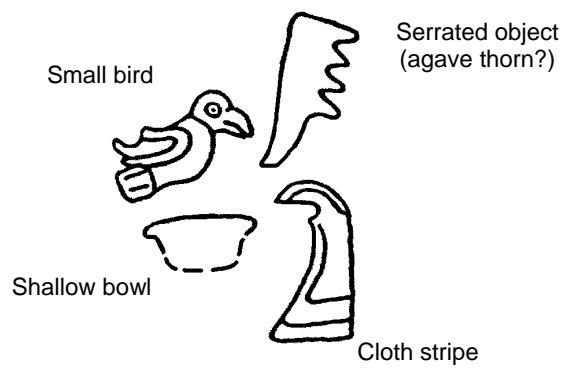


Figure 5.48- Glossing of the offerings presented by ♀ 12N, ♂11A and ♂12O.

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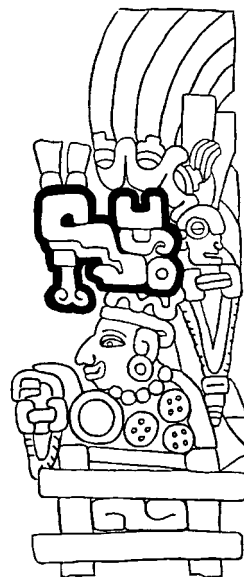
Ceramic effigy vessel attributed to San Felipe Tejalapam, Etla (LGH-12619)



Personage painted on the north wall of the west room in tomb 5, Cerro de la Campana



Personage painted on the north wall of tomb 104, Monte Albán



Personage carved on jamb 2, tomb 1 from San Lázaro Etla (the figure appears in a funerary box)



Personage carved on the stela from tomb 5, Cerro de la Campana (the figure appears in a funerary box)

Figure 5.49- 'Xicani' headdress worn by male personages.

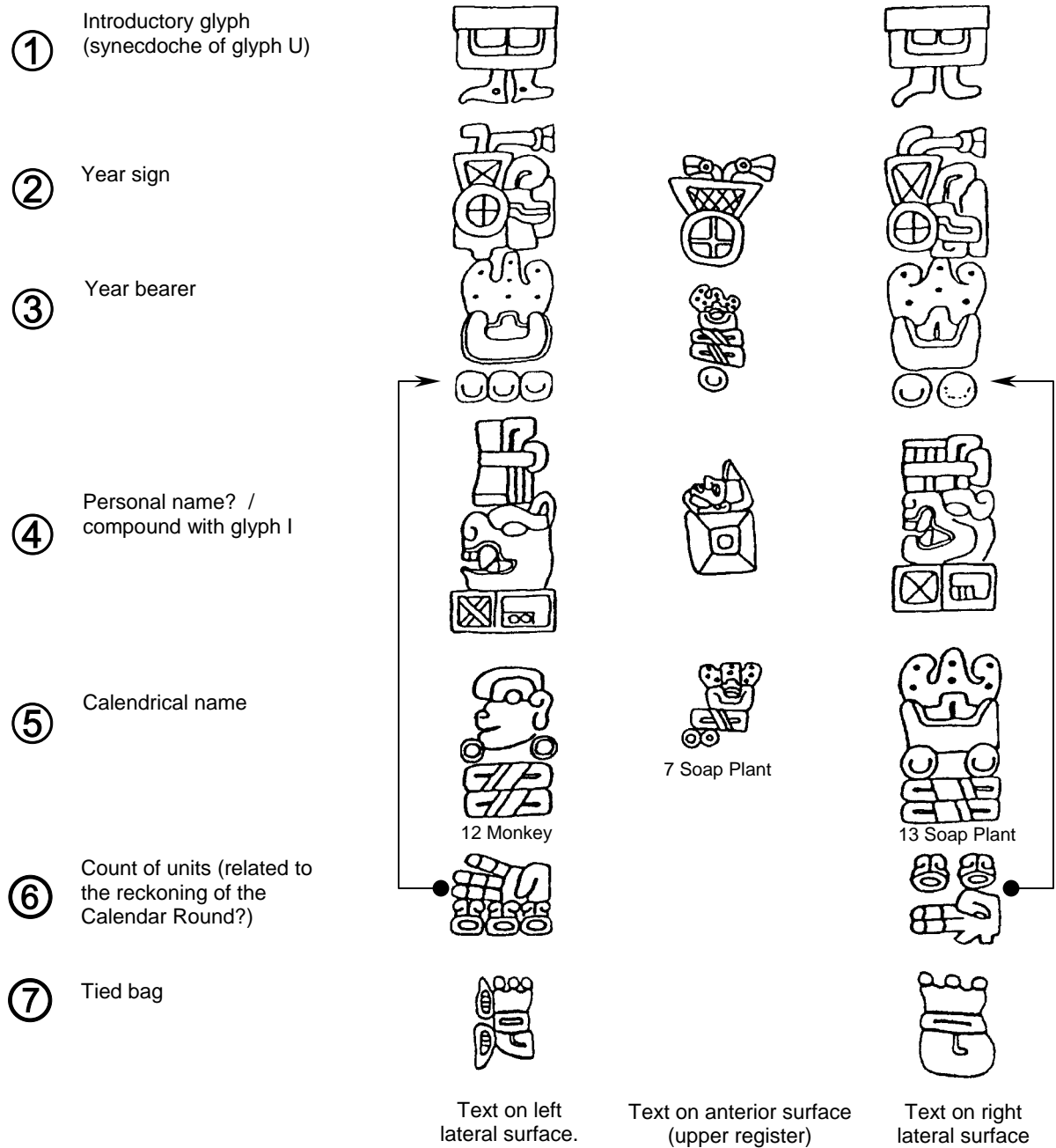


Figure 5.50- Comparison of texts on the anterior and lateral surfaces of the stela in tomb 5, Cerro de la Campana.

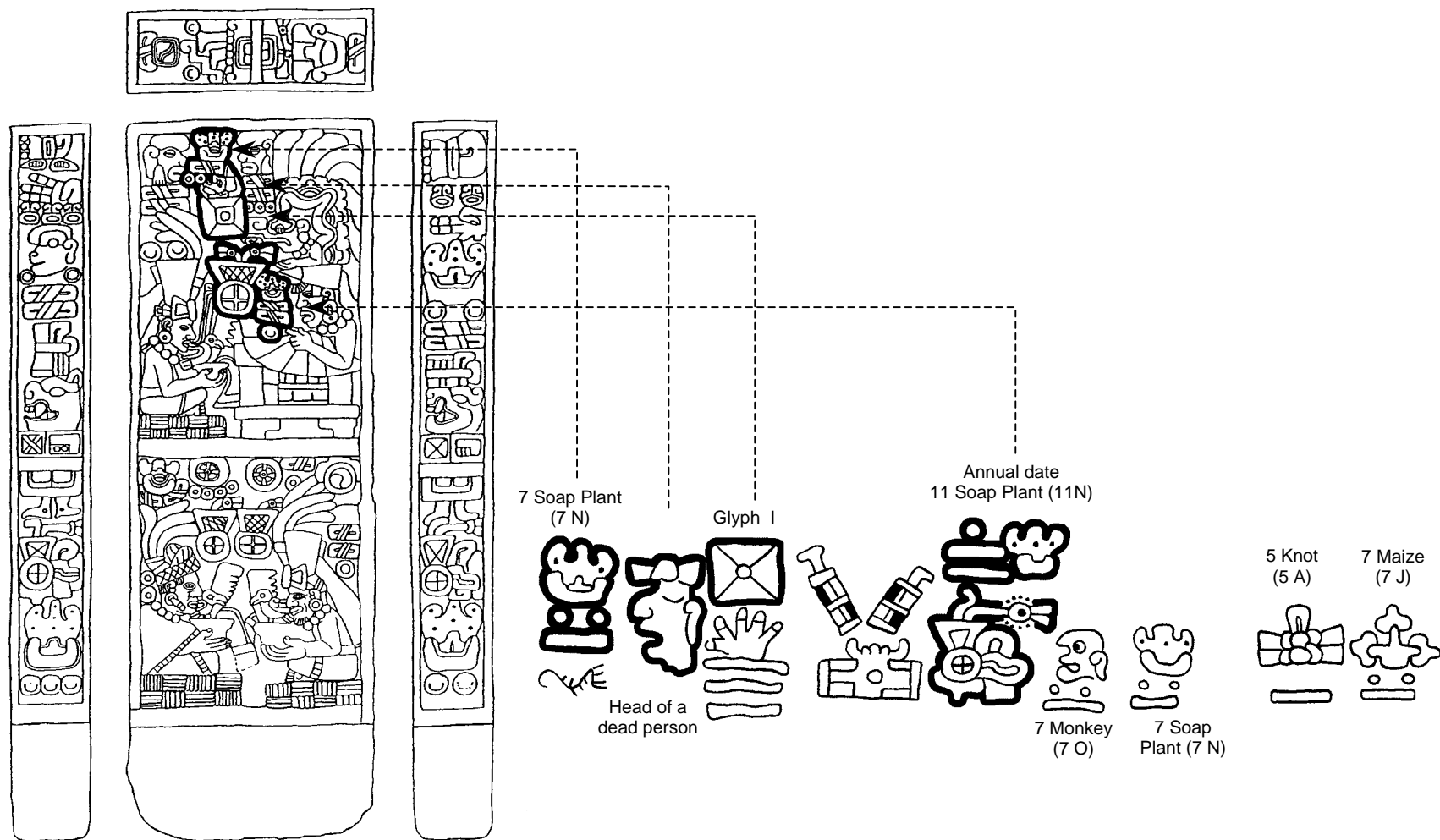
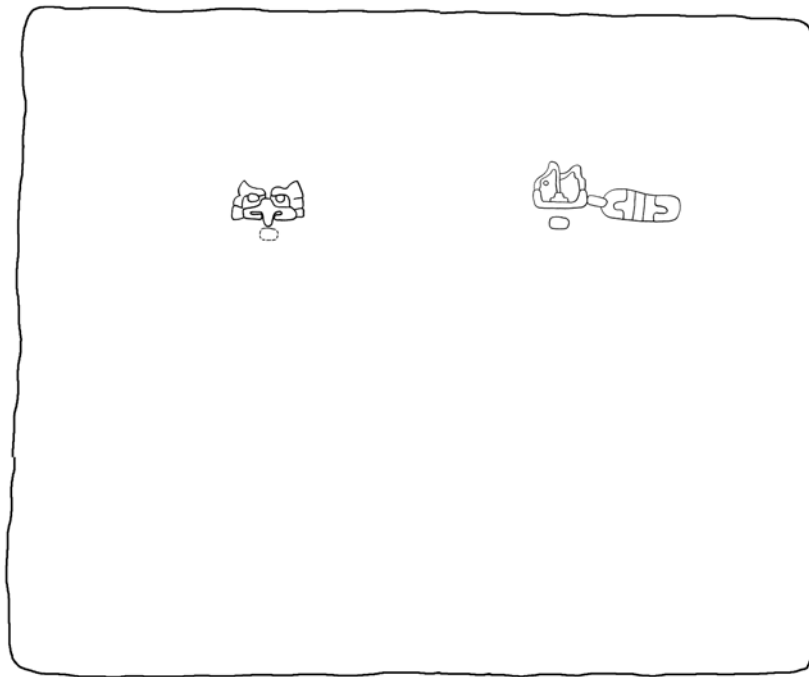
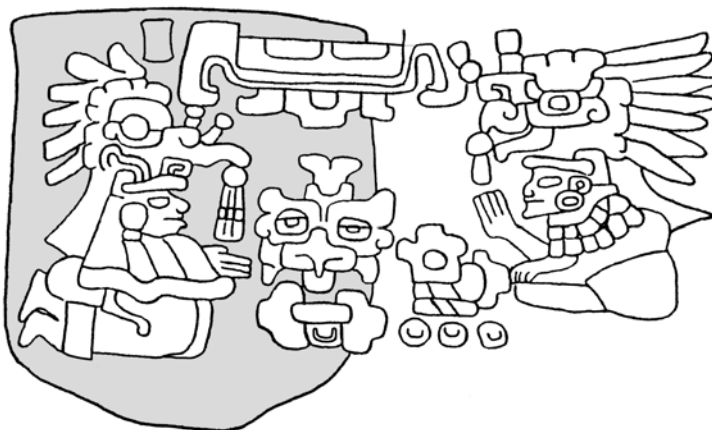


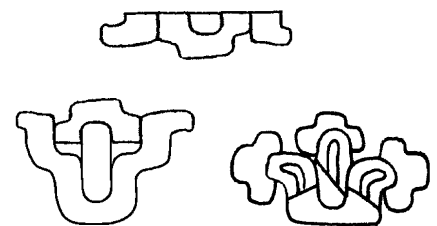
Figure 5.51- Glyphic repetitions in the stela and text II, tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.



Glyphs carved in the last slab on the left side of the roof in the main chamber.



Scene incised on a large ceramic vessel found broken inside the tomb, approx. height 1 m.



Motif suspended from glyph U and its comparison, inverted, with a glyph J (Maize)

Figure 5.52- Other inscriptions in tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.

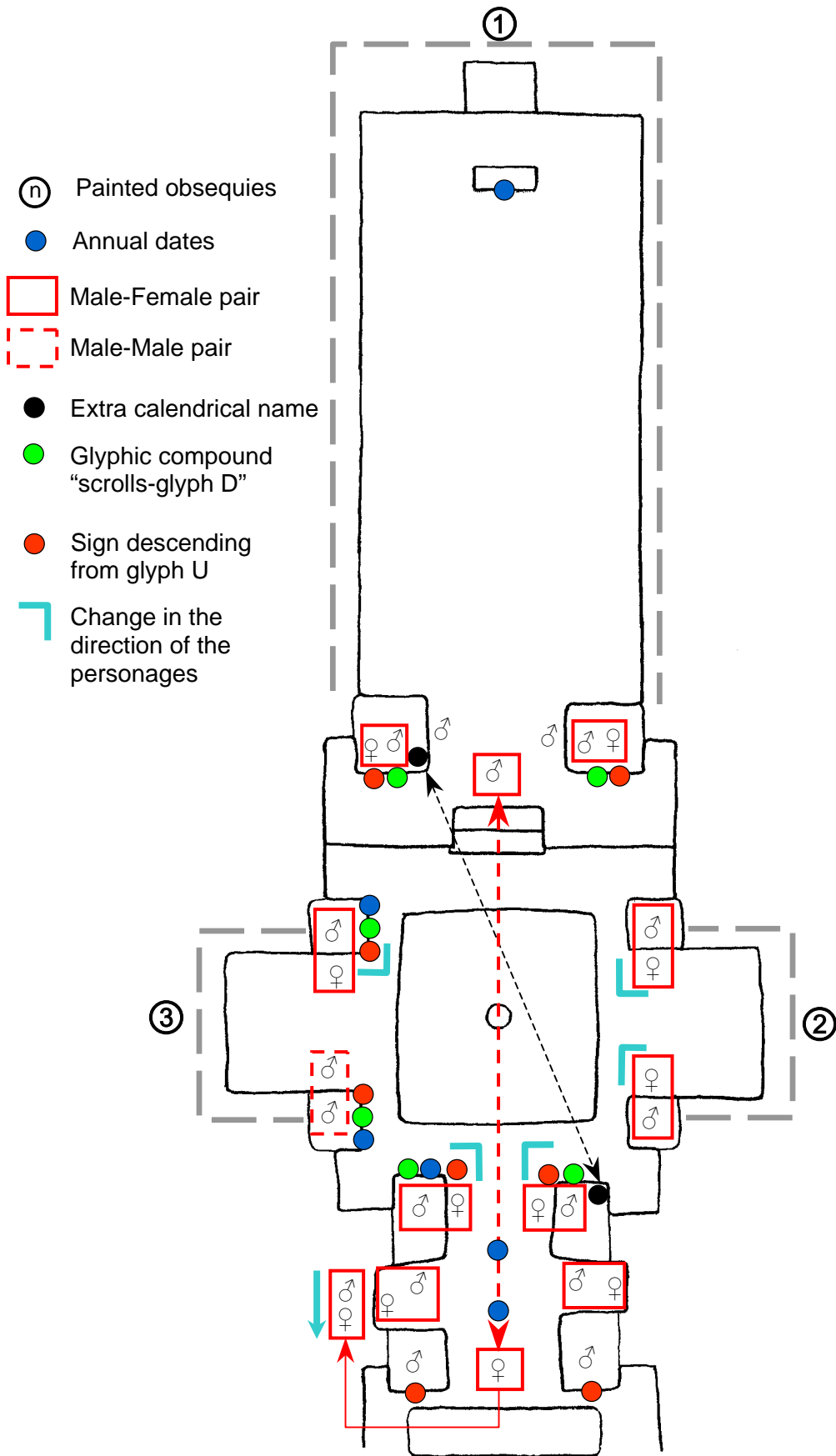


Figure 5.53- Structural patterns in the painted and inscribed record in tomb 5 from Cerro de la Campana.

