

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

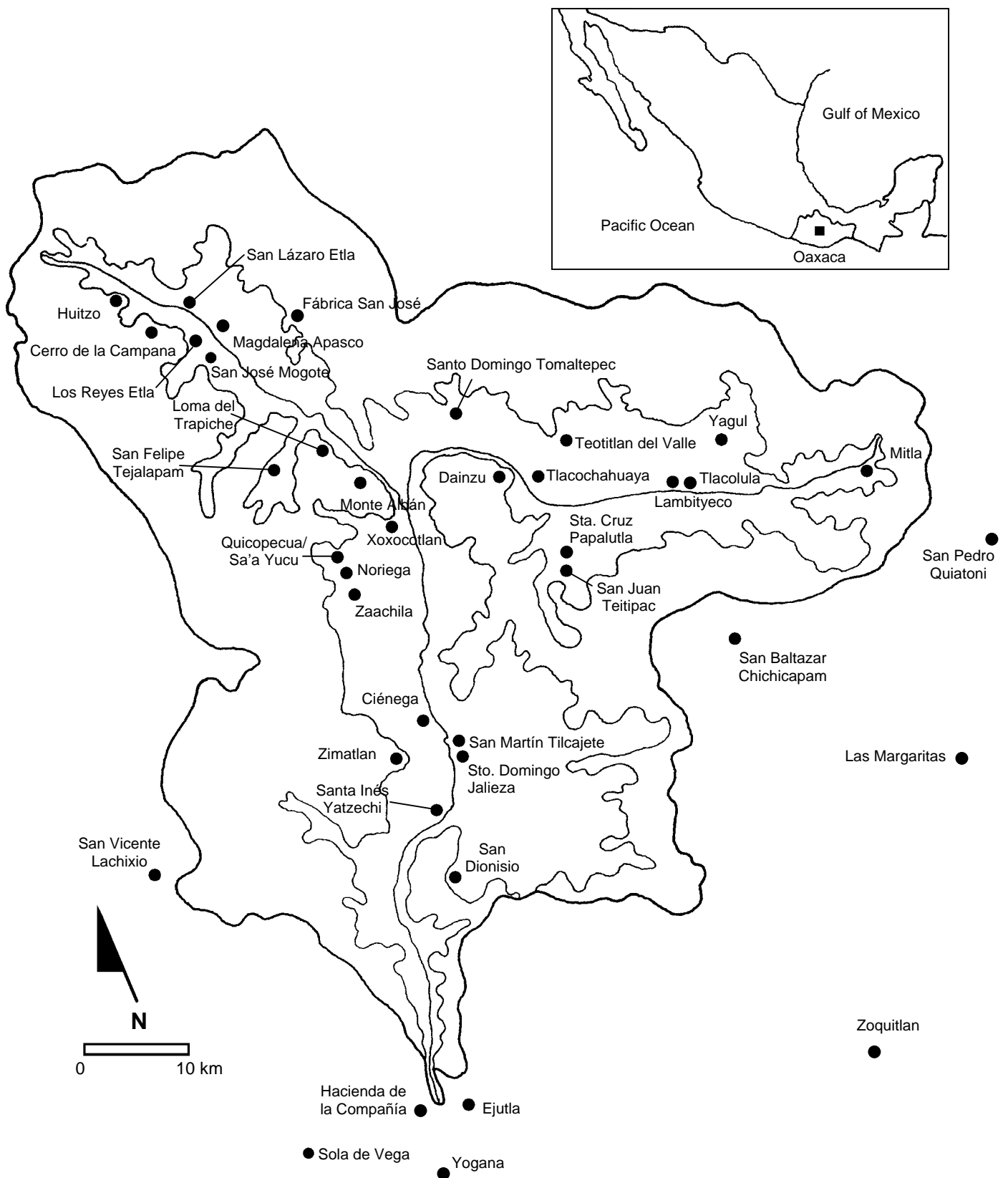
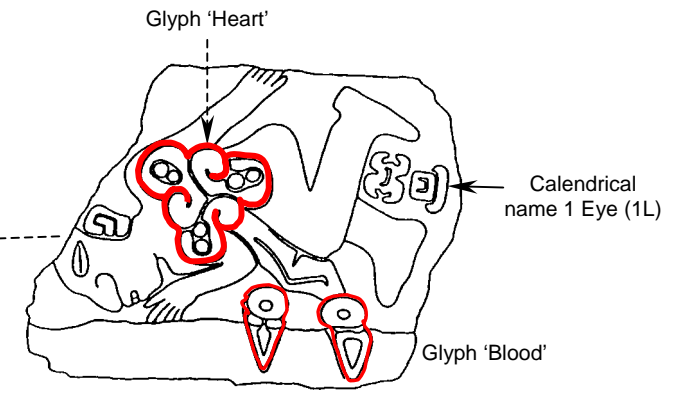
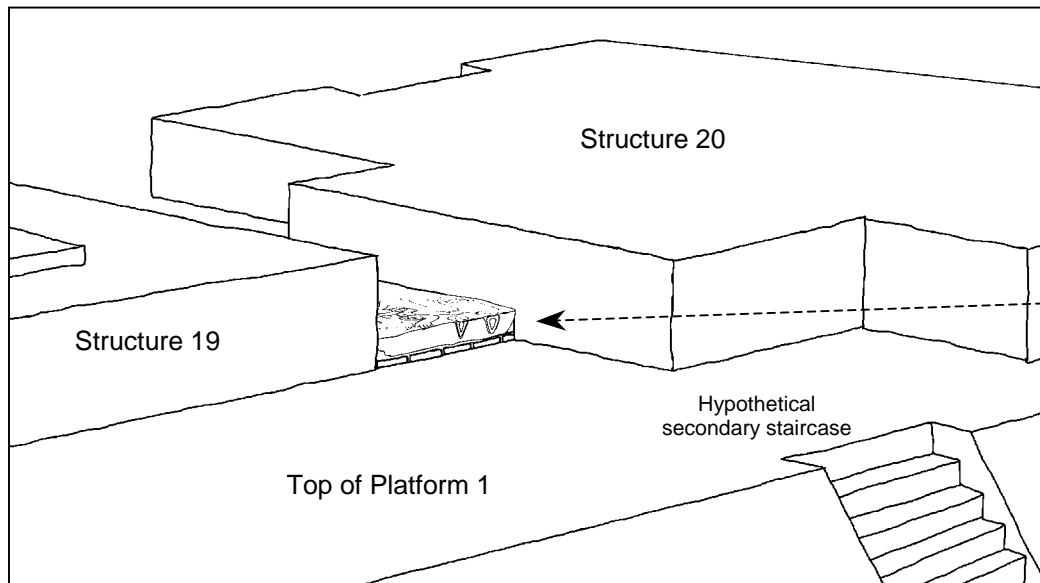
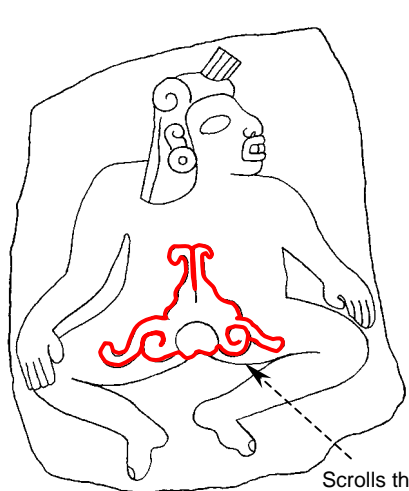


Figure 1.2- Map of the Central Valleys of Oaxaca with localities mentioned in the text.

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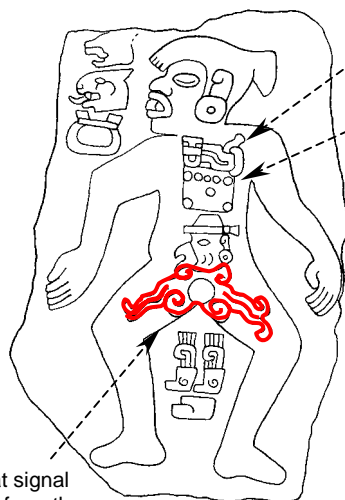


San José Mogote, Monument 3  
(ca. 600 BCE)



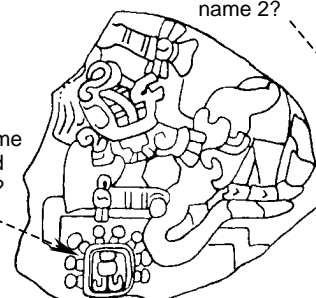
Monte Albán, Building  
L-sub, Stone D-57

(ca. 450 BCE)

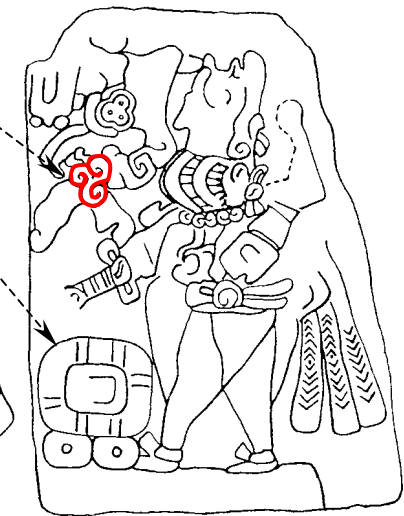


Monte Albán, Building  
L-sub, Stone D-55

Personal name  
of defeated  
ballplayer ?



