Reaching the Past:

An Analysis of Death and Identity in the Postclassic Valley of Oaxaca

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Abstract

The Oaxaca Valley during Monte Albán V provides an ideal context to explore the relationship between group identity and material culture in archaeology, a relationship that is often left largely unquestioned despite being poorly understood. Since the first excavations in the Valley of Oaxaca in the early 20th century, the region has been a source of archaeological interest, intrigue, and mystery. The decline of the city of Monte Albán as the sole political and cultural capital of the region marks the beginning of the period that the early explorers called "Monte Albán V" (MA V), which they interpreted as the result of a Mixtec invasion of an ethnically Zapotec state. This hypothesis has since been rejected by most scholars, but the dichotomy of Zapotec and Mixtec peoples as clearly delineated ethnic groups—as well as a belief in a sharp cultural and political discontinuity in the transition into MA V—has permeated much of our archaeological understanding of group identity in prehispanic Oaxaca. By compiling information from previous archaeological reports, I have analyzed variation in human burials dated to MA V at various sites across the region to better understand what identities were considered important in funerary practice. In particular, this study takes into account burial position, associated ceramic artifacts, and sex distribution. By applying recent anthropological theories of identity as social action, this study challenges many of the assumptions about identity in Postclassic Oaxaca that have been taken for granted by past research. Distinct ethnic traditions that could be attributed to Zapotec or Mixtec groups were not visible in the funerary treatment of individuals. Instead, the manipulation of genealogy and claims to specific ancestors appears more fundamental to group identity in much of MA V Oaxaca.

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Introduction

Ever since the Mexican archaeologist Alfonso Caso and his colleagues began their excavations at the ancient Zapotec capital of Monte Albán, the Valley of Oaxaca has become an ideal laboratory for archaeologists to study state formation, political systems, mortuary practices, art, symbolism, religion, and many other aspects of social life traditionally associated with great civilizations.

Geographically, the Valley of Oaxaca is shaped like the letter "Y," with three distinct arms or subvalleys: Etla to the northwest, Tlacolula to the east, and Valle Grande to the south. The city of Monte Albán, located at the intersection of the three arms, was established ca. 500 BCE and was the dominant political and ritual center in the valley for centuries. Monte Albán maintained its role as capital until ca. 600 CE, after which the city ceased to exert political control over the valley and experienced a major decline in population. It remained an important location, however, for ritual and for burials, some of which were placed in tombs built centuries earlier (Blanton 2003:281).

Today's Valley of Oaxaca is home to the capital of the State of Oaxaca, Oaxaca de Juárez, near the ancient city of Monte Albán, and to thousands of Zapotec speakers and some Mixtec speakers. Many of these people hold dear to their Zapotec or Mixtec ancestral identities, expressing them in the form of language (with more than one million people speaking indigenous languages in the State of Oaxaca) as well as through constantly shifting attempts to assert identity in the modern globalist economic and political sphere, including the selling of traditional crafts and goods and organizing grassroots political movements (Stephen 1996).

While significant work has been done in the valley since the time of the early scholars Adolphe Bandelier, Constantine George Rickards, Alfonso Caso, Ignacio Bernal, and Jorge Acosta, Caso's eighteen field seasons of excavations at Monte Albán form the foundation upon

which the archaeology of Oaxaca has been built. Caso was a true pioneer in the study of Oaxaca, taking on the first archaeological excavations and rigorous scientific study of the past occupants of the valley despite significant political, academic, and bureaucratic opposition. With a focus on ethnic groups and their movement and interaction, Caso was part of a wider archaeological tradition in which archaeologists focused on culture history, attempting to understand the history and chronology of the valley in terms of population movement by the Mixtec and Zapotec at particular times. Caso's work was seminal and deeply influential, but also established a paradigm that is difficult to support with current data. Specifically, Caso's work has helped to foment several assumptions about the ancient people of Oaxaca that do not withstand modern scrutiny.

The greatest of these assumptions is that of a direct co-occurrence of the distribution of polychrome pottery and Mixtec-speaking people, and that this ethnocultural distinction was the primary social distinction during MA V. With Zapotec and Mixtec identities both visible in dress and language and constituting a point of sociocultural and political issue in post-Hispanic Mexico, it became the interest of archaeologists to trace the histories of native peoples into the past, with the belief that while location, population, and aesthetic styles may fluctuate, the identity of a group remains stable over time. In this framework, cultural change was explained in terms of intergroup interaction. In particular, Caso attributed the end of the hegemonic power of Monte Albán—in Caso's mind, a wholly Zapotec polity—to a Mixtec invasion, ushering in the politically balkanized period known as Monte Albán V (MA V) from ca. AD 900-1500.

Although Caso's narrative of "La Invasión Mixteca" has been rejected by modern scholars (see Feinman and Nicholas 2016, for example), the Zapotec/Mixtec dichotomy and the impression that MA V Oaxaca was a complete break from previous periods have remained relatively unchallenged in archaeological and anthropological discourse. While most

anthropologists now acknowledge the relative fluidity of identity and the occurrence of change via intragroup marriage alliances and other socioeconomic ties, Caso's interpretive framework has not been completely discarded.

By applying modern anthropological approaches to ethnicity and group identity to MA V Oaxaca, archaeologists should be able to reveal a more complex story of identity and culture. Determining the degree of overlap among ethnicity, identity, and status is a topic of considerable importance. Group identities should not be understood as hard boundaries, but instead as tools to be applied actively and to be altered and reinforced socially. Extensive inter-group marriage alliances and reproduction across "ethnic lines" makes genetic understandings of identity equally imprecise and inadequate. The child of a Mixtec noble and a Zapotec noble would also be a noble, a status which would transcend the individual's ethnic identity. Indeed, studies of ancient group identity should focus on how genealogy was employed and manipulated socially, rather than biologically.

MA V Oaxaca offers an ideal opportunity to evaluate these theories of identity. Evidence for the active social role of deceased ancestors can be seen in the practice of tomb reuse, the prior constructions and settlements established by ancestors, and in the practice of returning to family burial sites long after the abandonment of the city, all of which appear to be common throughout the valley. The absence of a single centralized political power after the decline of Monte Albán provides the opportunity to study how people form new identities that were not tied to political boundaries, and to understand the importance of lineage in the establishment and maintenance of coherent and centrally-administered communities in the absence of Monte Albán.

Using reports of excavations and analyses by various archaeologists throughout the 20th century, I will analyze human burials in the Oaxaca Valley dated to Period V in order to examine

the relationship between the treatment of the dead among disparate sites and social acts that produce social identities and associations within those communities. Because mortuary treatment provides an integral connection to ancestors and the idealized past, in addition to playing with concepts of permanence and indirect agency, the analysis of mortuary contexts and the individuals interred within them allows me to make relevant comments about group identity, including ethnicity, status, and lineage.

Taking into consideration the body position, associated artifacts, and architecture of each burial, I will analyze the differences among MA V burials statistically, semiotically, and qualitatively, employing recent approaches developed primarily by cultural anthropologists to interpret archaeological data. This study will help to expand the narrative of group identity in the Oaxaca Valley to include a more dynamic definition of group identity, as well as contribute to a better understanding of the relationship between archaeological material and expressions of group identity among past peoples more broadly.

The Anthropology of Identity

The history of archaeology's relationship with identity studies is long, complex, and, at times, dark. It is not a coincidence that the modern discipline of archaeology arose roughly simultaneously with the European establishment of race theory and its implementation within a colonial framework (Arnold 1990:464). The desire to find the origins of present peoples represented an attempt to legitimize apparently separate—if imagined—phenotypic and cultural groups. Gustaf Kossinna's establishment of the *Siedlungsarchaeologie* ("settlement archaeology") approach and his deployment of archaeology to trace the origins of a "Germanic people" has left archaeological scholars with a well-deserved sensitivity to ethnic studies. The subsequent use of Kossinna's analysis by the Nazi Party to promote a north-German origin of

"Aryan" peoples is a poignant reminder to the historical sciences that their work can and does transcend the boundaries of academia (Arnold 1990, Emberling 1997:296; Kossinna 1911).

While Kossinna's approach was nominally rejected by the archaeological community, the manner in which he treats ethnicity as a collection of material culture types associated with a specific homeland ("*Kulturkreis*") persisted in the culture-historical approach. Efforts were made by processual archaeologists in the 1960s to dismantle these ideas in favor of more multifaceted and complex understandings of the relationship between humans and their environment. Yet in abandoning culture history and its straightforward approach to group identity, the mid-century archaeologists failed to produce a workable replacement (Dietler and Herbich 1998:233). While many researchers remained tacitly interested in groups of people, there was no methodology attached to these goals. The study of ethnicity remained tainted by the work of Kossinna and others, while efforts to attach material culture assemblages and types to groups of people makes an easy target for criticism. Yet in the absence of theory, many archaeologists have continued to employ culture-historical techniques in their attempts to uncover group identity. Only recently has archaeology begun to incorporate some of the ideas and approaches employed by sociocultural anthropology in order to formulate a better understanding of the relationships that make up identity (Emberling 1997:296). This study will attempt to synthesize many of these new ideas and to employ a workable theory of identity to Postclassic Oaxaca.

Culture and Identity

Many of the problematic aspects of older approaches to the archaeology of identity stem from a failure to disentangle the terminology that they employ. Specifically, despite myriad definitions and treatises on the topic, it is often assumed in archaeology that a society can be said to have a single or primary culture, and its members share a common "cultural" identity. This

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conflation of culture and identity leads to the dangerous oversimplification of human relations and interactions.

The word "culture" is one of the least precise but most heavily utilized terms in anthropology. Not long ago, anthropologists primarily thought of cultures as discrete, bounded packages of symbols, meanings, and associations carried universally by individuals in a society. Members of the "symbolic" school of anthropology, especially Geertz, have described culture in structuralist terms as a system of symbols that exist in the social milieu from which individual tokens are brought into existence. This approach is an attempt to solve the problem of a "multiplicity of referents" (variation in cultural ideas among individuals) that has persistently haunted anthropological studies of culture (Geertz 1993:89).

This symbolic approach is one that is quite amenable to archaeology. Ortner (1984:129) notes that the symbolic concern with culture has more to do with the "affective and stylistic dimensions" than the "cognitive" aspects of the human experience. Cognitive processes are often considered less accessible to archaeologists than other components of social life, such as concrete material culture styles. While such stylistic tokens exist both in the immaterial and material realms, both types of symbols are assumed to function in similar ways. In other words, the material symbols available to archaeologists have the same relationship to the culture system as symbolic practices that are observable only in living societies.

The Geertzian approach in many ways validates the treatment of culture that archaeologists have employed since the discipline's beginning. The existence of a clear type or style with an easily-determinable geographic distribution has historically been taken as evidence for an "archaeological culture," a unity defined precisely as an assemblage of similar types

(Childe 1956:16). This disparity between this archaeological definition of culture and the use of culture by other anthropologists has been masked by its perceived direct indexicality.

The temptation to equate material styles with groups of people is strong in archaeology, partly because typologies often map neatly onto other well-known aspects, such as geography, social status, or gender. Furthermore, "style" is intuitively accessible to archaeologists—if two artifacts look different from one another, it is easy to claim that they *are* different in a fundamental sense. As Dietler and Herbich (1998) point out, however, this approach rests on some major assumptions. They have identified a trichotomy within material culture studies— *technology*, *function*, and *style*—in which *style* is often defined by the absence of the former two. In other words, *style* is every aspect not determined by the techniques and materials available nor by the object's intended function. The problems created by these assumptions are significant. The first is that the supposed signifier of culture—*style*—is a category of variability that is sufficiently narrow or sufficiently broad and vague as to be essentially meaningless. Additionally, the three parts are not as separable and discrete as previous scholarship has often assumed; technology and function both relate to cultural systems and influence style, and function partly determines technology (Dietler and Herbich 1998:237). Finally, the ability to separate *style* as peripheral from function and technology requires significant understanding of the cultural context within which these categories are defined. Function may include both the ability of a jar to hold water and its shape as an indicator of custom or ancestral identity. The latter may be treated as style by modern archaeologists, while the former may in fact be style to the maker, while its function is symbolic.

Barth begins his discussion of ethnicity by describing culture quite simply as the way in which we explain human behavior (Barth 1969:9). This approach places the provenience of

culture in the hands of the anthropologist, rather than the people being studied. Barth's description is perhaps the most useful approach in many cases. The things that we call "cultural" are, after all, an eclectic mix of ideas, images, behaviors, beliefs, attitudes, and identities. Some are visible, some are taken for granted. The circulation and manipulation of all types of meanings produces behavior that can then be taken from its context, put into comparison with other forms, and studied by those who find interest in it. Culture does not represent a bounded system, but rather a scientific model of a complex ecosystem within which human behavior flourishes. Following from Barth's approach, phenomena such as ethnicity and group identity are better understood as theoretical idealized models than actual attributes, and in transferring the onus of these models away from a static attribute and toward a mode capable of being manipulated, anthropologists have more freedom to interpret and reinterpret complex relationships between people and identity.

Emberling offers three criteria for determining how an archaeologist should use "ethnicity" and the related terminology. First, it is necessary to describe what is meant by the term so that it can be used with clarity without confusion with other related terms. Secondly, it does not benefit the author nor the reader to strictly define such terms, however, as this leads to a rigidity and a terminology that is lifeless and inflexible. Finally, the use of the terminology must remain closely tied to its extant meanings and associations in discourse so that it does not become artificial (Emberling 1997:301).

This last point represents a conflict that this study will attempt to resolve. I give preference to the term "group identity" rather than "ethnicity" in reference to my case study because I do not believe that the type of identity that I describe matches closely with the common understanding of what is meant by "ethnicity." Yet I argue that the group identity I

describe in the Postclassic Valley of Oaxaca is not outside of the normal variation of forms that ethnicity can take, and is thus a similar phenomenon that can be analyzed by similar means.

Much of the incongruity between understandings of ethnicity stems from the relative recency of the anthropological understanding of ethnicity as separate from linguistic and phenotypic markers. Boas (1931) was one of the first Western anthropologists to argue against physical traits as discontinuous markers of ethnic boundaries. He argues not only that biological differences between the so-called "races" are very small, but that human movement, contact, and exchange has made for a history that was never discontinuous or isolated. Phenotypic attributes, then, form a *continuum* rather than discrete, bounded traits. Furthermore, the racial types that have been somewhat successfully maintained in the common cultural understanding (e.g. White, Black, East Asian, Native American) have done so only with respect to certain physical traits (skin color, hair type, etc.) and not others (Boas 1931). Racial groupings, then, are constructed based on cultural values rather than an objective natural reality. The cultural nature of biologically-ascribed racial groups does not mean that biological traits can be discounted as ethnic markers (as contemporary Western society often uses them as such), only that they are not necessarily so.

The connection between language and ethnicity is more difficult for scholars to navigate. Linguistic groups can often seem like ready-made analogues for ethnic groups, and indeed language is often heavily involved in the construction and maintenance of identities. Language, like material culture, however, is the result of a complex of variables. Language contact, natural "random" divergence, socially significant divergence or convergence, and multilingualism all contribute to a linguistic landscape that is not useful as a one-to-one surrogate for ethnicity. Terrell (2001) uses New Guinea as an example of immense linguistic diversity in a very small

geographic space with a history of close social relations and integrated networks of exchange. The linguistic diversity of the region does not appear to divide or disrupt the coherence of the larger group. Members of diasporic ethnic groups may speak the language of their surrounding geographic community as well as maintain a traditional (if not regularly spoken) heritage language, as is the case with Hebrew for many Jewish individuals across the globe. Additionally, many Ashkenazi Jews take Yiddish as an additional language of identity. The multivalent nature of language and group identity merits much additional study, but it is clear that linguistic groupings cannot be used reliably to document ethnicity and to determine discrete bounded groups of peoples.

Emberling argues that the archaeology of ethnicity is beginning to settle into a paradigm that has rejected these past assumptions of the unity of culture, race, and language in favor of a theory of ascription and social manipulation established by Barth (Emberling 1997:296; Barth 1969). While Barth's work was indeed revolutionary, the paradigm that he established focuses almost entirely on boundaries and exclusion rather than the processes of inclusion. While it cannot be denied that defining "us" and "them" is an integral part of group identity, such an approach ignores the fact that an act of ascription is a positive act. It is necessary, then, to examine the process by which an individual seeks to define what they *are* rather than what they are not.

Semiotics of Group Identity

If we consider group identity and ethnicity to be an act, rather than an inherent quality, it is necessary to establish an understanding of the nature of these acts. By attempting to understand acts of identity within a semiotic framework, acknowledging the way acts and objects

function as signs in relation to concepts, anthropologists and archaeologists can better understand the complexities of identity-driven behavior.

The Science of Signs

Semiotics, or the study of signs, has its roots in 19th-century philosophy and linguistics. Ferdinand de Saussure, a Swiss scholar widely considered to be the founder of modern linguistics, advocated for a science of signs which he called "semiology" (Saussure 1916:16). For Saussure, there exists a field of possible meanings and a symmetrical range of potential signs. These fields are then divided into segments, cutting across both meaning and the material sign (Saussure 1916:112). Thus, the concept of *tree* (as distinct from *bush*, *shrub*, or *wood*) is given strict borders in the same motion that the word "tree" is defined by its difference from other combinations of sounds. As a linguist, Saussure's chief concern was the function of language as a convention of signs. In *Course in General Linguistics* (1916), however, Saussure describes his semiology as having widespread potential as a science of its own.

While Saussure's linguistics-based semiology was ultimately adopted into anthropology in the form of "structuralist" approaches (see Lévi-Strauss 1963, for example), Saussure's dream of a complete science of signs was perhaps best fulfilled by the work of the American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce. A rough contemporary of Saussure, Peirce took more interest in the relationship between the sign and its object. While Saussure's semiology is dichotomous (sign–meaning), Peirce's science of signs—called *semiotics*—has a tripartite structure. Saussure's dichotomy is present in what Peirce called "sign" and "object," but Peirce adds the agent, or "interpretant," as well as the concept of "ground." Peirce understood that signs stand *for* something *to* someone by way of some relationship. The interpretant represents this

"someone," and the type of relationship employed constitutes Peirce's "ground." These relationships can take three forms, resulting in three distinctive types of signs:

1. *Icons* resemble their objects in some natural way. A footprint signifies a foot because the two have similar visual forms.

2. *Indices* are related to their objects proximally or by cause and effect. They may not resemble their objects, but their connection is intrinsic by some other natural relationship. A bullet hole signifies a gunshot because the latter caused the former. An illuminated "exit" sign signifies an exit because it is placed above it.

3. *Symbols* are signs whose relationship to their objects is determined by convention. The word "tree" does not have any intrinsic relationship to the concept of *tree*, but human agents have created a connection that is widely accepted and utilized (Atkin 2013).

Peirce's theory of signs provides a framework by which semiotic actions can be analyzed. While later scholars have moved away from the rigidity of his "trichotomies" in favor of a more integrated approach, the concepts—icons, indices, and symbols—remain useful constructs for the analysis of signs.

Various attempts have been made to integrate semiotics into material culture studies and archaeology. Keane (2003) has argued that the complexities inherent in Peircean semiotics can provide for a richer understanding of objectification. He points out that gift-giving and census-taking—both means by which people objectify social relations—represent two entirely different types of objectification and should not be conflated (Keane 2003:423). Preucel (2006) has attempted a more complete review of the uses and potential for semiotic analysis in archaeology in particular, spanning the history of archaeology and various common approaches, including processualism, post-processualism, and cognitive archaeology.