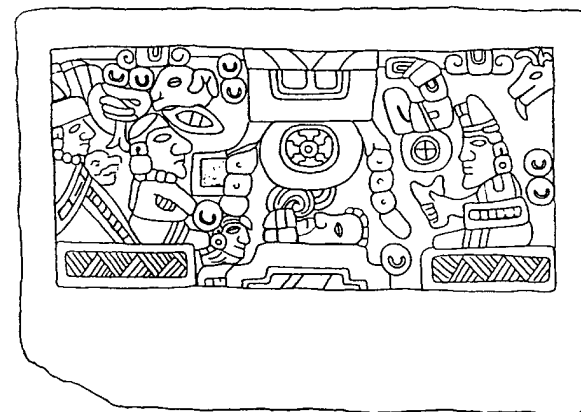
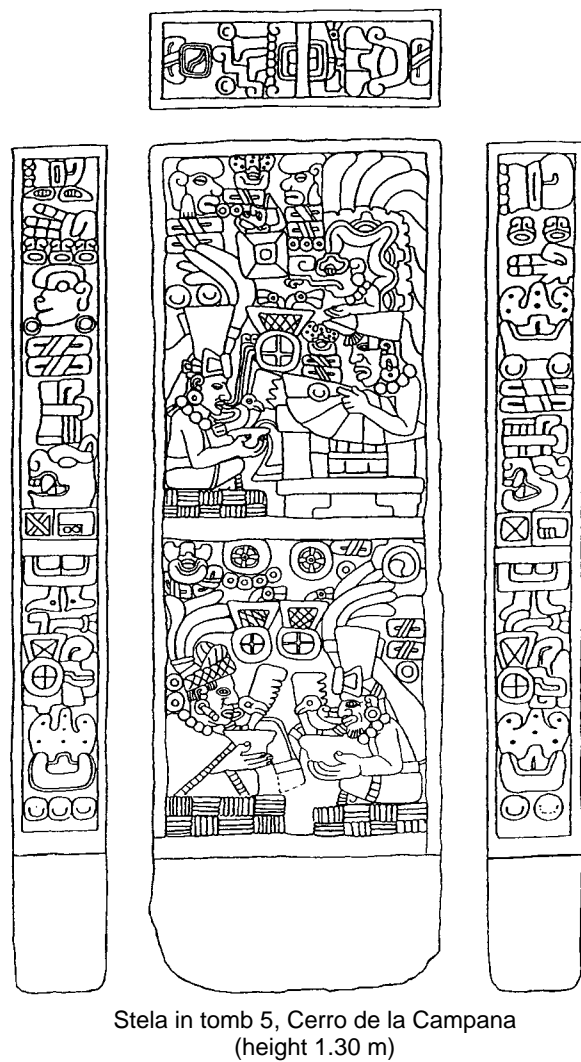


Figure 6.1- Zapotec genealogical slabs found in tombs.

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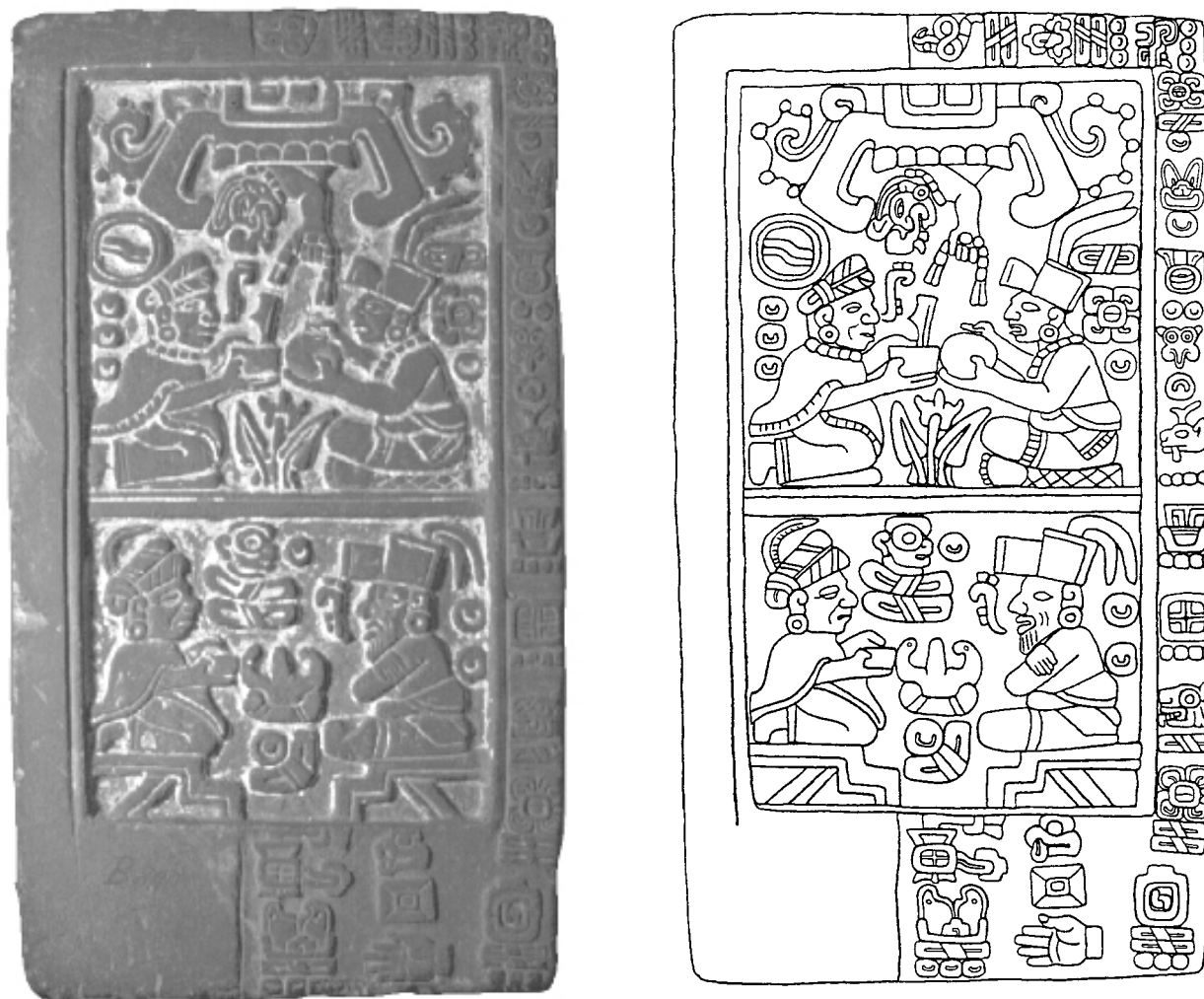


Figure 6.2- Carved slab of unknown provenience in the Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia (cat. no. 6-6059) (height 60 cm).

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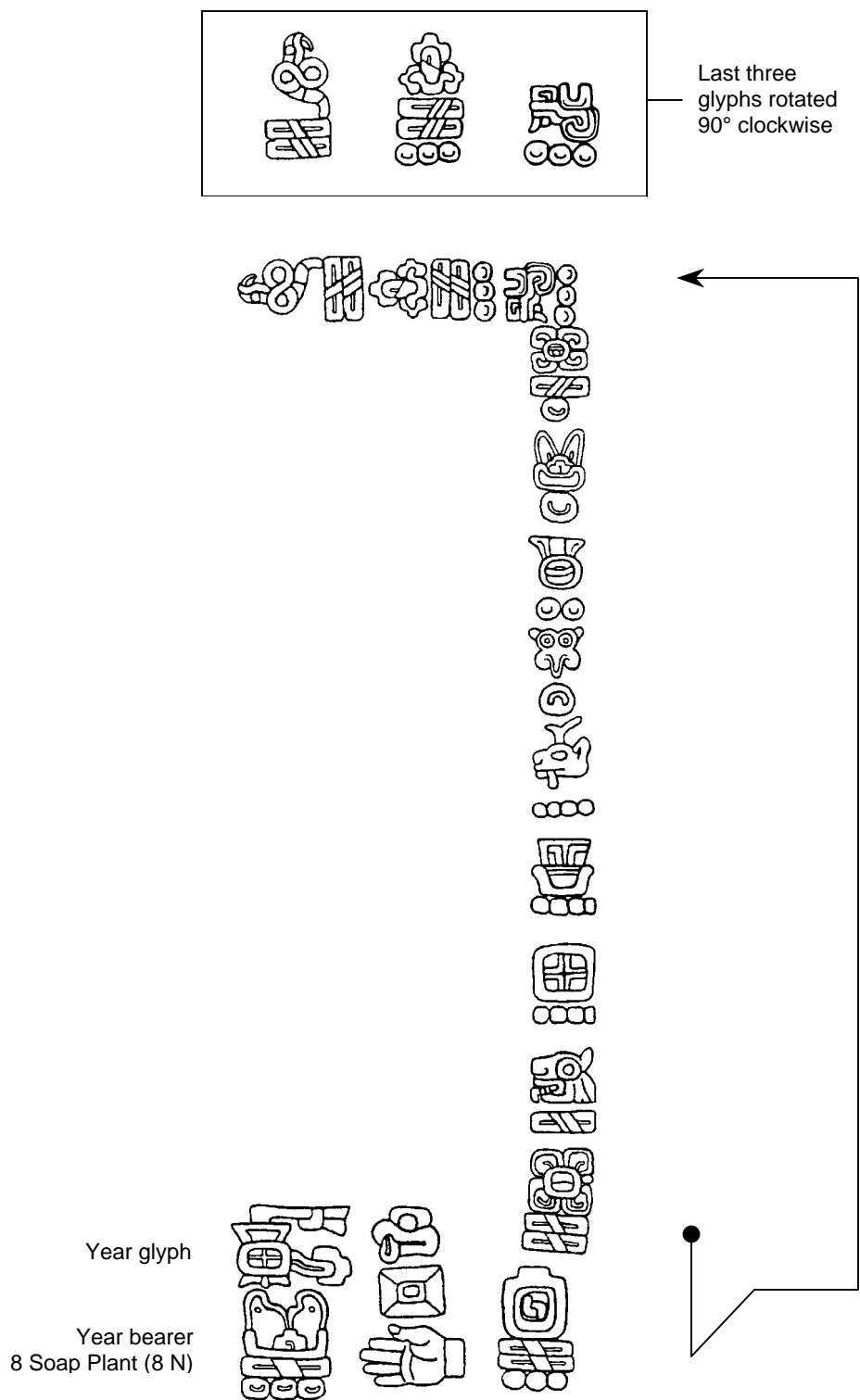


Figure 6.3- The text in slab MNA-6-6059 and its structural sequence.



Figure 6.4- The imagery in slab MNA-6-6059 glossed.

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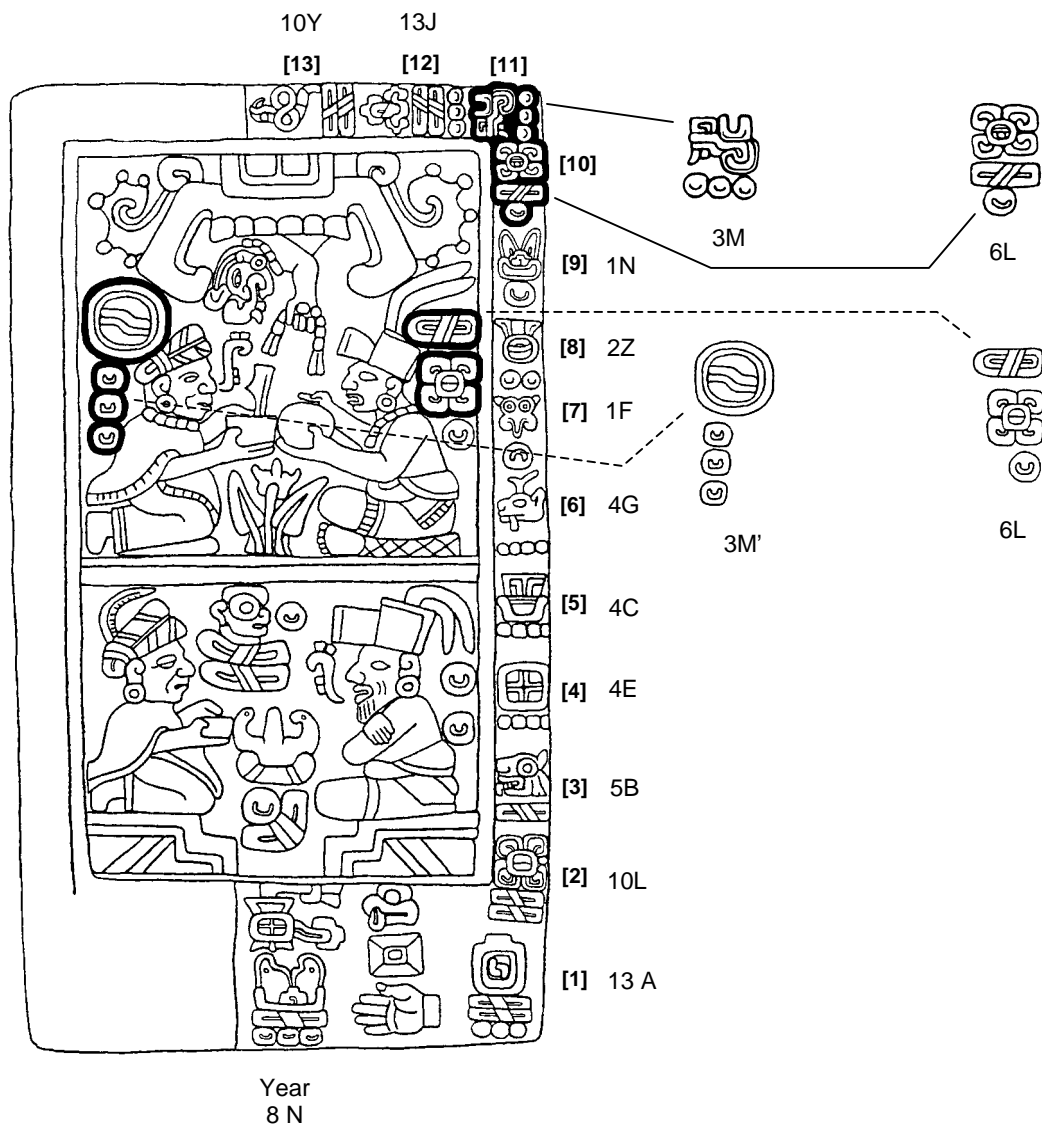


Figure 6.5- Reading by Caso of the signs with numerals in the slab
(numbers in parenthesis identify the position of the glyphs in the text).