Dainzu, Building A, Stone 3

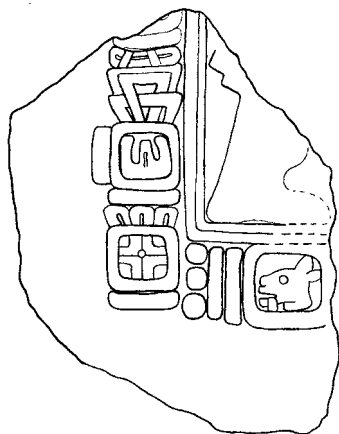


Dainzu, Building A, Stone 1

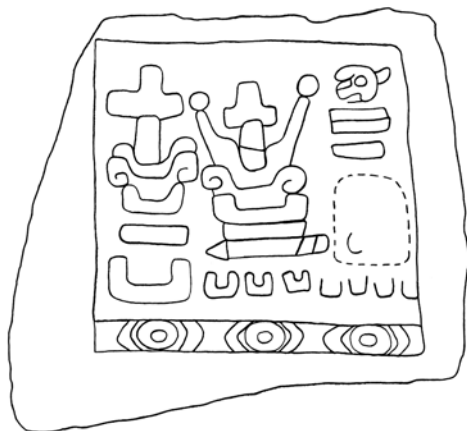
(ca. 200 BCE)

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

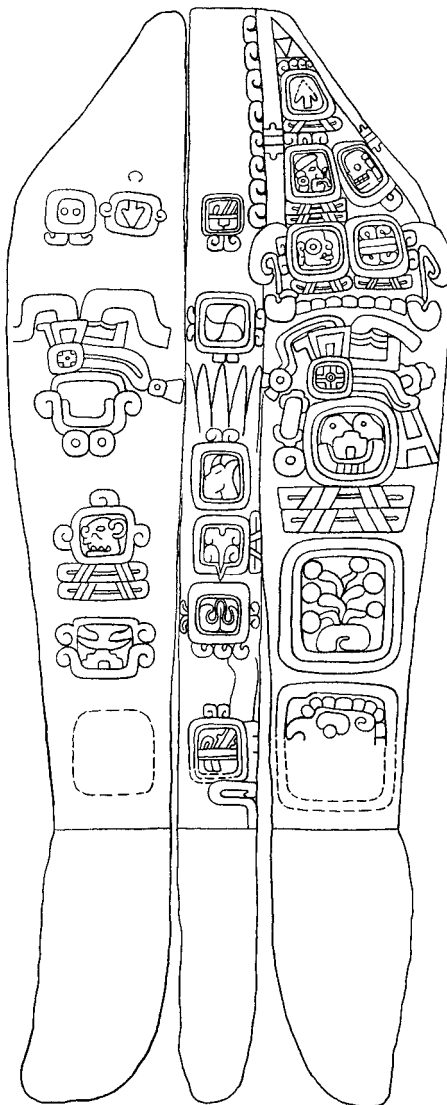
© Javier Urcid. All rights reserved.



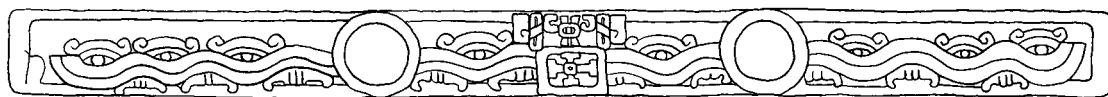
Yaguila Monument 2.  
Embedded in the wall of a  
house (height 50 cm)



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



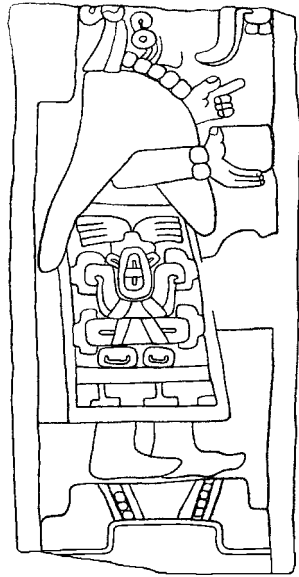
Yaguila Monument 1. In the  
plaza of the community  
(height 2.78 m)



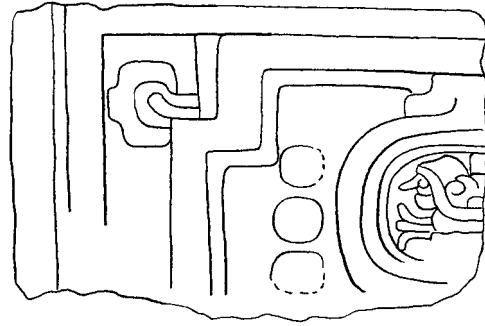
San Pedro Nexicho Monument 18. Used  
today as base to the altar in the church of the  
community (height 21 cm)

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

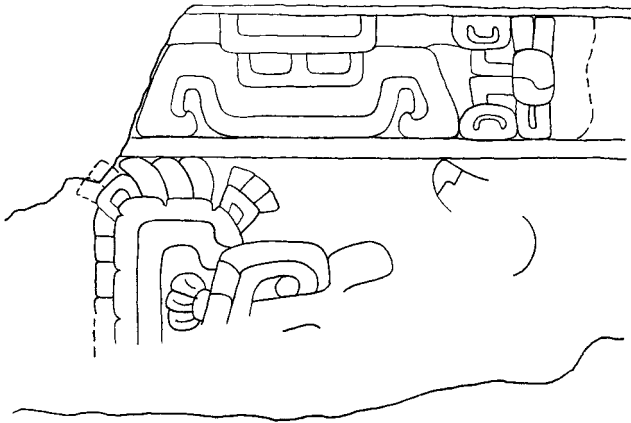
© Javier Urcid. All rights reserved.



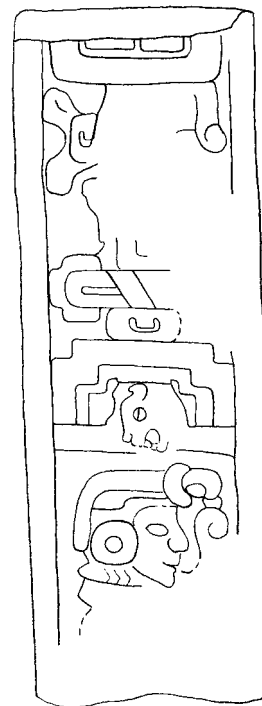
Santito las Margaritas Monument 1  
Museo Nacional de Antropología e  
Historia (height 1.05 m).



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



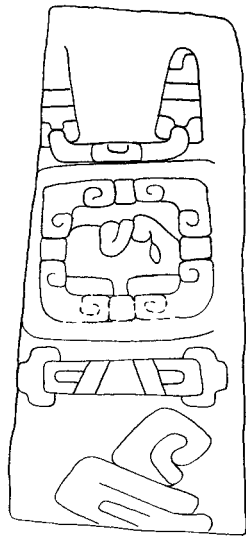
Zoquitlan Monument 3. Rollout drawing of  
carved column inside the Municipal  
building in the community  
(max. height 58 cm)



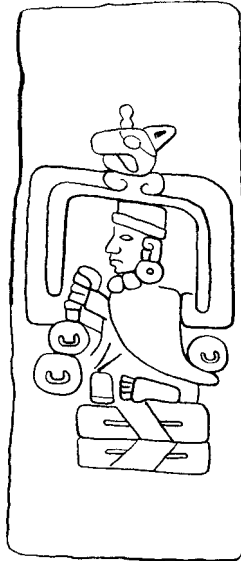
Zoquitlan Monument 4. Inside the  
Municipal building in the community  
(height 1.67 cm)

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

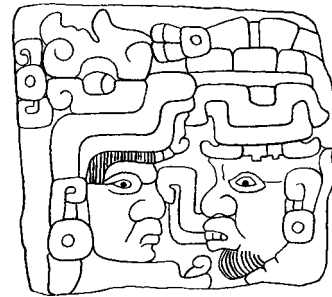
© Javier Urcid. All rights reserved.



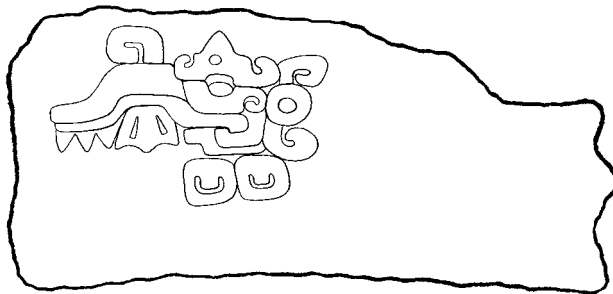
Ejutla Monument 4  
(Embedded in the façade of  
the church) (height 94 cm)



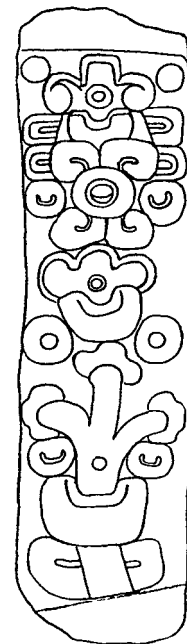
Ejutla Monument 2  
(based on a photo in the Saville  
archives, American Museum of  
Natural History, New York)  
(data on height not available)



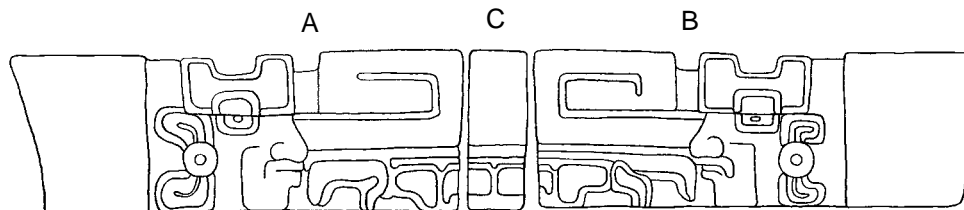
Hacienda de la Compañía,  
Ejutla. Museo de las Culturas  
de Oaxaca (height 38 cm)



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



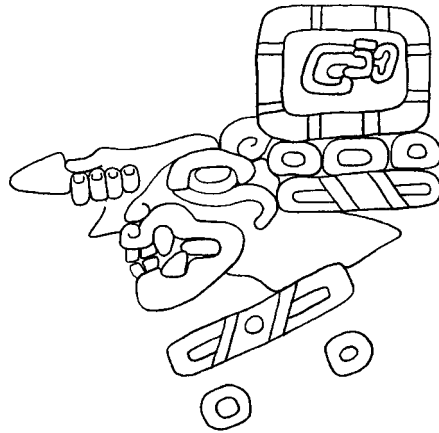
San Juan Sola Monument 1  
(In the plaza of the  
community) (height 1.40 m)



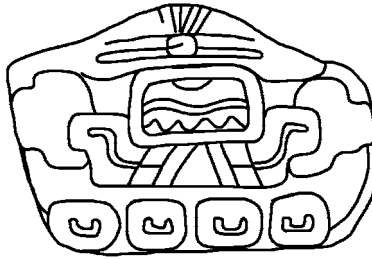
San Francisco Sola monument 5. Tenon head with three carved  
surfaces. (Now in the Museo de Cuernavaca, Morelos) (height 51cm)

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

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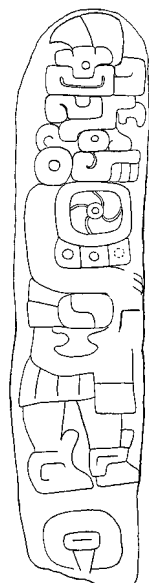
San Vicente Lachixio  
(in a cave nearby)  
(approx. height 30 cm)



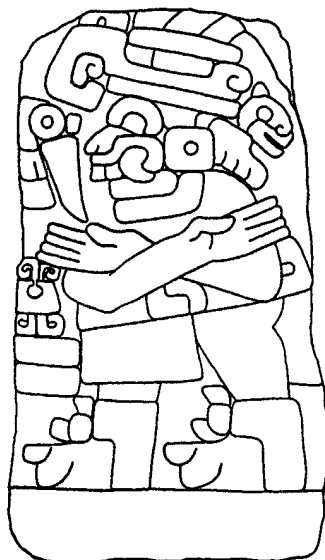
San Pablo Coatlan (hand  
drawing based on Martinez  
Gracida 1910 [2]: plate 40)  
(height 45 cm)

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

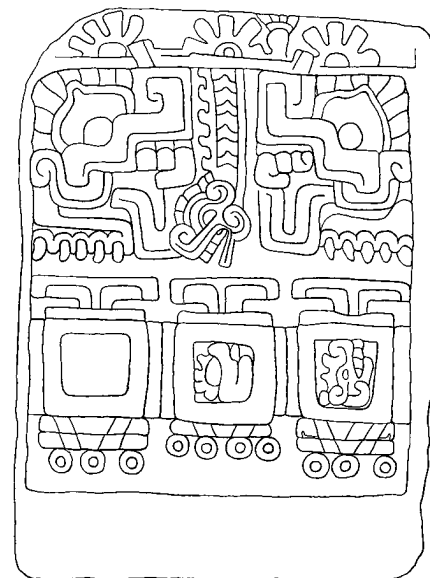
© Javier Urcid. All rights reserved.