The Kinship Idiom

Following from a semiotic approach to culture, group identity can be understood as a series of semiotic acts that index some larger group concept. The outward expression of identity, which may include the wearing of particular clothing, the speaking of a particular language, or engaging in a particular mortuary practice, occurs on an individual level. Yet these acts are carried out for the purpose of indexing a concept of a group. It is the concept of unity that is more important to group identity than actual "objective" unity of forms. Emberling argues that the most fundamental aspect of ethnicity is that an ethnic group's members see themselves as "sharing common descent" (Emberling 1997:302). This common descent can be real or imagined, as it is not the reality but the *concept* that matters. This model of ethnicity helps to explain the maintenance of diasporic ethnic groups, whose existence has defied geographic understandings of ethnicity. Ethnic Jews, whose history as a diaspora community is likely as long as their time spent in geographic unity, have maintained their identity through stories, symbolism, and language that indexes an idealized, unified past and place. Similarly, the English people, whose history of biological descent is complex and poorly understood, have constructed a largely Germanic identity based on a narrative of Anglo-Saxon origins (Lucy 1998). The factual history of the Anglo-Saxon settlement of England is now largely dismissed in favor of a much more complex reality, but Anglo-Saxonism has helped to create a coherent Germanic ethno-national identity in the era of nationalism, replacing a prior origin narrative of the English as descendants of Brutus of Troy (Lucy 1998:5). Anglo-Saxonist archaeologists have deployed archaeology as a Peircean index to demonstrate this idealized origin.

This model of ethnicity as indexing a shared descent produces a concept of ethnic identity that is remarkably similar to the better understood anthropological concept of kinship. Indeed, Emberling describes ethnicity as an extension of the "kinship idiom," arguing that an ethnic

group is simply the level above "clan" or "lineage" (Emberling 1997:302). This study will examine group identities in Oaxaca employing this model, considering the spectrum of identity from genealogy to ethnic group.

Death and Deposition

The study and analysis of the death of the human body has been a point of contention between anthropology and "hard archaeology" throughout most of the disciplines' histories. It has been said that archaeologists deal with "mortuary analysis" while ethnographers deal with "death" (Chesson 2001:1). While this conceptual and traditional divide is still present in both disciplines, it is important to understand how archaeological approaches can be integrated into social anthropology and vice versa.

Joyce (2001:12) has noted a tendency within archaeology to give privilege to mortuary analysis, in part because it is intuitively understood that death is a weighty event, and thus the treatment of those who have died should have some significance. Certainly, death is impossible to ignore, and marks a major life transition. Its universality provides a common reference point for anthropologists. Furthermore, contemporary western cultures tend to emphasize the finality of death. In death, an individual transitions from a dynamic person to a static object, and the treatment of that object upon death becomes its permanent—and intentional—state. This finality makes mortuary contexts tempting to archaeologists as one of the few categories in the archaeological record that are left the way past peoples intended. It is this focus on intentionality of deposition that has often characterized mortuary analysis in archaeology, assumed to be conveyed also in the selection of food offerings, whole pots, jewelry, ornaments, etc. that have been arranged and placed in the burial context.

There are many ways in which archaeologists historically have understood mortuary contexts. The idea that death represents an intentional and relatively rapid deposit led early culture historians to treat burials as a snapshot in time. Artifacts found in the grave were confidently dated to a particular time—contemporaneous with the interred individuals—and were used primarily for the building of chronologies (Lucy 1998:22). Processual theorists later introduced a new level of complexity into mortuary analysis by claiming that treatments of the dead could relay social information about the individuals, from gender and family status to religion to political power. Burials also came to be seen as the product of protracted multi-stage processes, rather than events.

Viewing mortuary treatment as a communicative method for the living allowed processual archaeologists to be very confident that aspects of mortuary contexts could be read symbolically. New interpretations, however, have lent credibility to the idea that death is not always static, nor is mortuary ritual always directed toward the living. Various approaches have, in fact, allowed for the dead to carry some form of social agency.

The Dead as Social Agents

Religion has often been understood as the primary force behind mortuary practice, with the afterlife providing a convenient arena in which dead individuals may still be treated as people with social weight. For many anthropologists as well as lay observers, religious boundaries correspond neatly to differences in mortuary practice, and it is often the prerogative of religious specialists to prohibit or prescribe particular practices. Yet a focus on religion reveals only a part of the story. We know today that non-religious members of society often adhere to standardized mortuary practices even in the absence of religious doctrine or even a belief in the afterlife. Present-day Americans, for example, will often choose to have their bodies interred in a coffin in

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a standard cemetery or cremated and placed in an urn. The fact that these practices persist among individuals and families with no religious incentive to do so is evidence that mortuary practice is entangled with social customs and norms that go beyond the religious sphere.

In accordance with this realization, many anthropologists have moved toward a more social understanding of mortuary practice. Most frequently, death is conceptualized as a rite of passage; and individuals must make the transition from living to dead, or from this world to the "otherworld," or otherwise from one state into the next (van Gennep 2013). This framework is easily applicable to many forms of mortuary practice around the world, from defleshing processes to cremation to simple burial. While this approach begins to deconstruct old ideas of the permanence of mortuary contexts by understanding death and its surrounding ritual as a process rather than a depositional instant, it is important to recognize the examples in ethnographic and archaeological record that do not fit the model. In the Valley of Oaxaca, as in various other societies, death is not a sharp transition. Marcus (2006:223) describes how Zapotec society allows for a "seamless continuum" in which living and dead coexisted and could interface with one another. In such cases, it is more reasonable to emphasize and analyze continuity from life through death rather than the transition.

Claiming the Past

While it is clear that mortuary rites are complex behaviors that are associated with many aspects of social life, this thesis will focus on their effects as pragmatic acts that constitute group identity. In the previous section I described a Geertzian symbolist approach to culture that assumes a common symbolic lexicon that one must only invoke in order to suggest power, legitimacy, religious significance, or social affiliation. This is an approach that mortuary analysts have often employed in archaeology: if an individual is buried with weapons, then he/she was a

warrior. With spindle whorls, perhaps a weaver. If the tomb is rich with gold and silver ornaments, we often assume the person had wealth, political power, or both.

In the past, archaeologists have assumed these types of associations to be a universal grammar because they make intuitive sense—as in life, so in death. Archaeologists have, however, acknowledged that some symbolic lexica are more local. Certain atypical burials of the medieval and early modern period in Eastern Europe have been interpreted as a specific treatment for vampiric individuals, or those with demonic or supernatural potential. While the uniformity of most European Christian burials makes atypical burials appear inherently marked in a general sense, archaeologists have assigned the allegedly vampiric graves a precise symbolic vocabulary: bodies are often weighed down with stones or staked down, the limbs are immobilized and occasionally dismembered, and often they are not oriented facing east as prescribed by the Church for spiritually healthy individuals. Sometimes these "vampires" were buried with sickles, a culturally-specific deterrent against evil (Barrowclough 2014).

Although they are markedly different, the interpretation of this symbolic vocabulary requires a knowledge of it, like a language that requires a two-way dictionary to be decoded. The problem with this simplistic linguistic approach is that while repeated use of certain symbols can come to be seen as increasing evidence, it can also reinforce wrong interpretations. In the case of the vampire burials of Eastern Europe, Barrowclough has pointed out that while it makes sense to assume that deviant burials are associated with deviant individuals, there are many equally plausible explanations that do not involve vampirism, such as punishment for a crime (Barrowclough 2014:9).

Thus, it is important to examine not just the symbols and their meanings, but the relationships between the two and their pragmatic application. Rather than a linguistic

Saussurean model of mortuary symbolism, archaeology must now deconstruct (in the Derridean sense) the signs used in mortuary contexts in order to understand how it can employ them as its own signs of phenomena like group identity. There is not a direct relationship between signs and their meanings, but rather a complex of ways in which signs interact with their objects. Mortuary analysis should strive to understand these complex relationships rather than relying on convention and symbolic signification.

In what ways do burials contribute to the significance, coherence, and maintenance of associated social groups? Maurice Bloch's study of Merina collective tombs in the central highlands of Madagascar has become fundamental in the canon of literature surrounding mortuary practice and identity. Bloch found that the placement of the dead is vital to the maintenance of group identity and carries significant social information and pragmatic action. In particular, the collective tomb of one's ancestors is understood to be that living individual's true home. Where one lives is temporary and socially negligible, but the resting place of one's forebears—and presumably the future resting place of oneself—is very important and conveys social information regarding group identity. Bloch (1971) notes that the location of the ancestral tomb is often the first question asked upon meeting someone.

In this way, mortuary practice is closely linked with group identity. Nearly every level and variety of group social identity is associated in some way with the placement of dead ancestors. Bloch notes that claims to the past via the dead are especially important in modern times, when there is a strong division between traditional and global ways of life.

Yet while this link helps to maintain social identity, it is quite dynamic. Individuals often have considerable freedom to choose whom they designate as their ancestors and whose tomb

they will choose to employ upon their own death. In this way, individuals are given agency to claim the past.

This dynamic framework of identity shows some promise in refining our understanding of the social aspects of mortuary practice. Keeping these ideas in mind, the landscape of identity in the Valley of Oaxaca might be better understood through its very visible mortuary record.

Case Study: The Valley of Oaxaca

The Oaxaca Valley provides an opportunity not only for interesting scholarship, but also meta-scholarship. The long history of archaeological interest in the Oaxaca Valley dates back roughly to the early days of archaeology itself. With interest in the antiquities of the ancient and classical "Old World" civilizations, the discovery of a "New World" civilization that was comparable in richness and beauty was astounding to archaeologists of Europe. It also provided a test for the prevailing ethnohistoric attitudes of the era; with contemporary Zapotec-speaking and Mixtec-speaking peoples in Oaxaca behaving as ethnic groups, the question arose as to whether such groups could be traced back to prehistory (Balkansky 1998:452).

It was with these ideas in mind that the Mexican archaeologist Alfonso Caso began the first excavations of the region in 1931. Because of his prolific career during which he conducted the earliest systematic excavations, Caso is often regarded as the father of Mexican archaeology. Working on material from Oaxaca throughout most of his career, Caso excavated for eighteen seasons, publishing for much longer (Balkansky 1998). Today's archaeologists owe a great debt to Caso, but his ideas endured in part because so few archaeologists questioned them. Two had a particularly lasting impact: (1) the linking of 16th-century Mixtec and Zapotec peoples (as described in Spanish accounts) to those who inhabit the area today, and (2) the idea that culture change resulted from the movement of discretely defined peoples.

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Despite the fact that many of the assumptions made by early archaeologists in the valley have been left unquestioned, Oaxaca remains one of the best-studied regions in the Americas. In order to better deconstruct these assumptions, it is first necessary to outline what is known about the region.

Politics and Power in Oaxaca

The Valley of Oaxaca has provided a fertile landscape for those archaeologists and anthropologists who study state formation and maintenance of power. The very topography of the three central valleys articulating at a single vertex raises a number of questions concerning the interaction of geography, politics, and culture. During the Rosario phase (ca. 700-500 BCE), the valley appears to have been a landscape of chiefly societies. While these polities maintained control of territory beyond their immediate residential occupation and participated in conflict with one another, the region was sparsely occupied, with vast empty spaces between political groups (Balkansky 1998:459). Evidently, each of the three central valleys, or "arms," had some emergent central power, evident in a settlement pattern in which each arm had one very large village surrounded by smaller settlements. As might be expected, the intersection of the central valleys acted as a "no man's land," or an unoccupied arena for conflict between each valley's competing interests.

It was not until ca. 500 BCE that the city of Monte Albán was established on a hilltop in the "no man's land" (Feinman et al. 1985:345). The rather sudden emergence of a city with a population of roughly 5000 has raised questions for archaeologists, particularly whether one political group was so bold as to establish themselves in the buffer zone or if it instead represents a "confederation" of Oaxaca chiefdoms (Balkansky 1998:460).

Precisely when Monte Albán transitioned into something that could be called a state has been a matter of debate for some time, though recent convincing evidence from Tilcajete suggests a conquest state emerging around 30 BCE (Spencer 2010). Certainly by a few centuries after state formation there appears to be evidence for imperial expansion. From that point onward, a Monte Albán empire was in full swing, conquering the entire valley and maintaining strong centralized political control, complete with imperial propaganda in the form of 320 large carved stones showing figures formerly called *danzantes*, now known to be sacrificed prisoners (Marcus 2009).

While the conquest state represented the peak of the political centrality of Monte Albán, the city continued to grow even as other urban centers began to compete for dominance in the valley. Yet as a secondary elite emerged in the satellite and lower-order subordinate sites, political unity began to disintegrate (Balkansky 1998:482).

Why Monte Albán collapsed is uncertain. Early scholars thought the balkanized political organization of the valley and its web of marital alliances with the Mixtec made it vulnerable to a Mixtec threat from the outside, suggesting an invasion narrative (Balkansky 1998:483). The Mixtec invasion hypothesis is not supported by archaeological evidence, however, and has been largely dismissed.

It is difficult to outline the history of the valley without falling victim to various assumptions about identity. There were some markers of a divide between what scholars have traditionally called Zapotec and Mixtec peoples, including differences in settlement patterns. Yet whether this divide was interpreted as ethnicity—in the way it is conceptualized today—is unclear. The divide was based on spoken language (Mixtec vs. Zapotec) and location (western Oaxaca vs. eastern Oaxaca). Unfortunately, the ethnic markers embedded in the scholarship of

Oaxaca make reinterpretation of identity somewhat difficult, and it is necessary to work around these assumptions as much as possible.

Chronology

The chronology of the Oaxaca Valley that is used most commonly is that devised by Alfonso Caso, along with Ignacio Bernal, Jorge Acosta, and John Paddock (Markens 2004:12). Based on stratigraphy, tombs, and ceramic types, Caso's system began with the founding of Monte Albán (Monte Albán I) and moved sequentially through Monte Albán II, III, IV, and V. Period IIIb-IV was an era of multiple petty states or fiefdoms; these were seats of dynastic power with marital pairs co-ruling these small polities. We know about these fiefdoms and dynasties from the stone monuments (genealogical registers) commissioned by local dynastic leaders. These monuments appear at sites that had formerly been secondary seats of administration before the collapse of Monte Albán (Marcus 1980). It is MA V, the era after the collapse of Monte Albán and a continuation of the balkanized IIIb-IV political landscape, that is the concern of this thesis.

Differentiating MA IV pottery from MA V pottery proved problematic for the early archaeologists. Because a Mixtec presence was presumed to be synonymous with the collapse of Monte Albán, MA V served both as a supposed cultural phenomenon and as a chronological phase. Yet even the early excavators recognized that a Mixtec cultural replacement—if it existed—would not be instantaneous, and some MA IV and MA V ceramic material was shown to overlap in time and to be contemporaneous. The early scholars' solution to this issue was to re-conceptualize MA IV as a transitional period and ultimately to append it to the latter half of MA III, creating the new period IIIb-IV (Caso 1967).

Even after revision, the system remains inseparable from many of its cultural and culture-historical connotations. MA V remained synonymous with "the Mixtec period," and the issues of reconciling the two distinct uses of this chronology–establishing precise dates and understanding cultural shifts–has rendered Caso's original chronology as well as the alteration clumsy and dated. Recent scholars, recognizing these issues, have attempted to resolve them. Markens has expressed the need for a chronology to be statistically tied only to the passage of time and free from cultural or historical connotations. His 2004 dissertation (from which the present study draws heavily) attempted to establish a better chronology based on the statistical analysis of dated assemblages. Martínez López similarly attempted to revamp the entire system by establishing a new chronology of phase names which better reflect cultural shifts in the valley (Markens 2004:34). In many cases such as this thesis, it is wise and parsimonious to retain Caso's original phase names and to should continue to attempt to determine the concrete years (from 500 BCE to 1500 CE); Caso's MA I through MA V allow us to compare old reports in 1928 to those completed in 2018, facilitating analysis and reanalysis.

Approx. Year	Mesoamerican Chronology	Phase (After Lind and Urcid 2010, in Hoobler 2011)	Period (After Hoobler 2011)
1500 CE			
1400 CE		Chila Phase	
1300 CE			
1200 CE	Postclassic		Monte Albán V
1100 CE		Liobaa Phase (late)	
1000 CE			
900 CE		Liobaa Phase (early)	
800 CE			
700 CE		Xoo Phase	Monte Albán IIIb-IV
600 CE			
500 CE	Classic	Peche Phase	
400 CE		Pitao Phase	Monte Albán IIIa
300 CE		Tanj Phase	
200 CE			
100 CE		Niza Phase	Monte Albán II
0	Preclassic (late)		
100 BCE		Pe Phase	
200 BCE			
300 BCE			Monte Albán I
400 BCE	Preclassic (middle)	Danibaan Phase	
500 BCE			

Table 1: Chronologies in the Valley of Oaxaca (based on Hoobler 2011).

This thesis will rely on the older terminology because the original terms remain the most widespread; many are skeptical of the new chronology since it is restricted to a small area within the Tlacolula subvalley. Additionally, it is precisely because I wish to reexamine the issues of cultural replacement that I will use the system that emphasizes such discontinuity. My analysis will attempt to reconsider what constitutes "Mixtec" during MA V and to deconstruct assumptions of cultural transition, revealing more continuity than lack thereof.

Contact, Language, and the *Relaciones Geográficas*

When the Spaniards arrived in the Western Hemisphere in the 1520s, they took an earnest interest in the Mesoamericans they encountered. The Crown was in an imperial mode, and it

benefits the mechanics of empire to know about the resources, languages, and people that are to be integrated and exploited. There is also something to be said for a genuine Spanish curiosity regarding native peoples, and a desire to procure information on the exotic bounds of the new empire (see Schmidt 2015 for a discussion of exoticism in European overseas expansion).

In 1577, by order of Philip II, all dioceses of New Spain were given a detailed questionnaire concerning the people who inhabited the lands Spain now claimed as her own (Cline 1964:341). The *Relaciones Geográficas* (RGs), as these questionnaires and surveys are called, have been very valuable to modern scholars in providing a quasi-ethnographic account of early post-contact Mesoamerica. Indeed, the RGs convey information in stunning detail, with fifty questions to be answered for each surveyed town or region. In sum, the compiled volume from the Diocese of Oaxaca is in excess of 300 pages (*Relaciones Geográficas de Oaxaca*).

Yet while the RGs are remarkable for their detail, they are also reflective of a Spanish imperial point of view, both explicitly and implicitly. Harvey notes that the survey is clearly interested in indigenous languages, which is perhaps unsurprising as the Spaniards are well known for missionizing in the native tongue, as well as often allowing certain legal proceedings to take place in languages other than Castilian Spanish (Harvey 1972:280). One of the aspects of language about which the Crown explicitly inquired is that of linguistic diversity: did all of the indigenous people in the area speak the same language, or were there many spoken languages in the region (Harvey 1972:279)? This was a question of administrative importance, but it may also be reflective of a European mindset. In Europe, linguistic distinction was and remains a primary social marker. Especially beginning around the early modern period, with the seeds of nationalist ideals being sown by the birth of overseas empire and economic competition, the idea of "a people" consisted of those who spoke a common language. The idea of a translinguistic *lingua*

franca existed in the form of Latin, though even that language's hegemony had begun to wane by the 16th century.

It quickly became clear that New Spain was home to a wide variety of languages and language families, and the colonial "ethnohistorians" took to making maps of their distribution. In Oaxaca, Zapotec and Mixtec languages are recorded as nearly equal in distribution (Harvey 1972:304). Because Zapotec seemed to be the common language of the valley, the Spanish surveyors drew maps that divided Oaxaca into Zapotec and Mixtec zones. The Mixtec and Zapotec languages (today understood as macrolanguages), while both in the Oto-Manguean family, are different enough as to be mutually unintelligible, likely diverging as soon as the language moved out of the Oto-Manguean homeland roughly six thousand years ago (Hopkins 1984:43).

While the RGs may indeed represent the Spanish colonists' best effort to produce a detailed and objective picture of the human geography of New Spain, it is best not to forget that overseas expansion did represent a dramatic rupture in a previously Eurasian world view. In order to make sense of people who were dramatically different from anyone the Spaniards had encountered before, they likely attempted to fit prior heuristics where they were not entirely applicable. For example, Marcus and Flannery (1994) have presented evidence to suggest that the Spanish interpretation of Zapotec religion was heavily influenced by Spanish preconceptions. Because Spaniards' encounters with non-monotheistic religion usually included a reference to a pantheon of deities (with polytheism being a somewhat analogous alternative to monotheism), the Spaniards seem to have assumed that each name that was ascribed divine qualities represented a god in the pantheon, when it is likely that such figures represented royal ancestors and not deities in the way the Spaniards understood them. In fact, *xonaxi* and *coqui* (the words

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for queen and king) were mentioned along with each name, demonstrating they were people who had metamorphosed into objects of veneration. The Spanish cultural knowledge of "paganism" included Classical Greek and Roman religion, as well as probably some idea of Celtic or Nordic "heathenism," both of which maintained systematic panthea of gods (Marcus and Flannery 1994:57).

