THE JALIEZA URNS AND COMMUNITY ORGANISATION

THE JALIEZA URNS AND CLASSIC-POSTCLASSIC PERIOD COMMUNITY ORGANISATION IN OAXACA, MEXICO

by

PENELOPE M. YOUNG, B.A.

A Thesis
Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Master of Arts

McMaster University

MASTER OF ARTS (1993) McMASTER UNIVERSITY
(Anthropology) Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: The Jalieza Urns and Classic-Postclassic Period Community Organisation in Oaxaca, Mexico

AUTHOR: Penelope Margaret Young, B.A. (McMaster University)

SUPERVISOR: Professor Laura M. Finsten

NUMBER OF PAGES: xi, 168

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to examine changes in the motifs and styles of the urns and figurines from the Early Classic (A.D.200-400) to the Early Postclassic (A.D.650-850) times. Historically, the anthropomorphic figures displayed on urns and figurines were thought to depict Zapotec gods, an interpretation based primarily on contact period Spanish accounts of Mesoamerican religious systems. More recently, they have been interpreted as venerated ancestors of elite lineages. An evaluation of a collection of urns and figurines from two occupational phases of the site of Jalieza, Mexico, suggests that these ritual items were not just the domain of the elite, but that all Jalieza residents participated in this ritual activity. The data also suggests that Jalieza residents regardless of higher or lower socioeconomic status appear to be members of segments of the community defined by the usage of certain symbols.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this thesis, like all others, would not have been possible without the help and support of many people.

First, to Dr. Laura Finsten, my thesis supervisor, go my sincere thanks for all her help with this project at every step of the way. I want to thank her for providing me the opportunity to work in Oaxaca, a wonderful place, and study the Jalieza collection. I also want to thank her for encouraging me to pursue, against the odds, graduate studies, for her insightful comments on this and all other papers, and especially for her invaluable samurai editing of all my work!

I want to thank Dr. Michael Spence and Dr. Peter Ramsden, my committee members, for their insightful comments and challenging questions. To Peter Ramsden I also owe a debt of gratitude for introducing me to the joys of archaeology, thanks!

For their assistance with the photography, I want to thank my mother, Sue Young, the volunteers from my tutorial, Randall Astbury and Brad Bandow. Marc Michaud's assistance with translation and Anne Wingfield's editorial comments were greatly appreciated. I also want to acknowledge the technical assistance of Andrew Clish, here and in Mexico, and his

painstaking work on the maps and figures, thanks, they're gorgeous! For their advice, fruitful conversations and support I thank Myriam Bensabat, Marcia Hoyle, Jacqueline Fisher, Anne MacDonald, Tina Moffat, Patty Spittal, Jim Wilson and everyone in the Anthropology Department of McMaster University.

Special thanks to Paul Racher and Colin Varley, who ever since the first theory class in '89, have changed my whole approach to archaeology, for that and all the encouragement, editorial comments and generally keeping me on track, thanks!

To my friends and family, thanks for your moral support and continuing interest. Finally, I want to extend my appreciation to Andrew Clish for his patience, interest and emotional support during the writing of this thesis and all my endeavours.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Study

This study examines a collection of ceramic funerary urns and figurines from the site of Jalieza, in Oaxaca, Mexico. My research focuses on changes in the motifs and styles of the urns and figurines from Early Classic (A.D.200-400) to Early Postclassic (A.D.600-950) times (see Table 1 for Monte Albán period dates). While researchers have been investigating the urns for years, confusion still remains regarding the meaning of the figures displayed on vessels.

Historically, these figures were thought to depict Zapotec gods, based primarily on contact period Spanish accounts of Mesoamerican religious systems (Caso and Bernal 1952; Caso 1965). More recently, Marcus (1983a) has suggested that these figures represent royal ancestors or important personages who were worshipped by a community. Her assertion stems from a growing understanding of the nature of social and political structure among prehispanic Valley of Oaxaca communities and of Zapotec religious or spiritual beliefs.

While researchers have noted that variation in other types of mortuary and settlement data indicates that communities in the past in Oaxaca were composed of classes of

residents with differential status, the study of urns and figurines has not attempted to address these areas of inquiry. My research, then, investigates the role of important community members in religious ideology and community organisation. My purpose is to examine change over

Table 1 Valley of Oaxaca Chronology

Dates	Valley of Oaxaca Phases	Mesoamerican Periods
1400 B.C.-1150 B.C.	Tierras Largas	
1150 B.C.-800 B.C.	San José	
800 B.C.- 600 B.C.	Guadalupe	
600 B.C.- 500 B.C.	Rosario	
500 B.C.- 300 B.C.	Monte Albán Ia	Early Formative
300 B.C.- 200 B.C.	Monte Albán Ic	Middle Formative
200 B.C.- A.D.200	Monte Albán II	Late Formative
A.D.200 - A.D.450	Monte Albán IIIa	Early Classic
A.D.450 - A.D.600	Monte Albán IIIb	Late Classic
A.D.600 - A.D.950	Monte Albán IV	Early Postclassic
A.D.950 - A.D.1520	Monte Albán V	Late Postclassic

(Adapted from Drennan 1983)

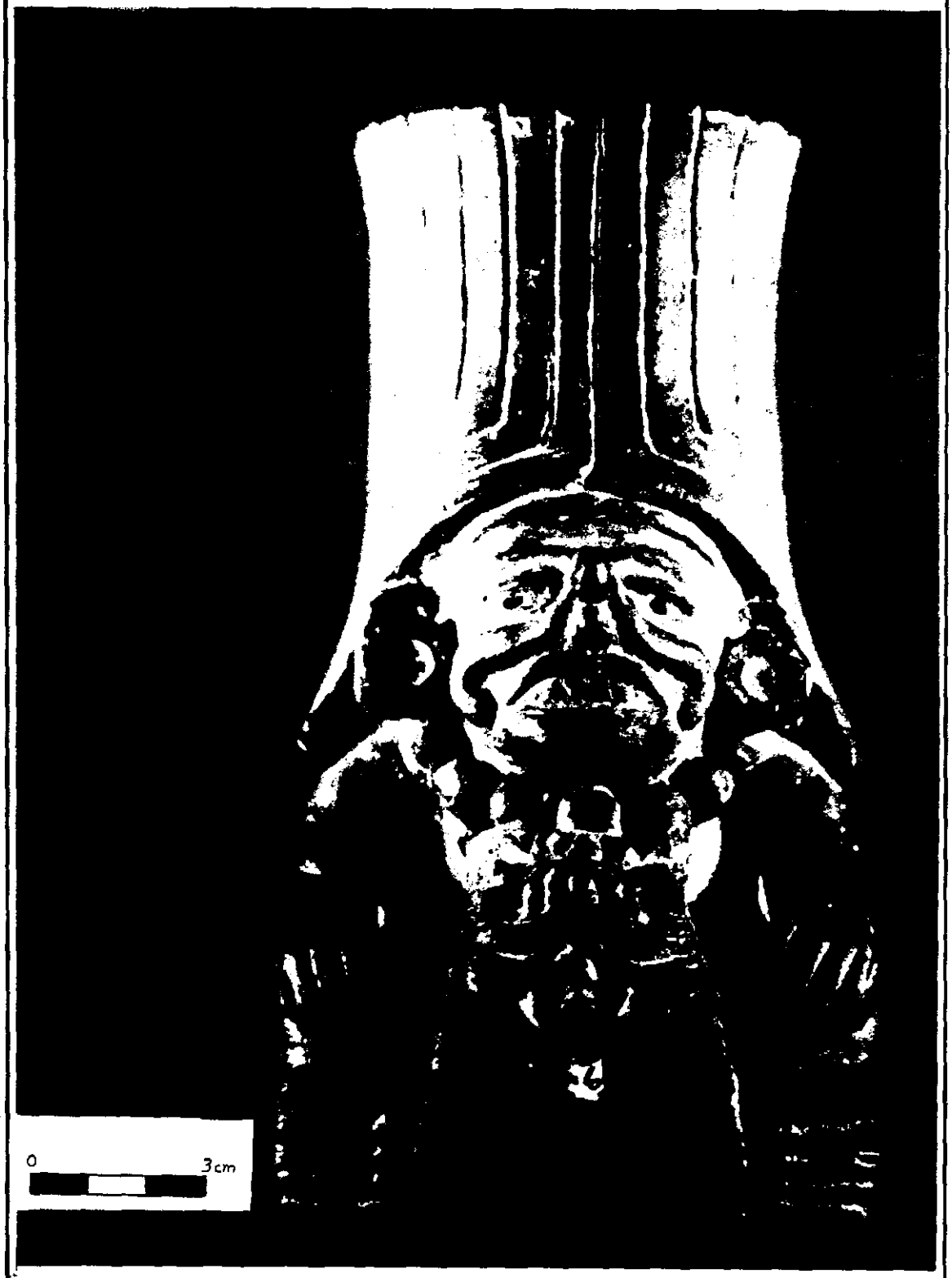
time in the motifs displayed on urns and figurines, their distribution throughout two phases of occupation at Jalieza as well as the relationships between decorative symbols, social groups and community organisation (Young 1992).

1.2 Physical Description of the Funerary Urn and Figurine

The 'classic' Zapotec urn is a cylindrical vessel with an anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figure attached to the vessel front (see Figure 1, Paddock 1966; Marcus 1983a; Rote 1987). Several urns have flat bases which serve as lids for accompanying boxes (Saville 1904:59). The characteristic depiction is a seated figure with crossed legs and hands placed on knees. The hands, feet and lower body often lack detail and are diminished in proportion to the face which typically sports a mask with prominent glyphs and symbols of identification (Paddock 1966:128). During the Early Classic phase (Monte Albán IIIa), urns were larger than in later times, and were frequently handmade (Paddock 1966:128). Urn elements in the Early Postclassic (Monte Albán Period IV) become increasingly manufactured from moulds (Paddock 1966: 128,140).

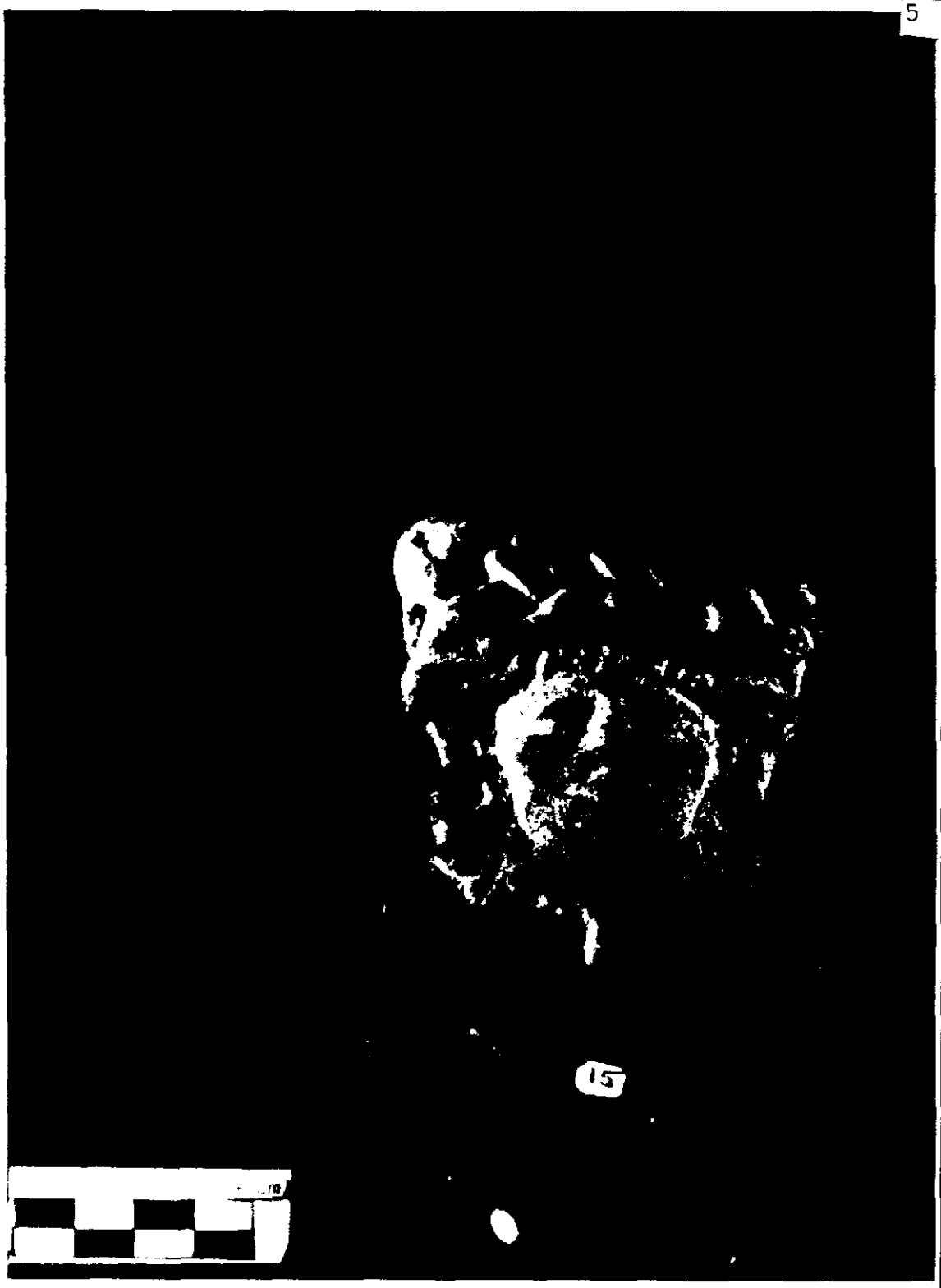
A related category of artifacts to be considered in this study are figurines, which were also encountered in burial contexts (see Figure 2 - Young 1992). Figurines also depict individuals. However, they are often flat, lack the cylindrical vessel which is attached to urns, and generally are much smaller in size. Extreme standardisation in figurine images and their flat backs indicate their mouldmade manufacture (Paddock 1983).

The urns and figurines are invaluable for the information they contain as they display popular symbols or decorative



Urn

Figure 1



Figurine

Figure 2

motifs, as well as local and regional costumes (Young 1992). That similar costumes were worn by local inhabitants of Oaxaca is confirmed by depictions of the Zapotec elites and the related cultural group, the Mixtec, on codices and pictorials, as well as stone monuments (Spores 1967:59; Marcus 1983c). Of all of the elements visible on these artifacts, most noteworthy are the hieroglyphs displayed on the chests or headdresses of the figures. These elements have led more recent researchers to assert that the figures on urns and figurines are the once living, rather than gods (Marcus 1992; 1983a; Rote 1987; Shaplin 1975 cited in Rote 1987).

1.3 Previous Research on the Urn

From early excavations, the urns were recovered from tombs, temples and caches, hence the origin of their name (Marcus 1983a). Urns are ubiquitous in museum collections, yet few have been recovered from controlled excavations.

The chronicles of Spanish conquistadores and clergymen influenced the early interpretation of figures depicted on funerary urns (Marcus 1983a; Paddock 1983a). In the process of recording information about the Zapotec-Mixtec religion and peoples, to assist them in their aim of conversion, the Spanish friars travelled from town to town recording the names of the worshipped images or idols, believing they were composing a list of the gods of the aboriginal pantheon (Marcus 1978:174). Many of the Spanish priests had a classical education and Marcus (1983a:146) believes that the

Spanish thought "they were viewing the Zapotec equivalent of a Greco-Roman pantheon". The names were often derived from the 260-day ritual calendar (Marcus 1983a:146; see Chapter 3 for a discussion of the Mesoamerican calendar). An additional source of purported Zapotec gods is the list of names recorded by Fray Juan de Cordova (1578a). Many of these Zapotec names translate into terms for natural objects and supernatural forces, such as 'lightning' and 'earthquake' (Marcus 1983a:146).

Interestingly, an early description of urns which were recovered in or near excavated tombs describes the ceramic figures as humans. Saville (1899:355-356) states that one urn is "undoubtedly a portrait of some ancient Zapotecan personage", due to its well-modeled face. However, in a later paper, Saville (1904:59) says: "It is probable that these urns represent deities, and that they were placed near the tombs to guide spirits of the deceased on their journey...". Saville's statement appears to subscribe to the popular belief of the time that all ancient aboriginal grave goods primarily functioned to assist the deceased on their travels. However, this interpretation is unsubstantiated by ethnohistorical or ethnographic information.

Commencing with the classic study of Oaxacan urns by Caso and Bernal (1952), researchers utilized Cordova's lists of gods and attempted to match them to individuals depicted on urns (Boos 1966; Marcus 1983a; Rote 1987). Caso and Bernal's

(1952:10) belief that these figures were gods also stemmed from the urn figures' stylistic and formal resemblance to Aztec depictions of gods. Through an examination and consideration of all available funerary urns, Caso and Bernal (1952) outlined forty-five categories or urn types. While the majority of 'types' are described as gods, one exception is their category of acompañantes, who were described as humans accompanying the deceased (Caso and Bernal 1952; Marcus 1983a). Caso and Bernal (1952) did acknowledge differences in urns produced during different periods. However, as they believed that urns depicted various representations of individual gods and they were attempting to match urn categories to specific gods, they did not evaluate variation in urn depictions based on site provenience. Unfortunately many of their specimens lack proveniences. Therefore, the nature and treatment of their sample masked possible regional variation, and disallowed the exploration of site and temporal variability.

More recently, Joyce Marcus (1983a) has suggested that these figures on urns represented royal ancestors who were worshipped by a community. Her interpretation is supported by linguistic evidence which indicates that the early Spanish chroniclers mistranslated and misunderstood Zapotec rulers' names (Marcus 1983a:144). The nature of the symbols displayed on the ceramic figures also has led her to reassess the early interpretations (Marcus 1983a:146). Often these

symbolic elements were hieroglyphics derived from the 260-day ritual calendar or the Sacred Round. The Mesoamerican ritual calendar, used in conjunction with the 360-day secular calendar, served many purposes, including astrological divination, and was a source for individual names (Morley and Brainerd 1983; Marcus 1980; B.Tedlock 1982). Also, according to Marcus (1983b) Zapotec cosmology revolves around a supreme being who is responsible for the creation of a series of supernatural elements or forces such as lightning, the sun, earthquakes, clouds, etc. Many of these elements have standardized depictions and serve as calendrical hieroglyphic symbols. Therefore, the emblems of identification displayed on the urn and figurine figures may be just the names of the depicted individuals or of the supernatural forces associated with these quasi-deified personages (Marcus 1983a).

Rote (1987) also has attempted to evaluate Marcus' (1983a) historical ancestor hypothesis. Rote (1987) has examined the historically derived nature of figures in funerary art in general. Her discussion focuses on the emergence of a "Zapotec" style in funerary art, as evidenced by stone sculpture, murals and funerary urns. Rote's (1987:223) research allows her to conclude that:

> As a messenger of the gods on earth, the Zapotec ruler dictated the will of the gods on earth. Part of the gods' will was manifested in the expansion of one's territory, therefore, the emphasis on conquest in the early sculptures at Monte Albán. Another aspect of the gods' will was to imbue a lineage with the sacred duty of protecting the people, therefore, the emphasis on genealogy in the

late sculpture and tomb paintings at Monte Albán.

Rote's study is more broadly based than Caso and Bernal's (1952) because she consulted additional sources of funerary art and incorporated information on social and political organisation. But her Oaxaca-wide interpretations are limited, as she considered only temporal variation and ignored regional and site variability. Presumably there would be differences in the expression of kinship ties and in the structure and manifestation of ruling families in different areas in Oaxaca. Rote's (1987) study does attempt to contextualise her analysis by examining other potentially meaningful cultural categories, yet I feel this contextualisation needs to go beyond funerary art, to be situated within a community specific context.

1.4 Conceptual Frameworks

In this thesis, I analyse the collection of funerary urn and figurine fragments from Jalieza, Oaxaca to test and expand upon Marcus's hypothesis regarding the depiction of ancestors. In contrast to a perspective from art history, where a particular artifact category is studied in isolation, archaeological analyses focus on site-specific contexts in which cultural phenomena are found. My study is an anthropological/archaeological research programme, as I am interested in the provenience of the urns and figurines and the definition of social and political structures at the community level which I believe affect the change in urns and

figurines over time. My research utilises two theoretical frameworks. First, employing a contextual approach (Hodder 1982; 1986), I study the distribution of urns, figurines and their motifs, in relation to defined social groups and in order to delineate hitherto unknown interacting social groups within the Jalieza community. The data from the site of Jalieza are also examined within the context of changing patterns of sociopolitical organisation in the Valley of Oaxaca. Second, I use the direct historical approach, and utilise ethnohistorical, pictographic and, where possible, ethnographic data on social organisation and political structures of the Zapotec and the Mixtec to better understand who was depicted on these two types of art.

1.4.1 CONTEXTUAL ARCHAEOLOGY

I follow the approach Hodder (1982;1986) outlines in Symbolic and Structural Archaeology and Reading the Past. Archaeologists need to consider the particular contexts in which past individuals used particular symbols. Daily, individuals recreate frameworks of meaning through their production and use of material items within different contexts. The practices of everyday life and ritual behaviour are continually re-enacted and re-evaluated within the context of their origin, generally a culture, and more specifically, a community, so that cultural "meanings are revalued as they are practically enacted" (Sahlins 1985:vii).

My re-evaluation of urns and figurines then emphasises

their original context by studying them in their prehistoric community, the site of Jalieza. This allows me to interpret the cultural information they contain regarding community segment ancestor worship, as well as to examine the differential access community members may have had to these ritual objects. The contextual approach dictates that urns and figurines are considered to be dispersed throughout a community in socially relevant ways and that the figures depicted are laden with symbolically encoded information about their ritual meaning and use. The value of this approach lies in the nature of the treatment of artifacts as socially and culturally meaningful objects rather than temporally and spatially static 'objets d'art'. This analysis, I hope, will illuminate some of the structures of political and social organisation impinging on all peoples of prehistoric Jalieza who partook in the production and ritual use of urns and figurines.

1.4.2 HISTORICAL APPROACH

Building on the early work of Tatania Proskouriakoff (1960) on the historical nature of Maya iconography, Joyce Marcus (1976a; 1983a; 1983b) adapted Prouskouriakoff's methodology to the study of Zapotec monumental sculpture. In support of Marcus (1983a) interpretation of the meaning of urn figures, and Shaplin's (1975) earlier study, Paddock (1983a; 1983b) and Whitecotton (1990) have noted the connection between figures on monumental sculpture and specific historic

individuals depicted and named on Mixtec and Zapotec lienzos and other colonial era indigenous documents from the Valley of Oaxaca. As a result of this connection between the prehistoric past and the colonial era, I will examine ethnohistorical and pictographic data on the social and political organisation in Oaxaca. Through an examination of the documented and graphically represented lives of the Zapotec and Mixtec elites, I will be able to better comprehend the nature, role and importance of kinship ties and ancestor worship in the definition and maintenance of politically powerful corporate groups in the prehistoric community of Jalieza.

The use of both conceptual approaches will allow me to understand the evolution of social and political structures within the community of Jalieza and to attempt to situate the creation and use of funerary urns and figurines within this context.

1.5 Thesis Statement and Research Objectives

The general aim of this research is to utilise the urn and figurine collection of the two spatially distinct components of the Jalieza site to examine spatial and temporal variation within the sample; to investigate for the presence of urn types (Caso and Bernal 1952); to evaluate more recent interpretations of urn and figurine depictions (Shaplin 1975 cited in Rote 1987; Marcus 1983a; Rote 1987). This general objective spawns several, more concrete objectives listed

1) To assess whether the Jalieza collection urn and figurine decorative elements and symbols correspond to the forty-five urn categories outlined in Caso and Bernal (1952).

2) To examine the distribution of urns and figurines, to evaluate potential differential access of elite and non-elite residents in both phases of occupation at Jalieza.

3) To examine and compare variability in the decorative elements, calendrical symbols and motifs from the two phases of occupation at Jalieza. This process will allow me to assess whether these elements remain constant over time reflecting a static pantheon of gods, or whether they change substantially over time, potentially indicating the reverence of different ancestors.

4) To examine whether motifs, decorative symbols and actual depictions differed over time, with a greater amount of standardisation in production during the early phase, perhaps mirroring the changes in social and political organisation of Jalieza from a greater degree of nucleation and regimentation in Early Classic settlement patterns.

5) To assess if certain symbols or motifs in the two occupational phases were restricted to particular terrace groups or zones of the site, or whether these elements were evenly distributed throughout the community.

1.6 Research Methods

In 1988, Dr. Laura Finsten of McMaster University directed a programme of systematic, intensive surface

directed a programme of systematic, intensive surface collection at sixteen locales at the site of Jalieza, eight in the Early Classic and eight in the Early Postclassic component. The collection locales were selected to focus on single component occupations, and on the basis of known craft production, among other criteria (Finsten 1992:7). These locales consisted of groups of individual terraces located in proximity to one another, collected and analysed as terrace groups. The presence of ceramic and archaeological remains indicated that the terrace groups selected were, in the past, residential rather agricultural in function (except those which served a civic-ceremonial function) (Finsten 1992). Terrace groups served as the primary unit of analysis in order to avoid the problems that erosion and agricultural activities cause in establishing reliable artifact proveniences (Finsten 1992:4). Therefore, terrace group integrity was verified before areas were collected. During the surface collection of the terrace groups, crew members collected all fragments of urns, figurines, in addition to the majority of other types ceramic sherds (Finsten 1992:10). During this research project, a collection of 562 urn and figurine fragments was gathered.

All ceramic sherds collected that were readily identifiable as figurine or urn fragments were used in this analysis. As vessel counts are more beneficial because they avoid overrepresentation of certain types, fragments which

physically mended were considered a single vessel. Otherwise, fragments were treated as individual vessels regardless of fragment similarities in decoration, paste, fragment thickness and colour, as similar fragments were potentially manufactured from the same mould.

My analysis focuses on ceramic attributes as opposed to urn types for both pragmatic and analytic reasons. The Jalieza collection consists of sherd fragments unlike the 1952 study of Caso and Bernal of complete urns and figurines. In Caso and Bernal's (1952) study, their categories are composed of a combination or a constellation of attributes to arrive at an urn type. In contrast, the fragmentary nature of the Jalieza collection only allows for the identification of decorative elements or body parts. In this study I have considered these identifiable decorative elements as attributes. Ceramic attributes are utilised in this study. Warrick (1984:123), Ramsden (1977:16-18) and Deetz (1968) summarise the arguments in favour of ceramic attribute analysis by stating that attributes are more useful than types for reconstructing community organisation because they are mutually exclusive, are less subjective than ceramic types, and allow for describing a greater range of ceramic variation. An additional reason for my use of attributes is that Caso and Bernal's designations of gods are composites based on deciphered glyphs, and I will be re-evaluating the validity of their original categories. This process requires examination

of the constituent components in order to determine whether Caso and Bernal's designated urn categories are present in the Jalieza collection. Also, my analysis focuses on ritual item use rather than production. Issues of production would be interesting to investigate, but, for the avenues I am exploring knowledge of production is unnecessary.

After the 1988 collection, in May, 1990, I photographed and catalogued the Jalieza urn and figurine fragments. Utilising both the original field catalogue and consulting the photographs of the sherds, a catalogue was generated on the database programme of Paradox. Each sherd was catalogued with the following data:

1) Component
2) Terrace Group Designation
3) Terrace Number
4) Urn or Figurine Designation
5) Mould or Handmade Manufacture
6) Object (whether the sherd was identifiable as a headdress fragment, or an earspool, or a decorative element, etc.)
7) Body Part (whether the sherd was a discernable body part such as a foot or hand)
8) Motif Description (decorations were categorised based on manufacturing techniques and stylistic considerations, such as incised lines, raised dots, etc.)
9) Glyph Name (name of a deciphered glyph from Caso and Bernal 1952; Caso 1965)
10) God Name (resemblance to a god as designated by Caso and Bernal 1952; Kuttruff 1978)
11) Author (source of a similar decorative motif or symbol, utilising Caso and Bernal 1952; Caso 1965; Moser 1977; Kuttruff 1978)

These catalogue categories allowed me to enter the relevant data on the ceramic sherds to perform the necessary data manipulation, statistical tests and analyses to address my research objectives.

1.7 Summary

Through a systematic analysis of the funerary urns from Jalieza, my research documents the range of figure depictions, motifs styles and decorative elements, in an attempt to increase our understanding of the significance of such urns to the residents of Jalieza, and to further our knowledge of Zapotec culture through an examination of their ritual art forms.

The remainder of this thesis consists of five chapters. In Chapter 2, I present a synopsis of current interpretations of the social and political organisation of the Valley of Oaxaca based on regional archaeological data and of the ethnohistorical literature on the community in Oaxaca at the time of the Spanish conquest and finally, a brief description of the Early Classic and Early Postclassic components of Jalieza. In Chapter 3, I outline the Zapotec iconographic system, the Mesoamerican calendar and the variation in styles of visual media employed within the Valley of Oaxaca. Chapter 4 provides a descriptive analysis of the urns and figurines recovered at Jalieza, first by physical location and then by attribute category. Chapter 5 contains a statistical analysis of the overall distribution of urns and figurines and a descriptive analysis of the distribution of symbols, decorative elements and motifs, and presents interpretations. Chapter 6 draws conclusions and provides suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

2.0 ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 The Classic and Postclassic Past

As modern communities in reality do not exist in isolation, neither can the study of a prehistoric community be undertaken without reference to the larger picture. Therefore, in order to comprehend the nature of Jalieza as a community during its Classic and Postclassic occupations, it is necessary to situate it within the framework of the larger sociopolitical system that linked communities throughout the Valley of Oaxaca during the relevant time periods.

In this chapter I summarise current interpretations of changing social, political and economic organisation in the prehispanic Valley of Oaxaca based on regional archaeological data. Next, the ethnohistorical literature is reviewed to present a picture of community structure at the time of the Spanish conquest and soon after. Finally, the Early Classic and Early Postclassic phases of Jalieza will be examined.

Vast amounts of archaeological data have been collected from the Valley of Oaxaca, indicating the long-term occupation of the Valley of Oaxaca and adjacent regions (for example Kowalewski et. al. 1989; Flannery and Marcus 1983; Blanton et.al. 1982; Paddock 1966). An increased population, and the

abundance of larger communities which led to increased complexity of the hierarchical social and political structures marked the end of the Formative period (Whalen 1988:291). These processes culminated in the construction of a large urban centre, at the junction of the three Valley arms. Monte Albán was founded during Monte Albán Period I (500 B.C.- 200 B.C.), and was composed of impressive mounded architecture and an estimated Formative period population of 10,200-20,400 (Blanton 1978:44). This large urban centre is thought to have been the centre which consolidated and controlled a regional polity (Blanton 1978; Blanton et.al. 1982; Whalen 1988; Kowalewski et.al. 1989; and see Santley 1980 for a contrary opinion of the role of Monte Albán).

While a regional system that linked valley communities through hierarchical political ties appears to have been established in the Formative period, its form and structure were dynamic, changing over time. Therefore, it is necessary to study the Valley-wide system of communities during the relevant periods of the Early Classic, Late Classic, Early Postclassic and Late Postclassic, prior to discussing Jalieza in detail. This discussion will provide the foundation for understanding where Jalieza fits into the larger regional polity in the Valley of Oaxaca.

EARLY CLASSIC PERIOD IIIA (A.D.200-A.D.450)

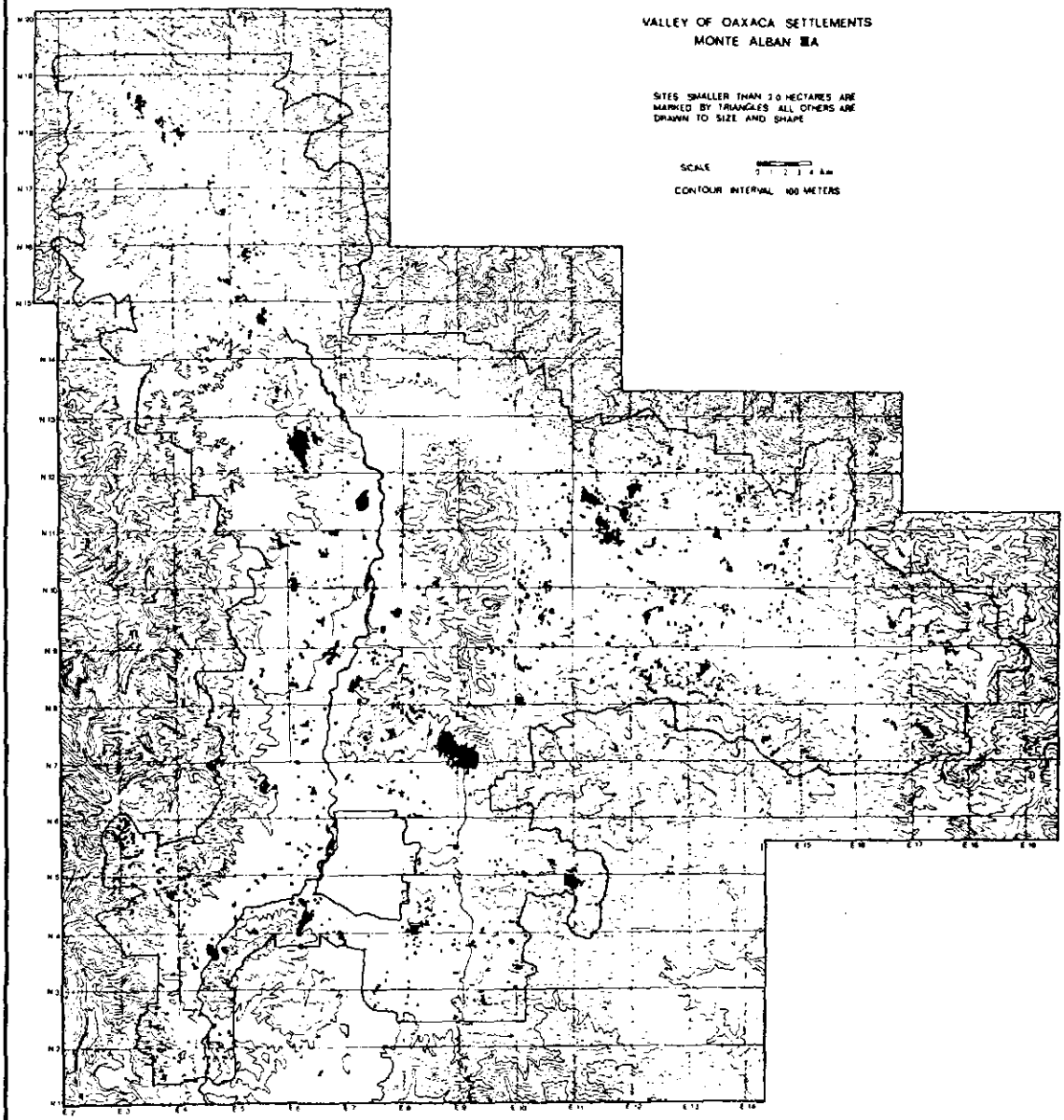
In comparison to the preceding phases (see Kowalewski et.al. 1989), the Early Classic Valley of Oaxaca was one of

fundamental change. Changes included more people and centres, a much more vast array of functional categories of sites, and the retraction of settlement in the Etla arm of the valley (Kowalewski et.al. 1989:249). Monte Albán appears to have been increasing its power as it began to grow in period IIIA (Blanton 1978:57). However, several sites were close to Monte Albán in their population estimates if not the scale of monumental architecture (Kowalewski et.al. 1989:239,249 - see Figure 3). Political integration of the Valley system then was promoted through decentralization, with the linking of powerful secondary and other centres (Kowalewski et. al. 1983:49), such as the triad of sites in the Tlacolula arm (to the east) and Jalieza in the southern arm (Valle Grande).