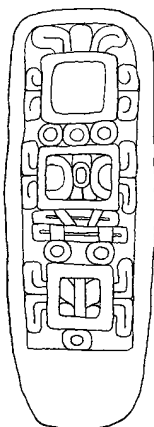
Rio Grande Monument 4. At the entrance of the school in the community (height 2.32 m)



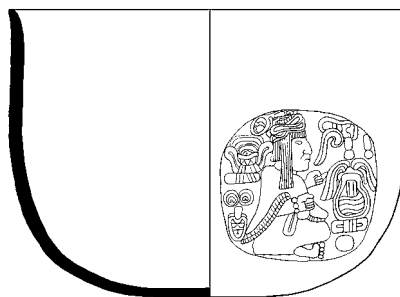
Rio Viejo Monument 8. In situ (height 2.02 m)



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



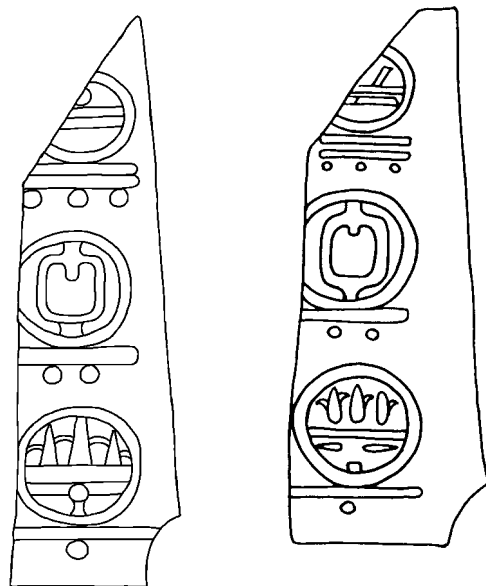
Piedra Labrada, Guerrero, Monument 11. Next to the basketball court in the school of the community (height 1.23 m)



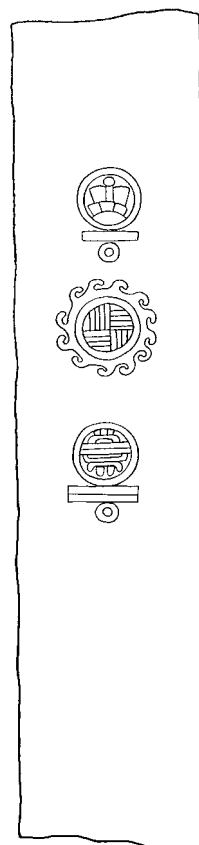
Ceramic vessel of Talun carved type. Unknown provenience, Kerr vessel database # 8596 (height 11.5 cm)

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

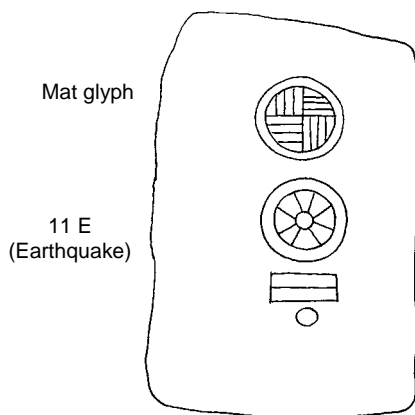


6 Reed

Mat glyph

11 RE glyph  
(Alligator)

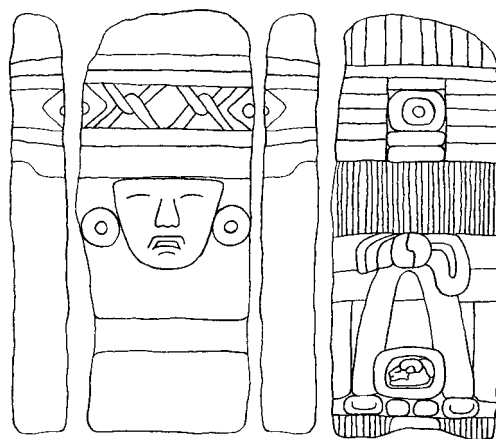
Los Horcones Monument 2, Cerro Bernal, Chiapas (height 2.40 m). The 'Mat' glyph, a pan-Mesoamerican sign, is present in Zapotec style inscriptions, and only one example of the RE glyph is known from coastal Oaxaca (see Figure 2.9, upper right)



Mat glyph

11 E  
(Earthquake)

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



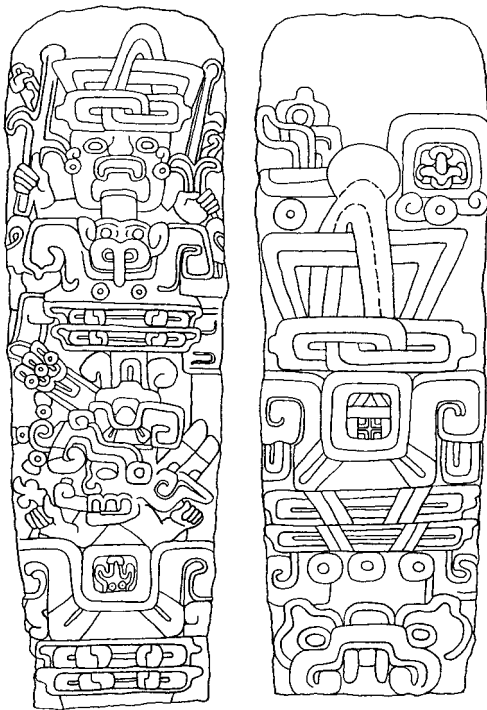
10 Eta

2 Rabbit

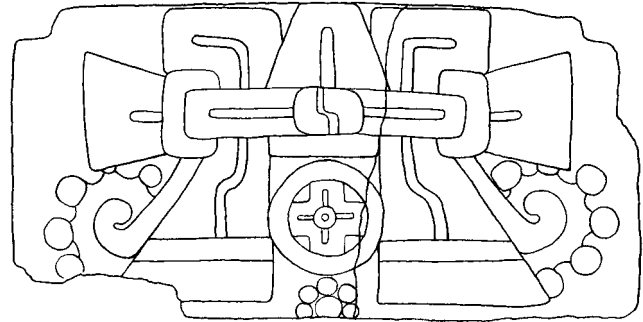
López Mateos Monument 6, Chiapas (height 1.20 m). Both glyphs partake with Zapotec graphic conventions (based on photographs in Navarrete et al. 1993: 62-63)

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

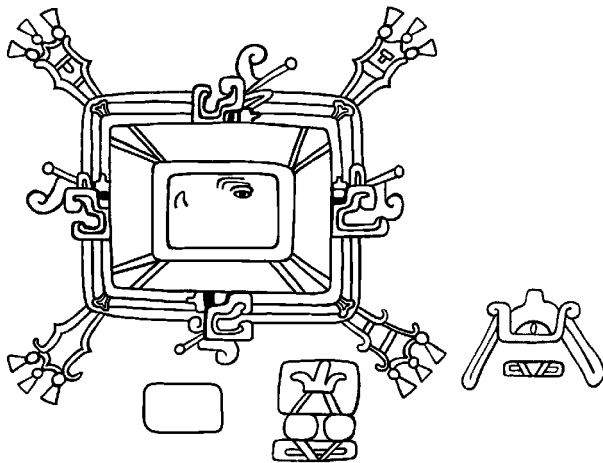
© Javier Urcid. All rights reserved.



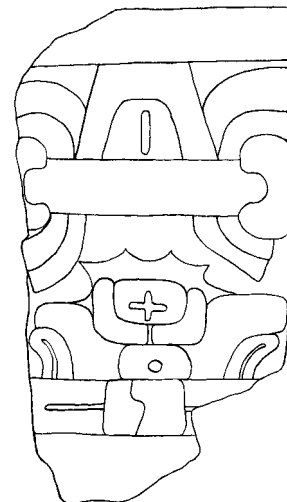
Cerro Yucundaba, Micaltepec.  
Monument 1, Southern Puebla.  
In the plaza of the community  
(height 1.75 m)



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



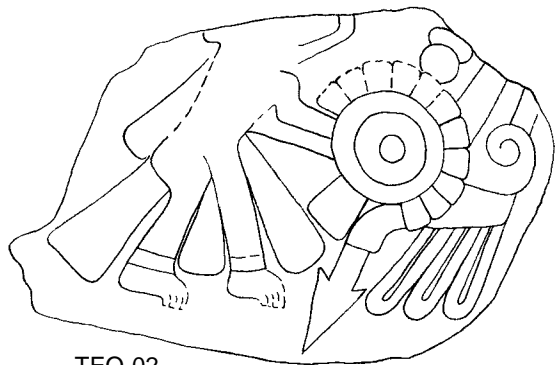
El Puente Colossal, Tepelmeme de Morelos,  
Coixtlahuaca, Oaxaca. In situ, in the northeast  
sector [interior] (height 1.30 m)



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

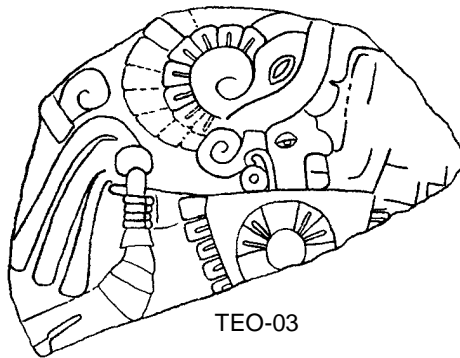
Figure 1.10- Inscriptions in Ñuiñe style from several locations  
in Northwestern Oaxaca and Southern Puebla.

