Grounding the past : the praxis of participatory archaeology in the Mixteca Alta, Oaxaca, Mexico

Geurds, A.

Grounding the Past

The Praxis of Participatory Archaeology in the Mixteca Alta, Oaxaca, Mexico

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Alexander Geurds

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1

Introduction

'Archaeologists can no longer ignore the components of the contemporary social context that is articulated with the archaeological resource. In this sense, we can no longer deny the need to be sensitive and receptive to the communities around us.'

- Nelly Robles García (1998)

1.1 Introduction

It is the aim of this dissertation to describe the praxis of participatory archaeology in the Mixteca Alta, Oaxaca, Mexico, featured through the case-studies of research conducted in the communities of Santiago Tilantongo and Santiago Apoala. In each case, the specific social contexts of participatory approaches that featured in the activities are analyzed and subsequently related to a reflection on the concept of participatory archaeology in settings of descendant communities. In doing so, local power relations and issues of representation in these projects are identified.

The past and contemporary nature of the archaeological praxis in the Mixteca Alta has had negative consequences for participatory research. Increasingly, a process of negative image building is noticeable in the region, in which archaeology has not been capable of recognizing the importance of indigenous collaboration, other than for motifs of multicultural diplomacy. Incentives for collaboration have occurred, but in a high number of cases these efforts were halted due to conflicting interests between the participating parties.

In particular during the constitutive elements of these partnerships, such as official meetings, public presentations and imparted conferences, the involved local and non-local social actors produce conflicting agendas by creating and transforming power relations. The attendant influences on the projects' participatory elements are detected and analyzed through applying qualitative techniques derived from ethnography and social geography. These reflections critically situate participatory efforts that recently have received an increased interest from within archaeology, as a result of the broadening interrogation of archaeology's field praxis and its embeddedness in the political present. It is argued, however, that eagerly constructed participatory

archaeological projects, many of which go under the heading of 'community archaeology', are in need of similar reflexive analysis of their field activities in order to exclude idealized and thus unthinking narratives of a harmonious archaeological praxis.

The argument, as outlined by the individual chapters, follows a narrative course that reflects the process of increasing awareness of the author's own positionality, whereby early chapters present a objectifying narrative consistent with the regional archaeological tradition focused on materialist analysis of surface artifacts ranging from the Late Formative to the Postclassic period (300 BC – AD 1521) through survey and mapping. Based on a reflexive analysis of the participatory elements and local power relations recognized in them, the subsequent chapters explore alternative means for embedding the production of historical knowledge in local perceptions of landscape and monuments.

Landscape as a spatial concept is seen here as a local sphere of interest, that holds a recursive relationship to its inhabitants manifested through narrated histories in both pre-colonial pictographic documents and contemporary oral tradition. This has, for example, allowed for the integration of locally meaningful natural features in archaeological analyses. Ultimately, integrating oral tradition in participatory partnerships leaves behind the notion of a normative past, and represents an opportunity for ethically valid and socially valuable research for both archaeology and descendant community.

1.1.1 Mesoamerican cultural backdrop

The pre-colonial cultural developments in Santiago Tilantongo and Santiago Apoala, and more widely in the Mixteca Alta take shape against the background of the Mesoamerican culture area (Figure 1.1). Mesoamerica as a culture area was introduced in 1943 by Paul Kirchhoff as part of a wider scheme of culture areas covering the American continent, and was delimited based on cultural characteristics and ethnic composition at the time of the Spanish Conquest (Kirchhoff 1943). Despite a range of critiques as to the epistemic value of the culture area concept (recently by Carmack et al 1996 and López Austin and López Lujan 1996) it currently still remains the main geo-cultural reference for situating research into pre-and postcolonial material culture and history and will be used accordingly in this text. Most recently, defining Mesoamerican features were listed as: 1) a basic structuring economy; 2) worldview and related ritual practice; and 3) materialized social stratification (Joyce 2004a:3). In this sense, the Mixteca Alta and more generally Oaxaca, have quickly become one of the most defining regions of Mesoamerica, since systematic archaeological studies were initiated in the first half of the twentieth century (Paddock 1966).

Following the Paleaoindian or Preceramic period (e.g. Flannery et al. 1981, Flannery and Spores 1983), the first chronological periods describing the developments in Mesoamerica, the Early and Middle Formative, are the time periods during which the Mesoamerican culture area begins to take shape (Figure 1.2). The primary vehicle for this formation is cultural contact, and