The distribution of types of ceramics is often instructive as an indicator of the access a community has to a variety of products. This in turn is translated into a measure of the degree of integration of a settlement in the overall economic system. There was a large difference in the mean number of types per site between administrative and non-administrative sites, 11.8 types compared to 4.8, respectively (Feinman 1985:213). Therefore, the state still retained control as administrative activities, craft production and access to ceramic wares were positively associated (Kowalewski et.al. 1989:250).

LATE CLASSIC IIIB (A.D.450-A.D.600)

Regional settlement patterns changed drastically in the



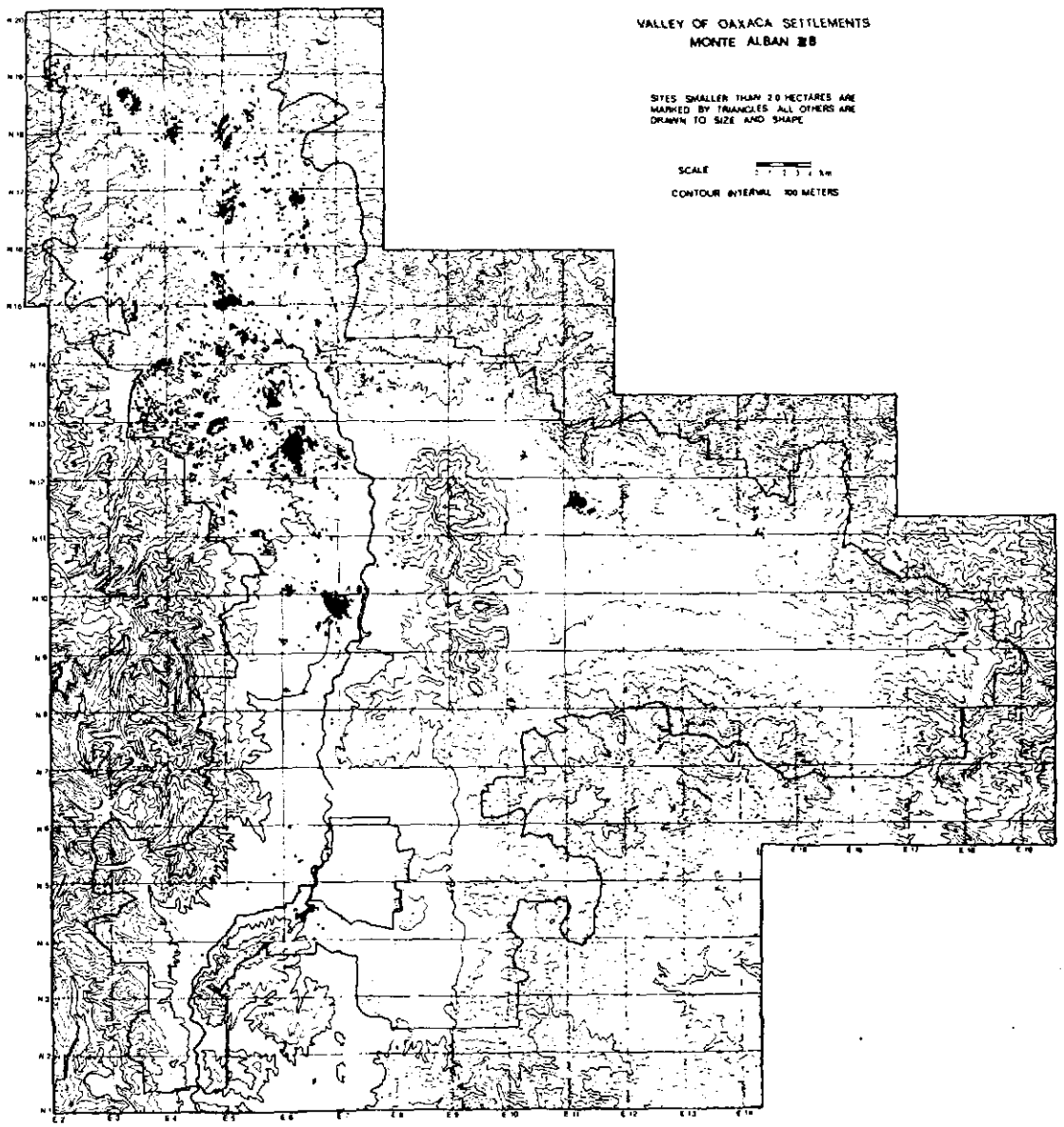
Map of Valley of Oaxaca Settlements, Monte Albán

Figure 3

Late Classic period. Settlement expanded in the Etla arm and Central area, but many sites were abandoned in the Valle Grande, Ocotlan and Tlacolula areas (Kowalewski et.al. 1989:254 - see Figure 4). The spectacular site of Monte Albán reached its maximum population in Period IIIb (Kowalewski et.al. 1989:261). The valley-wide system of sites, both in terms of population central places and the differentials in mound volumes, indicates a top-heavy, primate system (Kowalewski et.al. 1989:261,263). Primacy suggests that a few centres were responsible for political and economic functions (Finsten 1981). This primacy may indicate tighter control of power by the regional capital, and the Late Classic Valley appears to have been becoming more politically centralised.

During the Late Classic an interesting pattern of subregional territorial divisions emerged, based on the distribution of shrines and sites with small mounds (Kowalewski et.al. 1989:267). Subregionally divided territories tied to small communities dotting the landscape, in a fairly regular pattern, perhaps were precursors to the modern municipios (Kowalewski et.al. 1989:267).

Interestingly, the variation in the distribution of ceramics throughout the Valley does not follow the earlier pattern of favouring administrative centres, visible in the preceding phase (Feinman 1985:216). Monte Albán appears to have been the only centre which had access to ceramic goods beyond the minimum assortment of types required for basic



Map of Valley of Oaxaca Settlements,
Monte Albán

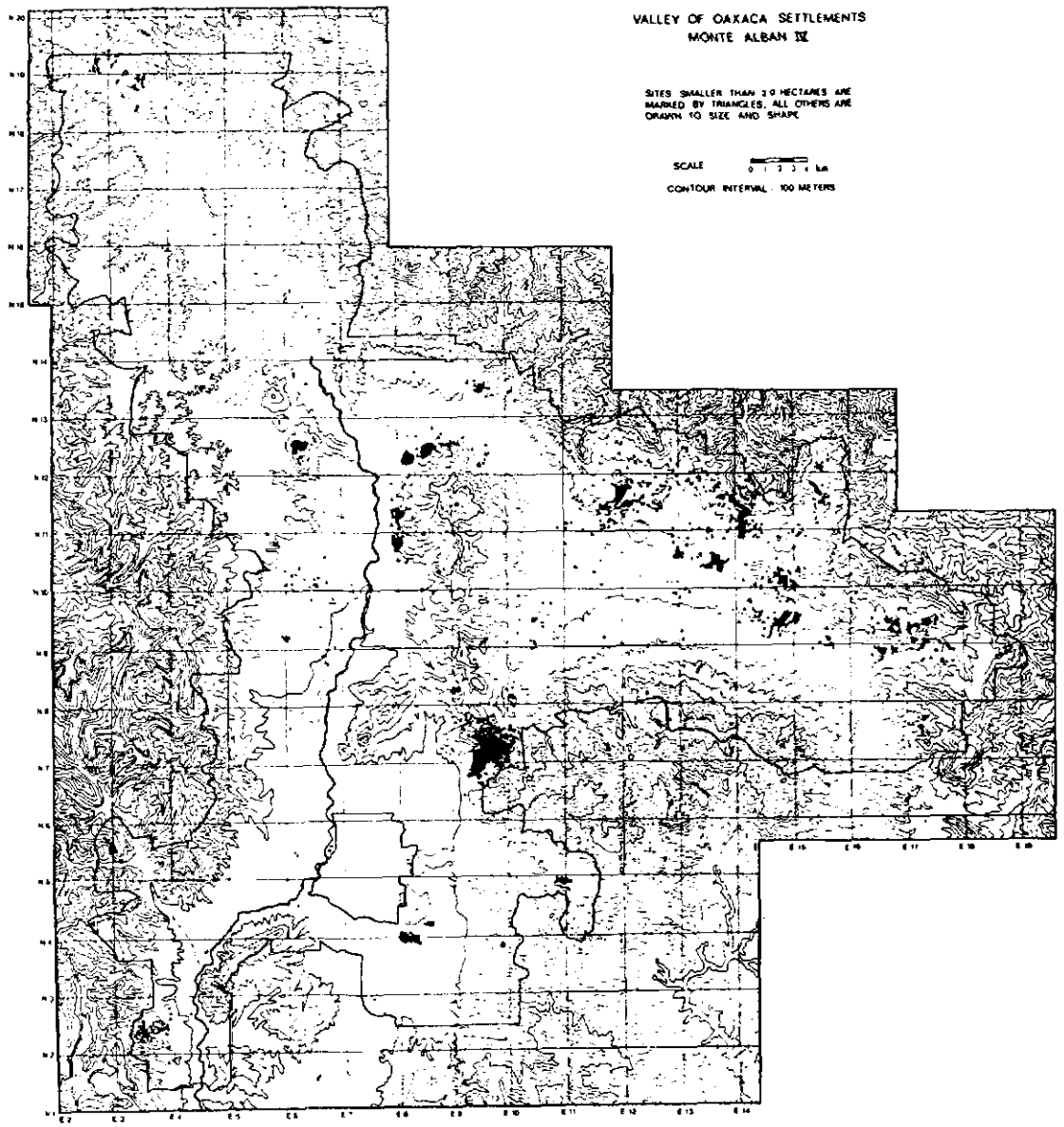
Figure 4

domestic activities (Feinman 1985:217). The remarkable uniformity in Period IIIb ceramics supports the notion that ceramic production was standardised and occurred on a mass-scale (Feinman 1985:217), reinforcing the concept of centralised political and economic control.

EARLY POSTCLASSIC IV (A.D.600-A.D.950)

The lack of primacy in the distribution of population centres in the Valley of Oaxaca reflects a return to political decentralisation (Kowalewski et.al. 1983). While the political dispersal of power had occurred in the Early Classic, its form was radically different as Monte Albán was no longer the largest centre in the Early Postclassic (see Figure 5). By Period IV, the Main Plaza was abandoned and the centre was in decline (Blanton 1978:101).

Decentralisation in the Early Postclassic is characterised by weak social and political integration of the secondary and tertiary centres and the emergence of local level autonomy (Kowalewski et.al. 1989:305). Competing local lineages appear to emerge at this time, perhaps to fill the power vacuum (Whitecotton 1990:138). These characteristics appear to fit the conclusion that the regional state, previously united under the powerful city of Monte Albán, had collapsed. Former secondary centres at Zaachila, Cuilapan, Lambityeco, Macuilxochitl, Mitla, Jalieza, Ayoquesco and Matatlan emerged as centres of political prominence (Marcus 1976a; Kowalewski et.al. 1989:286).



Map of Valley of Oaxaca Settlements,
Monte Albán IV

Figure 5

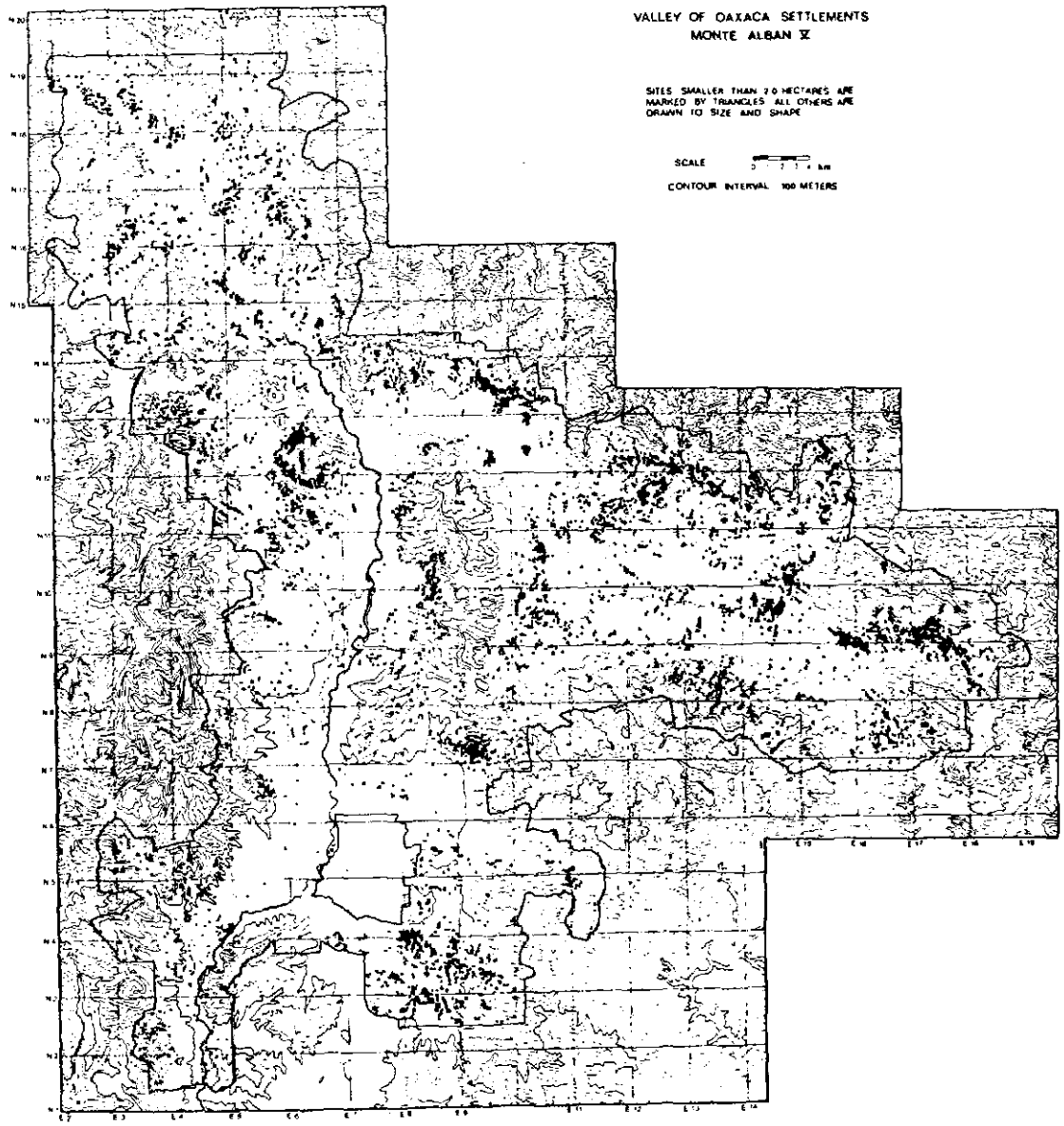
LATE POSTCLASSIC IV (A.D.950-A.D.1520)

The Period V data indicate that settlements were situated in a variety of locales, dispersed across all the environmental zones and geographical sectors (Finsten 1983:40; Kowalewski et.al. 1989:312 - see Figure 6). However communities were not isolated and appear socially integrated, as a large proportion of sites are located within 2 km of their nearest neighbour (Kowalewski et.al. 1989:326).

Decentralised political power continued to be the trend, as the primate centre of Monte Albán was virtually abandoned and no replacement was established (Blanton 1978:103). Without the vertical integration of the Valley provided by the previously strong centralised administrative system, integration was achieved through the horizontal linkages provided by a market system (Blanton et.al. 1981; Finsten 1983:66; Appel 1986; Kowalewski et.al. 1989). Access appears to have been more equal for consumers of ceramics both in non-administrative and administrative sites throughout the Valley by Period V, although Valley arm discrepancies exist (Finsten 1983:163).

Politically, in the Late Postclassic the Valley system of settlements appears to have evolved into a series of petty kingdoms (Appel 1986), a continuation of the pattern initiated in the Late Classic.

This discussion indicates that the large regional political structures, over time, appear to have diminished in



Map of Valley of Oaxaca Settlements,
Monte Albán V

Figure 6

their power and control. Strong local-level economic control and political structures emerged, providing the framework for community organisation.

While the Valley-wide perspective has provided a broad regional sketch, the ethnohistoric literature is better able to complete the picture, adding detail and meaning to the broad trends. However, one must be very careful not to generalise too much from the ethnohistoric picture when attempting extrapolation into the more remote past. Similar to the transition from the Formative to the Classic period, from Classic to Postclassic times many changes occurred, such as the rise and fall of powerful communities, the growing horizontal complexity of the Valley-wide political hierarchy, and the expansion and retraction of settlement into particular areas of the valley. Nonetheless, this tumultuous time was not without the stability of fundamental organising structures including religion and the basic class organisation at the community level. Oaxaca visual media appear to support continuity in these structures from pre-Classic to Postclassic times. The art and iconography of earlier times displaying the regional clothing styles of the elite appear to be supported by the more recent, ethnohistoric documentation and native codices.

2.2 Ethnohistorical Picture of Zapotec Social Structure

Colonial censuses, relaciones solicited by the King of Spain, and a variety of other 16th century reports tell us

much of the political structures and social organisation of Oaxacan communities during the initial contact with the Spanish and they also provide insight into these systems in the past (Spores 1965; Appel 1982, 1986). Particularly, the visual documentation in these sources supports the belief that the basic principles from the past systems appeared to have been retained until the historic period.

By the colonial period, the local petty kingdoms noted as emerging in the Late Postclassic had been transformed into local administrative units (Appel 1986). These units were composed of head towns which were linked to dependent outlying villages, hamlets and/or farmsteads; together they formed a socially and politically coherent community (Appel 1982:85). The strength and continuity of community life at the time of the Spanish conquest is confirmed by the persistence of land tenure and the considerable amount of land retained by Valley caciques (Taylor 1972:197). Interestingly, there was little political power above the community level at the time of the Spanish arrival, confirming researchers' conclusions about what had occurred after the fall of Monte Albán (Taylor 1972:198; Finsten 1983; Kowalewski et.al. 1989). Most communities were economically self-sufficient, and the community was the only important social entity above the family (Taylor 1972:1989). Politically and economically (in terms of subsistence) autonomous prehistoric and colonial communities appear to have been linked together only through

alliance for and by conquest (Appel 1982; Finsten 1983; Kowalewski et.al. 1989).

The elites, or the nobility, were the caciques who ruled the head towns (Appel 1982). Socially and politically superior, a cacique's authority was derived through his genealogical links to deified royal ancestors (Marcus 1978). Power and control wielded by the nobility, then, was reinforced by their prominent ancestors and was consolidated through kinship ties and class endogamy (Marcus 1978; Whitecotton 1977). While community ties were strong for all residents, class endogamy among the nobility was practised by the Zapotec, Mixtec and other cultures throughout Mesoamerica (Spores 1967:13; Taylor 1972:22). Earthly wealth further legitimised the power of the caciques (Appel 1982:86).

Beneath the caciques, but also of the noble social class, were principales and then tequitlatos (Whitecotton 1977:145). While the political clout of the elite did have a religious dimension due to their quasi-deified ancestors, producing what may be called a 'civic-ceremonial' upper echelon, they mainly governed the secular realm. Priests were also considered nobility and, as noted by Burgoa, there were several levels in the priestly hierarchy (Whitecotton 1977:147). The most powerful was the great seer, followed by two subordinate levels and then novices and students (Whitecotton 1977:147). Further substantiating the superiority of the elites or nobility were the clothing restrictions placed on commoners

(Spores 1965:969). Earrings, lip plugs, brightly coloured feathers and beads of gold were worn only by the nobility (Spores 1965:969).

Commoners or macehuales made up the largest group in a community, as they were the farm labourers and craft specialists who supported the economy (Whitecotton 1977:148). They also contributed directly to the economic clout of the elite, as they provided tribute to the nobles and the priests (Whitecotton 1977:148). Diviners, who were consulted to read the "days" (or the Sacred Round) for everyday affairs such as a beneficial wedding day, were often drawn from the commoner class (B.Tedlock 1982 discussing the Maya; Whitecotton 1977:310 - footnote 78). Typically, the commoner class was community endogamous, working lands which were presumably controlled by the ruler of the time (Spores 1983:229; Taylor 1972). However, the terrazgueros were a peasant labourer class from the Mixteca Alta, who followed an elite lord to whom they owed allegiance, and therefore were community exogamous (Marcus and Flannery 1983:219).

What emerges is a fairly rigid social structure whereby status and power were inherited and further consolidated through economic clout (Whitecotton 1977). Aside from the elite who married elite from other regions, providing regional ties, and their attached labourers, communities were endogamous and closed to the influx of outsiders. Class-specific kinship ties and descent rules provided the

appropriate channels for the transfer of material wealth and the maintenance of class and community solidarity (Spores 1965; Appel 1982).

This discussion of the ethnohistorical picture of Oaxacan communities in the past is illuminating as it provides an image of the people who formed the towns, villages and cities that existed in prehispanic times. However, it is necessary to examine, in detail, the architectural remains and cultural debris of an individual community in order to mesh the two types of evidence that have been examined above. The community in question to be examined is the prehistoric site of Jalieza.

2.3 Description of the Jalieza Site

The site of Jalieza is situated in the Valley of Oaxaca in southern Mexico and is located on mountain ridges central in the Valley which overlook the mountain passes connecting Tlacolula, Ocotlan and the Valle Grande (Blanton et.al. 1982; Finsten 1992). The site is categorised as a hilltop terraced site, a type alluded to in earlier discussions of site types found throughout the Valley at various times. Although archaeological remains from numerous time periods are evident, Jalieza was occupied primarily during the Early Classic (Monte Albán Period IIIA) and Early Postclassic phases (Monte Albán Period IV) in spatially discrete components (Blanton et.al. 1982; Finsten 1992). The site covers an area of more than 8 km^2 in total including 1865 terraces and 91 mounded structures

in the two components (Finsten 1992:4). The terrace groups collected from the two occupational components will be examined separately in the following sections.

EARLY CLASSIC

During the Early Classic, Jalieza was the second largest centre in the Valley of Oaxaca. While it was a populous site, Jalieza had a surprisingly small number of mounds. An estimated 12,835 residents utilised 27 mounds compared to the site of Dainzú-Macuilxochitl, which had an estimated population of 5,149 with 28 mounds (Kowalewski et.al. 1989:227-228). The Early Classic community of Jalieza covered an area of 4 square kilometres, with approximately 700 residential terraces (Blanton et.al. 1982:91 - see Figure 7). Interestingly, although Jalieza contained small Late Formative components, this densely populated site appears to have arisen virtually out of nowhere, and is thought to have appeared as a result of agricultural labour immigrating into the piedmont in this region (Blanton et.al. 1982:92).

Early Classic Jalieza had a clearly defined administrative area, which was located on the summit of the hill, of a non-residential mound group with a plaza linking it to another mound to the south (Finsten 1978 cited in Blanton et.al. 1981:921). An enclosed four mound group on this terrace complex was likely the residence of high status individuals. The criteria for distinguishing between high status individuals or elite and commoner terrace groups are

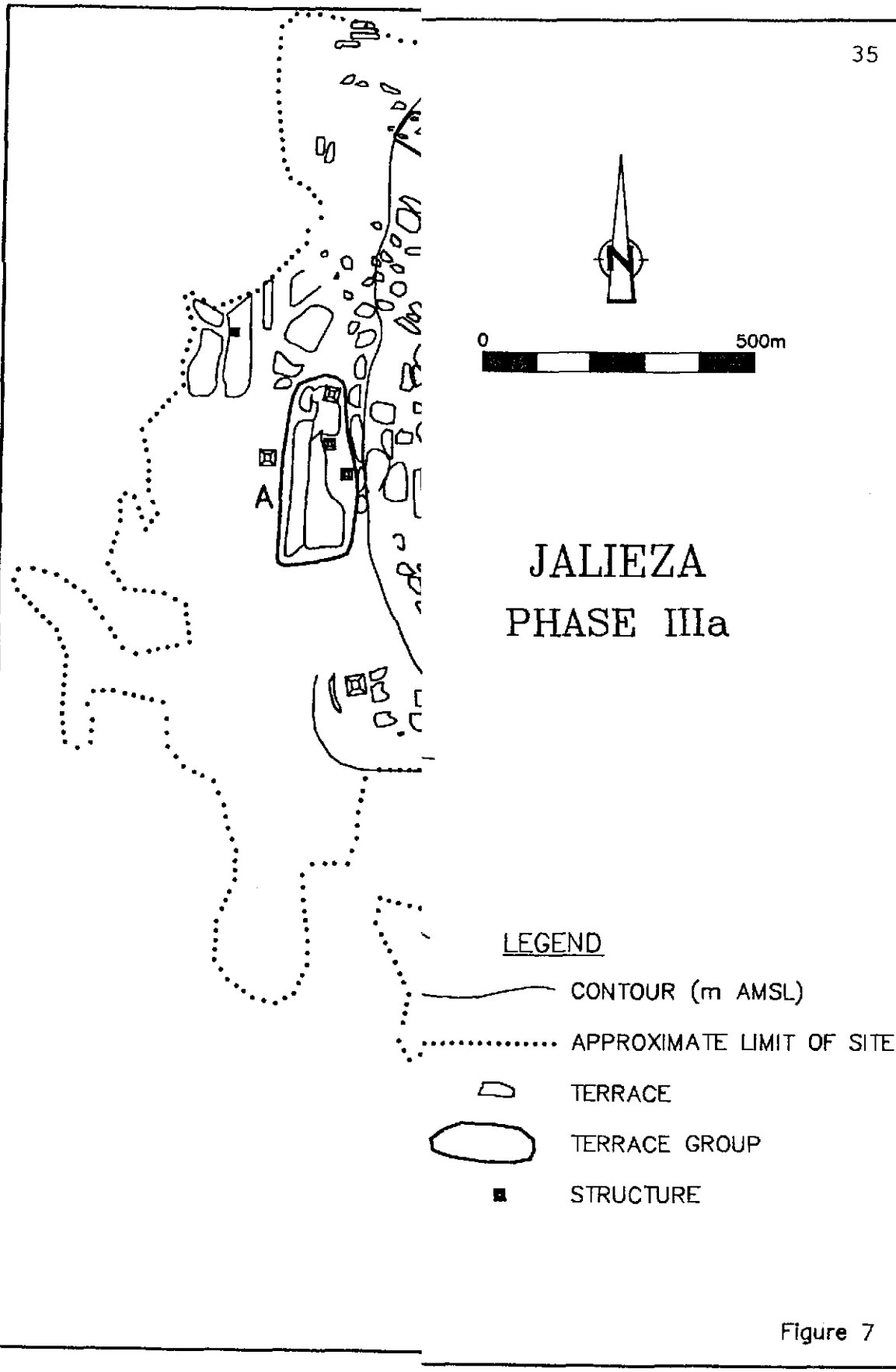

N
0
500m
A
JALIEZA
PHASE IIIa
LEGEND
CONTOUR (m AMSL)
APPROXIMATE LIMIT OF SITE
TERRACE
TERRACE GROUP
STRUCTURE

Figure 7

archaeological remains, primarily architectural materials. The presence of building stone and/or plaster associated with mounds or mounded structures (the grass-covered remanents of a stone platform which would have had some sort of superstructure) on or associated with a terrace, indicates more elaborate structures likely housing 'elite' (Finsten 1992:27). Interestingly, access to this area probably was restricted due to steep slopes to the south and west. This area consisted of 17 terraces and is designated as Terrace group IIIA-C. Terrace group IIIA-A is situated at the base of the hill that formed the focus of the Early Classic occupation of Jalieza, also designated an elite terrace group due to the presence of four structures, three of which would have served as large elite house mounds (Finsten 1992:15). Terrace group IIIA-B is situated in the northern portion of the site, and is considered elite-focused, as there are five mounded structures (Finsten 1992:16). Terrace group IIIA-G was also designated an elite residential group based on the considerable size of its fourteen terraces and the presence of five mound structures (Finsten 1992:21). The majority of terraces in terrace group IIIA-B had been recently ploughed, unlike the remaining terrace groups, which had not been ploughed at the time of the survey. All terrace groups had evidence of recent or past looting.

Terrace group IIIA-D consisted of eleven residential terraces for commoners, since only one mound, low and meagre,

was observed just outside the group (Finsten 1992:19). Located to the south and west is Terrace group IIIA-E, consisting of six terraces with evidence of less upscale house construction. Terrace group IIIA-F, consists twelve fairly small terraces, thought to have been residential in nature and perhaps occupied by inhabitants of lower status due to the sparse and limited range of cultural debris (Finsten 1992). Terrace group IIIA-H is comprised of eight residential terraces with light artifact densities and no discernible mounded architecture (Finsten 1992:23). Only terrace group IIIA-H had evidence of looting. The majority of terraces in terrace group IIIA-F had been ploughed and the remaining terrace groups had not been ploughed recently.

All terrace groups in the Early Classic phase contained some Period V ceramics, providing limited evidence of reoccupation of the area.

EARLY POSTCLASSIC

By the Early Postclassic, the locus of occupation shifted to the east covering an area of 5.3 km and the site was stretched out over a ridgeline running north-south (Finsten 1978 cited in Blanton et.al. 1982:921; Finsten 1992:4). The Period IV occupation lacks an administrative core, and elite residential mound groups were dispersed along the ridge at fairly regular intervals (see Figure 8). With respect to Terrace group collection areas, two groups were designated civic-ceremonial in function. Terrace group IV-A, contained

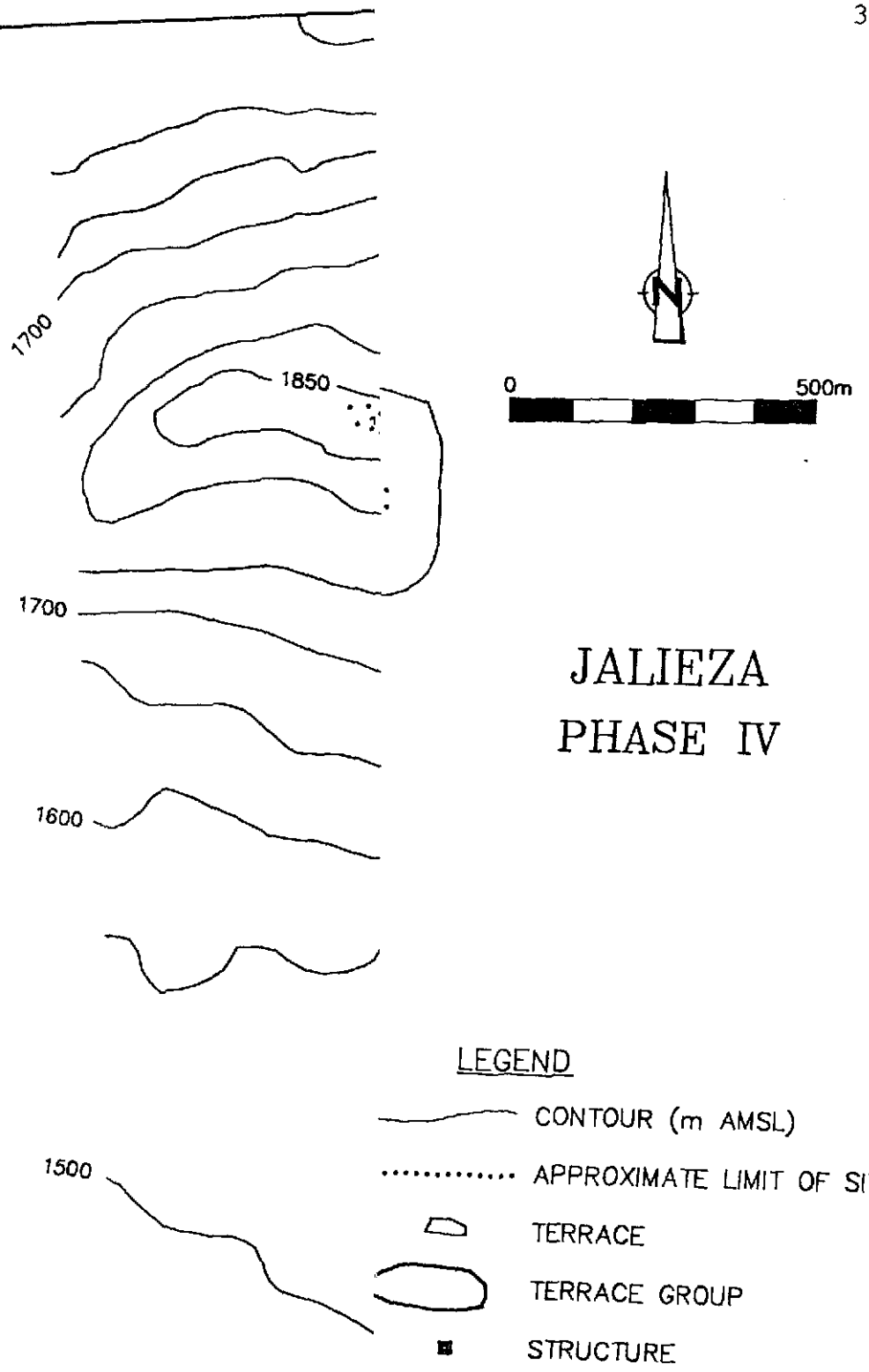

1700
1850
1700
1600
1500
N
0
500m
JALIEZA
PHASE IV
LEGEND
CONTOUR (m AMSL)
APPROXIMATE LIMIT OF SITE
TERRACE
TERRACE GROUP
STRUCTURE

Figure 8

twenty-two terraces, and had a closed four mound and plaza group, and three other mounded structures (Finsten 1992:24). This area is located just to the north of Terrace group IV-C, which consists of one terrace with the largest and most complex architectural features in the Early Postclassic component of the site (Finsten 1992:27). This group is adjacent to the Camino Real (royal road), which served to link Tlacolula and Ocotlan in colonial times (Finsten 1992:27). The twenty-one terraces of Terrace group IV-B contained some mounds and as such were designated as an elite residential terrace group. Ploughing had occurred on more than half of the terrace of terrace groups IV-A and IV-B and both showed minimal evidence of looting. All terraces on terrace group IV-C had been ploughed, but had no evidence of looting. All elite terraces had minimal evidence of Period V reuse.