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TEO-02

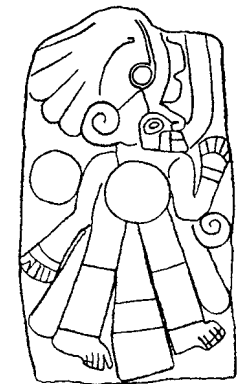
Embedded today in the municipal palace of Macuilxochitl, but known to have been left there in a failed attempt to transport the monolith from Teotitlan del Valle to Oaxaca city (Rickards 1918: 23)



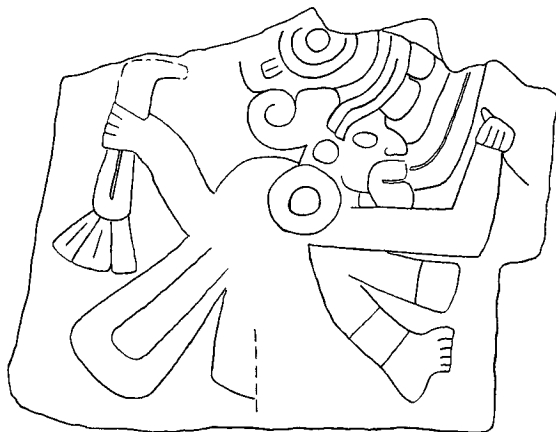
TEO-03



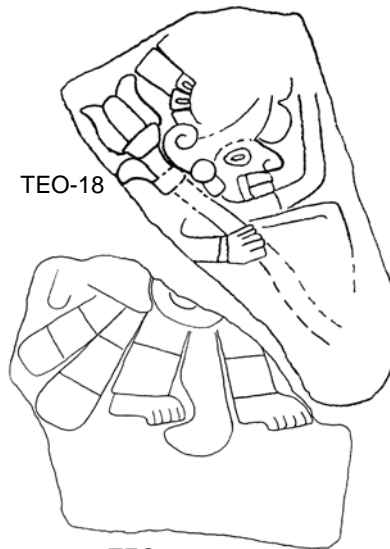
TEO-05  
(drawing after Seler  
1904: 349, fig. 76b)



TEO-07

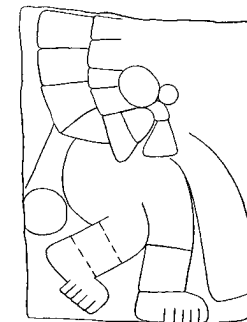


TEO-27

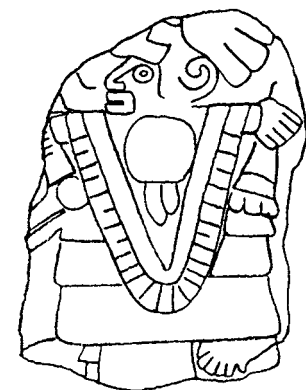


TEO-18

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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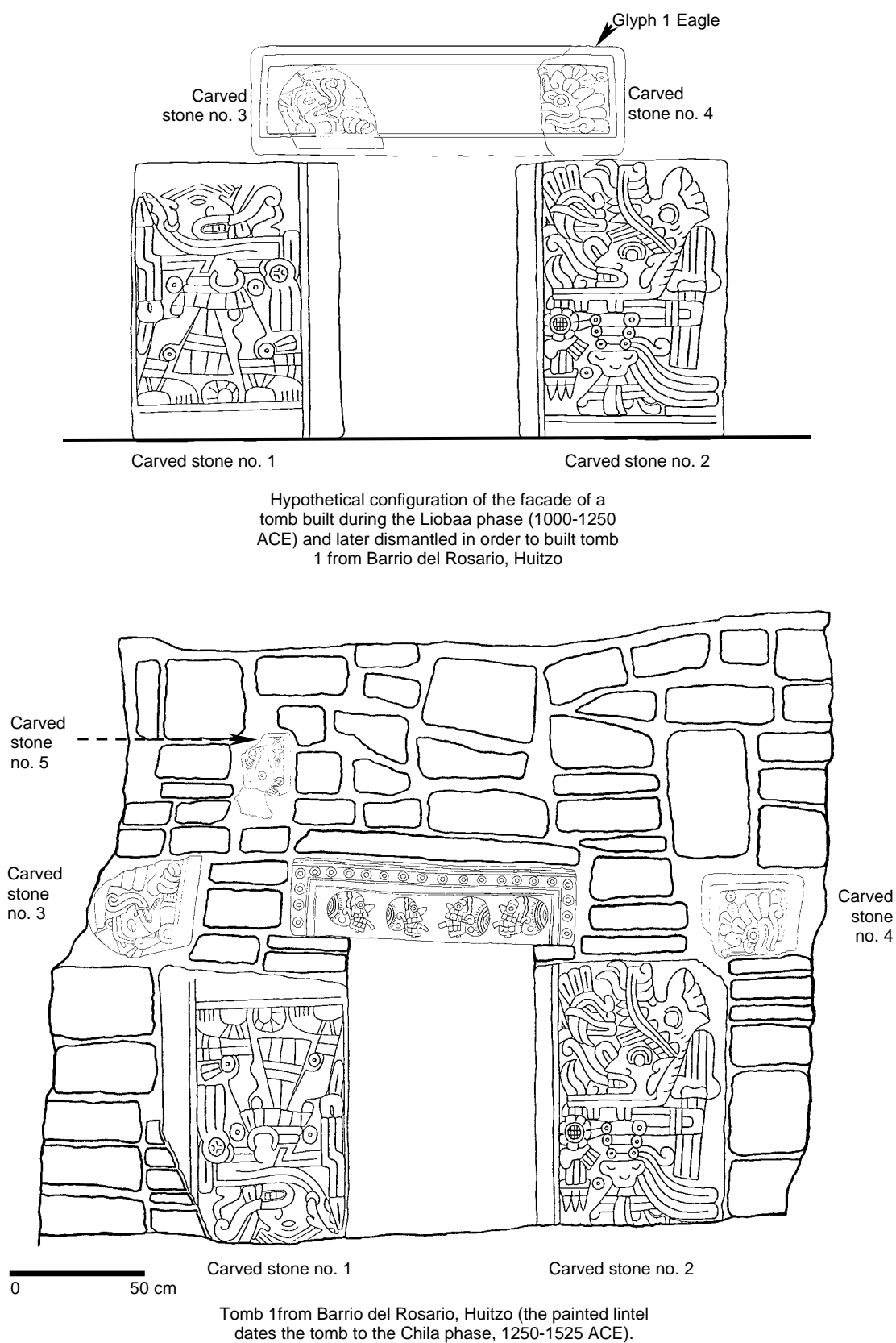
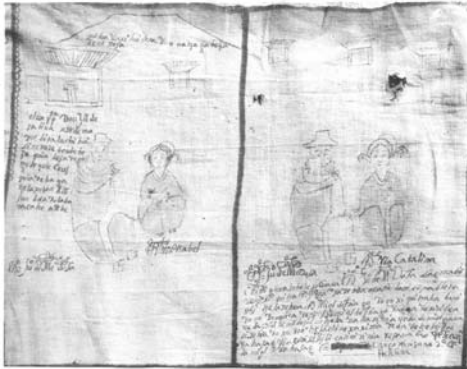
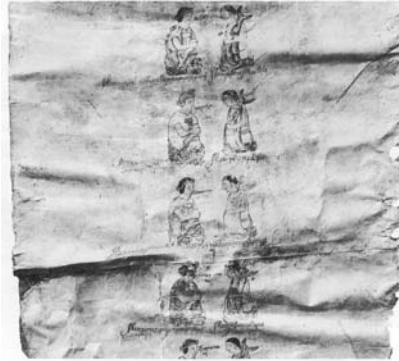


Figure 1.13- Tomb 1 from Barrio del Rosario, Huitzo.

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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)

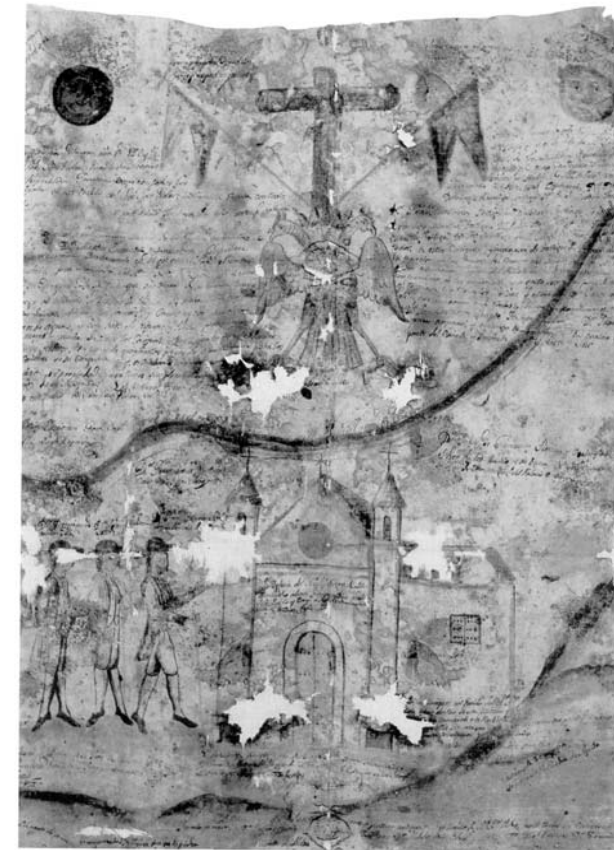


Detail of a section of the Genealogy of Quialoo, Central Valleys (after Oudijk 2000: figure 24a)

Figure 1.14- Examples of 16<sup>th</sup> 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	<b>Niycollao guibaba guitaaya</b> <b>gabiye guitapa goçio</b>
<i>bi ye — yagxoho — 1</i>	<b>biye yagxoho</b> 1
<i>bi ye — yolaha — 2</i>	<b>biye yolaha</b> 2
<i>bi ye — yohochina — 3</i>	<b>biye yohochina</b> 3
<i>bi ye — llolobia — 4</i>	<b>biye llolobia</b> 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	
<b>Niycollao guibaba guitaaya</b> <b>gabiye guitapa goçio</b>	
<b>period One Earthquake</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>period Two Lightning</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>period Three Deer</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>period Four Soapplant</b>	<b>4</b>

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).