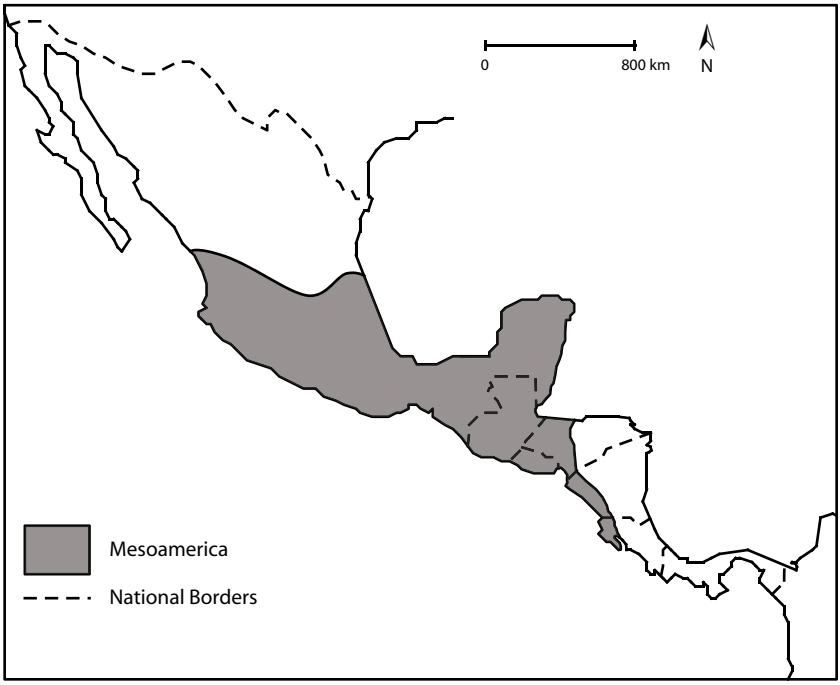


Figure 1.1 Map of Mesoamerica.

Years	Mesoamerica (Joyce 2000)	Valley of Oaxaca (1) (Blanton et al. 1999)	Valley of Oaxaca (2) (Martínez et al. 2000)	Mixteca Alta (Balkansky et al. 2000)
AD 1521	Colonial	Monte Alban V	Chila	Convento
AD 1250	Late Postclassic			Natividad
AD 1000			Liobaa	
AD 800	Early Postclassic	Monte Alban IV		Las Flores
AD 500	Late Classic	Monte Alban IIIb	Xoo	
AD 300	Early Classic	Monte Alban IIIa	Monte Alban IIIa	
300 BC	Late Formative	Monte Alban II	Monte Alban II	Late Ramos
		Monte Alban Late I	Monte Alban Late I	Early Ramos
	Middle Formative	Monte Alban Early I	Monte Alban Early I	Late Cruz
		Rosario	Rosario	
900 BC		Guadalupe	Guadalupe	Early/Middle Cruz
	Early Formative	San Jose	San Jose	
		Tierras Largas	Tierras Largas	
1500 BC		Espiridon	Espiridon	

Figure 1.2 Chronological Chart of different Mesoamerican regions.

particularly across regions of Central Mexico, Oaxaca, and the Gulf Coast. Specifically in the latter area (i.e. San Lorenzo), in combination with the coastal region of the modern Mexican and Guatemalan border (i.e. Mokaya), complex societies take shape during this period. An, at first modest and then gradually more marked, increase in population is registered in regions across Mesoamerica and the Mixteca Alta during the Cruz Phase (1500 – 300 BC) appears to equally take part in this process (Spores 1983e). In the Mixteca, the Middle Formative is followed by the Late Formative Ramos Phase (300 BC – AD 200/300), a time of drastic changes in settlement patterns throughout the Mixteca Alta and political hierarchies that rapidly increase in complexity. Mobility and exchange systems expand and become an integral part of society. The foundation of Monte Albán in the Oaxaca Valley around 500 BC and its susbsequent explosive growth, does not remain without impact in the Mixteca Alta: this is the period when the process of urbanization is initiated in the region, exemplified in the archaeological record by early urban centers such as Yucuita in the Nochixtlán Valley. The valley in which Santiago Tilantongo would much later be founded is one of the areas in the Mixteca Alta that experiences this early urban growth, resulting in the relatively short occupation of the Monte Negro site.

After the abandonment of Monte Negro, cultural developments in the Basin of Mexico take a turn that would mark the Basin as well as large parts of Mesoamerica, leading up to northwest Mexico and down to Honduras, for several centuries to come. These developments are fueled by Teotihuacán. This primate urban centre exerted a significant influence on the material culture of the Mixteca Alta, primarily through the influx of orange ware ceramics and obsidian, which it exchanged by means of trade networks between the Basin of Mexico and the Oaxaca Valley. Simultaneously, Monte Albán establishes itself in the latter mentioned valley as the regionally dominating centre. During this Las Flores Phase (AD 200/300 – 900), the geographically fragmented Mixteca Alta is able to create several valley-based politically autonomous systems, as evidenced, for example, in the Nochixtlán Valley, the Teposcolula Valley, and the more southerly Chalcatongo Valley. This is a period of profuse building activity in the Mixteca, with residential structures and civic-ceremonial centers dotting many of the countless hilltops, and includes a particular iconographic development in the adjoining Mixteca Baja, referred to as the Ñuiñe style (Moser 1977, 1983; Paddock 1965). This period of rapid growth is also a period with a dramatic finale, marked by the all but abandonment of many of the Las Flores settlements even before AD 900. This is the onset of the transitional period in the region that has been referred to as a 'dark age' (Winter 1994:217). