Contents

Acknowledgments *ix*

1. From "1-Eye" to Bruce Byland: Literate Societies and Integrative Approaches in Oaxaca
   Danny Zborover *1*

2. The Convergence of History and Archaeology in Mesoamerica
   Ronald Spores *55*

3. Bruce Edward Byland, PhD: 1950–2008
   John M.D. Pohl *75*

4. Multidisciplinary Fieldwork in Oaxaca
   Viola König *83*

5. Mythstory and Archaeology: Of Earth Goddesses, Weaving Tools, and Buccal Masks
   Geoffrey G. McCafferty and Sharisse D. McCafferty *97*

6. Reconciling Disparate Evidence between the Mixtec Historical Codices and Archaeology: The Case of "Red and White Bundle" and "Hill of the Wasp"
   Bruce E. Byland *113*

7. Mixteca-Puebla Polychromes and the Codices
Michael D. Lind 131

8. Pluri-Ethnic Coixtlahuaca's Longue Durée
Carlos Rincón Mautner 157

9. The Archaeology and History of Colonialism, Culture Contact, and Indigenous Cultural Development at Teozacoalco, Mixteca Alta
Stephen L. Whittington and Andrew Workinger 209

10. Salt Production and Trade in the Mixteca Baja: The Case of the Tonalá-Atoyac-Ihualtepec Salt Works
Bas van Doesburg and Ronald Spores 231

11. Integrating Oral Traditions and Archaeological Practice: The Case of San Miguel el Grande
Liana I. Jiménez Osorio and Emmanuel Posselt Santoyo 263

12. Decolonizing Historical Archaeology in Southern Oaxaca, and Beyond
Danny Zborover 279

13. Prehispanic and Colonial Chontal Communities on the Eastern Oaxaca Coast on the Eve of the Spanish Conquest
Peter C. Kroefges 333

14. Locating the Hidden Transcripts of Colonialism: Archaeological and Historical Evidence from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec
Judith Francis Zeitlin 363

15. Using Nineteenth-Century Data in Contemporary Archaeological Studies: The View from Oaxaca and Germany
Viola König and Adam T. Sellen 391

List of Contributors 411

Index 413

I

From "1-Eye" to Bruce Byland

Literate Societies and Integrative Approaches in Oaxaca

Danny Zborover

> A major problem has been to bridge the gap between the peoples who are identified by Spanish and Indian documentary records and those who are known to us only through the ruins of their buildings and the broken elements of their material culture which have survived. —Vaillant 1937:324

> The would-be correlator faces the problem of a genuine "gap" between the emphasis in the native traditions on political and dynastic history and the sequent modifications in artifact form which are the chief concern of the excavator . . . The problem is to bridge this gap, to tie the two kinds of history together at key points, to integrate the two sets of data in a meaningful synthesis. —Nicholson 1955:596

> Los avances que se han hecho y los que están por hacerse, descansan en la confluencia conciente y coordinadora de dos disciplinas . . . esta recreación del acercamiento antropológico unificado, que llena la brecha entre disciplinas, es la ola del futuro. En la medida en que nuestras tareas estén coordinadas, en esa medida podremos aprender. —Byland and Pohl 1990:385–386

SCOPE AND DEFINITIONS

It is safe to assume that all past human societies were both material and historical, in the sense that all created objects and had developed visual and rhetorical strategies to encode and transmit social memory. Yet of those, only a few societies ever

DOI: 10.5876/9781607323297.c001

Figure 1.1. The state of Oaxaca and adjacent areas, with places and regions mentioned in the volume.

"materialized" their history to create durable record-keeping systems that would preserve their voices for future generations. Mesoamerican civilization was unified in the past, and defined in the present, by its shared material and intellectual achievements, most notably as expressed through art styles, iconography, architecture, ceramics, calendars, and writing systems (Kirchhoff 1952; R. Joyce 2004). The cultural area roughly corresponding to the modern state of Oaxaca has been long recognized as a focal point for these cultural manifestations, while serving as a crossroads of people, objects, and ideas within greater Mesoamerica. For the last 12,000 years or so people settled throughout the complex Oaxacan geography, which encompasses steep mountain ranges, ample valleys, lush lowlands, and coastal plains, creating in the process a remarkable cultural and ethnolinguistic tapestry. Today we recognize several subregions within Oaxaca, which largely correspond to these broad geographical zones (figure 1.1).

Bearing in mind that the modern state boundaries of Oaxaca are the abstraction of a long geopolitical process that began in the 1520s CE and was formalized in the mid-nineteenth century, it is remarkable that these still roughly correspond to the spatial extent of several artifactual types throughout prehispanic times, the known distribution of the Classic-period Zapotec script variants in southern Mexico, certain documentary traditions of the Postclassic and Colonial periods, as well as the historical and contemporary dispersion of most Otomanguean languages (Cline 1972; Gerhard 1993; Urcid 1993, 2001, 2005a, 2011b, 2011c; see also Chance 1986; Kowalewski et al. 1989; Paddock 1966a). Consequently, these subregions and the

state boundaries themselves have played significant roles in the way integrative research has been defined and conducted in the region, and have shaped a scholarly tradition that for the most part is distinctively "Oaxacan" (see below). As such, this volume's spotlight on Oaxaca is firmly rooted in the idiosyncratic geographical, material, documentary, and cultural parameters that set the region apart from adjacent ones, yet without overlooking the region's mutual influences on neighboring states and the larger Mesoamerican picture.

The distinct practice of integrating the durable material and historical records so as to reflect upon the past can often be traced back to the same early scholars of those literate societies, through the beginning of archaeology as a modern discipline in the nineteenth century and down to modern-day scholarship. The recent and growing international literature on the subject of interdisciplinary integration of material culture, documentary, and oral sources in reconstructing the past clearly demonstrates that the topic is still highly relevant today, even as the goal continues to be extremely challenging.[1] Considering the long trajectory of literate societies and their respective academic research in the culture area under focus, it is surprising that despite the numerous publications on both Mesoamerican archaeology and ethnohistory, only one thematic volume on the subject of material and documentary source integration has been previously dedicated to Mesoamerica in general (Brambila Paz and Monjarás-Ruiz 1996), and none to Oaxaca in particular. This volume attempts to fill this gap, by taking an interdisciplinary and long-term perspective through several Oaxacan case studies that approach artifacts, documents, and oral traditions as distinct yet interrelated heuristic modes of inquiry about the past.[2]

There are frequently three assumptions at the heart of our enduring fascination with literate societies: (1) that these were intrinsically different from nonliterate or oral cultures; (2) that the interplay between the material and the documentary, conceived as distinct modes of cultural expression, substantially shapes our understanding of these societies; and (3) that our respective methods of studying such literate societies should be epistemologically distinctive. The first premise does not need to presuppose an evolutionary perspective of inevitable progress from oral-to-written, pictographic-to-alphabetic cultures, as historical cases throughout the world—including our own modern society—clearly show. It does however suggest that literacy—even if ultimately shared by a small minority within the society—played a significant role in shaping social, political, religious, and economic institutions, along with their material manifestations.[3] The second premise has to do with how and why one source of information directly shapes our understanding of the other, and of the society that created it. The third assumption reflects mostly on current disciplinary and departmental divisions. But whereas academic boundaries between archaeology, history, sociocultural anthropology, ethnology, art history,

and other related fields might be better drawn through each discipline's respective set of methodologies and approaches, the lines are blurrier still when it comes to their subject matter.

To be sure, *archaeology* and *history* are conceptually loaded categories and are often taxonomically ambiguous. For the purpose of this volume, *material culture* and *artifacts* are generally associated with the disciplinary-derived construct of the *archaeological record*, which is broadly understood to encompass any category of human-modified objects and ecofacts, loosely ranging between ceramic sherds and burnt seeds to structures and landscapes.[4] On the other hand, *documents* and *writing* are generally associated with the disciplinary-derived construct of the *(ethno) historical record,* broadly understood as a suite of communication technologies that preserved and still convey specific thoughts and other codified information across time and space, and independently from its original author.

Obviously, documents are artifacts themselves and the study of their physical characteristics and context can reveal much about their meaning. Yet, it is not the medium that transforms an object into a document, but rather the presence or absence of writing. Although we can often include works of art and codified visual representations such as maps under the rubric of *historical documents*, all the cases in this volume explicitly draw from a variety and mixed array of conventionalized notational systems including semasiographic, pictographic, ideographic, glottographic, logosyllabic, logographic, and alphabetic, all of which correspond broadly to the inclusive definition of *writing* as "the communication of relatively specific ideas in a conventional manner by means of permanent, visible marks" (Boone 1994:15). These written documents often demonstrate linear sequencing, reading order, and a certain interdependence with a spoken language, which further sets them apart from complex iconography (Marcus 1976). Even those seemingly simplified pictorial systems have recently started to unveil their true complex structure and logic, and an even greater dependence on phonetic signs and speech patterns, than suspected before (e.g., Doesburg 2008; Jansen and van Broekhoven 2008; Lacadena 2008; Taube 2011). An important point to stress is that when it comes to reading the past, we should always attempt to make a distinction between the clarity of the message in the social context in which it was created, and our ability (or inability) to understand the same message today.

Oral traditions and oral history[5] similarly fall here under the category of the historical record, and several case studies in this volume acknowledge and demonstrate the value of orality and social memory in reconstructing the past. There is little doubt that orality and written records were inextricably intertwined in Mesoamerican literate societies, even if the former is forever lost for us. At the same time, we have to recognize that contemporary oral knowledge, even if about the

past, is created in the present and is usually not contemporaneous with the archaeological or documentary records under discussion (while the same also holds true for retrospective written accounts vis-à-vis the respective material culture). The act of recording oral knowledge, whether it is through writing or more recently through voice and video recorders, already transforms this communication medium into the realm of "fossilized speech" and thus imbues it with a certain permanency that orality lacks. At the same time, the contextual nature of oral traditions makes the practice of multisource integration even richer, while allowing us to better connect the past with the present.

Beyond things, glyphs, letters, and words, this volume further emphasizes the continuous cultural trajectory in Oaxacan literary traditions. There are indeed few scholars today who would seriously question that many indigenous Mesoamerican societies possessed full-fledged historiographic traditions and were much concerned, often to the point of singular obsession, with the systematic and premeditated recording of past, present, and even future events. The conventional signs for *who*, *when*, *where*, and *wha*t—the backbone of every historiographic tradition in the world—are precisely those that appear first and survive the longest among Oaxacan literate societies. As such, and despite the still widespread use of the term, the Oaxaca cultural area stepped out of its "prehistory" in the Middle Formative period, and by the Late Formative many of Mesoamerica's societies followed suit. Nor did the story of these Oaxacan literate societies end with the Spanish arrival in the early sixteenth century. Much of the indigenous historiography, before and after the Spanish conquest, is retrospective in content and exposes a deeply contemplative stance about the material and written past. The long genealogical lists, for example, are firmly tied to specific places in Oaxaca and collectively represent the longest continuous histories ever recorded in the Western Hemisphere. Equally pertinent for integrative studies, this volume recognizes the relevance of the various nonindigenous literate societies that started occupying the Oaxacan landscape from the sixteenth century onward. Framed by these guidelines, following is a selective diachronic survey that places the volume contributions and other relevant literature within these long-term historical and material traditions of the Oaxacan literate societies.[6]

TWENTY-SEVEN CENTURIES OF OAXACAN LITERATE SOCIETIES

Although the Archaic and Early Formative periods have set the stage for many of Oaxaca's enduring cultural traits, it is the Middle Formative that has witnessed some of the most significant cultural revolutions relevant to the theme of this volume (figure 1.2). A significant yet poorly understood intensification in agricultural

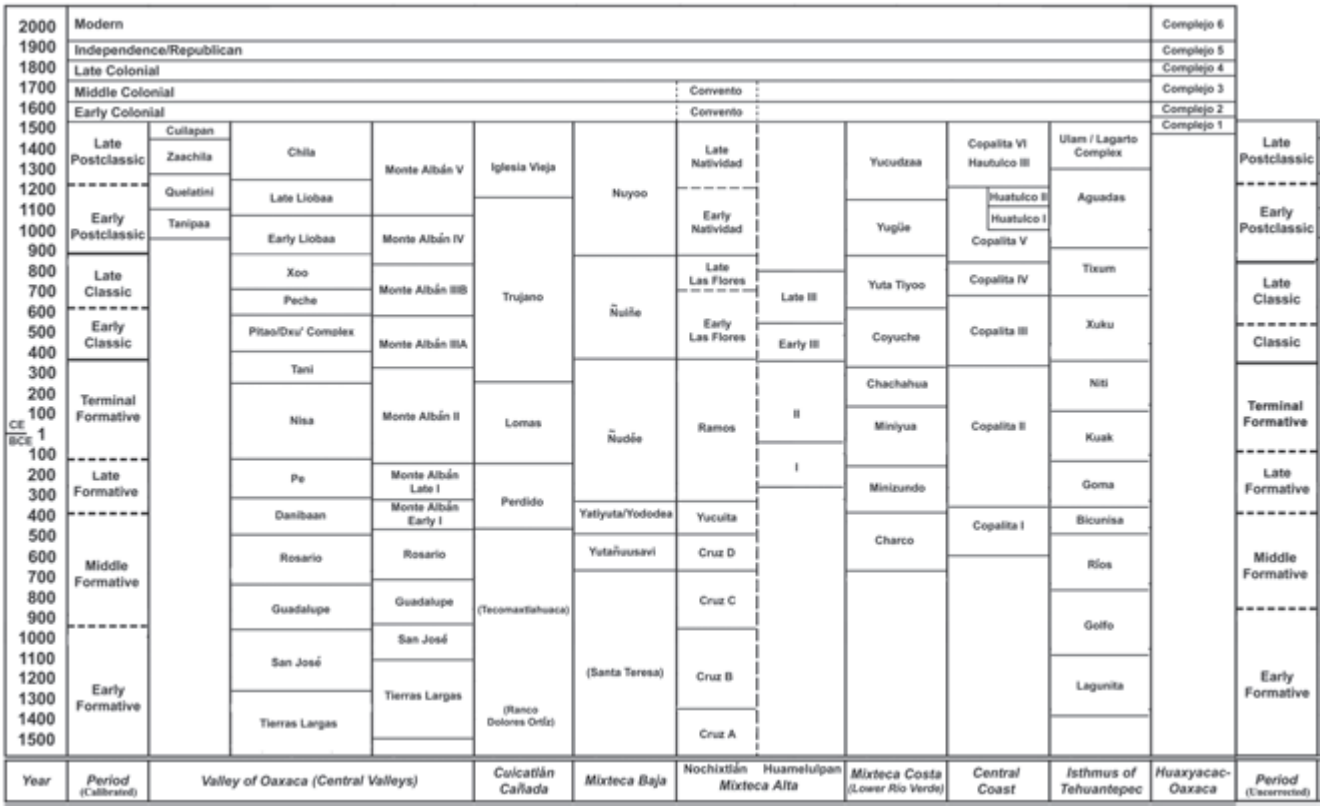

Figure 1.2. A chronological outline of major periods represented in the volume.[7]

production and demographic rise during this period led to an unprecedented sociopolitical complexity and the subsequent development of the first urbanized centers and monumental public architecture in the Valley of Oaxaca, the Mixteca, the Oaxaca Coast, and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The emergent hereditary elite classes in these regions were connected through long-distance trade networks in which ideas, styles, and exotic goods, such as shell, jade, and obsidian, circulated in a sweeping pattern that would continue throughout much of Mesoamerican history. Such developments might have been further ushered in by economic and ideological contacts with the Olmecs on the Gulf Coast and the Maya in Chiapas and Guatemala, who shared much of the same early iconography with Oaxaca (Blomster 2004, 2010; Flannery 1976; Joyce 2013; Joyce et al. 1998; Marcus and Flannery 1996; Winter 1994a; Whittington and Workinger, chapter 9, this volume).