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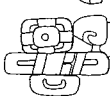

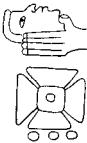



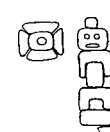




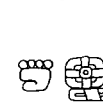




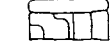

























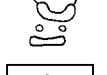











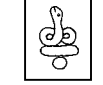
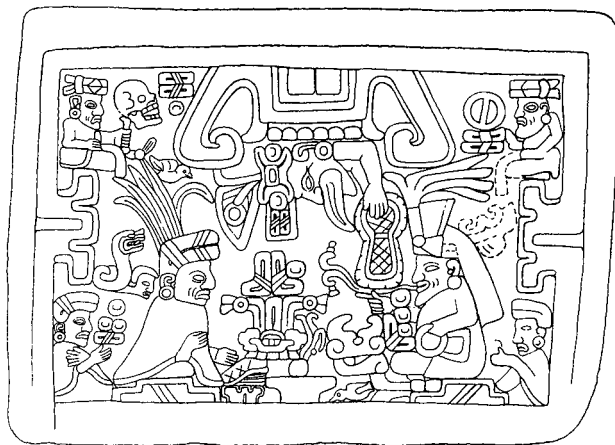
	MNA-6-6059	CCA-t5-text I	CCA-t5-text II	CCA-t5-stela	MA-tomb 104c	
Introductory glyph (synecdoche of glyph U)						
Year sign						
Year bearer						
Compound with glyph I and glyphs that refer to mortuary offerings						
Calendrical name of apical or anchoring ancestor(s)						
Variable signs, including toponyms, generic reference to the cornfield, and to boxes of ancestors						
Calendrical names of succeeding couples; the named individuals within rectangles commissioned the inscriptions	           	           	           			

Figure 6.6- Comparison of the text in slab MNA-6-6059 with other texts discussed in this essay that have the glyph I compound.



Zaachila, stone 13. Now in the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. (height 31 cm)

①



Zaachila, stone 12. Embedded in a niche inside the church (data on height not available)

②



Slab of unknown provenience. Now in the American Museum of Natural History, New York (cat. no. 30-3.1211-12) (height 50 cm)

③



Slab of unknown provenience, Leigh collection (LGH- 12537), ex-Museo Frissell, Mitla (height 34 cm)

④

Figure 6.7- Other Zapotec slabs depicting burning of rubber balls in braziers (slabs 3-4), and descending personages (slabs 1-3).



Photograph by John Paddock, taken in Mita ca. 1956 when someone attempted to sell the slab to Mr. Howard Leigh.

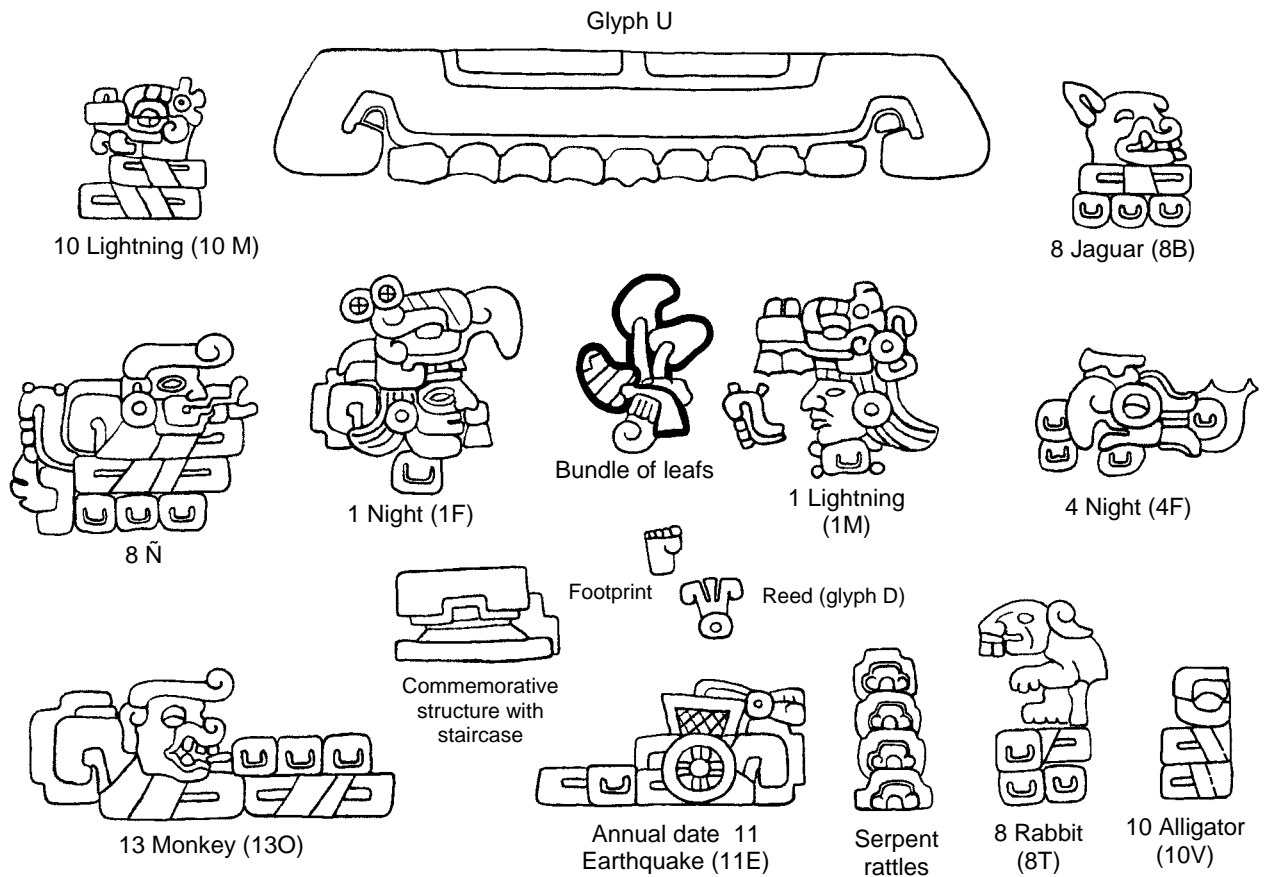
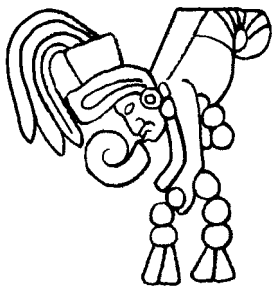


Figure 6.8- Genealogical slab attributed to San Baltazar Chichicapam with a scene of a personage offering a bundle of leafs to an ancestor in front of a commemorative structure (present location of the slab is unknown).



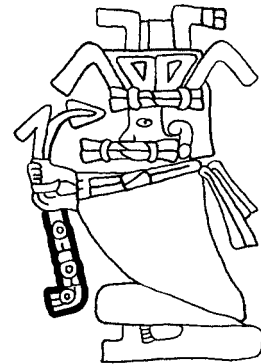
Zaachila, slab 12



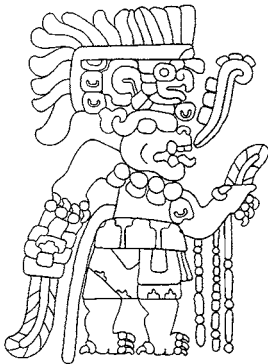
Unknown provenience,
American Museum of
Natural History (cat. no.
30-3.1211-12).



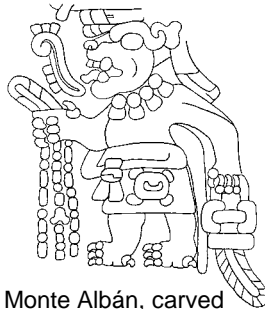
Unknown provenience
Museo de las Culturas
de Oaxaca (cat. no.
10-140376).



Noriega slab 1



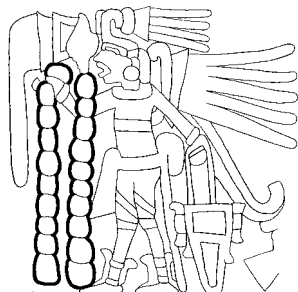
Monte Albán, carved
column (MA-VG-06)



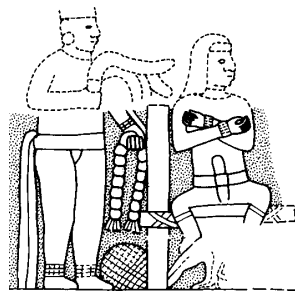
Monte Albán, carved
column (MA-VG-05)



Maltrata, Orizaba (right
side of carved boulder)



Las Higueras, Veracruz
(portion of painted mural)



El Tajin, Building of the
Columns, column 1
(after Kampen 1972)



El Tajin, Building of the
Columns, column 5
(after Kampen 1972)

Figure 6.9- Representation of beaded strands in carved and painted scenes from Oaxaca and Veracruz.

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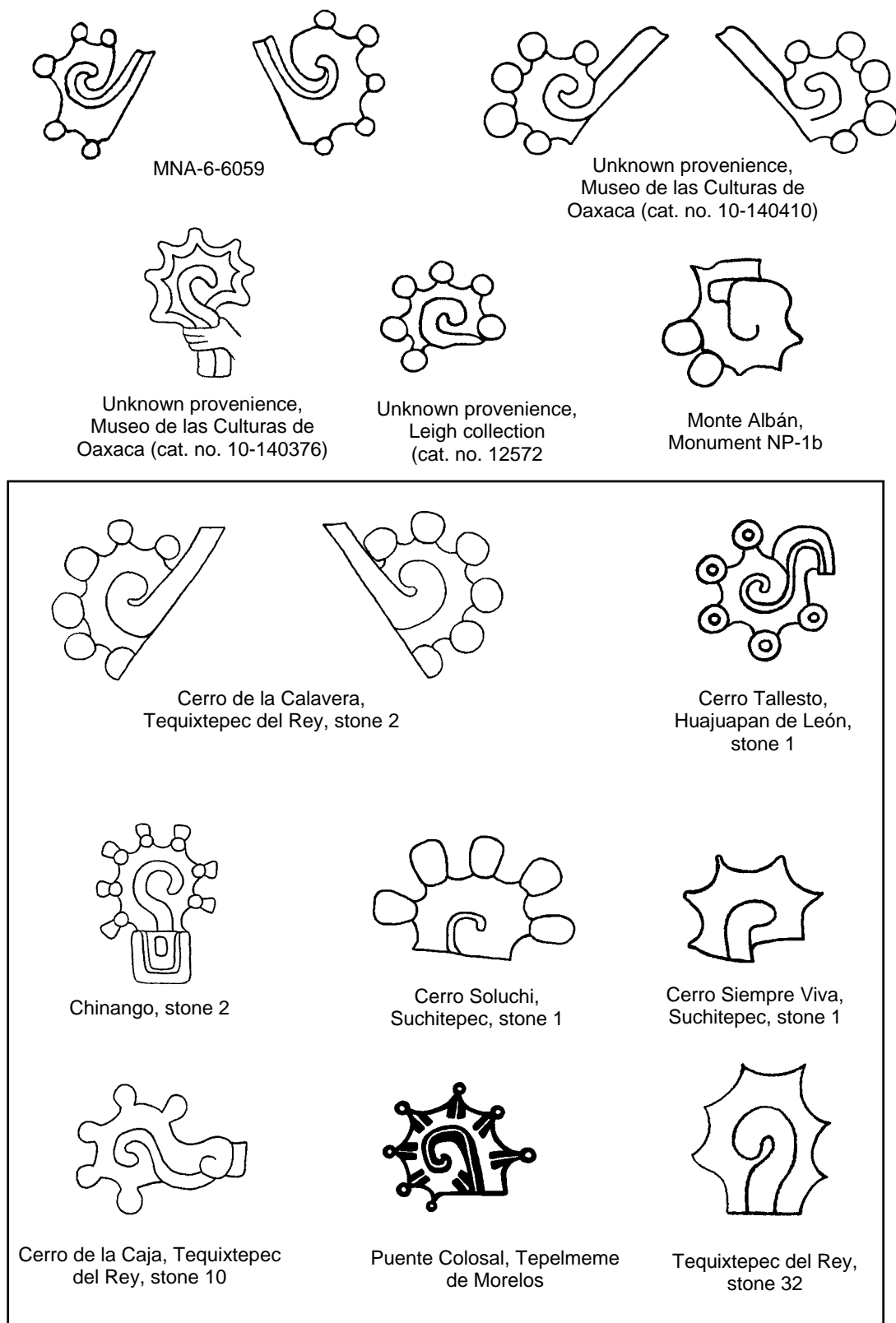
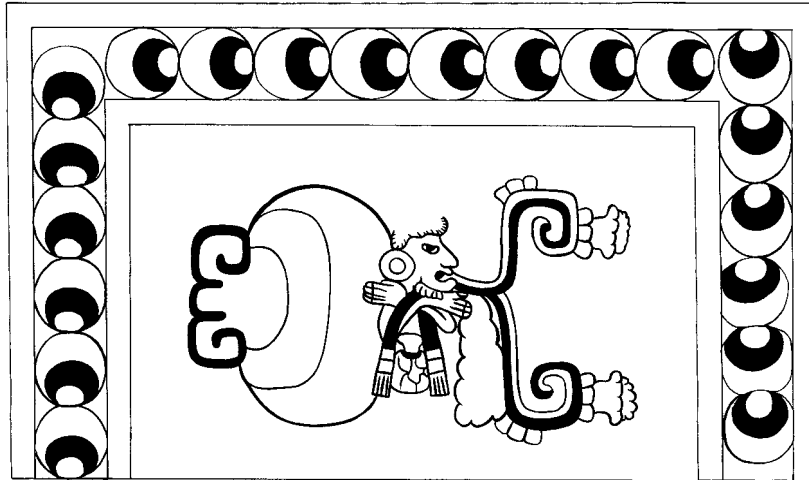
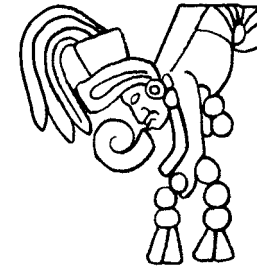


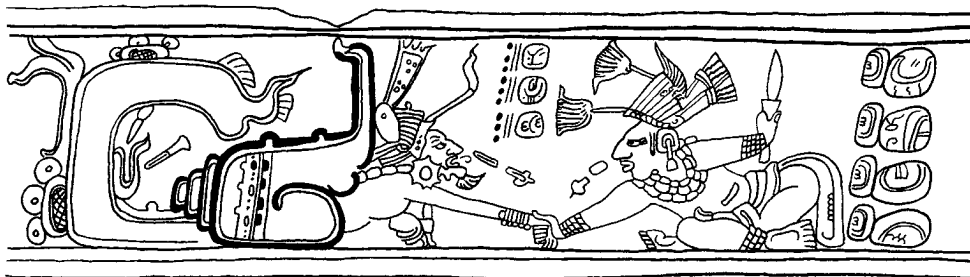
Figure 6.10- The 'Spiral' glyph in Zapotec (above) and Nuiñe style writing.



An elder personage emerging from a shell,
mural 2 in NE wall of room 7, Tetitla,
Teotihuacan



Descending personage
seemingly emerging from a
shell, Zaachila slab 12, Oaxaca



Maya God N being pulled from a shell by Hunahpu in order to be
sacrificed. The scene is a metaphor for the resurrection of the human
soul after death. Rollout drawing of a Late Classic polychrome vessel of
unknown provenience. The Art Museum, Princeton University



A personage named 7 Alligator (7 RE
glyph) emerging from a shell being held by
a ruler-priest named 3 Deer. South jamb,
building A from Cacaxtla, Tlaxcala

Figure 6.11- Shells as conduits for the emergence of humans.