It is not unlikely that the Spaniards brought to the New World their ethnolinguistic frameworks as well. Present-day ethnologists and sociolinguists understand that linguistic distinction is not universally the most important social boundary. Aboriginal Australia contains an immense diversity of languages, often varying significantly from clan to clan or village to village (Evans 2010). While language probably provided some fodder for the construction of identities, it was necessary to learn many languages in order to marry, trade, and interact. In this way, identity was not a product of the language you claim as your own but was instead conceptualized via the network of languages you learn for various purposes and in various genres of experience.

In Europe, however, language was conceptualized as a significant distinction that divided discrete groups of people. It is quite possibly (and indeed likely) that the Spaniards would have projected these ideas into the RGs, thus cementing language (Mixtec and Zapotec languages) to the idea of socially bounded groups (Mixtec and Zapotec "peoples"), shaping the future of Oaxaca studies. The goal of this study is to reexamine this alleged distinction ("ethnic affiliation" or "linguistic affiliation") in the material culture and determine to what extent it was present, and to what extent it was treated as important in burial contexts.

Death and Identity in the Valley of Oaxaca

Studies of the Valley of Oaxaca have focused on death since the very first excavations in the region. Some, including Hoobler (2011), have raised valid critiques of this focus, citing early archaeologists' selective excavation, curation, and publication of mortuary artifacts—especially "Zapotec urns"—as the genesis of the mortuary bias. The idea of "a society obsessed with the funeral" (Hoobler 2011:64) is deserving of a closer examination, taking into consideration both historical and preservation biases. Yet mortuary contexts in Oaxaca remain very visible in the archaeological record, allowing archaeologists to investigate the world of a people who, at the very least, maintained a strong concern for the treatment of their dead. Securing a connection with one's noble ancestors is critical if one is claiming land rights and political privileges through those noble ancestors.

Collective (or family and extended family) entombment is one of the most intriguing aspects of society in the Valley of Oaxaca. As the political hegemony of Monte Albán began to weaken, it is clear that powerful noble dynasties across the valley enhanced their lineage through the process of entombing multiple generations in the same structure, thus honoring noble ascendant generations from which one claims dynastic rights (Marcus 2006:223). Furthermore, the fact that residences were often built after a centrally placed patio and tomb were carved into bedrock indicates a focus on honoring noble marital pairs and important ancestors in the societies of the Valley of Oaxaca (Marcus 2006:223).

Most of the emphasis on death in Oaxaca can be explained as a means to assert dynastic continuity and to index the ancestral origins of a lineage. One of the more remarkable examples of this assertion of continuity is the practice of femoral removal, suggesting that nobles would

index their ancestral claims by brandishing the femora of male ancestors (Marcus 2006; Feinman et al. 2010).

While much is known and understood about death and noble dynasties in Oaxaca, there is startlingly little research on MA V, a long period from ca. AD 900-1500. This study will help to bridge this gap in order to better understand the connection between death and identity in that period.

The data used for this study were gathered from a variety of published and unpublished sources, both secondary and primary. By far the largest portion of the data analyzed was collected from Robert Markens's 2004 dissertation, which focused on Postclassic ceramic assemblages and includes both original data and data aggregated from other sources, including Caso, Bernal, and Acosta's 1967 volume "La Cerámica de Monte Albán," which was also used as a primary source in this study. The report from the Proyecto Especial de Monte Albán by Winter et al. (1995) served as a starting point for my investigation into mortuary variation in the valley, and its diachronic data have been helpful in understanding MA V tendencies in mortuary contexts, as well as overall mortuary patterning at Monte Albán. While the project only contributed a handful of burials to my analysis, its diachronic data from all occupational periods of Monte Albán will provide some wider context.

Analysis

Before beginning to interpret these data, it is necessary to mention that we have a restricted, biased sample. It cannot be said that the data are remotely representative of the population of the Oaxaca Valley in Monte Albán V. This study is not intended to be paleodemographic and my analyses cannot be used to describe overall trends in the mortuary treatment of occupants of the valley. I have analyzed 71 burials (see appendix), and while the

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variety in treatment would suggest a diverse sample, we know that the number of recorded burials does not remotely match the estimated population of the region at any given time, let alone throughout a six hundred year period. Poor preservation and incomplete recording of burials make it difficult to deploy for new interpretations. Nevertheless, it is a fruitful exercise to use the data that are available to explore new ideas and to highlight where data are lacking.

Burial Position

The prevalence of flexed or seated skeletons as opposed to extended (either supine or prone) has been a diagnostic of MA V burials for some scholars. Indeed, while many skeletons can be dated confidently to Monte Albán V on the basis of ceramic offerings or other material culture, other burials have been dated solely by the position of the skeleton. Winter et al.'s 1992–1994 PEMA sample indicates that the common skeletal position at Monte Albán in prior periods is supine or prone extended, while the most common positions for MA V are some form of flexed or seated position.

	supine	prone	lateral	seated	flexed	disarticulated/ indeterminate
MA I	3	1	0	0	1	6
MA II	12	6	1	0	1	13
MA IIIA	4	2	1	1	1	19
MA IIIB-IV	23	7	3	2	3	16
MA V	1	0	0	2	1	1

Table 2: *Burial positions for individuals described in Winter et al. 1995 (PEMA 1992-1994).*

MA I Burial Positions

flexed
20.0%

1

prone
20.0%

1

3

supine
60.0%
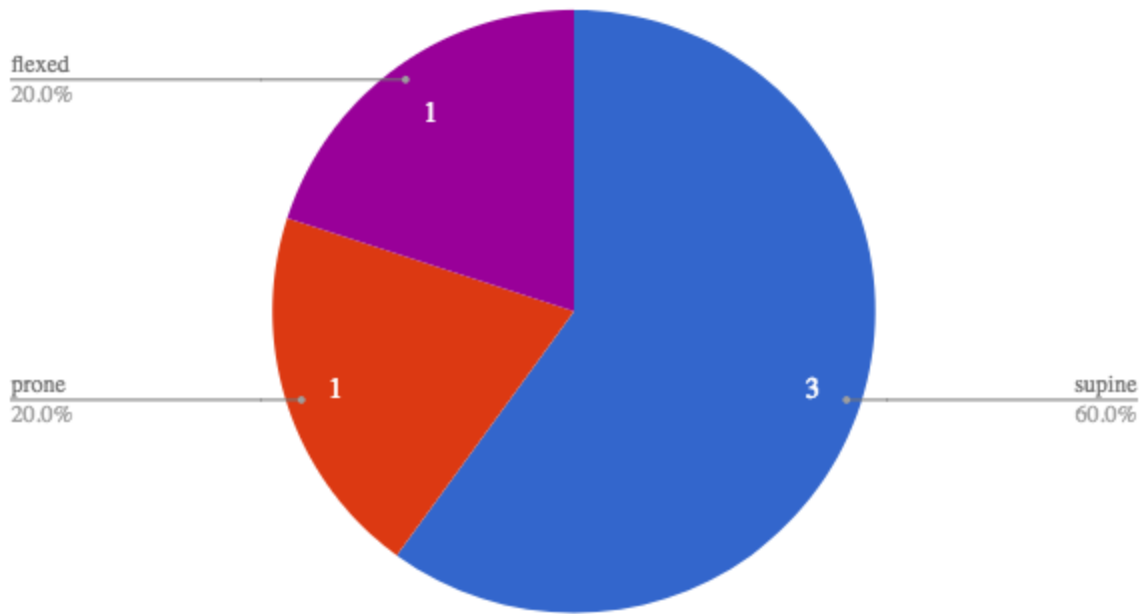
Fig. 1: *Burial positions for individuals in MA I contexts described by Winter et al. 1995.*

MA II Burial Positions

flexed
5.0%
lateral
5.0%

1

1

prone
30.0%

6

12

supine
60.0%
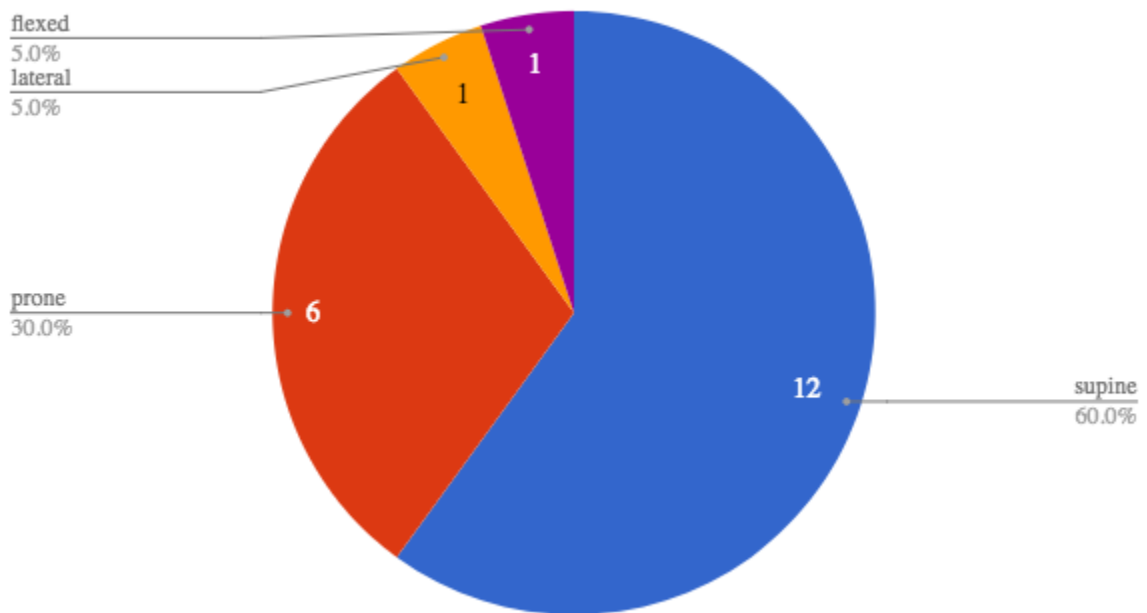
Fig. 2: *Burial positions for individuals in MA II contexts described by Winter et al. 1995.*

MA IIIA Burial Position

- flexed 11.1%
- seated 11.1%
- lateral 11.1%
- prone 22.2%
- supine 44.4%
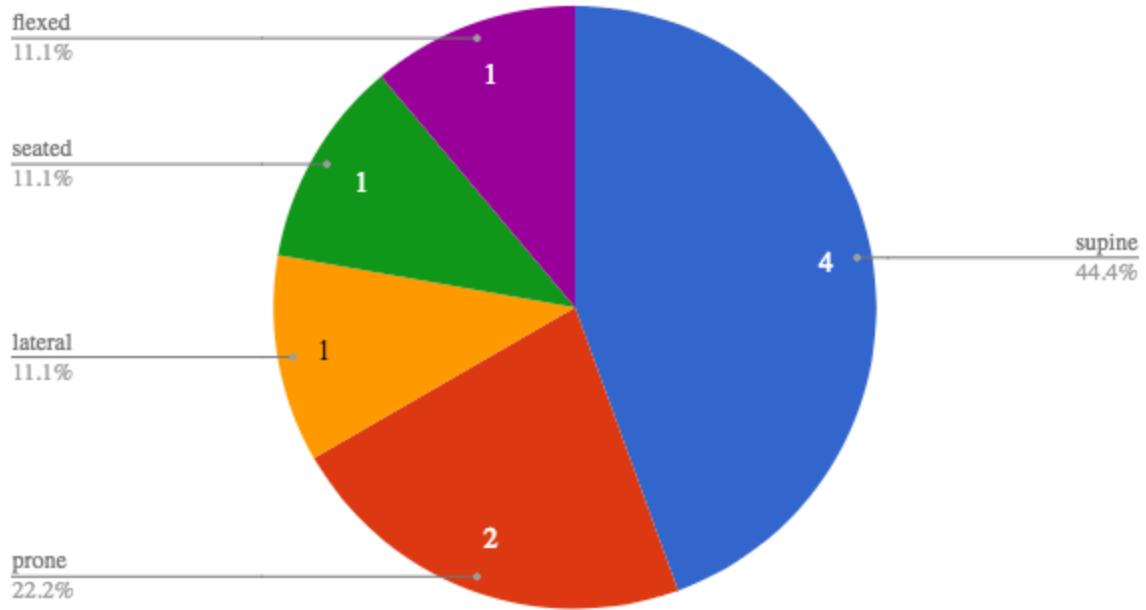
Fig. 3: Burial positions for individuals in MA IIIA contexts described by Winter et al. 1995.

MA IIIB-IV Burial Positions

- flexed 7.9%
- seated 5.3%
- lateral 7.9%
- prone 18.4%
- supine 60.5%
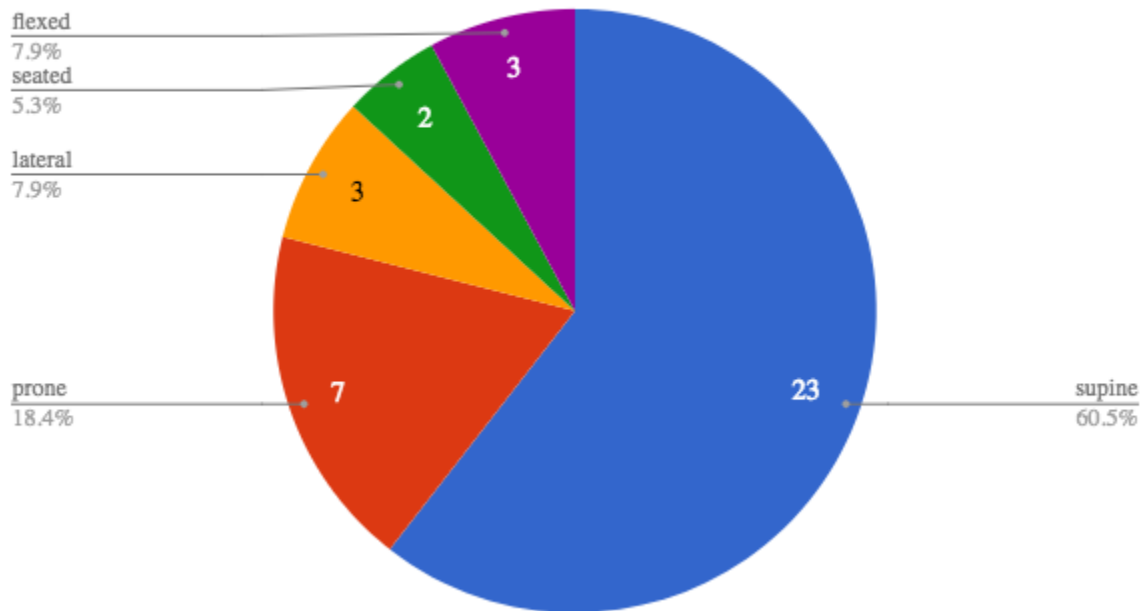
Fig. 4: Burial positions for individuals in MA IIIb-IV contexts described by Winter et al. 1995.

MA V Burial Positions
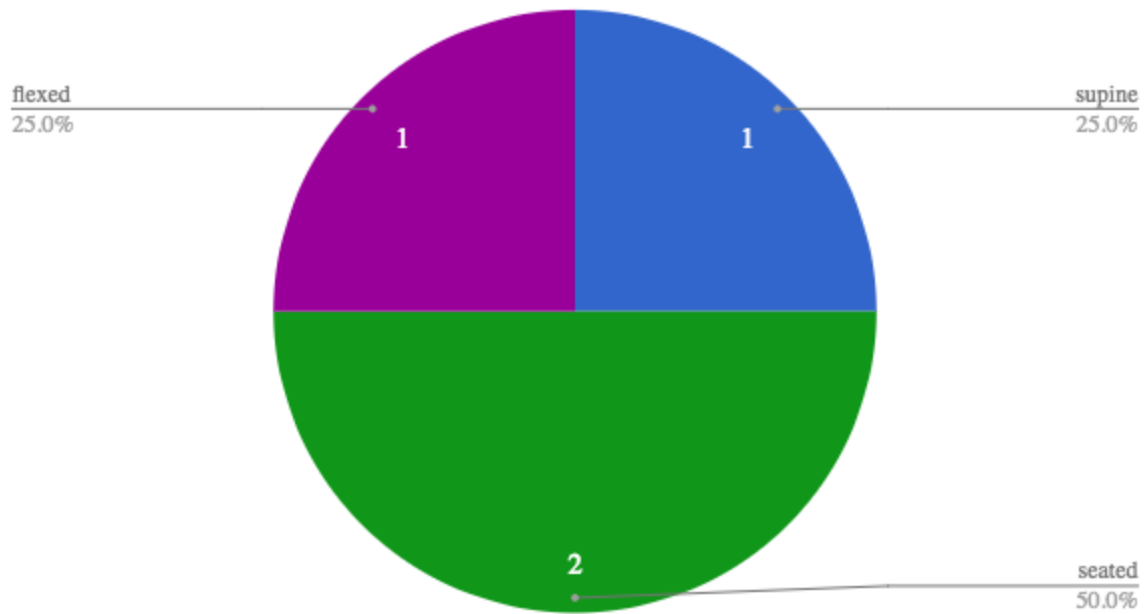
Fig. 5: Burial positions for individuals in MA V contexts described by Winter et al. 1995.

The PEMA report does show a sharp discontinuity between prior periods and MA V in burial positions. However, the sample of PEMA individuals dated to MA V is miniscule, with only four individuals. The portion of the sample used in this study for which burial position was available and recorded is nearly as small, and thus equally inconclusive. However, the burials recorded in this study do not show the same dominant pattern of seated and flexed positions, indicating that those positions may not be as indicative of a cultural paradigm shift in MA V as was previously thought.

Site	Number	Individuals	Body Positions
Zaachila	Tomb 1	11	2 supine, 6 flexed, 2 semiflexed, 1 ind.
Monte Albán	1972-3	1 (female, adolescent)	seated
Monte Albán	1972-9	1 (female, young adult)	flexed
Monte Albán	1973-20	1 (male, adult)	disarticulated
Monte Albán	1973-24	1 (male, adult)	seated
Monte Albán	1993-32	1 (infant)	supine
Fábrica San José	Burial 7	2 (female, adult) 1 (male, adult)	1 supine, 2 ind
Fábrica San José	Burial 46	1 (female?, adult)	extended

Table 3: Burials analyzed for this study for which burial position was available.
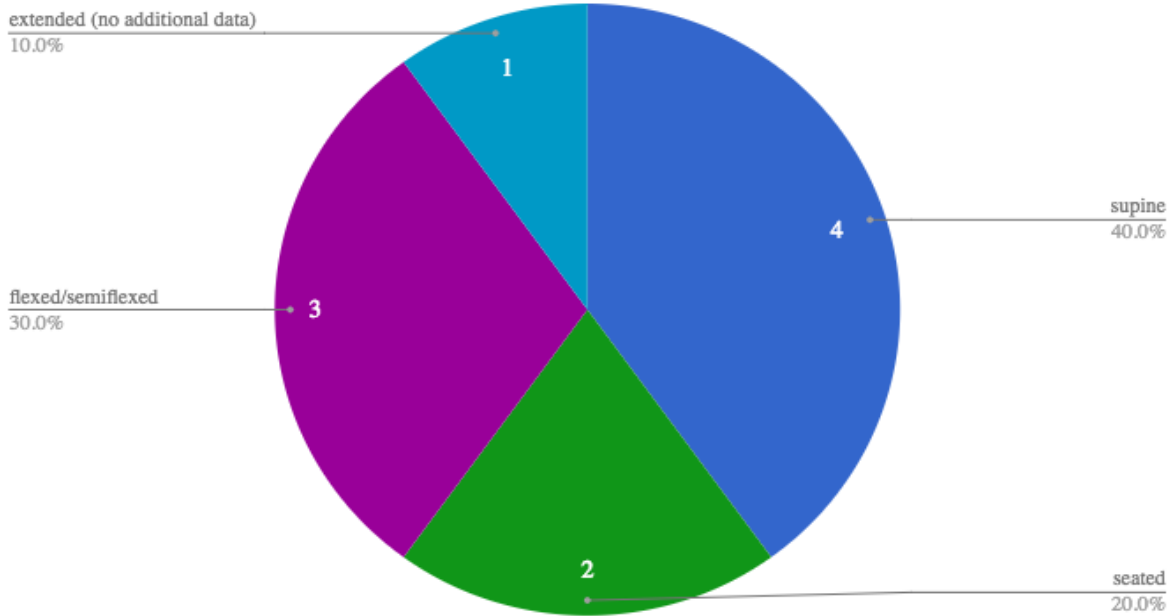
Fig. 6: The distribution of burial positions for MA V burials analyzed in this study.