In the Central Valleys, the implied hierarchy between incipient autonomous chiefdoms created a violent competition, in which context we find the vestiges of the earliest known writing system in the Western Hemisphere,[8] dated to the early sixth century BCE. Thus far this is represented by a single carved monolith from San José Mogote, the largest Middle Formative site in the valley, which depicts a sacrificed individual named "1-Eye" in the 260-day Zapotec ritual calendar and is further marked with stylized glyphs standing for heart and blood (Flannery and Marcus 2003; Marcus and Flannery 1996; Urcid 2005a, 2011a; 2011c).[9] This mix of semasiographic and glottographic conventions had undoubtedly emerged out of the Early Formative complex iconography and temporal computations and, although still serving as imagery captions and labels at this early phase, would later characterize the development of the Zapotec writing system and its derivatives through time (Urcid 2001). The spatial context of the San José Mogote monolith further betrays the social rationale behind this early function of writing: this was positioned horizontally on a corridor's threshold or a temple entrance as if the sacrificial victim was meant to be continuously trampled, and likely it was the prominent identity of this vanquished rival ruler that made it necessary to convey a more specific and unequivocal message than before.[10] From this onset and throughout the prehispanic era, the fact that all written content explicitly dealt with themes exclusive to the nobility, whereas no primary inscriptions were found so far in commoners' contexts, strongly suggests that the art of writing and full literacy were restricted to the elite and to specialized scribes.[11] Nevertheless, this same early complementarity between text, image, and spatial context would become the distinguishing characteristic for all of Mesoamerican writing systems, and the message would thus have been potentially directed to and understood by other nonliterate members of the society.[12]

The latter part of the Middle Formative period saw the decline of regional centers and singled out the great mountaintop city and ceremonial center of Monte

Albán, which was built in the late sixth century BCE at the heart of the contested valley, where it ruled at the top of a four-tiered settlement hierarchy[13] (Blanton 1978; Joyce 2010; Kowalewski et al. 1989; Winter 2011). That such archaeological manifestations for primary state-formation appeared in tandem with the development of complex recordkeeping strategies was likely not coincidental (Urcid 2011b; see also Goody 1986; Houston 2004; Marcus 1992; and Sanders 2006 for similar examples). In response to the burgeoning political factionalism throughout the region, the ruling elite of this state-level polity took the earlier iconographic template to a new level: hundreds of stone monuments depicting individuals similar to the one on the San José Mogote monument were incorporated directly into the architecture of the public main plaza. Although all were erected and dismantled in a relatively short period of time, these so-called *danzantes* monoliths show different styles and themes and surely belonged to several "narrative programs," not all of which were contemporaneous (Urcid 2011a; Winter 2011). These sequential representations are often explained as intimidation propaganda featuring slain captives, although other plausible interpretations include ranked individuals in a warrior-priest sodality, or a procession of the city-founders and other mythical ancestors (Marcus 1992; Marcus and Flannery 1996; Urcid 2011a; Urcid and Joyce 2014; Winter 2011). Either way, the fact that many of these carved individuals carry a calendrical name and specific attributes is consistent with the fundamental need for constructing an enduring social memory for the local elite, their subjects, and potential rival rulers. The *danzantes* iconography is further tied to the widespread Mesoamerican theme of the blood of nobles as a symbol of the sacred covenant between humans and gods, and highlights the role of Monte Albán as a sacred space for religious rituals (A. Joyce 2004, 2010).

Additional composite inscriptions on accompanying monuments probably celebrated the feats of Monte Albán's rulers and reveal the already developed nature of the Zapotec logosyllabic writing during this period, while other isolated glyphs appear on ceramic representations of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic deities.[14] The ubiquitous dates recorded in the ritual calendar similarly reflect the necessity of the nobility to position themselves as society's "timekeepers" and chroniclers, and so to herald central social activities. Because the elite class relied heavily on the physical labor, economic support, and political sponsorship of the commoner population who lived around the ceremonial center, it is probable that the latter would occasionally have viewed, and partially understood, these politico-religious statements, especially when accompanied by oral recitation during public ceremonies and processions (A. Joyce 2004; Marcus 1992).

The first Oaxacan writing system thus flourished in an urban setting that could have supported such a novel scribal institution. In turn, since these visual and written historiographies were embedded in the monumental architecture from the very

beginning, the urban layout of Monte Albán was in turn shaped and transformed through time by the growing need to display such narratives. The act of writing itself was likely considered to have been a sacred privilege and was monopolized almost exclusively by the Valley's capital and its elite for centuries to come (Urcid 2011b). Although other areas in Oaxaca experienced rapid episodes of urbanization throughout the Late Formative, concrete evidence for associated writing is still largely lacking: Monte Negro fast became one of the primary civic-ceremonial centers in the Mixteca[15] (Balkansky et al. 2004; Geurds 2007; Spores 1984), and the Isthmus saw the rapid rise and decline of Tres Picos, a pan-regional urban center that boasted several ballcourts and might have been ruled by Mixe speakers. The position of this city on a natural lowland passage allowed it to participate in, or even control, the interregional exchange of ceramics and other exotic goods from Soconusco to the Gulf of Veracruz (Winter 2008b).

During the Terminal Formative, many ceramic and architecture styles became more standardized and widely spread, following a regional pattern that is largely contained within the Oaxacan state boundaries and so heralds the formation of this culture era. Although technological innovations and exchange among the elite had surely continued to propel the economic, religious, and ideological interactions between the different groups and regions (Joyce 2010; Joyce et al. 1998; Zeitlin 1993), some of this ubiquitous material distribution probably reflects Monte Albán's territorial and political expansion during the first century BCE. Such an expansion is primarily inferred from the seventy stone slabs set in a unique arrow-shaped structure in the central plaza, Building J, in which were depicted distinct yet mostly unidentified conquered places, their defeated rulers, and other calendrical references (Caso 1947; Marcus 1983, 1992; Marcus and Flannery 1996; Whittaker 1980; but see also Buigues 1993; Carter 2008; Justeson 2012; and Urcid and Joyce 2014 for alternative interpretations).[16] These Zapotec hill signs were all qualified with specific anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and other elements, which likely stood for names of individual communities, in a semantic format that would endure in Oaxaca for centuries to come and later spread throughout central Mesoamerica. Much as with the earliest recorded anthroponymic glyphs, the need for geographical specificity in commemorating victories and demarcating territory seems to have motivated the early development of Mesoamerican logographic toponomy and further helped to promote a place-based corporate identity. A more anthropomorphic variation on the theme of commemorating rulers' feats and defeated adversaries was carved on stone slabs at the regional center of Dainzú, focusing on the outcome of the ritualistic Mesoamerican ball game.

Regional variants of the Zapotec script first appear during this period in the Mixteca nucleated urban centers of Huamelulpan and Yucuita in the form of short

commemorative, political, and religious statements (Joyce 2010; Spores 2007). This further suggests that the area was either dominated by Zapotec nobles most likely affiliated with Monte Albán, or that the script characters were appropriated ideographically or phonetically by the local Mixtec nobility.[17] Although diverse products and crafts circulated among these ecological regions through traveling merchants, tribute, or marketplaces, an unexplained wide-ranging systemic collapse toward the third century CE marked the end of the Formative period and disrupted the political structure in the Mixteca and the Coast.

Other urban centers such as Jalieza began to rise in the Central Valleys during the Early Classic period. Monte Albán continued to be a dominant power throughout the region, and inscribed monuments in Monte Albán along with Zapotec-style ceramics and glyphs in a Teotihuacan *barrio* seem to attest to economic and diplomatic ties between these powerful cities starting from the third or fourth century CE. Several glyphs of the little-known Teotihuacan script were found in Monte Albán's inscriptions, although the former system might have been partially derived from the latter (Joyce 2010; Marcus and Flannery 1996; Taube 2011). Teotihuacan might have further traded with, or even partially controlled, the Mixteca and the western Coast. In contrast to Teotihuacan's mostly glyph-less "corporate ideology," however, the new carved inscriptions and imagery in Monte Albán's public areas had "put a face" on the earlier theme of military conquests and captive-taking and focused on the declaration of individual rulers' earthly exploits and their kinship with the divine. In many cases a single stone monument had several inscribed surfaces, meant to be viewed from multiple perspectives, while sets of individual monuments were positioned together to form sequential narrative programs. As also occurred to the earlier *danzantes*, these were occasionally dismantled, recarved, and later reassembled to create different political programs by new rulers, who were likely motivated by the desire to appropriate or contest the material and documentary records of past rulership. One of the most ambitious remodeling programs took place around the sixth century, when the great Lord 13 Night succeeded Lord 5 Jaguar as the supreme sovereign of Monte Albán (Urcid 2001, 2005a, 2011b, 2011c; Winter 1994b). Much as in later Postclassic and Colonial times, it is quite probable that these multifaceted written and visual narratives would have been occasionally reenacted through theatrical performances with the purpose of legitimizing rulership and perpetuating individual and communal identities.

This political and ideological legitimization of the nobility had developed during the Late Classic into lineage-oriented genealogical registers and marriage scenes in Monte Albán and other centers such as Cerro de la Campana, and their profusion might further argue for the spread of literacy to lower elite circles. These family histories are mostly represented on lintels, jambs, modeled panels, murals, and

freestanding stelae found within elite residences and tombs of restricted access that were periodically reopened (Lind and Urcid 2010; Miller 1995; Urcid 2001, 2005a). Such genealogies emphasized both male and female rulers, and already demonstrated the growing preoccupation with tracing noble lines of descent that would later become the hallmark of Postclassic and Early Colonial indigenous historiography. The transformation from publicly displayed inscribed monuments toward more exclusionary elite settings echoed earlier urban rearrangement programs that effectively restricted the access of commoners to the main plaza at Monte Albán (A. Joyce 2004). This restricted access seems to reflect a shift in concern from consolidating commoner allegiance to internal factional competition within elite interaction spheres, within which deified lineage ancestors played a legitimating role. Other inscribed slabs and portable effigy vessels were designed to carry the identity of the respective ancestor or owner more widely, as conceivably did other documents that have not been preserved, written as they likely were on organic materials such as bark-paper, animal hide, or cotton cloth.

Smaller city-states emerged during the Classic period along with new regional artistic styles, and variants of the Zapotec script and complex iconography began to spread throughout the Valley of Oaxaca and surrounding mountains, the Mixteca, the Ejutla and Sola Valleys, the Nejapa Valley, the Lower Río Verde, the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and beyond Oaxaca's modern boundaries to Guerrero and Chiapas (Balkansky 2002; Gutiérrez 2008; Urcid 1993, 2001, 2005a). This fragmentary corpus is mostly represented by short "tagging" inscriptions of calendrical dates or names, personal monikers, and toponyms, probably referring to major accomplishments of self-aggrandizing local rulers or deified ancestors. The most elaborate of those is the highly stylized *Ñuiñe* variant in the western Mixteca, which was further affiliated with Central Mexican writing systems. This script began showing up on a variety of media such as carved stones, bone, shell, and pottery in Cerro de las Minas and other sites, as well as clusters of wall inscriptions such as in the Tepelmeme cave, locally known as the "Puente Colosal Ndaxagua" (Rivera Guzmán 2008; Urcid 2005b; Winter 2007; Doesburg and Spores, chapter 10, this volume; König, chapter 4, this volume; Rincón Mautner, chapter 8, this volume). Other narratives painted on tomb walls represented complex creation stories that transcend mythical and historical time and that might have further served to legitimize the foundation of particular lineages (Urcid 2008).

In the Mixteca Alta, Yucuñudahui became one of the most important political and religious centers in the Nochixtlán Valley and beyond, judging by the extensive size of the settlement, isolated *Ñuiñe* inscriptions, and the numerous retrospective references in the Postclassic codices (Byland and Pohl 1994; Hamann 2002; Pohl 2004a; Spores 1967). A new Late Classic state capital resurfaced in Río Viejo on

the western Coast, where its rulers, probably Chatino speakers, were depicting and naming themselves on public stone monuments while asserting their hierarchical divine mandate over the commoner population in a fashion similar to that of the early rulers of Monte Albán (Urcid and Joyce 2001). Zapotec-style glyphs also appear on "Talun Carved" ceramics distributed mainly along the central Pacific littoral, and a yet-unidentified script and complex scenes were painted on natural boulders in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec (Matadamas Díaz and Ramírez Barrera 2010; Urcid 1993; Zárate Morán 2003). Taken together, the spread of literacy and the proliferation of localized historiographic traditions across the Valley of Oaxaca and beyond might have manifested a growing regional factionalism and anticipated the subsequent rise of Postclassic petty kingdoms. Perhaps for related reasons, communities in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec shifted their economic and religious ties during this period from the Valley of Oaxaca toward exchange networks with Totonac and Maya groups in the Gulf Coast and Campeche (Joyce 2010; Winter 2008b; Zeitlin 2005).

Echoing the pan-Mesoamerican systemic collapse brought by interrelated environmental and sociopolitical triggers, the end of the Classic period marked the rapid decline and abandonment of Monte Albán and other major cities in the Valley, the Mixteca, and the Coast during the eighth and ninth centuries (Blomster 2008b; Joyce 2010; Lind and Urcid 2010; Markens et al. 2008; Kroefges, chapter 13, this volume; Rincón Mautner, chapter 8, this volume). Still, many of these places continued to be used as burial grounds and came to be venerated as places of ancestral creation, where later people appropriated both these ruins and ancient artifacts in a form of "indigenous archaeology" (Hamann 2002, 2008). The dispersal of the nobility and associated scribal schools could probably account for the disappearance of the phonetic Zapotec script and the inscribed freestanding stelae tradition, with the exception of few late carved monuments from the Valley of Oaxaca and the Mixteca Alta (Urcid 2005a, 2011b). This period also marked the beginning of a new cycle of sweeping movements of peoples and ideas throughout Mesoamerica (Rincón Mautner, chapter 8, this volume). During the Epiclassic, the Central Mexican writing systems of Xochicalco and Cacaxtla showed influences from Zapotec script, and especially from the *Ñuiñe* variant. The Zapotec sacred calendar survived largely intact into this period but was realigned and adapted to accommodate Central Mexican conventions, suggesting a bilateral flow of ideas. Although the Central Mexican Toltecs were likely involved in the region during the eleventh century, the material evidence for their presence is still fragmentary and inferences are mostly drawn from Late Postclassic and Early Colonial documentation, which retrospectively references various Toltec culture heroes and lineage founders as active in the Oaxacan political landscape (Blomster 2008b, 2008c;

Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 2007, 2009a; Oudijk 2008; Pohl 1999, 2003a, 2003b; Rincón Mautner, chapter 8, this volume).

The urban and political reorientation of the Early Postclassic period brought about the simultaneous development of multiple minor city-states. The respective settlement pattern became more dispersed, and earlier monumental temples were replaced by modest, multipurposed palaces, showing a fusion of architectural styles and decorated with repetitive iconographical motifs (Byland 1980; Byland and Pohl 1994; Pohl 2004a; Jiménez Osorio and Posselt Santoyo, chapter 11, this volume; Kroefges, chapter 13, this volume). With the coastal Río Viejo polity largely decentralized, non-inscribed sculptures of deities or nobles were now placed on natural hills instead of in the public civic-ceremonial center; commoners or "impoverished elites" were reoccupying the site core and reutilizing the Classic-period inscribed monuments for the construction of their houses and to contest the earlier political regime (Joyce 2008; Joyce et al. 2001; Urcid and Joyce 2001).

Towards the end of the Early Postclassic period, centers in the Valley of Oaxaca such as Cuilapan, Mitla, Yagul, Teotitlán del Valle, and Macuilxóchitl grew in size and influence, while the Mixteca saw the dramatic rise of Coixtlahuaca and Yucundaa-Teposcolula (Markens et al. 2008; Rincón Mautner, chapter 8, this volume; Spores, chapter 2, this volume). In the wake of political collapse on the west Coast, an intrusive Mixtec settlement was founded in Tututepec during the twelfth century and—according to the retrospective accounts in the Late Postclassic Mixtec codices—fast became the largest expansionist city-state on the Pacific littoral with the support of important Tolteca-Chichimeca alliances (Joyce 2010; Joyce et al. 2004; Levine 2007; Matadamas Díaz and Ramírez Barrera 2010; Spores 1993; see also Kroefges, chapter 13, this volume; Zborover, chapter 12, this volume). The Isthmus of Tehuantepec material culture further points to interregional interactions with Maya groups in Chiapas, as well as with the Valley of Oaxaca and Central Mexico (Winter 2008a, 2008b; Zeitlin 2005).

The intense Late Postclassic population movements and the economic commercialization on a scale unprecedented in Mesoamerican history was accompanied by an equally substantial body of documentary and material records, including the introduction of new exotic goods such as precious metals from Central America and turquoise from the North American Southwest (Smith and Berdan 2003). The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are often characterized by a constant flux between violent factionalism and confederacy building, and the creation of regional and interregional "alliance corridors" between royal dynasties through marital alliances and gift-giving. Such intense interaction between the Mixteca, the Valley of Oaxaca, and the Central Highlands brought new levels of standardization in material culture and writing, and an "international" symbol set of a shared elite identity and religious

ideology. Phoneticism was downplayed in these communication networks so as to accommodate these polyglot and multiethnic social landscapes[18] (Boone and Smith 2003; Pohl 2003a, 2003b, 2003d; Rincón Mautner, chapter 8, this volume).

At the same time, the endemic factional competition had created numerous localized hero cults and conflicting documentary histories, the most remarkable examples being the surviving Mixtec codices[19]—screenfold books composed on gesso-covered deer hide using the new logographic Mixtec writing system.[20] The codices and other portable inscribed media, such as masterfully painted polychrome ceramics, precious stones, shell, gold and silver jewelry, and carved animal and human bones, were more suitable to this socially dynamic era and thus further explain the fading of the stationary stelae tradition (Pohl 2003c; König, chapter 4, this volume; McCafferty and McCafferty, chapter 5, this volume). Although simply decorated polychrome vessels were also used by nonelites, the elaborate serving vessels depicting complex iconography and "snapshots" of heroic narratives were used in gift exchanges among the noble families, as well as in feasts where codices were publicly performed in song and oratory (Levine 2007; Monaghan 1990; Pohl 2003c, 2007; Lind, chapter 7, this volume). Similarly, murals painted on lintels of palace courtyards and carved stone slabs were now oriented toward more cosmopolitan narratives and associations (Blomster 2008c; Pohl 1999; Winter 2008a).