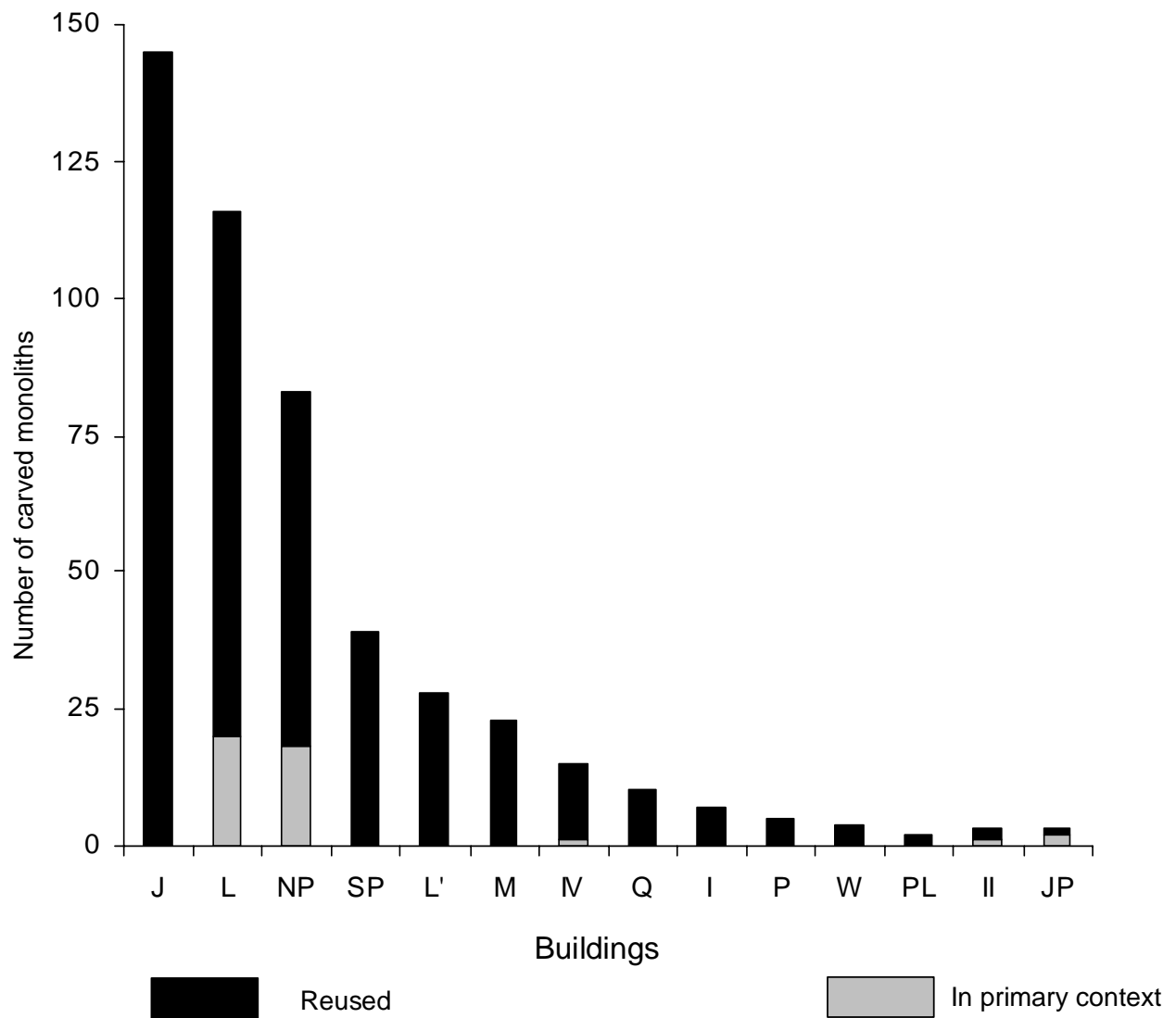
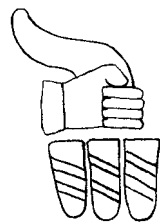


Figure 1.16- Histogram of carved monuments in the buildings of the Main Plaza at Monte Albán.



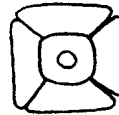
Hand holding three celts



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

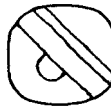


Rabbit glyph

### Signs whose iconic motivation is known



Open cartouche with a circle and a diagonally divided square



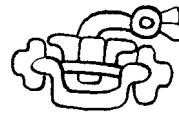
Cartouche with diagonal band and semicircle below the band



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 19<sup>th</sup> position in the day list, a position that refers to "Drop" or "Rain" but whose iconicity seemingly involves a bundle of maize leaves



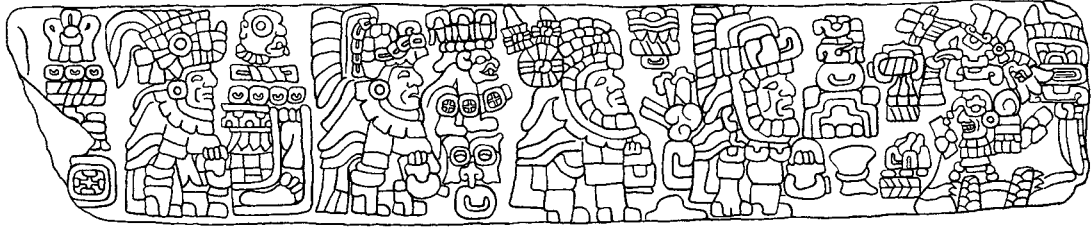
Oval-shaped cartouche with fringes and tassels

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

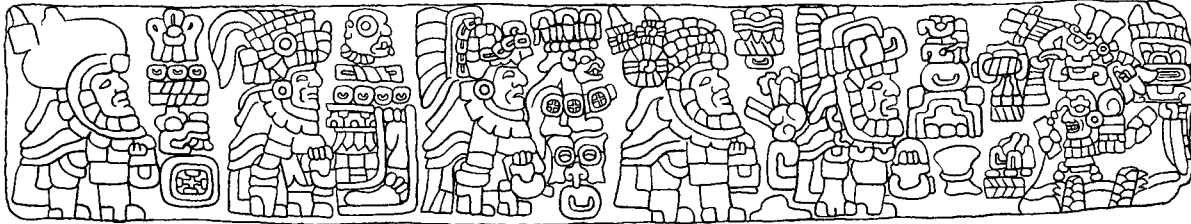
Figure 1.17- Types of signs in the Zapotec graphic repertoire.

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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

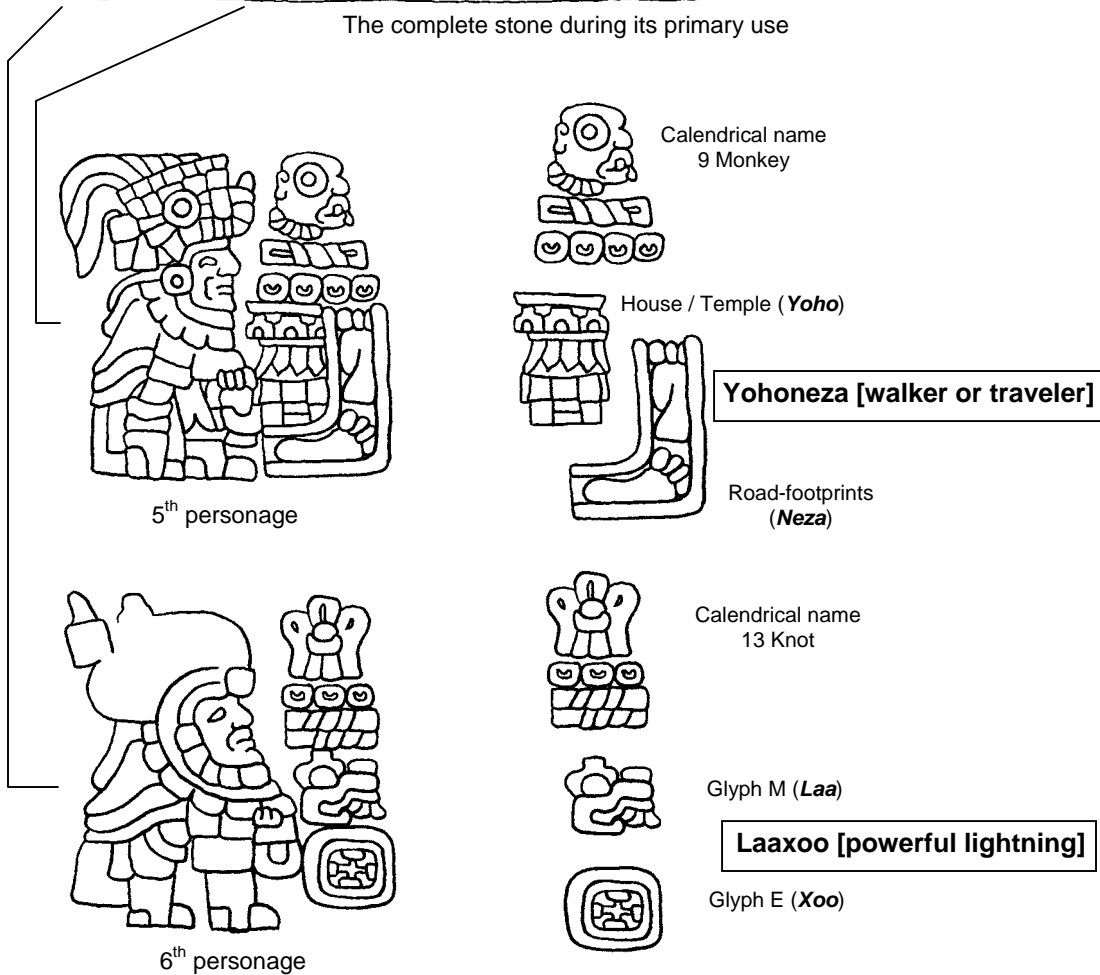
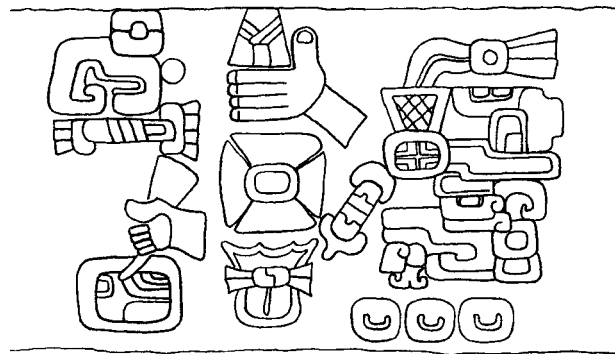
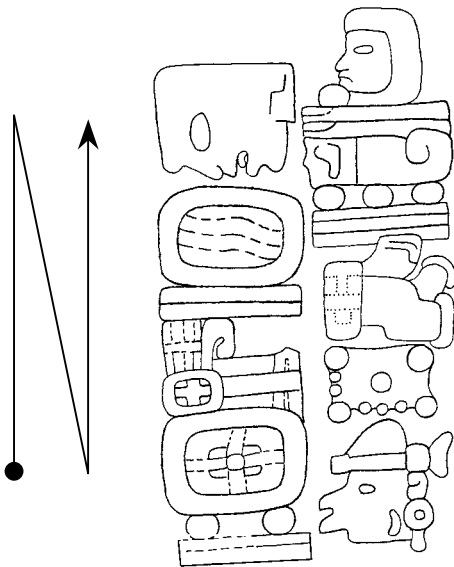