The remaining five terrace groups were non-elite or commoner residential areas. Terrace group IV-D consisted of twelve terraces, with house mounds observed on two. Terrace group IV-E consists of fourteen terraces, with a low housemound located on one terrace (Finsten 1992:30). Terrace group IV-F consisted of nineteen terraces and although it is situated well downslope from IV-A it lacks any mounded structures (Finsten 1992:30). Terrace groups IV-G and IV-H consisted of seventeen and sixteen terraces respectively and only group IV-H contained two housemounds. All but one terrace on terrace group IV-D had been ploughed and on IV-E

half of the terraces had been ploughed. The remaining terrace groups had not been ploughed. Looting of these commoner terrace groups was only apparent on one terrace of group IV-F. The commoner terraces had little evidence of multicomponency.

Great variation in architecture is evident in the Early Postclassic phase, as was visible in the Early Classic occupation. However, by Early Postclassic times the layout of Jalieza differed. It was no longer a nucleated centre with an administrative core and all areas of the site including the civic-ceremonial terrace groups were accessible (Young 1992).

2.4 Summary

Socially stratified communities are apparent in the archaeological record as early as the Late Formative period. Yet, the internal political and social organisation of these communities appears to have changed over time, as demonstrated by the Classic and Postclassic occupations at Jalieza.

The picture that the archaeological and architectural evidence from the two occupations at Jalieza provides, physically mirrors some of the patterns of the changing social and political structures noted on a larger scale throughout the Valley. Moving from a nucleated and potentially socially rigid community structure in the Early Classic, possibly governed by a larger Valley-wide power, to a more loosely defined community in the Early Postclassic, both structurally and politically, the site of Jalieza appears to have experienced radical changes in its social organisation and

political structures (Young 1992; Finsten 1978 cited in Blanton et.al. 1982).

The aforementioned discussion of settlement patterns illustrates how the social and political milieu of the Valley within which these individual sites were situated also changed. Over time, there appears to be a trend towards decentralisation, except perhaps during the Early Classic, with power and control descending through the channels of authority, trickling down from centralised state regulation and becoming transformed into localised control. While this may suggest village residents were gaining more local-level authority and autonomy from state control, nevertheless, as the colonially documented social structure indicates, community-level lines of authority were rigidly drawn. Socio-political authority likely was in the hands of a few residents, the nobility. However, it is debatable and yet to be fully examined whether religion and ritual activity was more prevalent among one class of community residents than another. Through an analysis of Zapotec hieroglyphic writing and iconography it is possible to attain a better understanding of how the Zapotec defined their world through pictures and symbols.

CHAPTER 3

3.0 MESOAMERICAN WRITING AND ZAPOTEC ICONOGRAPHY

Four major writing systems have been identified in Mesoamerica, those of the Maya, Aztec, Mixtec and Zapotec (Marcus 1980:50). These systems have been studied and deciphered with varying success. In some cases, such as that of the Maya for instance, the term 'writing' aptly characterises the series of depictions of individual elements or glyphs which are the building blocks of the system (Morley and Brainerd 1983:520). However, the Zapotec system, while the oldest, is the least understood (Marcus 1980:50). Since writing implies a degree of abstraction in the symbols that is difficult to ascertain in the Zapotec visual media (petroglyphs, stelae, decorative ceramics), I will adopt the term iconographic system for the Zapotec glyphs.

The iconography, or the art of illustration by means of pictures or images, of the Zapotec consists of regionally-specific depictions or glyphs which are categorised as signs or symbols. First, I will discuss the types or the categories of deciphered meanings of signs or symbols in Zapotec and, briefly, Mixtec iconography. Then, I will examine the changes in the locations and styles of depictions over time.

Iconographic signs and symbols decorate the costumes and

headdresses of urn and figurine images. Therefore, the need to examine them is two-fold: they are the units of analysis utilised by Caso and Bernal (1952) for their original categorisation of urns; additionally, the location of these symbols on a variety of Zapotec art is informative as one is better able to interpret their meaning in their original contexts.

3.1 Types of Signs and Symbols in Mesoamerican Writing

Several types of symbols exist, some of the earliest of which are inextricably tied to the Mesoamerican calendar (Marcus 1976:39).

3.1.1 THE MESOAMERICAN CALENDAR

The Zapotec consulted two calendars for keeping track of the days (Marcus 1980:50). A ritual calendar of 260 days was monitored in addition to a secular calendar of 365 days. While the basic structure of the Zapotec calendar is similar to that of the Maya and Aztec (Brainerd and Morley 1983), the calendar used in Oaxaca contained regionally specific day names and the larger units in the ritual calendar differ; as well, the year began with different year-bearers (Marcus 1992:95,96).

The secular calendar, yza, was divided into 18 'moons' of 20 days and a five day period (Marcus 1980:50). The ritual calendar, pije, was divided into four units of 65 days called "lightnings" (cocijo) or "great spirits" (pitào) (Marcus 1980:50). These 65 day periods were divided into five units

(cocii) of 13 days (chij). Each day in the ritual calendar had a specific name or a day glyph combined with a number between one and thirteen (Marcus 1980:50). The combination of numbers and day-name glyphs created the calendar in which each day was unique in the 260 day cycle. On the 261st day, the cycle began again (Marcus 1976a:39). The two calendars worked together, like meshing gears, to provide a 52 year cycle of unique days (Morley and Brainerd 1983:550).

The importance of the calendar, especially the ritual calendar, in the everyday life of the Zapotec peoples, like all Mesoamerican peoples, is undeniable (Morley and Brainerd 1983; M.E. Smith 1983; Marcus 1976a; 1980). Each day within the ritual calendar had its own benevolence and malevolence, which affected the planting or harvesting of crops. Since Zapotec rulers and nobles were named after their day of birth (or close to it, if it was a dreadful day), it affected an individual's fate (B.Tedlock 1983 for the Maya; Marcus 1976a:39; 1992). According to Caso (1965:939) the following day glyphs appear on stelae, urns and murals:

A, a knotted object
B, tiger (jaguar)
D, water (?)
E, turquoise or jade
F, owl
J, flower
K, foot (?)
L, similar to the ollin of the Nahua (Tomb 72)
M, mask of the serpent
N, bat
O, monkey
P, human head
Z, vessel with water (?)

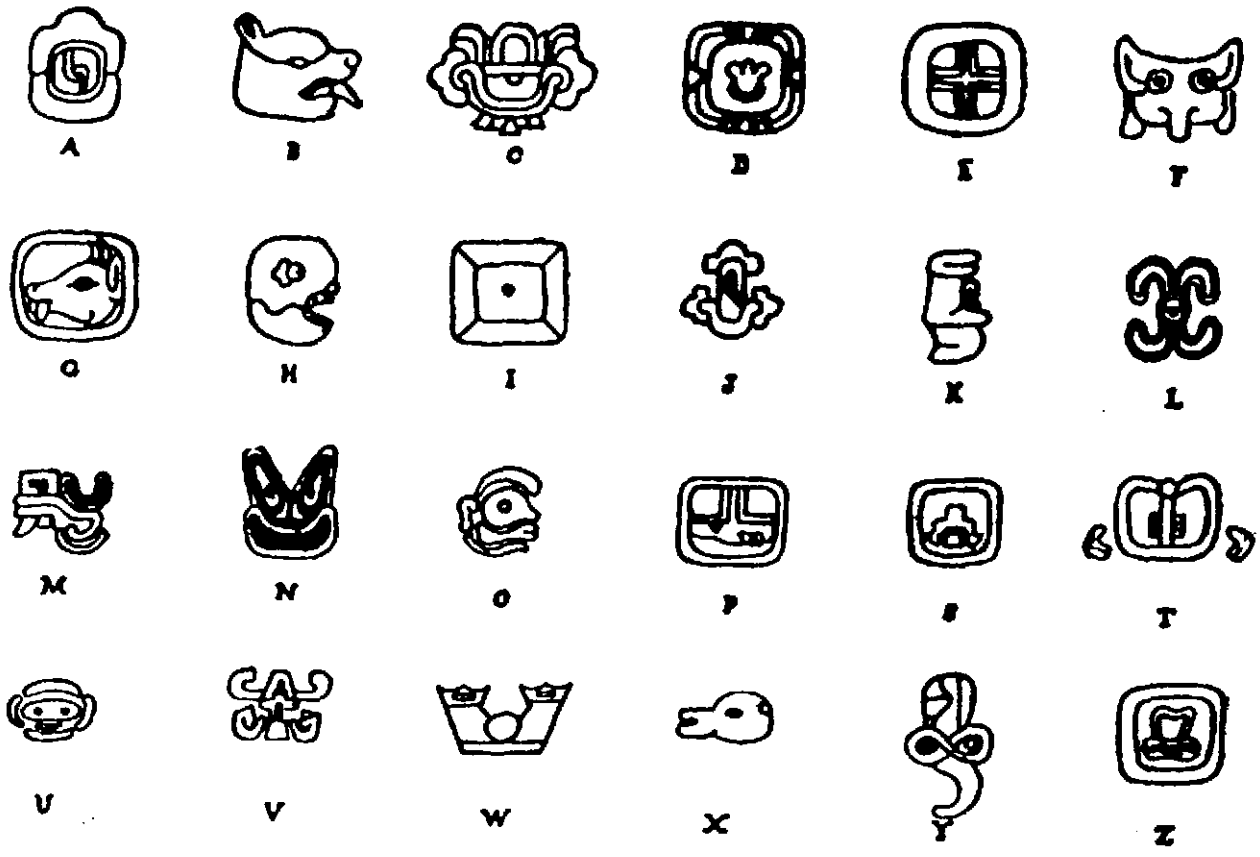
Most important for this study are the depictions of the calendar day names, which by the Classic and Postclassic periods resemble Caso's (1965:935) drawing (see Figure 9). Included in this figure are glyphs other than those that represent calendar day-names. However, more recently, Marcus (1992:128) has indentified several day signs from the piye which differ from Caso's depictions (Figure 10). Those glyphs and others have been shown to represent important places, mountains, non-calendrical personal names, and so on (Marcus 1976a, 1980, 1992; Caso 1965).

3.1.2 PLACE SIGNS AND SYMBOLS

Several glyphs, in addition to those of the days of the ritual calendar, have been identified. These symbols appear frequently on a variety of media. The discussion below outlines some of the categories of other types of glyphs presently deciphered.

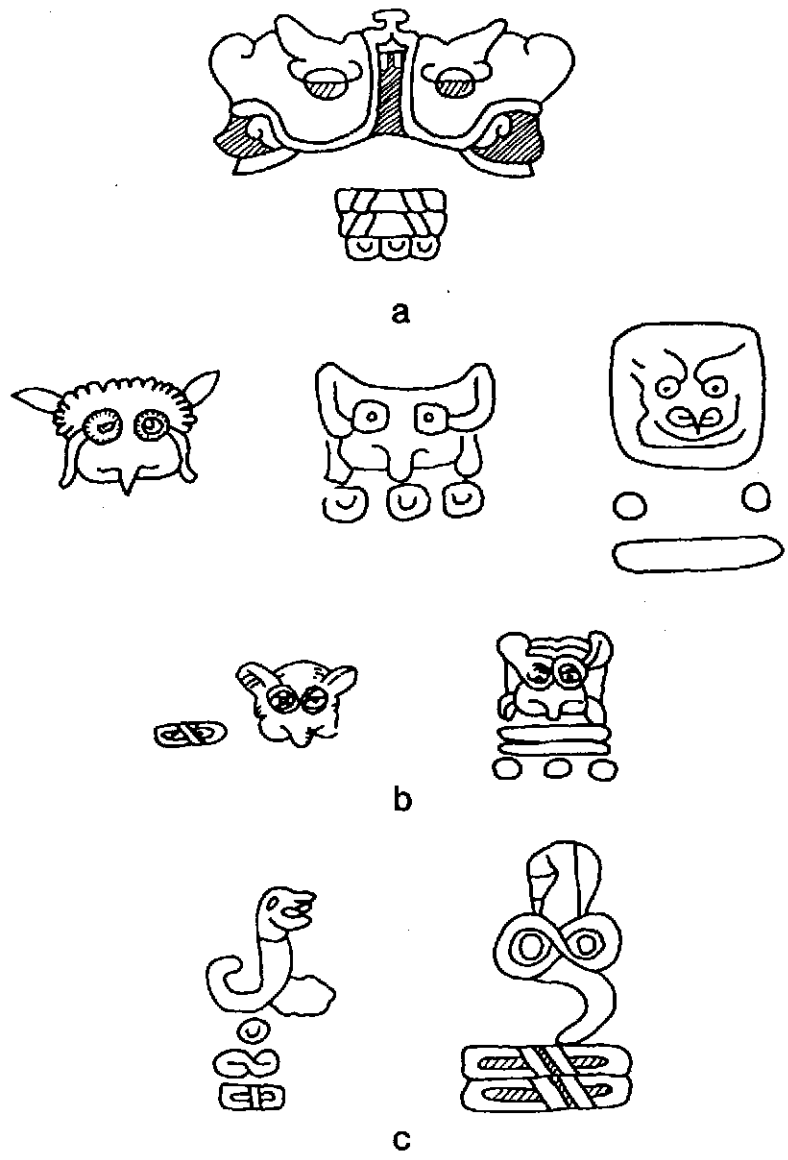
Historically, Zapotec, Mixtec and other Mesoamerican elites were given personal names in addition to their calendrical names (Whitecotton 1990:67, 1982; Moser 1977:177). These names usually were depicted in illustrations attached to the figure "by a connecting line, held in his hand, or combined as part of his or her costume (headdress, helmet, or necklace)" (Moser 1977:177). Macuilxochitl historically was ruled by an individual known by his personal name, Ocoñaña (Paddock 1982:350).

Caso (1965:938,939; Figure 14) has identified month



Reproduced from Caso 1965

Figure 9



4.18.Examples of Zapotec day signs from the *piye*. At *a* is the first day, called *Chiylla* or *Chilla* in Zapotec (Crocodile or Reptilian Monster). It is depicted as a two-headed creature (in this case, with the number 13 below it). At *b* are five examples of what appears to be an owl; this sign may refer to the sixteenth day (Owl) or the third day (Night). At *c* are two examples of the fifth day, one that could mean Misfortune or Snake (the Zapotec word *zee* or *ziy* can mean "snake," "misfortune," and "young maize"). (Drawn by Mark Orsen and John Klausmeyer from the original monuments.)

Reproduced from Marcus 1993

Figure 10

glyphs from the secular calendar based on their association with numbers greater than thirteen. Another type of glyph derived from the yearly movement of the secular calendar is the year-bearer, although it is actually a ritual calendar day-name. The year-bearer, one of a possible four ritual calendar day-names, occurs on the first day of the first month in the secular calendar (Marcus 1992; Whittaker 1980:26; see B.Tedlock 1983:89,91, for a complete explanation of year-bearers in the Maya calendar). Examples of depictions of year glyphs are found in Moser (1977:106, Figure 61), Caso (1965:941, Figure 17) and Marcus (1992:131, Figure 4.25).

Some glyphs function as symbolic representations of their real life forms. Perhaps glyphs which resemble directly what they represent, such as depictions of speech scrolls, woven mats, etc., are more correctly considered symbols or icons (Marcus 1983c:194, Figure 7.4). Other glyphs are symbols which are meaningful only within the Mesoamerican or Zapotec tradition of hieroglyphic representations. The five-bar sign and other numerals, symbolic representations of death, accession, and so on, have been deciphered from various texts (Whittaker 1980:28, Figures 4,5,6). Even more intertwined with the Zapotec belief system are the "flying turtle" and "jaws of the sky" glyphs which represent cloud ancestors and royal descent, respectively (Marcus 1983d:195,191).

Toponymic glyphs have been identified on stelae from several periods (Marcus 1980; Whittaker 1980; Caso 1965). A

common glyph, the cerro or hill, is often depicted in association with a human head, indicating a particular place and its associated ruler (Marcus 1976a). Place signs or "emblem glyphs", such as the depictions on the Lienzo de Gueva from 1540, have also been identified in Zapotec iconography (Marcus 1980:52).

Below I discuss the context of these glyphs, symbols and signs since it is necessary to examine their locations in order to comprehend the messages and stories they contain.

3.2 The Evolution of Images on Zapotec Visual Media

Beginning in the Formative period, symbols and images appear on Zapotec ceramics and stone monuments. The following discussion is a brief, chronologically-oriented look at the evolution of images, symbols and complex signs or writing in the Valley of Oaxaca.

3.2.1 WERE-JAGUAR AND FIRE-SERPENT

Some of the earliest signs or symbols in the Valley of Oaxaca are two images called 'were-jaguar' and 'fire-serpent' (Flannery and Marcus 1976:381; Pyne 1976; Coe 1965). These Olmec-inspired figures were found as stylised depictions on ceramics recovered from burials, houses and public buildings, and were found to be located in mutually exclusive residential and burial contexts (Pyne 1976:278; Flannery and Marcus 1976:381). This suggests that at least two descent groups appear to be present in the community of San José Mogote, if each group was associated with either the 'were-jaguar' or the

'fire-serpent' motif (Pyne 1976; Flannery and Marcus 1976). These two figures may be the earliest example of symbols meaningfully associated with individuals or groups of individuals in Oaxaca.

3.2.2 DANZANTES

Following the chronological development of symbolic and/or written expression on Zapotec visual media, the next phase is defined by a group of figures, danzantes, on stone monuments (Marcus 1976a; 1976b). The earliest of these was recovered at San José Mogote, but over 300 have been found at Monte Albán and date to Monte Albán I (Marcus 1976a; 1976b). The danzantes are simple, outlined human figures, often with flowery scrolls in the genital area, likely indicating castration, sometimes accompanied by hieroglyphic texts which were name captions of the figures portrayed (Marcus 1976b:127). While some figures appear to be important personages, due to their headdresses or jewellery, most may be interpreted as slain villagers or even symbols of the 'potential' power held by the rulers of Monte Albán (Marcus 1976b:127).

3.2.3 CONQUEST SLABS

Continuing the trend of a militaristic theme in Zapotec iconography are a series of stone monuments, the conquest slabs (Marcus 1976a; 1976b; 1983d). These stone monuments are located in the walls of Mound J at Monte Albán as they were used as construction material (Marcus 1976b:127). Although

individuals are depicted on these monuments, the convention for depiction is markedly different from that used in the danzantes. The slabs display the first known example of the cerro or hill glyph with a variable element atop the hill, beneath which are inverted heads wearing different headdresses (Marcus 1976b:128). The hill sign signifies a "place" (Caso 1947a cited in Marcus 1976b:128), and Marcus (1976b; 1983d) believes that the element on the hill indicates a particular place. Additionally, the inverted head with a closed eye is felt to represent the ruler of a conquered place (Marcus 1976b; 1983d; 1992).

Marcus' attempt to decipher place signs on the slabs is similar to her research into Mayan "emblem glyphs" (Marcus 1973). In this work, she was able to construct a model of Mayan territorial organisation, demonstrating that the ties between a subject city and a regional centre were indicated by their use of one another's emblem glyphs or place signs.

In a similar manner, Marcus (1976b; 1983d) compared the place signs for Oaxacan cities in the Aztec Codex Mendoza with the depictions on the monuments, and ascertained that four communities, Miahuapan, Cuicatlán, Tototepec and Ocelotepec, had been conquered. However, not all scholars agree with Marcus' comparisons of signs and interpretations (Whittaker 1980:93-111).

3.2.4 GENEALOGICAL STONE MONUMENTS AND PICTOGRAPHS

While monuments displaying the themes of militarism and

conquest continue into the Classic period, tomb murals and stone monuments also have a greater number of hieroglyphs and stories of royal relatives and ancestors than in prior periods (Marcus 1983e:137). These tomb murals show the first example of the 'jaws of the sky' glyphic symbol, whereby the elite genealogy of named men and women is established (Marcus 1983e:143).

The trend towards rendering inscribed elite genealogies on stone monuments clearly dominates the private visual media by Monte Albán period IIIb-IV (Marcus 1983c:191; 1992:283). These registers contain several separate panels stacked on top of one another. Marcus (1992:284) believes the panels are boustrophedon in their layout. For example, a register from Noreiga has as its major focus the early life of 2 Water, a Zapotec noble (Marcus 1983c:195, 196, Figure 7.5). These registers are quite small in comparison with the stone monuments of prior eras, and appear to be concerned with the private domain, specifically, membership within an elite family. However, I would contend that the information on these registers would have had public importance as they would legitimize a Zapotec ruler's accession right.

Until recently, the study of Zapotec iconography would end with the analysis of the danzantes, Conquest Slabs and genealogical monuments discussed, as the majority of Oaxacan sixteenth century pictorials were attributable to the Mixtecs (Whitecotton 1988:2). However, several other sources have

been located and studied including, Genealogy of Macuilxóchitl, Mapa de Macuilxóchitl, Etla Genealogy, Yale Zapotec Genealogy, Lienzo de Guevea, and Mapa de Huilotepec. These pictorials are comprised of drawings of Zapotec rulers accompanied by their Zapotec, and sometimes subsequent Spanish, names in latin letters. In some cases, the symbol of the calendrical name for an individual is present (see for example, the Lienzo de Guevea in Whitecotton 1988:127, Figure 5.1). As these documents are genealogies, they attempt to trace into antiquity the lineage of a ruler who was alive at the time of the document's preparation. In one case, Paddock (1983) was able to demonstrate the identity of Lord 9 Flower on Tomb 1 at Zaachila, as the son of Lord 5 Flower, a Mixtec noble. In addition to providing evidence to support the antiquity of the practice of elite marriage alliances between the Mixtec and the Zapotec, these documents illustrate the continuation of the practice of the calendrical naming of elites into the colonial period.

3.3 Summary

A wide range of sources of Zapotec, and to a lesser extent Mixtec, iconography contain various types of glyphs, signs and symbols. The contexts of their display, and the dominant themes of display changed in significant ways over time. In order to evaluate the vast array of images, material from many time periods was reviewed, from Formative period ceramics to historic pictorial genealogies, along with public,

private and burial context ceramics and monuments.

However, considering the discussion in Chapter 2 of the difficulties involved in using historic period documents in conjunction with, and to understand and extrapolate about, earlier prehispanic phenomena, it is necessary to justify such an approach.

As Kubler (1973 cited in Nicholson 1976:160) stresses, it is difficult to know how much continuity in religious concepts and ritual there was in Mesoamerica from Preclassic to Conquest times. Drawing upon Panofsky's (1960) "law of disjunction", Kubler (1970 cited in Nicholson 1976:160) indicates that while Mesoamerican symbols may persist over time, their meaning may be altered, as was the case in Western Europe. However, Nicholson (1976:161-162) demonstrates that disjunction is caused by a break in a religious tradition, something which did not occur in Mesoamerica until the colonial era. Also, Mesoamerican religious traditions seem to be "rather eclectic, generally tolerant of other systems, and receptive to the incorporation of compatible foreign religious concepts and ritual" (Nicholson 1976:162).

As such, I feel that an understanding of both historic and prehistoric material is enhanced when they are examined together, as the symbols and signs on these documents appear to indicate the presence of a long-term iconographic and ritual tradition in the Valley of Oaxaca.

CHAPTER 4

4.0 PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

As one of the primary aims of this thesis is to assess 'who' is depicted on the urns and figurines of the Jalieza collection, comparisons need to be made of urn and figurine vessel fragments, within and between the two spatially and temporally distinct site components. This task may only be undertaken once the data are presented in proper analytic categories. Prior to assessing 'who', it is first necessary to understand the depositional locations and the frequency of vessels throughout the site. Presented below are urns and figurines as they occur on each terrace group from the two phases.[1] Identifiable motifs and symbols, as well as body elements, were given attribute categories. These were established for comparative and analytic purposes; see Chapter 1 for my rationale for using attributes (Caso and Bernal 1952; Kuttruff 1978; Moser 1977). This chapter then, outlines the number and type of urn and figurine fragments found on each terrace group for the Early Classic and Early Postclassic

[1] Although the urns and figurines are itemised according to specific terraces in Chapter 4, material will be discussed for the remainder of the thesis by terrace groups for the purposes of analyses due to the small samples of vessels from individual terraces, and as terraces within a terrace group are believed to be equivalent in socioeconomic terms.

occupation of Jalieza. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to a detailed description of the symbols, glyphs, motifs and body elements of the urns and figurines.

4.1 Urn and Figurine Distribution for Monte Albán IIIa Occupation

During the surface collection of the Early Classic component of the Jalieza site, urn and figurine fragments recovered from

Table 2 Phase IIIA Collection

Terrace Groups	Urns	Figurines	Unknown
Terrace Group A	9	1	
Terrace Group B	8	2	
Terrace Group C	12	4	
Terrace Group D	26	5	9
Terrace Group E	55	9	10
Terrace Group F	2	1	
Terrace Group G	97	20	17
Terrace Group H	20	1	4
Terrace Group X	14	2	
Totals	243	45	40

eight terrace group collection areas and a small collection area outside these groups were examined. A brief description of the collected terraces within the terrace groups is provided followed by Table 3, which presents a terrace by terrace description of the urn vessel fragments from Phase IIIa terrace groups. Table 4 displays the figurine and unknown urn or figurine vessel fragments from each group.

TERRACE GROUP IIIA-A

Six separate terraces were collected in Terrace Group

Table 3 Urn Vessels from Phase IIIa

TERRACE	URNS
IIIA-A-1B	3 - twisted coil headdress, glyph E fragment (Fig.30), unidentifiable
IIIA-A-1C	1 - possible pectoral element
IIIA-A-2	5 - incised line hairstyle, headdress portion with a circle and radiating line, a Y-shaped decorative element (Fig.27c), an incised square decorative element with wavy lines, feather & circle
IIIA-B-9	3 - possible pectoral element (Fig.24a), headdress fragment of feathers, line incised decorative element
IIIA-B-13	3 - large ear fragment, 2 unidentifiable
IIIA-B-17	1 - face fragment
IIIA-B-19	1 - rosette with knot decorative element (Fig.38d)
IIIA-C-3	8 - 2 headdresses with stylized feathers, 2 decorative elements, possible glyph C with popular decorative volute symbol (Fig.31b), face fragment, glyph C (Fig.31a), miscellaneous glyph (Fig.38c)
IIIA-C-9	4 - 2 headdresses with short, stylized feathers (Fig.17a), one incised line base, 1 unidentifiable
IIIA-D-1	2 - glyph C in headdress (Fig.34a), face fragment
IIIA-D-3	5 - headdress, hat-like headdress (Fig.17b), decorative element, eyebrow, water glyph (Fig.37b)
IIIA-D-5	5 - 2 headdress fragments with feathers, year-bearer decorative element, unidentifiable circular decoration, portion of foot & base
IIIA-D-7A	1 - headdress fragment with volute
IIIA-D-7B	1 - diamond-shaped decorative element
IIIA-D-8	1 - sherd with 5-bar symbol
IIIA-D-9	12 - 3 headdresses with feathers, one twisted braid headdress, 3 raised incised line decorative, diamond-shaped decorative element, plain headdress, 3 unknown

Table 3 cont.

TERRACE	URNS
IIIA-E-1	5 - earspool and feathers, headdress fragment, decorative element of a hollow bar with feathers, vieja forehead with fringe hair
IIIA-E-2	6 - headdress fragment (Fig.18c), yalalaq headdress (Fig.18b), feathers, twisted braid headdress, stepped headdress, headdress
IIIA-E-3	7 - 2 bangs, feathers, headdress, 3 unknown
IIIA-E-4	19 - headdress feather fragment, 2 twisted braid headdresses, 2 curved-line headdresses, 4 decorative elements, 2 feathered headdresses, foot fragment, cocijo mask (Fig.22c), feather & base fragment, chevrons, face fragment, necklace, 2 unknown
IIIA-E-5	3 - jaguar claw (Fig.38e), claw or talon, face
IIIA-E-6	13 - Y-shaped decorative element, J-shaped element, hat-like headdress, rope, hair, curved headdress, decorative element, feathers, headdress, 4 unknown
IIIA-E-8	2 - earspool & glyph, toes (Fig.11a)
IIIA-F-2	2 - feather, headdress fragment (Fig.25a)
IIIA-G-1	14 - 4 feathered headdresses, hat-like headdress, fringe bang, cape fragment, hair fragment, 2 decorative elements, 4 unknown
IIIA-G-2	6 - 2 hair or cape fragments, a volute decoration & circle, face fragment, 2 decorative elements
IIIA-G-3	4 - 3 feathered headdreses, eyebrow with dots
IIIA-G-7	2 - hair, headdress
IIIA-G-8	6 - decorative element, feathers, eyebrow, 3 unknown
IIIA-G-9	3 - possible glyph C (Fig.32b), 2 unknown
IIIA-G-10	2 - possible skirt fragments (Fig.19b)
IIIA-G-11	4 - face fragment with hair, 3 unknown

Table 3 cont.

TERRACE	URNS
IIIA-G-12	7 - headdress fragment, possible glyph C (Fig.32a), cocijo mask (Fig.21c), face & headdress fragment, incised line hair (Fig.14b), 2 decorative elements
IIIA-G-13	8 - decorative element, band of decoration, 2 feathered headdresses, hat-like headdress, earspool, eyebrow, 1 unknown
IIIA-G-16	11 - fringe hair (Fig.14a), twisted braid headdress, 4 decorative elements, feather fragment, decoration attached to a sleeve, headdress portion, portion of glyph C (Fig.35a), possible glyph C (Fig.34b)
IIIA-G-17A	6 - 2 cocijo masks (Fig.21a,b), raised strip with dots (Fig.27d), toes, 2 decorative elements, 1 unknown
IIIA-G-17B	23 - a volute in a circle, 4 headdress fragments, 3 feathered headdresses, earspool, glyph C (Fig.33a), braided headdress, possible reptile eye, an arm & sleeve, possible tassel, a finger, ear fragment, J-shaped decorative element (Fig.27a), simple glyph C (Fig.31c), eyebrow, fringe hair, 3 unknown
IIIA-G-18	1 - bar-like decorative element
IIIA-H-1	9 - face fragment, 5 decorative elements, headdress fragment (Fig.16a), cape fragment, 1 unknown
IIIA-H-2	2 - bird talon (Fig.38a), headdress fragment
IIIA-H-4	1 - headdress fragment (Fig.17c)
IIIA-H-6	3 - 2 bands of decoration, rope
IIIA-H-7	1 - decorative element
IIIA-H-8	1 - earspool or circular decorative element (Fig.13b)

Table 4 Figurine/Other Vessels from Phase IIIa

TERRACE	FIGURINES	UNKNOWN
IIIA-A-6	1 - incised fan-shaped decorative element	
IIIA-B-6	1 - torso fragment (Fig.40a)	
IIIA-B-11	1 - radiating decorated lines of possible necklace	
IIIA-C-8	1 - flat torso with chevrons, raised fringe necklace and visible belt sash	
IIIA-C-16	3 - moulded face fragments with post-like attachments at base of neck, portion of headdress on one	
IIIA-D-1	1 - fragment of face with neck	3
IIIA-D-5	1 - lower torso and legs of rounded body	1
IIIA-D-6	1 - decorative fragment of 2 raised circles	
IIIA-D-9	2 - torso with belt & sash with chevrons, unknown	5
IIIA-E-1	1 - stylised foot or hand	1
IIIA-E-2	1 - headdress fragment	
IIIA-E-3	1 - mid torso with necklace	
IIIA-E-4	5 - necklace, band of decoration, rounded body, headdress, unknown	6
IIIA-E-5		1
IIIA-E-6	1 - face	2
IIIA-F-3	1 - face with tattooing	
IIIA-G-1	4 - rounded body, face fragment with necklace & earspool, headdress (Fig.41b), torso	1
IIIA-G-2	2 - rounded body with impressed necklace (Fig.39a), quechquemitl (Fig.40b)	
IIIA-G-3	1 - worn face	
IIIA-G-7	1 - earspool & necklace	1
IIIA-G-8	1 - earspool & necklace	1

Table 4 cont.

TERRACE	FIGURINES	UNKNOWN
IIIA-G-9		1
IIIA-G-12	1 - unknown	2
IIIA-G-13	2 - viejo face with elaborate headdress (Fig.39c), hand fragment	4
IIIA-G-16	3 - costume fragment, torso with belt & foot, face & earspool	
IIIA-G-17A		2
IIIA-G-17B	5 - lower torso with popular costume, neck fragment, popular headdress (Fig.41a), 2 vieja or viejo faces (1 with portion of elaborate headdress)	5
IIIA-H-6	1 - face fragment with raised dot necklace and earspool	

IIIA-A. Four of the six or 66 percent of the terraces contain evidence of urn and figurine use. Nine urn vessel fragments and one figurine fragment were recovered from this terrace group.

TERRACE GROUP IIIA-B

Terrace Group IIIA-B consists of twenty terraces with two terraces, which were further subdivided into two collection areas (Finsten 1992:15). While terrace group B had a large number of terraces only six or 27 percent showed evidence of urn and figurine use, yielding eight urn vessel fragments and two figurine fragments.

TERRACE GROUP IIIA-C

Consisting of 17 terraces, this elite terrace group contains mounded structures in an arrangement reminiscent of a miniature version of the Main Plaza at Monte Albán (Finsten 1992:17). Twelve urn and four figurine fragments were recovered from four or 24 percent of the 17 collected terraces.

TERRACE GROUP IIIA-D

Situated in the central area of the Phase IIIa occupation, this terrace group contained ten terraces. Terrace group D was not large in terms of number of terraces, however 26 urn fragments, five figurine fragments and nine unknown urn or figurine vessel fragments were recovered from seven or 70 percent of the terraces.

TERRACE GROUP IIIA-E

Terrace group E consisted of six terraces which all contained evidence of urn and figurine use, yielding fifty-five urn, nine figurine and ten unknown figurine or urn vessel fragments.

TERRACE GROUP IIIA-F

While terrace group F contained twelve terrace collection areas, only two or 16 percent of the terraces displayed evidence of urn and figurine use, with two urn and one figurine fragments collected.

TERRACE GROUP IIIA-G

This unit is comprised of eighteen collection areas. Terrace group G contained the largest sample of urn and figurine vessel fragments from the two phases of occupation, yielding 134 vessel sherds, including 97 urn, 20 figurine and 17 unidentifiable urn or figurine fragments. These specimens were located on 14 or 77 percent of the 18 collection areas.