Most of the codices were likely composed for special occasions, such as the enthronement of a ruler or a royal marriage, and were later deposited in the town archives; others were surely sent to be read throughout the different realms for various political, economic, and religious purposes. Even if in different formats and media, such documents continued to emphasize those previously established literary themes of mythological creation, the religious pantheon, dynastic origins, elite genealogy, heroic biography and conquests, marital alliances, territorial conflicts, and individual and collective rites of passage. Much as the Classic-period inscriptions, calendrical references were mostly employed in naming individuals and fixing events in mythical and historical time, while the long astronomical computations known from the Maya codices are absent in the surviving Oaxacan records.

One of the most intriguing leitmotifs is the retrospective creation account of a new world-era emerging out of the Formative- and Classic-period ruins during the tenth century, a "mythistorical" event that is further echoed in the abovementioned changes in material culture and settlement patterns during the Classic-Postclassic transition[21] (Boone 2000; Byland 2008; Byland and Pohl 1994; Hamann 2002, 2008; Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 2007; Oudijk 2008; Rabin 2003; Byland, chapter 6, this volume; König, chapter 4, this volume; Rincón Mautner, chapter 8, this volume; Whittington and Workinger, chapter 9, this volume). Elite kinship was literally embedded in this sacred landscape, as the founders of Mixtec

dynasties were commonly depicted emerging from the natural and constructed ancestral environment (often abandoned Classic-period settlements), whereas in the documents many of the claims for political legitimacy are drawn from places distant in space and time such as Monte Albán, Zaachila, Cholula, and Tula (Jansen 1998; Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 2007; Pohl 2003a; Byland, chapter 6, this volume; McCafferty and McCafferty, chapter 5, this volume; Lind, chapter 7, this volume; Rincón Mautner, chapter 8, this volume). Some of the religious mantic manuscripts were also rooted in a Mixtec historical geography, although sharing Nahua iconographic conventions with the Borgia Group of the Puebla-Tlaxcala plains; the recently discovered fragments of the Yautepec Codex in southern Oaxaca suggest that these divinatory almanacs were probably quite widespread, while their divergent content could be reflective of regional "cults" (Doesburg and Urcid 2009; see also Pohl 2004b; Lind, chapter 7, this volume).

Several of these surviving retrospective narratives follow the life and times of the great Mixtec Lord 8-Deer and his adversary Lady 6-Monkey during the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Byland, chapter 6, this volume; McCafferty and McCafferty, chapter 5, this volume), which chronologically corresponds with the Early Postclassic foundation of the Tututepec polity on the Pacific coast. Together with the fifteenth century conquest of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec by the Zapotec king Cosijopí I from Zaachila, these two historical events had dramatically transformed southern Oaxaca's already complex multiethnic and demographic makeup and started a fierce interpolity conflict on the Coast (Joyce 2010; Matadamas Díaz and Ramírez Barrera 2010; Winter 2008a; Zeitlin 2005; Kroefges, chapter 13, this volume; Zborover, chapter 12, this volume).

Drawn by the region's economic resources, artistic legacy, and strategic position as a passage to the southern coastal plains, the Aztecs conquered large parts of the Mixteca, Central Valleys, Sierra Norte, and Sierra Sur through several expeditions starting in the mid-fifteenth century, and established a garrison in Huaxyacac (later "Oaxaca") at the foot of Monte Albán. Among these conquered places were the important pluri-ethnic trading center of Coixtlahuaca (Bernal 1948; Rincón Mautner, chapter 8, this volume), the powerful city-state of Cuilapan, and various other towns that often rebelled and were violently subdued. In many such cases the Aztecs further replaced the local rulers with their own governors and administrators, and populated regions with Central Mexican migrants. This period further established Nahuatl as the lingua franca among the polyglot and often factionalized nobility across Oaxaca (a process that might have started with the Toltec-Chichimeca migrations), and Nahuatl was still widely used in Early Colonial documents as a sign for indigenous elite status. Although the Aztecs recorded their conquests and (often excessive) tribute extracted from these provinces in their

own historical documents, they left only isolated inscriptions and scant material record throughout the Oaxacan landscape, and their presence is mostly alluded to by Nahuatl toponyms and local documentation (Berdan et al. 1996; Doesburg and Spores, chapter 10, this volume; Kroefges, chapter 13, this volume; Whittington and Workinger, chapter 9, this volume; Zborover, chapter 12, this volume). These Oaxacan accounts often contrast with the "official" histories from Tenochtitlán, as was the case with the competing perspectives on the subjugated status of Tehuantepec and Zaachila. Tututepec retained its political autonomy and vast territorial control, but continued to rely heavily on the Central Mexican and the coastal exchange networks (Levine 2007).

The Aztecs' ambitious plans to consolidate their military and economic foothold in Oaxaca were, however, short-lived. The early sixteenth century saw the intrusion of the Spanish to Oaxaca, and the creation of a new Colonial milieu in which indigenous and European negotiations and interpretations resulted in yet another stratum of cultural, material, and documentary hybridity. Much like the Classic-Postclassic transition and other erratic phases in Mesoamerica's history, the Contact and Early Colonial periods in Oaxaca are characterized by a complex interplay between material/documentary disjunctions and continuities. In addition to representing an intrusive literate society on the Mesoamerican soil, the European conquest and colonialism further connected Oaxaca textually and materially to the Americas and integrated Mesoamerica with the Spanish Habsburgian world economy. In fact, it is through the selective preservation of the indigenous documentary sources and the rich detail encapsulated in the newly introduced alphabetic writing system and literary traditions that we know today more about this transitional phase in Oaxacan history than of any phase that preceded it.

The Spanish brought with them numerous books, some mass-produced with the relatively new invention of the printing press. Although those included tomes of Old World history, geography, sciences, arts, and literature, many of these early works consisted of illustrated religious manuscripts perhaps not so different from the Mesoamericans' own traditions, and their templates, themes, and iconography in turn heavily influenced the books later printed in the New World. Along with Mesoamerican foodstuffs, precious metals, and works of art, several of the pictorial codices were shipped back to be admired as curiosities by the European nobility, thus taking indigenous writing systems for the first recorded time outside of Mesoamerica's cultural boundaries. The establishment of New Spain soon resulted in a wealth of bureaucratic literature, such as the *Suma de Visitas* census, the *Libro de las Tasaciones* tributary records, and the comprehensive *Relaciones Geográficas* questionnaires, that provided important details on the land and its people and often

included indigenous and European maps (Gerhard 1993; Mundy 1996; Kroefges, chapter 13, this volume; Rincón Mautner, chapter 8, this volume; Whittington and Workinger, chapter 9, this volume; Zborover, chapter 12, this volume). Even if indirectly and impersonally, the larger indigenous population was referenced in the written record for the first time, most notably in the Spanish economic and parish records. West African and Caribbean slaves brought in as forced labor contributed to the already increasingly complex social and genetic makeup of Oaxaca and, consequently, to its material and literary traditions (Aguirre Beltrán 1989; Fournier and Charlton 2008; Gallaga Murrieta 2009).

The larger Mesoamerican society was restructured so that the Spanish Crown would have dispossessed the Late Postclassic imperial elite of its ruling power, although much of the social makeup within the lower echelons of the indigenous *cacicazgos'* (transformations of the Postclassic city-states) was kept relatively intact. The traditional Spanish administrative institutions were in turn shaped by the idiosyncratic sociopolitical matrix of Oaxaca. The conquistadors were quick to subdue the large militaristic kingdoms such as Tututepec and Tehuantepec, often with the help of antagonistic indigenous groups. However, and in contrast to Central Mexico, in many regions of Oaxaca this period can be seen as a gradual cultural transition rather than an abrupt rupture. Numerous *cacicazgos* endured and even prospered throughout the Colonial and even the Republican period, while adapting to the European religious, economic, and political hierarchy (Chance 1986, 1989; Frassani 2009; Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 2009a, 2009b; Spores 2007; Taylor 1972; Terraciano 2001; Doesburg and Spores, chapter 10, this volume; Zeitlin, chapter 14, this volume). For the most part the hispanicized *caciques* were able to preserve their hereditary statuses and lands, continue with the tradition of intrapolity marital alliances, and keep their positions as intermediaries between their commoner subjects and the hegemonic powers, now represented by the Spanish Crown (Yannakakis 2008). Tehuantepec's ruler Cosijopí II, for example, followed to assist in the Spanish exploration and conquest of the western and northern coasts of New Spain.

The local Spanish seat of power, Antequera, was founded close to the Aztec garrison of Huaxyacac, in a place that would later become the current state capital of Oaxaca City.[22] Soon after, the Spanish Crown started congregating the dispersed Postclassic settlement pattern into large towns whose territories fell under the institutional control of the *encomienda* and the *república de indios*, thus severing long-established native political alliances and further creating a disjunction with the loci of indigenous ancestral identity (Chance 1986, 1989; Gerhard 1993; Ruiz Medrano 2010; Jiménez Osorio and Posselt Santoyo, chapter 11, this volume; Spores, chapter 2, this volume; Whittington and Workinger, chapter 9, this volume). Several

Oaxacan towns and villages resisted these relocations and fiercely rebelled against the excessive labor and tribute demands of the Spanish, most notably in the Isthmus and Mixe region (Kroefges, chapter 13, this volume; Zborover, chapter 12, this volume; Zeitlin, chapter 14, this volume).

European flora, fauna, and production technologies were rapidly introduced to Mesoamerica, often causing major transformations to the rural and urban landscapes (Zeitlin, chapter 14, this volume). The Bay of Huatulco functioned through much of the sixteenth century as the main port to connect Pacific Mesoamerica with South America and, by way of Veracruz, to the Atlantic capitalist economies. English, Dutch, and French pirates followed suit and produced a wealth of manuscripts and maps; their attacks along the Pacific littoral had also affected the indigenous and Spanish settlements and the circulation of goods (Gerhard 2003; Matadamas Díaz and Ramírez Barrera 2010; Kroefges, chapter 13, this volume). The local industries of salt, hides, cloth (including textiles produced from the newly introduced silk), and most notably the native cochineal dyestuff were monopolized and exported to Asia and other international markets through the Manila Galleon trade network, providing much wealth to Spanish *encomenderos*, Dominican institutions, and indigenous *caciques* and merchants alike (Chance 1986, 1989; Romero Frizzi 1996; see also Doesburg and Spores, chapter 10, this volume; Zeitlin, chapter 14, this volume). Foreign goods, such as European *mayólica* (majolica) pottery and Chinese porcelain, were imported for prestige displays of Spaniards and selected mestizo and indigenous sectors; some of these ceramic types were later emulated locally by indigenous and other craftsmen under the tutelage of the Dominican order, and further included new stylistic and technological innovations (Blackman et al. 2006; Fernández Dávila and Gómez Serafín 1998; Gómez Serafín and Fernández Dávila 2007; Zeitlin, chapter 14, this volume). Nevertheless, much of the prehispanic subsistence patterns and material culture persisted relatively uninterrupted among the commoners and semiautonomous or specialized groups and is evident through the present-day with domestic ceramic traditions and architecture (Doesburg and Spores, Chapter 10, this volume; Kroefges, Chapter 13, this volume; Zborover, Chapter 12, this volume; Zeitlin, Chapter 14, this volume). The rotating indigenous market system—still ongoing today—continued to serve as the basis for the peasant economy throughout the urban centers and rural hinterlands, while slowly incorporating European-based goods and adapting to a cash economy (Murphy and Stepick 1991).

It was the European communicable diseases that eventually proved more devastating than any war, mining operations, or the *repartimiento* forced labor, and drastically decimated the native population throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially in the Isthmus and along the Coast (Zeitlin 2005; see also

Spores, chapter 2, this volume). The high mortality rate among the ruling nobility and the competition among the surviving *caciques*, together with the Spanish colonialists' new claims for land, brought about an intricate political and territorial reorganization. Hernán Cortés himself claimed large parts of Oaxaca as his own Marquesado del Valle, and much of the period's legal documentation produced by the Spanish and indigenous alike revolved around private, communal, and *hacienda* land tenure and claims (Chance 1986; Taylor 1972). This abundant Colonial documentation on territorial conflicts demonstrates that disputes commonly arose between different factions within Spanish society (such as *peninsulares* against *criollos*), between the ecclesiastical and civil institutions, between the indigenous *caciques* and their subjects, and most commonly between neighboring communities[23] (Romero Frizzi 1996; Ruiz Medrano 2010).

Whereas many of the accomplished indigenous scribes perished in the demographic collapse and most of the Postclassic documents were destroyed by zealous priests, several autochthonous literary traditions continued to be employed during the Early Colonial period within indigenous interaction spheres, while others flourished in tandem with the Spanish administration. In Colonial Oaxaca, pictorial documents appear in areas previously known for their literary traditions, such as the Mixteca and the Central Valleys (Doesburg and Spores, chapter 10, this volume; König, chapter 4, this volume; Whittington and Workinger, chapter 9, this volume), but subsequently emerged among other ethnic groups for which we have little or no such surviving prehispanic documents, such as the Mazatec, Chinantec, Mixe, Chochos, Isthmus Zapotec, and the Chontal coast and highlands (König and Sellen, chapter 15, this volume; Kroefges, chapter 13, this volume; Rincón Mautner, chapter 8, this volume; Zborover, chapter 12, this volume). This indigenous corpus, along with the Spanish documentation, further established many of the ethnonyms still in use today for the contemporary sixteen Oaxacan ethnolinguistic groups (Bartolomé 2008).

The traditional pictorial style, even if by now anachronistic and mostly devoid of its complex iconographic and phonetic subtleties, was still considered by both indigenous and Europeans to be a symbol of ancestral legitimacy and was often manipulated to such ends in the Colonial courts of law. In the Mixteca and the Cañada, codices continued to be painted and older ones "recycled" to demonstrate and negotiate ancestral claims over land and political power (Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 2009a, 2009b; Ruiz Medrano 2010; Yannakakis 2008; König, chapter 4, this volume). Numerous new documents were commissioned by the literate indigenous *caciques* for their geopolitical negotiations with the Spanish authorities and other competing villages, and reflect their intermediary role in the new Colonial and religious world order.

Most ubiquitous were the *lienzos*, composed on cloth sheets; the *amate* or European paper *mapas*; and the paper or hide rolls. In particular, the *lienzos*' wide geographical distribution and typical single-sided large format convincingly argue for more inclusive engagement and communal decision-making than do the elite-oriented codices. These documents emphasized clearly delimited territorial boundaries for individual communities and *cacicazgos*, while their pictorial narratives—accompanied and bolstered by oral traditions—followed local and interregional group migrations. Some Oaxacan *lienzos* even recorded the auxiliary indigenous expeditions together with the Spaniards in their sweeping conquests across Mesoamerica (Boone 2000; Romero Frizzi 1996; Ruiz Medrano 2010; Smith 1973; Yannakakis 2008; see also Asselbergs 2008). In general, the pictorial narratives and genealogies depicted in the *lienzos* tend to be more complex and retrospective than those of the indigenous paper *mapas*, which are often limited to territorial demarcations. Although the smaller scale of the latter could be partially behind this pattern, the intended audience surely played an important role here: the *mapas* of the *Relaciones Geográficas* were composed primarily for the Spanish administration, and the oral narratives of the indigenous informants were transcribed into the accompanying alphabetic documents; the *lienzos*, however, were often presented exclusively for indigenous audiences.

The pictographic content of these Early Colonial documents was commonly accompanied by interpretative glosses written with the Roman alphabet, but by the Late Colonial period the latter writing system generally replaced the former. Most of the early alphabetic documents produced in indigenous towns were authored by Spanish priests and notaries, but indigenous elites and their *cabildos* (councils) soon appropriated the writing system to advance their community needs and own political ambitions, producing a rich notarial literature in their own native language or in Spanish, which eventually took the place of Nahuatl as the lingua franca. Commoners, although mostly men affiliated with the town *cabildo* or ecclesiastical institutions, also started to read and write in the Roman alphabet. Among the most common alphabetic literary genres produced during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are the community-oriented *títulos primordiales* ("primordial titles"), which follow territorial themes similar to those of the *lienzos* and *mapas* albeit without the elite-focused narratives, and the numerous individual wills and testaments and deeds of sale that were introduced by the Spanish legal system (Ruiz Medrano 2010; Taylor 1972; Terraciano 2001).

Several of the long-established indigenous genres continued to be represented in these pictorial and alphabetic Colonial documents, and their narratives were often retrospective: long genealogical-territorial documents extended back to the Early Postclassic period so as to legitimize the Colonial *caciques*, and were commonly

linked to dynasties and places represented in the prehispanic codices; village chronicles were often projected back to mythistorical origins; and account books and tribute lists continued to be produced for internal indigenous affairs and for the benefit of the new European administration (Boone 2000; Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 2009a, 2009b; Oudijk 2008; Whitecotton 1990; Doesburg and Spores, chapter 10, this volume; Kroefges, chapter 13, this volume). Interestingly, in many of these documents the Spanish conquest or even the Spaniards themselves are often underrepresented, suggesting internal circulation within indigenous interaction spheres, and it is indeed quite common to find those today in communities far removed from their places of origin (Zborover, chapter 12, this volume).