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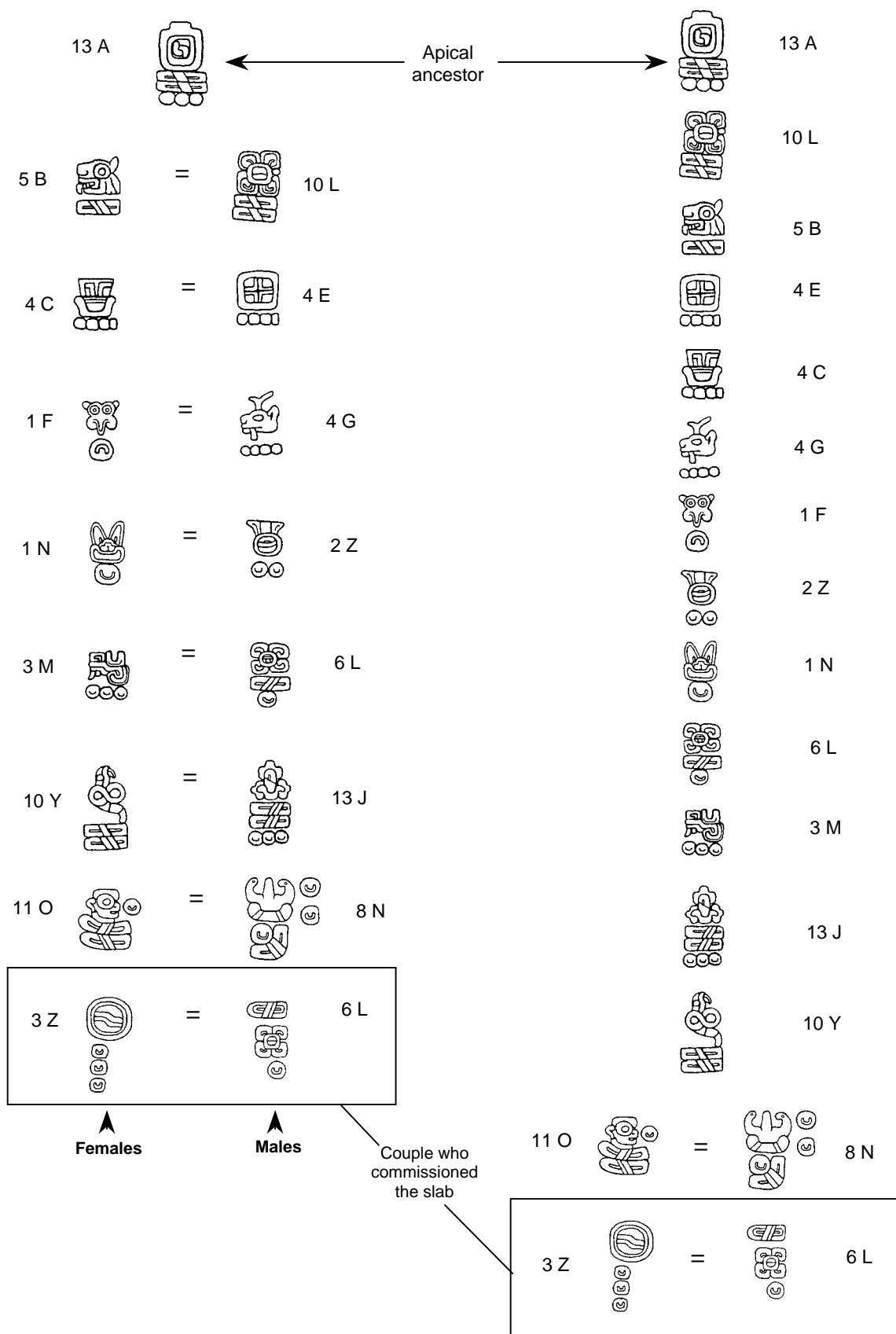
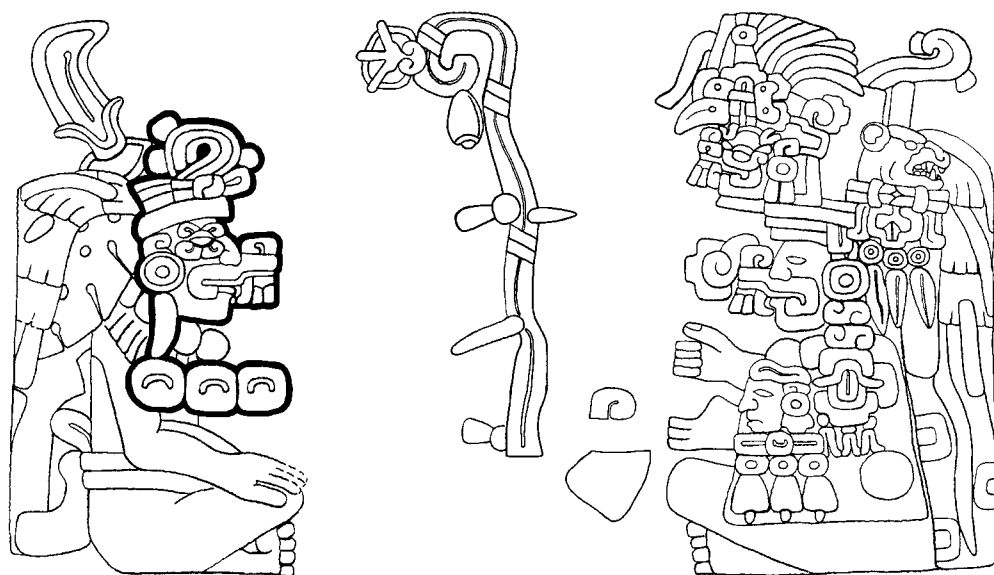


Figure 6.12- Alternative unfolding of the genealogy carved on slab MNA-6-6059.

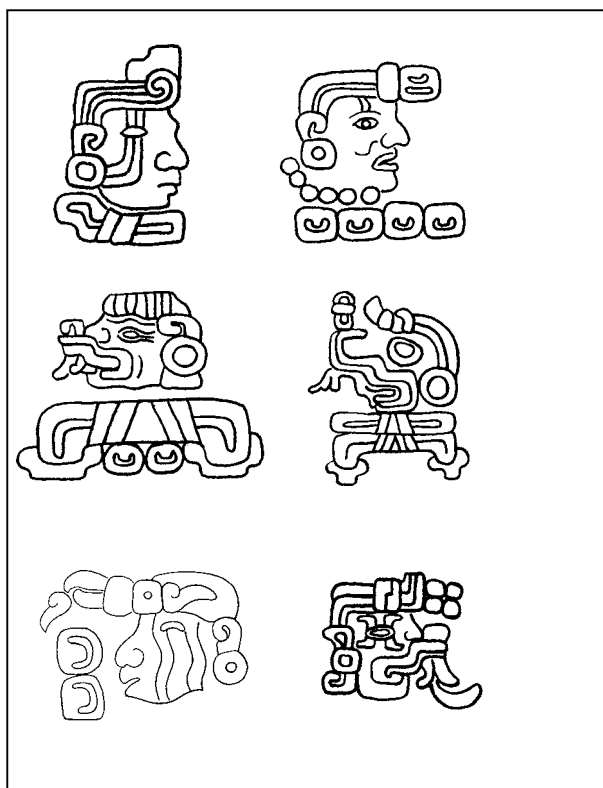


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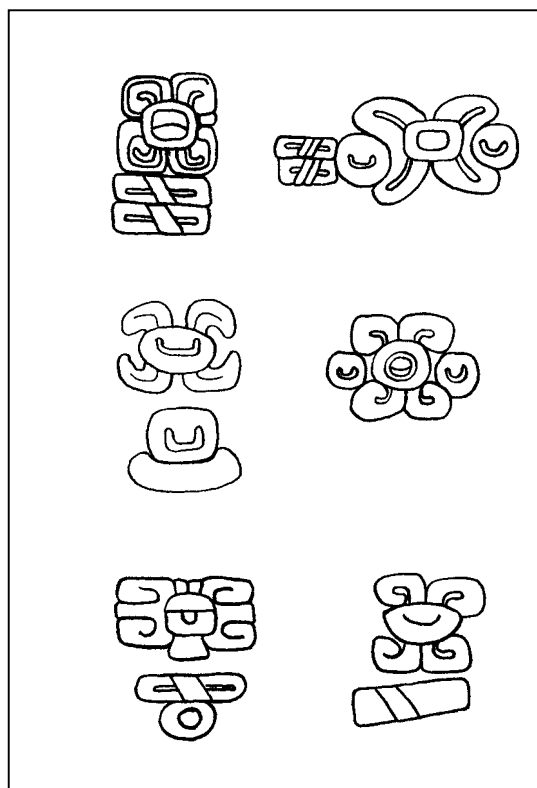
Figure 7.1- Zapotec carved stone in the Friedenber collection
(photograph courtesy of Daniel M. Friedenber).



A



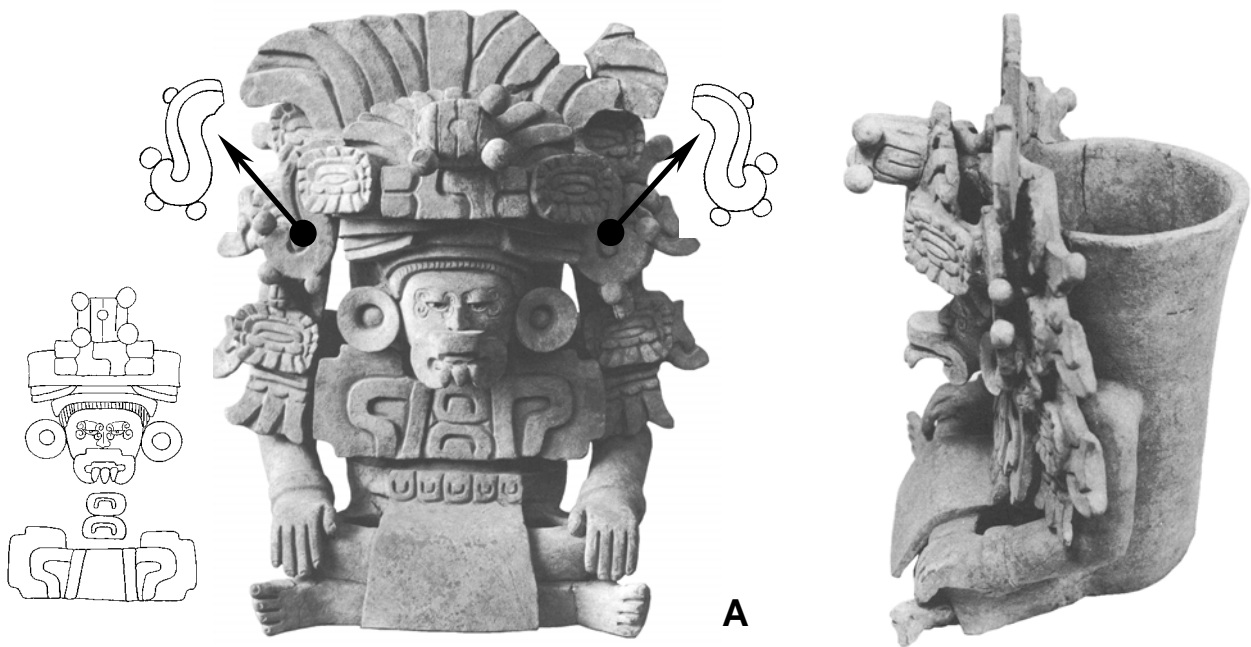
Examples of glyph Ñ



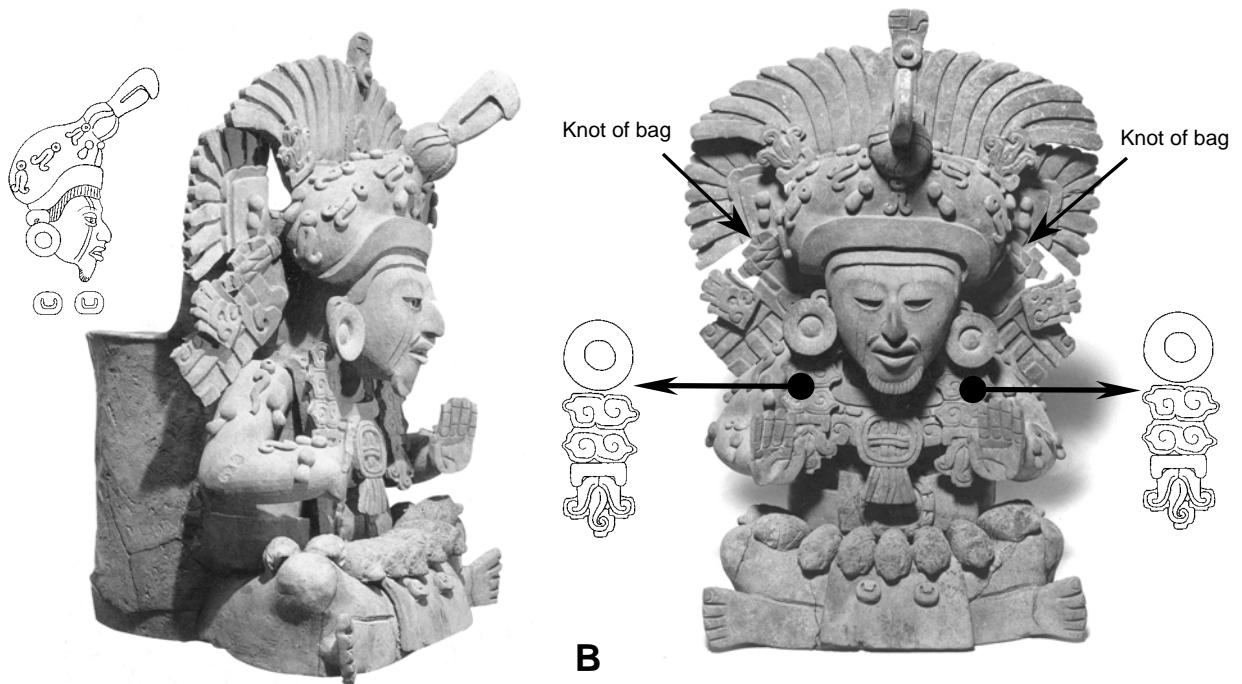
Examples of glyph L

B

Figure 7.2- [A] Initial analytical glossing of the imagery in the stone; and [B] variations in the representation of glyph Ñ and their comparison with examples of glyph L.



Effigy vessel in the Kerr collection, on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (photographs after Easby and Scott 1970, no. 157);



Effigy vessel formerly in the collection of the Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica, New York State (left photograph after Furst and Furst 1980; right photograph courtesy of the Institute).

Figure 7.3- Zapotec effigy vessels with attributes of glyph Ñ.