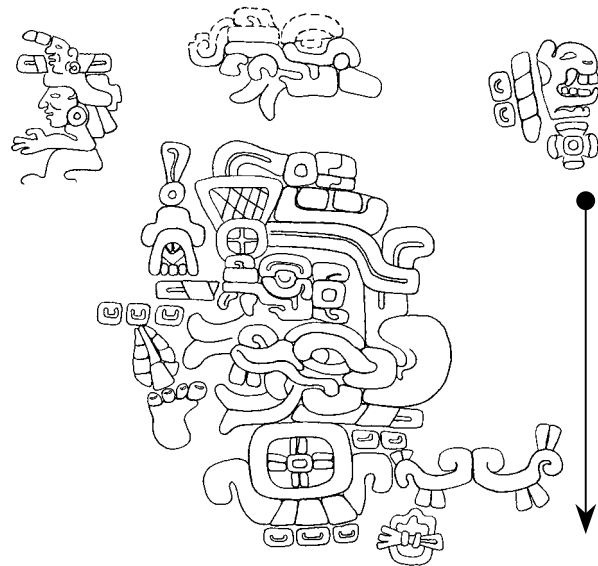
Figure 1.18- Possible example of homophony in a Zapotec inscription from Monte Albán (5<sup>th</sup> personage), and phonetic reading of a personal name attested well into the colonial period (6<sup>th</sup> personage).



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





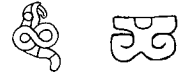






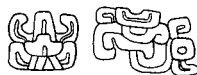










Monte Albán Stone M-21, found loose in plaza of building M, originally from the facade of Building L-sub. Museo de Monte Albán (the text reads from bottom to top and left to right, with a third column missing)



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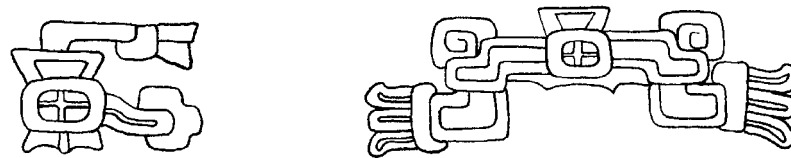
	Danibaan phase (500-300 BCE)	Niza phase (100 BCE- 200 ACE)	Tani phase (200-400 ACE)	Pitao phase (400-500 ACE)	Peche-Xoo phases (500-800 ACE)	Liobaa phase (800 1250 ACE)	Chila phase *
1						1	
②						2	
3						③	
4						4	
5						5	
6						6	
⑦						7	
8						⑧	
9						9	
10						10	
11						11	
⑫		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

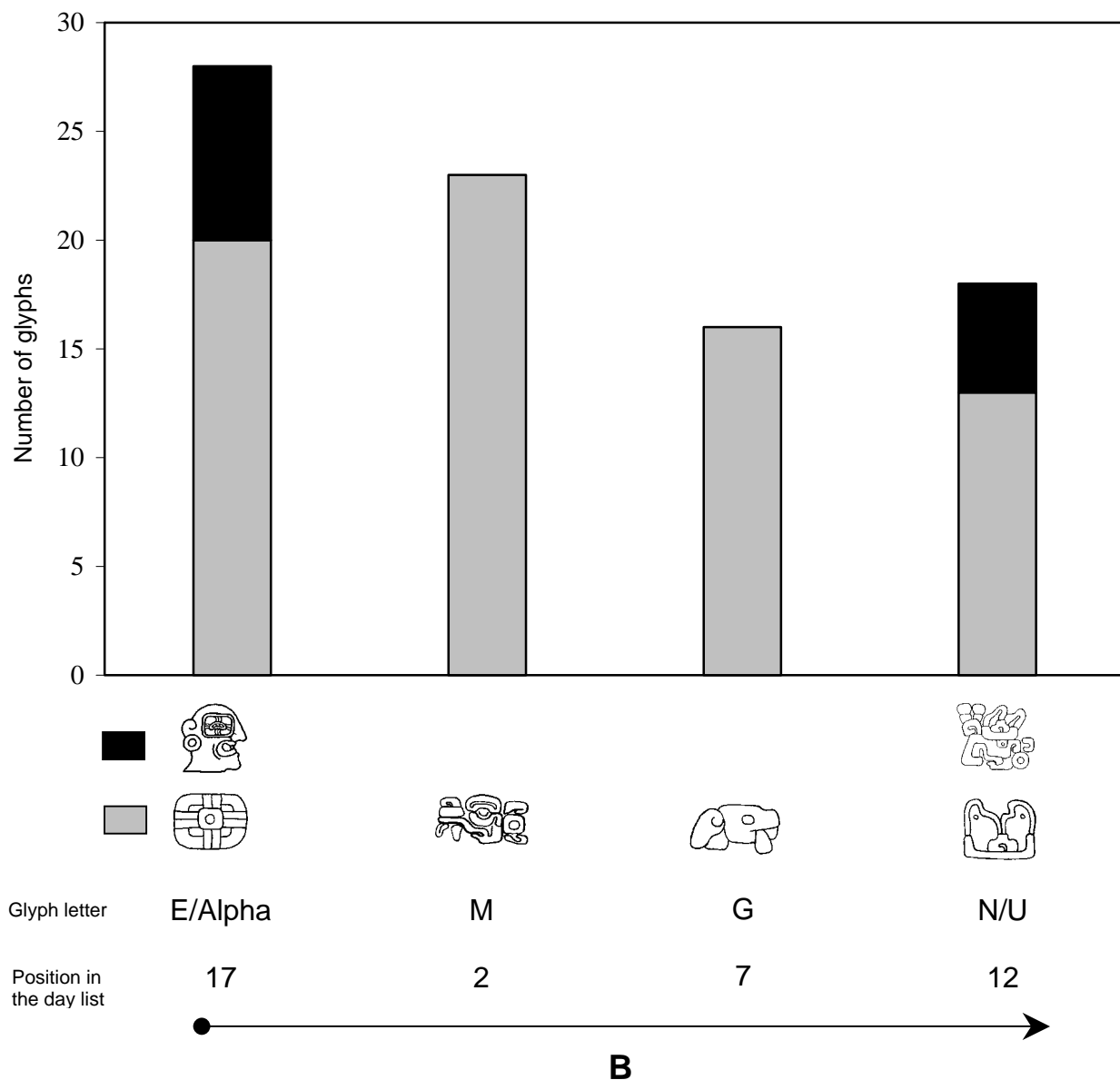
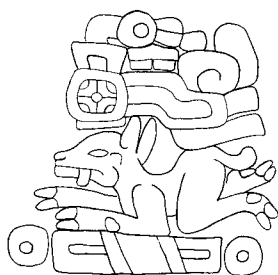
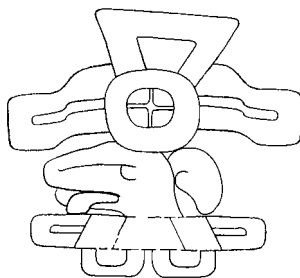


Figure 1.22- [A] The year glyph (profile and frontal versions), and [B] the reckoning sequence of the Year Bearers in the Zapotec Calendar Round.

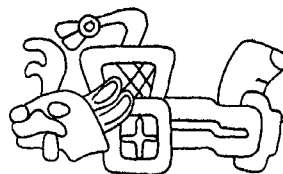
© Javier Urcid. All rights reserved.



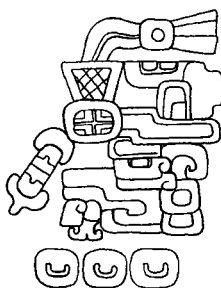
Nexicho, Monument 8  
Annual date 7 Deer



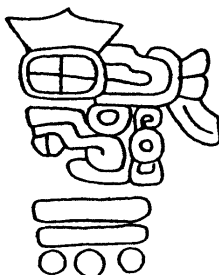
Monte Albán, Vértice Geodésico  
Stone 3. Annual date 7 Deer  
(reconstructed)



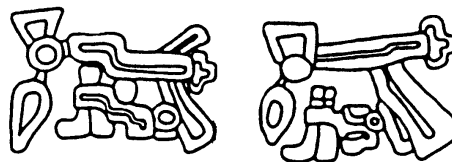
Monte Albán, Vértice Geodésico  
South, Column 5. Annual date  
? Deer (numeral is missing)



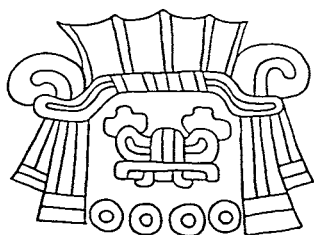
Cerro de la Campana,  
tomb 6, Stone 2. Annual  
date 3 M



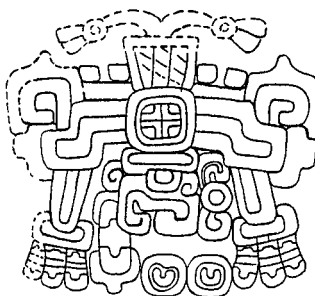
Monte Albán, Vértice  
Geodésico East, Monument  
2. Annual date 13 M



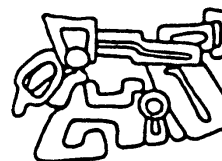
Unknown provenience, Museo de las  
Culturas, Mexico City (cat. no. 10-448455).  
Two annual dates M (the coefficients are  
implied, and could be 1 or 13)



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



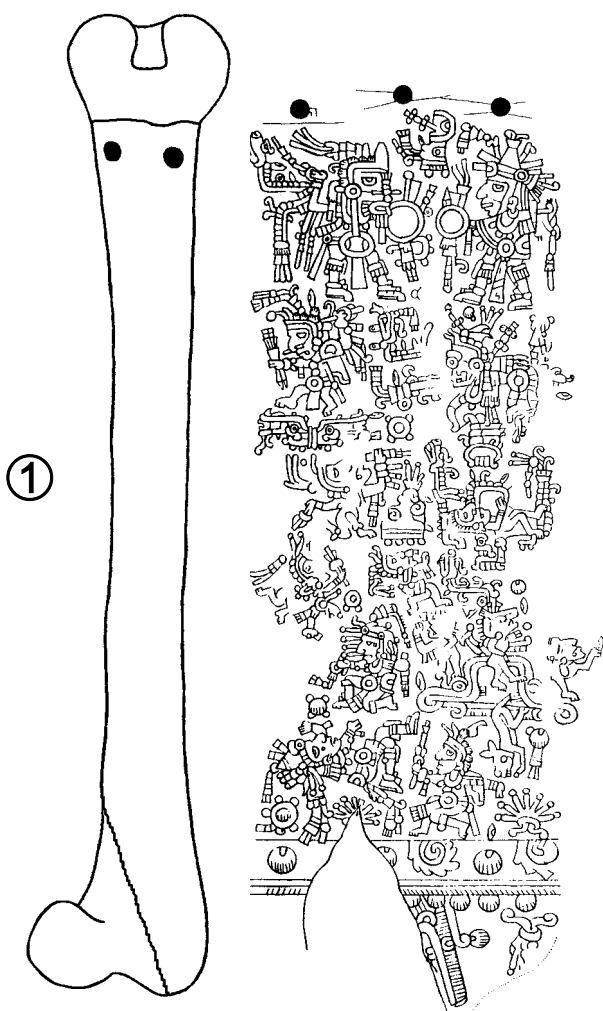
Ceramic effigy vessel representing a female wearing a jaguar helmet and seated over a 'Hill' or a pyramidal platform that may signify "kingdom". The piece was found in tomb 95-1 from Monte Albán (height 53 cm).