TERRACE GROUP IIIA-H

This terrace group consisted of eight terraces, with urns and figurines present on six or 75 percent of the terraces. Twenty urn, one figurine and four unidentifiable figurine or urn fragments were collected.

COLLECTIONS BEYOND TERRACE GROUPS

Thirteen urn, two figurine fragments and one urn mould fragment were collected from portions of the site situated outside of the designated terrace group collection areas.

Mention is made of these items as they are, in some cases, unique items and will receive further discussion below, in section 4.2.

4.2 Urn and Figurine Distribution for Monte Albán IV Occupation

During the surface collection of the Early Postclassic component of the Jalieza site, urn and figurine fragments were recovered from eight terrace group collection areas (see Table 5). A brief description of the terrace groups and their collections is presented below, followed by Table 6 which presents a detailed listing of the urn vessels recovered from the individual terraces. Table 7 lists the figurine and other vessel fragments recovered from the Phase IV terrace areas.

Table 5 Phase IV Collection

Terrace Groups	Urns	Figurines	Unknown
Terrace Group A	35	5	3
Terrace Group B	54	5	5
Terrace Group C	63	4	5
Terrace Group D	19	5	3
Terrace Group E	13		3
Terrace Group F	6	1	1
Terrace Group G	9		3
Terrace Group H	6	1	1
Totals	205	21	23

TERRACE GROUP IV-A

Terrace group IV-A consisted of 22 terraces which are designated as civic-ceremonial in function (Finsten 1992:24). Of the 22 collection areas, fifteen or 68 percent showed

Table 6 Urn Vessels from Phase IV

TERRACE	URNS
IV-A-1	4 - 3 feathers, 1 triangle decoration
IV-A-2	3 - base (Fig.11b), glyph C (Fig.33c), headdress base
IV-A-4	1 - unidentified
IV-A-5	1 - headdress feather
IV-A-9B	5 - 2 decorative elements, feathers (Fig.15), headdress with glyph, decorative element & feathers
IV-A-11	1 - headdress feathers
IV-A-12	2 - cape, glyph C within a headdress (Fig.35b)
IV-A-14	1 - feathered headdress
IV-A-16	3 - decorative element, 2 feathers
IV-A-17	1 - flat decorative element with traces of water sign
IV-A-21	3 - 2 decorative elements, possible headdress
IV-A-23	5 - 2 headdress, 3 unknown
IV-A-29	3 - cocijo mask (Fig.22b), possible earspool, headdress feathers
IV-A-31	1 - skirt
IV-A-32	1 - unidentified
IV-B-1	2 - headdress feathers, large ear
IV-B-2	2 - unidentifiable
IV-B-5	5 - cape fragment, 2 similar decoration possibly from bottom of costume, wheel-shaped decoration, corn cob
IV-B-6	3 - large ear and earspool (Fig.13a), decorative motif, U-shaped decorative element (Fig.26a)
IV-B-9A	4 - glyph C (Fig.36b), cape fragment with diamond-shaped decoration (Fig.27b), hair, decorative element
IV-B-9B	1 - large hand (Fig.11c)
IV-B-10	1 - decorative element of raised circles and strips (Fig.26b)

Table 6 cont.

TERRACE	URNS
IV-B-11A	3 - quechquemitl, feathers, unidentifiable
IV-B-11B	3 - pectoral element (Fig.24b), portion of earspool, cape or hair
IV-B-12	3 - fringe bang, feathered headdress, cape
IV-B-13	4 - volute, headdress, large hand, 5-bar (Fig.37d)
IV-B-14	5 - stylised feathers, U-shaped decorative element, glyph J (Fig.30c), miscellaneous glyph (Fig.38a), cape
IV-B-15	7 - glyph J (Fig.30b), rope, miscellaneous glyph (Fig.38b), headdress, hat-like headdress, hair or cape, U-shaped decorative element
IV-B-17	7 - foot fragment, J-shaped decorative element, feathered headdress, hair or cape, possible feathers, 2 unknown
IV-B-18	4 - water sign, pectoral element (Fig.23b), headdress feathers, 1 unknown
IV-C-1	5 - twisted braid headdress, glyph J variant, belt with sash, headdress, decorative element
IV-C-2	11 - 2 stylised corn cobs (Fig.28a), mid torso of female figure with necklace (Fig.12a), quechquemitl (Fig.19a), skirt (Fig.19c), feathers fragment, large volute, hand, 3 unknown
IV-C-3	1 - decorative element resembling flower
IV-C-4	1 - decorative element
IV-C-5	4 - decorative element, fingers, realistic corn (Fig.29a), glyph C (Fig.36a)
IV-C-6	20 - 4 feather fragments (1 attached to a realistic corn cob) (Fig.16b), lower face, shoulder, glyph C (Fig.33b), portion of volute, fingers, eyelid & hair, eyebrow, 4 decorative elements, hair or cape, curved headdress (Fig.18a), 3 unknown
IV-C-7	1 - stylised corn cob (Fig.28b)
IV-C-8	11 - 2 finger fragments, large ear & earspool, 2 feathered headdresses, 2 circular elements, cape, 3 unknown

Table 6 cont.

TERRACE	URNS
IV-C-9	9 - treble scroll decorative element, belt with chevrons attached to fringe skirt, feathers, circles with strip, face (Fig.12b), torso, rope with 2 volutes (Fig.25b), 2 unidentified
IV-D-1	3 - foot fragment with base, eyebrow and fringe hair, decorative element
IV-D-2	9 - headdress segment with volute, right foot with base, pectoral element (Fig.23a), 2 feather fragments (1 with glyph), 2 incised decorative elements, raised U-shaped decorative element, 1 unknown
IV-D-3	1 - elaborate skirt decoration (Fig.20)
IV-D-5	2 - raised U-shaped decorative elements
IV-D-6	1 - rope
IV-D-8	1 - stylised corn (Fig.28c)
IV-D-9	2 - foot fragment with base, decorative element
IV-E-1	5 - glyph J with corn (Fig.29d), glyph C (Fig.32c), decorative element, 2 unidentified
IV-E-2	3 - feather, 2 decorative elements
IV-E-3	2 - shoulder with cape, 1 unidentifiable
IV-E-12	1 - cape
IV-E-14	2 - headdress fragment, 1 unidentifiable
IV-F-5	1 - base with U-shaped decorative element
IV-F-7	1 - top of volute
IV-F-8	1 - viejo face
IV-F-9	1 - belt with chevrons
IV-F-17A	2 - realistic feather, decorative element
IV-G-6	1 - headdress with portion of glyph C (Fig.34c)
IV-G-11	6 - pectoral element, foot fragment, headdress, realistic feather, top of volute, 1 unknown
IV-G-12	1 - cape fragment
IV-G-X2	1 - cape fragment

Table 6 cont.

TERRACE	URNS
IV-H-3	1 - nose and lip
IV-H-7	1 - viejo face (Fig.12c)
IV-H-10	1 - unknown
IV-H-16	1 - feathers with glyph
IV-H-17	1 - bangs and forehead
IV-H-19	1 - headdress with feathers and portion of glyph (Fig.34d)

Table 7 Figurine/Other Vessels from Phase IV

TERRACE	FIGURINES	UNKNOWN
IV-A-1		1
IV-A-9B	1 - viejo face with headdress & glyph C (Fig.41c)	
IV-A-11	1 - rounded body	
IV-A-23	3 - 2 earspools, costume with chevrons	2
IV-B-5		1
IV-B-6		1
IV-B-11B		1
IV-B-12A	1 - face fragment	
IV-B-14	2 - handmade body (Fig.39b), hand or foot fragment	1
IV-B-15	1 - twisted braid headdress	1
IV-C-1		1
IV-C-3	2 - feather cape, possible necklace	
IV-C-6		4
IV-C-9	2 - necklace & face (Fig.39d), costume	
IV-D-2	2 - cape fragment (Fig.40c), face	1
IV-D-4		1
IV-D-6	1 - earspool	1
IV-D-8	1 - face fragment	
IV-D-9	1 - face fragment	
IV-E-2		3
IV-F-5A	1 - face fragment	
IV-F-8		1
IV-G-10		1
IV-G-12		1
IV-G-X2		1
IV-H-10	1 - unidentified	
IV-H-19		1

evidence of urn and/or figurine use. In total, there are 35 urn, five figurine and three unknown urn and figurine sherds.

TERRACE GROUP IV-B

Designated as an elite residence area, terrace group IV-B consists of 21 terrace collection areas. Thirteen of the possible 21 areas or 62 percent showed evidence of urn and figurine use with the presence of 54 urn, five figurine and five unknown urn or figurine sherds.

TERRACE GROUP IV-C

Nine terraces are included within terrace group C and interestingly urns and figurines were collected from each terrace. In total, 63 urn, four figurine and five unknown urn or figurine sherds were recovered from this terrace group.

TERRACE GROUP IV-D

Terrace group D, a non-elite residential group composed of twelve terraces, contained 19 urn, five figurine and three unknown urn or figurine sherds (Finsten 1992:29). This collection was derived from eight or 66 percent of the twelve terrace collection areas.

TERRACE GROUP IV-E

Fourteen terraces are included in terrace group E and six of these terraces or 43 percent show evidence of urn and figurine use. Thirteen urn and three unknown urn or figurine sherds were located on terrace group E.

TERRACE GROUP IV-F

This terrace group consists of 19 terraces of which five

(26%) showing evidence of urn and figurine use. In total, six urn sherds, one figurine fragment and one unknown urn or figurine sherd were recovered from this terrace group.

TERRACE GROUP IV-G

Seventeen terraces were included in this non-elite residential terrace group (Finsten 1992:30). In total, nine urn sherds and one unknown sherd were located on four or 24 percent of this terrace group G.

TERRACE GROUP IV-H

This terrace group consists of sixteen terraces with the presence of urns or figurines on six terraces or 38 percent of the terrace group. Six urn sherds, one figurine and one unknown sherd were found on terrace group H.

4.3 Urn and Figurine Body Elements and Attribute Categories

Outlined below are the identifiable body parts and attribute categories of the urn and figurine vessels as encountered in the collection. In this section, urn sherds are presented by category first, followed by figurines.

4.4 Urns

Urn vessel fragments in the collection varied widely in terms of preservation and the physical size of the fragment and, therefore, in the type and amount of information available. In some cases, it was possible to identify costumes, decorative elements and headdresses based on photographs of previously collected urns (especially in Caso and Bernal 1952). Other elements were recognisable due to

their occurrence in other contexts in Zapotec and Mixtec pictographic media (Moser 1977; Whittaker 1980; Rote 1987). Where possible, similarities in depictions from the Jalieza collection and other published collections are cited. These references are placed in brackets following the present collection's fragment and are meant to refer to the original, similarly depicted specimen and not the Jalieza collection.

Feet and Toes (10) Ten fragments of toes, a foot and/or feet were recovered from both components of the site. Five sherds are from IIIA-E (2)[2] (Figure 11a), IIIA-G, IIIA-D, IIIA-X and five sherds were recovered from IV-D (3), IV-B and IV-G.

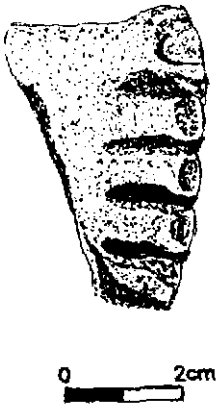
Bases (2) Two base fragments without classifiable attributes were found at the site in IIIA-C(1) and IV-A (1) (Figure 11b).

Hands and Fingers (9) Nine sherds of urn figure hands and fingers were found in IIIA-G (1), and IV-C (6) and IV-B (2) (Figure 11c).

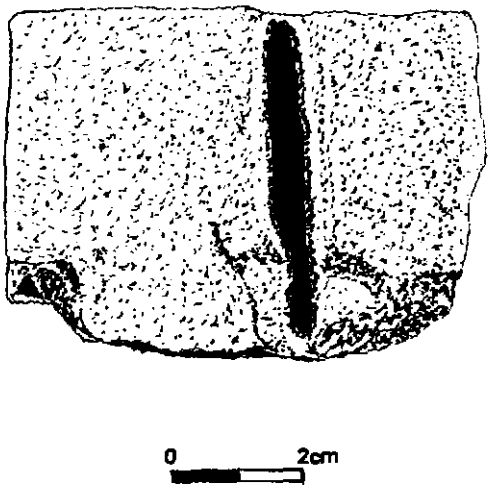
Necklaces (2) Two urn sherds displaying raised dot necklaces were found at IIIA-X, and IV-C (see Figure 12a).

Faces, Eyes and Eyebrows (20) Nineteen urn fragments display

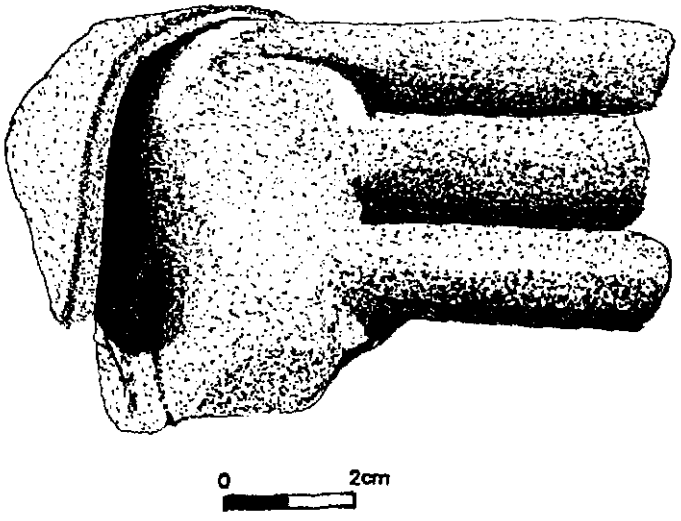
[2] 'IIIA-E (2)' indicates the phase designation, then the terrace group letter with the number of vessels in brackets.



A



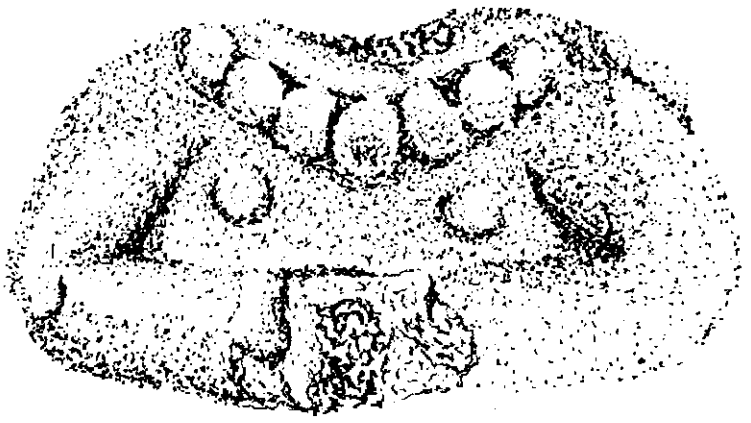
B

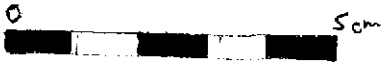


C

Feet, Base and Hand:
a) IIIA-E8, b) IV-A2, c) IV-B9B

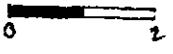
Figure 11





A

B



C

Necklace and Hands:

a) IV-C2, b) IV-C9, c) IV-H7

Figure 12

portions of faces, eyes, noses, eyebrows and/or foreheads or some combination of these features. Proveniences are IIIA-G (5), IIIA-E (3), IIIA-C (1), IIIA-B (1), IIIA-D (2), IIIA-H (1), IV-A (1), IV-F (1), IV-C (3) and IV-H (2). Some figures appear to be joven (IIIA-C - Figure 12b) and others appear to be viejo (IV-H - Figure 12c).

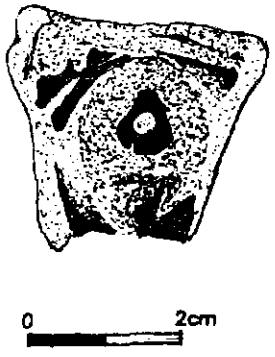
Ears (5) Five ear fragments were recovered from IIIA-B (1), IIIA-G (1), IV-B (2) (Figure 13a) and IV-C (1).

Earspools (8) Earspools are typically constructed as circles with raised or depressed centre dots. Proveniences are IIIA-E (2), IIIA-G (2), IIIA-H (1) (Figure 13b), IV-A (1), IV-B (2).

Hairstyles (10) Two ways of styling hair emerge as popular among the Jalieza urns. Type 1, a fringe bang of incised lines lying on the forehead (the rest of the hair possibly was tucked under a headdress), is visible on six sherds from IIIA-E (2), IIIA-G (3) (Figure 14a), IV-D (1) (Caso and Bernal 1952:156, Figure 268). Type 2 is also constructed of incised lines, but the hair appears longer (Caso and Bernal 1952:160, Figure 282). Four sherds display Type 2, IIIA-A (1), IIIA-G (1) (Figure 14b), IV-B (1), IV-C (1).

Headdresses (109) While the majority of urn headdress fragments have feathers attached, or are represented solely by

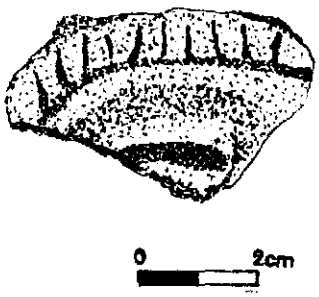
A



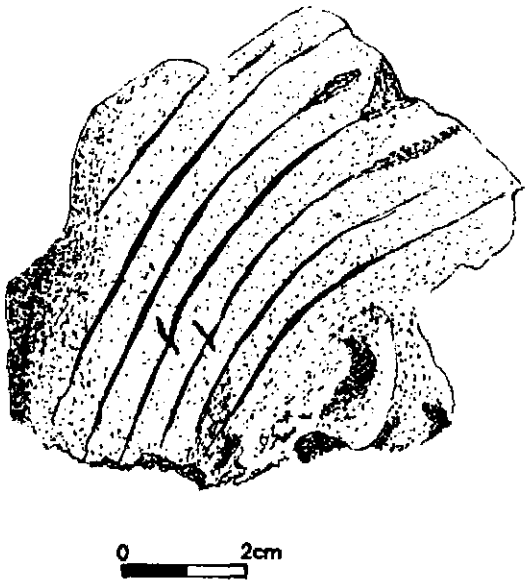
B

Ear and Earspools: a) IV-B6, b) IIIA-H8

Figure 13



A



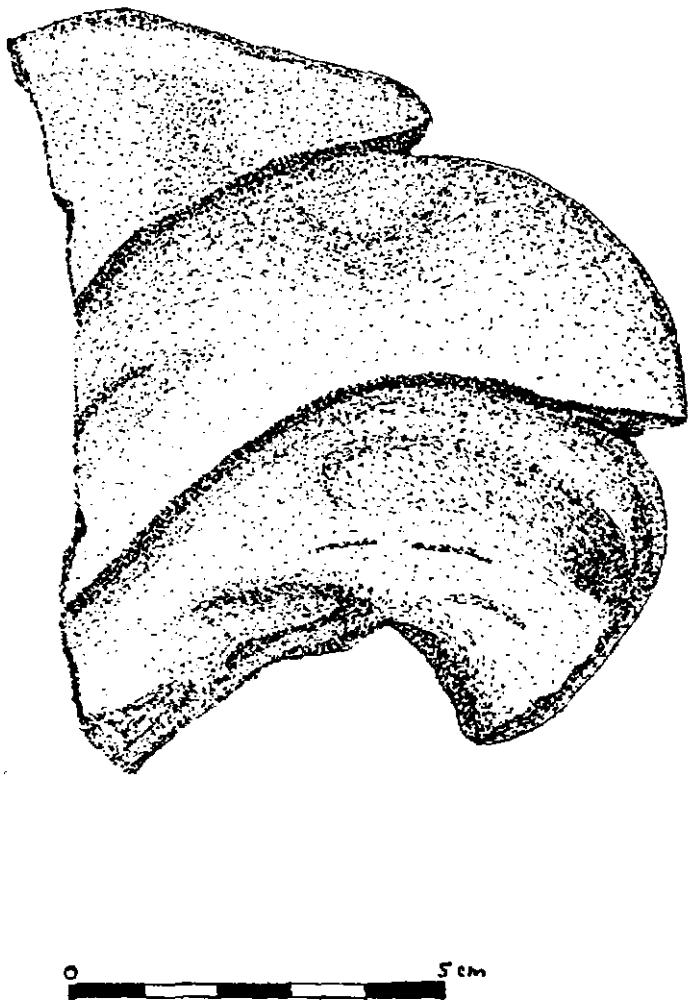
B

Hair: a) IIIA-G16, b) IIIA-G12

Figure 14

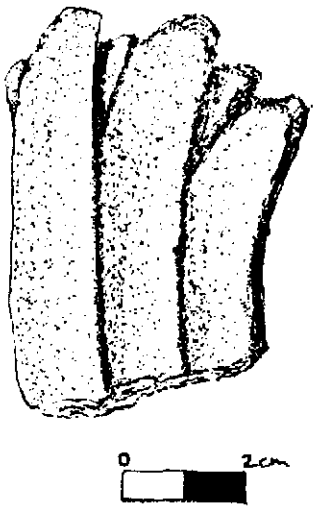
feather fragments (84) or are within categories for headdresses without feathers (14), eleven urn fragments are smaller fragments and appear to be portions of headdresses. Their proveniences are IIIA-E (2), IIIA-G (4), IIIA-X (1), IV-C (2), IV-D (1), IV-H (1).

A) Headdresses with Feathers (84) - Feather fragments which appear to be associated with headdresses are numerous. Many fragments fall into one of the two stylistic categories. Proveniences for those which are not in a category are IIIA-C (1), IIIA-E (1), IIIA-F (1), IIIA-G (3), IIIA-H (1) (Figure 16a), IV-A (3) (Figure 15), IV-B (2), IV-C (1) (Figure 16b), IV-G (1). Some contain portions of glyphs, such as the specimens from IIIA-D (1), IIIA-G (1), and IV-D (1). Two distinctive styles or types of headdresses with feathers were identified. These style categories are based primarily on similarity in designs due to mould manufacture, however in some cases similarity is only in design. Style 1 consists of short feathers with a space between each and is found throughout the site. Proveniences are IIIA-C (2) (Figure 17a), IIIA-D (2), IIIA-E (1), IIIA-G (2), IV-B (2). Type 2, a headdress with short, stylised feathers, is hat-like in appearance (Caso and Bernal 1952:246, Figure 393). Proveniences are IIIA-C (2), IIIA-D (1) (Figure 17b), IIIA-E (2), IIIA-G (5), IIIA-H (1) (Figure 17c), IV-A (1), IV-B (1), IV-C (1). Beyond these categories, 44 urn fragments appear to be portions of feathered headdresses. Proveniences are not

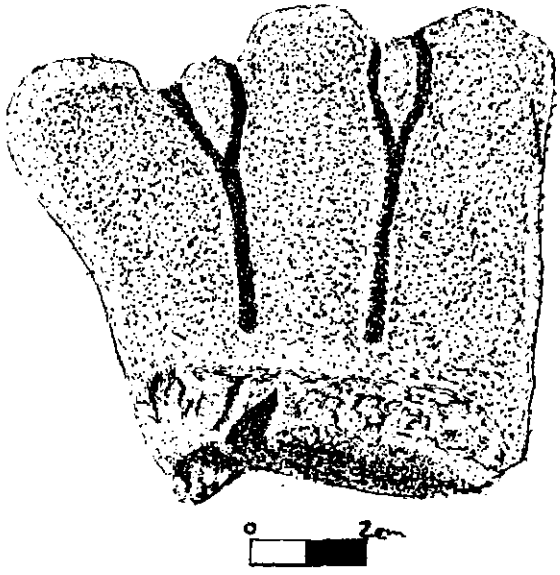


Feathered Headdresses: IV-A9B

Figure 15



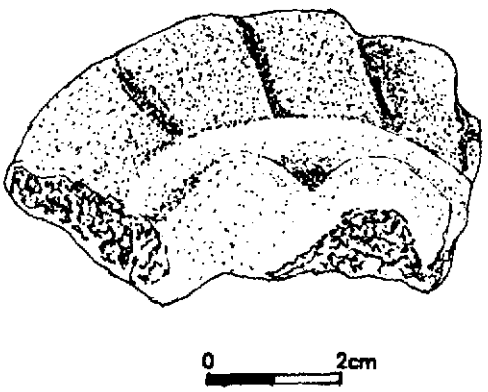
A



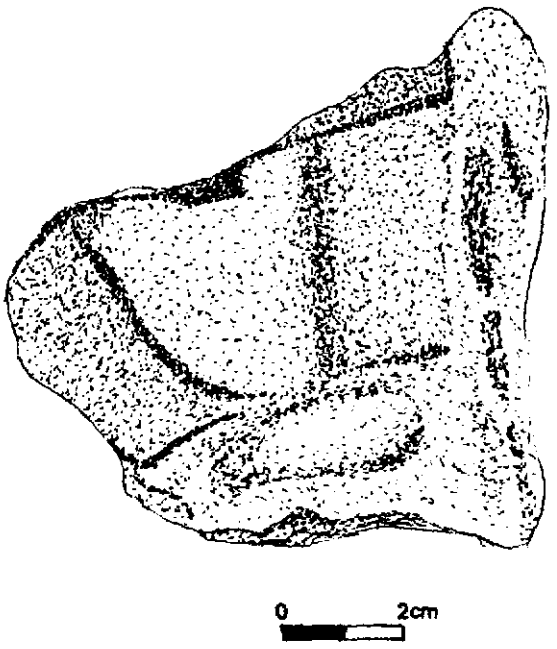
B

Feathered Headdresses: a) IIIA-H1, b) IV-C6

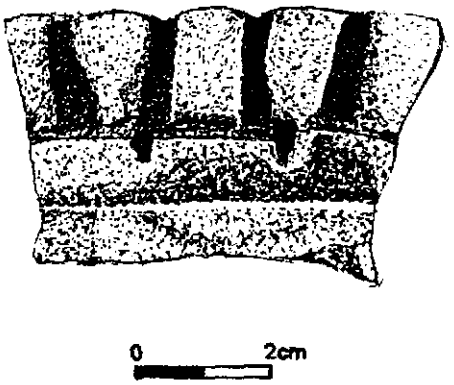
Figure 16



A



B



C

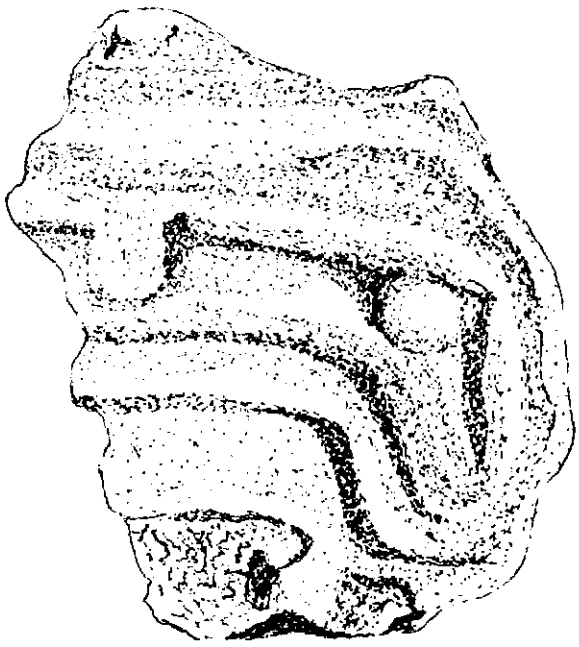
Headdresses: a) IIIA-C9, b) IIIA-D3, c) IIIA-H4 Figure 17

provided as they are found throughout most site areas.

B) Headdresses without Feathers (14) - Four styles or types of headdresses without feathers were located. Style 1 is a curved headdress form composed of curved raised strips, and it sometimes has dots. It presumably curves around the top of the figure's head and the six sherds were found on IIIA-E (4), IIIA-X (1), IV-C (1) (see Figure 18a). Style 2, called a yalalaq headdress (Kuttruff 1977:395), is constructed of a twisted coil of clay. It resembles a braid along the forehead and is found on five sherds from IIIA-E (3) (Figure 18b), IIIA-D (1), and IIIA-G (1) (see Caso and Bernal 1952:284). Style 3 is a headdress with a series of bands and a rope along the top, found on IIIA-G (1) (see Figure 41a for an example from a figurine). Type 4 is a headdress composed of layered, curved bands; two examples were found on IIIA-E (Figure 18c).

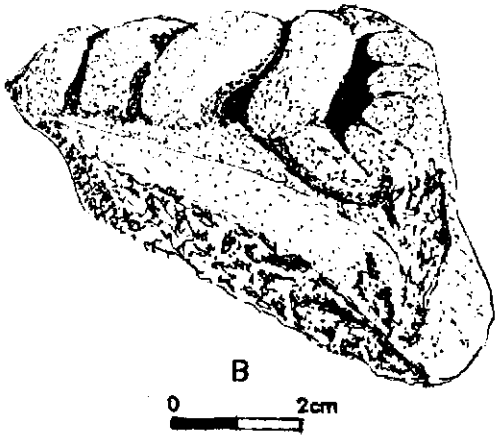
Costume (9) Nine costume fragments were recovered on IV-B (3), IV-C (1), IV-D (1), IV-F (1), IIIA-E (1) and IIIA-G (2). Two sherds (IV-B, IV-C) are portions of quechquemitls[3] (IV-C, IV-B) (Figure 19a - see Caso and Bernal 1952:295, Figure 446 for a complete quechquemitl on a figurine), while the others are smaller, less recognisable portions of costumes. While

[3] a quechquemitl is an item of clothing worn on the upper torso, covering an individual's arms, chest and back. They are often worn in addition to a skirt and may be plain or have a series of border decorations.



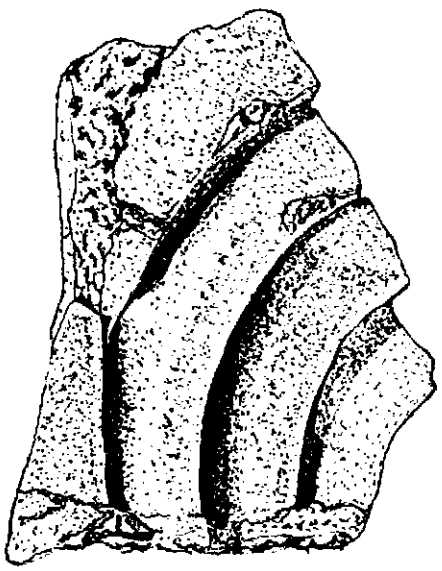
0 2cm

A



B

0 2cm



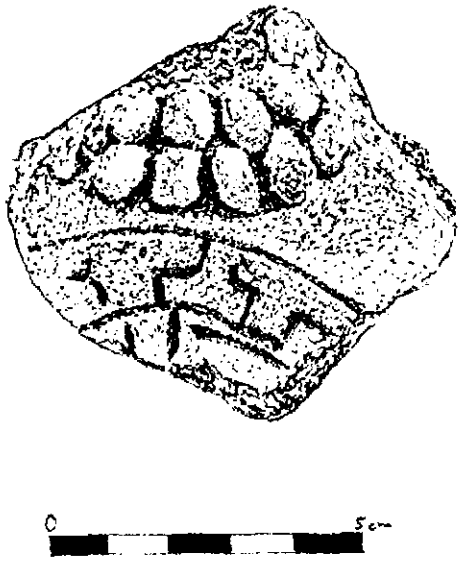
0 2cm

C

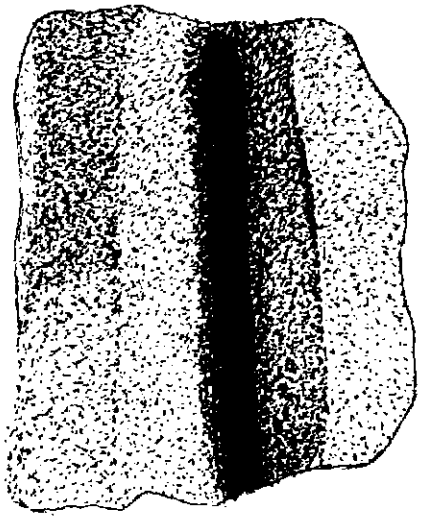
Headdresses:

a) IV-C6, b) IIIA-E2, c) IIIA-E2

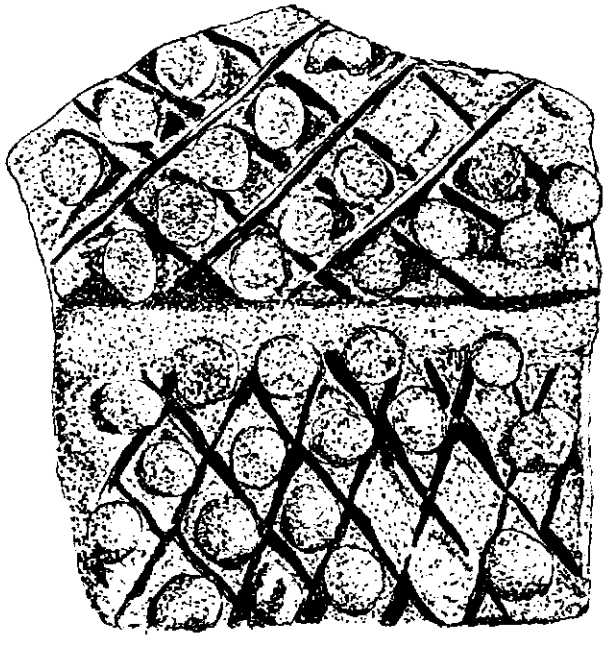
Figure 18



A



B



C

Skirts: a) IV-C2, b) IIIA-G10, c) IV-C2

Figure 19

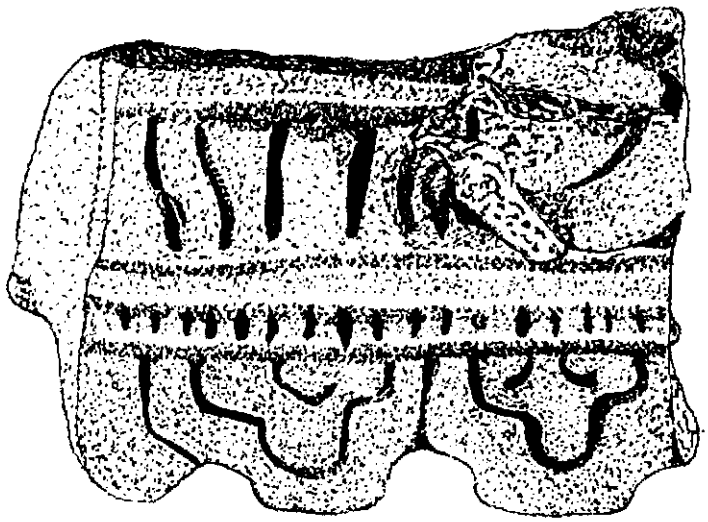
the number of sherds for this category appears surprisingly low, the fragmentary nature of the material indicates that many other attribute categories actually are aspects of an urn figure's costume.