One notable literary lacuna was the native religion, which was actively suppressed by the Spanish priests, although rituals were often still practiced in secret and the 260-day divinatory calendars survived in some areas in a rather clandestine fashion throughout the Colonial period and even to this day (Tavárez 2010; Zeitlin, chapter 14, this volume). It is not surprising, then, that the proceedings of the idolatry trials add another informative, if often tragic, documentary genre to Oaxacan literature (Frassani 2009). The evangelization of the indigenous peoples was given largely to the mendicant orders that sent missionaries to all of the ranking noble houses. Acting as mediators between the Crown and the *caciques* who actually controlled the land, the Dominicans eventually succeeded in forming more productive partnerships than the Franciscans. Friars such as Francisco de Burgoa wrote detailed chronicles on indigenous and Spanish life in Oaxaca by weaving ethnographic observations, surviving native documents and oral traditions, and Judeo-Christian Biblical references (Spores, chapter 2, this volume; Zeitlin, chapter 14, this volume), whereas others, such as Juan de Córdova, Francisco de Alvarado, and Antonio de los Reyes, worked with indigenous intellectuals to produce dictionaries, grammars, *doctrinas*, and other hybrid pictorial-alphabetic catechisms to help convert the indigenous population (Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 2009a). The first printing press established in Oaxaca, in 1720, was the third in New Spain and was primarily used to mass-produce religious texts.

The imposing European religious structures replaced the prehispanic temples, often on the same location and commonly echoing the indigenous architectural layout such as with open chapels designed to preach to the masses. Similarly, indigenous deified imagery and sculpture were gradually replaced by portrayals of Catholic saints of similar attributes, and ceramic traditions imbued with overt native religious iconography became covert or rapidly fell out of use (Frassani 2009; Jiménez Osorio and Posselt Santoyo, chapter 11, this volume; Lind, chapter 7, this volume; Rincón Mautner, chapter 8, this volume; Zeitlin, chapter 14, this volume). The local production of these European forms by indigenous hands and perspectives

created the unique *tequitqui* hybrid art and architecture, while the common practice of incorporating prehispanic inscribed monuments into the walls of Christian religious structures could have been viewed as a sign for either subjugation or perseverance, depending on the eye of the beholder.

Spain's Bourbon reforms of the eighteenth century introduced important territorial, political, and economic legislations that impacted both the material and the literary landscapes of Oaxaca, although actively promoting the acculturation of indigenous people and languages (Frassani 2009; Yannakakis 2008). Cochineal production continued to be a prime activity in the hinterland during this period, and the dye was exported to textile industries throughout Europe (Murphy and Stepick 1991). Oaxaca played an important role in the ensuing creation of the nascent Mexican nation following its independence from Spain in the early nineteenth century, and the nation was subsequently governed by famous Oaxacan figures of indigenous descent such as Benito Juárez (being the first Native American president) and later Porfirio Díaz. Throughout the Republican period, numerous statistical reports, census lists, and maps were prepared by the new independent government to assess the land and its people, and dispatches were periodically sent to many villages (Gerhard 1993; Zborover, chapter 12, this volume). The social upheaval of this transitional period is also reflected in stylistic changes to Mexican ceramic types and the overall deterioration of locally produced glaze wares, along with the growing import of new European wares by way of the United States (Gómez Serafín and Fernández Dávila 2007). The mid-nineteenth century French intervention in Mexico connected Oaxaca once again to a complex web of world politics and fomented the scientific exploration of archaeological sites by foreign scholars (Robles García and Juárez Osnaya 2004).

Despite the remarkable demographic recovery among the native population and the introduction of schools in rural areas in the decades following Independence, manuscripts written in indigenous languages seem largely to have faded from the historical record, perhaps as a result of the period's liberal ideals of a uniform Mexican culture and the eventual assimilation of the indigenous *caciques*. Yet, written and pictorial indigenous land titles—old and new—once again started to circulate between the communities and the state following the mid-nineteenth century reform laws, the dissolution of Church properties, and the later territorial redistribution brought by the early twentieth century agrarian reform (Ruiz Medrano 2010).

Albeit at the expense of the impoverished indigenous population and the alienation of their lands, the late nineteenth century Porfiriato also saw the proliferation of railroads and factories throughout the state, as well as the development of communication technologies and networks such as the telegraph and telephone, postal services, printing presses, and periodicals (Murphy and Stepick 1991). These were

destined chiefly for the literate upper and middle classes, many of them foreign investors. The nationalist ideology of the Díaz government was balanced by European-oriented trade and cultural influences, and was materialized through both the industrial present and the monumental past; new ceramic and architectural forms blended patriotic-themed and neoclassic iconography; and the first excavations and restoration at Monte Albán and Mitla took place in this period (Gómez Serafín and Fernández Dávila 2007; Robles García and Juárez Osnaya 2004). Tehuantepec was connected through the trans-Isthmian railroad to the Atlantic Ocean, which brought a fleeting economic prosperity to this region. One of the prominent figures in Tehuantepec during this period was Juana Catarina Romero who, in addition to becoming an accomplished international businesswoman who shaped much of the region's economy and fashion styles, also built schools and strongly advocated literacy education for both men and women (Chassen-López 2008). This was also the time when the Isthmus and the Mixteca witnessed the formation of passionate literary movements in Zapotec, Mixtec, and Spanish—often inspired by ancient manuscripts and oral traditions to invoke indigenous resistance and foment cultural identity—and whose vibrant legacies are still ongoing today (Jansen 1990; Jansen and van Broekhoven 2008; Romero Frizzi 2003).

Following the Mexican Revolution of 1910, which ushered in the Modern era, Spanish-based literacy started to spread at an unprecedented rate to all sectors of society through the national education system. Literacy was no longer the sole privilege of selected elites. Lamentably, it was this same nationalistic ideology that has directly contributed to the ongoing extinction of many indigenous languages, building on the *indigenismo* philosophy formulated by the Oaxacan author and education minister, José Vasconcelos, and others. That ideology attempted to assimilate the indigenous population in order to create a more homogenized *mestizo* society (Kowalewski and Saindon 1992; Stephen 2005). Ironically, throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, much of the indigenous archaeological and historical legacy was appropriated by *criollo* and *mestizo* intellectuals in the definition of a post-Independence national identity. This led to an explosion of interest in the Mesoamerican past by national and foreign scholars and travelers, many of whom explored the ancient sites and produced a plethora of related written, visual, and aural media. Historical documents in their own right, some of the ethnographies from this period are often the only available source today for reconstructing indigenous traditions (König and Sellen, chapter 15, this volume; Spores, chapter 2, this volume).

The resulting disparate and often conflicting interaction with the material and literary heritage of Oaxacan cultures continues to this day. With over 70 percent of Oaxaca's territorial expanse still under communal and *ejidal* ownership (more than

of any other Mexican state), many indigenous people still occupy, cultivate, and worship the same lands and settlements of their ancestors. Zealously guarded historical documents are often brought to defend these ancestral lands, even if such territorial testimonies were originally produced for the exclusive benefit of the native nobility. Equally important, oral traditions continue to play a significant role in the construction of place-based social memory (Bartolomé 2008; Monaghan 1995; Ruiz Medrano 2010; Jiménez Osorio and Posselt Santoyo, chapter 11, this volume; König, chapter 4, this volume; Pohl, chapter 3, this volume; Zborover, chapter 12, this volume). Still others are rather uninterested or unaware of their indigenous intellectual property and cultural heritage, which is often left neglected. Conversely, many of the monumental prehispanic centers have been physically and conceptually converted into "archaeological zones" oriented toward academic research and national and international tourism, and are today one of Oaxaca's major economic resources. Despite the growing phenomenon of community museums (König, chapter 4, this volume; Kroefges, chapter 13, this volume; Zborover, chapter 12, this volume), the majority of the excavated artistic legacy of the ancient Oaxacans is found outside its place of origins in museums, storerooms, and private collections throughout the world, while most of the historical documentation is kept and studied in national and international archives (König and Sellen, chapter 15, this volume). Concomitantly, uncontrolled urban developments are destroying much of the prehispanic and Colonial cultural heritage at an alarming rate, as is the extensive looting motivated by greed and poverty (Whittington and Workinger, chapter 9, this volume).

Beginning in the 1940s, industrialization, increased urbanization, and a new road infrastructure literally reshaped the physical, economic, and social landscapes of Oaxaca, connecting many remote indigenous villages to the state capital and beyond. Several of the traditional crafts employing prehispanic and Colonial-period techniques, such as blackware and glazed ceramics, and colorful woven textiles, became oriented toward national and international tourism and markets (Stephen 2005), which in turn has fomented the introduction of new handicrafts such as the famous Oaxacan wood carvings. World-renowned Oaxacan authors and artists, such as Rufino Tamayo, Andrés Henestrosa, and more recently, Francisco Toledo, drew extensively from their own indigenous material and documentary heritage in their respective works. In recent decades literature and textbooks in indigenous languages have become more common, as are the governmental programs to fortify and to rescue these languages, however effective or ineffective they might be.

At the same time, severe soil erosion, climatic changes, neoliberalism, and continued economic marginalization have all contributed to the rapid disintegration of traditional lifeways and the state's endemic poverty (Oaxaca being the second

poorest state in Mexico). Although violent sociopolitical factionalism still propels much of the literature and media within Oaxaca, the escalating phenomenon of indigenous and mestizo emigration has taken many Oaxacan people and their respective stories to the big Mexican and US cities, and then back again (Stephen 2007; Jiménez Osorio and Posselt Santoyo, chapter 11, this volume; König, chapter 4, this volume). In turn, the material and literary manifestations of a North American–oriented capitalism and globalization can be seen today in all levels of contemporary Oaxacan society. With the digital "post-literate" age heralding yet another major transformation in which the Internet and cell phones are fast becoming the new written, oral, aural, and pictorial communication networks, the Oaxacan soil will surely continue to inspire and bring together fascinating literary and material traditions through the twenty-first century, making this one of the richest and longest-surviving cultural legacies in the world.

INTEGRATIVE ACADEMIC RESEARCH IN OAXACA

Undoubtedly, it is the very presence of complex literate societies and their continuous trajectory up to the present that has shaped the way most archaeological and historical research has been conducted in Oaxaca. Accordingly, interdisciplinary integrative approaches have had a long legacy that can be traced back to the indigenous and Spanish chroniclers (Hamann 2008; Spores, chapter 2, this volume). The era of modern research began in the nineteenth century when early European and Mexican explorers and antiquarians were equally interested in collecting the material, documentary, and oral heritage of these ancient cultures (König, chapter 4, this volume; König and Sellen, chapter 15, this volume). In this era, then, scholars around the world worked in relative isolation and with decontextualized objects and documents, including those few codices that had arrived to Europe during the Colonial period. One of the most prolific scholars of the time was the Oaxacan-born Manuel Martínez Gracida who compiled volumes of archaeological site descriptions, ethnohistoric documents, oral traditions, and linguistic material, of which only a small portion is currently published (see summary in Martínez Gracida 1986; see also König and Sellen, chapter 15, this volume). However, and in accordance with the current literary canons of the time, his early forms of integrative studies, and those of most others, were characterized by a rather romanticized narrative that did not clearly distinguish between the different types of information sources.

Although descriptions of inscribed monuments and partial excavations of major Oaxacan sites already took place in the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries (Robles García and Juárez Osnaya 2004; König and Sellen, chapter 15, this volume), systematic field research truly commenced in the late 1920s with pioneer Mexican

archaeologists Alfonso Caso and Ignacio Bernal in the Valley of Oaxaca and later in the Mixteca. Through careful stratigraphic excavations and documentary decipherment, these scholars laid the foundation for ceramic typologies and regional chronologies, and attempted to establish the temporal and spatial correlates between inscriptions, sites, and historical or contemporary ethnic groups. Caso (1928) correctly identified several inscribed stelae as Zapotec monuments based on their distributional correlation with funerary urns, reconstructed the calendrical system with the aid of Colonial-period dictionaries, and began a systematic excavation at Monte Albán. A major turning point was Caso and colleagues' discovery of Tomb 7 in 1932; other than the dazzling artifacts in gold and other precious materials that drew the world's attention to Oaxaca, Caso was able to demonstrate that these inscribed jewels could be best correlated stylistically and contextually with the Late Postclassic Mixtec codices, while the urns and an inscribed stela found in their vicinity correlated with the Zapotec culture (Caso 1932; McCafferty and McCafferty 1994; McCafferty and McCafferty, chapter 5, this volume). Another breakthrough came when Caso (1949) connected the Early Colonial *Mapa de Teozacoalco* and the accompanying *Relaciones Geográficas* to dynasties and toponyms in the Mixtec codices, thus setting the ground for future studies of the Mixteca historical geography[24] (see also Jansen 1990; Rabin 2003; Whittington and Workinger, chapter 9, this volume). In those early days before the advent of archaeometric dating techniques, relative archaeological sequences were often correlated with datable indigenous documentary chronologies in search for "tie-ins" (Nicholson 1955; Vaillant 1937; Wauchope 1947). The focus of archaeological research thus turned its attention to other sites identified in Oaxacan and Central Mexican documents (Bernal 1948; Paddock 1983)—including Classic-period settlements that were mostly abandoned at the time of the composition of the codices— revealing additional writing systems and inscriptions in the process.

After the mid-twentieth century, many of the regional syntheses written for Oaxaca incorporated archaeological and historical documentation (Bernal 1965; Dahlgren 1966; Dark 1958; Paddock 1966a, 1966b; Spores 1967; Whitecotton 1977), and it is no surprise then that it was Bernal who was among the first to approach the theme of archaeological and documentary integration in Mesoamerica methodologically (Bernal 1962; but see also Nicholson 1955). Most of these studies, nonetheless, operated within the prevailing "culture history" paradigm, often resulting in an uncritical integration of sources to create a chronologically seamless narrative of the past. The inscribed Zapotec stelae depicting rulers' feats and genealogies were still conceived as mostly religious and mythological, thus reflecting a similar ahistorical notion prevalent at the time within Maya studies in North America and earlier on in German scholarship (Bernal 1962, 1965; Caso 1965). Although

bringing Oaxacan indigenous literate cultures out of their anonymity and offering an alternative to Aztec/Mayan-centric scholarship, these scholars further embraced nationalist and diffusionist ideologies that focused on the "glorious" prehispanic past and invoked monolithic ethnic identities to explain culture change in Oaxaca.

Framed by the paradigm of processual archaeology and an ecological-evolutionary framework, North American research in the Valley of Oaxaca during the mid-1960s and early 1970s largely rejected the prevailing methods of culture historians on the grounds that historical studies were descriptive rather than explanatory, and so the chronicles of individuals, ruling families, and petty kingdoms were to be considered particularistic and largely irrelevant to the nomothetic goals of the New Archaeology (Binford 1968). Further aided by newly introduced radiometric techniques such as carbon dating, these large-scale projects brought scientific rigor to archaeological research design, method, and theory in Oaxaca, largely drawing from anthropological thinking, geographical modeling, and statistics. Through regional surveys of settlement patterns combined with household archaeology, the early emphasis on the ceremonial historical sites was replaced with the exploration of the much neglected Archaic and Formative periods in order to explore the origins of agriculture, sedentism, socioeconomics networks, and the development of social complexity (Blanton 1978; Flannery 1976; Flannery and Marcus 1983; Kowalewski et al. 1989). It was this exploration of Formative-period sites that pushed the origins of writing in Oaxaca back in time, heralded by the discovery of the earliest known inscribed monument in the New World—the aforementioned San José Mogote monument. Nevertheless, for the most part the historical record was largely ignored, even when later periods were discussed and interpreted.

Concomitantly, the continuous discovery of other inscriptions in situ, such as in royal tombs in Zaachila and the detailed excavations of other Late Classic and Postclassic sites, stimulated more historically oriented archaeological research in the Valley of Oaxaca (Paddock 1966a, 1966b, 1983; Whitecotton 1977; see also Bernal and Gamio 1974), and in 1972 the regional center of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH) was established in Oaxaca City to accommodate such dynamic and interdisciplinary research (Robles García and Juárez Osnaya 2004). Throughout the 1970s and 1980s North American scholarship largely adjusted into a unique brand of documentary-aided anthropological archaeology, although still within a vague evolutionary perspective (Appel 1982; Flannery and Marcus 1983; Spores 1967; 1980). Building on the works of Caso and similar breakthroughs in Maya studies (e.g., Berlin 1958 and Proskouriakoff 1960), the Classic-period Zapotec inscriptions were now recognized to be historical rather than purely mythological, even if history, myth, and propaganda were often regarded as interchangeable concepts for the ruling elite[25] (Marcus 1976, 1980, 1992). Still,

the correlations between writing, iconography, and the archaeological records were largely limited to the few deciphered Zapotec glyphs and so highlighted aspects of militarism and territorial expansion wherein the inscriptions primarily played a corroborative role (Marcus 1976, 1980, 1984; Spencer and Redmond 1997).