This study's sample distribution does not show a sharp discontinuity from the PEMA sample dated to prior periods. This may suggest that a preference for seated or flexed burials in Period V is particular to Monte Albán, though the sample is very small.

If seated or flexed burials were restricted to Monte Albán during MA V, it would support (1) the idea that different sites in the valley strengthened their collective identities by following different practices and (2) that Monte Albán was no longer the cultural and stylistic center of the valley. Both samples, however, remain much too small to make such conclusions with any confidence. The ambiguity of these results is indicative of the need for further statistical research into burial position over time.

Ceramic Variation

The Valley of Oaxaca biases toward ceramic analysis in archaeology have led to a heavy reliance (and perhaps overreliance) on ceramic analysis both in the study of social structures and in establishing chronology. The existence of classifiable and quantifiable types provided a huge dataset (millions of sherds and pots) for researchers including Caso and Paddock to formulate hypotheses regarding social identities, though their theoretical framework was unclear. More recently, however, scholars have called into question the relationship between ceramic styles and identity, claiming that archaeology has presumed there is more ethnic identity information in style than pots can conceivably carry (Dietler and Herbich 1998).

Nevertheless, both historical and preservational biases have led to the ceramic record being the most visible and consistent set of material culture evidence in the Valley of Oaxaca in general and mortuary contexts in particular. Using prior interpretations as a backdrop, it is possible to reexamine many of the assumptions of identity posed by previous researchers. In

deconstructing many claims previously made about MA V Oaxaca, I pose new interpretations of group identity that may better explain the patterns that are visible in the ceramic record.

Ceramic Sample

Many of the data I have collected on ceramics from burial contexts come by way of Markens' 2004 dissertation, which attempts a new chronology for the valley. Other data from extraneous sites have been found elsewhere, though there is a notable lack of consistency in the manner in which ceramic presence was recorded. Caso, for example, only noted presence or absence of a particular type, while others recorded specific numbers. The nature of the data recorded or discarded must also be called into question. Fragments and sherds were likely discarded in most cases, making presence or absence uncertain as well. Reuse and re-opening tombs also created less than optimal datasets.

Despite the inherent problems with the data at hand, it is possible to make some broad observations regarding the distribution of certain ceramic forms. Here I have chosen to highlight certain types that are thought to be important, due to prior interpretations relying heavily on them for support, as well as a few types that show interesting patterning that might be indicative of patterns in group identity.

Site Grouping

I have organized my ceramic analyses in three different ways for the purposes of better understanding how group identity might be organized spatially.

1. By site: A simple count of each ceramic form of interest by site at which it was found.

2. By distance from Monte Albán: Using Google Maps to measure linear distance from the rough location of the site to Monte Albán's Central Plaza, the sites were grouped by

distance intervals of five kilometers. All ceramic material from the sites in each interval were grouped together.

3. By subregion: Sites were grouped by their location in one of the three arms of the Valley of Oaxaca: Etla (NW), Tlacolula (E), and Valle Grande (S), with the intersecting region around Monte Albán and the present-day city of Oaxaca de Juárez designated as "Center."

Site	Subregion	Distance from Monte Albán (km)
Monte Albán	Center	0
Xoxocotlán	Center	4.03
Lomas de Cascada	Center	6.37
Cuilapan	Valle Grande	6.96
INFONAVIT	Center	7.3
Zaachila	Valle Grande	10.24
San Pablo Etla	Etla	11.76
San José Mogote	Etla	14.33
Hacienda El Alemán	Etla	18.16
Zimatlán	Valle Grande	18.86
Fábrica San José	Etla	18.9
Dainzú	Tlacolula	22.84
Macuilxochitl	Tlacolula	24.66
Suchilquitongo	Etla	25.54
Huitzo	Etla	29.71
Santa Ana del Valle	Tlacolula	32.1
Yagul	Tlacolula	35.12
Mitla	Tlacolula	45.34

Table 4: Designated subregions and distances used in analysis.

Each of these groupings was first analyzed by simple counts. Those counts were then divided by the number of burials in each group. This is an attempt to control for the uneven sampling distribution and to provide an average count per burial in each grouping.

Polychrome Painted Pottery

Polychrome painted pottery, sometimes called "Mixtec Polychrome," is a ceramic type defined by the multicolored paint on the exterior of the vessel. Due to its abundance in La Mixteca (western Oaxaca) and its appearance only in the Postclassic period, Caso and his colleagues treated polychrome pottery as diagnostic of Monte Albán V, or the "Mixtec Period." The narrative of the Mixtec Invasion was built predominantly from these observations, and as such the idea of MA V and a Mixtec culture zone and culture period were seen as conceptually inseparable. Even without the Mixtec Invasion narrative, the existence of Mixtec influence and elements of foreign aesthetic and identity could be explained via diffusionist models and culture contact as well as trade, emulation, and marriage alliances. More recent scholars, however, have hypothesized that polychrome ware developed internally within the Oaxaca Valley, and does not represent a "Mixtec" identity but rather a set of dinner and serving wares used by royalty and nobles (Joyce Marcus, personal communication 2018).
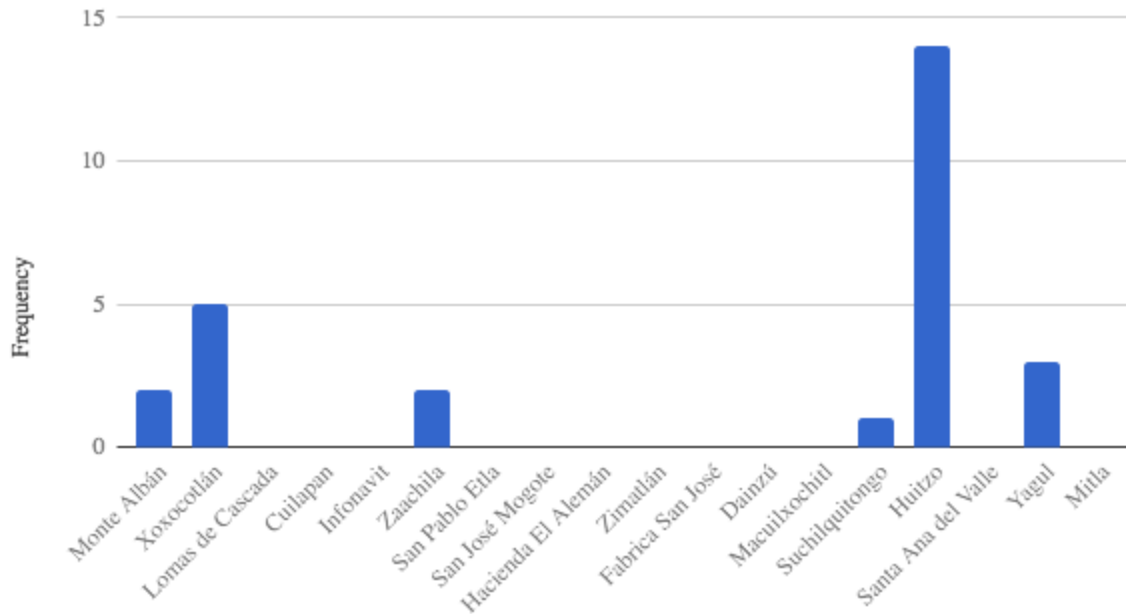
Fig. 7: *Number of recorded examples of polychrome ceramics at each site. The actual number for Zaachila is greater than or equal to what is recorded.*

Fig. 8: *Number of recorded examples of polychrome ceramics at each site divided by the number of burials sampled for each site. The actual number for Zaachila is greater than or equal to what is recorded.*

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The data show a surprisingly low frequency of polychrome pottery at Monte Albán, especially when compared to the average frequency (total count/number of burials) at Xoxocotlán and Huitzo. Markens (2004:128) comments on this fact, attributing the relative infrequency of Period V-specific pottery to Monte Albán's diminished cultural role within the valley. While this is likely true, such scarcity also further discredits a cultural transformation as something contributing to or associated with Period V Monte Albán.

Vessels with Supports

While vessels with supports existed throughout the occupation of the valley, supports became more elaborate and variable during MA V. The existence of supports became a point of interest for many excavators, often being understood as diagnostic of a Mixtec presence or a dramatic cultural change.

Vessels with Supports by Site

Fig. 9: *Number of recorded examples of vessels with supports at each site. The actual number for Monte Albán is greater than or equal to what is recorded.*

Fig. 10: *Number of recorded vessels with supports at each site divided by the number of burials sampled for each site. The actual number for Monte Albán is greater than or equal to what is recorded.*

There are some visible similarities in the distribution of Polychrome Pottery and the distribution of vessels with supports. In both cases, Xoxocotlán and Huitzo have relatively high number of examples. While the simple count of vessels with supports in Monte Albán reveals a high frequency, this is attributable to the high number of sampled burials from the city. When the total count is divided by the number of burials, the frequency of vessels with supports at Monte Albán is revealed to be extremely low. This frequency is somewhat dubious, however, and is probably slightly under-recorded due to Caso's practice of marking presence or absence, rather than a straight count.

When the level of specificity is increased, it is possible to see patterning that could be interpreted as local site identity. Specific types of ornamental supports, deer hoof supports,

serpent head supports, and phallic supports, are most frequent at Xoxocotlán, Suchilquitongo, and Huitzo. This would be expected, given the frequency at those sites of vessels with supports in general. Deer hoof supports, however, appear almost exclusively at those three sites (and an indeterminate number at Monte Albán), though in average frequencies of one example per burial or greater.
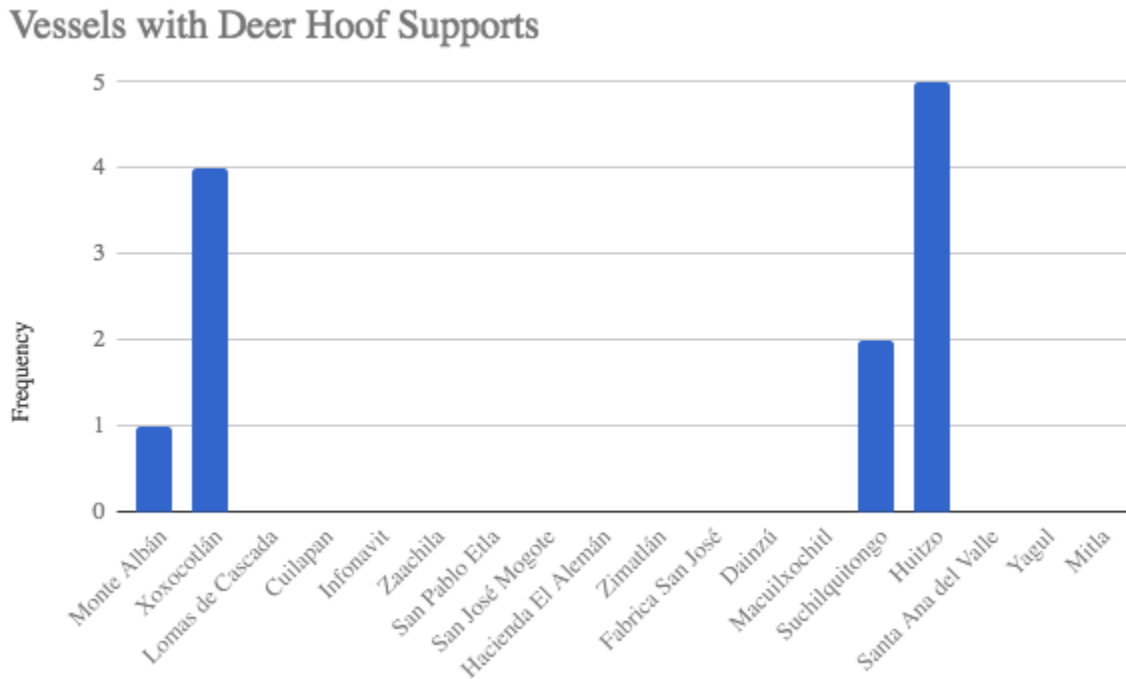
Fig. 11: *Number of recorded examples of vessels with deer hoof supports. The actual number for Monte Albán is greater than or equal to what is recorded.*
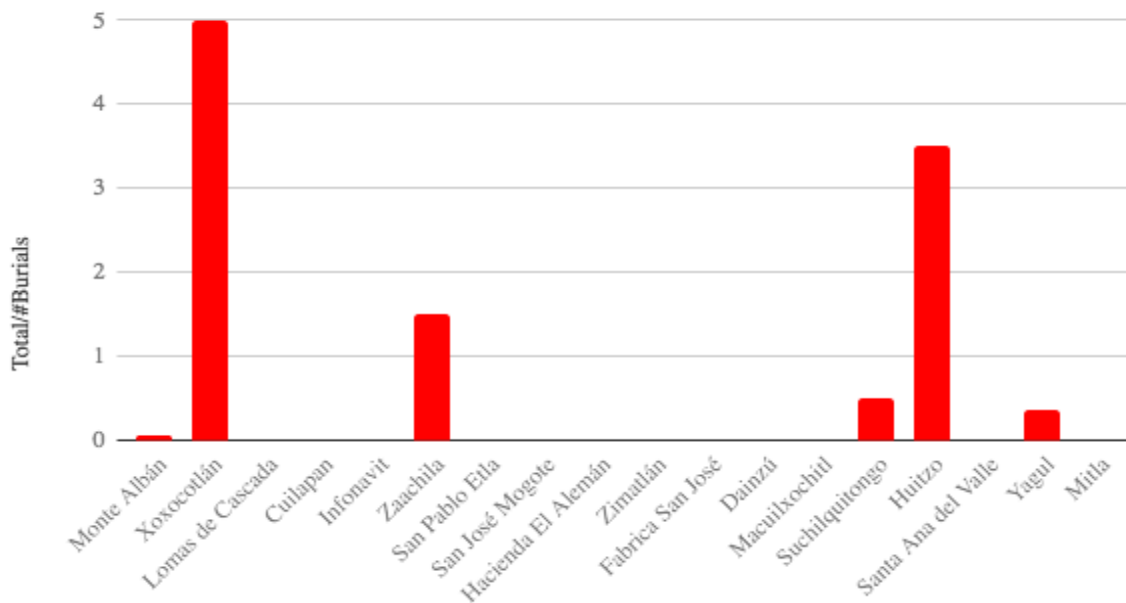
Fig. 12: Number of recorded vessels with deer hoof supports at each site divided by the number of burials sampled for each site. The actual number for Monte Albán is greater than or equal to what is recorded.

Similarly strong site-specific patterning can be seen in serpent head supports and phallic supports. Ultimately, the data suggest that while burial with vessels with elaborate supports may have been a commonplace practice at some sites, it was unheard of in others. This possibility lends support to the claim that local identity was a large factor in the landscape of group identity in MA V. If practices are nearly standard in one site or region and completely absent in another, this is indicative of significant and non-trivial variation in mortuary priorities across the valley.