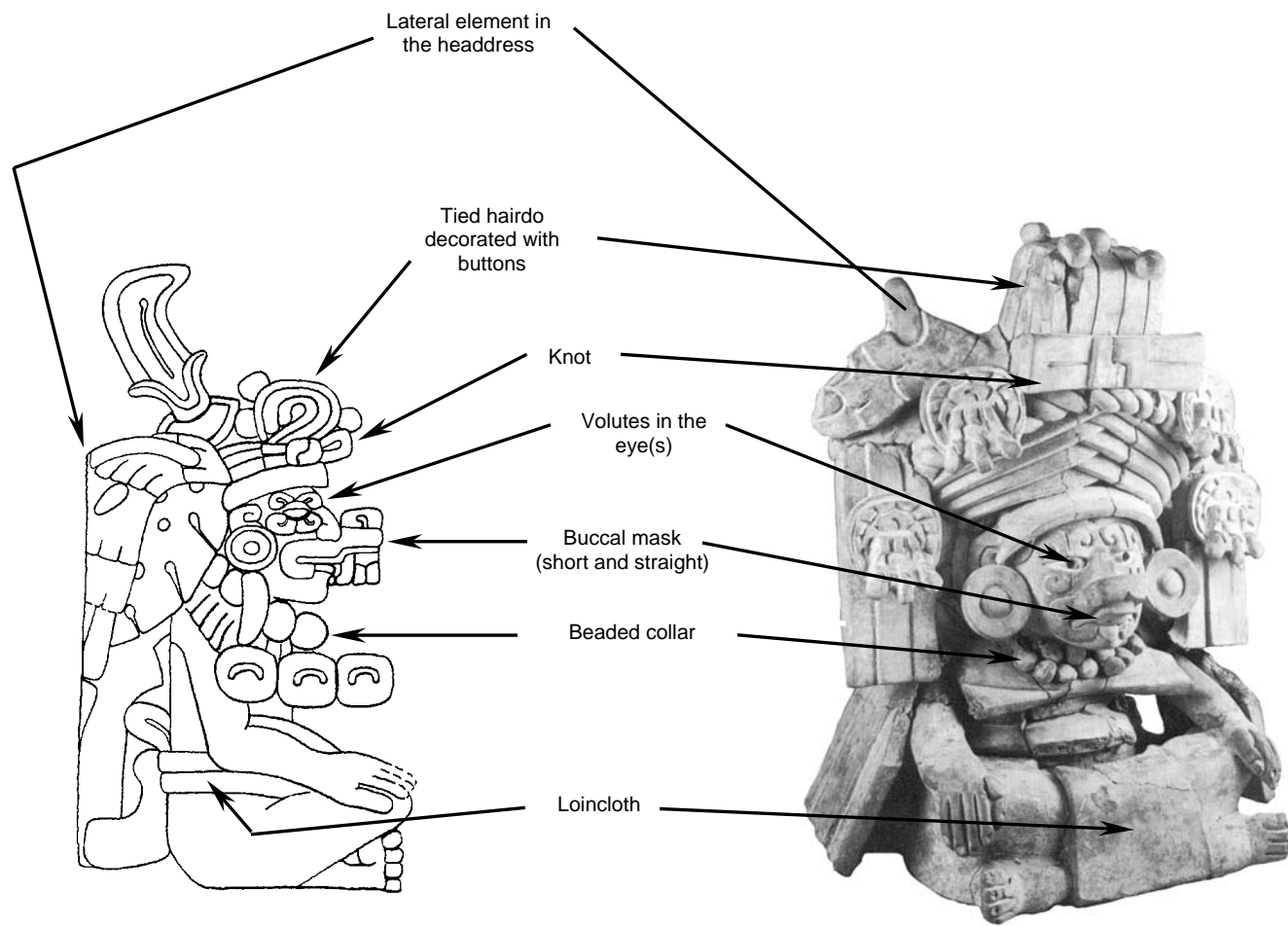


Figure 7.4- Comparison of lord 3Ñ and the representation in a ceramic effigy vessel of unknown provenience now in the City Art Museum in Saint Louis, catalogue no. 179.1979 (photograph after L. Parsons 1980, no. 216).

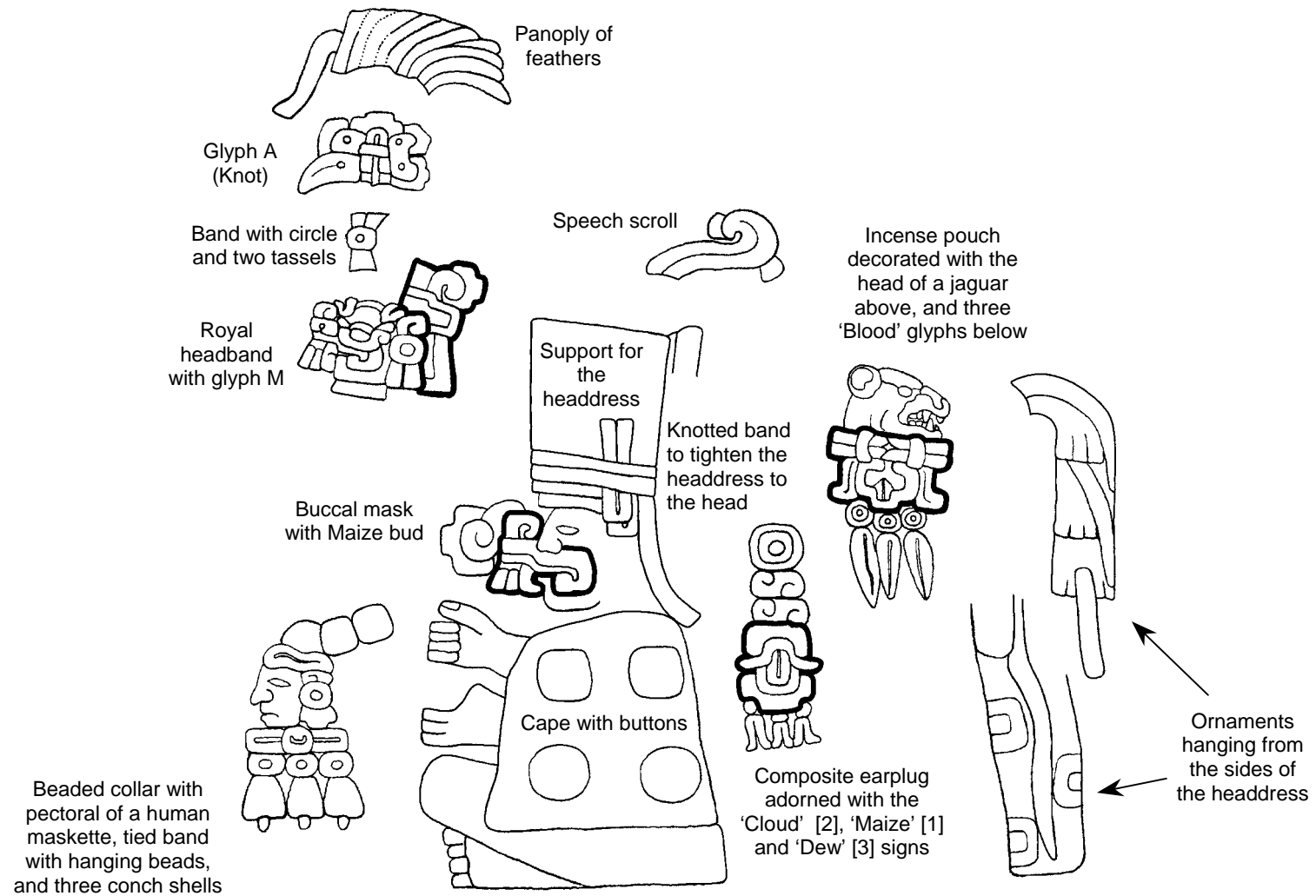


Figure 7.5- Analytical glossing of the second personage carved on the stone in the Friedenberg collection.

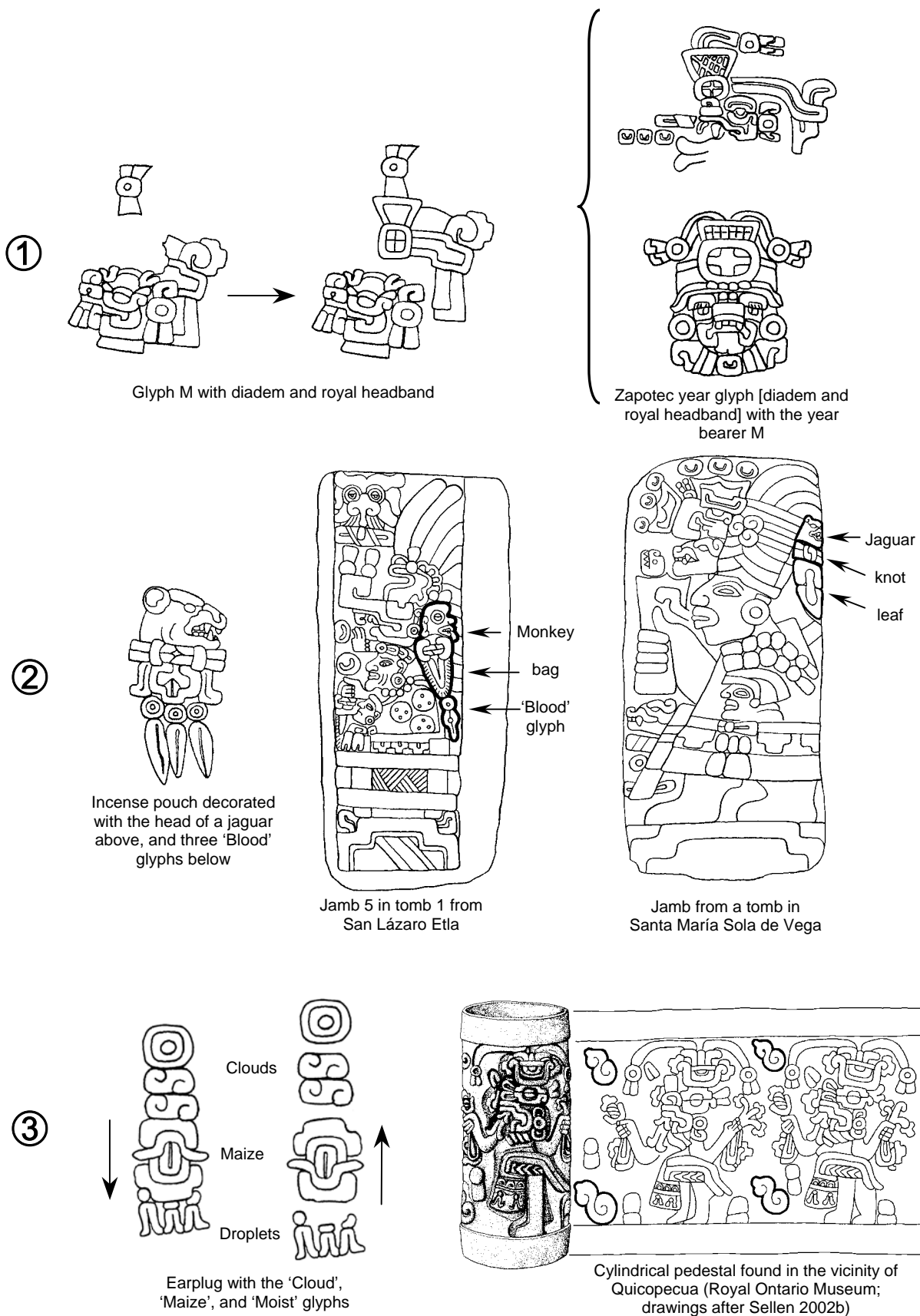


Figure 7.6- Glyphs in the garments of the second personage carved on the stone in the Friedenbergl collection.

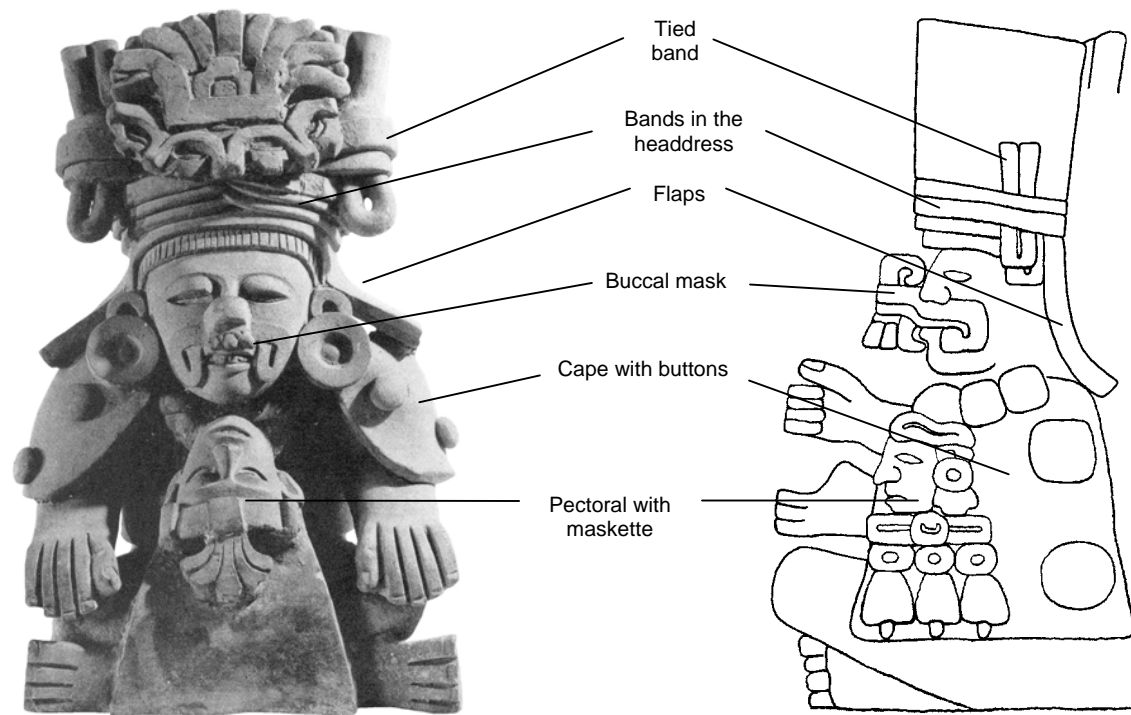


Figure 7.7- Comparison of the personage on the right side of the carved stone in the Friedenbergr collection and the representation on a ceramic effigy vessel attributed to Tlacoahuaya (photograph after Caso and Bernal 1952: fig. 284).