Other integrative studies in the Mixteca by archaeologists, ethnohistorians, and art historians often started with a thorough historical analysis of prehispanic and Colonial documents in libraries, archives, and communities, which then served as the basis for ground-truthing of archaeological and geographical features, occasionally complemented by ethnographic work emphasizing oral traditions (Byland 1980; Byland and Pohl 1994; Jansen 1979; Pohl and Byland 1990; Smith 1973; Spores 1967, 1972, 1984; Byland, chapter 6, this volume; König, chapter 4, this volume; McCafferty and McCafferty, chapter 5, this volume; Pohl, chapter 3, this volume). This early form of Oaxacan "landscape archaeology" was still heavily oriented toward site identifications, but with a regional perspective and a well-defined research design. Thus, by taking the middle ground between culture-historical and processual approaches, archaeologists were looking at particularistic histories of the indigenous elite as a way to approach generalizations regarding political, social, and economic processes. Caso's early documentary chronology for the Mixteca was drastically revised and so allowed better integration and comparisons with the known archaeological sequences (Byland and Pohl 1994; Jansen 1990; Rabin 2003; Troike 1978).

Scholars in both the Valley of Oaxaca and the Mixteca drew extensively from the "direct historical approach" for their research, in which the documentary and archaeological records are usually not contemporaneous[26] (Flannery and Marcus 1983; Marcus and Flannery 1994; Spores 1972; see also Kroefges, chapter 13, this volume). The basic premise behind the approach, which is still quite prevalent today, is that certain cultural aspects can be inferred from a "known" context, such as Colonial historical documentation or ethnographic observation, which then helps to explain "unknown" contexts such as the archaeological record. This approach is particularly applicable when there is a considerable cultural continuity between the analogous units, such as with the case of Oaxacan literate societies. However, the inherent emphasis on continuity has often involved a selective filtering between assumed "traditional" and "nontraditional" traits, while in some cases the researcher simply "time traveled" from the ethnographic present to the archaeological past without considering the historical transformation between the two (see also Charlton 1981; Stahl 1993).

The last two decades of integrative research in Oaxaca are particularly characterized by a variety of collaborative projects combined with a growing specialization in Oaxacan archaeology and history. In addition to the continuing refinement of

the archaeological phases in the Valley of Oaxaca, the Mixteca, and the Coast, a plethora of surveys and excavations throughout Oaxaca led to a better understanding of regional chronologies and interregional interactions (Markens 2008; figure 1.2). Specific attention is given to the spatial context of inscriptions and their "biography" of reuse through time rather than their study in isolation (Lind and Urcid 2010; Romero Frizzi 2003; Urcid 2001, 2005a, 2005b, 2011a, 2011b; Winter 1994b; König and Sellen, chapter 15, this volume). The simplistic models previously based on mere presence or absence of certain artifact styles and their "ethnic" affiliations are now being developed into nuanced theoretical frameworks that encompass both the material and the historiographic legacies of indigenous Mesoamerica, in which the Oaxaca Valley-Mixteca culture area stands out as one of the main players in a web of multiethnic interregional interactions and rival alliance corridors with the Valley of Puebla and other regions (Jansen 1998; Joyce 2010; Pohl 2003a, 2003b, 2003d, 2004b; Smith and Berdan 2003; Lind, chapter 7, this volume; Rincón Mautner, chapter 8, this volume). The subdiscipline of historical archaeology began to be formalized in Oaxaca in the 1990s, taking the much-neglected Colonial-period material culture and documentation as its basic point of departure for integrative research (Blackman et al. 2006; Charlton and Fournier 2008; Fernández Dávila and Gómez Serafín 1998; Gómez Serafín and Fernández Dávila 2007; Spores, chapter 2, this volume; Zborover, chapter 12, this volume; Zeitlin, chapter 14, this volume).

Together with advances in the decipherment of Zapotec and Mixtec scripts in a diachronic perspective, documentary research has refocused on indigenous perspectives and linguistics and included diverse historical and literary approaches such as source criticism, ethno-iconology, semiotics, intertextuality, and (new-) philology (Doesburg 2008; Jansen 1988; Spores, chapter 2, this volume; Zeitlin, chapter 14, this volume). This furthered the approach to some of the documentary traditions, most notably the Mixtec codices, as true literary works complete with poetic devices and prose (Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 2007, 2009a; Monaghan 1990; Pohl 1994). The growing study of indigenous alphabetic documents, consulted in national archives as well as local community archives, has demonstrated that even "mundane" literature can open a new window on all levels and aspects of Colonial society (e.g., Terraciano 2001). The Oaxacan documentary corpus has been further used to reconstruct emic indigenous chronologies and typologies that can be compared and contrasted with etic archaeological ones, and so get closer to how these people understood and interacted with their own ancestral material past (Hamann 2002, 2008; Oudijk 2008; Kroefges, chapter 13, this volume; Lind, chapter 7, this volume; figure 1.2). Oral knowledge was incorporated more rigorously into research designs and enhanced our understanding of the archaeological and

the historical records, as well as the relevance of these to the modern-day people of Oaxaca (Byland and Pohl 1994; Geurds 2007; Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 2007; Markens et al. 2008; Monaghan 1995; Pohl, chapter 3, this volume; König, chapter 4, this volume; Jiménez Osorio and Posselt Santoyo, chapter 11, this volume; Doesburg and Spores, chapter 10, this volume; Zborover, chapter 12, this volume). Finally, computers and other digital media practically revolutionized the ways we collect, process, and interpret our archaeological and historical data.

Since the 1990s, culture change in prehispanic Oaxaca is framed more explicitly in terms of social and political institutions than as evolutionary stages, while some call attention to the potential complementarity between actor-based history and long-term evolutionary trends as gleaned from both documentary and archaeological records (Balkansky 1998, 2002; Lind and Urcid 2010; Marcus and Flannery 1996; Marcus and Zeitlin 1994; Robles García 2004). The application of various temporal and spatial scales was also inspired by the French Annales social history school, through the integration of archaeological and historical documentation in the study of various themes and periods (Feinman 1994; Hamann 2002; Kowalewski 1997, 2003; Kowalewski et al. 1989; Kroefges, chapter 13, this volume; Rincón Mautner, chapter 8, this volume). In recent years, the historically minded "postprocessual" turn in archaeology has clearly influenced the way integrative research has been conducted in Oaxaca. Practice theory, agency, gender, and subaltern studies have all introduced more sophisticated frameworks of analysis, shifting the focus from earlier ecological determinism to the subtle interactions between human actors and the larger system, and toward place-specific contextual research (Blomster 2008a, 2008b, 2010; Geurds 2007; Hamann 2008; Joyce 2010; McCafferty and McCafferty 1994; Zeitlin 2005; Zeitlin, chapter 14, this volume). While the persona-oriented inscriptions had sparked interest in embodied "agents" since the beginning of integrative research in Oaxaca, a growing attention is now given to the active role of "commoners' agency" in the shaping of those literate societies (Joyce 2008, 2010; Joyce et al. 2001).

BRIDGING THE GAPS

While it stands to reason that scholars today may choose to include or exclude the material, documentary, or ethnographic records in their respective research, the above overview makes it equally clear that all post-Formative archaeological studies in Oaxaca could be framed within a general or a specific historical context, whereas any and all documentary studies should regard the material culture as an inseparable manifestation of history. It is within this dual context and dynamic academic environment that this volume's editors felt it was time to draw together a session

titled "Integrating Archaeology and History in Oaxaca," held at the 72nd Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology in Austin, April 2007. The rationale behind bringing together an interdisciplinary and international group of scholars was twofold: (1) there seems to be a critical number of researchers worldwide who apply integrative approaches to Oaxaca's past but whose studies are not necessarily known to each other or to the academic mainstream, and (2) despite the various approaches, there is an evident need for methodological and theoretical orientation that could potentially lead toward more productive research.

The resulting volume brings some of these presented case studies together with contributions from other interested scholars who were not able to attend the conference, and it clearly reflects the rich spectrum of integrative studies today. The broad themes represented here—often intertwined within each of the individual contributions—effectively cover most of those relevant within the participants' respective disciplines, including social organization, politics, economy, technology, religion, and ideology; they range from the study of a specific artifact type to the examination of a particular community, kingdom, or regional interaction spheres; some highlight a particular period, whereas others take a more diachronic approach; and all establish explicit ties across space, time, and sources in order to explore larger questions regarding kinship, migration, colonialism, resistance, identity, ethnicity, and territoriality, among other themes.

Yet despite the rich cultural and historical heritage and the long trajectory of research presented above, integrative studies in Oaxaca are still wrought with profound gaps. Perhaps the most apparent is the one stated in this chapter's opening quotes by George Vaillant and H. B. Nicholson over half a century ago, but which is still very much pertinent today: how do we go about bridging the gap between seemingly different cultural manifestations, such as artifacts and documents, so as to create a meaningful reconstruction of the past? The answers in this volume are multiple and largely situational. Any research question and the inherent potential for an integrative approach are particular for each case study and ultimately depend on the strengths and limitations of the available archaeological, documentary, and oral records. This in turn is a factor of the specific cultural traditions and the preservation of the records; an integrative research theme will often have to be framed and modified to accommodate these parameters. Temporal resolution is also a reflection of the available records and our respective research questions and methodologies (Kroefges, chapter 13, this volume; Zborover, chapter 12, this volume). Surely, there are ontological differences between the records as each often reflects the passage of time differently. While it is often true that documents tend to be event-oriented and the material record is likely to reflect the long-term, the distinction is not always straightforward. Written and oral narratives can and do represent long

swaths of time in a condensed fashion (such as with the literary device of historical "telescoping"), while the archaeological record is in many cases event-specific (such as with destruction episodes, burials, caches, etc.).

A central starting point to the authors in this volume, therefore, lies primarily with the construction of strong spatial, temporal, and thematic correlates and analogous units for comparison and integration. Most often, though, such integrative prospects might be apparent only when one of the records has been sufficiently explored and understood, which would consequentially serve as a departure point for the inclusion of other records or the formulation of models and analogies. Although some authors in this volume begin with a thorough historical analysis that later frames archaeological work, others start from the archaeological record and move to the historical one in search for answers. For the most part, however, the procedure is not clear cut and there is vigorous dialectic interplay between the different lines of evidence throughout the research process (see Zborover, chapter 12, this volume, for further discussion).

Clearly, the aptitude for bridging the gap between different types of data lies with the training, interests, and often inherent biases of the researcher. Given that the SAA session and this resulting volume drew together archaeologists, anthropologists, ethnohistorians, and art historians who were educated and work in North America, Mexico, and Europe, one would equally expect a plethora of bridging approaches and methods. The evident divergence in how scholars integrate the archaeological and the historical often has to do with different methodological approaches and theoretical schools of thought (Byland, chapter 6, this volume; Kroefges, chapter 13, this volume), and sometimes—particularly in Oaxaca—personal squabbles. Beyond such disparate scholastic and national traditions, significant epistemological gaps are most often generated by current institutional parochialism. The disciplinary segmentation of knowledge is clearest within North American scholarship, where anthropology and its subfield archaeology are largely, if often artificially, divorced from the discipline of history and its respective method and theory. At the same time, indigenous and indigenous-related documentary sources are still largely ignored by historians and history departments (with few notable exceptions), and are mostly studied under the rubric of "ethnohistory" by archaeologists.[27] In that sense, scholars in Europe and to some extent in Mexico often practice a less dichotomous, integrative research.

Despite voices worldwide to abolish the disciplinary boundaries between archaeology and history (e.g., Sauer 2004), the diverse contributions in this volume suggest that the ever-growing body of data, techniques, and methods in each respective discipline, combined with the academic need for specialization, would make such a task impractical. A more viable alternative is becoming clear from this chapter's

opening quote by Byland and Pohl, who call for a "conscious and coordinated confluence" to bridge those disciplinary gaps (Byland and Pohl 1990:385). Such a "conscious" exploration for multidisciplinary sources and interdisciplinary methods in approaching specific research questions, along with an awareness of each discipline's relative strengths and weaknesses, characterize all the volume contributions. Several of these case studies further demonstrate a "confluence" through collaborative work between archaeologists, ethnohistorians, and art historians (e.g., König, chapter 4; König and Sellen, chapter 15 ; Doesburg and Spores, chapter 10; Pohl, chapter 3; Spores, chapter 2), which, however, remains unfortunately all too rare in Oaxaca itself. Outside of the state boundaries there has been little constructive dialogue between Oaxacanists and specialists from other regions in Mesoamerica, and even less so with other integrative schools throughout the world; especially relevant would be the Maya region, where epigraphy has literally revolutionized archaeological practice, and many scholars now approach integrative studies in a structured fashion (see for example the long trajectory of methodological treatises such as Carmack and Weeks 1981; Chase et al. 2008; Fash and Sharer 1991; Houston 1989; Maca 2010; Rice and Rice 2004; Wauchope 1947, among many others).

Other debilitating gaps are manifested by the incomplete and selective nature of archaeological and historical studies across space and time. Although this may seem to be the inescapable nature of our research, the almost exclusive emphasis in early research on the Valley of Oaxaca and—to a lesser extent—the Mixteca, largely continues today and has neglected more circumscribed (but not marginal!) literate societies, creating in the process a rather distorted picture of internal dynamics within ancient Oaxaca and interregional interaction throughout Mesoamerica (Winter 2008a). Integrative studies on the literate societies of the southern Isthmus and Central Coast are steadily growing (Kroefges, chapter 13, this volume; Zborover, chapter 12, this volume; Zeitlin, chapter 14, this volume), but there is still much to be done in other parts of Oaxaca. Standing out in their lack of representation are the poorly explored Sierra Norte, Papaloapan, and the northeastern Isthmus, despite the probable linguistic, material, and historical affiliation of the Mixe and Zoque ethnic groups who inhabit these regions with the millennial literate cultures of Veracruz and Tabasco.

Equally revealing are the gaps in temporal coverage. The Formative period is still underrepresented in integrative studies, owing partially to the relative dearth of excavated inscriptions but also due to the ongoing scholarly tradition in Oaxaca that continues to gravitate toward the rich historical and archaeological records of the Classic and Postclassic periods. But whereas temporal specialization and periodization are inevitable aspects of academic practice and discourse, these largely subjective abstractions often tend to produce a rigid and dogmatic scholarship. Perhaps

the most critical conceptual gap for integrative research is brought by the artificial polarization between the "prehispanic" vis-à-vis the "Colonial/post-Columbian" eras, and the increasingly inadequate "1519/1521 CE" chronological "boundary" as their respective end/start points (Kowalewski 1997; see also Zborover, chapter 12, this volume). It is quite telling that although chronological sequences for the former are still based largely on typological changes in the material culture that vary from one subregion to another, those of the latter are determined through key historical events recorded in the documentary record and are mostly represented as uniform across Oaxaca[28] (figure 1.2). Drawing from prehispanic and Colonial documentation, changes and continuities in the material culture before and after the Spanish conquest, and oral traditions that are rooted in the present but reflect the deep past, many contributions in this volume seamlessly bridge this gap and so add to the growing literature that attempts to dispel such artificial temporal dichotomies in Oaxaca and beyond[29] (Doesburg 2008; Jansen and van Broekhoven 2008; Kepecs and Alexander 2005; Romero Frizzi 2003; Scheiber and Mitchell 2010; Spores 2007; Tedlock 2010). Most case studies in this volume further reflect the recent growing interest in the study of Colonial-period transformations (Doesburg and Spores, chapter 10; Jiménez Osorio and Posselt Santoyo, chapter 11; Kroefges, chapter 13; Lind, chapter 7; Rincón Mautner, chapter 8; Spores, chapter 2; Whittington and Workinger, chapter 9; Zborover, chapter 12; Zeitlin, chapter 14), and even the Independence/Republican period (Jiménez Osorio and Posselt Santoyo, chapter 11; König and Sellen, chapter 15). In this regard, much complementary research remains to be done on the material culture of the recent yet equally fascinating Independence/Republican and Modern periods (see for example Gómez Serafín and Fernández Dávila 2007), and its association with the well-preserved documentation and contemporary oral records.