Fig. 13: *Number of recorded vessels with serpent head supports for each site. The actual number for Monte Albán is greater than or equal to what is recorded.*
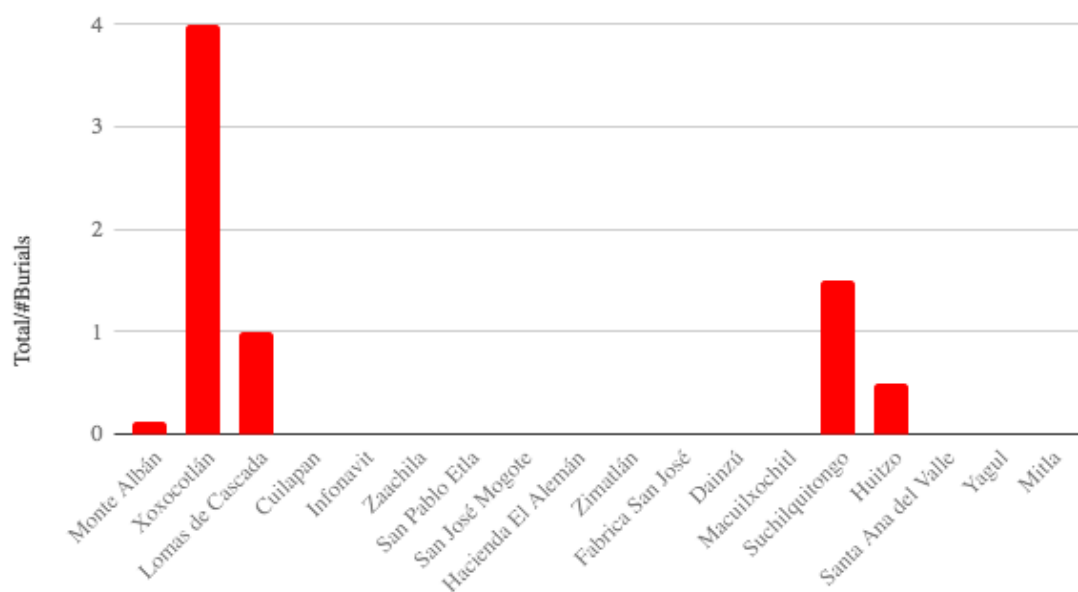
Fig. 14: *Number of recorded vessels with serpent head supports at each site divided by the number of burials sampled for each site. The actual number for Monte Albán is greater than or equal to what is recorded.*
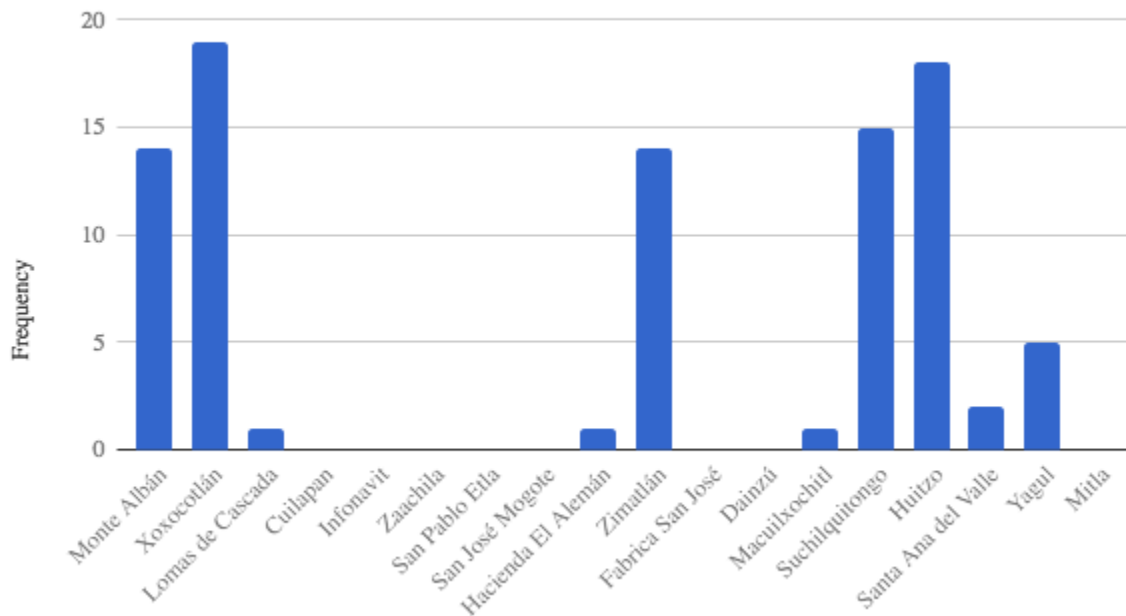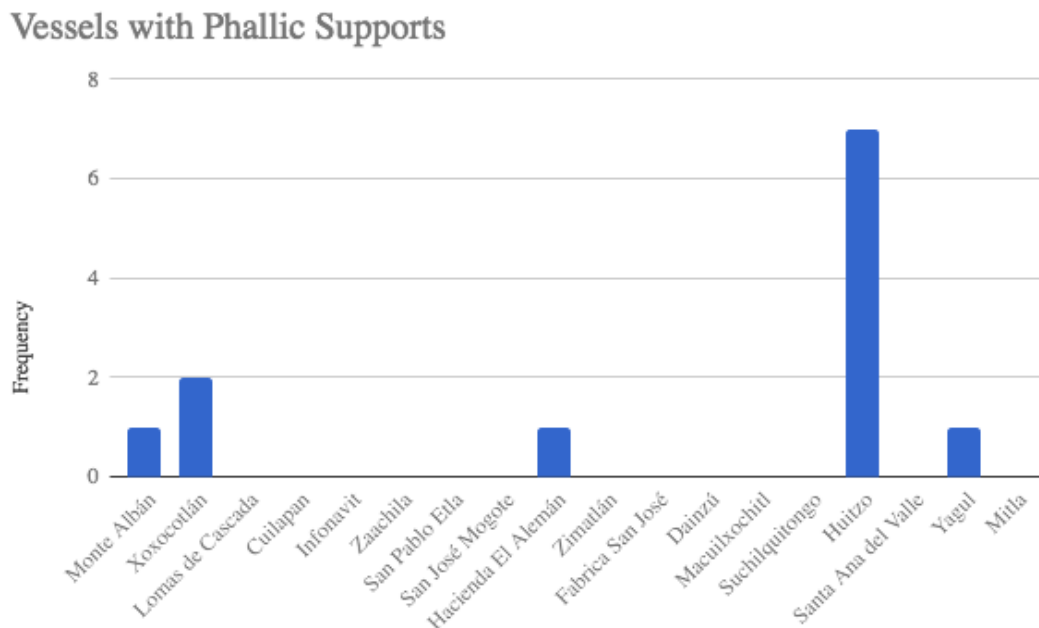
Fig. 15: *Number of recorded vessels with phallic supports at each site. The actual number for Monte Albán is greater than or equal to what is recorded.*
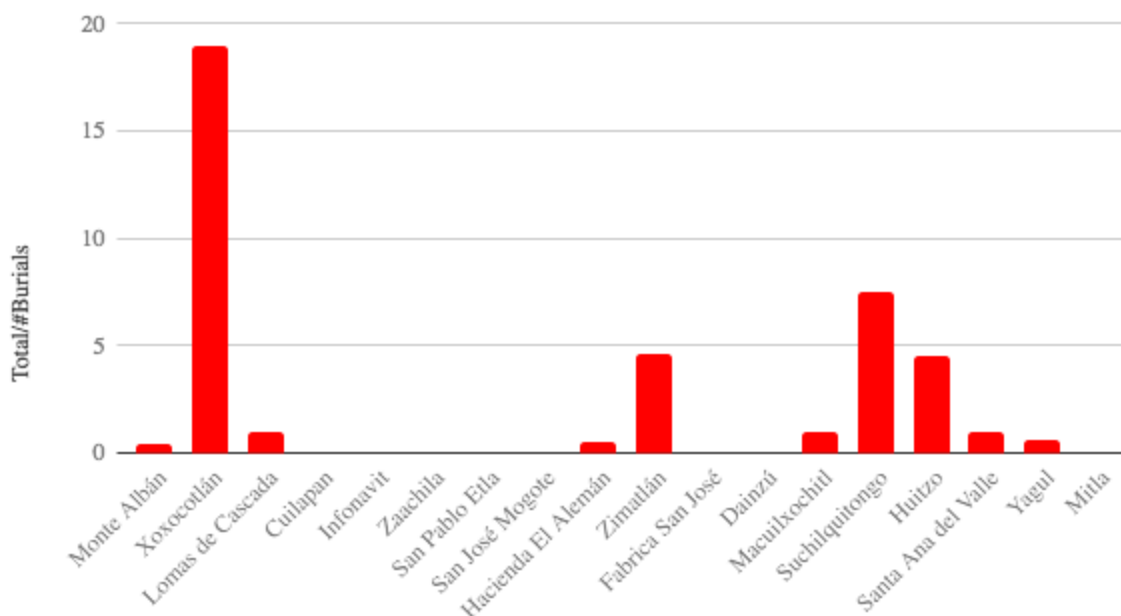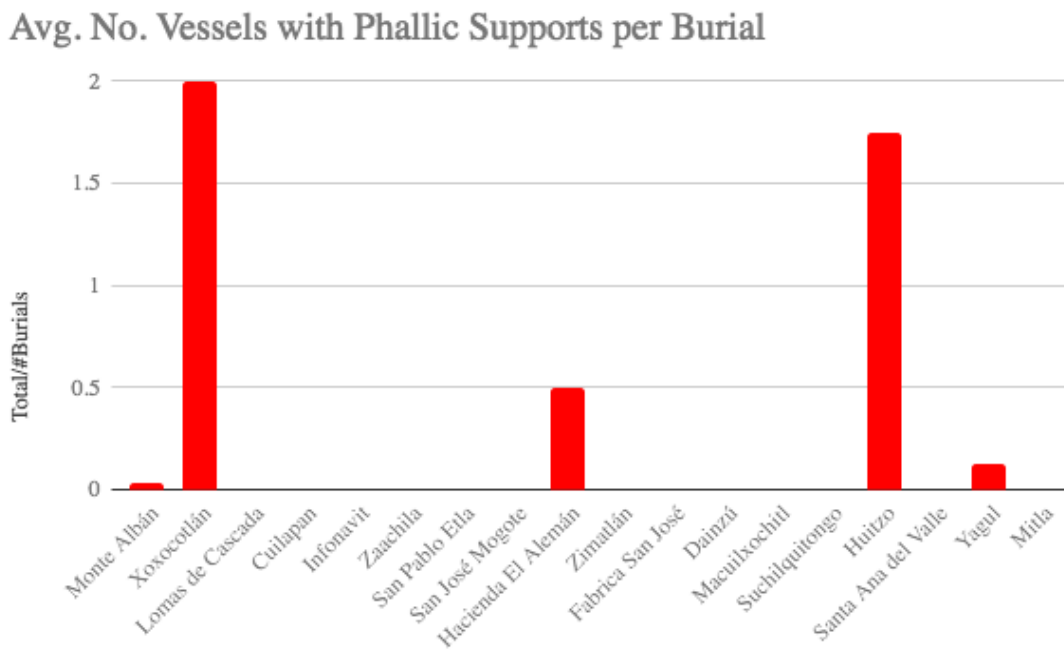

Fig. 16: *Number of recorded vessels with phallic supports at each site divided by the number of burials sampled for each site. The actual number for Monte Albán is greater than or equal to what is recorded.*

While analysis by site shows strong site-based specificity, analysis grouped by subregion of the valley suggests that supports, particularly deer hoof, serpent head, and phallic types, are a subregional phenomenon. The highest average per-burial frequency of these ceramic forms exists in the central region of the valley and extending into the Etla subvalley.
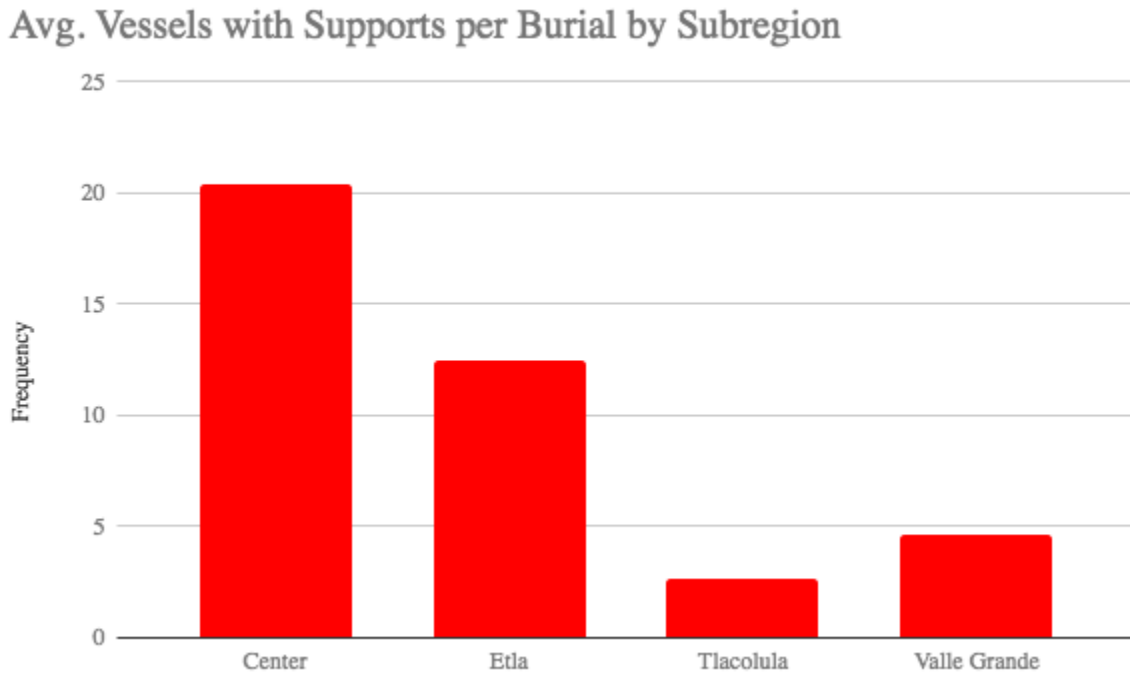
Fig. 17: *Number of recorded vessels with supports in each subregion divided by the number of burials sampled for each subregion. The actual number for Center is greater than or equal to what is recorded.*

Fig. 18: *Number of recorded deer hoof supports in each subregion divided by the number of burials sampled for each subregion. The actual number for Center is greater than or equal to what is recorded.*

Fig. 19: *Number of recorded vessels with serpent head supports in each subregion divided by the number of burials sampled for each subregion. The actual number for Center is greater than or equal to what is recorded.*

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Avg. Vessels with Phallic Supports per Burial by Site
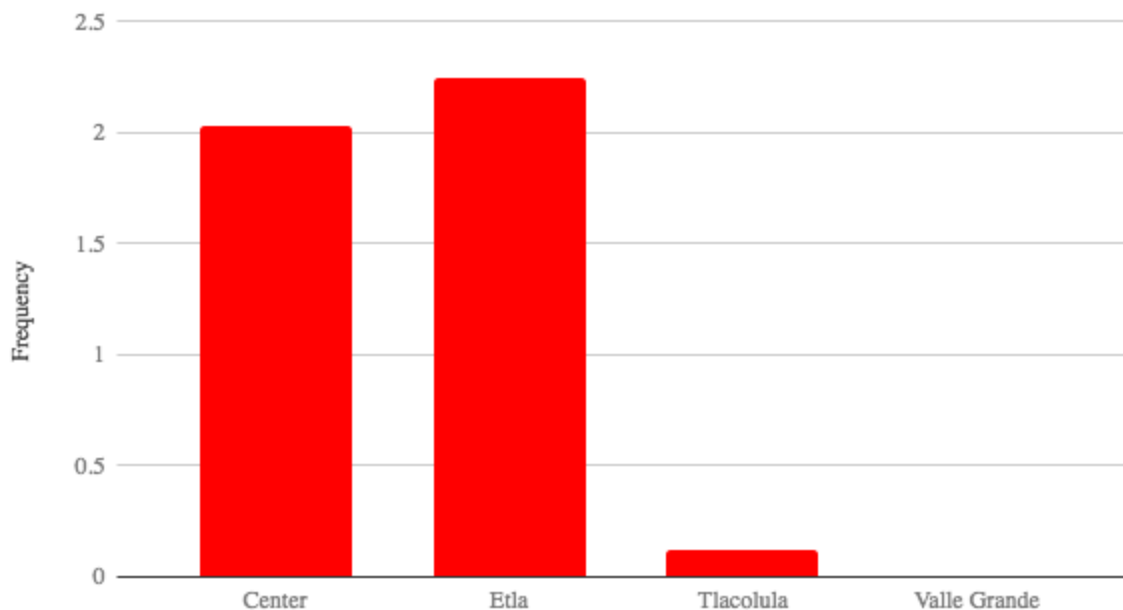
Fig. 20: Number of recorded vessels with phallic supports in each subregion divided by the number of burials sampled for each subregion. The actual number for Center is greater than or equal to what is recorded.

Cups

The existence of cups at MA V burials shows a similar localized distribution. "Cup" is a relatively simple ceramic type, and its existence does not necessarily depend on the cultural transmission of learned technique or style. Therefore, its presence or absence in a funeral context is likely not reflective of a lack of social understanding of cups in general, but of a deliberate decision to include or exclude them from funerary practices.

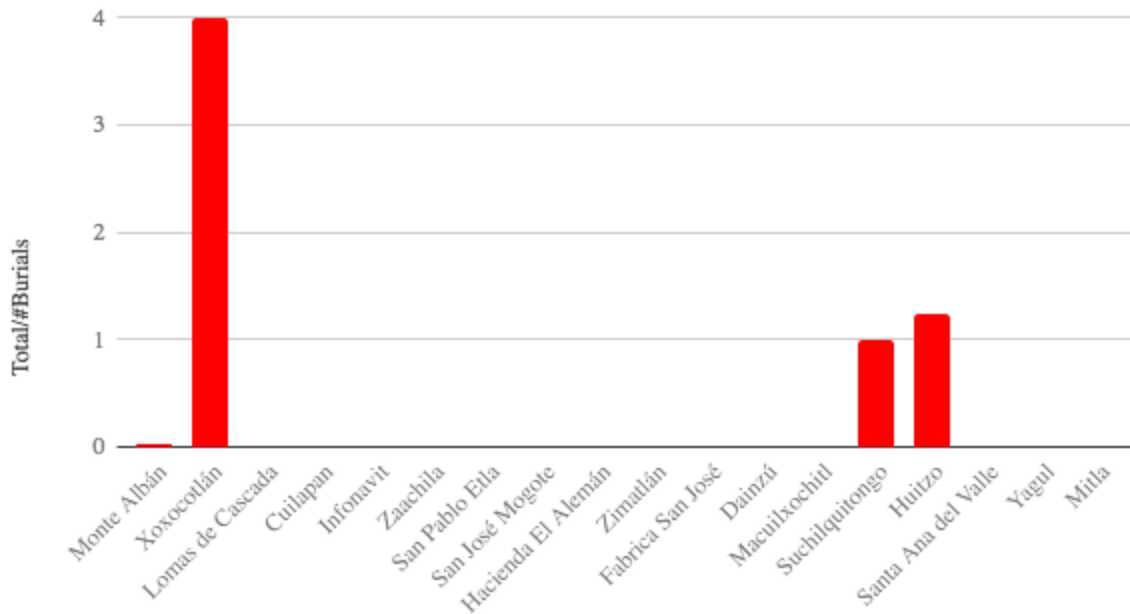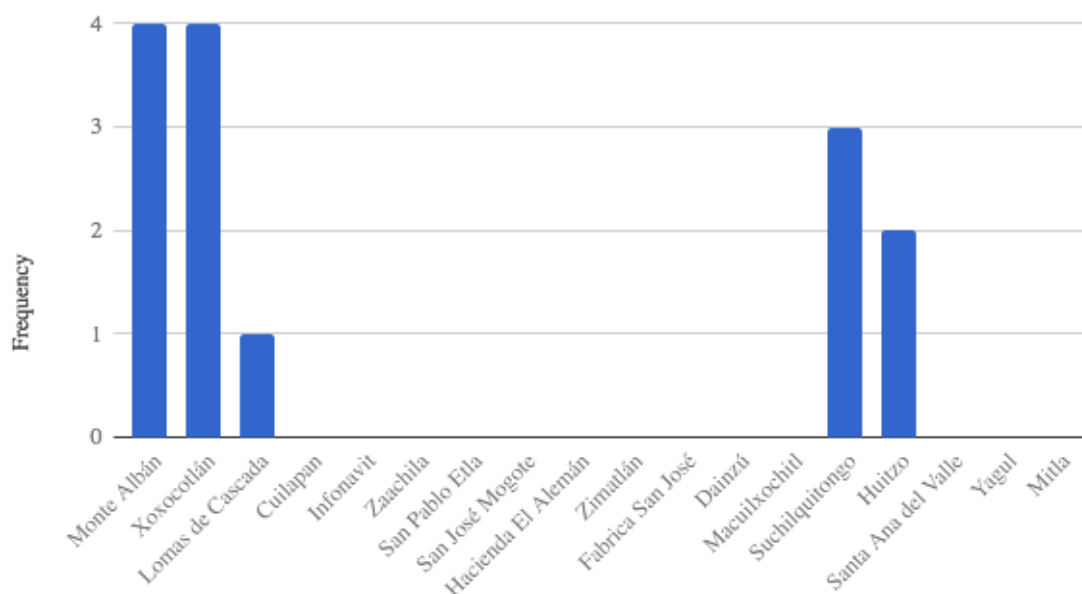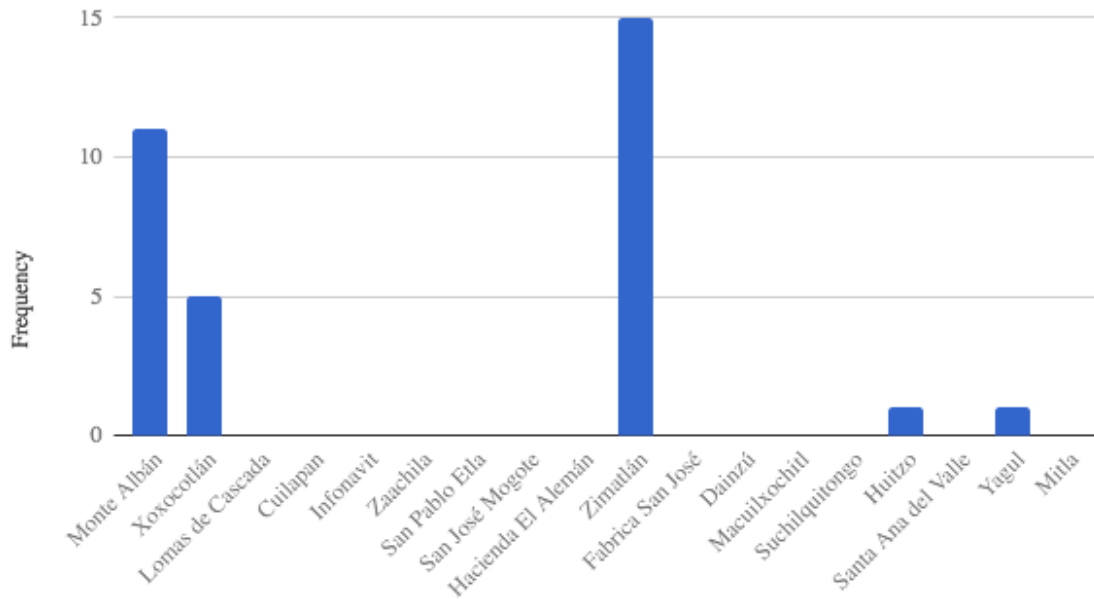*Fig. 21: Number of recorded cups at each site. The actual number for Monte Albán is greater than or equal to what is recorded.*
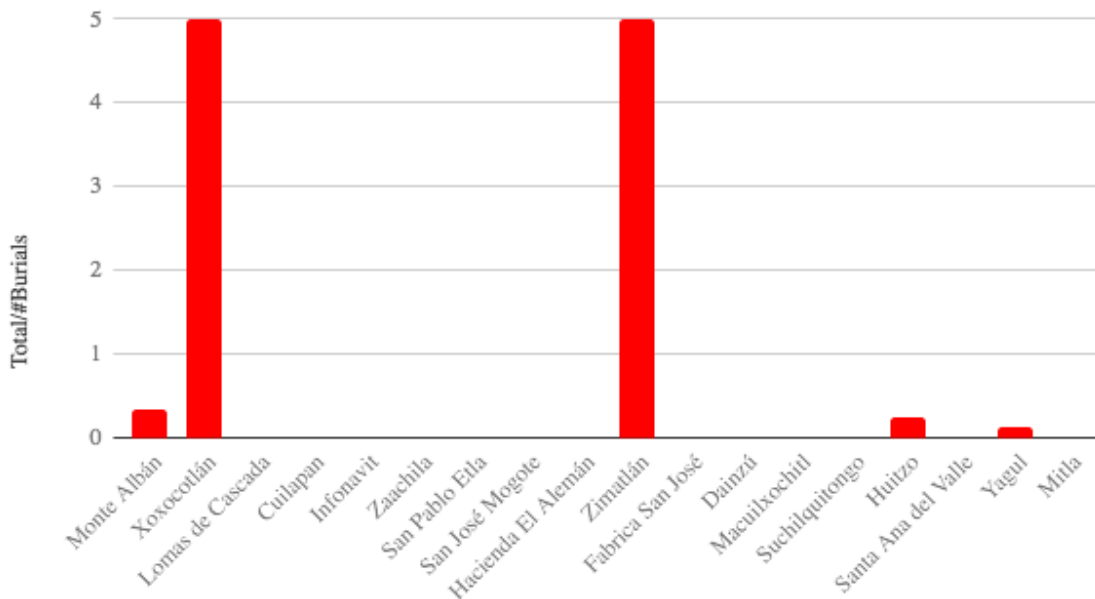
Fig. 22: Number of recorded cups at each site divided by the number of burials sampled for each site. The actual number for Monte Albán is greater than or equal to what is recorded.