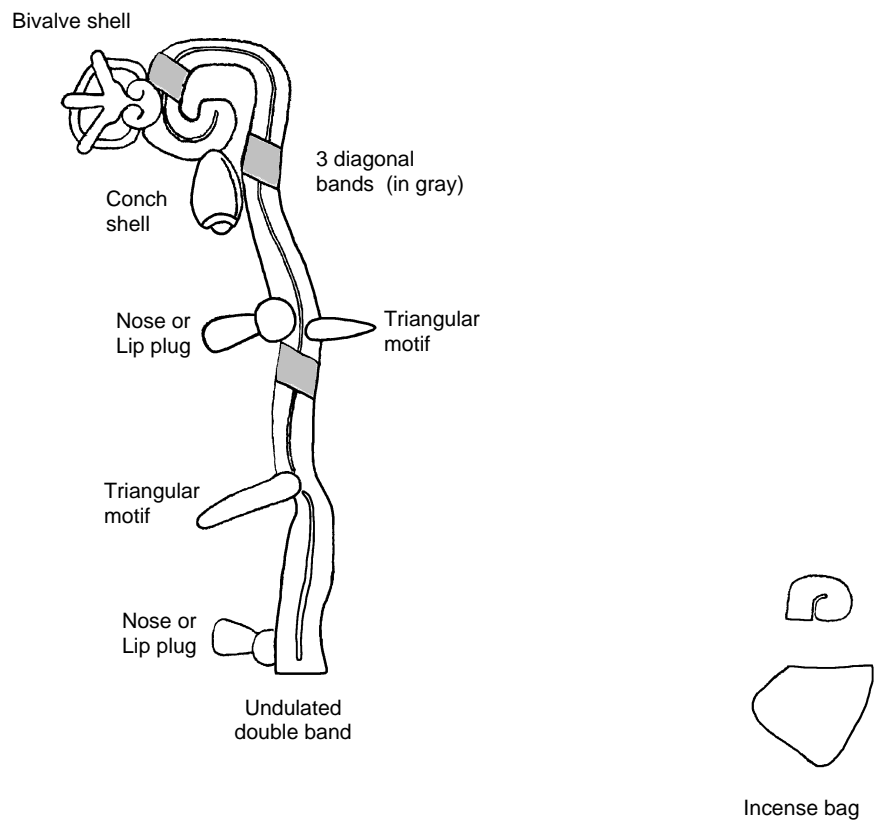
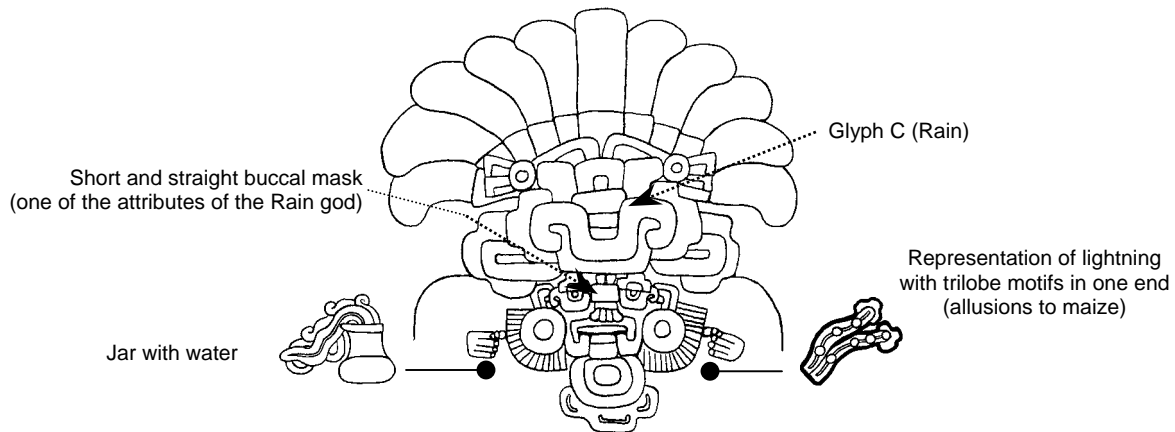
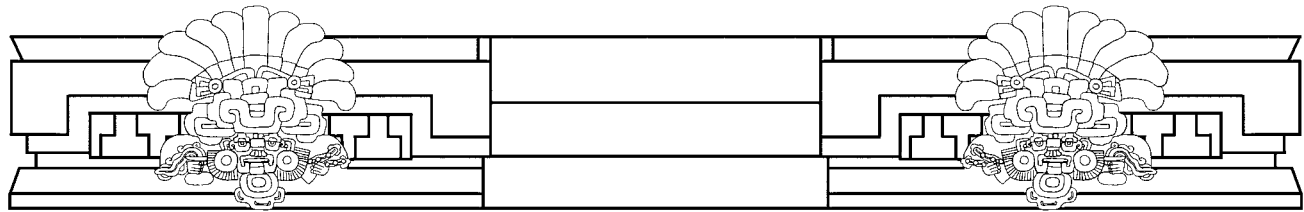
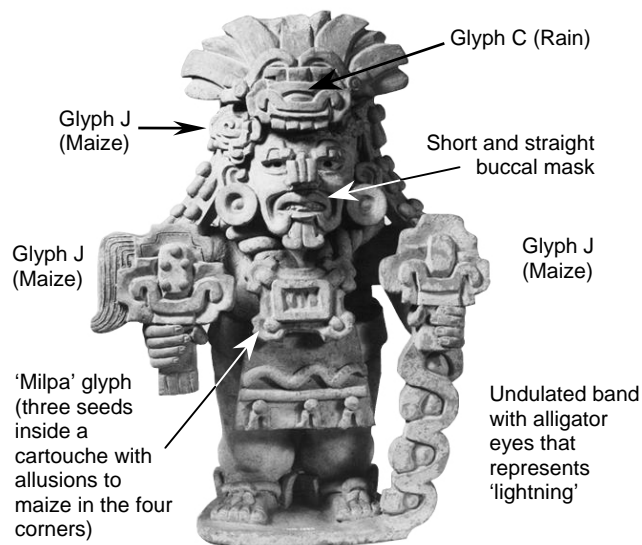


Figure 7.8- Items held in the hands of the second personage carved on the stone in the Friedenberg collection.

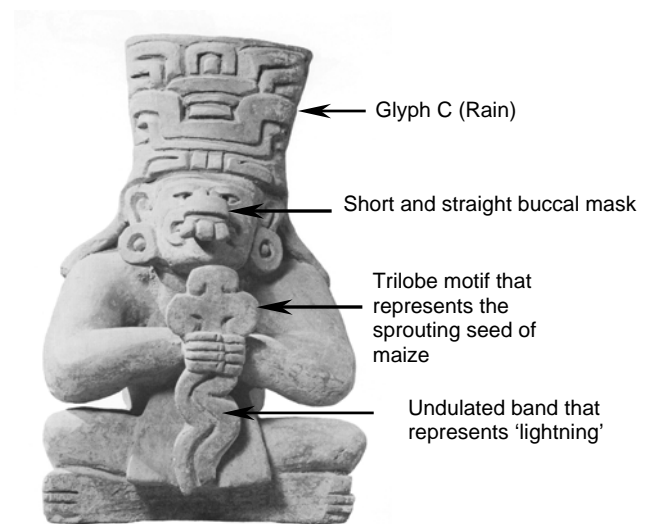
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Glossing of the imagery in the representations of Cociyo modeled in stucco that decorate the facade of the west room in the second Patio Complex in one of the superimposed houses excavated in mound 190 from Lambityeco, Tlacolula.



Effigy vessel of a standing personification of Cociyo. Santo Domingo Jalieza, Royal Ontario Museum, catalogue no. H 1399 (photograph courtesy of Adam Sellen).

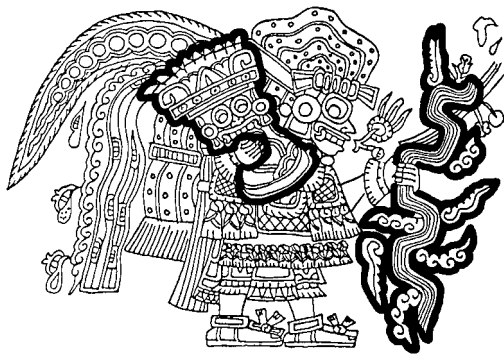


Effigy vessel of a seated personification of Cociyo. Without provenience, Brooklyn Museum, New York, catalogue no. 36.895 (photograph after Boos 1966: 215).

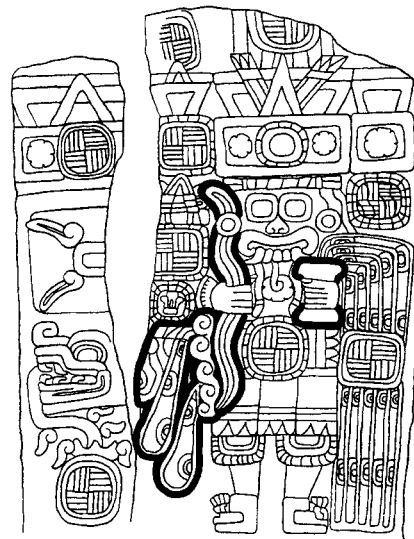
Figure 7.9- Representations of 'lightning' in Zapotec material culture.



Figure 7.10- Impersonator of the god of Rain Tlaloc in codex Ixtlilxochitl (after van Doesburg 1996).



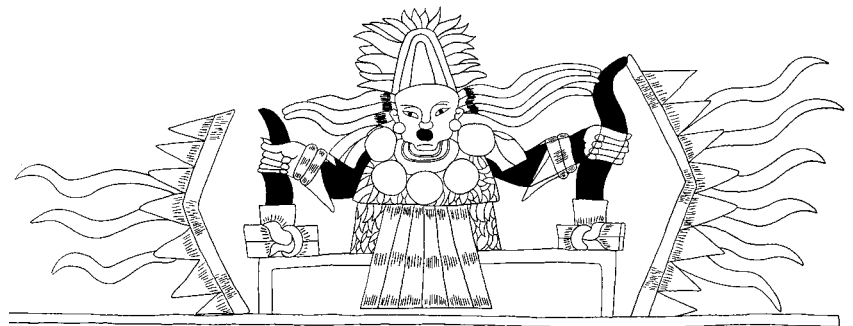
Personage with attributes of the Rain god, Mural from Teotihuacan, specific provenience and present location unknown (after Berrin 1988: 190)



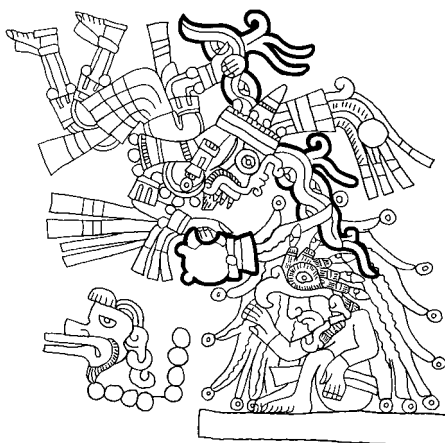
Ruler named 1 Reed in his role as rainmaker (Stela 1 from los Horcones, Cerro Bernal, Chiapas; drawing based on Navarrete 1976, plates 4 and 7)



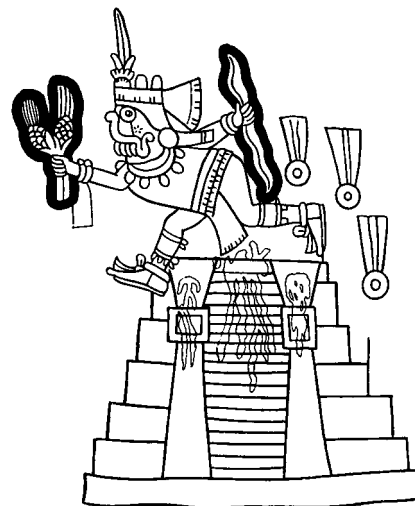
Ruler named 7 Alligator in his role as rainmaker (North jamb in building A from Cacaxtla, Tlaxcala)



Apical ancestor controlling lightning (East wall in the main chamber of tomb 2004-1 from Ixcaixtla, Puebla)

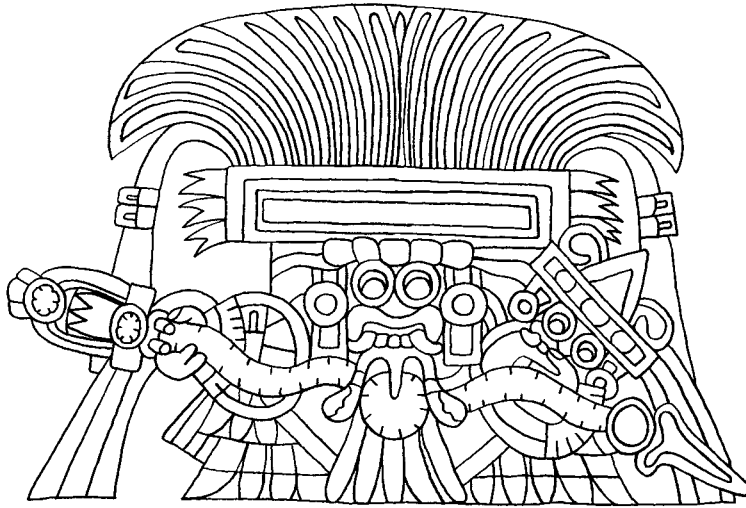


Lord 8 Wind-Eagle being entrusted with the role of rainmaker (screenfold Tonindeye, page 5, Mixteca Alta).

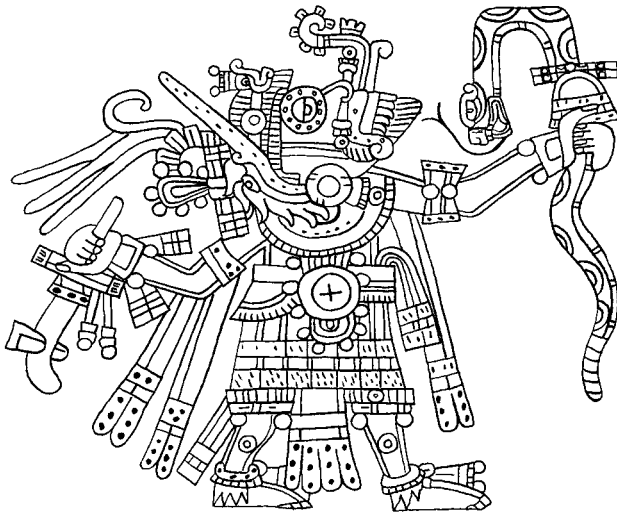


Ruler in his role of rainmaker during the Atemoztli (bringing down of water) festival, codex Magliabechiano, page 91, Basin of Mexico.

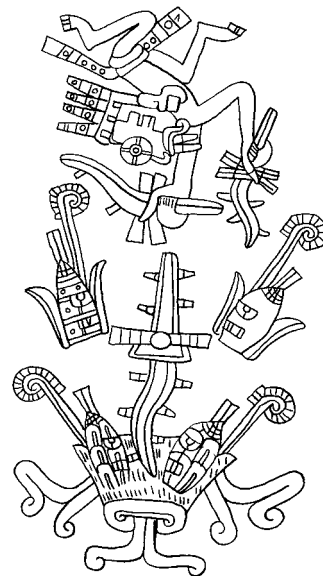
Figure 7.11- Representations from various regions of Mesoamerica of political leaders in their role as rainmakers.



Representation of a Rain god impersonator brandishing a bolt of lightning in the shape of a dart hurled with a thrower, mural in corridor 21 at Tetitla, Teotihuacan

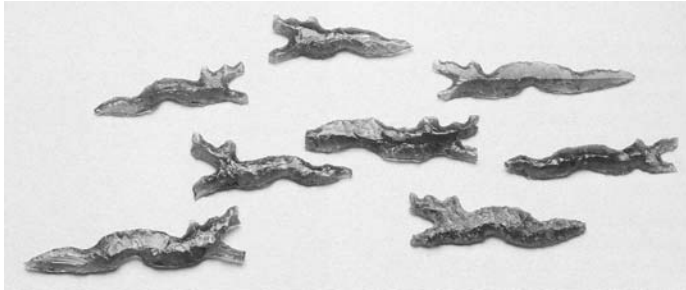


Representation of a Rain god impersonator brandishing a bolt of lightning in the shape of a serpent, screenfold Tonalpouhqui, page 43

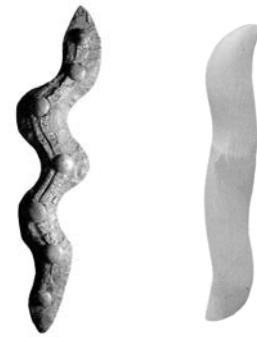


Representation of a Rain god impersonator throwing bolts of lightning onto a cornfield, screenfold Yoalli Ehecatl, page 20

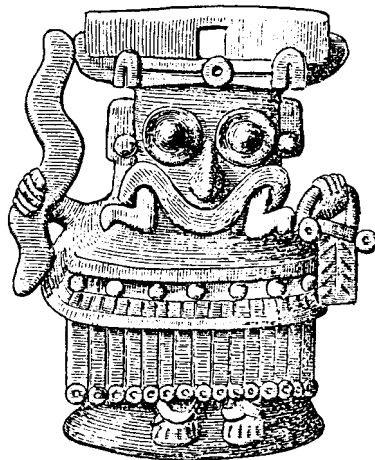
Figure 7.12- Some visual metaphors associated to graphic representations of 'lightning' in Mesoamerica.



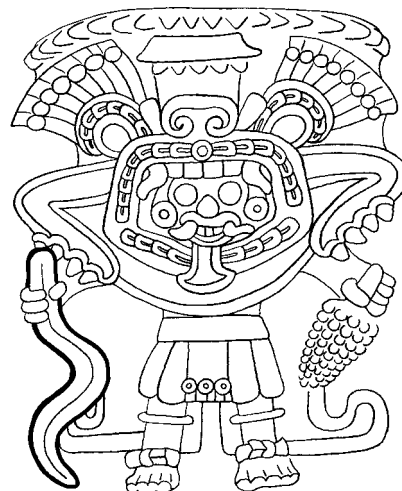
Miniature representations of bolts of lightning shaped as serpents. Maximum length 3.6 cm. Green obsidian, Burial 4 in the Temple of the Feathered Serpents at Teotihuacan (after Berrin and Pasztory 1993: 268).



Miniature representations of bolts of lightning from offerings associated to the Main Temple at Mexico-Tenochtitlan. The one on the left is 36 cm long; the other is smaller (after Matos Moctezuma 1990: 148 (left) and 137 (right)).