Bridging the temporal gaps also implies stronger affinities between the people of past and those of the present. Indeed, the practice of bringing the past to life through the combination of artifacts, documents, and oral knowledge is at the heart of public approaches throughout the world. In Oaxaca, however, the potential public is not just the national and international tourists who visit archaeological sites or museums but is foremost the indigenous Oaxacans whose past we explore in collaboration with them. Forty percent of Oaxaca's population self-ascribes to sixteen contemporary indigenous groups, who speak over 200 dialects. This makes Oaxaca the most ethnically and linguistically diverse state, with the largest indigenous population, in Mexico (Bartolomé 2008). Oaxaca was also the first Mexican state (in 1990) to legally recognize the "multicultural composition" and indigenous rights of its inhabitants, and to legitimize the highly prevalent *usos y costumbres* traditional governance in 1995. Although several authors in this volume do call for

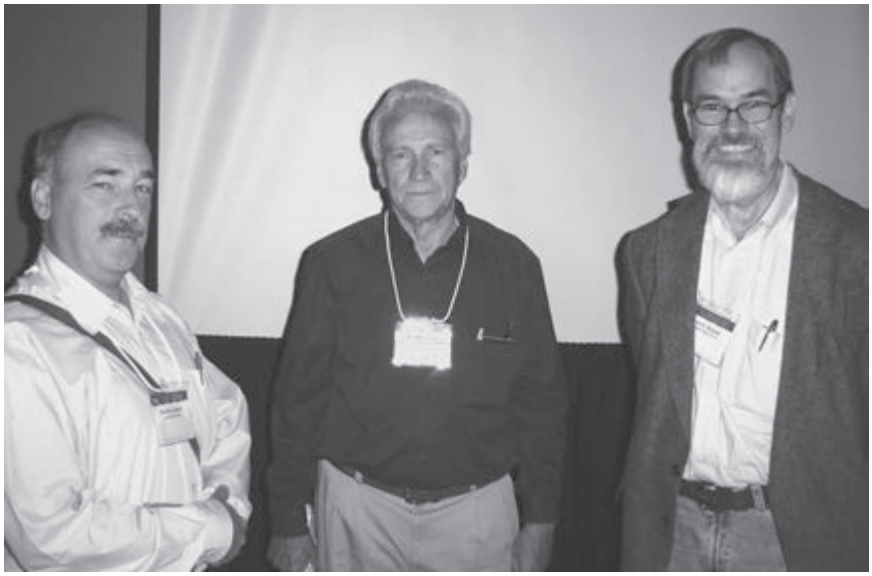

Figure 1.3. Bruce Byland (right) in the 2007 SAA session, with Maarten Jansen (left) and Ronald Spores (middle). Photo by Marco Ortega.

community engagement and participatory approaches, there is still a marked chasm between institutions, academics, and the various public audiences. For that matter, there is also a notable lack of integrative research on nonindigenous groups such as Afro-Mexicans, *criollos*, *mestizos*, and other peoples who shaped and continue to form the social and ethnic fabric of Oaxaca. The mere fact that such multiethnic collaborative research is not just indispensable in our days but is still even possible in Oaxaca, once again highlights the richness and importance of the region and the great potential for future avenues of research.

One of the leading protagonists of bridging the disciplinary, temporal, geographical, and social gaps was Bruce E. Byland, whose interdisciplinary work in Oaxaca has either directly intersected with, or has inspired, several generations of Oaxacanists, including many of the authors in this volume. At the time the SAA session was organized, Bruce was already battling cancer but decided to join in at the last moment at the encouragement of Carlos Rincón Mautner. During the conference Bruce made an immediate impression on the session participants with his friendly nature, curiosity, humility, and generosity (figure 1.3). Once the plans to publish the session's proceedings were subsequently circulated, Bruce's last email to the

editors concluded with the words, "count me in." Sadly, Bruce passed away before he was able to send in his article, and an extended draft of his conference paper was adapted and is published here. At the suggestion of Viola König, the editors and participants promptly decided to dedicate the volume to Bruce's memory and so honor his enduring legacy to Oaxacan integrative studies.[30]

NOTES

1. In addition to numerous articles and unpublished dissertations, some of the specialized edited volumes and monographs include Andrén 1998; Bartlett 1997; Beaudry 1993; Boyd et al. 2000; Brambila Paz and Monjarás-Ruiz 1996; Dymond 1974; Funari et al. 1999; Kepecs and Kolb 1997; Knapp 1992; Levy 2010; Little 1992; Martinón-Torres and Rehren 2008; Moreland 2001; Orser and Fagan 1995; Rogers and Wilson 1993; Sauer 2004; B. Schmidt 2007; P. Schmidt 2006; Schuyler 1978; Small 1995; Topic 2009; Wainwright 1962; and Yoffee and Crowell 2006, among others.

2. In Mesoamerica, this is sometimes referred to as the "convergent" (Spores, Chapter 2) or the "conjunctive" approach (Carmack and Weeks 1981; Chase et al. 2008; Fash and Sharer 1991; see also Joyce et al. 2004; Kroefges, chapter 14, this volume). For a detailed discussion on the origin and use of the term *conjunctive* in Maya integrative studies, see Maca 2010.

3. The broader impact of writing and literacy on social institutions remains beyond the scope of this article; for a general discussion on the subject see Goody 1986 and Ong 1982, among others.

4. Recent suggestions to view artifacts as "texts" further add to this conceptual ambiguity (e.g., Hodder 1991), but these are mostly limited to illustrative and interpretive analogies.

5. Following Vansina (1985), *oral history* refers to accounts directly witnessed by the informant or that have happened in his or her lifetime, whereas *oral tradition* has been passed down the generations and the narrated events are not contemporary with the informant (see also Jiménez Osorio and Posselt Santoyo, chapter 11, this volume).

6. It should be emphasized that this reconstruction is an approximation based on the fragmentary state of research in Oaxaca, conflicting interpretations, and the inevitable constrains brought by the perishable nature of both the artifactual and documentary records. It does not attempt to present an exhaustive overview of Oaxacan archaeology and ethnohistory, but only as much as is relevant to the theme of source integration.

7. The ceramic phases for the Valley of Oaxaca/Tierras Largas–Chila, Mixteca Baja, and Mixteca Costa are based on calibrated carbon dates and adapted from Joyce 2010. The Mixteca Alta/Nochixtlán prehispanic phases are based on calibrated dates and are adapted from Joyce 2010, and the Colonial phases from Spores 2007. The phases for the Valley of

Oaxaca/Tierras Largas–Monte Alban V., Mixteca Alta/Huamelulpan, Cuicatlan Cañada, and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec are based on uncorrected dates and are adapted from Markens 2008, Matadamas Díaz and Ramírez Barrera 2010 (Central Coast), and Spores 2007 (Mixteca Alta). The Tanipaa-Cuilapan sequence (Valley of Oaxaca) is based on indigenous documents and is adapted from Oudijk 2008. The Colonial-to-Modern periodization is largely based on European and Mexican documentation and is adapted from Charlton and Fournier 2008, Gómez Serafín and Fernández Dávila 2007 (Huaxyacac-Oaxaca phases), Palka 2009, and Spores 2007.

8. Recent discoveries in the Olmec heartland of Veracruz and Tabasco might challenge this title. The Cascajal block, an undeciphered sixty-two-glyph inscription, was found out of context but is tentatively dated to around 900 BCE, based on association with other archaeological material and contemporary iconographic parallels (Rodríguez Martínez et al. 2006). An inscribed ceramic seal and greenstone fragments excavated at the site of San Andrés were securely dated to about 650 BCE (Pohl et al. 2002), although these are fragmentary and might represent complex iconography rather than language-based writing.

9. Although the name glyph was previously identified as "1 Earthquake" (see, e.g., Marcus and Flannery 1996), I follow here Javier Urcid's (2005a, 2011a) reading of "1 Eye." The dating of the monument was also contested, but recently published carbon dates confirm that it was placed in the sixth century BCE (Flannery and Marcus 2003). See Cahn and Winter (1993) and Winter (2011) for alternative chronological, functional, and stylistic interpretations of the San José Mogote monument.

10. Another possible interpretation of this and the later *danzantes* monoliths is that the associated calendrical name was that of the captor rather than of the captive, although the principle of individual specificity would still apply in this case (Urcid 2011c; Winter 2011).

11. It should be emphasized here that the binary and often dichotomous characterization of Mesoamerican society into endogamous elite and commoner strata is probably overly simplistic, and glosses over intermediate social classes and specialized groups who might have had differential access to literacy in the past. At the same time, the archaeological manifestations for such social distinctions are notoriously hard to define. For a detailed description of Oaxacan indigenous social organization in the prehispanic and Colonial periods see Chance (1986), Dahlgren (1966), Murphy and Stepick (1991), Spores (1967), Terraciano (2001), and Whitecotton (1977).

12. In some cases inscribed monuments were appropriated and recycled after the abandonment of the primary elite contexts in possible acts of commoner resistance, although it is uncertain whether the original written messages could still have been fully understood (see for example Joyce et al. 2001).

13. The social reasons behind choosing this particular hilltop location are still debated; see Winter 2011 for a discussion of the different interpretations.

14. It should be emphasized that much of the Zapotec script still remains undeciphered, as is the nature of its dependence on the Zapotec language (Urcid 2001, 2005a).

15. A circle-and-triangle blood glyph was carved here on the risers of Temple T.S. (Joyce 2010:167), similar to the ones seen in Building L-sub in Monte Albán.

16. The territorial extent and nature of Monte Albán influence throughout Oaxaca is still unclear and has been hotly debated in the literature. For some of the most recent publications on the topic, compare Joyce (2013), Sherman et al. (2010), Spencer et al. (2008), Workinger and Joyce (2009), and see further discussion in Zborover, chapter 12, this volume.

17. The same also holds for the following Classic-period script variants in this and other "non-Zapotec" regions.

18. The role that the Oaxaca area played in the creation and diffusion of this Mixteca-Puebla style is still poorly understood; see further discussion in Blomster (2008b), Smith and Berdan (2003), and Lind, chapter 7, this volume.

19. There are four known Late Postclassic codices: Nuttall, Vienna, Bodley, and Colombino-Becker I; and three Early Colonial codices: Selden, Egerton, and Becker II. In addition to their pictorial narratives, all these codices show additional alphabetic glossing and numbering that were added on different occasions and for different reasons, from the Colonial period and up to modern times. See Jansen and Pérez Jiménez (2007) for the histories and alternative names of these codices.

20. Interestingly, the Mixtec deity 9 Wind Quetzalcoatl is shown in page 48 of the Codex Vienna as the inventor of written and oral literature. Such achievements are also attributed to the Toltec Quetzalcoatl of the Early Postclassic and probably refer to the introduction of this logographic script across Mesoamerica.

21. Another intriguing possibility is that the primordial "stone men" attributed to the pre-Postclassic times were a codical reference to the inscribed stone stelae of Classic-period rulers that surely still dotted the landscape.

22. It is not surprising that these key Aztec and later Spanish settlements were established at the foot of Monte Albán, considering the historical, symbolic, and religious roles that this ancestral site still played within Late Postclassic society.

23. It is likely that these factional circumstances, along with the fragmented topography, partially stand behind both Oaxaca's current political partition into 570 municipalities and the number of endemic territorial disputes between villages, both being the highest of any state in Mexico.

24. Caso's and his colleagues work was largely inspired by Jiménez Moreno's (1941) identification of Tula (Hidalgo) as the historical Toltec capital, based on a combination of documentary and archaeological evidence.

25. Marcus (1992) further suggested that the writing of such hybrid political propaganda would have been directed "horizontally" towards other nobility, and "vertically" towards the commoners.

26. It is interesting to note here that while Trigger places the "direct historical approach" within a "humanistic outlook" (Trigger 1989:377), Marcus and Flannery (1994:55) regard it as a "scientific method" distinct from the "humanistic" approach.

27. This research agenda had its roots in US anthropology departments during the 1950s, which partially explains why the majority of scholars who practice integrative research in Oaxaca and elsewhere are archaeologists. Another determining factor is that archaeologists can exclusively produce their own material database, in addition to being able to study documentary sources and collect ethnographic data. However, access to primary data does not necessarily entail the ability to analyze and interpret the data adequately, and lack of disciplinary training, combined with time and funding constraints, will usually limit one's research agenda and scope (see also Spores, chapter 2, this volume).

28. In this regard, the prehispanic documentary periodization in Oudijk 2008 and the Colonial-to-Modern ceramic/documentary periodization in Gómez Serafín and Fernández Dávila 2007 are welcome steps in the right direction.

29. The Latin American school of social archaeology, for example, suggests reconceptualizing history as a cultural continuum that unites the prehispanic and the Colonial periods (Vargas Arenas 1995).

30. I would like to thank Alessia Frassani, Arthur Joyce, Peter C. Kroefges, Geoffrey McCafferty, John M.D. Pohl, Ethelia Ruiz Medrano, Aaron Sonnenschein, the "Mezcal Papers" group at the Center for US-Mexican Studies, and two anonymous reviewers for reading earlier drafts of this article and providing helpful comments. The errors are all mine.

REFERENCES

Aguirre Beltrán, Gonzalo. 1989. *La Población Negra de México: Estudio Etnohistórico*. Veracruz, Mexico: Universidad Veracruzana.

Andrén, Anders. 1998. *Between Artifacts and Texts: Historical Archaeology in Global Perspective*. New York: Plenum Press.

Appel, Jill A. 1982. "A Summary of the Ethnohistoric Information Relevant to the Interpretation of Late Postclassic Settlement Pattern Data, the Central and Valle Grande Survey Zones." In *Monte Albán's Hinterland, Part I: The Prehistoric Settlement Patterns of the Central and Southern Parts of the Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico,* 139–148. Ann Arbor, MI: Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Memoir 15.

Asselbergs, Florine. 2008. *Conquered Conquistadors: The Lienzo de Quauhquechollan, a Nahua Vision of the Conquest of Guatemala*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Balkansky, Andrew K. 1998. "Origin and Collapse of Complex Societies in Oaxaca (Mexico): Evaluating the Era from 1965 to the Present." *Journal of World Prehistory* 12 (4):451–493.

Balkansky, Andrew K. 2002. *The Sola Valley and the Monte Albán State: A Study of Zapotec Imperial Expansion.* Ann Arbor: Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Memoir 36.

Balkansky, Andrew K., Verónica Pérez Rodríguez, and Stephen A. Kowalewski. 2004. "Monte Negro and the Urban Revolution in Oaxaca, Mexico." *Latin American Antiquity* 15(1):33–60.

Bartlett, John R., ed. 1997. *Archaeology and Biblical Interpretation*. London: Routledge.

Bartolomé, Miguel Alberto. 2008. *La Tierra Plural: Sistemas Interculturales en Oaxaca*. Mexico City: INAH.

Beaudry, Mary C., ed. 1993. *Documentary Archaeology in the New World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Berdan, Frances, Richard Blanton, Elizabeth Hill Boone, Mary G. Hodge, Michael E. Smith, and Emily Umberger, eds. 1996. *Aztec Imperial Strategies*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks.

Berlin, Heinrich. 1958. "El Glifo 'Emblema' en las Inscripciones Mayas." *Journal de la Société des Americanistes* 47:111–119.

Bernal, Ignacio. 1948. "Exploraciones en Coixtlahuaca, Oaxaca." *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos* 10:5–76.

Bernal, Ignacio. 1962. "Archaeology and Written Sources." *Akten des 34 Internationalen Amerikanistenkongresses*, 219–225. Vienna: Verlag Ferdinand Berger.

Bernal, Ignacio. 1965. "Archaeological Synthesis of Oaxaca." In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 3, part 2, ed. Gordon Willey, 788–813. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bernal, Ignacio, and Lorenzo Gamio. 1974. *Yagul: el Palacio de los Seis Patios*. Mexico City: UNAM.

Binford, Lewis R. 1968. "Some Comments on Historical versus Processual Archaeology." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 24 (3):267–275.

Blackman, M. James, Patricia Fournier, and Ronald L. Bishop. 2006. "Complejidad e Interacción Social en el México Colonial: Identidad, Producción, Intercambio y Consumo de Lozas de Tradición Ibérica, con Base en Análisis de Activación Neutrónica." *Cuicuilco* 13 (36):203–222.

Blanton, Richard E. 1978. *Monte Albán: Settlement Patterns at the Ancient Zapotec Capital*. New York: Academic Press.

Blomster, Jeffrey P. 2004. *Etlatongo: Social Complexity, Interaction, and Village Life in the Mixteca Alta of Oaxaca, Mexico*. Belmont: Wadsworth/Thompson Learning.

Blomster, Jeffrey P., ed. 2008a. *After Monte Albán: Transformation and Negotiation in Oaxaca, Mexico*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Blomster, Jeffrey P. 2008b. "Changing Cloud Formations: The Sociopolitics of Oaxaca in Late Classic/Postclassic Mesoamerica." In *After Monte Albán: Transformation and Negotiation in Oaxaca, Mexico*, ed. Jeffrey Blomster, 3–46. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Blomster, Jeffrey P. 2008c. "Legitimization, Negotiation, and Appropriation in Postclassic Oaxaca: Mixtec Stone Codices." In *After Monte Albán: Transformation and Negotiation in Oaxaca, Mexico*, ed. Jeffrey Blomster, 295–330. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Blomster, Jeffrey P. 2010. "Complexity, Interaction, and Epistemology: Mixtecs, Zapotecs, and Olmecs in Early Formative Mesoamerica." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 21 (1):135–149.

Boone, Elizabeth Hill. 1994. "Introduction: Writing and Recording Knowledge." In *Writing without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes*, ed. Elizabeth Hill Boone and Walter Mignolo, 3–26. Durham: Duke University Press.