Like supports, the existence of cups in MA V Oaxaca might be a subregional phenomenon, radiating from the central region to the south in the Valle Grande.

Avg. Cups per Burial by Subregion
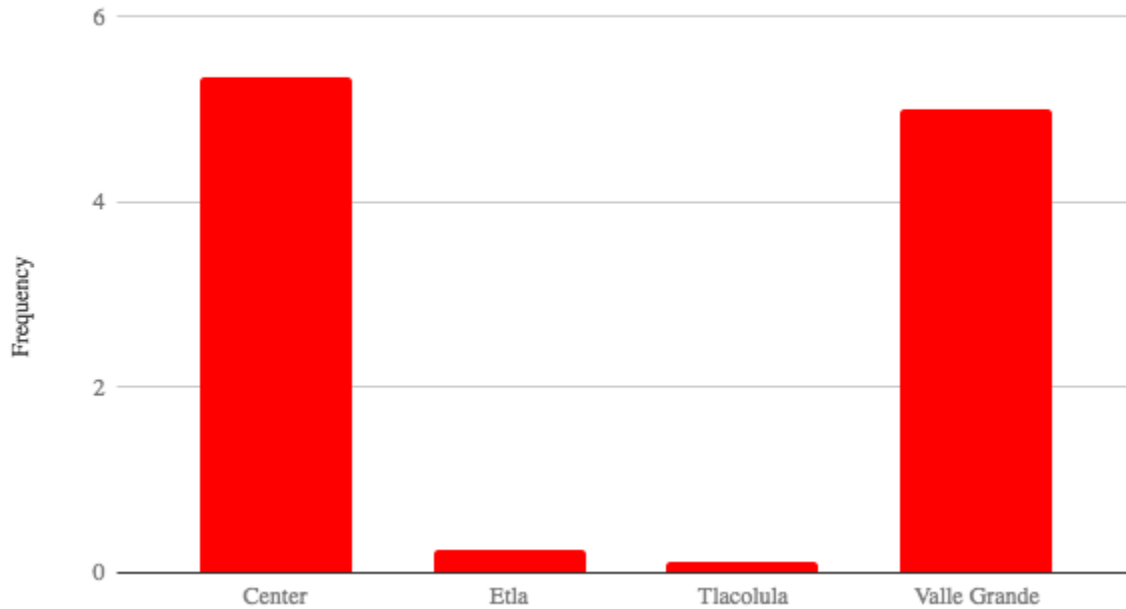
Fig. 23: Number of recorded cups in each subregion divided by the number of burials sampled for each subregion. The actual number for Center is greater than or equal to what is recorded.

Age, Sex Distribution, and Marital Pairs

In a few of the sampled burials, both the sex and age of the individuals were estimated. While skeletal age estimation remains an uncertain science, the major life stages (infant, child, adolescent, adult) are fairly obvious in the morphology of skeletal remains. While some archaeologists represented in this sample occasionally used chronological age (ex. 35 years old) to record the estimated age, the relative unimportance of such specifics and their added uncertainty has led me to record only the major life stages. If only chronological age was recorded, I have assigned 0-3 years old as "infant," 4-11 as "child," 12-18 as "adolescent" and 18+ as "adult." Where additional specifiers are used (e.g. "young adult" or "neonate") it is

because they were recorded as such by the original author. Their meanings are indeed vague, but they are conserved because the level of specificity does lend the potential for some better understanding.

Site	Burial	Individuals
Monte Albán	1972-3	1 (female, adolescent)
	1972-9	1 (female, young adult)
	1973-20	1 (male, adult)
	1973-24	1 (male, adult)
	PEMA Tomb 208	4 (male, adult) 2 (female, adult) 3 (ind, adult)
	PEMA Tomb 209	At least 1 (female, adult)
	Tomb 7	6 (male, adult) 2 (female, adult) 1 (infant)
Cuilapan	COBAO Tomb 1	3 (male, adult) 2 (female, adult)
Hacienda El Alemán	1980-1	7 (male, adult) 8 (female, adult) 2 (ind. adult)
Huitzo	Tomb 1	1 (male, adult) 2 (female, adult) 5 (ind, adult)
	Tomb 1994-1	1 (female, adult) 5 (ind, adult) 1 (neonate)
Suchilquitongo	Tomb 1/81	13 (male, adult) 1 (female, adult)
	Tomb 1986-1	4 (male, adult) 5 (female, adult) 2 (ind, adult)
Xoxocotlán	Tomb 1987-1	6 (male, adult) 6 (female, adult)
Yagul	Burial 6	1 (male, adult)
Fábrica San José	Burial 7	2 (female, adult) 1 (male, adult)
	Burial 17	1 (male, adult)
	Burial 46	1 (female*, adult)
Dainzú	Burial 5	1 (female, adult)
INFONAVIT	Tomb 1/1978	2 (male, adult) 3 (female, adult)

*Uncertain
Table 5: *Burials sampled with individuals whose age and sex were both estimated.*

Many of the sampled tombs show a nearly even ratio of adult morphological males to females, with Xoxocotlán Tomb 1987-1 at exactly 1:1. The existence of individuals of indeterminate sex allows for the possibility of an even closer correspondence of males to females in burial contexts.

Site	Burial	Individuals
Monte Albán	PEMA Tomb 208	4 (male, adult) 2 (female, adult) 3 (ind, adult)
Hacienda El Alemán	1980-1	7 (male, adult) 8 (female, adult) 2 (ind. adult)
Suchilquitongo	Tomb 1986-1	4 (male, adult) 5 (female, adult) 2 (ind, adult)
Xoxocotlán	Tomb 1987-1	6 (male, adult) 6 (female, adult)
Fábrica San José	Burial 7	2 (female, adult) 1 (male, adult)
INFONAVIT	Tomb 1/1978	2 (male, adult) 3 (female, adult)

Table 6: Burial contexts with roughly equal sex distribution.

While an even distribution of skeletal sex alone constitutes rather weak support for these burials to represent marital pairs, it is known that in earlier phases, including Monte Albán IIIb-IV, included such married couples. At Lambityeco, sex-paired skeletons in tombs are accompanied by friezes on the exterior of the tomb that clearly depict multiple generations of noble spouses (Marcus 2009:85, Marcus 2006:224). In MA V, tombs with roughly even sex distribution and more than two individuals could be representative of a line of noble pairs. Such a phenomenon would fit a narrative of Period V Oaxaca as a collection of feudal communities administered by noble couples who headed lineages.

It is worth noting that all of these I have outlined as similar sex distribution are tombs rather than graves or cists, with the exception of Burial 7 at Fábrica San José. Burial 7 is the only grave recorded in my sample that contains more than one individual and represents an interesting

case. Drennan (1976) describes it as interrupted and very incomplete, with only one of the three individuals being "primary," or untouched in antiquity. This adult female is herself only complete from the waist down. The other two individuals, likely a male and a female, are very incomplete and represent either a secondary interment in this gravelot or the grave was reopened to inter the primary individual.

Burial 7 aside, the fact that multiple burial in general and potential marital pair burial in particular occurs primarily in tomb contexts is indicative of the possibility of strong attention given to noble families and noble lineage in Period V Oaxaca. Tombs are inherently more visible and more durable than graves or cists, and are able to be reopened, reused, and revisited with ease. The placing of noble ruling couples in ancestral tombs would potentially allow for the reinforcement of legitimacy to rule, as well as a connection to a deeper past that anchors a balkanized world in a lineage that is stable and static.

Overall, these analyses show that material culture is not clearly indicative of a prioritization of ethnic groups in funerary practices. While there is a high degree of site specificity in terms of some material culture styles, there is no indication that this variation has anything to do with a Mixtec/Zapotec dichotomy, but rather a reinforcement of local identity associated with the strengthening of political power at dynastic seats. Burial position does not appear to be a strong indicator of the alleged cultural discontinuity representative of MA V, indicating that continuity with prior periods was likely more present in funerary practice than past research has assumed. Finally, while it appears that ethnic distinction was downplayed in Period V, the burial of marital pairs does seem to be present and emphasized.

Discussion

The pattern represented by these data does not lend support to old models. A distributional analysis of polychrome ceramics does not in itself discredit its historic treatment as diagnostic of cultural discontinuity, be that a Mixtec invasion or cultural assimilation.

A model of diffusion, cultural borrowing, or hybridization would suggest higher concentration of the "foreign" object either closer to that object's homeland—in this case La Mixteca—or at the cultural hub, political-economic center, or capital, which is not present in these data.

Interpreting polychrome ceramics (especially serving bowls with supports) as sumptuary goods might provide better insight into its use and distribution, with various local lords exerting their authority via opulent fine ceramics whose restricted access limits their use to the elite, and likewise limits their distribution in the archaeological record. From the data presented here, there is no reason to assume that polychrome ceramics represent an ethnically-specific type.

The striking prevalence of certain artifact types in just one or two locations is perhaps indicative of a strong local identity of some kind. Decorative vessel supports such as deer hoof supports, serpent head supports, and phallic supports, appear to be restricted to certain site. Indeed, supports at the site of Suchilquitongo they tend to be serpent heads, at Xoxocotlán they tend to be serpent heads or deer hooves, and at Huitzo they tend to be phallic. While this restricted distribution does not necessarily undermine the potential of broader ethnic categorizations, it does suggest that the occupants of the valley maintained more social group memberships and layers of identity in their minds than only Zapotec or Mixtec categories. Colonial and local records indicate that individual settlements tended to be run in a quasi-feudal manner, with a hierarchy of lords and lesser nobles (Marcus 2006:215). It is reasonable to

speculate that these local fiefdoms maintained a local identity closely connected to the lineage and ancestry of the ruling family, which might manifest itself in the inclusion of certain material culture in burials. With the collapse of the capital of Monte Albán and the emergence of a power vacuum, it may have become necessary for local lords at other competing sites to associate themselves more closely with local styles to differentiate themselves from others, thus augmenting or reinforcing localized diversity in the valley.

It is impossible to claim within the scope of this study that the sample of burials include married couples. However, considering the strong evidence for burials of marital pairs in prior periods such as the friezes and skeletal pairs at the MA IIIb-IV tombs of Lambityeco, the number of morphological males and females in MA V burials suggests that founder couples and marital pairs were important in Period V Oaxaca. If marriages and marriage alliances between Zapotec- and Mixtec-speaking nobles was as common as historical records indicate (*Relaciones Geográficas*), then it is clear that priority is given to married couples and ancestors in burials rather than ethnolinguistic associations.

I do not mean to conclude from this analysis that the ethnolinguistic distinctions of Zapotec and Mixtec did not exist; on the contrary, this was almost certainly one of the levels of social distinction employed by the people who occupied the valley. The linguistic distinction was certainly present, and while we know from modern ethnography that language is not always a proxy for ethnic distinction, it is not a distinction that can be ignored by the speakers. It is clear, however, that the people of Postclassic Oaxaca had multiple personal and group identities, at least some of which appear to have taken precedence over ethnic or linguistic categories such as Zapotec and Mixtec; in burial practice, a rite that has great importance in many threads of the

cultural and social tapestry of Oaxaca, noble descent and noble marriage alliances seem to have been key features worth commemorating and displaying.

While the priority of elite or noble lineage appears in many cases to be the foremost layer of group identity indexed by mortuary practice, it is important to remember this form of identity is not altogether different from concepts that might be described as ethnicity. Emberling's discussion of ethnicity as an extension of kinship (Emberling 1997) and Bloch's illustration of the close relationship between ancestral lineage and ethnicity-like social grouping in Madagascar (Bloch 1971) both demonstrate that these types of phenomena are not alien from one another and can be studied in much the same way. If anthropology and archaeology can recognize ethnicity as fluid, flexible, and capable of being manipulated in the same ways as other identities like noble ancestry, then we can begin to better understand how these layers of identity interact, associate with one another, and wax and wane.

Significance

This study represents, more than anything else, a starting point for future archaeological studies of identity. While my data have been constrained by limited resources and incomplete or unpublished records by my predecessors, a more conclusive study is possible. Perhaps the most obvious takeaway from the present analysis is the need for more reporting on Monte Albán V burials.

Looting, farming, urban expansion, and erosion are all destructive and irreversible forces that affect the archaeological record. Furthermore, unlike many sciences, archaeology is non-replicable; interpretations may change and data can be rearranged, but the excavation can only occur once and thus all the details must be recorded.

There has been a great deal of discussion in recent times regarding the nature of the relationship between data and theory. The problems presented here constitute vivid support for the claim that data are inseparable from the framework being used, as clearly the problem in the mind of the archaeologist will manifest itself in the viability of the data that they collect. It is clear that, for as long as archaeology is used to explore specific anthropological questions, the raw data will always be curated toward the questions at hand. There has been a recent trend in archaeological discourse to go beyond acknowledgment of this problem and to actively embrace the purpose-driven selective collection of data. While I commend the realism of this discussion, there is a very present danger that such lines of thinking will create an archaeology that is less sustainable than it could be. While discussions of data in all sciences often focus on objectivity and subjectivity, it is fair to acknowledge the impossibility of objectivity and to attempt to break down the dichotomy between the two. Yet while the search for objective data is perhaps misguided, archaeologists do have a responsibility to record all details, even those that fall outside their specific mission. It is always difficult to anticipate the needs of future researchers, but in collecting all possible information we can hope to approach a more sustainable scientific field.

Ecosystems of Identity and the Oaxaca Valley

Some scholars in contemporary archaeology have overcorrected for past oversimplifications, claiming an abstract complexity for every archaeological context. The popularity of the current archaeological buzzword "entanglement," popularized by Hodder (2012) and his students, reveals how archaeology has come to embrace messiness or opaqueness as an end in itself. While the move away from reductionist systems models is certainly overdue, it is too easy in studies such as this to claim that identity is a complex, dynamic, and entangled

without any attempt to disentangle it. Instead, the messiness of the identity should be understood as a complex ecosystem, with all components and phenomena playing off one another. Like all sociopolitical systems, identity is complex and perhaps impossible to understand in its entirety in any singular way. Yet the relationships between individuals and their identities, among each type of identity, and relationships between these and material culture can all be studied and understood in turn. Complexity is not an end, but a beginning. It opens the scholarly world to new, microscopic and fractal relationships that can be understood from many different perspectives and at many scales.

Toward a Semiotic Archaeology of Identity

The lack of a workable theory of group identity in archaeology and material culture studies has undoubtedly held the field back from more detailed understandings of the landscapes of ethnicity even in some of the best understood premodern societies. While individual researchers working independently may come to similar conclusions about the complexity of social grouping, the viability of a science depends on a common corpus and a syncretic and evolving body of ideas that can be applied in disparate and diverse geographic and temporal localities. Semiotic archaeology promises to fill this gap in our understanding of the relationship between material culture and anthropological phenomena of ascription.

Rather than treating identity as a variable quality of individuals, it is particularly necessary to consider the substance and materiality of identity if we wish to use archaeological data to determine identity. With the Boasian separation of ethnicity and biology having taken hold throughout most of the social scientific world (Emberling 1997:299), identity is now understood as something expressed through various media in a series of acts by individuals. Understanding these acts as indices in the Peircean sense can shed some light on how people

maintain identities, with material culture serving to highlight and point toward an event, notion, or concept that serves as the nucleus for group identity.

It is notable that a semiotic approach shifts the focus away from the group and toward the individual. My approach is not unique. Renfrew has associated an individualizing trend in archaeology with the emergence of cognitive approaches, which seek to understand human material culture and past behavior through a "scientific and objective" study of human cognition and cognitive evolution (Renfrew 1998:2). While Renfrew, as well as Bell (1994:305), stresses cognitive archaeology as individualizing, others have understood it as a reductionist approach toward the individual, reducing them to a series of evolutionarily-driven and reactionary mental processes. As the sociological arm of various recent archaeological and anthropological critiques has grown and developed, individuals have come to be seen by agency theorists as holistic individuals with goals and interests that cannot and should not be reduced to the biological realities of human cognition nor the iron cages of overarching social systems (Dornan 2002). They do not claim that non-agent systems and processes do not constrain human agency, but only that individuals are not "passive dupes" and instead constantly strain against the bonds that keep them in line (Johnson 2010:108).

The small number of scholars who have attempted to establish a semiotic archaeology have struggled to place it within the broader theoretical debates within the discipline. Robert Preucel (2006), for example, has traced strands of semiotics throughout all of the major approaches but ultimately fails to produce a single coherent semiotic archaeology. Yet while the reality of archaeology requires that all approaches be mixed and matched to fit a given situation, I believe that semiotic archaeology can form an approach in its own right, serving to unite cognitive and contextual approaches toward individuality. By examining how an individual

perceives, creates, and manipulates signs, semiotics provides a framework that both acknowledges the individuals and the greater systems that not only surround them, but that they create. Rather than reducing the agent to predictable mental processes, semiotics provides a range of interpretations that allow for an in-depth understanding of relationships between the individual and such processes.

Identity, particularly group identity, must be understood in semiotic terms as a relationship between signifier and signified by way of some connection ("ground") between the two. Identity is not held within an individual, but is instead expressed by an individual via signs that point to some external concept, real or imagined, that is larger, more significant, or more permanent than an individual identity. In the case of both ethnicity and ancestry, acts of identity index a significant singular and unified past. This is displayed in mortuary contexts by maintaining family unity, as we see in burials of marital pairs in Oaxaca, or by preserving a particular tradition, creating an unbroken chain reaching back to the progenitors. The common practice of building tombs before residences, with the tomb as the initial architectural structure is iconic, in the Peircean sense, of the abstract primacy of ancestors in society.

While archaeologists of the past were not wrong in their endeavors to identify groups in the material record, the archaeology of the future must seek to understand how these identities functioned in relation to one another. Semiotics provides the key to understanding these relationships, and, when combined with current theory in method in sociocultural anthropology, the archaeology of identity can become truly anthropological.

The Role of Identity Studies in Anthropology

In a previous section of this thesis I described how anthropology's creation of ethnic groups has produced disastrous ethical consequences in the past. Kossinna's deployment of

archaeology for the creation of a Germanic ethnonationalist identity in a rapidly racialized European zeitgeist had no small role in the popularity of Nazism which persists today. While this use and abuse of archaeology remains in the public discourse, especially in the wake of newer waves of white nationalism that tend to exploit European polytheist and medieval Christian iconography and motifs to establish an imagined history for their purposes, archaeologists should be equally wary of the potential of deconstruction and destruction. This study, for example, may suggest that the very real identities of today's Zapotec and Mixtec people are historically recent inventions, at least insofar as such identities are important in funerary practice. Yet because ethnic identities rely on the idea of a deep and shared past, the potential of conflict with these conceptions and archaeological data can threaten living individuals' identities.