Skirts (6) Six skirt or maxtlatl fragments were found: IIIa-G(2) (Figure 19b), IV-A (1), IV-C (1) (Figure 19c), IV-D (1) (Figure 20) and IV-H(1) (Caso and Bernal 1952:269, Figure 419).

Cocijo Eyes (6) Seven fragments were located which appeared to be eye portions of the face mask common to many of Caso and Bernal's (1952) Cocijo urns. According to Caso and Bernal (1952:17), cocijo is a god associated with rain and can also be referred to as Tlaloc which is the name of the Aztec rain god. These were found on IIIA-E (1) (Figure 22c), IIIA-G (3) (Figure 21a,b,c), IIIA-X (1) (Figure 22a), IV-A (1) (Figure 22b) (see Caso and Bernal 1952:24, Figure 17).

Capes (14) In total, fourteen cape fragments were recovered from on IIIA-G (3), IIIA-H (1), IV-A (1), IV-B (4), IV-C (2), IV-E (2), IV-G (2). Figure 27b displays a cape with a decorative element attached (Caso and Bernal 1952:270, Figure 420).

Capes or Hair (6) Six possible hair or cape fragments were



Base: IV-D3

Figure 20

A

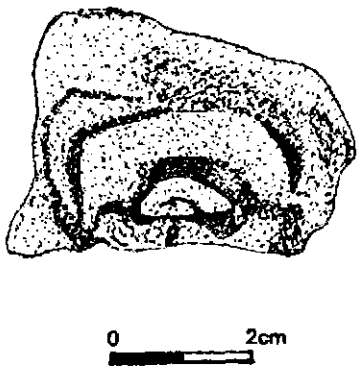
B

C

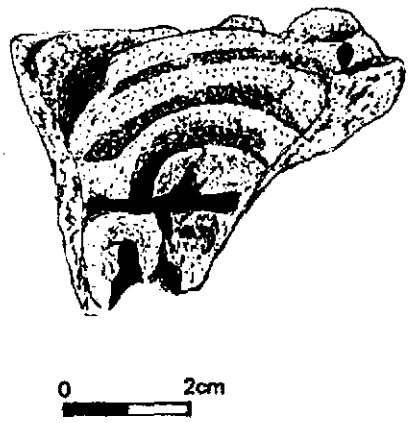
Cocijo eyes:

a) IIIA-G17A, b) IIIA-G17A, c) IIIA-G12

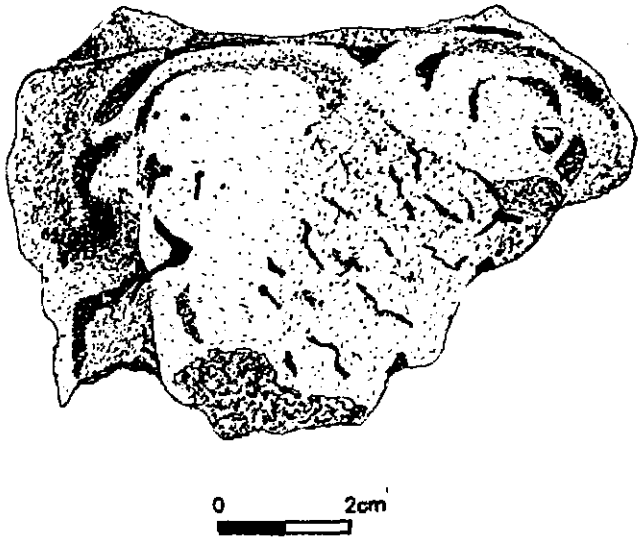
Figure 21



A



B



C

Cocijo eyes:

a) X-2U, b) IV-A29, c) IIIA-E4

Figure 22

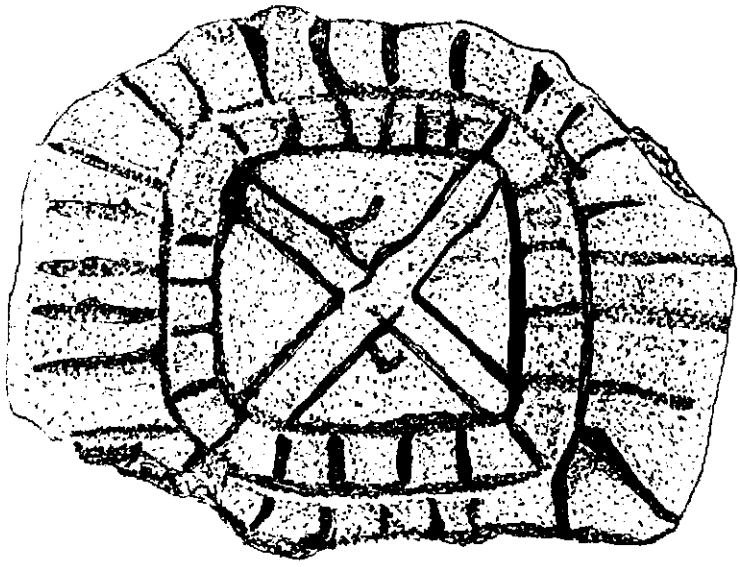
recovered.

Pectoral Elements (4) A figure's costume often displays a decoration or a glyph within a cartouche. Four pectoral elements have been found at Jalieza. Only one (IV-B, Figure 24b) is similar to one identified by Caso and Bernal (1952:128, Figure 210), one (IV-B) appears like a flor (Figure 23b), while the others appear unique to Jalieza IV-D (Figure 23a), and IIIA-B (Figure 24a)).

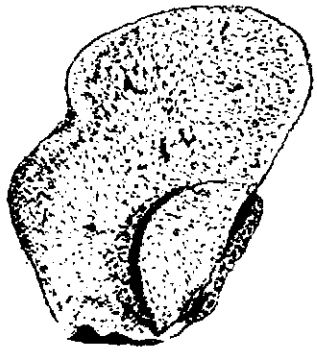
Feathers (5) While feathers are found primarily as parts of a headdress, some feathers are more realistically depicted and are found elsewhere in a costume as decorative elements. Five such feathers were observed on specimens from IIIA-A (1), IIIA-E (1), IIIA-F (1) (Figure 25a), IV-F (1), IV-G (1).

Rope (9) Nine rope fragments were located on IIIA-A (1), IIIA-E (1), IIIA-G (1), IIIA-H (2), IV-B (2), IV-C (1) (Figure 25b), IV-D (1). Rope appeared as a decorative element on costumes and as necklaces (Caso and Bernal 1952; Paddock 1966:138; Kuttruff 1971:396).

Volutes (7) Volutes are curved, cup-shaped (decorative) elements decorating costumes (Moser 1977:133, symbol 95). When volutes have lines or decoration issuing from them, they are considered a glyph C (Caso 1965:935, Figure 8).



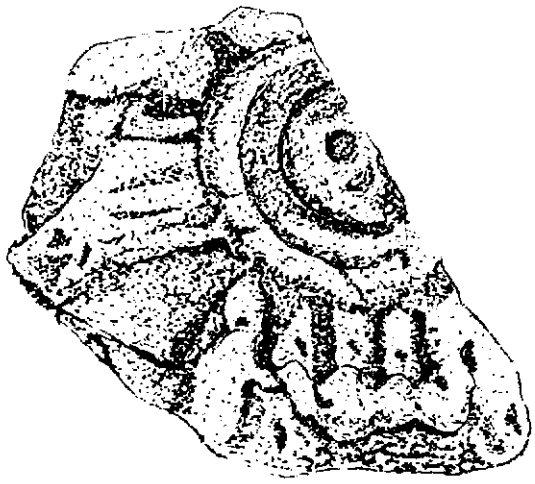
A



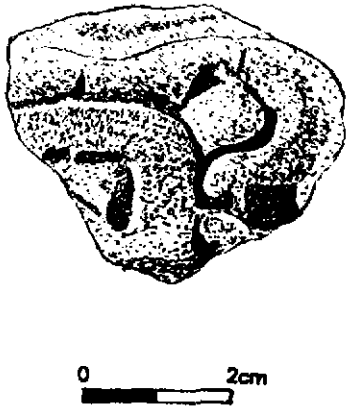
B

Pectoral Elements: a) IV-D2, b) IV-B18

Figure 23



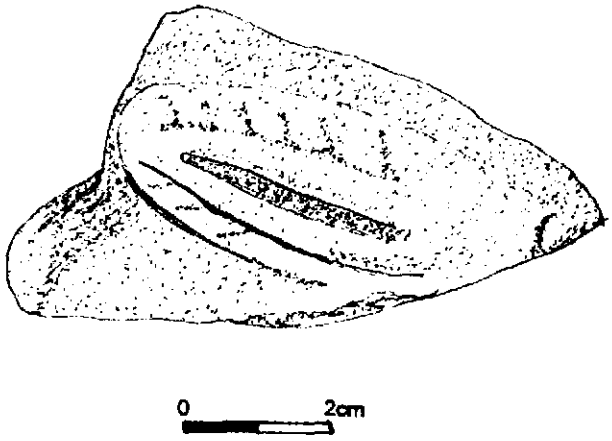
A



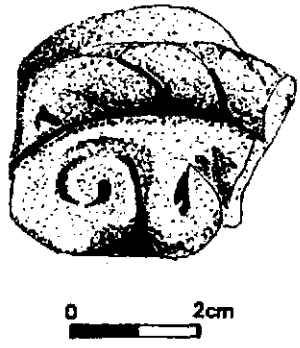
B

Pectoral Elements: a) IIIA-B9, b) IV-B11B

Figure 24



A



B

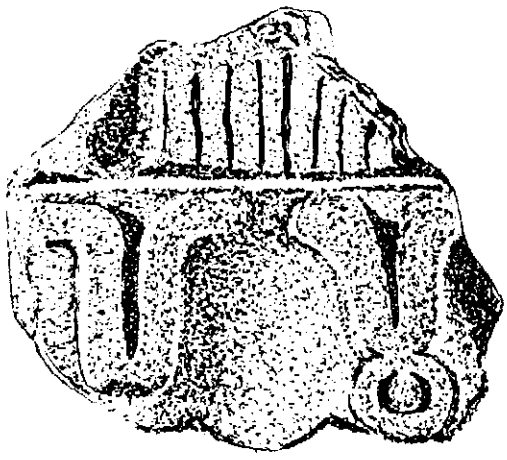
Decorative Elements: a) IIIA-F2, b) IV-C9

Figure 25

Proveniences are IIIA-C (1), IIIA-G (1), IV-B (1), IV-C (2), IV-F (1), IV-G (1) (see on Figure 25b).

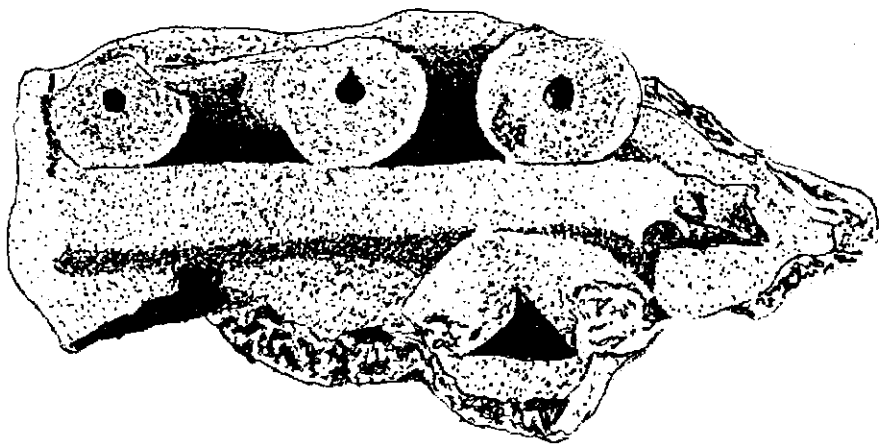
Decorative Elements (84) For the purposes of this analysis, decorative elements are small units of an urn with decoration, presumably portions of costume or headdress too small to be classifiable on their own. However, they are not totally unidentifiable. Some elements are recognisable on the costumes and headdresses of urns from Caso and Bernal (1952), while others appear unique to Jalieza.

Six types of decorative elements have been distinguished on the basis of two or more examples of a style of decoration from a costume or headdress. Motif 1, a U-shaped raised strip of clay, was found on IV-B (3) (Figure 26a), IV-D (3), IV-F (1) (Caso and Bernal 1952:95). This motif has also been identified on vessels from Monte Albán sites in the Tlacolula Valley. Motif 2 is a circle of raised clay, resembling an earspool, and five were located on IIIA-D (1), IV-B (1) (Figure 26b), IV-C (3) (see many urns of Caso and Bernal 1952). Motif 3, a raised j-shaped element often within a circle, was located on IIIA-A (1), IIIA-E (1), IIIA-G (2) (Figure 27a), IV-B (1). Motif 4 is a raised, diamond-shaped element and three were located on IIIA-D (2) and IV-B (1) (Figure 27b). Motif 5 is a raised Y-shaped element and is visible on IIIA-A (1) and IIIA-E (1) (Figure 27c, and possibly on IV-D - see Figure 20). Type 6 is a decoration of raised



0 2cm

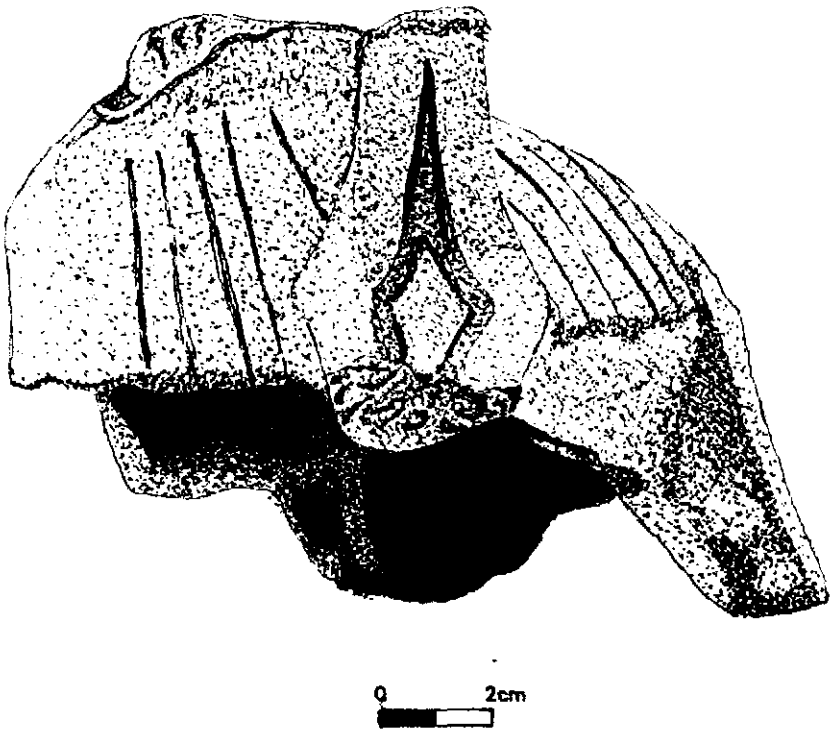
A



B

0 2cm

Decorative Elements: a) IV-B6, b) IV-B10 Figure 26



Decorative Elements: a) IIIA-G17B, b) IV-B9A,
c) IIIA-A2, d) IIIA-G17A

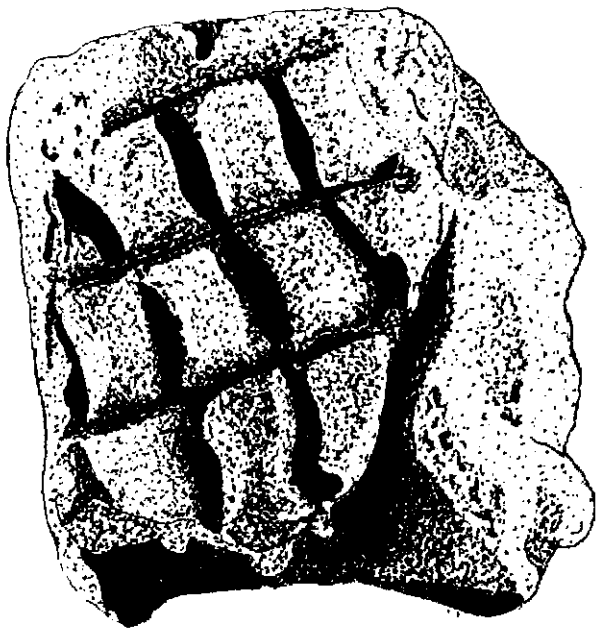
Figure 27

dots with wavy strips above and below, on IIIA-G (2) (Figure 27d). One sherd resembles a treble-scroll (Moser 1977:133, symbol 94). The remaining 58 sherds of decorative elements are single or partial representations of a motif and are found throughout both components of the site.

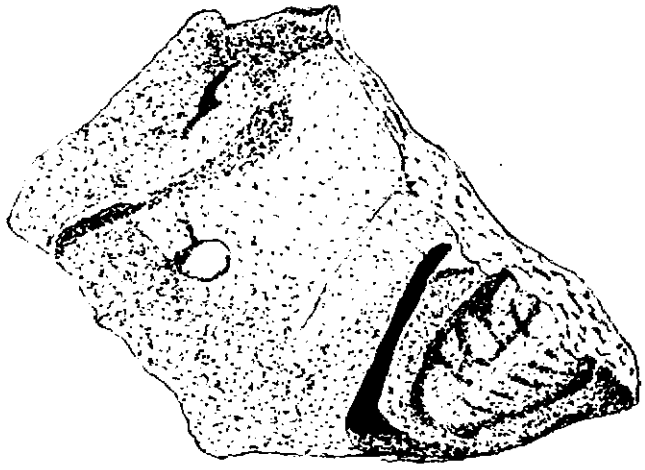
Corn (8) Corn cob or maiz representations came in two forms, stylised (IV-C (2) (Figure 28a,b) and IV-D (1) (Figure 28c)) and realistic cobs (IIIA-X (1) (Figure 29a), IV-B (1) and IV-C (1)) (Figure 29b). The only urn mould fragment recovered at Jalieza is an accurate corn cob mould (IIIA-X (1)) (Figure 29c). One fragment (IV-E) appears to be a part of the beginning of a glyph (Figure 29d). Ears of corn are visible on urns as decoration (Caso and Bernal 1952:98, Figure 163; 100, Figure 166).

Glyph E (1) One fragment (IIIA-A) resembles what Caso (1965:935, Figure 8) identified as a glyph E (Figure 30a).

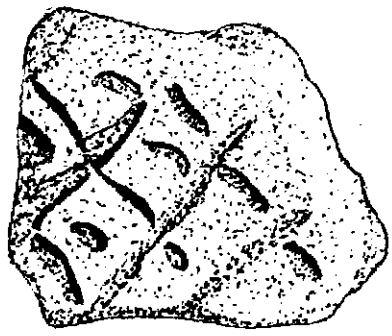
Glyph J Variant (2) Two fragments, IV-B(2) (Figure 30b and c), were recovered of what I categorise as a glyph J. Caso and Bernal (1952:137) indicate that this style of glyph is like glyph C with a cob of corn, however I feel that it more closely resembles a glyph J. Caso and Bernal (1952:20, Figure 7) produced a series of drawings of cobs, with the last example appearing like glyph J (Caso 1965:935, Figure 8).



A



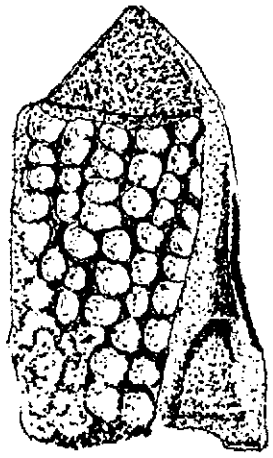
B



C

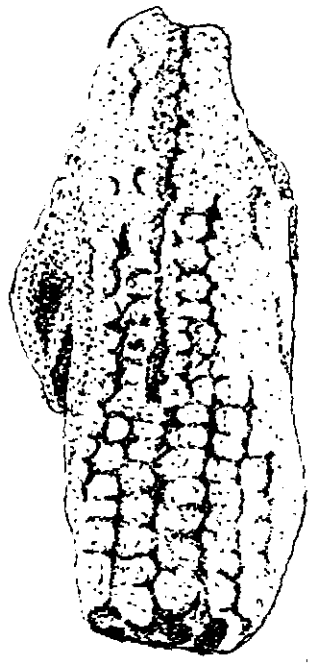
Corn: a) IV-C2, b) IV-C7, c) IV-D8

Figure 28



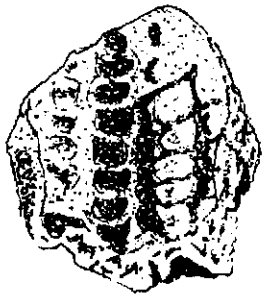
0 2cm

A



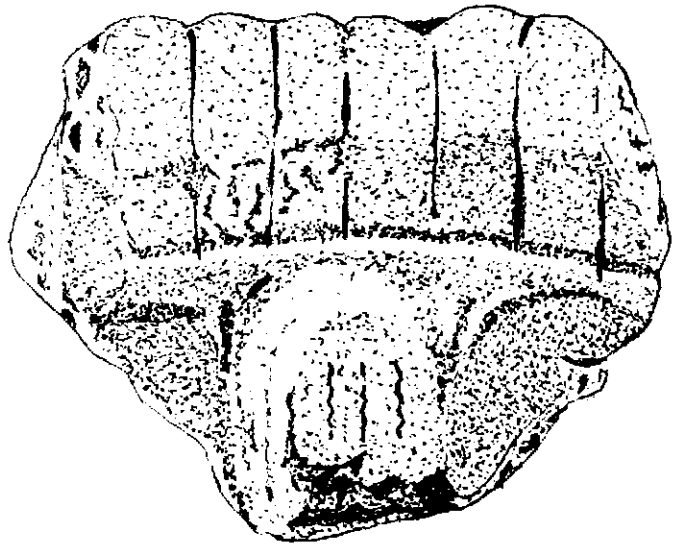
0 2cm

B



0 2cm

C

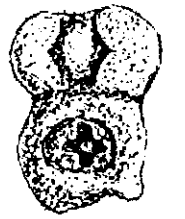


0 2cm

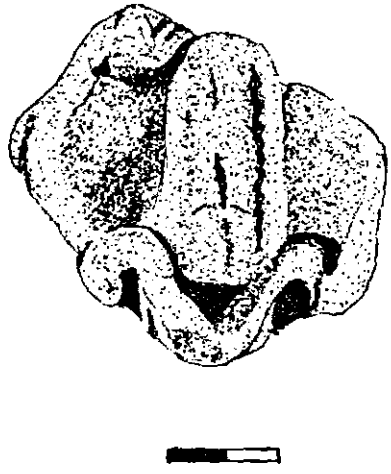
D

Corn: a) IV-C5, b) IIIA-X2,
c) IIIA-X2, d) IV-E1

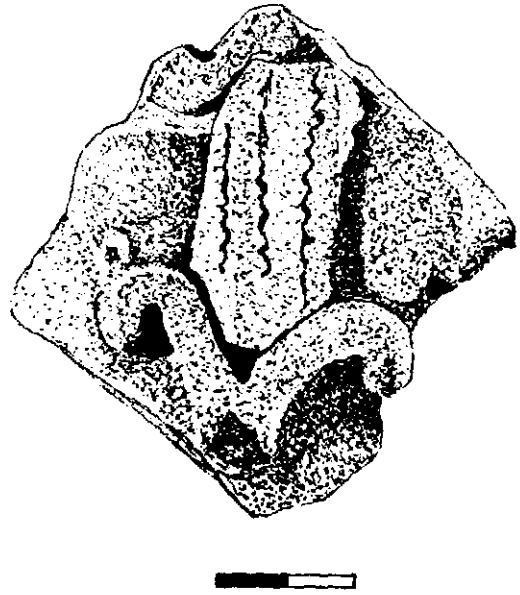
Figure 29



A



B



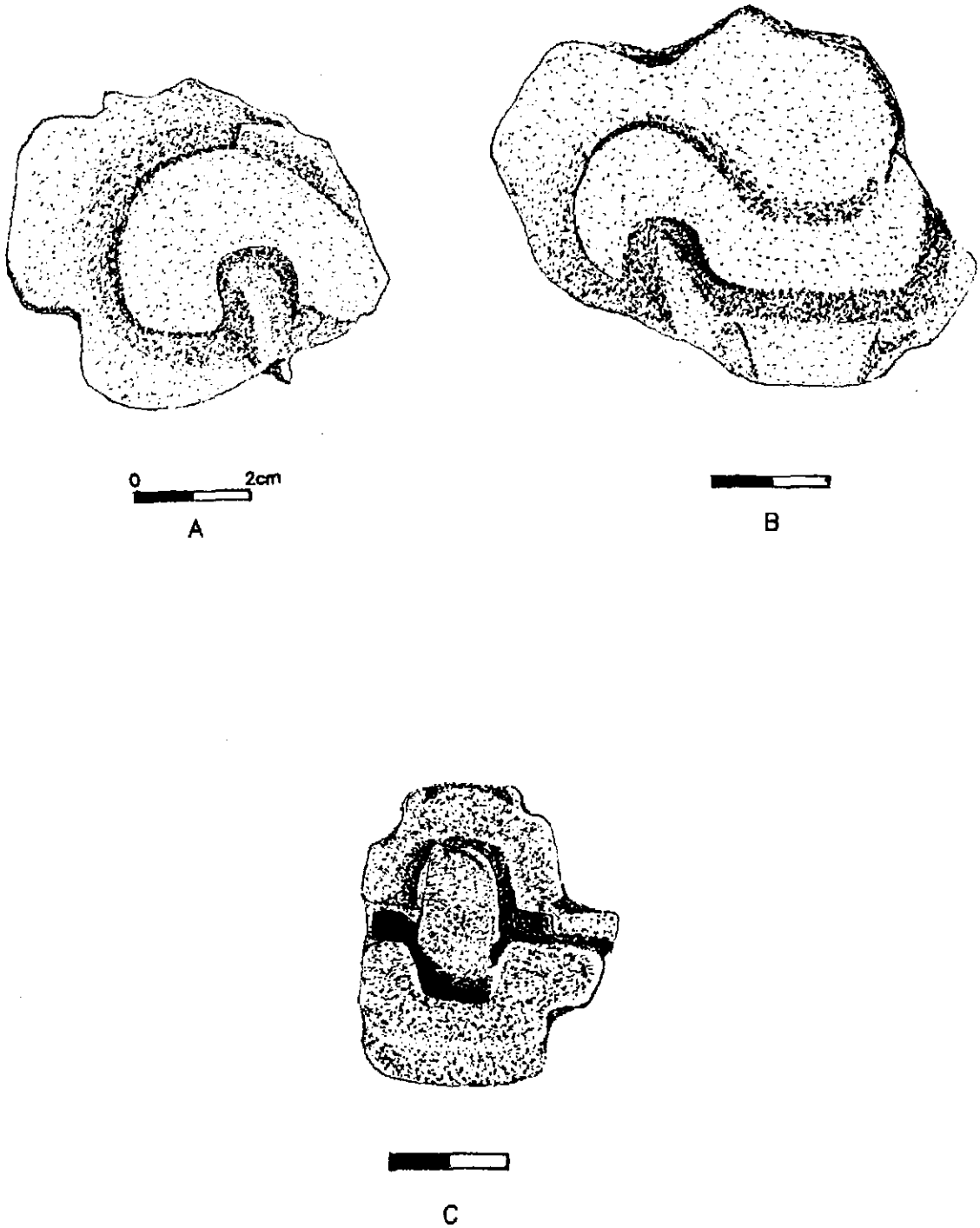
C

Glyphs: a) IIIA-A1B, b) IV-B15, c) IV-B14

Figure 30

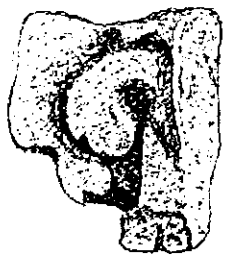
Glyph C (17) As is evident in Caso and Bernal's (1952) and Kuttruff's (1977) collections, glyph C is extremely popular and is abundant in the Jalieza collection. The glyph C is closely connected to Caso and Bernal's (1952:18) category of the god Cocijo, the glyph thought to represent, in earlier periods, a water vessel and then later, a tiger's mouth. Leigh (1966:259, 261) considers the shape of glyph C to be a cup of water with the lines issuing from the cup representing water. In his study, Leigh follows Caso and Bernal and attempts to document the evolution of glyph C, from a simple cup in Period I to the elaborate symbol of IIIA.

The simplest examples of glyph C are from IIIA-C(2) (Figure 31a,b), IIIA-G(3) (Figures 31c,32a,b), and IV-E (Figure 32c). Of the three fragments appearing as intermediate forms of the glyph, one has descending lines (IIIA-G) (Figure 33a), one displays a bar above the cup (IV-C) (Figure 33b) and one appears burnished (IV-A) (Figure 33c). Four fragments (IIIA-D, IIIA-G, IV-C, IV-H, Figure 34a,b,c,d respectively) appear to be fragments of flowing water with circular elements, all apparently portions of headdresses, quite similar to Leigh's examples (1966:260, Figures 19, 20). Two almost identical fragments also resemble flowing water, yet the cup is not visible (IIIA-G, IV-B, Figure 35a,b respectively). Interestingly, flowing water is not apparent on glyph Cs which are on wall paintings or inscription stones (Leigh 1966:264). An elaborate glyph C from IV-C (1) has a

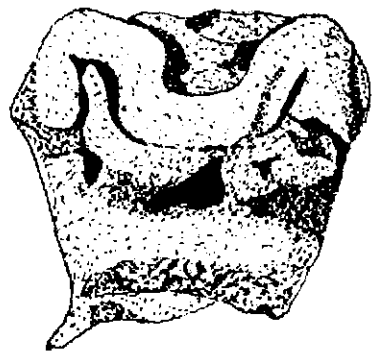


Glyph Cs:
a) IIIA-C3, b) IIIA-C3, c) IIIA-G17B

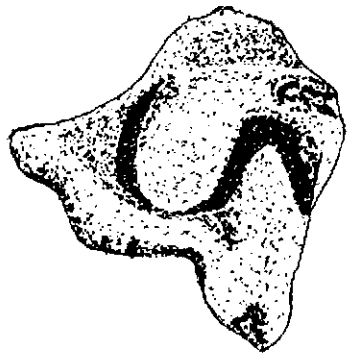
Figure 31



A



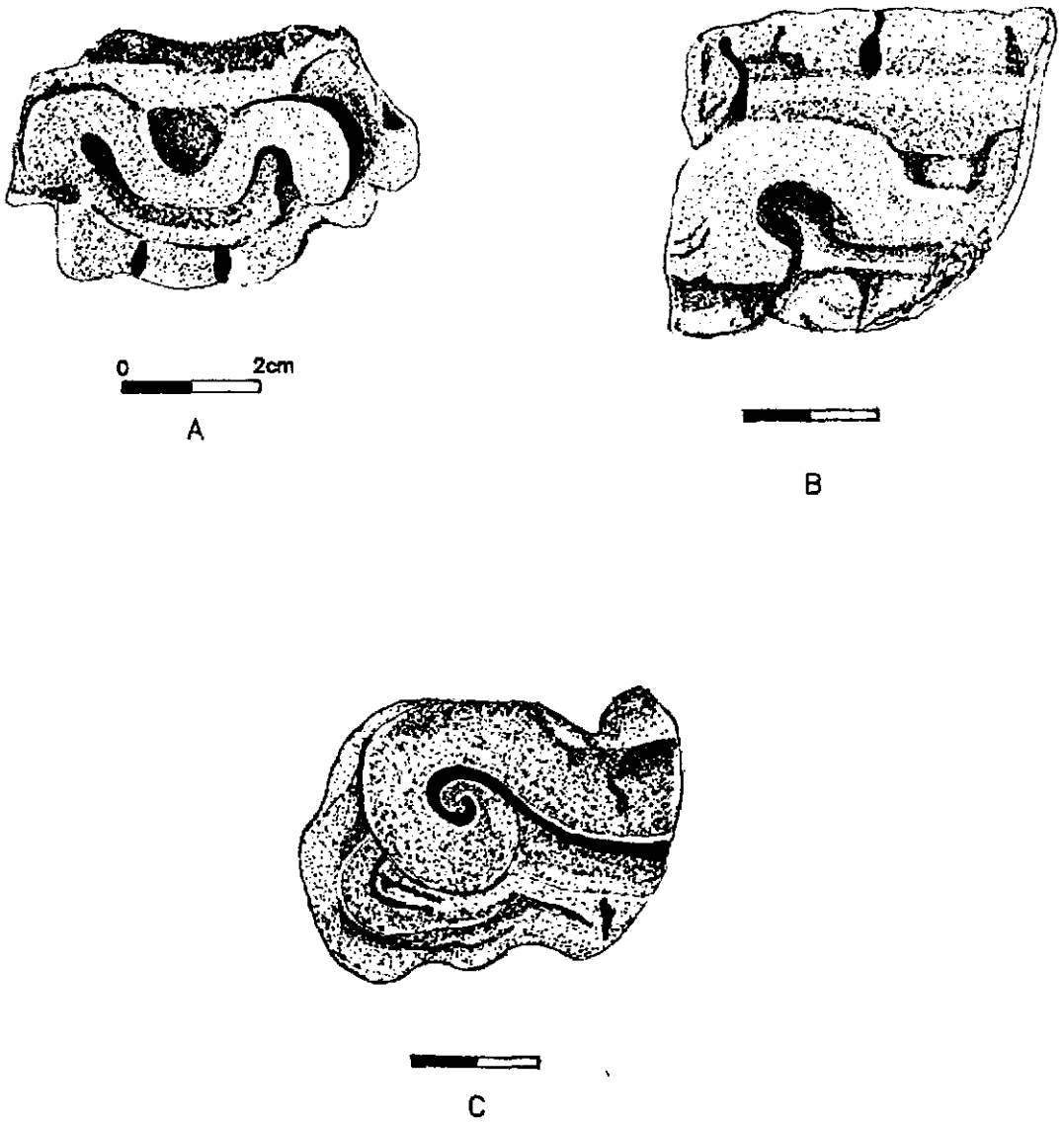
B



C

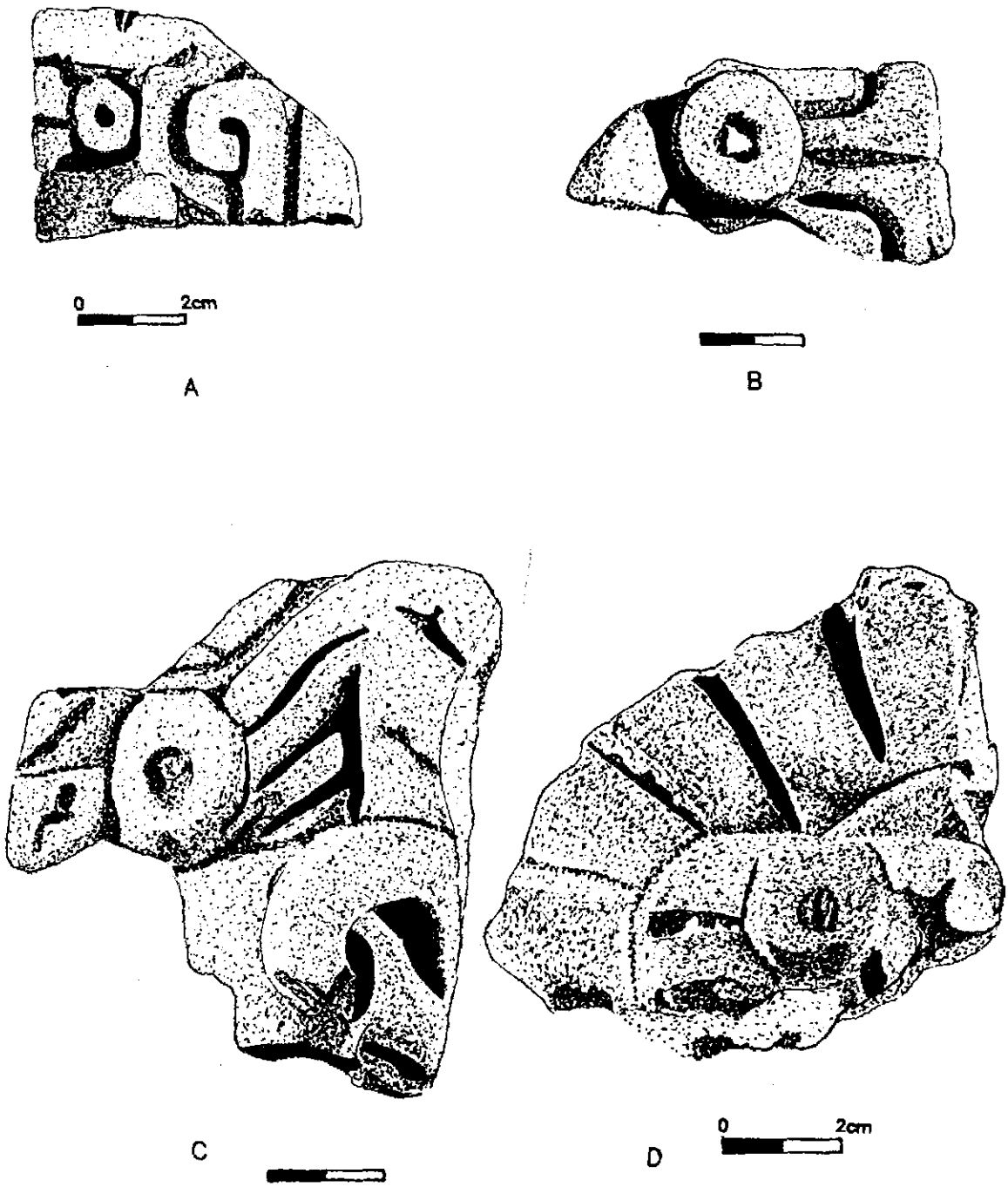
Glyph Cs:
a) IIIA-G12, b) IIIA-G9, c) IV-E1