⑤



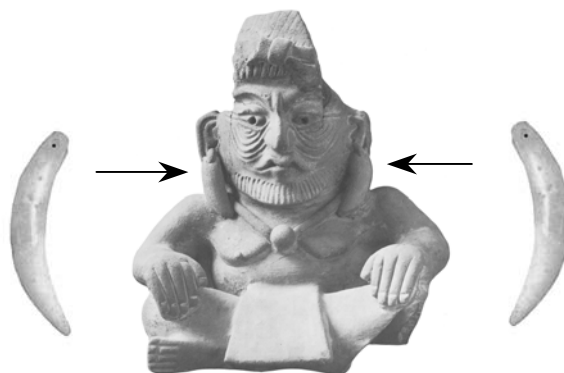
Stela 1 from Río Grande, Coast of Oaxaca. The imagery renders a ruler in a funerary box wearing as headgear the head and the hanging anterior extremities of a jaguar. Below are two calendrical names [7 "Tail of Fire-Serpent" and 3 Jaguar] (Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia, height 1.70 cm).

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]).




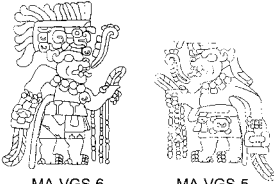






⑤



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).

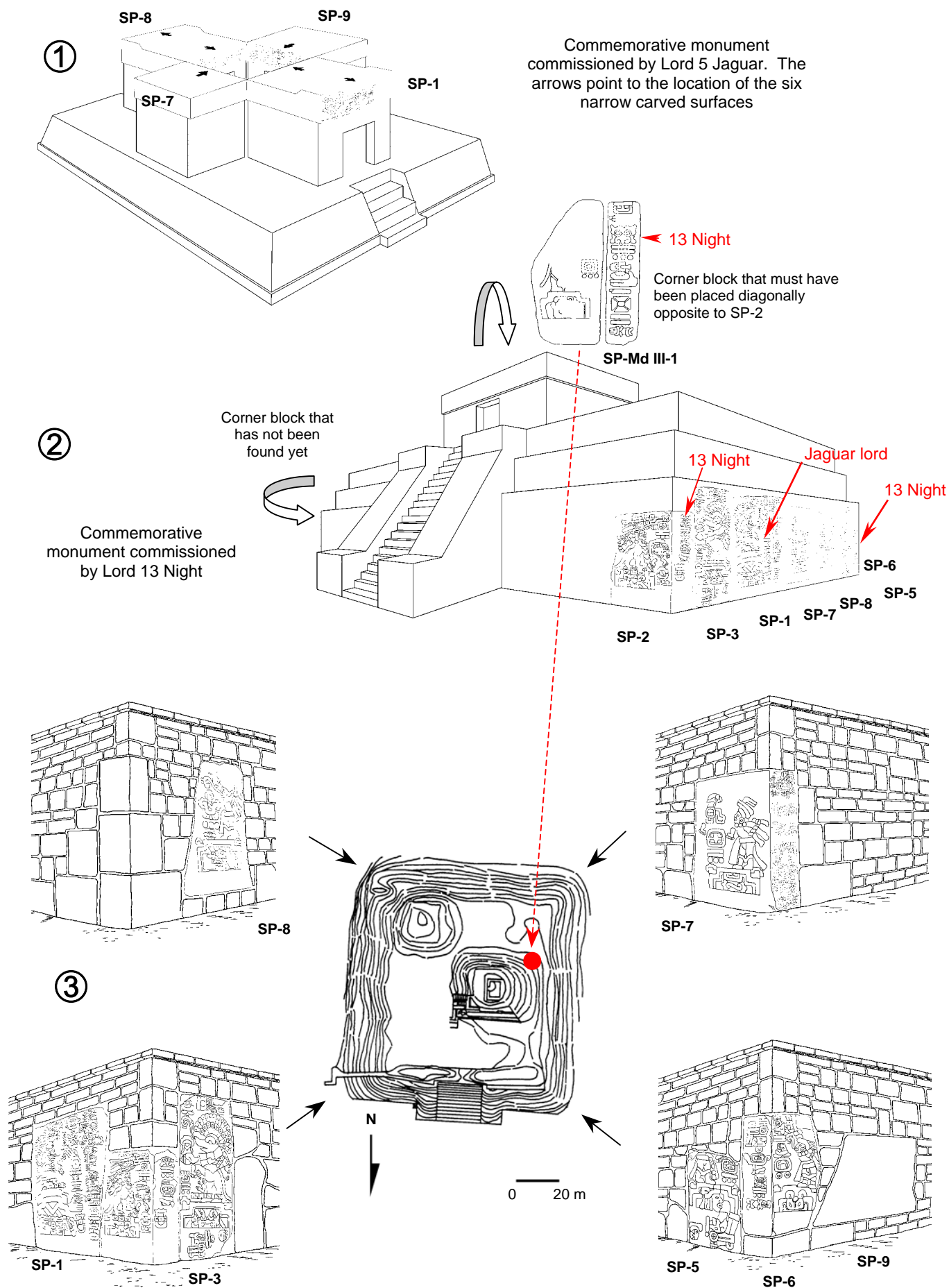


Figure 2.4- Multiple uses of the monoliths found marking the four corners of the South Platform at Monte Albán.

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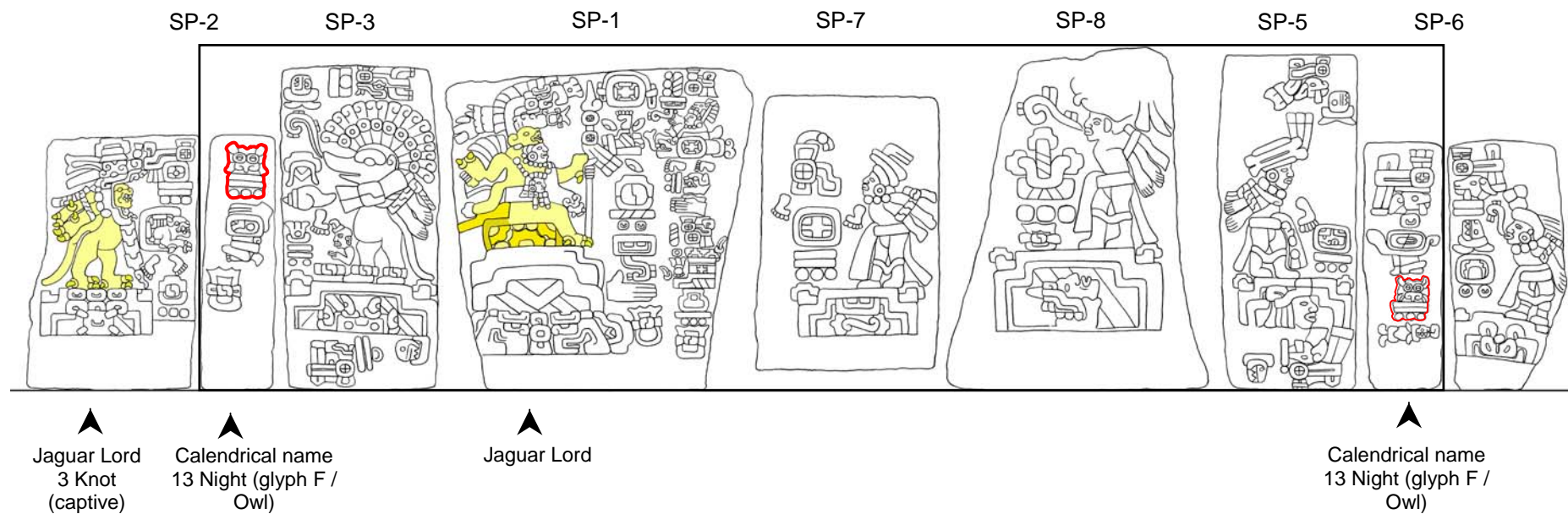


Figure 2.5- Hypothetical reconstruction in frontal view of the main section of the narrative program commissioned by Lord 13 Night (maximum height 2.27 m).