While anthropology no longer claims to be in the business of telling people who they are, if archaeologists are not careful, identity studies can turn into a slippery slope. This role is not new to archaeology. Migration studies and inquiry into the colonization of the Americas have often come in conflict with indigenous origin myths that claim a continental genesis. While many archaeologists and indigenous scholars have navigated this terrain carefully, there will always be a tension and conflict between archaeology and traditional narratives.

It is the responsibility of anthropologists to continue the discussion on the role of identity studies, especially in the public sphere. Wherever our bounds may be, it is important that we do not overstep them. In a connected world with nearly unlimited access to academic material, anthropology is no longer isolated from the people it writes about, and must now learn to consider the pragmatic effect of the knowledge and narrative it produces.

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Appendix

Site	Number	Burial Type	# Individuals (age, sex)	Body Positions	Artifacts	Reference
Zaachila	Tomb 1	Tomb	11 (ND)	2 primary supine, 6 secondary flexed, 2 secondary semiflexed	(ceramics) polychrome (presence); MAV grey ware (presence); tiger claw vessels (presence); (misc) obsidian earspools (presence), eagle head gold ring (presence), pendent bells (presence), gold plaques (presence); carved bones (presence); turquoise mosaic masks (presence);	Flannery and Marcus 2003:292
Zaachila	Tomb 2	Tomb	>18 (ND)	ND	(ceramics) polychrome, MAV grey ware (adornment) obsidian earspools, jade fan handles, shell ornaments, goldwork, carved bones, silver platelets, bracelets (most offerings in antechamber)	Flannery and Marcus 2003:292
Cuilapan	Tomb 8	Tomb	1 (adult)	ND	(ceramics) 2 Stone pendants, nondescript; small grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base; large grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls and concave base (3); miniature cream paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (2); grey paste vessel with four bowls;	Flannery and Marcus 2003:292, Bernal 1958 (In Markens 2008)
Yagul	Tomb 3	Tomb	ND	ND		Wicke 1966
Yagul	Tomb 12	Tomb	ND	ND		Wicke 1966
Yagul	Tomb 29	Tomb	ND	ND	(ceramics) "Mixtec" fine grey ware	Wicke 1966
Yagul	Tomb 30	Tomb	at least 9	ND	(ceramics) fragments of three polychrome vessels (ornaments) plain copper finger ring	Wicke 1966
Monte Albán	1972-3	Grave	1 (female, adolescent)	seated	None	Winter et al. 1995
Monte Albán	1972-9	Cist	1 (female, young adult)	flexed	None	Winter et al. 1995
Monte Albán	1973-20	Other (in well)	1 (male, adult)	disarticulated	None	Winter et al. 1995
Monte Albán	1973-24	Other (in well)	1 (male, adult)	seated	None	Winter et al. 1995
Monte Albán	1993-32	grave	1 (infant)	supine, legs flexed	(ceramics) fragment, urn, grey paste, firing defects, crossed legs, seated, cover over them, pastillage motifs, see appendix; fragment, grey, exterior burnished linear, interior smoothed linear on burnishing, use mark on wall from working; fragment, cajete, conical, walls low and wide, walls slightly curvo-convergent, grey paste with cooking defects (brown), linear burnishing on linear smoothing; fragment, cajete, conical (G.3M), walls recto-divergent, edge widening in exterior, grey paste and engobe, cooking defects (yellow-grey), linear burnishing on linear smoothing, different tone and band on edge from cooking; fragment, brazier, semispherical, grey creamy paste, walls curvo-convergent, irregular smoothed-striated exterior, interior smoothed linear, decorated with pastillage cones, band with diagonal lines, red paint	Winter et al. 1995

					vertical lines on body, dark lines from fire; (misc) fragment, animal bone, worked, similar to machetes used in looms, shorter, with extreme perforation	
Cuilapan	COBAO Tomb 1	Tomb	3 (male, adult) 2 (female, adult)	ND	(ceramics) large grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base, fire clouds and different tones; medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (5); medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base and fire clouds (2); medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base, fire clouds and burnished decoration on the interior base; medium grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls, concave base and burnished decoration in the interior base; medium grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls, concave base and fire clouds; medium grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls, concave base, fire clouds and incised decoration in the interior base (2); small grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls and concave base (2); small brown paste comal; large brown paste comal (2); brown paste vessel with three bowls; miniature brown paste olla with handles; miniature brown paste tray with indentations in base (3); miniature brown paste composite silhouette bowl (2); miniature brown paste semispherical bowl without handles (7); small brown paste sahumador with semispherical bowl with perforations in base and incised decoration; small brown paste sahumador with semispherical bowl; large brown paste sahumador with semispherical bowl with small perforations in base; medium brown paste conical bowl with semispherical interior base, thickened base and wiped on both surfaces; small brown paste semispherical bowl with high walls and flat base; medium brown paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base; large grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, incurvate wall-rim and concave base; large grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, incurvate wall-rim, concave base, fire clouds and incised decoration in interior base; grey paste vessel with three bowls; miniature grey paste tray with handles (2); small grey paste olla with restricted mouth, low excurvate neck-rim and burnished decoration on the exterior;	Markens 2008, Markens 2004

Hacienda El Alemán	1980-1	Tomb	7 (male, adult) 8 (female, adult) 2 (ind, adult)	ND	(ceramics) large grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base; large grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim, concave base and different tones (4); miniature grey paste semispherical bowl (3); small cream paste semispherical bowl with high walls and flat base, scraped on the interior and uniformly smoothed on the exterior; large cream paste conical bowl with semispherical interior base, exterior thickened base encrusted with sand, wiped on both surfaces (5); small cream paste olla with wide mouth, low neck rim and flat thickened base encrusted with sand and basket handle (2); large cream paste sahumador with conical bowl, thickened base, no perforations and long handle with perforation, miniature semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (9); miniature cream paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (9); small cream paste olla with wide mouth, low neck-rim and flat thickened base encrusted with sand and basket handle;	Markens 2008, Markens 2004
Hacienda El Alemán	1980-3	Tomb	>3 (adult)	ND	(ceramics) large grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base; miniature cream paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (3); large cream paste sahumador with conical bowl, thickened sand encrusted base, no perforations and long hollow handle closed at the end; cream paste composite silhouette olla with flat thickened base encrusted with sand, simple spout, smoothed on inside (5); small cream paste conical bowl with semispherical interior base, exterior thickened base encrusted with sand, wiped on both surfaces; medium cream paste conical bowl with semispherical interior base, exterior thickened base encrusted with sand, wiped on both surfaces (6); grey paste excised censer with phallic supports; miniature grey paste semispherical bowl with indentations on exterior base; miniature grey paste semispherical bowl (6);	Markens 2008, Markens 2004
Huitzo	T. 1981	Tomb	ND	ND	(ceramics) Small grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls and concave base; small grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls, concave base, and fire clouds; large grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim, concave base and different tones (2); small grey paste olla with wide mouth, high excurvate neck-rim, subspherical	Markens 2008, Markens 2004

					body, concave base with perforated flat vertical handles; small grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls and concave base; medium brown paste polychrome olla with wide mouth, high vertical neck-rim and phallic supports (3);	
Huitzo (Barrio del Rosario)	Tomb 1	Tomb	1 (male, adult) 1 (female, adult) 5 (ind, adult)	ND	(ceramics) small grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base; small cream paste polychrome olla with wide mouth, high vertical neck-rim, subspherical body and long hollow cylindrical supports with graphite paint (2); small cream paste polychrome olla with restricted mouth, high neck, excurvate rim, subspherical body, and graphite paint (2); small cream paste cup with deer hoof supports; medium cream paste conical bowl with excurvate wall-rim, flat base with slab supports and graphite paint (2); medium cream paste conical bowl with recto-divergent wall-rim, slightly concave base and deer hoof supports (2); small brown paste polychrome olla with wide mouth, high vertical neck-rim and deer hoof supports (2); small brown paste polychrome olla with restricted mouth, high excurvate neck-rim, semispherical body, flat base and perforated flat vertical handles; medium brown paste polychrome conical bowl with slightly concave base and long hollow cylindrical supports (2); medium brown paste polychrome conical bowl with slightly concave base and graphite paint; small grey paste pitcher with high neck-rim and large loop handle; small grey paste olla with restricted mouth, high neck, everted rim, subspherical body with perforated flat vertical handles; medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim, concave base and different tones (3); medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, exterior groove on wall, incurvate wall-rim and serpent head supports;	Markens 2008, Markens 2004
Huitzo (Barrio del Rosario)	Burial 1967-7	Grave	ND	ND	(ceramics) medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base with serpent head supports and groove in bowl interior; small grey paste olla with restricted mouth, low excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body with perforated flat vertical handles; large grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim, concave base and different tones (2); medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim,	Markens 2008, Markens 2004

| | | | | | concave base and different tones; medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with low walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim, concave base and different tones; medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with low walls, high angle, incurvate wall rim, concave base and different tones (2); | |

Site	Number	Burial Type	# Individuals (age, sex)	Body Positions	Artifacts	Reference
Huitzo	Tomb 1994-1	Tomb	1 (female, adult) 5 (ind, adult) 1 (neonate)	ND	(ceramics) medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (2); medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base and fire clouds; medium grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls, concave base and different tones; brown paste excised censer with phallic supports; brown paste polychrome zoomorphic bottelon with graphite painting; small brown paste polychrome olla with wide mouth, high vertical neck rim and phallic supports; medium brown paste olla with restricted mouth, high excurvate neck, flat everted-rim and subspherical body; medium grey paste olla with wide mouth, low excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body and phallic supports; medium grey paste olla with restricted mouth, low excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body and phallic supports; medium grey paste olla with wide mouth, low excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body (2); medium grey paste olla with restricted mouth, high excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body, concave base and flat vertical perforated handles; medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, high angle, vertical wall-rim, concave base and fire clouds (3); small grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, high angle, vertical wall-rim, concave base and fire clouds; large grey paste composite silhouette bowl with low walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim, concave base and fire clouds; excurvate wall-rim, concave base and different tones; medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with low walls, high angle, vertical wall-rim and different tones; medium grey paste plate with concave base and fire clouds;	Lopez et al. (in Markens 2008), Markens 2004
Lomas de Cascada	Burial 1980-1	Grave	ND	ND	(ceramics) grey paste semispherical bowl with serpent head supports; medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, vertical wall-rim, and concave base (3); small grey paste composite silhouette with high	Markens 2008, Markens 2004

					walls, low angle, vertical wall rim, long hollow conical supports and different tones; medium brown past semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base and a band of red paint on interior rim;	
Macuilxochitl	Burial 1996-2	Grave	ND	ND	(ceramics) medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base and different tones (2); medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, vertical wall-rim, concave base and different tones; medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, vertical wall-rim, concave base and fire clouds; medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim and concave base (2); medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, vertical wall rim, low hollow conical supports and fire clouds;	Markens 2008
Monte Albán	PMA T.15	Tomb	ND	ND	(ceramics) large grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (presence); medium grey paste bowl with high walls and flat base (presence); small brown paste cup with vertical wall and flat everted rim (presence); miniature brown paste olla with handles (2); miniature brown paste semispherical bowl with handles (presence); small brown paste cup with solid conical appliqué claws (presence); medium brown paste composite silhouette bowl with low walls, high angle, vertical wall-rim and concave base (presence); medium brown paste semispherical bowl with high walls and flat base (presence); grey paste patojo with handles (presence); large grey paste thick walled conical bowl with excurvate wall-rim (presence); large grey paste conical bowl with excurvate wall-rim, convex base and both surfaces burnished (presence); large grey paste sahumador with conical bowl without perforations and hollow conical handle (presence);	Caso et al. 1967 (In Markens 2008), Markens 2004
Monte Albán	PMA T.46	Tomb	ND	ND	(ceramics) large grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (2); medium grey paste bowl with high walls and flat base (presence); large cream paste semispherical bowl with low walls and flat base (presence); miniature brown paste tray with indentations in base (25); miniature brown paste semispherical bowl without handles (presence); large brown paste sahumador with conical bowl without perforations with hollow cylindrical handle (presence); brown paste patojo with low excurvate neck-rim and handles	Caso et al. 1967 (In Markens 2008), Markens 2004

					(presence); small brown paste conical bowl with solid conical supports (presence); medium brown paste semispherical bowl with high walls and flat base (presence); large brown paste semispherical bowl with high walls and flat base (presence); medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, vertical wall-rim and concave base (presence); medium grey paste semispherical bowl with restricted mouth and excurvate rim (presence); small grey paste conical bowl with solid conical supports (presence);	
Monte Albán	PMA T.59	Tomb	ND	ND	(ceramics) medium grey paste bowl with high walls and flat base (presence); cream paste pitcher with simple spout and loop handle, high neck rim, subspherical body and flat base (7); small brown paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (presence); medium brown paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (presence); medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, vertical wall-rim and concave base (2); medium grey paste olla with wide mouth, low excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body (presence); large grey paste plate with flat base (presence);	Caso et al. 1967 (In Markens 2008), Markens 2004
Monte Albán	PMA T.63	Tomb	ND	ND	(ceramics) large grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (presence); miniature brown paste cup without claw (presence); miniature brown paste semispherical bowl with handles (2); brown paste patojo with low excurvate neck-rim and handles; brown paste patojo with incipient writings and tail; large brown paste semispherical bowl with high walls and flat base (presence); large brown paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (presence); medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, vertical wall-rim and concave base (presence); large grey paste cup with vertical wall-rim and flat base (presence); medium grey paste olla with wide mouth, low excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body with cylindrical spout in body (presence); medium grey paste olla with wide mouth, low excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body (presence);	Caso et al. 1967 (In Markens 2008), Markens 2004
Monte Albán	PMA T.75	Tomb	ND	ND	(ceramics) medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (presence); large cream paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (presence); miniature brown paste	Caso et al. 1967 (In Markens 2008), Markens 2004

					semispherical bowl with handles (2); small brown paste sahumador with semispherical bowl with perforations from exterior to interior (presence); small brown paste cup with solid conical appliqué claws (presence); large brown paste olla with restricted mouth, low excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body, flat thickened base and bridge handles, combed on outside (presence); large brown paste conical bowl with thickened base (presence); large brown paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (presence); medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, vertical wall-rim and concave base (presence); large grey paste cantaro with low neck, excurvate neck-rim, and subspherical body (presence);	
Monte Albán	PMA T.93	Tomb	ND	ND	(ceramics) brown paste excised censer with phallic supports (presence); brown paste patojo with low excurvate neck-rim and handles (presence); small grey paste conical bowl with solid conical supports (presence); large grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, flat base with groove on interior (presence); medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, recto-divergent wall-rim, long hollow conical supports and different tones (presence);	Caso et al. 1967 (In Markens 2008), Markens 2004
Monte Albán	PMA Bur.II-6	Grave	ND	ND	(ceramics) composite silhouette bowl with concave cylindrical walls and semispherical base (presence);	Caso et al. 1967
Monte Albán	PMA Bur.III-25	Grave	ND	ND	(ceramics) bowl with incurvate wall-rim and flat base (presence);	Caso et al. 1967
Monte Albán	PMA Bur.IV-32	Grave	ND	ND	(ceramics) subspherical olla with flat base and wide mouth (presence); olla with wide mouth, body formed by three cones;	Caso et al. 1967
Monte Albán	PMA Bur.V-5	Grave	ND	ND	ND	Caso et al. 1967
Monte Albán	PMA Bur.V-15	Grave	ND	ND	(ceramics) medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, vertical wall-rim and concave base (presence); medium grey paste olla with wide mouth, low excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body (presence); medium composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, recto-divergent wall-rim, long hollow conical supports and different tones (presence)	Caso et al. 1967, Markens 2004
Monte Albán	PMA Bur.V-20	Grave	ND	ND	(ceramics) brown paste patojo with low excurvate neck-rim and handles (presence); medium brown paste polychrome olla with wide mouth, high vertical neck-rim and deer hoof supports; medium grey	Caso et al. 1967 (In Markens 2008), Markens 2004

Site	Number	Burial Type	# Individuals (age, sex)	Body Positions	Artifacts	Reference
					paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, vertical wall-rim and concave base (presence); medium composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, recto-divergent wall-rim, long hollow conical supports and different tones (presence); medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, exterior groove on wall, incurvate wall-rim and serpent head supports (presence);	
Monte Albán	PMA Bur.V-21	Grave	ND	ND	(ceramics) brown paste patojo with low excurvate neck-rim and handles (presence); medium composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, recto-divergent wall-rim, long hollow conical supports and different tones (presence);	Caso et al. 1967 (In Markens 2008), Markens 2004
Monte Albán	PMA Bur.V-29	Grave	ND	ND	(ceramics) narrow patojo with two small protrusions on shoulder (presence);	Caso et al. 1967
Monte Albán	PMA Bur.V-49	Grave	ND	ND	ND	Caso et al. 1967
Monte Albán	PMA Bur.V-50	Grave	ND	ND	(ceramics) large brown paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base; medium grey paste olla with restricted mouth, high excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body and concave base (presence); medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, exterior groove on wall, incurvate wall-rim and serpent head supports (presence);	Caso et al. 1967 (In Markens 2008), Markens 2004
Site	**Number**	**Burial Type**	**# Individuals (age, sex)**	**Body Positions**	**Artifacts**	**Reference**
Monte Albán	PMA Bur.V-52	Grave	ND	ND	(ceramics) semispherical bowl (presence);	Caso et al. 1967
Monte Albán	PMA Bur.V-71	Grave	ND	ND	(ceramics) malacates (presence);	Caso et al. 1967
Monte Albán	PMA Bur.VI-3	Grave	ND	ND	ND	Caso et al. 1967
Monte Albán	PMA Bur.VIII-10	Grave	ND	ND	ND	Caso et al. 1967
Monte Albán	PMA Bur.VIII-11	Grave	ND	ND	ND	Caso et al. 1967
Monte Albán	PMA Bur.VIII-22	Grave	ND	ND	(ceramics) composite silhouette bowl with convex cylindrical wall-rim and semispherical base (presence);	Caso et al. 1967
Monte Albán	PMA Bur.X-7	Grave	ND	ND	(ceramics) semispherical bowl with flat base, undulating wall-rim, and incised markings on exterior (presence);	Caso et al. 1967
Monte Albán	PEMA T.208	Tomb	4 (male, adult) 2 (female, adult) 3 (ind, adult)	ND	(ceramics) brown paste ceramic disc; large grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base and fire clouds (3); large grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, flat base and fire clouds; large grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls, concave base and fire clouds; large grey paste semispherical bowl with	Lopez et al. 2001 (In Markens 2008), Markens 2004

					low walls, flat base and fire clouds; medium grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls, concave base and fire clouds (2); cream paste botellon with decoration and black slip; miniature brown paste olla with handles (3); miniature brown paste semispherical bowl with handles (5); miniature brown paste semispherical bowl without handles (11); brown paste sahumador handle fragment with longitudinal perforation (3); small brown paste sahumador with semispherical bowl with perforations in base and incised decoration; small brown paste sahumador with semispherical bowl; grey paste ceramic disc (3); miniature grey paste tray without handles; medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with low walls, low angle, incurvate wall-rim and flat base; brown paste sahumador handle fragment without longitudinal perforation; brown paste patojo with low excurvate neck-rim and handles; grey paste spindle whorl; miniature grey paste semispherical bowl; large grey paste sahumador with semispherical bowl with small perforations and without decoration (2); large grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim and concave base;	
Monte Albán	PEMA T.209	Tomb	at least 1 (female, adult)	ND	(ceramics) large grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base, fire clouds and burnished decoration in interior base (2); miniature cream paste cup with elongated foot with toes indicated with incised lines; miniature brown paste bottelon with excurvate wall-rim; miniature brown paste cup with foot formed by pinching cup, toes indicated with incised lines; miniature brown paste cup without claw (4); miniature brown paste semispherical bowl without handles (7); small brown paste sahumador with semispherical bowl with perforations in base and incised decoration (6); small brown paste sahumador with semispherical bowl; miniature grey paste composite silhouette olla with appliqué cones; miniature grey paste tray with handles (5); miniature grey paste tray without handles (17); large grey paste sahumador with semispherical bowl with small perforations and without decoration (2);	Lopez et al. 2001 (In Markens 2008), Markens 2004
San José Mogote	T.3-96	Tomb	3 (ind, adult)	ND	(ceramics) Large grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (2); medium brown paste pitcher with simple spout, loop handle, subspherical	Markens 2008, Markens 2004