Boone, Elizabeth Hill. 2000. *Stories in Red and Black: Pictorial Histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Boone, Elizabeth Hill, and Michael E. Smith. 2003. "Postclassic International Styles and Symbol Sets." In *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World*, ed. Michael E. Smith and Frances F. Berdan, 61–66. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Boyd, M., J. C. Edwin, and M. Hendrickson, eds. 2000. *The Entangled Past: Integrating History and Archaeology*. Calgary: Chacmool Archaeological Association.

Brambila Paz, Rosa, and Jesús Monjarás-Ruiz, eds. 1996. *Los Arqueólogos frente a las Fuentes*. Mexico City: INAH.

Buigues, Santiago Vicente. 1993. "The Archaeology and Iconography of Monte Albán's Building J." Unpublished MA Thesis, Department of Archaeology, University of Calgary, Calgary.

Byland, Bruce E. 1980. "Political and Economic Evaluation in the Tamazulapan Valley, Mixteca Alta, Oaxaca, Mexico: A Regional Approach." Unpublished PhD diss., Department of Anthropology, Pennsylvania State University.

Byland, Bruce E. 2008. "Tree Birth, the Solar Oracle, and Achiutla: Mixtec Sacred Geography and the Classic to Postclassic Transition." In *After Monte Albán: Transformation and Negotiation in Oaxaca, Mexico*, ed. Jeffrey Blomster, 331–364. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Byland, Bruce E., and John M.D. Pohl. 1990. "Alianza y Conflicto de los Estados Mixtecos: El Caso Tilantongo." In *Lecturas Históricas del Estado de Oaxaca*, vol. 1. ed. Marcus Winter, 379–389. Mexico: INAH/ Gobierno del Estado de Oaxaca.

Byland, Bruce E., and John M.D. Pohl. 1994. *In the Realm of Eight Deer: The Archaeology of the Mixtec Codices*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Cahn, Robert, and Marcus Winter. 1993. "The San José Mogote Danzante." *Indiana* 13:39–64.

Carmack, Robert M., and John M. Weeks. 1981. "The Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Utatlán: A Conjunctive Approach." *American Antiquity* 46 (2):323–341.

Carter, Nicholas Poole. 2008. "The 'Emblem' Monuments of Structure J at Monte Albán, Oaxaca, Mexico." Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Texas, Austin.

Caso, Alfonso. 1928. *Las Estelas Zapotecas*. Mexico: SEP and Talleres Gráficos de la Nación.

Caso, Alfonso. 1932. "Reading the Riddle of Ancient Jewels." *Natural History* 32 (5):464–480.

Caso, Alfonso. 1947. "Calendario y Escritura de las Antiguas Culturas de Monte Albán." In *Obras Completas de Miguel Othón de Mendizábal* vol. 1, 15–143. Mexico City.

Caso, Alfonso. 1949. "El Mapa de Teozacoalco." *Cuadernos Americanos* 8 (5):145–181.

Caso, Alfonso. 1965. "Zapotec Writing and Calendar." In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 3, part 2, ed. Gordon Willey, 931–947. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Chance, John K. 1986. "Colonial Ethnohistory of Oaxaca." In *Supplement to the Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 4. ed. Ronald Spores, 165–189. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Chance, John K. 1989. *Conquest of the Sierra: Spaniards and Indians in Colonial Oaxaca*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Charlton, Thomas. 1981. "Archaeology, Ethnohistory, and Ethnography: Interpretative Interfaces." In *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, vol. 4. ed. Michael B. Schiffer, 129–176. New York: Academic Press.

Charlton, Thomas, and Patricia Fournier. 2008. "Historical Archaeology in Mexico." In *Encyclopedia of Archaeology*, ed. Deborah M. Pearsall, 182–192. San Diego: Academic Press.

Chase, Arlen F., Diane Z. Chase, and Rafael Cobos. 2008. "Jeroglíficos y Arqueología Maya: ¿Colusión o Colisión?" *Mayeb* 20:5–21.

Chassen-López, Francie R. 2008. "A Patron of Progress: Juana Catarina Romero, the Nineteenth-Century Cacica of Tehuantepec." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 88 (3):393–426.

Cline, Howard F. 1972. "Ethnohistorical Regions of Middle America." In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 12. ed. Howard F. Cline, 166–182. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Dahlgren, Barbro. 1966. *La Mixteca: Su Cultura e Historia Prehispánicas*. Mexico City: UNAM.

Dark, Philip. 1958. "Speculations on the Course of Mixtec History prior to the Conquest." *Boletín de Estudios Oaxaqueños* 10:1–14.

Doesburg, Sebastian van, ed. 2008. *Pictografía y Escritura Alfabética en Oaxaca*. Oaxaca, Mexico: IEEPO.

Doesburg, Sebastian van, and Javier Urcid. 2009. *"Dos Fragmentos de un Nuevo Códice en San Bartolo Yautepec, Oaxaca."* Presentation given at the 7th International Festival of Organs and Ancient Music. Oaxaca, Mexico: Biblioteca Francisco de Burgoa.

Dymond, David P. 1974. *Archaeology and History: A Plea for Reconciliation*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Fash, William L., and Robert J. Sharer. 1991. "Sociopolitical Developments and Methodological Issues at Copan, Honduras: A Conjunctive Perspective." *Latin American Antiquity* 2 (2):166–187.

Feinman, Gary M. 1994. "Towards an Archaeology without Polarization." In *Caciques and Their People: A Volume in Honor of Ronald Spores*, ed. Joyce Marcus and Judith F. Zeitlin, 13–43. Ann Arbor: Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Anthropological papers no. 89.

Fernández Dávila, Enrique, and Susana Gómez Serafín, eds. 1998. *Memoria del Primer Congreso Nacional de Arqueología Historia*. Mexico City: CONACULTA/INAH.

Flannery, Kent V., ed. 1976. *The Early Mesoamerican Village*. New York: Academic Press.

Flannery, Kent V., and Joyce Marcus. 2003. "The Origins of War: New C–14 Dates from Ancient Mexico." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 100 (20):11801–11805.

Flannery, Kent V., and Joyce Marcus, eds. 1983. *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations*. New York: Academic Press.

Fournier, Patricia, and Thomas H. Charlton. 2008. "Negritos y Pardos: Hacia una Arqueología Histórica de la Población de Origen Africano en la Nueva España." In *Perspectivas de la Investigación Arqueológica, Volumen 3*, ed. Fernando López Aguilar, Walburga Wiesheu, and Patricia Fournier, 201–234. Mexico City: PROMEP-CONACULTA-ENAH.

Frassani, Alessia. 2009. "The Church and Convento of Santo Domingo Yanhuitlán, Oaxaca: Art, Politics, and Religion in a Mixtec Village, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries." Unpublished PhD diss., CUNY Graduate Center, New York.

Funari, Pedro Paulo A., Martin Hall, and Siân Jones, eds. 1999. *Historical Archaeology: Back from the Edge*. London: Routledge.

Gallaga Murrieta, Emiliano, ed. 2009. *¿Donde Están? Investigaciones sobre Afromexicanos*. Chiapas, Mexico: UNICACH.

Gerhard, Peter. 1993. *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Gerhard, Peter. 2003. *Pirates of New Spain, 1575–1742*. New York: Dover.

Geurds, Alexander. 2007. *Grounding the Past: The Praxis of Participatory Archaeology in the Mixteca Alta, Oaxaca, Mexico*. Leiden: CNWS.

Gómez Serafín, Susana, and Enrique Fernández Dávila. 2007. *Las Cerámicas Coloniales del ex Convento de Santo Domingo de Oaxaca: Pasado y Presente de una Tradición*. Mexico City: INAH.

Goody, Jack. 1986. *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gutiérrez, Gerardo. 2008. "Classic and Postclassic Archaeological Features of the Mixteca-Tlapaneca-Nahua Region of Guerrero: Why Didn't Anyone Tell Me the Classic Period Was Over?" In *After Monte Albán: Transformation and Negotiation in Oaxaca, Mexico*, ed. Jeffrey Blomster, 367–392. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Hamann, Byron Ellsworth. 2002. "The Social Life of Pre-Sunrise Things: Indigenous Mesoamerican Archaeology." *Current Anthropology* 43 (3):351–381.

Hamann, Byron Ellsworth. 2008. "Heirlooms and Ruins: High Culture, Mesoamerican Civilization, and the Postclassic Oaxacan Tradition." In *After Monte Albán: Transformation and Negotiation in Oaxaca, Mexico*, ed. Jeffrey Blomster, 119–168. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Hodder, Ian. 1991. *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Houston, Stephen D. 1989. "Archaeology and Maya Writing." *Journal of World Prehistory* 3 (1):1–32.

Houston, Stephen D., ed. 2004. *The First Writing: Script Invention as History and Process*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jansen, Maarten E.R.G.N. 1979. "Apoala y su Importancia para la Interpretación de los Codices Vindobonensis y Nuttall." In *Actes du XLIIe Congrès International des Américanistes*, 161–172. Paris: Société des Américanistes.

Jansen, Maarten E.R.G.N. 1988. "The Art of Writing in Ancient Mexico: An Ethno-iconological Perspective." *Visible Religion* 4:86–113.

Jansen, Maarten E.R.G.N. 1990. "The Search for History in the Mixtec Codices." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 1 (1):99–112.

Jansen, Maarten E.R.G.N. 1998. "Monte Albán y Zaachila en los Códices Mixtecos." In *The Shadow of Monte Albán: Politics and Historiography in Postclassic Oaxaca, Mexico*, ed. Maarten Jansen, Peter Kroefges, and Michel R. Oudijk, 67–122. Leiden: CNWS.

Jansen, Maarten, and Gabina Aurora Pérez Jiménez. 2007. *Encounter with the Plumed Serpent: Drama and Power in the Heart of Mesoamerica*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Jansen, Maarten, and Gabina Aurora Pérez Jiménez. 2009a. *La Lengua Señorial de Ñuu Dzaui: Cultura Literaria de los Antiguos Reinos y Transformación Colonial*. Mexico: CSEIIO.

Jansen, Maarten, and Gabina Aurora Pérez Jiménez. 2009b. "Mixtec Rulership in Early Colonial Times: The Codex of Yanhuitlán." In *Das Kulturelle Gedächtnis Mesoamerikas im Kulturvergleich zum Alten China*, ed. Daniel Graña-Behrens, 149–180. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.

Jansen, Maarten, and Laura van Broekhoven, eds. 2008. *Mixtec Writing and Society: Escritura de Ñuu Dzaui*. Amsterdam: KNAW Press.

Jiménez-Moreno, Wigberto. 1941. "Tula y los Toltecas Según las Fuentes Históricas." *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos* 5:79–83.

Joyce, Arthur A. 2004. "Sacred Space and Social Relations in the Valley of Oaxaca." In *Mesoamerican Archaeology: Theory and Practice*, ed. Julia Hendon and Rosemary Joyce, 192–216. Cornwall, UK: Blackwell.

Joyce, Arthur A. 2008. "Domination, Negotiation, and Collapse: A History of Centralized Authority on the Oaxaca Coast before the Late Postclassic." In *After Monte Albán: Transformation and Negotiation in Oaxaca, Mexico*, ed. Jeffrey Blomster, 219–254. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Joyce, Arthur A. 2010. *Mixtecs, Zapotecs, and Chatinos: Ancient People of Southern Mexico*. Malaysia: Wiley-Blackwell.

Joyce, Arthur A., ed. 2013. *Polity and Ecology in Formative Period Coastal Oaxaca*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Joyce, Arthur A., Andrew G. Workinger, Byron Hamann, Peter Kroefges, Maxine Oland, and Stacie M. King. 2004. "Lord 8 Deer 'Jaguar Claw' and the Land of the Sky: The Archaeology and History of Tututepec." *Latin American Antiquity* 15 (3):273–297.

Joyce, Arthur A., Laura Arnaud Bustamante, and Marc N. Levine. 2001. "Commoner Power: A Case Study from the Classic Period 'Collapse' on the Oaxaca Coast." *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 8 (4):343–385.

Joyce, Arthur A., Marcus C. Winter, and Raymond G. Mueller. 1998. *Arqueología de la Costa de Oaxaca: Asentamientos del Periodo Formativo en el Valle de Río Verde Inferior*. Oaxaca, Mexico: Centro INAH Oaxaca.

Joyce, Rosemary. 2004. "Mesoamerica: A Working Model for Archaeology." In *Mesoamerican Archaeology: Theory and Practice*, ed. Julia Hendon and Rosemary Joyce, 1–42. Cornwall, UK: Blackwell.

Justeson, John. 2012. "Early Mesoamerican Writing Systems." In *The Oxford Handbook of Mesoamerican Archaeology*, ed. Deborah L. Nichols and Christopher A. Pool, 830–844. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kepecs, Susan, and Michael J. Kolb, eds. 1997. "New Approaches to Combining the Archaeological and Historical Records." *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 4 (3/4):193–198.

Kepecs, Susan, and Rani T. Alexander, eds. 2005. *The Postclassic to Spanish-Era Transition in Mesoamerica: Archaeological Perspectives*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Kirchhoff, Paul. (1943) 1952. "Meso-America: Its Geographic Limits, Ethnic Composition and Cultural Characteristics." In *Heritage of Conquest: The Ethnology of Middle America,* ed. Sol Tax and members of the Viking Fund Seminar of Middle American Ethnology, 17–30. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press Publishers.

Knapp, Bernard A., ed. 1992. *Archaeology, Annales, and Ethnohistory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kowalewski, Stephen. 1997. "A Spatial Method for Integrating Data of Different Types." *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 4 (3/4):287–306.

Kowalewski, Stephen. 2003. "Scale and the Explanation of Demographic Change: 3,500 Years in the Valley of Oaxaca." *American Anthropologist* 105:313–325.

Kowalewski, Stephen A., Gary M. Feinman, Laura Finsten, Richard E. Blanton, and Linda M. Nicholas. 1989. *Monte Albán Hinterland, Part II: Prehispanic Settlement Patterns in Tlacolula, Etla, and Ocotlan, the Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico*. Ann Arbor: Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Memoir 23.

Kowalewski, Stephen A., and Jacqueline J. Saindon. 1992. "The Spread of Literacy in a Latin American Peasant Society: Oaxaca, Mexico, 1890 to 1980." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34 (1):110–140.

Lacadena, Alfonso. 2008. "Regional Scribal Traditions: Methodological Implications for the Decipherment of Nahuatl Writing." *PARI Journal* 8 (4):1–22.

Levine, Marc N. 2007. "Linking Household and Polity at Late Postclassic Yucu Dzaa (Tututepec), a Mixtec Capital on the Coast of Oaxaca, Mexico." Unpublished PhD diss., Department of Anthropology, University of Colorado, Boulder.

Levy, Thomas E., ed. 2010. *Historical Biblical Archaeology and the Future: the New Pragmatism*. London: Equinox.

Lind, Michael, and Javier Urcid. 2010. *The Lords of Lambityeco: Political Evolution in the Valley of Oaxaca During the Xoo Phase*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Little, Barbara, ed. 1992. *Text-Aided Archaeology*. Boca Raton: CRC Press.

Maca, Allan L. 2010. "Walter Taylor's Conjunctive Approach in Maya Archaeology." In *Prophet, Pariah, and Pioneer: Walter W. Taylor and Dissension in American Archaeology*, ed. Allan Maca, William Folan, and Jonathan Reyman, 243–298. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Marcus, Joyce. 1976. "The Origins of Mesoamerican Writing." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 5:35–67.

Marcus, Joyce. 1980. "Zapotec Writing." *Scientific American* 242 (2):50–64.

Marcus, Joyce. 1983. "The Conquest Slabs of Building J, Monte Albán." In *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations*, ed. Kent Flannery and Joyce Marcus, 106–108. New York: Academic Press.

Marcus, Joyce. 1984. "Mesoamerican Territorial Boundaries: Reconstructions from Archaeology and Hieroglyphic Writing." *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 3 (2):48–62.

Marcus, Joyce. 1992. *Mesoamerican Writing Systems: Propaganda, Myth, and History in Four Ancient Civilizations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Marcus, Joyce, and Judith Francis Zeitlin, eds. 1994. *Caciques and Their People: A Volume in Honor of Ronald Spores*. Ann Arbor: Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Anthropological papers no. 89.

Marcus, Joyce, and Kent Flannery. 1994. "Ancient Zapotec Ritual and Religion: An Application of the Direct Historical Approach." In *The Ancient Mind: Elements of Cognitive Archaeology*, ed. Colin Renfrew and Ezra Zubrow, 55–74. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Marcus, Joyce, and Kent Flannery. 1996. *Zapotec Civilization: How Urban Society Evolved in Mexico's Oaxaca Valley*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Markens, Robert. 2008. "Advances in Defining the Classic-Postclassic Portion of the Valley of Oaxaca Ceramic Chronology." In *After Monte Albán: Transformation and Negotiation in Oaxaca, Mexico*, ed. Jeffrey Blomster, 49–94. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Markens, Robert, Marcus Winter, and Cira Martínez López. 2008. "Ethnohistory, Oral History, and Archaeology at Macuilxóchitl: Perspective on the Postclassic Period in the Valley of Oaxaca." In *After Monte Albán: Transformation and Negotiation in Oaxaca, Mexico*, ed. Jeffrey Blomster, 193–215. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Martínez Gracida, Manuel. (1910) 1986. *Los Indios Oaxaqueños y Sus Monumentos Arqueológicos*. Oaxaca, Mexico: Gobierno del Estado de Oaxaca.