Figure 32



Glyph Cs: a) IIIA-G17B, b) IV-C6, c) IV-A2

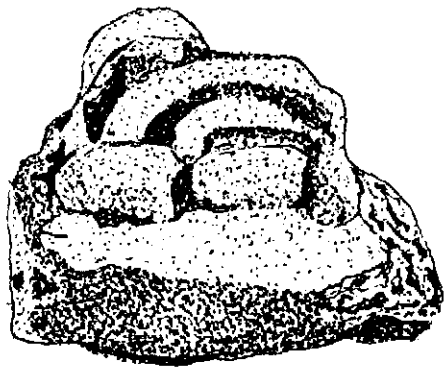
Figure 33



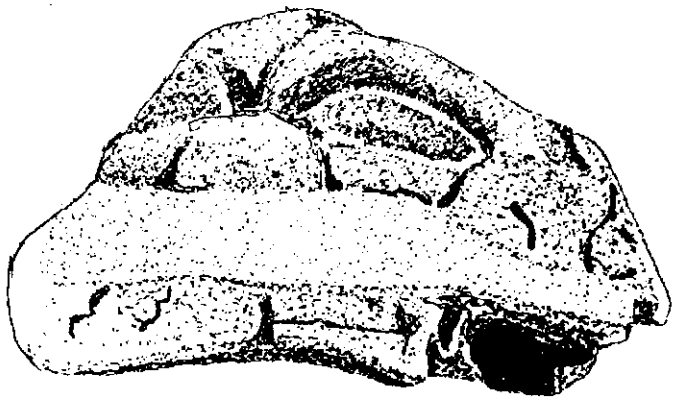
Glyph Cs:

a) IIIA-D1, b) IIIA-G16, c) IV-G6, d) IV-H19

Figure 34



A



B

Glyph Cs: a) IIIA-G16, b) IV-A12

Figure 35

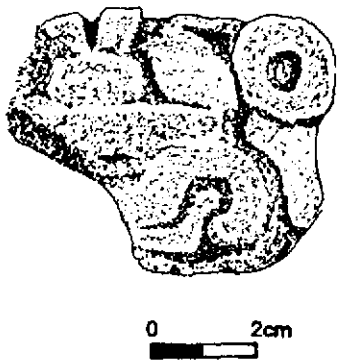
circular element (Figure 36a). The most complete glyph C, at Jalieza from IV-B (Figure 36b), resembles the style of glyph C with teeth descending which Leigh feels is representative of IIIA.

Water Sign (5) Two fragments (IV-B and IIIA-X, Figure 37a) have an appliqué water sign and on two more (IV-A and IV-B), a shadow is present where the wavy clay strip had been (Caso and Bernal 1952:44, Figure 56). One fragment appears to be the sign from the piye calendar with 4 dots, IIIA-D (Figure 37b) (Marcus 1992:129; Caso 1965b:925, Figure 4.21b).

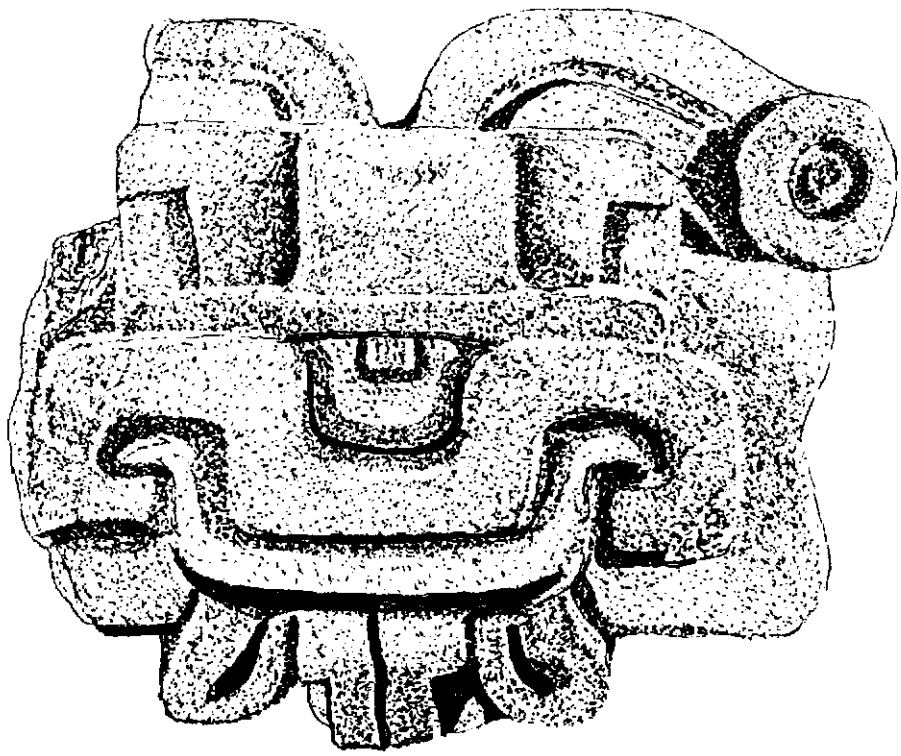
Five Bar Sign (3) Three fragments of the five bar sign were recovered from IIIA-X (Figure 37c), IIIA-D and IV-B (Figure 37d - Caso and Bernal 1952:87, Figure 138).

Miscellaneous Glyphs (3) Three fragments appear to be portions of glyphs, either not recognisable due to their fragmentary nature or previously unrecorded. One fragment displays two appliqué volutes (IV-B, Figure 38a), and two fragments may be different versions of the same glyph (IIIA-C, IV-B, Figure 38b,c respectively).

Jaguar Claw or Bird Talon (2) Two fragments (IIIA-E, Figure 38e, IIIA-H, Figure 38f) appear to be jaguar claws or the talon of a bird or bat, possibly from the base of vases, or



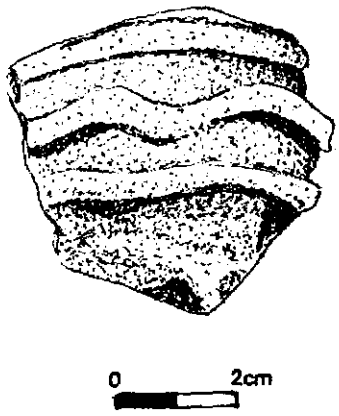
A



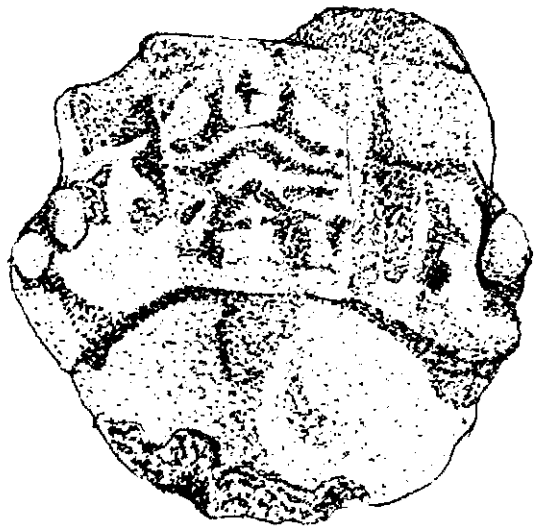
B

Glyph Cs: a) IV-C5, b) IV-B9A

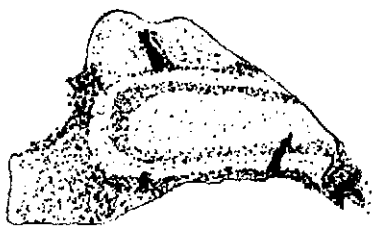
Figure 36



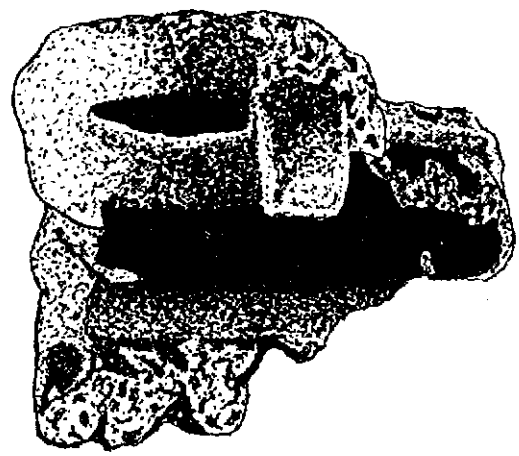
A



B



C



D

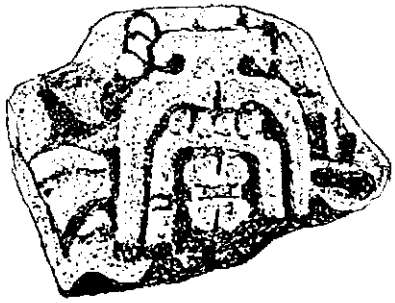
More Urns: a) IIIA-X1, b) IIIA-D3,
c) IIIA-X1, d) IV-B13

Figure 37

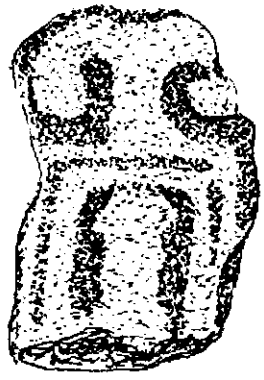
A 0 2cm

More Urns:

a) IV-B14
b) IV-B15
c) IIIA-C3
d) IIIA-B19
e) IIIA-E5
f) IIIA-H2

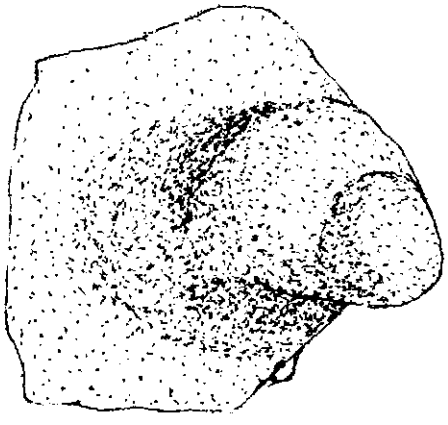


B

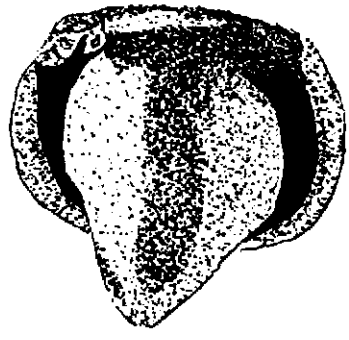


C

D 0 2cm



E



F 0 2cm

Figure 38

from the feet of zoomorphic figures (Kuttruff 1977:400; see Paddock 1966:173, Caso and Bernal 1952:61, Figure 91).

Rosettes (1) One fragment (IIIA-B) of a decorative rosette was recovered (Figure 38d - see Caso and Bernal 1952:102, Figure 168).

Unidentifiable Urn Sherds (79) It was not possible to classify 79 urn fragments.

4.5 Figurines

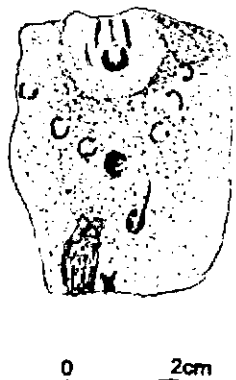
Figurine fragments vary greatly in terms of representation. However, due to their smaller size, they do not fall into as many body element and attribute categories as urns. Also, variation in figurine depictions appears to be more restricted. First, figurines may be broadly separated into two categories on the basis of manufacture: flat backed mouldmade figures and rounded handmade figures. The moulded examples much more often are decorated with hair, headdresses and decorative elements, so they represent the majority in the following discussion. Where possible, references are supplied. As mentioned prior to the discussion of identifiable urns, the references in brackets refer to the original, similarly depicted fragment and not the Jalieza specimen.

Handmade, Rounded Bodies (7) Seven fragments of various portions of small, handmade rounded body figurines were located on the site. These figures are solid and usually have small, plain human-like bodies (Figure 39a), but a few are decorated (Figure 39b - see Caso and Bernal 1952:325, Figure 479; Kuttruff 1977:381, Figure A.VII-1). They were found on IIIA-D (2), IIIA-E (1), IIIA-G (2), IV-A (1), IV-B (1).

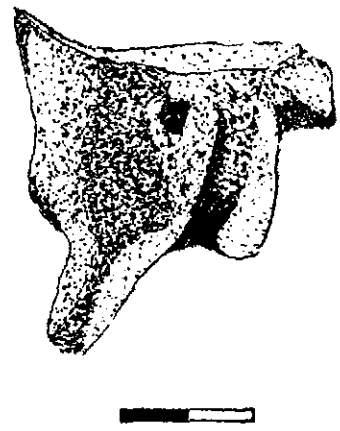
Faces, Noses, and Eyes (21) Twenty-one face fragments were located throughout the site, IIIA-C (3), IIIA-D (1), IIIA-E (1), IIIA-F (1), IIIA-G (7), IIIA-H (1), IV-A (2), IV-B (1), IV-D (3), IV-F (1). Like the urn face fragments, some faces are of figures who appear older (viejo) (Figure 39c) and others are younger (Figure 39d). Elaborate headdresses are visible atop many of the face fragments.

Necklaces, Earspools (11) Eleven figurine fragments displaying necklaces (composed of raised dots) and earspools (raised, circular elements) were found, from IIIA-B (1), IIIA-E (2), IIIA-G (4), IV-A (1), IV-C (2), IV-D (1) (Figure 39d).

Costume (9) Nine costume fragments were recovered from the site. Two styles of costumes, in terms of design similarity, are noted. One resembles a particular depiction of Caso and Bernal's (1952:291, Figure 443) Diosa 13 Serpiente. Characteristic of this figurine is the belt decorated with

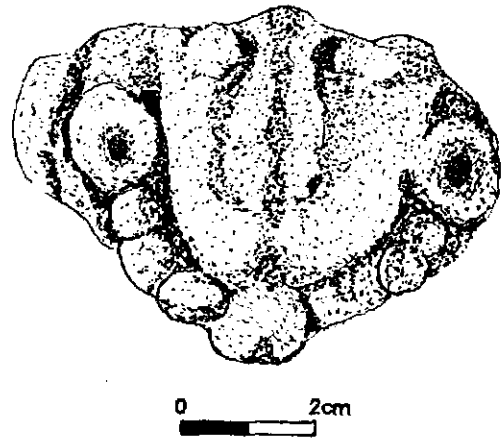


A



B

C



D

Figurines: a) IIIA-G2, b) IV-B14,
c) IIIA-G13, d) IV-C9

Figure 39

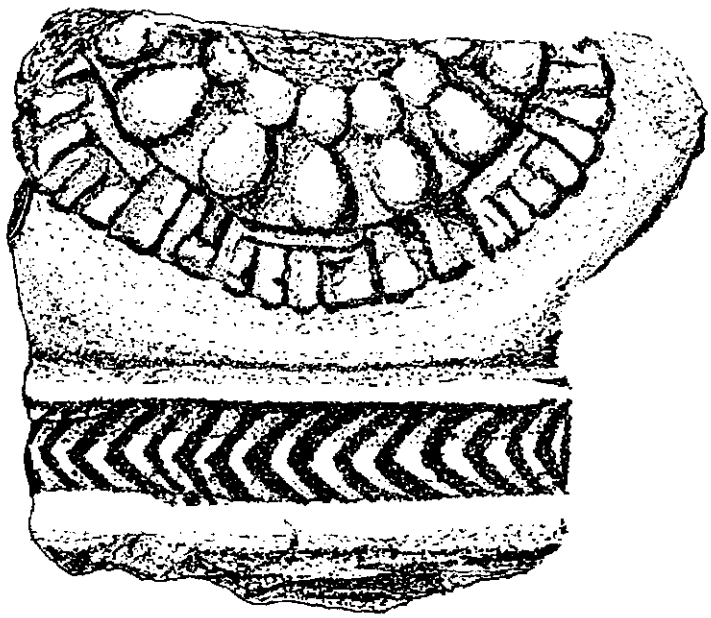
chevrons. Six sherds were recovered at IIIA-B (1), IIIA-C (1), IIIA-D (1), IIIA-G (2), IV-A (1) (see Figure 40a). Type 2 is designated by the quechquemitl of a longer over jacket (similar to Caso and Bernal's 1952:295, Figure 446). Two sherds from IIIA-G (2) were recovered (Figure 40b).

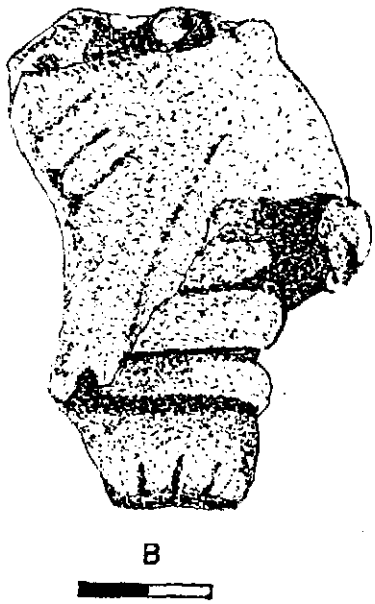
Capes (2) Two fragments (IV-C, IV-D) of feather capes were recovered (Figure 40c - see Caso and Bernal 1952:311, Figure 461b).

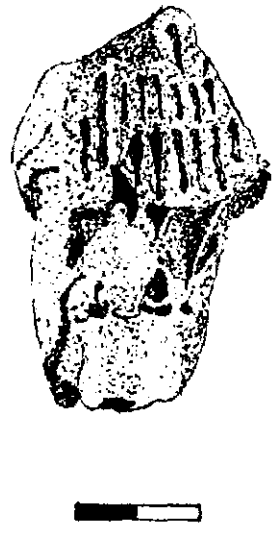
Headdresses (5) Five sherds of portions of headdresses were recovered. Several different styles of headdress are visible: IIIA-G (2) resemble Caso and Bernal's (1952:311, Figure 461) Diosa joven headdress (Figure 41a,b); IIIA-E (1) headdress fragment looks like a Diosa 13 Serpiente style; IIIA-E (1) resembles another style of Diosa joven headdress (Caso and Bernal 1952:313, Figure 464); and IV-C (1) is an elaborate headdress with a portion of a glyph C visible (Figure 40c).

Decorative Elements (3) Three sherds designated as decorative elements may have been portions of costumes or decoration within headdresses. Proveniences are IIIA-A (1), IIIA-E (1), IV-C (1).

Hands and Feet (3) Three sherds which were possible hands

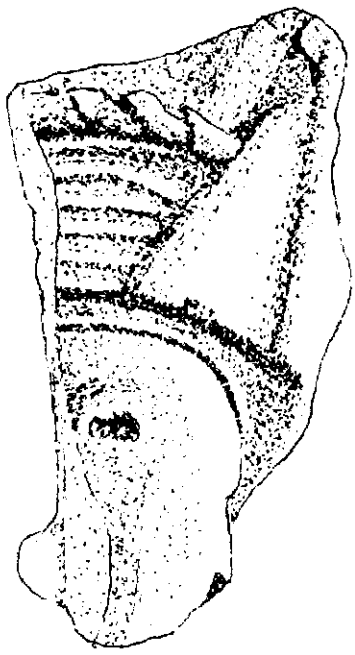






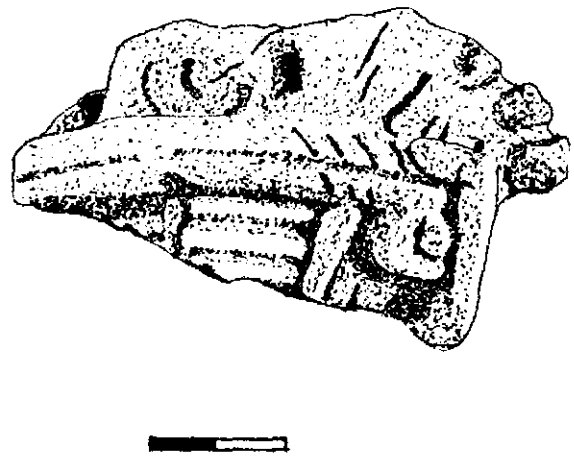
More Figurines:
a) IIIA-B6, b) IIIA-G2, c) IV-D2

Figure 40



0 2cm

A



B

More Figurines:
a) IIIA-G17B, b) IIIA-G1, c) IV-A9B

C 0 2cm

Figure 41

and/or feet from flat, mouldmade figures were recovered, IIIA-E (1), IIIA-G (1), IV-B (1). Due to the stylised nature of these depictions, it is difficult to differentiate between hands and feet.

Unidentifiable Sherds (5) Five sherds were unidentifiable.

4.6 Unknown Urns or Figurines Sixty-three fragments recovered could not be assigned to a vessel category. While some body element and general attributes are identifiable in some cases, no analysis was carried out on these pieces.

4.7 Summary

As evidenced by the presentation of data above, urns and figurines were recovered from all collections areas on the two components of the site. As the second portion of the chapter indicates, I was able to subdivide the collection into attribute categories which I established on the basis of different identifiable symbols, glyphs, motifs and body elements appearing on the urn and figurine specimens. While, the Early Classic component contained the largest sample of material and some terrace groups in both components contained markedly larger samples of urns and figurines than others, this initial presentation of the data does not tell the full story. The next stage of analysis will examine the apparent variances in the presence of these ritual items at both components and terrace groups as well as the variances in

attribute categories, in order to better comprehend the patterns of urn and figurine use over space and time at the Jalieza site.

CHAPTER 5

5.0 ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

The types and frequencies of attribute categories and body elements of urns and figurines have been outlined in Chapter 3. Yet, in order to understand whether these patterns are meaningful or whether they occur by chance, further analyses are necessary. In this chapter, I examine the distribution of urns and figurines, as well as the nature and frequency of headdress styles and decorative symbols and motifs over all terrace groups and both components of the site. Where possible, statistical tests will be utilised to evaluate the significance of differences in vessel frequencies.

5.1 Temporal Variation in Urn and Figurine Use

As was highlighted in Chapter 2, significant changes were occurring in the realms of political control and economic organisation throughout the Valley of Oaxaca. Depictions of individuals as seen on the urns and figurines, whether they be gods or important ancestors, appear to have been tied to status and are associated with the politically empowered of Oaxaca (Kowalewski et.al. 1989:250). Therefore, at the most basic level of analysis, one wonders if the differences in numbers of urns and figurines from each component reflect any

differences in nature and/or number of political elite over time.

In Monte Albán IIIA, 243 urns and 45 figurines were collected, while 205 urns and 21 figurines were recovered from Phase IV terraces. While the sample sizes are quite similar, it is interesting to compare them to the estimated number of inhabitants of each terrace group, for their respective phases. Population estimates for the components were calculated based on sherd coverage and density. In the Early Classic, Jalieza was thought to have an approximate population of 13,000 (Kowalewski et.al. 1989:226). By the Early Postclassic approximately 16,000 inhabitants resided in Jalieza (Finsten 1981:3).

When these two population estimates are taken into account, it appears that urn and figurine use decreased over time. However, it would be prudent to examine the specific population densities of each terrace group in order to better understand the magnitude of change.

Table 8: Distribution of Urns and Figurines Compared to Utilitarian Bowls

Terrace Groups	Util. Bowls	Urns/Util.Bowls	Figs/Util.Bowls
IIIA-A	284	.032	.004
IIIA-B	314	.025	.006
IIIA-C	285	.042	.014
IIIA-D	1103	.024	.005
IIIA-E	886	.062	.010
IIIA-F	129	.016	.008
IIIA-G	1714	.057	.012
IIIA-H	283	.071	.004
Total	4714		

Terrace Groups	Util. Bowls	Urns/Util.Bowls	Figs/Util.Bowls
IV-A	1229	.028	.004
IV-B	1134	.048	.004
IV-C	1782	.035	.002
IV-D	751	.025	.007
IV-E	152	.086	-
IV-F	165	.036	.006
IV-G	62	.145	-
IV-H	103	.058	.009
Total	5378		

Since these population estimates apply to the entire site, and the collected terrace groups represent only a portion of the terrace groups used in prehistory, it would be inappropriate to use them as a yardstick against which to compare the sample of material. An alternative approach uses the vessel count of utilitarian bowls for each terrace group (Finsten 1992:83, Footnote 21). Utilitarian bowls presumably would have been required by all residents of Jalieza, regardless of variance in social standing. Indeed, these bowls are ubiquitous at Jalieza and their abundance does not appear to be associated with any status or other occupational distinctions. Therefore, to better understand cross-temporal variation as well as to determine which terrace groups were truly utilising a greater number of urns and figurines within a component, it is useful to standardise the raw data (see Tables 2 and 6 for raw vessel counts), by calculating proportions of ceremonial urns and figurines to utilitarian bowls (Table 8).

When the mean values are calculated for both artifact categories, interesting patterns emerge. For the Early

Classic occupation, the mean of the ratios for urns to utilitarian bowls is .041 and the mean of the ratios for figurines to utilitarian bowls is .008. Simply stated those figures indicate that for every utilitarian bowl present in the Early Classic terrace assemblage, .041 urns and .008 figurines were present. For the Early Postclassic phase, the means of urn to utilitarian bowl and figurine to utilitarian bowl were .058 and .004 respectively. Therefore, based on these calculations, figurines appear to have had a greater importance in the Early Classic society at Jalieza than in the Early Postclassic. Conversely, urns appear to have been used to a greater degree during the Early Postclassic.

The strength of these relationships was tested statistically. The chi-square test was used to evaluate the differences in the total standardised frequencies (multiplied by 10^3) of urns and figurines in Phases IIIa and IV (see Sprinthall 1990 for a complete discussion of this test). While this method allows me to modify ratios and create whole numbers for the chi-square test, it produces artificially large artifact frequencies in each cell which are likely to produce significant results. To correct for this, I calculated the phi-squared (see Blalock 1979:303).

Table 9: Chi-Square and Phi-Squared Test

Chi-square: IIIA Vs. IV Urn and Figurine Use

	Urns	Figurines
IIIA	329	63
IV	461	32

$x^2 = 20.9$ d.f. 1 $p<.01$

Relationship is significant
Null Hypothesis rejected

Phi-squared

$$\frac{20.9}{885} = .023$$

Relationship is not significant
Distribution is random

The chi-square statistical test indicates the pattern of differences in the total of the standardised ratios does not change substantially over time. The differences between the artifact frequencies of the two occupations are not statistically significant. While the means of the ratios indicates, contrary to the raw counts, that urns were used to a greater degree in the Early Postclassic phase, yet these differences are quite small as statistical test indicate they may be due to random chance.

5.2 Elite Versus Commoner Urn and Figurine Use

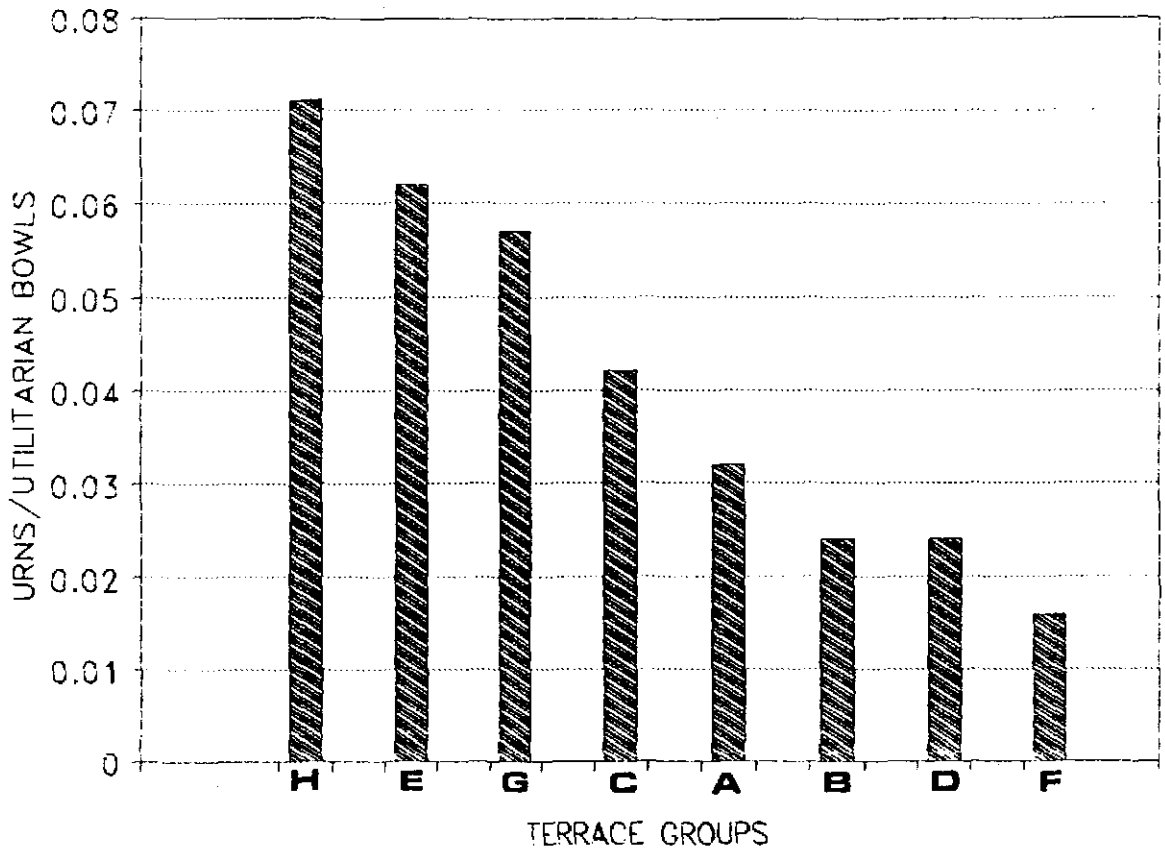
In order to assess whether social status was mirrored in the assemblages, the proportions of urns and figurines found on elite and commoner terraces were compared.

Urn samples retrieved during the survey of the Valley of Oaxaca appeared to have a "primate" spatial distribution, that is they were found in greater quantities in larger centres, than in secondary centres (Kowalewski et.al. 1989:281). Their use is associated with population and mounds, while their presence in rural villages is minimal (Kowalewski et.al. 1989:281). Therefore, based on what we know of social stratification and of the internal political organisation of Jalieza society, I would expect urns to be more prevalent in elite-focused areas rather than in commoner residential areas (Young 1992). While I believe that this pattern should be evident in both phases, it should be more obvious in the Early Classic period. I will now examine the distribution of urns at the zones occupied by the two basic classes of Jalieza residents.

EARLY CLASSIC

The largest assemblage of urns, by far, was found on the elite terrace group IIIA-G (97 vessels or 40% of the Phase IIIA collection). It is necessary to examine the ratio of urns to utilitarian bowls found on each terrace group in order to understand the distribution of urns over the site. Figure 42 graphically displays the information from Table 8. Interestingly, terrace groups H and E, both occupied by commoners, display the highest urn to utilitarian bowl ratios. Next are the four elite-focused terrace groups (G,C,A and B),

FIGURE 42: IIIA URN RATIOS



and commoner terrace groups D and F have the lowest ratios.