					body, low neck-rim, flat base and red paint on interior rim and exterior; miniature olla; small cream paste semispherical bowl with high walls and flat base and both surfaces with partial burnishing; medium cream paste conical bowl with thickened base and partial burnishing on both surfaces (6); medium cream paste conical bowl with semispherical interior base, exterior thickened base encrusted with sand; wiped on both surfaces (7); medium cream paste olla with restricted mouth, low neck, flat thickened base encrusted with sand and basket handle (3); small cream paste olla with restricted mouth, low neck-rim and flat thickened base encrusted with sand and basket handle; large cream paste sahumador with conical bowl, thickened base, small perforations made in exterior rim and along handle; large cream paste sahumador with semispherical bowl, hollow handle closed at the end; cream paste patojo with handles; medium semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base, Huitzo polished cream type (5); medium semispherical bowl with high walls and flat base and graphite palet, Huitzo polished cream type (5);	
San Pablo Etla	T.76-1	Tomb	1 (ind, adult)	ND	(ceramics) Medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, vertical wall-rim, concave base and different tones (3); medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, vertical wall, excurvate rim and concave base; medium composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, vertical wall, incurvate wall-rim and concave base; medium composite silhouette bowl with high walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim, concave base and different tones; medium composite silhouette bowl with low walls, high angle, incurvate wall rim, concave base and different tones; medium plate with concave base, medium plate with flat base; small cream paste olla with wide mouth, low excurvate neck rim and flat base;	Winter 1997 (in Markens 2008), Markens 2004
Santa Ana del Valle	T. no number	Tomb	ND	ND	(ceramics) medium grey paste semispherical bowl high walls, concave base, and three decorated tabs on the rim; grey paste spindle whorl with incised decoration; small grey paste composite silhouette bowl with low walls, excurvate wall-rim and pedestal base (2); small grey paste olla with wide mouth, low recto-divergent neck-rim, subspherical body in the	Winter 2000 (in Markens 2008), Markens 2004

					form of gourd with low hollow conical supports (2); medium grey paste olla with wide mouth, low excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body and burnished decoration on the shoulder; medium grey paste plate with concave base and fire clouds;	
Suchilquitongo	T.1/81	Tomb	13 (male, adult) 1 (female, adult)	ND	(ceramics) medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base and different tones (6); small grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base and different tones (4); cream paste polychrome tripod olla with wide mouth, low vertical neck-rim, spherical body and deer hoof supports; composite silhouette olla, Yanhuitlan Red on Cream type; medium cream paste olla with wide mouth, low excurvate neck rim, subspherical base and black slip; large brown paste sahumador with semispherical bowl without perforations; small brown paste olla with wide mouth, low excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body, flat base and perforated flat vertical handles; medium brown paste olla with wide mouth, high excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body, and perforated flat vertical handles; medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base and elongated supports terminating in human feet; small grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base and serpent head supports; small semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base with elongated hollow cylindrical supports; small grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base and elongated hollow cylindrical supports, enlarged at the end; medium grey paste pitcher with simple spout and large loop handle (2); small grey paste pitcher with high neck-rim and large loop handle; small grey paste olla with wide mouth, high recto-divergent neck-rim, subspherical body with long hollow cylindrical supports, thickened at the ends; medium grey paste olla with wide mouth, high excurvate neck rim, subspherical body and long hollow supports with flattened ends; small grey paste olla with wide mouth, low recto-divergent neck-rim, subspherical body with perforated flat vertical handles; small grey paste olla with wide mouth, high excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body with bridge handles (2); small grey paste olla with wide mouth, high excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body, concave base	Rivera 1987 (in Markens 2008), Markens 2004

					with perforated flat vertical handles; small grey paste olla with wide mouth, high undulating neck, recto-divergent rim, subspherical body, concave base with perforated flat vertical handles; small olla with wide mouth, high recto-divergent neck-rim, subspherical body with perforated flat vertical handles; medium grey paste olla with wide mouth, high excurvate neck, subspherical body and vertical bridge handles; medium grey paste olla with wide mouth, high vertical neck, excurvate rim, subspherical body and perforate flat vertical handles; medium grey paste olla with restricted mouth, high vertical neck-rim, subspherical body, concave base, handled spout and loop handle; large grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, high angle, vertical wall-rim, concave base and different tones; medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, high angle, vertical wall-rim, concave base and different tones (16); medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim, concave base and different tones (5); large grey paste composite silhouette bowl with low walls, high angle, vertical wall-rim, concave base and different tones (10); vertical wall-rim and different tones (2); medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, incurvate wall rim and long hollow conical supports (2); medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, excurvate wall-rim and long hollow cylindrical supports with flattened ends; medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, incurvate wall rim and eagle head supports (2); medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, incurvate wall-rim and deer hoof supports; small grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, incurvate wall-rim and long hollow cylindrical supports; medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, exterior groove on wall, incurvate wall-rim and serpent head supports (2);	
Suchilquitongo, Yutendahue	T.1986-1	Tomb	4 (male, adult) 5 (female, adult) 2 (ind, adult)	ND	(ceramics) medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (2); medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base and fire clouds (2); medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base and different	Winter and Hernandez 2000 (in Markens 2008), Markens 2004

					tones; medium cream paste semispherical bowl with high walls and flat base, Huitzo Polished Cream Type (3); medium cream paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base, Huitzo Polished Cream type; large cream paste semispherical bowl with high walls and flat base, Huitzo Polished Cream type; large grey paste composite silhouette bowl with low walls, low angle, incurvate wall-rim and concave base; medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with low walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim, concave base and fire clouds (3);	
Xoxocotlán	T.1987-1	Tomb	6 (male, adult) 6 (female, adult)	ND	(ceramics) large grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base, fire clouds and different tones; medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (8); medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base and fire clouds; small grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base and serpent head supports (4); medium grey paste olla with restricted mouth, high excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body and concave base; medium grey paste olla with restricted mouth, high vertical neck, subspherical body and concave base and flat vertical perforated handles; small grey paste olla with restricted mouth, low excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body, concave base with amorphous handles; small grey paste olla with wide mouth, high excurvate neck rim, subspherical body, concave base and amorphous handles; small grey paste pitcher with high neck-rim and large loop handle; medium grey paste bichrome semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (3); medium brown paste bichrome semispherical bowl with high walls and flat base (3); medium brown paste polychrome bowl with high walls and flat base; small brown paste polychrome semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base and deer hoof supports; small brown paste bichrome conical bowl with flat base, solid elongated supports, white paint on interior, band of orange over white band on interior rim and exterior; small brown paste olla with restricted mouth, low excurvate neck-rim and subspherical body, concave base, bridge handles and red paint on exterior neck-rim (2); small brown paste pitcher with simple spout, loop handle, subspherical body, low neck-rim, flat base and red	Markens 2008, Markens 2004

					paint on exterior (4); brown paste bichrome composite silhouette with deer hoof supports, a band of red paint in the interior, and two alternating bands of white and red paint on the outside (4); brown paste polychrome composite silhouette cup with deer hoof supports (2); brown paste polychrome composite silhouette cup with bullet shaped supports; brown paste bichrome composite silhouette cup with bullet supports, a band of red paint on interior, white paint on exterior body and supports; brown paste composite silhouette cup with bullet supports, a band of red paint in the interior, exterior body and on the ends of supports; medium brown paste pitcher with simple spout, loop handle, subspherical body, low neck-rim, flat base and red paint on interior rim and exterior (2); medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim and flat base; medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim and concave base (4); small grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, excurvate wall-rim and long hollow conical supports; small brown paste conical bowl with flat base, phallic supports, red paint on interior and a red band on the exterior rim (2); small brown paste olla with wide mouth, high recto-divergent neck-rim, subspherical body, bullet shaped supports, red paint on exterior rim, exterior body and supports; small brown paste conical bowl with flat base, deer hoof supports and a band of white paint on exterior rim and on supports;	
Yagul	T.23	Tomb	at least 6 (ind, adult)	ND	(ceramics) large grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base; medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (2); medium grey paste cantaro with low neck, excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body and burnished decoration on exterior; small grey paste sahumador with semispherical bowl with small perforations and incised decoration; grey paste tecomate with short hollow supports; grey paste spindle whorl with incised decoration; large brown paste semispherical bowl with low walls and concave base; brownware excised censer with graphite paint and phallic supports;	Bernal and Gamio 1974 (in Markens 2008), Markens 2004
Yagul	T.24A	Tomb	16 (ind, ind)	ND	(ceramics) small grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls	Bernal and Gamio 1974 (in

Site	Number	Burial Type	# Individuals (age, sex)	Body Positions	Artifacts	Reference
					and concave base; large brown paste conical bowl with thickened base; small brown paste semispherical bowl with low walls and concave base; small brown paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base;	Markens 2008), Markens 2004
Yagul	T.24B	Tomb	8 (ind, ind)	ND	(ceramics) medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base; medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base and fire clouds; small grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls and concave base; small brown paste sahumador with semispherical bowl with perforations in base and incised decoration; small brown paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base;	Bernal and Gamio 1974 (in Markens 2008), Markens 2004
Yagul	Bur.6	Grave	1 (male, adult)	ND	(ceramics) medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base and fire clouds; large grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls, concave base, fire clouds and different tones; medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, vertical wall-rim, concave base and different tones; medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, recto-divergent vertical wall-rim, low hollow conical supports and fire clouds; medium grey paste cup with slightly incurvate will lip, concave base with long hollow supports; medium composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, recto-divergent wall-rim, long hollow conical supports and different tones;	Bernal and Gamio 1974 (in Markens 2008), Markens 2004
Site	**Number**	**Burial Type**	**# Individuals (age, sex)**	**Body Positions**	**Artifacts**	**Reference**
Zaachila	T.3	Tomb	2 (ind, adult)	ND	ND	Markens 2008
Zimatlán	1997 T.1	Tomb	4 (ind, ind)	ND	(ceramics) medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (2); brown paste spindle whorl; miniature brown paste sahumador; miniature brown paste cup with foot formed by pinching cup, toes indicated with incised lines; miniature brown paste semispherical bowl without handles; small brown paste sahumador without perforations; medium grey paste cup with elongated foot with incised toes without cone added to vessel wall; large grey paste cup with elongated foot and appliqué claws and cone added to vessel wall; small grey paste olla wide mouth, low excurvate neck-rim and hollow cylindrical supports, different tones and burnished decoration; small grey paste olla with wide mouth, low vertical neck-rim with low hollow cylindrical supports and	Muzgo and Winter 2003 (in Markens 2008), Markens 2004

					different tones; medium grey paste olla with wide mouth, low vertical neck-rim, low hollow cylindrical supports, different tones and burnished decoration; large grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim, concave base and fire clouds; medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, high angle, vertical wall-rim and flat base; large grey paste composite silhouette bowl with low walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim, concave base and different tones (2); large grey paste cantaro with low neck, excurvate neck-rim, spherical body and burnished decoration on exterior (2);	
Zimatlán	1997 T.2	Tomb	1 (ind, ind)	ND	(ceramics) large grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (2); large grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base and fire clouds; medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base; medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base and fire clouds; large grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls and concave base (2); small grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls and concave base; miniature brown paste sahumador (2); miniature brown paste vast con garra modelada con dedos indicados con incisiones (2); miniature brown paste plate; miniature brown paste semispherical bowl without handles (3); brown paste sahumador handle fragment without longitudinal perforation; large brown paste sahumador with semispherical bowl without perforations with incised decoration (fragment); grey paste vessel with five bowls joined to a tubular handle; medium grey paste cup with elongated foot with modelled toes; medium grey paste cup with elongated foot with incised toes with cone added to vessel wall (3); large grey paste cup with elongated foot and incised toes and cone added to vessel wall; medium grey paste cup with slightly excurvate wall-rim, concave base and wiped on both surfaces (2); small grey paste olla with wide mouth, low excurvate neck-rim, low hollow cylindrical supports and different tones (4); medium grey paste olla with wide mouth, low vertical neck-rim, low hollow conical supports, different tones and burnished decorations; medium grey paste olla with wide mouth, low excurvate neck-rim with low hollow conical supports	Muzgo and Winter 2003 (in Markens 2008), Markens 2004

| | | | | | and different tones (4); medium grey paste olla with wide mouth, high excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body and low hollow conical supports and different tones (2); small grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, incurvate wall-rim, concave base and burnished decoration on interior base; medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim and concave base; medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim, concave base and different tones; large grey paste composite silhouette bowl with low walls, high angle, excurvate wall-rim and concave base (4); large grey paste composite silhouette bowl with low walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim, concave base and fire clouds (2); medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with low walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim and concave base; medium grey paste cantaro with low neck, excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body and burnished decoration on the exterior (6); medium grey paste cantaro with low neck, excurvate neck rim and subspherical body (2); large grey paste cantaro with low neck, excurvate neck-rim, spherical body and burnished decoration on exterior (2); small grey paste plate with concave base (2); medium grey paste plate with concave base (2); large grey paste plate with concave base and fire clouds (2); | |
| Zimatlán | 1997 T.3 | Tomb | 1 (ind, adult) 1 (child) | ND | (ceramics) large grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (3); medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base and fire clouds (2); small grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and fire clouds (4); medium grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls, concave base and different tones (3); large grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls and concave base (3); large grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls, concave base and fire clouds (2); large grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls, concave base, fire clouds and different tones; medium grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls, concave base and fire clouds (3); medium grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls, concave base and different tones; small grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls, concave base and fire clouds (2); miniature brown paste vaso con | Muzgo and Winter 2003 (in Markens 2008), Markens 2004 |

					garra modelada con dedos indicados con incisiones; miniature brown paste semispherical bowl without handles (4); small brown paste sahumador with semispherical bowl with perforations in base and incised decoration; small brown paste sahumador with semispherical bowl without perforations and incised decoration (2); large brown paste sahumador with semispherical bowl without perforations; medium brown paste cup with elongated foot, modelled claws with appliqué cone on wall, wiped on the interior and scraped on exterior; small brown paste olla with wide mouth, low excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body, flat base and bridge handles; medium brown paste olla with restricted mouth, low excurvate neck-rim and subspherical body; large brown paste olla with restricted mouth, low excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body and bridge handles; large brown paste semispherical bowl with low walls and flat thickened base; small brown paste semispherical bowl with high walls and flat base; large brown paste semispherical bowl with high walls and flat and thickened base; large grey paste sahumador with conical bowl without perforations and hollow conical handle; medium grey paste cup with elongated foot with modelled toes; medium grey paste cup with elongated foot with incised toes without cone added to vessel wall (2); large grey paste cup with slightly excurvate wall-rim, concave base, wiped on the interior and exterior rim, partially burnished on body; small grey paste olla with wide mouth, low excurvate neck-rim and concave base (2); medium grey paste olla with wide mouth, low excurvate neck-rim and concave base; small grey paste olla with restricted mouth, low excurvate neck-rim and concave base; small grey paste olla with wide mouth, low excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body, concave base with cylindrical spout in body; large grey paste composite silhouette bowl with low walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim, concave base and different tones; large grey paste composite silhouette bowl with low walls, high angle, excurvate wall-rim, concave base and different tones (2); medium grey paste cantaro with low neck, excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body and cylindrical spout; medium grey paste cantaro	

					with low neck, excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body and burnished decoration on the exterior (3); medium grey paste cantaro with low neck, excurvate neck rim and subspherical body; small grey paste plate with concave base and fire clouds (2); medium grey paste plate with concave base and fire clouds (5); medium grey paste plate with concave base (3); large grey paste plate with concave base and different tones; large grey paste plate with concave base;	
Fábrica San José	Burial 7	Grave	2 (female, adult) 1 (male, adult)	1 female west-east, extended supine	ND	Drennan 1976
Fábrica San José	Burial 17	Grave	1 (male, adult)	ND	ND	Drennan 1976
Fábrica San José	Burial 46	Grave	1 (female?, adult)	north-south, extended	ND	Drennan 1976
Monte Albán	Tomb 7	Tomb	6 (male, adult) 2 (female, adult) 1 (infant)	ND	(misc) silver and gold pectorals (presence); trophy skull with turquoise mosaic; lost-wax cast gold beads with carbon nuclei (presence); jade and gold fan handles (presence); gold and silver cosmetic tweezers (presence); gold and silver rings (presence) gold and silver bells (presence); gold earspools (presence); gold false fingernails (presence); jade and gold lip plugs (presence); turquoise beads (presence); gold diadem; silver bowls (presence); rock crystal bowls (presence); tecali (presence); obsidian earspools (presence); various necklaces (presence); codex bones (presence);	Flannery and Marcus 2003:283
Dainzú	Tomb 1	Tomb	ND	ND	(ceramics) large grey paste semispherical bowl with low walls and concave base; miniature brown paste semispherical bowl without handles (17); small brown paste sahumador with semispherical bowl with perforations in base and incised decoration; brown paste patojo with low excurvate neck-rim and handles; small brown paste olla with wide mouth, low excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body, flat base and decorated with appliqué cones; small brown paste olla with wide mouth, low excurvate neck-rim, subspherical body, flat base and conical handles; small brown paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base (9); grey paste patojo with handles;	Markens 2008, Markens 2004
Dainzú	Tomb 6	Tomb	ND	ND	(ceramics) large grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base; miniature brown paste olla with handles; miniature brown paste tray with handles; miniature brown paste plate (5); brown paste patojo with incipient writings and tail (2);	Bernal and Oliveros 1988 (In Markens 2008), Markens 2004
Dainzú	Burial 5	Grave	1 (female, adult)	ND	(ceramics) large grey paste semispherical bowl with high walls	Bernal and Oliveros 1988

					and concave base; miniature brown paste semispherical bowl without handles; grey paste patojo with handles;	(In Markens 2008), Markens 2004
Monte Albán	PSCMA 1991 Bur. 2	Grave	ND	ND	(ceramics) small brown paste comal; large brown paste comal; medium brown paste olla with wide mouth, low excurvate neck-rim and subspherical body; medium brown paste olla with restricted mouth, low excurvate neck-rim and subspherical body and amorphous handles; medium brown paste composite silhouette bowl with high walls, groove in interior wall and serpent head supports (2); medium brown paste polychrome semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base; medium composite silhouette bowl with high walls, low angle, recto-divergent wall-rim, long hollow conical supports and different tones;	Markens 2004
Infonavit	T.1/1978	Tomb	2 (male, adult) 3 (female, adult)	ND	(ceramics) medium cream paste semispherical bowl with high walls and flat base, Huitzo Polished Cream Type; medium cream paste semispherical bowl with high walls and concave base, Huitzo Polished Cream type; large cream paste sahumador with spherical bowl and hollow handle; brown paste anthropomorphic urns (5); large grey paste sahumador with semispherical bowl with small perforations and incised decorations; medium grey paste composite silhouette bowl with low walls, high angle, incurvate wall-rim and concave base;	Martínez López 1998 (in Markens 2004), Markens 2004
Mitla	Tomb 1	Tomb	ND	ND	ND	Robles García 2016
Mitla	Tomb 2	Tomb	ND	ND	ND	Robles García 2016