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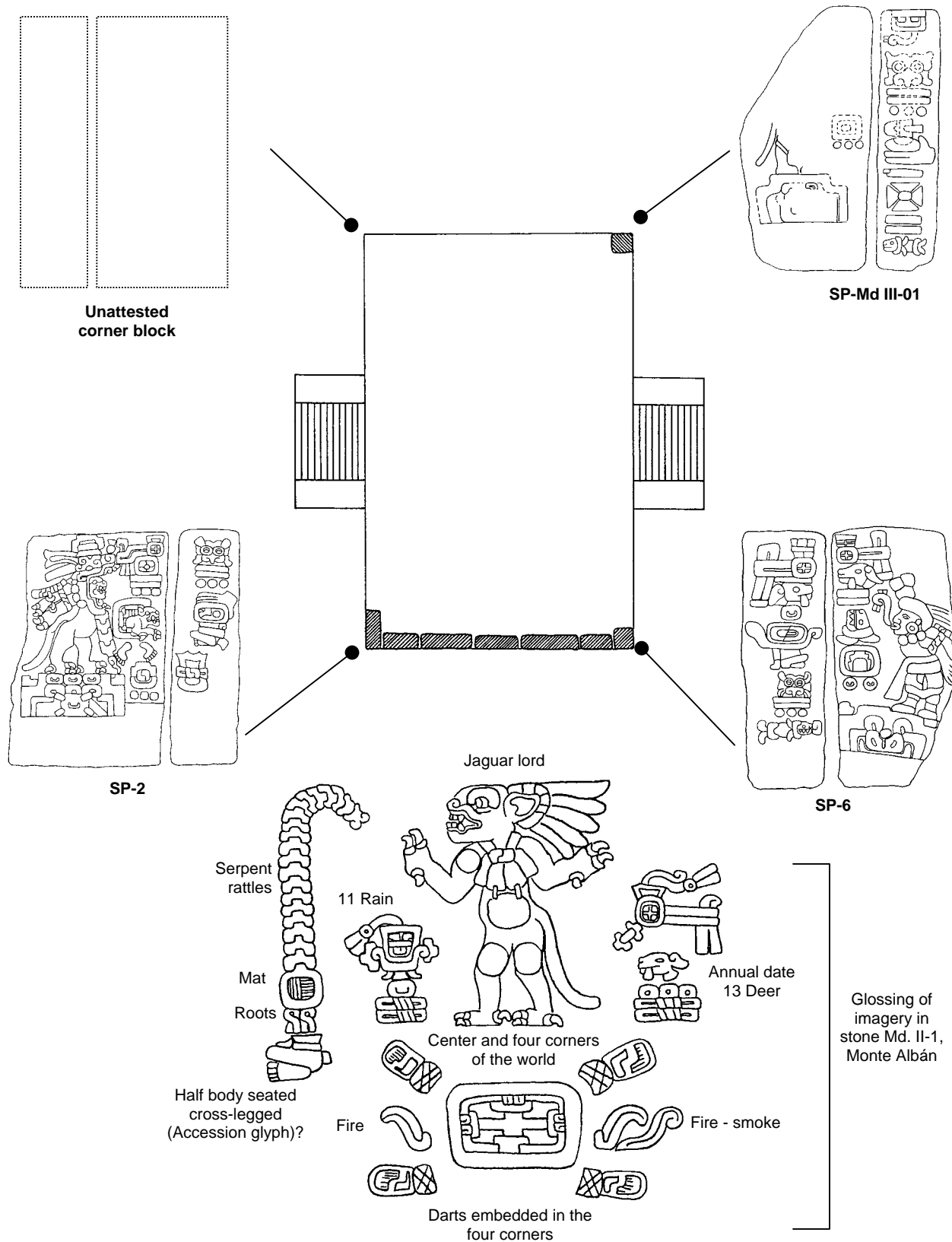


Figure 2.6- Architectural and narrative allusions to world-centering and quadripartite territorial claiming through symbolic conquest enacted by rulers during enthronement rituals.  
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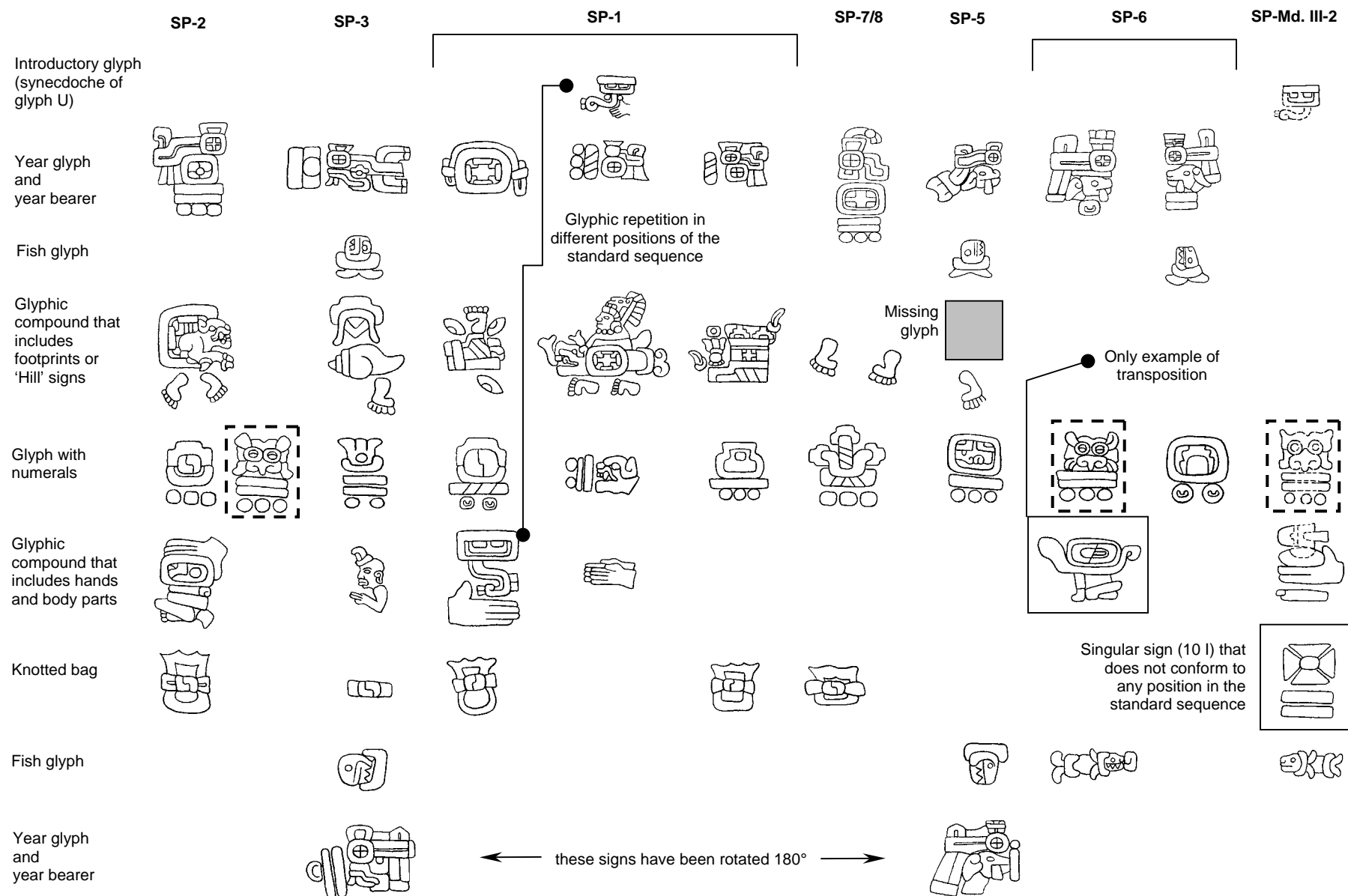


Figure 2.7- Standard sequence in the texts from the second narrative program carved on the monuments found in the corners of the South Platform at Monte Albán.

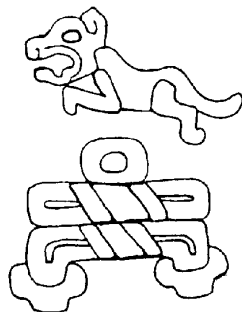
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Glyph 5 Jaguar.  
Monte Albán,  
Monument SP-8b



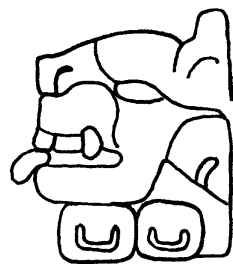
Glyph 5 Jaguar.  
Monte Albán,  
Monument SP-1a



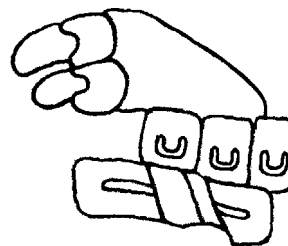
Glyph 11 Jaguar.  
Ceramic cylinder. Unknown  
provenience, Museo Amparo,  
Puebla (cat. no. 1307)



Glyph 1 Jaguar.  
Monte Albán,  
Monument VG-4



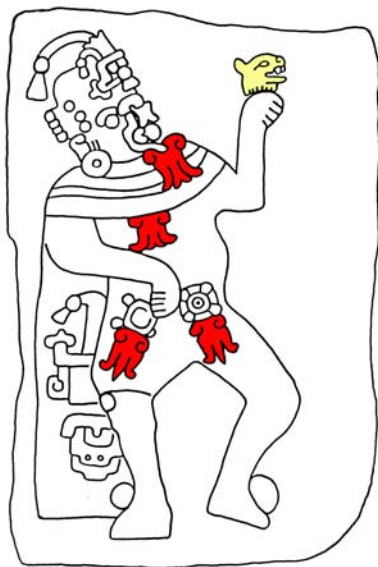
Glyph 7 Jaguar.  
Yagul, tomb 28, lintel 1



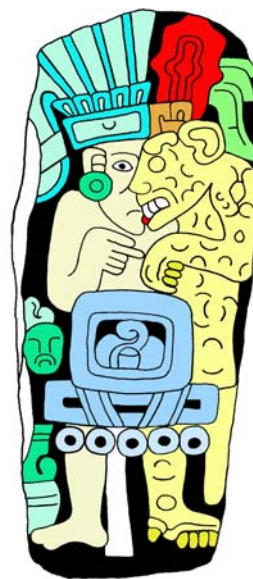
Glyph 8 Jaguar.  
Unknown provenience.  
Slab in unknown  
Private Collection.

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

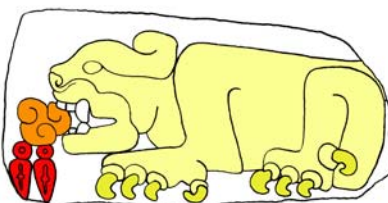
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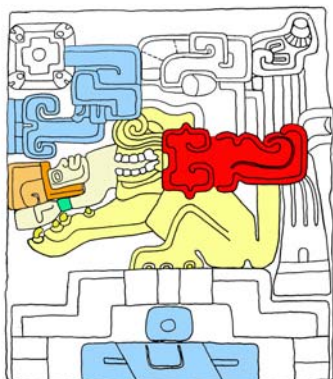
Monument J-41 from Monte Albán. The scene represents an impersonator of the Storm God holding the decapitated head of an enemy jaguar lord. Blood drips from the mouth onto the torso of the impersonator (height 1.34 m).



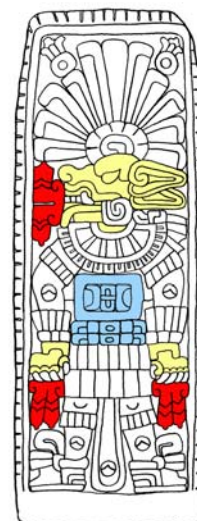
Stela 1 from Cerro del Rey, Río Grande, coast of Oaxaca. The carving shows a ruler named 5 Alligator (glyph RE). Its representation is half human, half feline. The 'Blood' glyph tops the headdress in the jaguar half (height 2.10 m).



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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