Terrace group G had the largest collection of figurines, with 20 specimens or 44% of the Early Classic collection being recovered here. However, when figurine use is standardised using numbers of utilitarian bowls, terrace group C shows the highest ratio, followed by G, and then the two commoner areas, E and F (Figure 43). The ratios of the remaining four terrace groups are quite close and no particular pattern is evident.

Next, the chi-square and phi-squared statistical tests are utilised to evaluate the overall differences in urn and figurine use in elite and commoner areas during the Early Classic period (Table 10).

Table 10: Chi-square and Phi-squared Test

Chi-square: Elite Vs. Commoner Urn and Figurine Use

IIIA	Urns	Figurines
Elite (incl. civic-ceremon.)	156	36
Commoner	173	10

$x^2 = 15.4$ d.f. 1 $p<.01$

Relationship is Significant
Null Hypothesis is rejected

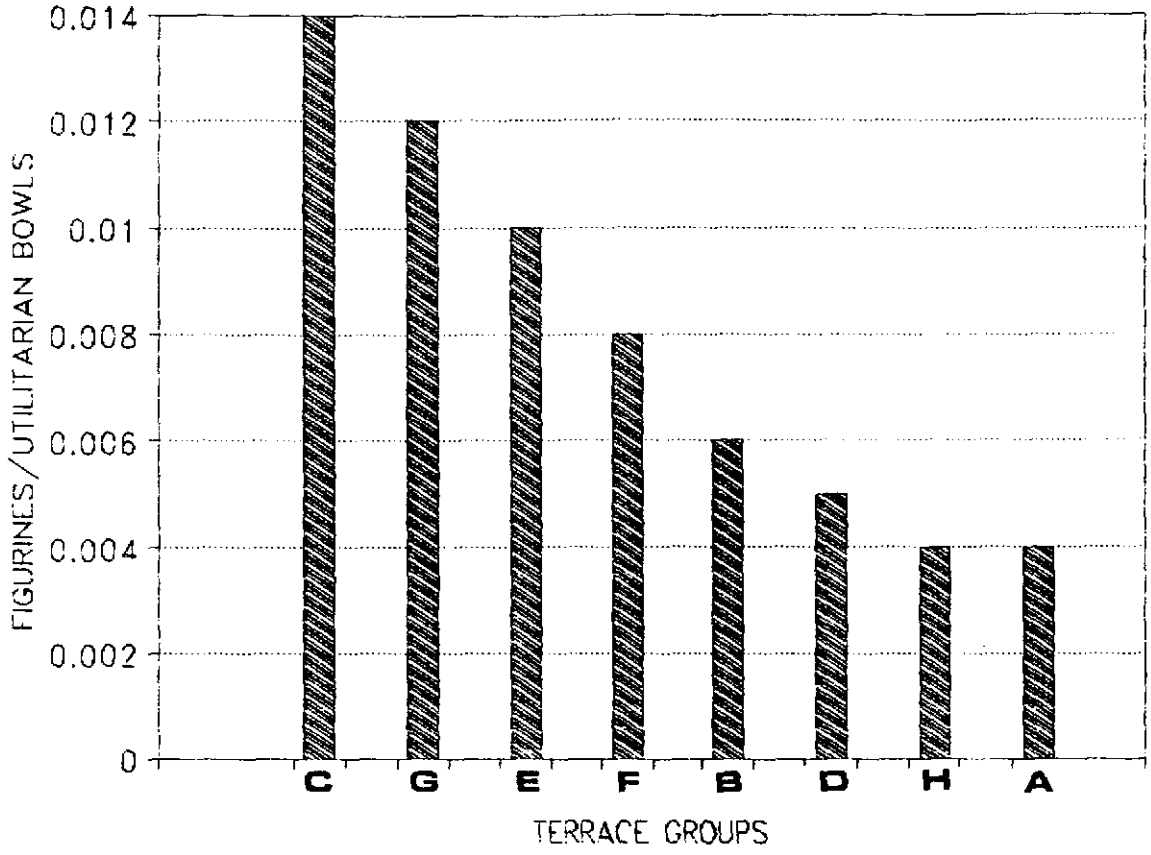
Phi-squared

$$\frac{15.4}{375} = 0.04$$

Relationship is not Significant
Distribution is Random

Therefore, urn ratios across elite and commoner terrace groups do not appear to conform to the 'primate' dispersal

FIGURE 43: IIIA FIGURINE RATIOS



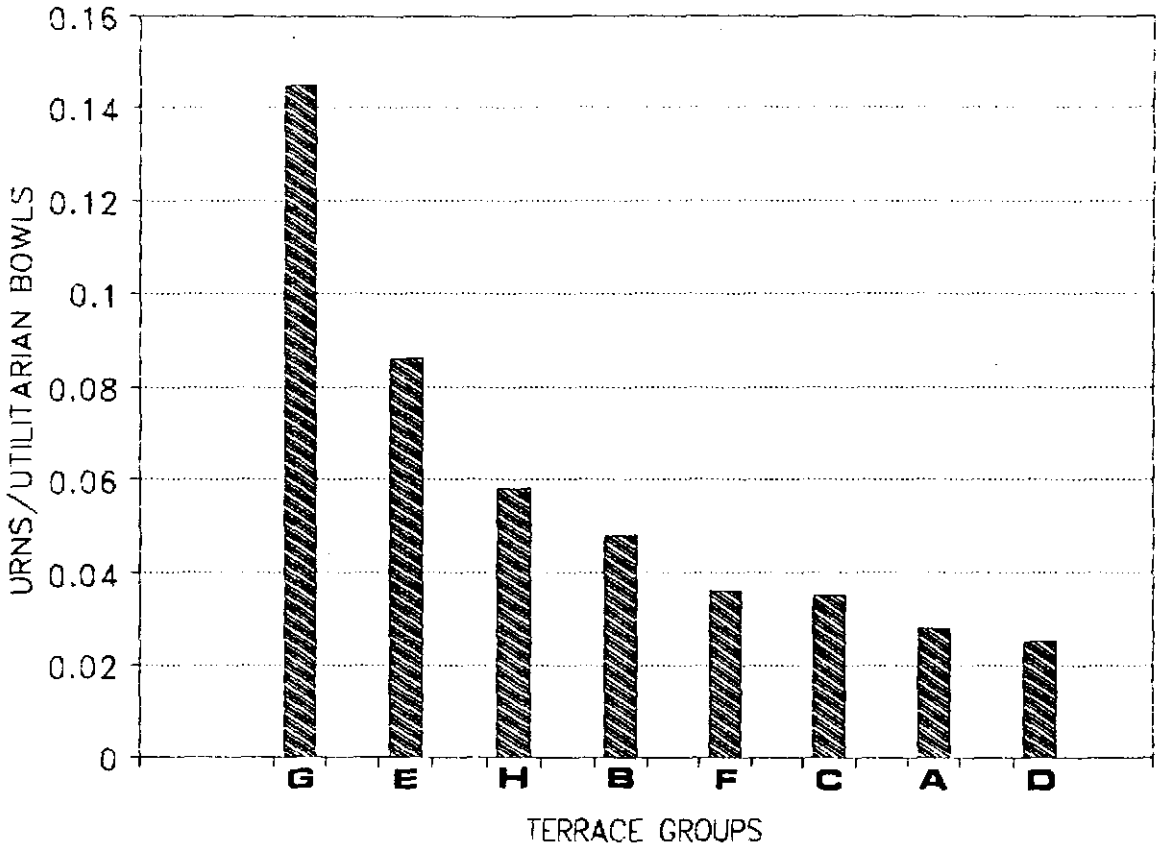
pattern of noted during surveys throughout the Valley of Oaxaca. Greater numbers of urns per utilitarian bowls were recovered from some elite areas than others; however, the largest numbers of urns per bowl were found in two commoner areas, but this difference is not statistically significant. Ironically, figurines appeared to be more densely distributed in elite rather than commoner areas.

EARLY POSTCLASSIC

By the Early Postclassic, the "primate" pattern of urn distribution appears to have declined (Kowalewski et.al. 1989:300,301). While greater numbers of urns are likely to be found on major administrative sites as opposed to rural sites in the Oaxaca Valley, this tendency is less marked (Kowalewski et.al. 1989:301). Therefore, it is worthwhile to see if this pattern appears at Jalieza.

While Early Postclassic phase Jalieza appeared to lack a distinctly delineated administrative core, there were several elite-focused zones. The three elite areas (terrace groups IV-A, B, C) appeared to have the largest number of urns, with these three areas containing 152 vessels. However, when the ratios of urns to utility bowls are compared, quite the opposite pattern emerges (Figure 44). Three commoner terrace groups, G, E and H, emerge clearly as the areas with greatest number of urns per bowl. Elite terrace group B displays the next highest ratio followed first by the commoner terrace

FIGURE 44: IV URN RATIOS



group F, and finally, with very similar ratios, elite groups C and A, and commoner group D.

The distribution of the ratios of figurines to utilitarian bowls mirrors the pattern noted above. Again, three commoner terrace groups, H, D and F, showed the greatest ratios, followed by the three elite areas, A, B and C (Figure 45).

Again, the chi-square and phi-squared test are utilised to evaluate the apparent discrepancies in the Early Postclassic component elite and commoner urn and figurine use (Table 11).

Table 11: More Chi-square and Phi-squared Tests

Chi-square: Elite Vs. Commoner Urn and Figurine Use

IV	Urns	Figurines
Elite (incl. civic-ceremon.)	111	27
Commoner	350	22

x^2 =21.6 d.f. 1 p<.01

Relationship is Significant
Null Hypothesis is rejected

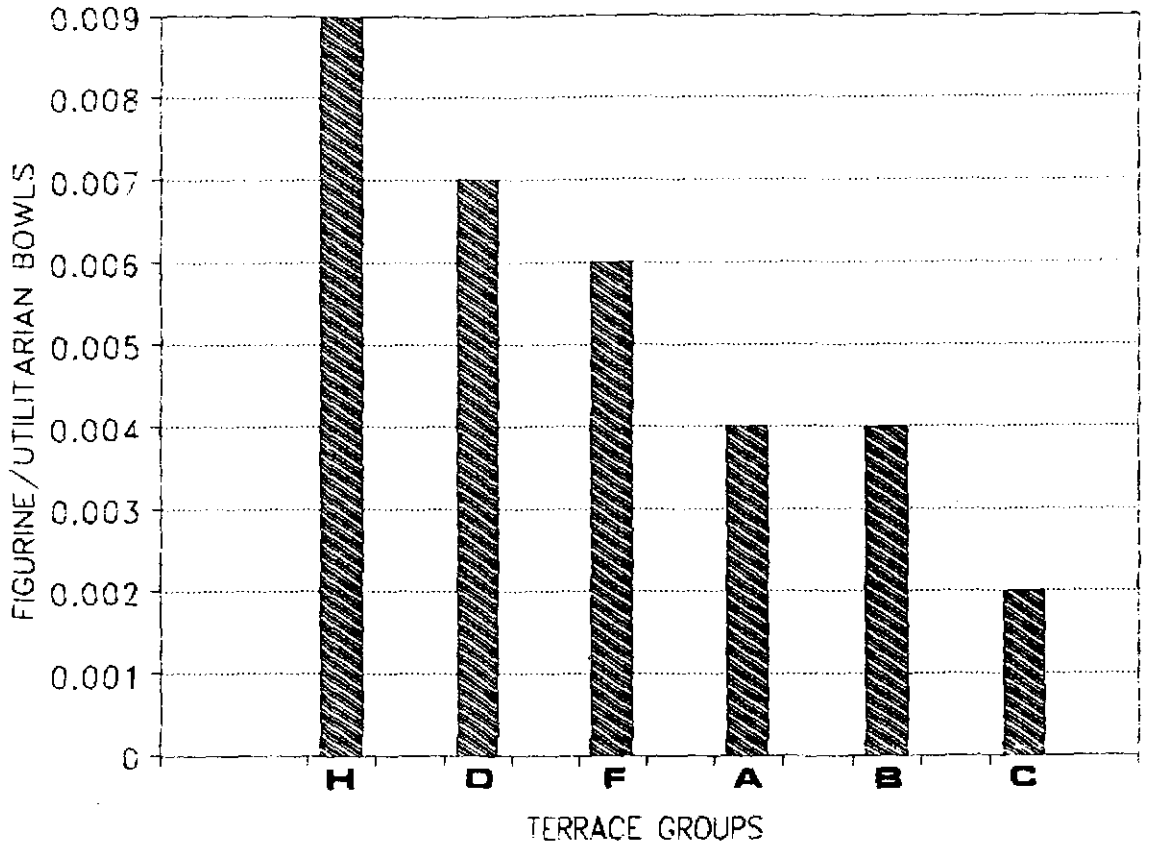
Phi-squared

$$\frac{21.6}{510} = 0.04$$

Relationship is not Significant
Distribution is random

The patterns noted for the ratios of urn and figurine use to utilitarian bowls in the Early Postclassic period are more

FIGURE 45: IV FIGURINE RATIOS

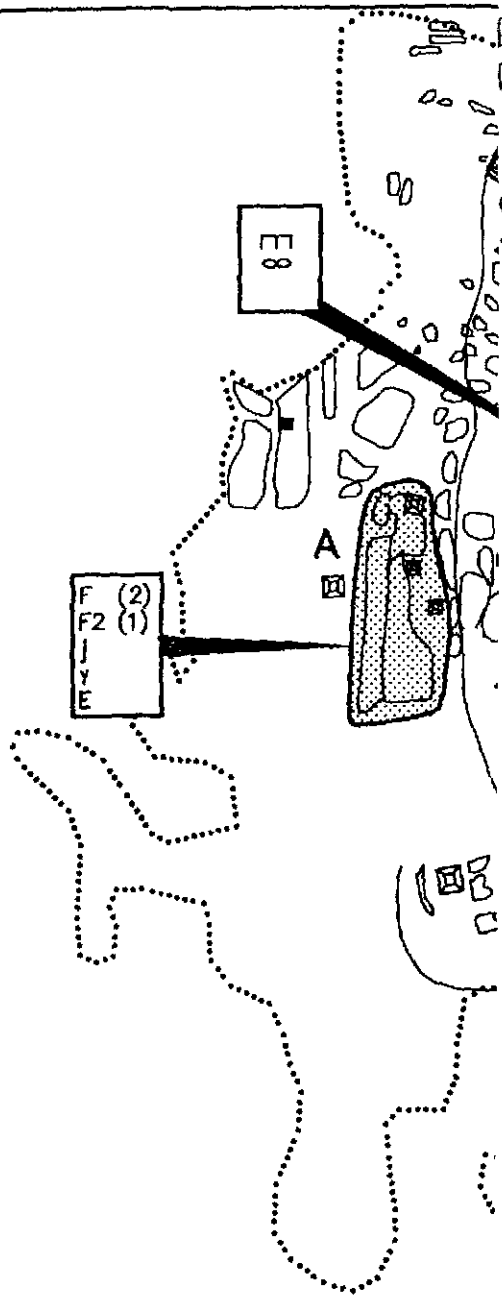


in line with my assumptions than those found in the Early Classic sample. Access to these ritual items clearly was not restricted by social status in either phase. The results of the chi-square tests for evaluating differences in elite and commoner urn and figurine use indicate that in both periods, access did not differ significantly between terrace groups. And while the elite of Early Classic Jalieza were geographically and politically superior to other Jalieza residents, their greater use of figurines in their ritual activities compared to commoners was not dramatic. Based on the comparison of terrace group ratios and statistical tests, it does not appear that the Early Postclassic administrators exercised rigid control over ritual item dispersal.

5.3 Distribution of Headdress Styles, Decorative Motifs and Calendrical Glyphs

Some small differences exist in the frequency of ritual item use between elite and commoner terrace groups. The next stage of my analysis is to examine the distribution of styles of decoration and motifs across the two components of the site. Although the fragmentary nature of the sherds proves limiting when studying decorative motifs and symbols, I have been able to discern several styles (see Chapter 4; Figures 46 and 47 for the Early Classic and Early Postclassic period urn motif distributions respectively and Figures 48 and 49 for the Early Classic and Early Postclassic period figurine distributions respectively).

..LIEZA–PHASE IIIa
UTION OF URN MOTIFS



GENERAL LEGEND

620 CONTOUR (m AMSL)
APPROXIMATE LIMIT OF SITE
TERRACE
STRUCTURE

URN LEGEND

(2) NUMBER RECOVERED

HEADDRESSES – FEATHERS
STYLE 1
STYLE 2

HEADDRESSES – WITHOUT FEATHERS
STYLE 1
STYLE 2
STYLE 3
STYLE 4

MOTIFS
1
2
3
4
5
6
A REALISTIC CORN
S STYLISED CORN
WATER

HAIRSTYLES
F TYPE 1 – FRINGE
F2 TYPE 2 – LONG FRINGE

COSTUME
Q QUECHQUEMITL

EYES
COCIJO EYES

GLYPHS
GJ GLYPH J
C GLYPH C
E GLYPH E
5–BAR

TERRACE LEGEND

ELITE TERRACE GROUP
COMMONER TERRACE GROUP
CIVIC–CEREMONIAL TERRACE GROUP

Figure 46

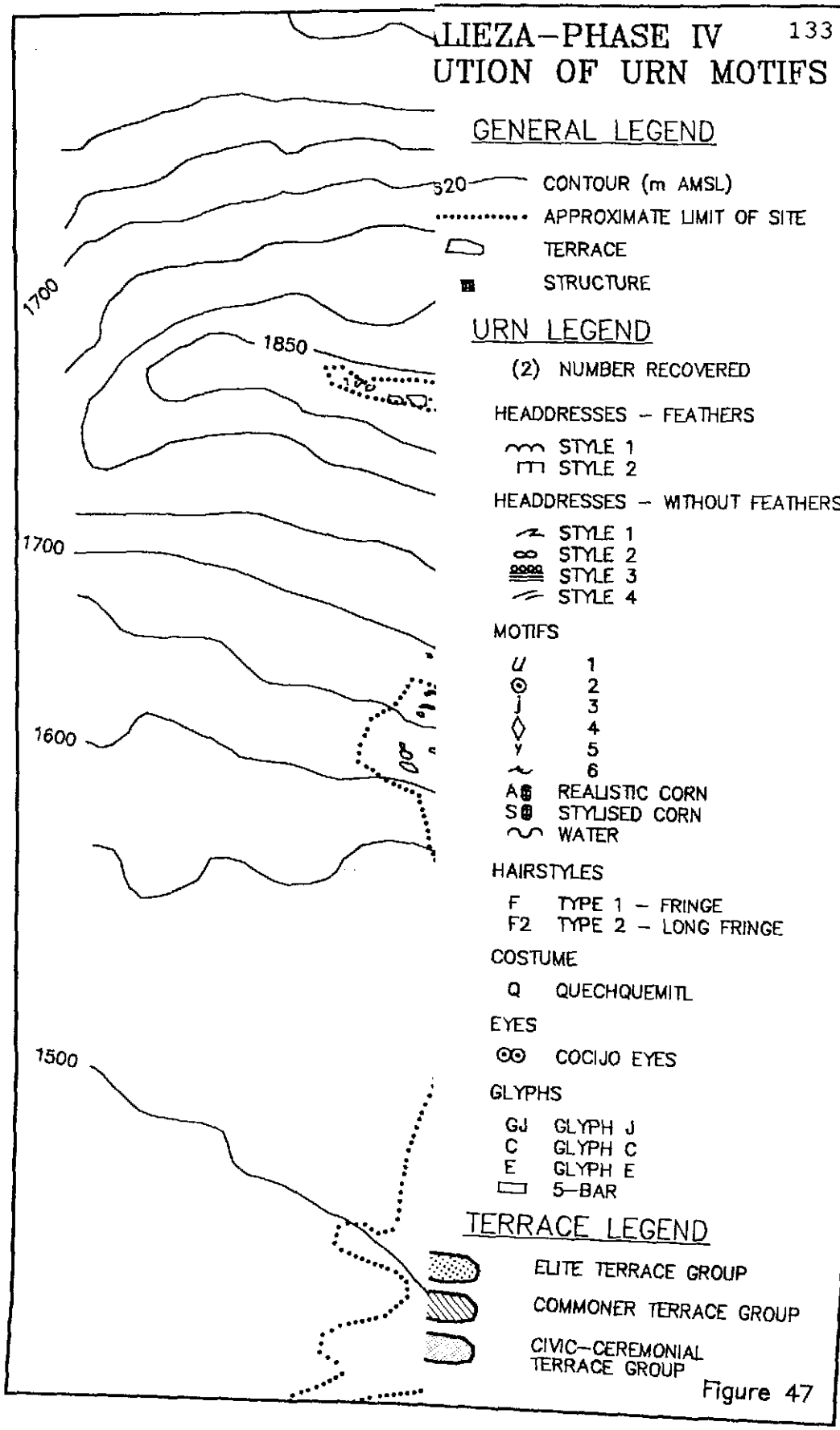

LIEZA–PHASE IV
UTION OF URN MOTIFS
GENERAL LEGEND
520 CONTOUR (m AMSL)
APPROXIMATE LIMIT OF SITE
TERRACE
STRUCTURE
URN LEGEND
(2) NUMBER RECOVERED
HEADDRESSES – FEATHERS
STYLE 1
STYLE 2
HEADDRESSES – WITHOUT FEATHERS
STYLE 1
STYLE 2
STYLE 3
STYLE 4
MOTIFS
1
2
3
4
5
6
REALISTIC CORN
STYLISED CORN
WATER
HAIRSTYLES
F TYPE 1 – FRINGE
F2 TYPE 2 – LONG FRINGE
COSTUME
Q QUECHQUEMITL
EYES
COCIJO EYES
GLYPHS
GJ GLYPH J
C GLYPH C
E GLYPH E
5–BAR
TERRACE LEGEND
ELITE TERRACE GROUP
COMMONER TERRACE GROUP
CIVIC–CEREMONIAL TERRACE GROUP
1700
1850
1700
1600
1500

Figure 47

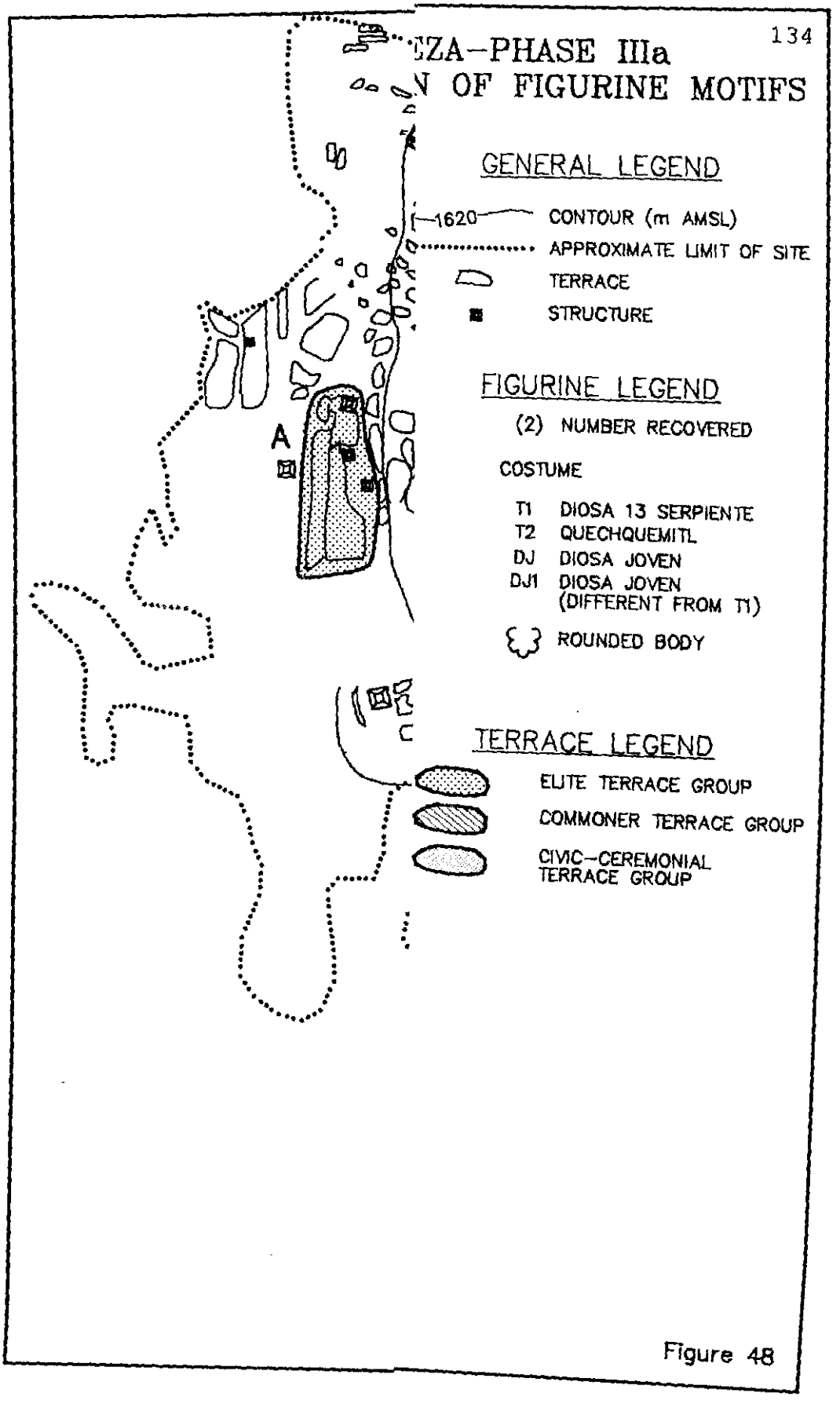

ZA–PHASE IIIa
N OF FIGURINE MOTIFS
GENERAL LEGEND
1620
CONTOUR (m AMSL)
APPROXIMATE LIMIT OF SITE
TERRACE
STRUCTURE
FIGURINE LEGEND
(2) NUMBER RECOVERED
COSTUME
T1 DIOSA 13 SERPIENTE
T2 QUECHQUEMITL
DJ DIOSA JOVEN
DJ1 DIOSA JOVEN (DIFFERENT FROM T1)
ROUNDED BODY
TERRACE LEGEND
ELITE TERRACE GROUP
COMMONER TERRACE GROUP
CIVIC–CEREMONIAL TERRACE GROUP
A
C

Figure 48

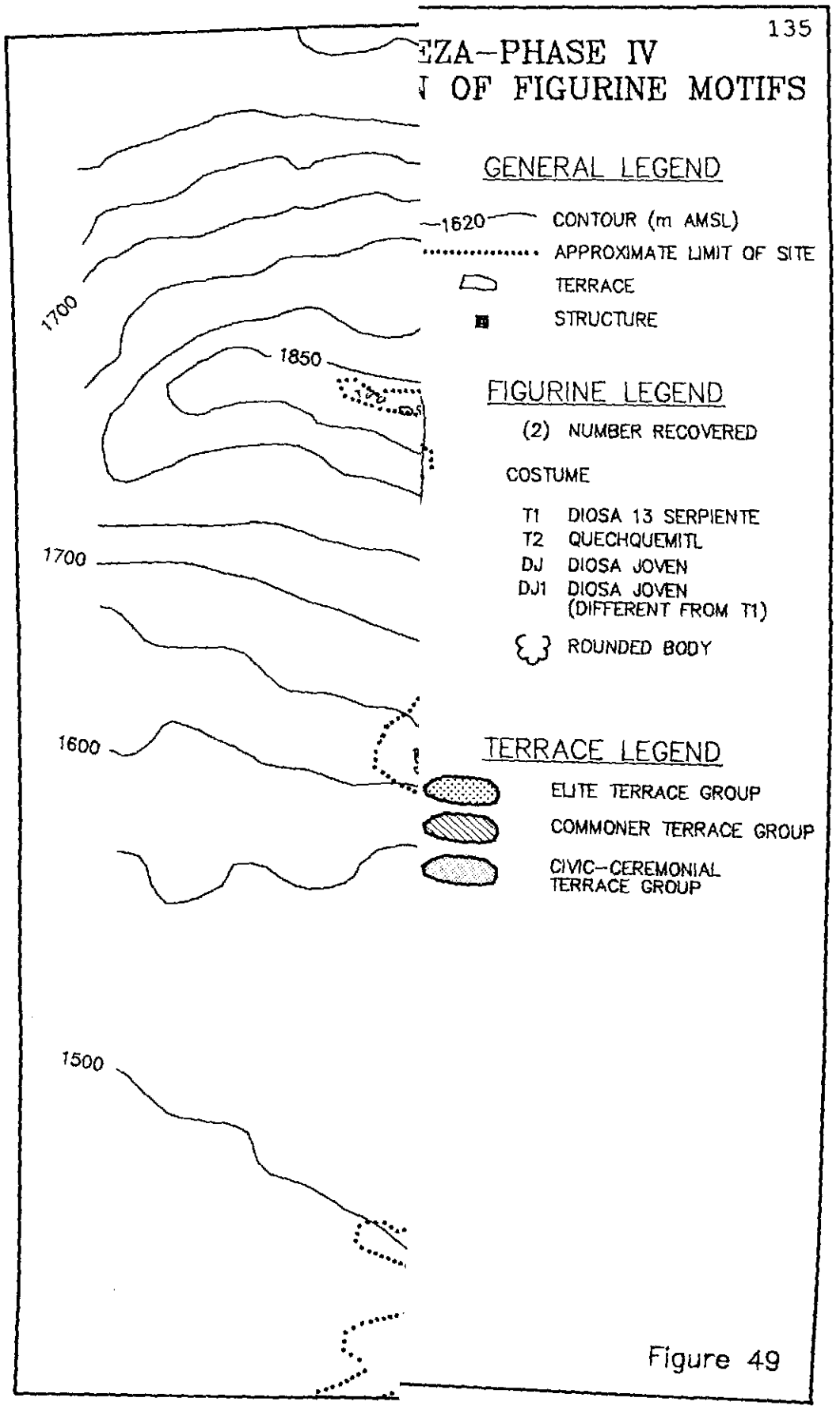

EZA–PHASE IV
OF FIGURINE MOTIFS
GENERAL LEGEND
1620 CONTOUR (m AMSL)
APPROXIMATE LIMIT OF SITE
TERRACE
STRUCTURE
FIGURINE LEGEND
(2) NUMBER RECOVERED
COSTUME
T1 DIOSA 13 SERPIENTE
T2 QUECHQUEMITL
DJ DIOSA JOVEN
DJ1 DIOSA JOVEN (DIFFERENT FROM T1)
ROUNDED BODY
TERRACE LEGEND
ELITE TERRACE GROUP
COMMONER TERRACE GROUP
CIVIC–CEREMONIAL TERRACE GROUP
1700
1850
1700
1600
1500

Figure 49

In the following discussion, I examine the distribution in time and space of artifacts with discernable motifs or styles. Meaningfulness in artifact categories is ascribed on the basis of their association with distinctive urn types, which translates into analytic value in this study. I assume that some symbols, such as glyphs or headdress styles, were used for very specific purposes and were not interchangeable. Conversely, other categories, such as volutes, capes, chevron decorations and braided rope segments, appear to be ubiquitous and not discreet in their usage. My belief stems from my examination of other urn collections, such as those from Caso and Bernal (1952). These attributes are represented throughout the Oaxaca Valley and do not appear to delineate corporate kin groups or social categories.

MOTIFS AND SYMBOLS

In the Early Classic collection, there are seven recurrent motifs or symbols on urns. Some of these motifs or symbols are more prevalent than others. Six Cocijo eye fragments were recovered from Phase IIIA terraces, and from both elite and commoner terrace groups (IIIA-G, IIIA-E) and a single fragment was collected from outside the designated terrace groups. The j-shaped and the y-shaped motifs were also found on both commoner and elite residential areas (IIIA-A, IIIA-E). The Type 6 decorative element, a raised strip with dots above and below, was located only on IIIA-G, an

elite terrace group. While realistic corn cob representations were found on phase IIIa terraces, they were also recovered from areas outside the terrace groups. Of the remaining identifiable motifs, the circular Motif 2 and the diamond-shaped motif were both recovered from IIIA-D, a commoner terrace group.

Six distinct motifs were also recovered from the Early Postclassic areas. The most common symbol in this assemblage is the u-shaped decorative motif which occurs on vessels from both commoner (IV-F(1), IV-D(3)) and elite residential terraces (IV-B (3)). The next most prevalent symbol is corn, with examples of stylised cobs on elite terrace group IV-C (2) and commoner terrace group IV-D, and examples of realistic corn on elite terrace groups IV-B and IV-C. Examples of the remaining four symbols were all found on elite terrace groups: the Motif 2 (a circular disc); the j-shaped symbol; the diamond-shaped motif and the cocijo mask. These were found on IV-C(3) and IV-B, IV-B, IV-B, and IV-A, respectively.

Previously documented glyphs, glyph C and E (see Chapter 3) were collected from the IIIA area. A glyph E fragment was found on the elite residential terrace group IIIA-A. Glyph C occurs primarily on the elite-focused areas IIIA-C (2) and IIIA-G (3), with one example on IIIA-D. Of the heretofore undocumented glyphs, one occurred on the elite-focused area IIIA-C and a similar one was found on a phase IV terrace. The one glyphic representation of water which appears as a day

sign, was recovered from the elite terrace group IIIA-G. In the Early Postclassic era, glyphs C and J were represented. In contrast to the IIIa distribution, the eight examples of glyph C present in the phase IV collection were retrieved from both elite and commoner terrace groups, IV-A, IV-B(2) IV-C(3), IV-E and IV-H. Two glyph C's, both from elite terrace areas (one each from IIIA-G and IV-B), are identical in their style. Two glyph J fragments were recovered from the elite residential terrace IV-B. Both the previously mentioned glyphs, one similar to the undocumented one found on IIIA-C and another undocumented glyph, were found on the elite terrace group IV-B.

One of the primary aims of this research was to examine if, in fact, symbols, motifs or glyphs were particular to the separate phases of occupation at Jalieza and, within those occupations, whether certain symbols were restricted to categories of terrace groups, elite versus commoner, and or even to specific terrace groups. Following Marcus' (1978; 1983a; 1989; 1992) assertion that depictions of anthropomorphic figures with glyphic inscriptions were in fact revered ancestors, presumably some such spatial patterns should be evident at Jalieza. As is always the case with actual artifacts, however, things are not as clear-cut as one might hope. Firstly, many identifiable symbols, decorative elements and motifs might be expected to appear on particular terrace groups; however, this was not necessarily the case.

Yet, the wider distribution of these discernable motifs is not that surprising as many appear on urns in other studies (Caso and Bernal 1952; Kuttruff 1978; Moser 1977). If they were Jalieza-specific, they presumably would not occur elsewhere. However, not all symbols are as widespread and some interesting patterns have emerged.

Two motifs and two glyphs are mutually exclusive in their distribution and limited to separate components. Both glyph E and a y-shaped decorative element occur on the elite terrace group IIIA-A but not on IV-B, while glyph J and the u-shape occur on the elite terrace group IV-B but not on IIIA-A. However, these two motifs also occur in commoner terrace groups in their respective components.

The motifs of the circular disc and the diamond shape occur only at commoner terraces in IIIa, but by phase IV they occur only on elite areas. The j-shape and the cocijo mask appear with the disc and the diamond by Period IV. These discrete distributions appear to support the idea that specific individuals or ancestors of certain terrace groups in Jalieza were being depicted, perhaps are named in glyphs E and J, and certain symbols may appear on their costumes.

The few deciphered day sign glyphs are quite restricted in their distribution. As noted above, glyphs E and J, as well as the water sign and the two matching undeciphered glyphs as well as the single undeciphered glyph, all occur on elite-focused terrace groups only. The single undeciphered

glyph is probably not a naming element as it does not occur within a cartouche. Therefore, the presence of glyphs for naming individuals on elite terraces supports evidence from stone monuments and other media including ethnohistoric pictorials, that members of the elite, but not commoners, were named by the ritual calendar.

While glyph C is frequent in the Caso and Bernal collection (1952) and is ubiquitous in the Jalieza collection, the meaning of the presence of this glyph is unclear. For Caso (1965:941) it appears to be a vase with wavy lines or the head of a jaguar. While it sometimes occurs with bars and dots, presumably numbers (Leigh 1966:261), it is never considered a day name of the piye by any researcher. As it is not found in other regions, I would assume that it may be associated with what it is to be Zapotec.

With respect to the distribution of cocijo masks, it is interesting to note that they are not restricted to elite residential areas in period IIIA. This does not support the belief that the 'supernatural' force of lightning (which is what cocijo is thought to represent) was more closely associated with the Zapotec nobility rather than commoners (Marcus 1992:280).

While some symbols are distributed discretely on specific terrace groups, it appears that there were some community-wide, shared symbols. In the Early Classic, a cocijo masked figure was prominent in the collections from a variety of

terrace groups, but in the Early Postclassic collection only one cocijo mask was present and a tremendous number of corn depictions were evident (including the glyph J variant). Interestingly, both symbols are closely associated with agriculture. As glyph C is frequently associated with the cocijo mask on the urns depicted by Caso and Bernal (1952), perhaps it too was associated with agriculture. As everyone presumably would desire ancestral connections with symbols of forces beneficial to agriculture and other common concerns, the widespread distribution of glyph C, corn motifs and cocijo masks may explain the unrestricted use of these symbols and motifs.

HEADDRESS STYLES, HAIRSTYLES AND COSTUMES

Of the six discernable headdress styles, all were collected from the Early Classic component of Jalieza. The hat-like headdress with feathers (type 2) was the most prevalent headdress style and was found on both elite (IIIA-C(2), IIIA-G(5)) and commoner terrace groups (IIIA-E(2), IIIA-H(1)). The type 1 headdress with feathers was also found on both elite (IIIA-C(2), IIIA-G(2)) and commoner terraces groups (IIIA-E(2)). The type 1 headdress without feathers occurred on the commoner terrace group IIIA-E(4). The yalalag style was located on elite terrace group IIIA-G(1) and on commoner terrace groups IIIA-E(1) and IIIA-H(1). Type 3 was recovered only from an elite area (IIIA-G(1)). Type 4 was found only on the commoner terrace group IIIA-E(1).

Three of the identifiable headdress styles appeared in the Early Postclassic component. The hat-like headdress with feathers (type 2), was found on elite terrace groups (IIIA-A(1), IIIA-B(1) and IIIA-C(1)). The type 1 headdress with feathers was found only on elite group IV-B(2). The type 1 style headdress, without feathers, was recovered only from elite terrace group IV-C(1), while the yalalaq type 2 headdresses 'without feathers' was not represented on the Early Postclassic component.

With respect to hairstyles, both short fringe and long fringe hairstyles were found exclusively on elite terrace areas (IIIA-A(2), IIIA-G(3) and IIIA-A(1), IIIA-G(1), respectively) in the Early Classic era. However in the Early Postclassic, the short fringe hairstyle was found on a commoner residential terrace, IV-D(1), while the long fringe appears only in elite-focused areas, IV-B(1) and IV-C(1).

Two sherds readily identifiable as portions of quechquemitls, were found on elite terrace groups IV-B and IV-C.

Identifiable headdresses and hairstyles, even more than symbols or motifs, appear to be fairly restricted in their distribution over time and across the communities. While the hat-like headdress appeared on most terrace groups on both phases of the Jalieza site, the majority of other types were not as widespread. I believe that the curved headdress (type 1 without feathers) which occurs on elite terraces during both

phases possibly may be associated specifically with Jalieza, as it has not been identified elsewhere. While the styles of the 'featherless' headdresses may be significant, it would appear that the renderings of the feathers on feathered headdresses are attributable purely to artistic license. Unfortunately, the number of identifiable quechquemitls is quite small, so it is not possible to say much about their distribution.

The headdresses and hairstyles on figures depicted on murals and stone monuments are thought to represent the community of origin, in contrast to the rendition of specific glyphs from the piye which are thought to indicate a particular individual. For example, a Teotihuacano style headdress has been identified with visiting officials from Teotihuacán (Marcus 1983f:176), and the Zapotec, yalalaq style of headdress has been attributed to peoples of Yalalag, Oaxaca, the Huasteca, and other parts of Mexico (Cordry and Cordry 1968:125,263 cited in Kuttruff 1978:384). The unique headdresses worn by figures associated with glyphs atop the hill signs on the Conquest slabs (see Chapter 3) also appear to indicate regional affiliation (Marcus 1983d). Differences in contemporary dress reflect regional clothing styles of Mesoamerica, including Oaxaca (Dennis 1987:20). Presumably, variation in clothing styles in earlier contexts also indicated membership in particular communities. Therefore the presence of a yalalaq style headdress in the Early Classic

phase may indicate that an ancestor or a lineage originating in Yalalag, Oaxaca or other parts of Mexico was significant to both elite and commoner groups in Jalieza.

FIGURINE STYLES

Both styles of diosa joven (see Chapter 3) and all types of headdresses are represented, in small numbers, on elite and commoner terrace groups in the Early Classic era (see Figure 48 for Early Classic figurine motif distributions). Interestingly, the rounded body figurine as well as the flat mouldmade diosa 13 serpiente appear almost as often on commoner terraces as on elite terraces. The flat diosa 13 serpiente figurines were located on elite terraces IIIA-G(2), IIIA-C(1), and commoner terrace areas IIIA-D(1), IIIA-E(1). The rounded body figurine was recovered from an elite terrace group IIIA-G(2) and commoner terrace groups, IIIA-D(2) and IIIA-E(1).

By the Early Postclassic, fewer identifiable figurine types are represented in the collection (see Figure 49 for Early Postclassic motif distributions). The diosa 13 serpiente, which was abundant and widespread in period IIIA, was located only on IV-A(1), an elite-focused area. Only the two elite-focused areas of IV-A and IV-B yielded examples of the rounded body figurine.

As such a small percentage, 15 percent, of the Early Postclassic figurine collection was attributable to identifiable categories, it appears that there was less

standardisation in the manufacture of figurines as time passed.

OTHER SYMBOLS AND DECORATIVE ELEMENTS

While not ubiquitous, some symbols, motifs or decorative elements are abundant and appear to transcend terrace group status designations and occupational phases. Included are rope elements, fringed capes and volutes. These all are quite common on costumes depicted on urns by Caso and Bernal (1952), as well as on mural and monument representations. These elements appear to relate mainly to the style of clothing worn by most groups, including those in Oaxaca, in Mesoamerica.

5.4 Summary

In agrarian states, funerary rituals, monumental art and architecture all evoke symbols closely tied to the state (Kowalewski et.al. 1989:250). Like mounded structures, prestige ceramics and burial practices, the distribution of urns and figurines at Jalieza appears to reflect the changing nature of societal organisation. Contrary to my assumptions regarding the life of privilege enjoyed by the Early Classic elite and, to a lesser extent, the Early Postclassic elite, the common residents of Jalieza appeared to have ready access to urns during both phases and used these ritual items to a slightly greater degree than the elite residents. Two particular terrace groups of Early Postclassic commoners appeared to use far more urns than either elite and commoners

during the Early Classic.

With respect to the occurrence of decorative motifs, clothing elements and calendrical glyphs on urns, some interesting patterns emerge. The appearance of Glyph E only during Period IIIa and Glyph J only during Period IV may indicate that members of the reigning lineage were named after these pive calendar day signs during the Early Classic and Early Postclassic eras, respectively. Presumably, these named deceased individuals were of the ruling lineage as examples of these calendrical glyphs were only located on elite terrace groups.

Also, other symbols and motifs appear to be restricted to particular terrace groups. However these groups are not always linked by status designations. It is interesting to note that over time, some symbols which were used by the commoner terrace groups of Monte Albán IIIA, such as the diamond shaped and circular shaped motifs, appear to have been adopted by individuals residing in elite-focused areas during period IV. Therefore, the use of symbols and motifs, other than calendrical glyphs, on both phases, appears to have been less restricted than originally thought (Marcus 1983a). All Jalieza residents regardless of higher or lower socioeconomic status appear to be members of segments of the community defined by the usage of certain symbols.

As there are a greater percentage of classifiable figurine styles in the Early Classic than the Early

Postclassic component, 31 to 15 percent respectively, one might suggest that there was more regulation or standardisation of the production of figurines during this period. While calendrical glyph usage on urns appears to be associated only with elite terrace areas during both phases, many symbols, decorative elements and motifs cut across status distinctions. This may indicate that urns and figurines relate more to descent groups rather than status groups. Shared ancestry of a group of individuals, called descent groups, might have cross-cut the status lines as alliances were formed through marriage which meant the sharing of decorative motifs and symbols by terrace groups of different social status. Or, perhaps Kirchhoff's concept of a 'conical clan', a large, loosely defined descent group comprised of different status levels, which he uses to characterise the calpulli structure of the Aztec, may be applicable in describing this Oaxaca phenomena (Kirchhoff 1959). Also, as Jalieza society changed over time, symbol and motif usage, except calendrical glyphs, perhaps became more fluid as the politically elite of Jalieza became less removed from the general population.

The statistical analyses of the standardised urn and figurine frequencies suggests that access to markets, or community status in the central place hierarchy rather than individual terrace group social status was the determining factor for a large presence of urns and figurines. The

presence of urns and figurines on elite and commoner terrace groups seems to have had more to do with channels of distribution and the organisation of production, than with sumptuary laws that limited their use to elites. Additionally, the analyses of the distribution of symbols and motifs support the conclusion that social status of a terrace group's did not guarantee restriction of symbols. Therefore, if administrative control of ritual vessel production lessened in the Early Postclassic, the increased number of urns on commoner terrace groups is better understood. While the distribution of vessels and styles changed temporally and spatially, it is very clear that all members of Jalieza society participated in the ritual life of the community.

CHAPTER 6

6.0 CONCLUSIONS

6.1 The Study

Until recently, research on Zapotec urns has progressed primarily along two somewhat divergent lines. It has consisted of Caso and Bernal's (1952) early but comprehensive study of a collection of largely unprovenienced, museum-quality urn and figurine specimens. More recently literary-based reinterpretations of urn meanings within the greater context of Zapotec art and ideology have been conducted by Shaplin (1978, cited in Rote 1987), Marcus (1983a,1992) and Rote (1987). Building upon these earlier works, my research has been oriented towards an examination of changes in the motifs and styles of funerary urns and figurines collected from sixteen terrace group areas of the Early Classic and the Early Postclassic components at the site of Jalieza in Oaxaca, Mexico. This study presents a marriage of the two approaches, since I have analysed a collection and attempted to situate that research within the context of both Jalieza itself as well as that of the iconographic, ideological and socio-political history of the Valley of Oaxaca regional society.

My general aims in this thesis were (1) to utilise the urn and figurine collection of the two spatially distinct

components of the Jalieza site to examine spatial and temporal variation within the sample, (2) to investigate the presence of urn types identified by Caso and Bernal (1952), and (3) to evaluate more recent interpretations of urn and figurine depictions (Shaplin 1975 cited in Rote 1987; Marcus 1983a; Rote 1987).

The first objective of my research was to assess whether the Jalieza collection corresponded to the forty-five urn categories outlined in Caso and Bernal (1952). These categories are based on an urn depiction's resemblance to a named god from Córdova's list which was thought to present the Zapotec pantheon of gods. Urn and figurine types or names are also derived from glyphs or animals or other symbols displayed on their headdress or costume. Based on my research and the work of others (Shaplin 1975; Marcus 1983a, 1992; Rote 1987), I now conclude that the individuals represented on the figurines and urns recovered from Jalieza are unlikely to be gods.

Several lines of evidence support this conclusion. As all the parenthetical references to Caso and Bernal (1952) in Chapter 4 indicate, many elements commonly associated with certain gods occurred in the Jalieza collection. Nevertheless, a substantial number of identifying and classifying elements, upon which Caso and Bernal based their god subdivisions, did not occur. This supports Marcus' (1989:193) contention that a limited repertoire of these

'gods' are employed at each site, making these renderings more likely to be depictions of site-specific personnel.

Further, no logical reason exists for the differential presence of elements identified by Caso and Bernal (1952). It is highly unlikely that certain motifs or symbols had a better chance of preservation and recovery than recognisable faces or glyphs. Also, many motifs and decorative elements in the Jalieza sample were present in other collections and were not identified by Caso and Bernal. According to their procedure, these specimens would have to be assigned arbitrarily to existing categories of gods or be used to establish new ones.

Additionally, the depiction of named individuals who were either important rulers or high ranking nobles in a community, or the ancestors of the Zapotec or Mixtec elite, fits well within the general thematic evolution of iconography on stone monuments, lintels and ethnohistoric pictorials (see Chapter 3). This point will be discussed further at a later point in this chapter. A discussion of this objective would be incomplete without also addressing the goals and aims of Caso and Bernal's (1952) original study.

6.2 A Re-consideration of Caso and Bernal's "Urnas de Oaxaca"

The attempt to establish some order upon a multitude of urns and figurines appears to have been the motivation for the original study of Caso and Bernal (1952). While their study was a vital initial step in addressing these Oaxacan phenomena which appeared to be turning up in great numbers from tombs,

temples and caches, more recent research has highlighted some difficulties in their approach. Caso and Bernal grouped the existing collection of urns and figurines in categories broadly defined by Córdova's vocabulary and Caso's (1928 cited in Caso and Bernal 1952) identified glyphs. As they believed the use and rendering of these symbols changed over time within these categories, urns and figurines were organised chronologically. Caso and Bernal (1952) felt that some urn depictions occurred in one period and not another. For example,

> El dios ... que más frecuentemente aparaece en la época I, es Cocijo, el dios del agua...El murciélago y su compañera la diosa "2.J.", no se encuentran en la época I.
> (Caso and Bernal 1952:365)

However, many of the specimens they examined were from unprovenienced collections so both the date of their manufacture and specific context within a site were unknown. It appears that Caso and Bernal utilised their knowledge of the temporal development of many of the depicted glyphs to assign an approximate date to each urn or figurine. While temporal or cultural relationships are established commonly in archaeology on the basis of similar traits, this proves to have been rather self-reifying in their attempt to trace the evolution of god depictions. In this study dates are assigned only on the basis of known archaeological contexts. Also, knowledge of Zapotec hieroglyphics and symbols was and continues to be incomplete. In 1952, their temporal placements

were far from secure. As recently as 1966, for example, Leigh (1966:263) had stated that glyph C appeared to be on its way to extinction by Period IV, an assertion which this study clearly refutes.

Secondly, while calendrical glyphs are used to designate groups of gods, some examples of urns and figurines within Caso and Bernal's categories lack the appropriate naming elements and appear to be included on the basis of highly subjective visual characteristics. For example, Figures 432 and 433 are questionable examples of Diosa 13 Serpiente (Caso and Bernal 1952:285). In addition, while Córdova's vocabulary was a primary tool for organising their collection, few of the specimens correlate with any of the gods named (Caso and Bernal 1952:359-365), with the result that many of their urn figures exist independently of Córdova's list.

Thus, while Caso and Bernal's (1952) study is a valuable exploration into the variety of Oaxacan urns and figurines, its organisational principles are questionable today. Much to their credit, Caso and Bernal laid the ground work for this and other research on urns and figurines by stressing the need for comparative studies.

> ...Podemos esperar que futuros estudios compatarivos, puedan servir para identificar a las deidades representadas en las urnas con los nombres y atribuciones que nos han conservado las fuentas históricas,...
>
> (1952:374)

My primary objective was to ascertain if the figures on urns and figurines corresponded to the established god categories.

I have noted variation from these categories which was sufficient to question the original categories. As such, my task now remains to address the meaning of that variation in symbols, motifs and decorative elements. As outlined in Chapter 1, several equally important secondary objectives exist which I will now address.

6.3 Distribution of Symbols, Motifs and Other Attributes

A major concern of this thesis was to examine and compare the distribution of urns and figurines over the two phases of the occupation of Jalieza. The analysis in Chapter 5 noted there was a slight difference in urn samples and a greater discrepancy in figurine samples between Period IIIa to IV. The standardised figures used allow me to evaluate: research objective 2) the potential differential access of elite versus commoner groups to urns and figurines, and research objective 3) any changes in ritual vessel usage over time.

From the differences in urn and figurine usage, I was able to discern that both commoner and elite residents had ample access to these ritual items. Contrary to prior assumptions, some Early Postclassic commoner residents displayed a greater use of urns than either elite or commoner residents in the Early Classic. However, these differences were not statistically significant. The ritual life of both the elite and commoner Jalieza residents during the Early Classic and Early Postclassic period involved the use of urns and figurines. The fact that access to both items was quite

unrestricted to commoner residents runs counter to some theories, since it implies that urns and figurines were not solely the domain of the elite (Marcus 1983a; 1992).

These results are interesting and contrast with the findings of Whalen (1988) from the Late Formative period site of Santo Domingo Tomaltepec. There the meager ritual remains at burial sites of commoners, are juxtaposed with the presence and elaboration of burial objects in elite identified tombs. The Jalieza figures may indicate that by the Classic period, the use of urn and figurine depictions of ancestors was so entrenched as a ritual, that these objects were quite common to all individuals in the community regardless of social or economic status, unlike other cultural remains, such as prestige ceramics, which remained status-determined (Young 1992).

Another cross-temporal difference to be addressed in research objectives 3 and 4 is a phase-to-phase comparison of identifiable elements. Research objective 3) was to compare the variability in motifs and symbols over time, and research objective 4) was to see if documented variability suggested production standardisation in one or other of the two phases of occupation. Specifically, does the constellation of attributes or elements utilised remain constant from the Early Classic to the Early Postclassic? And what might this mean? While the general repertoire of symbols utilised in the earlier phase did not change radically (a point which I will

discuss further below), changes in specific element use were noted. Change was also noted in the number of categorised elements visible the in urn and figurine samples of the two phases. Interestingly enough, a greater number of recurrent motifs occurred in the Early Postclassic urn samples than were found in samples from Early Classic contexts. In contrast, a far greater number of identifiable styles of figurines was evident in the Early Classic than in the Early Postclassic period. Additionally, mouldmade figurines are much more numerous in the earlier phase.

I argue that these differences support Marcus' idea that there was not a static pantheon of gods displayed on these ceramics. Furthermore, I suggest that the more marked presence of recurrent motifs on figurines in the Early Classic, combined with a concomitant increase in mouldmade figurines, indicates there was more regulation and standardisation in figurine production. Feinman (1985) has postulated that an increase in ceramic uniformity is a measurement of control exercised by administrators over ceramic producers. I believe that these cross-temporal differences are extremely meaningful and reflect the changing sociopolitical climate at the site of Jalieza, manifested in the lessening of control by the elite in Early Postclassic ritual item production and use (see Feinman 1985 for a discussion of measurement of control in ceramic vessel manufacture).

Together, all of these patterns suggest that there are at least three levels at which the symbols operate, which allows me to address research objective 5) whether certain motifs or symbols were restricted to particular terrace groups or zones of the site. At the highest level, some decorative elements and motifs such as chevrons, ropes, volutes, glyph Cs and so on, appear to represent Oaxaca-wide or, in the case of chevrons and volutes, a Mesoamerican-wide phenomena.

At the next level, the distributions of certain symbols and motifs such as corn cobs, cocijo masks, and various recurrent decorative elements indicate that these symbols might have been tied to specific kin or corporate groups which transcended phase and status distinctions. Or, as suggested earlier, a variety of groups might have desired a connection with beneficial symbols, like the corn ear. Certain motifs appear on the same two terrace groups, such as the y-shaped and j-shaped motif both occurring on IV-A and IV-E, perhaps indicating blood or economic ties between these two areas in the Early Postclassic component. Another example is the popularity of the long fringe hairstyle only among elite terraces, IIIA-A, IIIA-G, IV-A, IV-B, on both components.

The sharing of symbols delineates hereto unknown social groups and illustrates their unity. These groups may be linked through their shared ancestry in a ruling lineage and this is expressed in the various depictions of a revered community leader. Membership in the community of Jalieza may

have been expressed through the use of an emblem or toponymic glyph (see Figure 38b and c) or a headdress (see Figure 18a) to represent or be associated with Jalieza. Finally, the sharing of symbols may indicate which terrace groups were associated or allied through marriage which may have been displayed in the using of a particular decorative symbol, similar to the case of the Olmec (Marcus 1989).

The final level of symbols or elements are those which are extremely restricted in their distribution. The two glyphs, E and J, the distinctive pectoral elements (Figures 23 and 24), and certain decorative symbols, such as the wavy element with dots (IIIA-G (2)) and the style 3, headdress without feathers on IIIA-G, in the two phases may demonstrate the definition of status-specific or terrace group-specific corporate groups. As terrace groups contained spatially and economically, and presumably socially, related individual terraces, it does not appear unusual that these groups would delineate their solidarity through the use of particular symbols on their clothing or in their headdress. The discrete distributions of these symbols at Jalieza indicate that symbolic distinctions were made between those of the privileged social status and commoners, and from one terrace group to another. Therefore, while all Jalieza inhabitants were active in this ritual activity, social status and class distinctions were not weakened or blurred as groups participated in different and socially defined ways.

As these three levels of attribute categories indicate, the meaning of symbolic variation is not constant but rather denoted different relationships at various times. In order to comprehend the meaning of the transmitted messages and to better understand the role of urns and figurines and their respective symbols within the Valley of Oaxaca, they must be examined in the context of the development of Zapotec iconography.

6.4 Themes in Iconography and the Zapotec Urn

Several themes in the changing imagery and symbolism of Zapotec iconography are apparent. In particular, it is possible to identify a change from private descent groups associated with generalised mythical figures to more public images of generalised and specific enemies and conquered places, to publicly displayed imagery of specific, important personages (see Chapter 3). This trend in iconographic images is inextricably tied to the changing social and political climate in the Valley of Oaxaca.

The Zapotec urn and figurine emerge as truly distinctive traits in the Classic period (Marcus 1983a; Flannery and Marcus 1976; Caso and Bernal 1952). The timing of the emergence of the 'classic' Zapotec urn, along with its associated anthropomorphic figures, symbols and regalia, is clearly related to the changing nature of what was being communicated in Zapotec visual media.

Early in the Formative period, communities appeared to

have been divided into segments or moieties based on descent groups in the form of clans or lineages (Pyne 1976). Architecture and burial patterns indicate that some groups were more powerful than others (Whalen 1976). This phenomena was characteristic of the Formative period (Whalen 1988). Over time, the visual media of the public domain became prominent and were used to reach a larger audience, as glyphs and symbols became standardised in form and more widespread in their distribution than earlier images. The message became one of domination over outsiders and the importance of other places, as seen in the danzantes and especially the conquest slabs.

In Monte Albán Period IIIA, the Valley-wide political hierarchy reached its apogee and concomitantly, the importance of several secondary centres grew. As a result, focus in the visual media shifted from the depiction of outsiders to images of important community figures. This process is signified by the increasing number of depictions of important ancestors on urns and figurines. As such, power or the unity of one's lineage or village segment became expressed through urn and figurine depictions. Descent groups, associations of individuals based on socio-economic status, and groups perhaps defined in ways that cannot be accessed archaeologically, distinguished themselves and their ancestry through the use of specific symbols. But even more important, all Jalieza residents participated in one way or another in this evidently

important aspect of their religious and ritual life.

6.5 Summary and Future Research

It is possible to see how ancestor worship was expressed in funerary urns and figurines. Jalieza community members sought to confirm and legitimize their status, group membership and power by portraying their ancestors as possessing supernatural forces, while clothed in regionally understood modes of dress. The dead were venerated in their community, and were seen as intermediaries between humans and the supernatural world.

No research project would be complete unless it addressed the future areas which need to be explored to evaluate some of the present, tentative conclusions. I feel that more studies of site specific urn and figurines collections need to be conducted and re-evaluations of existing museum collections are necessary in order to ascertain whether some of these Jalieza-unique elements are just that. Additionally, I foresee the necessity to explore further the evidence for community segment and site-wide ancestor worship.

REFERENCES CITED

Appel, J. 1986 A Central-Place Analysis of Classic and Late Postclassic Settlement Patterns in the Valley of Oaxaca. In Research in Economic Anthropology. Supplement 2, Economic Aspects of Prehispanic Highland Mexico. Isaac, B (editor), pp.375-418, London: JAI Press Inc.

Appel, J. 1982 Political and Economic Organization in the Late Postclassic Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico: An Evolutionary Perspective. Ph.D. dissertation, Purdue University.

Blalock, H. M. 1979 Social Statistics. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Blanton, R., S. Kowalewski, G. Feinman and J. Appel 1982 Monte Albán's Hinterland, Part I: The Prehispanic Settlement Patterns in the Central and Southern Parts of the Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico., Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, No.15.

Blanton, R. 1978 Monte Albán: Settlement Patterns at Zapotec Capital. Toronto: Academic Press.

Boos, F. 1966 The Ceramic Sculptures of Ancient Oaxaca. New York: A.S. Barnes and Co., Inc.

Carrasco, D. 1990 Religions of Mesoamerica. San Francisco: Harper & Row Publishers.

Caso, A. 1965 Zapotec Writing and Calendar. In Handbook of Middle American Indians, Volume 3, Archaeology of Southern Mesoamerica Part 2. Wauchope, R. and G. Willey (editors), pp.931-947, Austin: University of Texas Press.

Caso, A. and I. Bernal 1952 Urnas de Oaxaca. Mexico: Instituto Nacional De Antropologia E Historia.

Dennis, P. 1987 Intervillage Conflict in Oaxaca. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Deetz, J. 1968 Cultural patterning of behaviour as reflected by archaeological materials. In Settlement Archaeology. K.C. Chang (editor), pp.31-42, Palo Alto: National Press.

Feinman, G. 1985 Changes in the Organization of Ceramic Production Pre-Hispanic Oaxaca, Mexico. In Decoding Prehispanic Ceramics, Nelson, B. (editor), pp.195-223, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Finsten, L. 1981 A Comparison of Late Classic and Early Postclassic Centres. Paper presented at the Society for American Archaeology, April 30-May 2, 1981, San Diego, California.

Finsten, L. 1983 The Classic-Postclassic Transition in the Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico: A Regional Analysis of the Process of Decentralisation in a Prehistoric Complex Society.Ph.D. Dissertation, Purdue University.

Finsten, L.M. 1992 Activity Specialisation at Jalieza, Oaxaca, Mexico. Final Report to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Flannery, K.V. and J. Marcus 1976 Formative Oaxaca and the Zapotec Cosmos. American Scientist 64:374-383.

Flannery, K.V. and J. Marcus 1983 The Postclassic Balkanization of Oaxaca. In The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations. Flannery, K.V. and J. Marcus (editors), pp.217-226. Toronto: Academic Press.

Hodder, I. 1982 Symbolic and Structural Archaeology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hodder, I. 1986 Reading the Past: Current approaches to interpretation in archaeology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kirchhoff, P. 1959 The Principles of Clanship in Human Society. In Readings in Anthropology, Fried, M. (editor), 2:259-270, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell.

Kowalewski, S., R.Blanton, G.Feinman and L.Finsten 1983 Boundaries, Scale, and Internal Organization. Journal of Anthropological Archaeology. 2:32-56.

Kowalewski, S., G.Feinman, L.Finsten, R.Blanton and L.Nicholas 1989 Monte Albán's Hinterland, Part II: Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in Tlacolula, Etla and Ocotlan, The Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico. Vol.2, Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, No.23.

Kuttruff, C. 1978 Appendix VIII: Figurines and Urn Fragments from the Monte Albán Survey. In Monte Albán: Settlement Patterns at the Ancient Zapotec Capital. R.Blanton, pp.379-402. New York: Academic Press.

Leigh, H. 1966 The Evolution of the Zapotec Glyph C In Ancient Oaxaca. Paddock, J. (editor), pp.256-269. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Marcus, J. 1973 Territorial Organization of the Lowland Classic Maya. Science. 180:911-916.

Marcus, J. 1976a The Origins of Mesoamerican Writing. Annual Review of Anthropology. 5:35-67.

Marcus, J. 1976b The Iconography of Militarism at Monte Albán and Neighbouring Sites in the Valley of Oaxaca. In The Origins of Religious Art & Iconography in Prehistoric Mesoamerica. Nicholson, H.B. (editor), pp.123-139. Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, Latin American Center.

Marcus, J. 1978 Archaeology and religion: a comparison of the Zapotec and Maya. World Archaeology. 10(2):172-191.

Marcus, J. 1983a Rethinking the Zapotec Urn In The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations. Flannery, K.V. and J. Marcus (editors), pp.144-148. Toronto: Academic Press.

Marcus, J. 1983b Zapotec Religion In The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations. Flannery, K.V. and J. Marcus (editors), pp.345-351. Toronto: Academic Press.

Marcus, J. 1983c Changing Patterns of Stone Monuments after the Fall of Monte Albán, A.D. 600-900. In The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations. Flannery, K.V. and J. Marcus (editors), pp.191-197. Toronto: Academic Press.

Marcus, J. 1983d The Conquest Slabs of Building J, Monte Albán. In The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations. Flannery, K.V. and J. Marcus (editors), pp.106-108. Toronto: Academic Press.

Marcus, J. 1983e Stone Monuments and Tomb Murals of Monte Albán IIIa. In The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations. Flannery, K.V. and J. Marcus (editors), pp.137-143. Toronto: Academic Press.

Marcus, J. 1983f Teotihuacan Visitors on Monte Albán Monuments and Murals. In The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations. Flannery, K.V. and J. Marcus (editors), pp.175-181. Toronto: Academic Press.

Marcus, J. 1989 Zapotec Chiefdoms and The Nature of Formative Religions. In Regional Perspectives on the Olmec, R.J. Sharer and D.C.Grove (editors), pp.148-197, Sante Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series.

Marcus, J. 1992 Mesoamerican Writing Systems: Propaganda, Myth, and History in Four Ancient Civilizations. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Morley, S.G. and G.W. Brainerd 1983 The Ancient Maya. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Moser, C. 1977 Ñuiñe Writing and Iconography of the Mixtec Baja. Vanderbilt University Publications in Anthropology No.19. Nashville.

Nicholson, H.B. 1976 Preclassic Mesoamerican Iconography from the Perspective of the Postclassic: Problems in Interpretational Analysis. In The Origins of Religious Art & Iconography in Prehistoric Mesoamerica. Nicholson, H.B. (editor), pp.157-175. Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, Latin American Center.

Paddock, J. (editor) 1966 Ancient Oaxaca. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Paddock, J. 1982 Confluence in Zapotec and Mixtec Ethnohistories: The 1850 Mapa de Macuilxochitl. Papers in Anthropology. 23(2):345-358.

Paddock, J. 1983a Lord 5 Flower's Family: Rulers of Zaachila and Cuilapan. Vanderbilt University Publication in Anthropology, No.29, Nashville, Tennessee.

Proskouriakoff, T. 1960 Historical Implications of a Pattern of Dates at Piedras Negras, Guatemala. American Antiquity. 25(4) 454-475.

Pyne, N.M. 1976 The Fire-Serpent and Were-Jaguar in Formative Oaxaca: A Contingency Table Analysis. In The Early Mesoamerican Village. Flannery, K.V. (editor), pp.272-282. New York: Academic Press.

Ramsden, P. 1977 A Refinement of Some Aspects of Huron Ceramic Analysis. National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Archaeological Survey of Canada No.63.

Sahlins, M. 1985 Islands of History. London: University of Chicago Press.

Santley, R. 1980 Disembedded Capitals Reconsidered. American Antiquity. 45(1):132-144.

Saville, M. 1904 Funeral Urns from Oaxaca. The American Museum Journal. 4(3):51-60.

Saville, M. 1899 Exploration of Zapotecan Tombs in Southern Mexico. American Anthropologist. 1:350-362.

Smith, M.E. 1983 The Mixtec Writing System. In The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations. Flannery, K.V. and J. Marcus (editors), pp.227-238. Toronto: Academic Press.

Spores, R. 1984 The Mixtecs in Ancient and Colonial Times. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Spores, R. 1983 The Origin and Evolution of the Mixtec System of Social Stratification. In The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations. Flannery, K.V. and J. Marcus (editors), pp.227-238. Toronto: Academic Press.

Sprinthall, R. 1990 Basic Statistical Analysis. Third Edition. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Tedlock, B. 1982 Time and the Highland Maya. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Taylor, W.B. 1972 Landlord and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Warrick, G. 1984 Reconstructing Ontario Iroquoian Village Organization. National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Archaeological Survey of Canada No.124.

Whalen, M.E. 1988 Small Community Organization During the Late Formative Period in Oaxaca, Mexico. Journal of Field Archaeology. 15:291-306.

Whalen, M.E. 1976 Zoning within an Early Formative Community in the Valley of Oaxaca. In The Early Mesoamerican Village. Flannery, Kent V. (editor), pp.75-78. New York: Academic Press.

Whitecotton, J. W. 1977 The Zapotecs: Princes, Priests & Peasants. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Whitecotton, J. W. 1982 Zapotec Pictorials and Zapotec Naming. Papers in Anthropology. 23(2):285-344.

Whitecotton, J. W. 1990 Zapotec Elite Ethnohistory: Pictorial Genealogies from Eastern Oaxaca. Vanderbilt University Publications in Anthropology No.39. Nashville.

Wilk, R.R. and W. Ashmore (eds.) 1988 Household and Community in the Mesoamerican Past. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Young, P. 1992 Gods and Glyphs: A Re-evaluation of the Zapotec Urn. Paper presented at the Canadian Archaeological Association 25th Annual Meeting, May 5-10, London, Ontario.