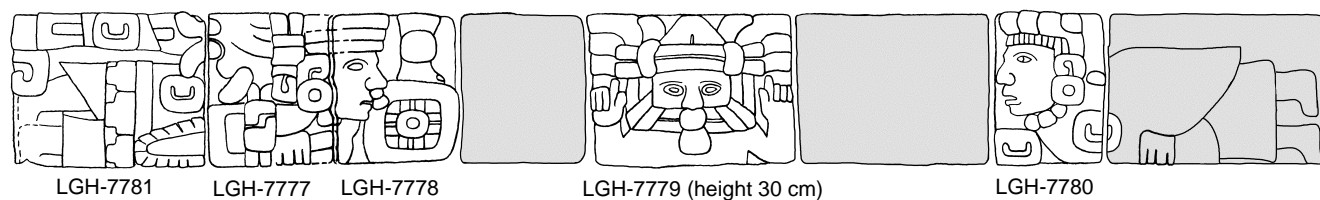
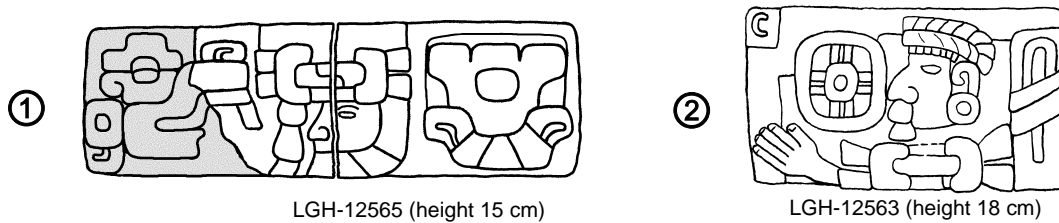


Effigy of the Rain god in black ceramics, Tlaxcala (Pantaleon Lara collection) [after Seler 1998 (VI): 248]

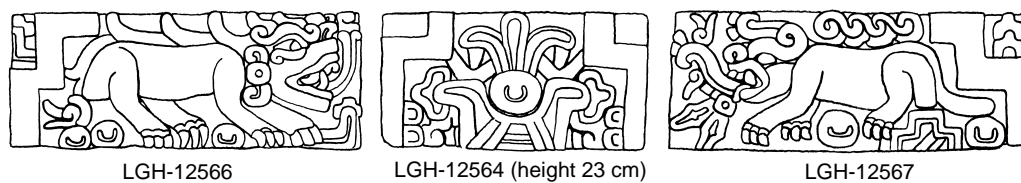


Ceramic effigy of the Rain god wearing a jaguar helmet and pelt with the anterior claws, Cacaxtla, Tlaxcala (drawing based on a photo in Morales Gómez 1999: 161, fig. 7)

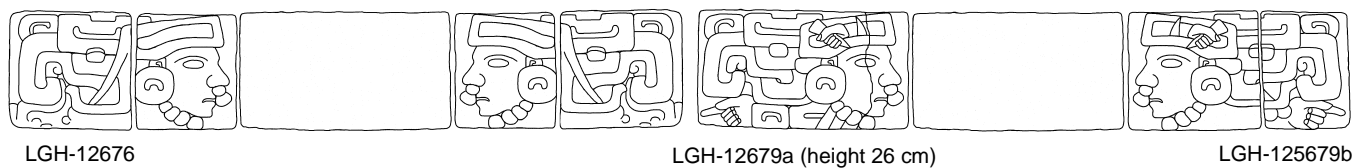
Figure 7.13- Representations of bolts of lightning in the material culture from the Central Highlands.



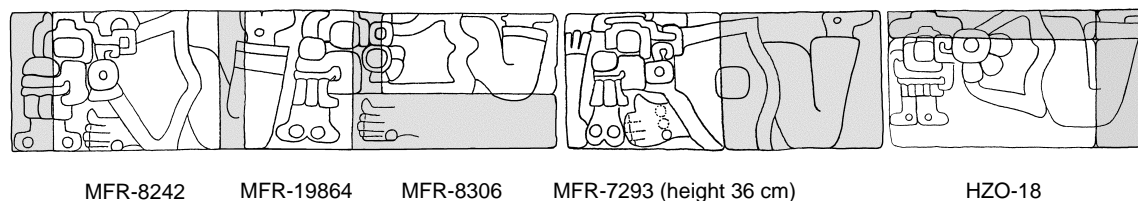
③



④



⑤



⑥

Figure 7.14- Genealogical programs rendered in joint blocks
(sections in gray color are hypothetical reconstructions).
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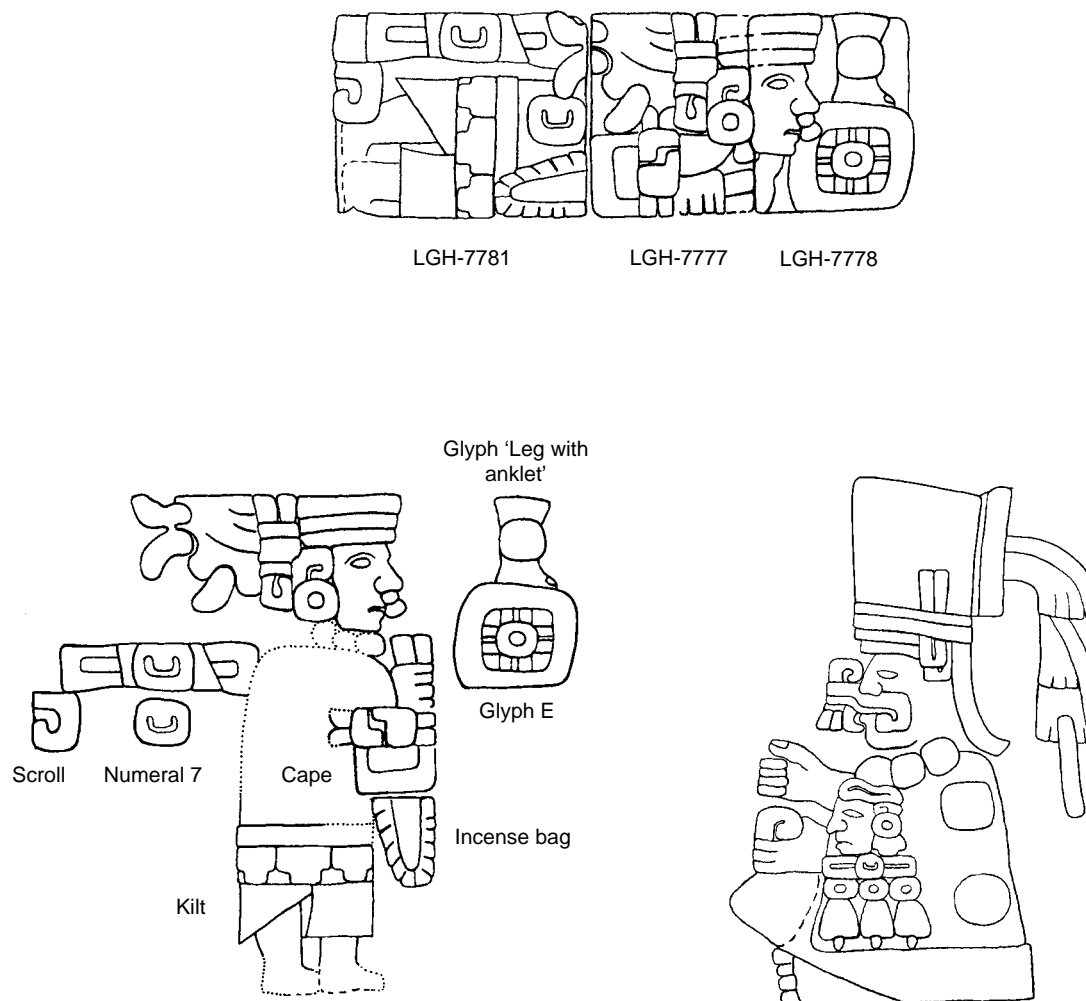


Figure 7.15- The personage carved in blocks LGH 7777, 7778 and 7781 compared to the personage on the right side of the carved stone in the Friedenberg collection.

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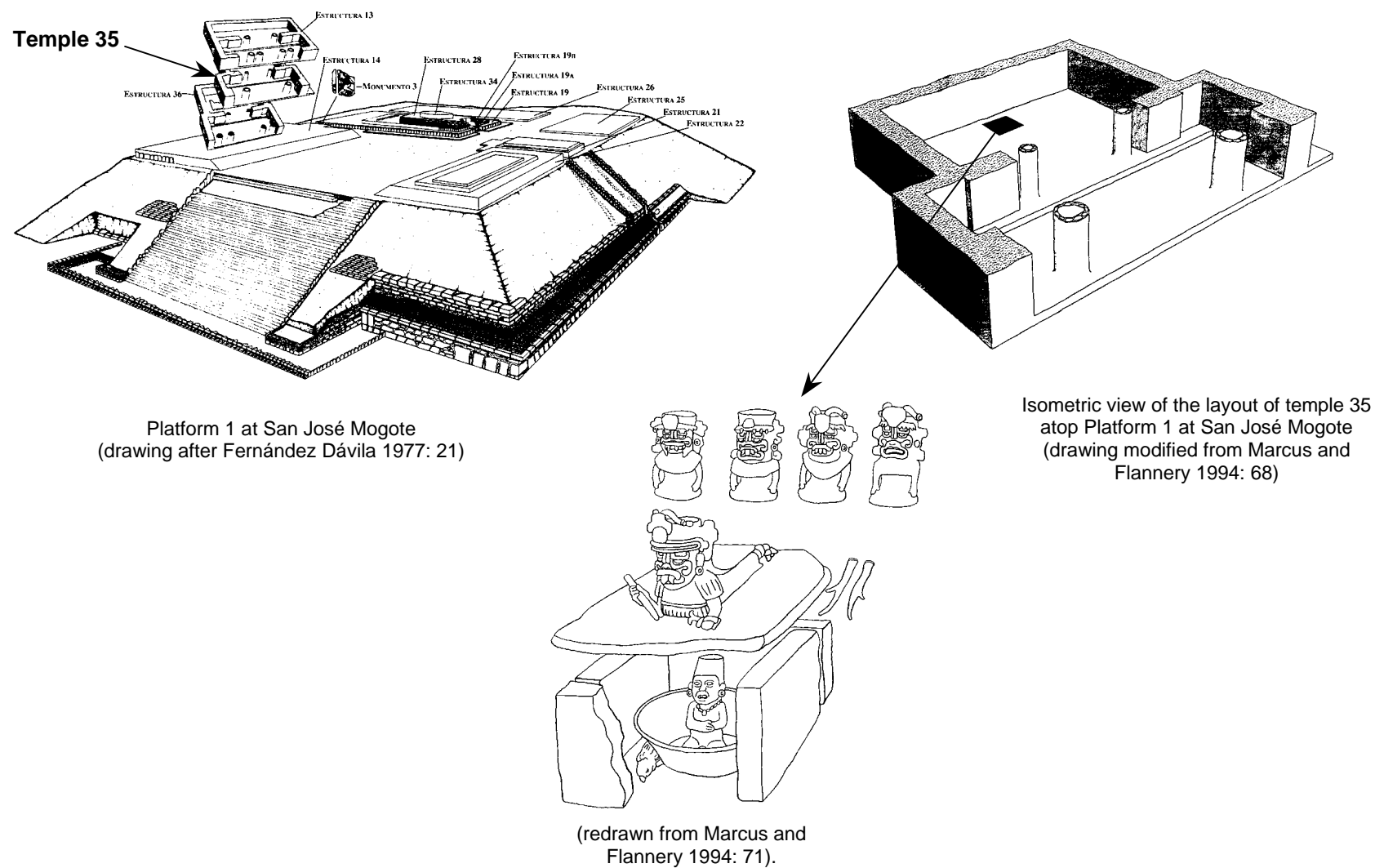


Figure 7.16- Tableau of ceramic effigy vessels found underneath temple 35 on Platform 1 at San José Mogote.

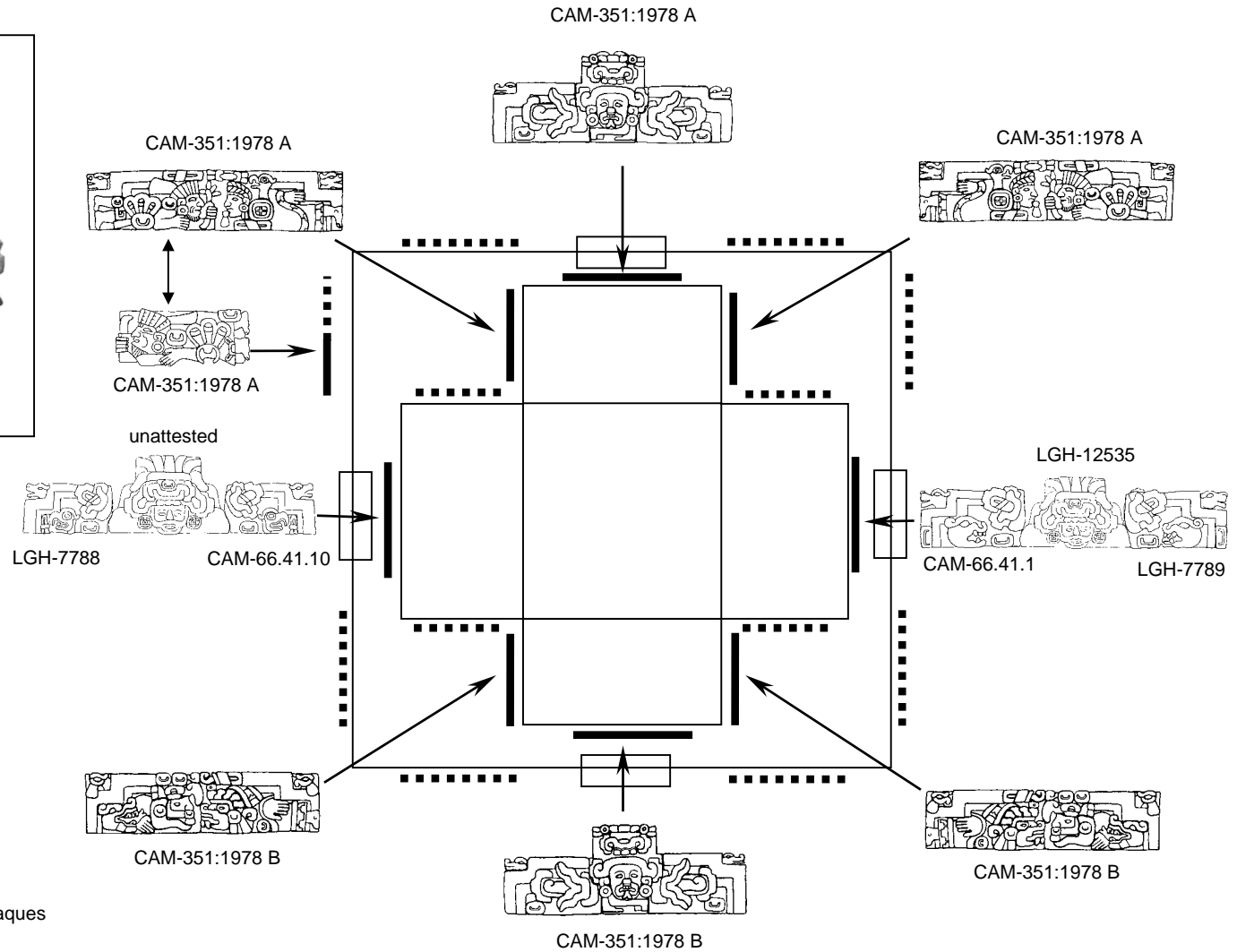
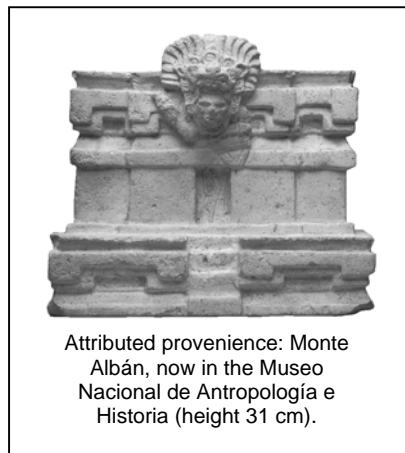
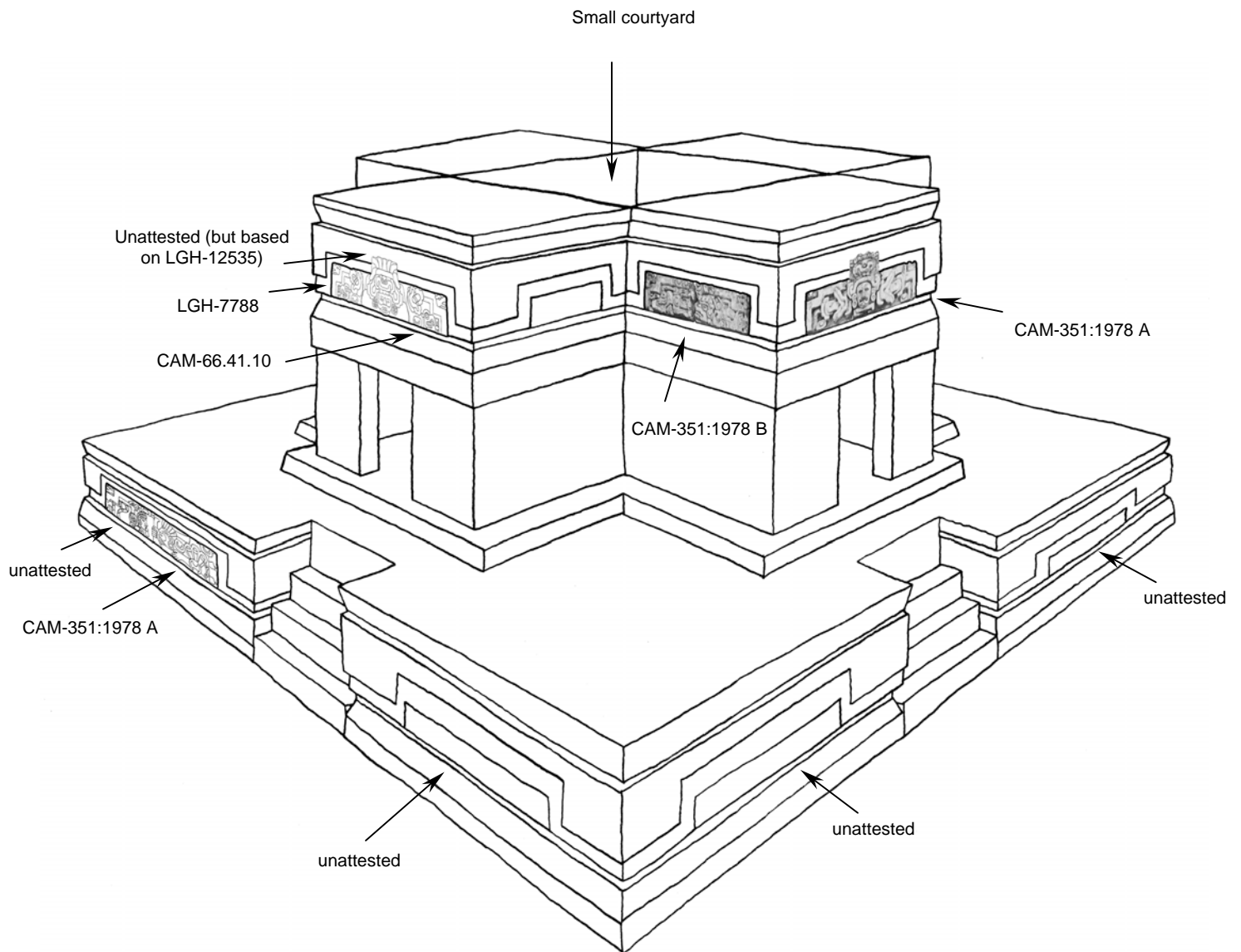
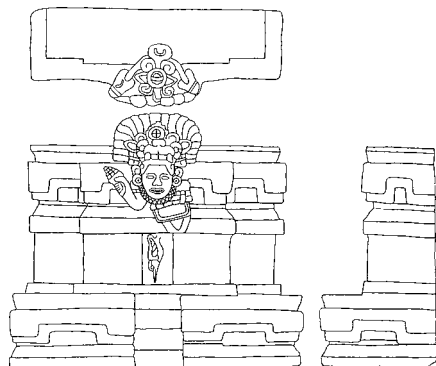


Figure 7.17- Several clay friezes now in the City Art Museum in Saint Louis (CAM) and in the Leigh collection (LGH, ex Museo Frissell in Mitla) that must have decorated a mausoleum like the stone miniature version shown on the left (height of plaques 20 cm).



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Figure 7.18- Three dimensional reconstruction of the mausoleum decorated with the friezes illustrated in Figure 7.17 (photographs after L. Parsons 1980: 154).



Miniature stone representation of a mausoleum (shown in Figure 7.16). Above the entrance is the representation of an apical ancestor. His name 1 Eye (1 L) is carved on the superior surface. Incised on the entryway is a descending hummingbird.



Miniature stone representation of the facade of a tomb carved with the glyphs 1 Maize (glyph J in the center), 5 Eye (glyph L on the left) and 4 Water (glyph Z on the right). Attributed provenience: San Pedro Quietongo [Quiatonij]. Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin, cat. no. IV CA-26837 (height 30 cm).



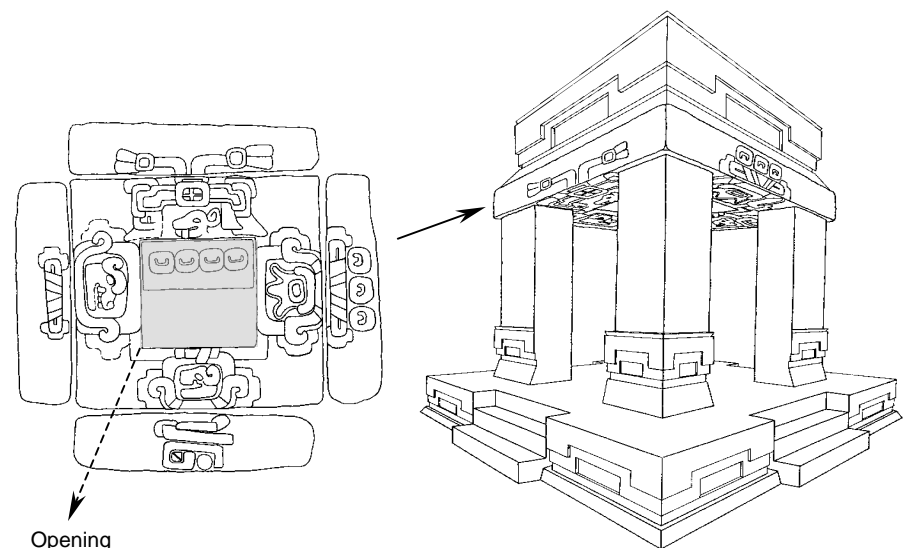
Miniature stone representation of a mausoleum carved with the glyphs 1 Skull (glyph H in the center), 4 Reed (glyph D on the left) and 5 Eye (glyph L on the right). Unknown provenience. Leigh collection, ex-Museo Frissell, Mitla, cat. no. 12582 (height 52 cm)



Miniature stone representation of a mausoleum carved in the entryway with the glyph 3 Earthquake (glyph E). Provenience and present location unknown (no data on height available) (after Caso 1969:



Miniature stone representation of a mausoleum with the bust of an apical ancestor above the entrance. Unknown provenience, private collection in Switzerland (height 25 cm) (after Whittaker and Dhinaut 1999: 94).



Hypothetical reconstruction of a mausoleum built at the center of a plaza and decorated with a genealogical record on a monolith of unknown provenience now in the Museo de las Culturas in Oaxaca (cat. no. 10-4379). The carved stone measures 1.20 x 1.20 m.

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Figure 7.19- Miniature stone representations of mausoleums and tomb facades carved with genealogical records, and an example of an actual mausoleum built at the center of the plaza in a commemorative building of the TPA type.

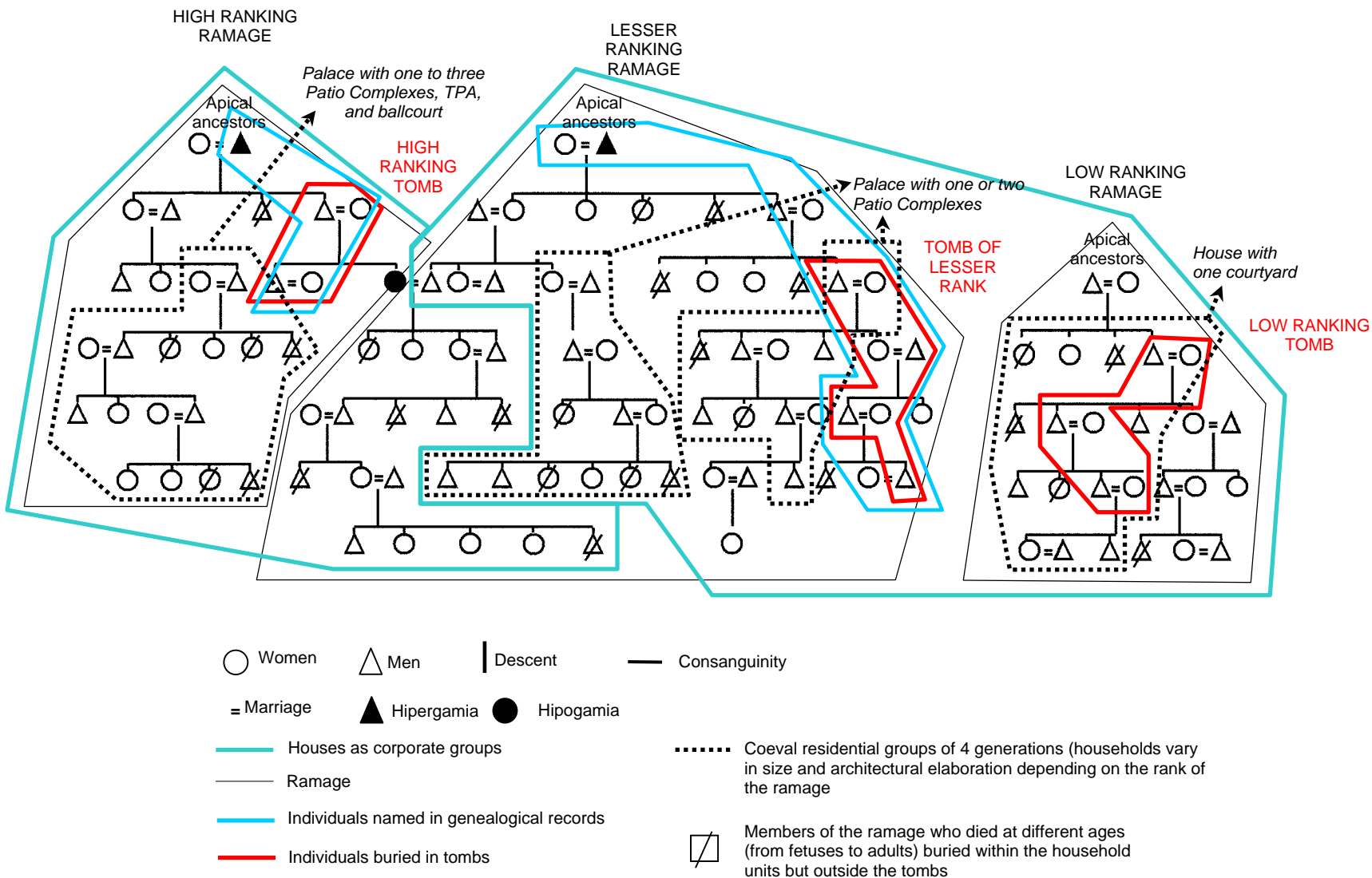


Figure 8.1- Model of ancient Zapotec social organization.

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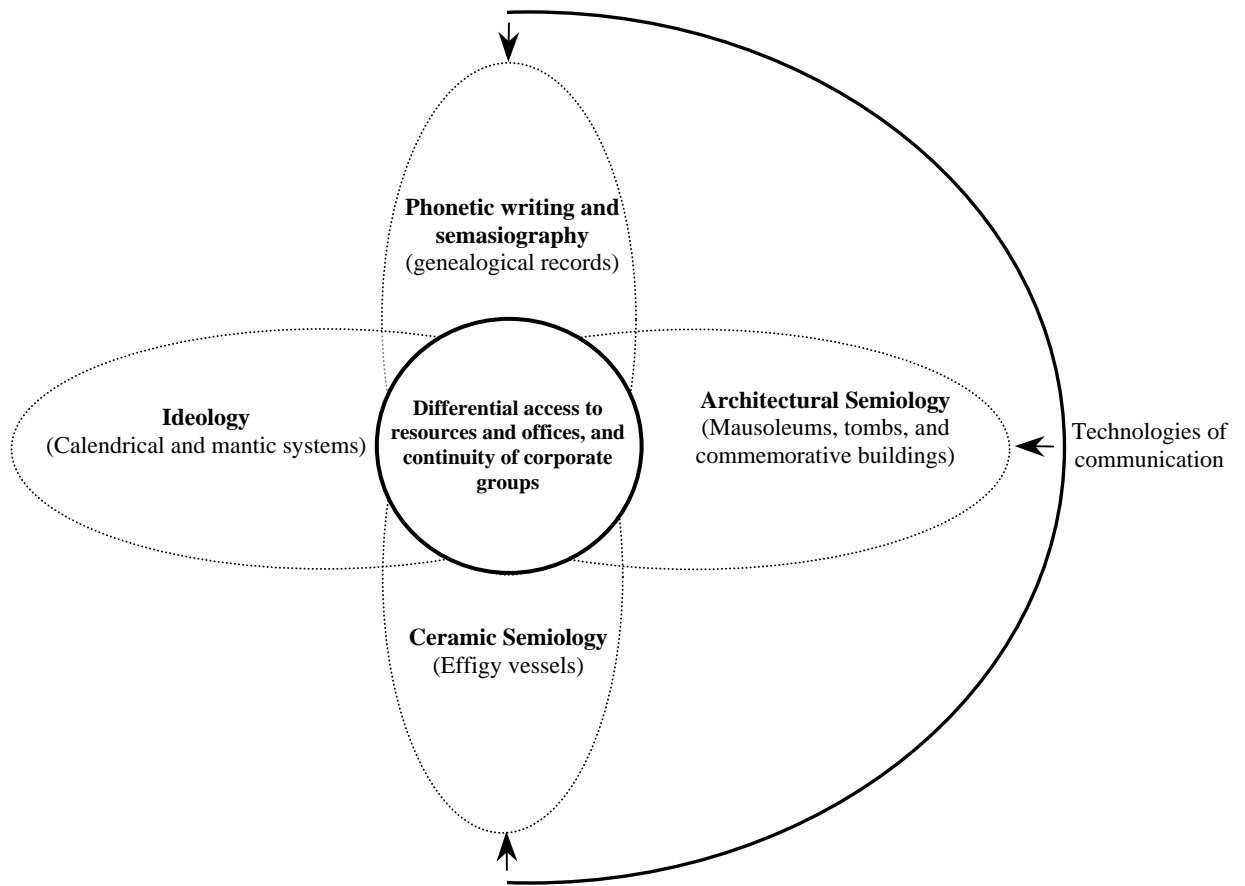


Figure 8.2- Model of the relationship between several aspects of society, ideology, and technologies of communication among the ancient Zapotecs.