Martinón-Torres, Marcos, and Thilo Rehren, eds. 2008. *Archaeology, History and Science: Integrating Approaches to Ancient Materials*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Matadamas Díaz, Raúl, and Sandra Liliana Ramírez Barrera. 2010. *Antes de Ocho Venado y Después de los Piratas: Arqueología e Historia de Huatulco.* Oaxaca City: CSEIIO-SAI.

McCafferty, Sharisse D., and Geoffrey G. McCafferty. 1994. "Engendering Tomb 7 at Monte Albán, Oaxaca: Respinning an Old Yarn." *Current Anthropology* 35 (2):143–166.

Miller, Arthur. 1995. *The Painted Tombs of Oaxaca, Mexico: Living with the Dead*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Monaghan, John. 1990. "Performance and the Structure of the Mixtec Codices." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 1 (1):133–140.

Monaghan, John. 1995. *The Covenants with Earth and Rain: Exchange, Sacrifice, and Revelation in Mixtec Sociality*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Moreland, John. 2001. *Archaeology and Text*. London: Duckworth.

Mundy, Barbara E. 1996. *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Murphy, Arthur D., and Alex Stepick. 1991. *Social Inequality in Oaxaca: A History of Resistance and Change*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Nicholson, Henry B. 1955. "Native Historical Traditions of Nuclear America and the Problem of Their Archaeological Correlation." *American Anthropologist* 57 (3):594–613.

Ong, Walter J. 1982. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. New York: Methuen.

Orser, Charles E., and Brian M. Fagan. 1995. *Historical Archaeology*. New York: HarperCollins.

Oudijk, Michel R. 2008. "The Postclassic Period in the Valley of Oaxaca: The Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Records." In *After Monte Albán: Transformation and Negotiation in Oaxaca, Mexico*, ed. Jeffrey Blomster, 95–118. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Paddock, John. 1966a. "Oaxaca in Ancient Mesoamerica." In *Ancient Oaxaca: Discoveries in Mexican Archaeology and History*, ed. John Paddock, 83–242. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Paddock, John. 1983. *Lord 5 Flower's Family: Rulers of Zaachila and Cuilapan*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Publications in Anthropology, No. 29.

Paddock, John, ed. 1966b. *Ancient Oaxaca: Discoveries in Mexican Archaeology and History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Palka, Joel W. 2009. "Historical Archaeology of Indigenous Culture Change in Mesoamerica." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 17 (4):297–346.

Pohl, John M.D. 1994. *The Politics of Symbolism in the Mixtec Codices*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Publications in Anthropology, No. 46.

Pohl, John M.D. 1999. "The Lintel Paintings of Mitla and the Function of the Mitla Palaces." In *Mesoamerican Architecture as a Cultural Symbol*, ed. Jeff Karl Kowalski, 176–197. New York: Oxford University Press.

Pohl, John M.D. 2003a. "Creation Stories, Hero Cults, and Alliance Building." In *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World*, ed. Michael E. Smith and Frances F. Berdan, 61–66. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Pohl, John M.D. 2003b. "Ritual Ideology and Commerce in the Southern Mexican Highlands." In *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World*, ed. Michael E. Smith and Frances F. Berdan, 172–185. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Pohl, John M.D. 2003c. "Ritual and Iconographic Variability in Mixteca-Puebla Polychrome Pottery." In *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World*, ed. Michael E. Smith and Frances F. Berdan, 201–206. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Pohl, John M.D. 2003d. "Royal Marriages and Confederacy Building among the Eastern Nahuas, Mixtecs, and Zapotecs." In *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World*, ed. Michael E. Smith and Frances F. Berdan, 243–248. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Pohl, John M.D. 2004a. "The Archaeology of History in Postclassic Oaxaca." In *Mesoamerican Archaeology: Theory and Practice*, ed. Julia Hendon and Rosemary Joyce, 217–238. Cornwall, UK: Blackwell.

Pohl, John M.D. 2004b. "Screenfold Manuscripts of Highland Mexico and Their Possible Influence on Codex Madrid: A Summary." In *Codex Madrid: New Approaches to Understanding an Ancient Maya Manuscript*, ed. Gabrielle Vail and Anthony Aveni, 368–413. Boulder: University of Colorado Press.

Pohl, John M.D. 2007. *Narrative Mixtec Ceramics of Ancient Mexico*. Princeton: Princeton University Program of Latin American Studies.

Pohl, John M. D., and Bruce E. Byland. 1990. "Mixtec Landscape Perception and Archaeological Settlement Patterns." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 1 (1):113–131.

Pohl, Mary E.D., Kevin O. Pope, and Christopher von Nagy. 2002. "Olmec Origins of Mesoamerican Writing." *Science* 298 (5600):1984–1987.

Proskouriakoff, Tatiana. 1960. "Historical Implications of a Pattern of Dates at Piedras Negras, Guatemala." *American Antiquity* 25 (4):454–475.

Rabin, Emily. 2003. "Toward a Unified Chronology of the Historical Codices and Pictorial Manuscripts of the Mixteca Alta, Costa and Baja: An Overview." In *Homenaje a John Paddock*, ed. Patricia Plunket, 100–136. Puebla, Mexico: Universidad de las Américas.

Rice, Don. S., and Prudence M. Rice. 2004. "History in the Future: Historical Data and Investigations in Lowland Maya Studies." In *Continuities and Changes in Maya Archaeology: Perspectives at the Millennium*, ed. Charles W. Golden, and Greg Burgstede, 71–87. New York: Routledge.

Rivera Guzmán, Iván. 2008. "La Iconografía de las Piedras Grabadas de Cuquila y la Distribución de la Escritura Ñuiñe en la Mixteca Alta." In *Pictografía y Escritura Alfabética en Oaxaca*, ed. Sebastian van Doesburg, 53–72. Oaxaca, Mexico: IEEPO.

Robles García, Nelly M., and Alberto Juárez Osnaya. 2004. *Historia de la Arqueología en Oaxaca*. Oaxaca, Mexico: CONACULTA-INAH.

Robles García, Nelly M. 2004. *Estructuras Políticas en el Oaxaca Antiguo: Memoria de la Tercera Mesa Redonda de Monte Albán*. Mexico City: INAH.

Rodríguez Martínez, María del Carmen, Ponciano Ortíz Ceballos, Michael D. Coe, Richard A. Diehl, Stephen D. Houston, Karl A. Taube, and Alfredo Delgado Calderón. 2006. "Oldest Writing in the New World." *Science* 313 (5793):1610–1614.

Rogers, Daniel J., and Samuel M. Wilson, eds. 1993. *Ethnohistory and Archaeology: Approaches to Postcontact Change in the Americas*. New York: Plenum Press.

Romero Frizzi, María de los Ángeles. 1996. *El Sol y la Cruz: Los Pueblos Indios de Oaxaca Colonial*. Mexico City: CIESAS/INI.

Romero Frizzi, María de los Ángeles, ed. 2003. *Escritura Zapoteca: 2,500 Años de Historia*. Mexico City: CONACULTA/INAH.

Ruiz Medrano, Ethelia. 2010. *Mexico's Indigenous Communities: Their Land and Histories, 1500–2010*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Sanders, Seth L., ed. 2006. *Margins of Writing, Origins of Cultures*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

Sauer, Eberhard, ed. 2004. *Archaeology and Ancient History: Breaking Down the Boundaries*. New York: Routledge.

Scheiber, Laura L., and Mark D. Mitchell, eds. 2010. *Across a Great Divide: Continuity and Change in Native North American Societies, 1400–1900*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Schmidt, Brian B., ed. 2007. *The Quest for the Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Ancient Israel*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Schmidt, Peter. 2006. *Historical Archaeology in Africa: Representation, Social Memory, and Oral Traditions*. Oxford: AltaMira.

Schuyler, Robert L., ed. 1978. *Historical Archaeology: A Guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions*. New York: Baywood Publishing Company.

Sherman, Jason, Andrew K. Balkansky, Charles Spencer, and Brian D. Nicholls. 2010. "Expansionary Dynamics of the Nascent Monte Albán State." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 29 (3):278–301.

Small, David B., ed. 1995. *Methods in the Mediterranean: Historical and Archaeological Views on Texts and Archaeology*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Smith, Mary Elizabeth. 1973. *Picture Writing from Ancient Southern Mexico: Mixtec Place Signs and Maps*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Smith, Michael E., and Frances F. Berdan, eds. 2003. *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Spencer, Charles S., and Elsa M. Redmond. 1997. *Archaeology of the Cañada de Cuicatlán, Oaxaca*. American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, No. 80.

Spencer, Charles S., Elsa M. Redmond, and Christina M. Elson. 2008. "Ceramic Microtypology and the Territorial Expansion of the Early Monte Alban State in Oaxaca, Mexico." *Journal of Field Archaeology* 33 (3):321–341.

Spores, Ronald. 1967. *The Mixtec Kings and Their People*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Spores, Ronald. 1972. *An Archaeological Settlement Survey of the Nochixtlán Valley, Oaxaca*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Publications in Anthropology, No. 1.

Spores, Ronald. 1980. "New World Ethnohistory and Archaeology, 1970–1980." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 9:575–603.

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

Spores, Ronald. 1993. "Tututepec: A Postclassic-Period Mixtec Conquest State." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 4 (1):167–174.

Spores, Ronald. 2007. *Ñuu Ñudzahui: La Mixteca de Oaxaca. La Evolución de la Cultura Mixteca desde los Primeros Pueblos Preclásicos hasta la Independencia*. Oaxaca: IEEPO.

Stahl, Ann B. 1993. "Concepts of Time and Approaches to Analogical Reasoning in Historical Perspective." *American Antiquity* 58 (2):235–260.

Stephen, Lynn. 2005. *Zapotec Women: Gender, Class, and Ethnicity in Globalized Oaxaca*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Stephen, Lynn. 2007. *Transborder Lives: Indigenous Oaxacans in Mexico, California, and Oregon*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Taube, Karl. 2011. "Teotihuacan and the Development of Writing in Early Classic Central Mexico." In *Their Way of Writing: Scripts, Signs, and Pictographies in Pre-Columbian America*, ed. Elizabeth Hill Boone and Gary Urton, 77–109. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks.

Tavárez, David. 2010. "Zapotec Time, Alphabetic Writing, and the Public Sphere." *Ethnohistory* 57 (1):73–85.

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

Tedlock, Dennis. 2010. *2000 Years of Mayan Literature*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Terraciano, Kevin. 2001. *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca: Ñudzahui History, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Topic, John R., ed. 2009. *La Arqueología y la Etnohistoria: Un Encuentro Andino*. Lima: IEP/IAR.

Trigger, Bruce. 1989. "History and Contemporary American Archaeology: A Critical Analysis." In *Archaeological Thought in America*, ed. C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, 19–34. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Troike, Nancy. 1978. "Fundamental Changes in the Interpretations of the Mixtec Codices." *American Antiquity* 43 (4):553–568.

Urcid, Javier. 1993. "The Pacific Coast of Oaxaca and Guerrero: The Westernmost Extent of Zapotec Script." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 4 (1):141–165.

Urcid, Javier. 2001. *Zapotec Hieroglyphic Writing*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks.

Urcid, Javier. 2005a. *Zapotec Writing: Knowledge, Power, and Memory in Ancient Oaxaca*. Report submitted to FAMSI. http://www.famsi.org/zapotecwriting/zapotec_text.pdf, accessed Jan. 2014.

Urcid, Javier. 2005b. *Sacred Landscapes and Social Memory: The Ñuiñe Inscriptions in the Ndaxagua Natural Tunnel, Tepelmeme, Oaxaca*. Report submitted to FAMSI. http://www.famsi.org/reports/03068/ndaxagua.pdf, accessed Jan. 2014.

Urcid, Javier. 2008. "An Ancient Story of Creation from San Pedro Jaltepetongo." In *Mixtec Writing and Society: Escritura de Ñuu Dzaui*, ed. Maarten E.R.G.N. Jansen and Laura N.K. van Broekhoven, 145–196. Amsterdam: KNAW Press.

Urcid, Javier. 2011a. "Los Oráculos y la Guerra: El Papel de las Narrativas Pictóricas en el Desarrollo Temprano de Monte Albán (500 a.C.–200 d.C.)." In *Monte Albán en la Encrucijada Regional y Disciplinaria: Memoria de la Quinta Mesa Redonda de Monte Albán*, ed. Nelly M. Robles García, and Ángel I. Rivera Guzmán, 163–237. Mexico City: INAH.

Urcid, Javier. 2011b. "En la Cima de la Montaña Sagrada: Escritura y Urbanismo en Monte Albán." In *Seis Ciudades Antiguas de Monte Albán*, ed. Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, 77–119. Mexico City: INAH.

Urcid, Javier. 2011c. "The Written Surface as a Cultural Code: A Comparative Perspective of Scribal Traditions from Southwestern Mesoamerica." In *Their Way of Writing: Scripts, Signs, and Pictrographies in Pre-Columbian America*, ed. Elizabeth Hill Boone and Gary Urton, 111–148. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks.

Urcid, Javier, and Arthur Joyce. 2001. "Carved Monuments and Calendrical Names: The Rulers of Río Viejo, Oaxaca." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 12 (2):199–216.

Urcid, Javier, and Arthur Joyce. 2014. "Early Transformations of Monte Albán's Main Plaza and Their Political Implications, 500 BC–AD 200." In *Mesoamerican Plazas*, ed. K. Tsukamoto and T. Inomata, 149–167. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Vaillant, George. 1937. "History and Stratigraphy in the Valley of Mexico." *Scientific Monthly* 44 (4):307–324.

Vansina, Jan. 1985. *Oral Tradition as History*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Vargas Arenas, Iraida. 1995. "The Perception of History and Archaeology in Latin America: A Theoretical Approach." In *Making Alternative Histories: The Practice of Archaeology and History in Non-Western Settings*, ed. Peter R. Schmidt, and Thomas C. Patterson, 47–68. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Wainwright, Fredrick T. 1962. *Archaeology and Place Names and History: An Essay on Problem of Co-ordination*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Wauchope, Robert. 1947. "An Approach to the Maya Correlation Problem through Guatemala Highland Archaeology and Native Annals." *American Antiquity* 13 (1):59–66.

Whitecotton, Joseph W. 1977. *The Zapotecs: Princes, Priests, and Peasants*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

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

Whittaker, Gordon. 1980. "The Hieroglyphics of Monte Albán." Unpublished PhD diss., Yale University.

Winter, Marcus. 1994a. "Los Altos de Oaxaca y los Olmecas." In *Los Olmecas en Mesoamérica*, ed. J. E. Clark, 129–141. Mexico: El Equilibrista/Turner Libros.

Winter, Marcus. 2007. *Cerro de las Minas: Arqueología de la Mixteca Baja*. Oaxaca, Mexico: CONACULTA/INAH.

Winter, Marcus. 2008a. "Classic to Postclassic in Four Oaxaca Regions: The Mazateca, the Chinantla, the Mixe Region, and the Southern Isthmus." In *After Monte Albán: Transformation and Negotiation in Oaxaca, Mexico*, ed. Jeffrey Blomster, 393–426. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Winter, Marcus. 2008b. "*Informe Final Proyecto Salvamento Arqueológico Carretera Oaxaca-Istmo 2006–2007, Tramo Jalapa del Marqués Km. 177–190*. Oaxaca, Mexico." INAH Regional Center. *Report*.

Winter, Marcus. 2011. "Social Memory and the Origins of Monte Alban." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 22 (2):393–409.

Winter, Marcus, ed. 1994b. *Escritura Zapoteca Prehispánica: Nuevas Aportaciones*. Oaxaca: INAH.

Workinger, Andrew, and Arthur A. Joyce. 2009. "Reconsidering Warfare in Formative Period Oaxaca." In *Blood and Beauty: Organized Violence in the Art and Archaeology of Mesoamerica and Central America*, ed. Heather Orr and Rex Koontz, 3–38. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press.

Yannakakis, Yanna. 2008. *The Art of Being In-Between: Native Intermediaries, Indian Identity, and Local Rule in Colonial Oaxaca*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Yoffee, Norman, and Bradley L. Crowell, eds. 2006. *Excavating Asian History: Interdisciplinary Studies in Archaeology and History*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

Zárate Morán, Roberto. 2003. *Un Mito de Creación Zapoteca en las Pinturas Rupestres de Dani Guíaati, Asunción Ixtaltepec, Oaxaca*. Asunción Ixtaltepec, Mexico: CONACULTA/ INAH.

Zeitlin, Judith. 2005. *Cultural Politics in Colonial Tehuantepec: Community and State among the Isthmus Zapotec, 1500–1750*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Zeitlin, Robert. 1993. "Pacific Coastal Laguna Zope: A Regional Center in the Terminal Formative Hinterlands of Monte Albán." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 4 (1):85–101.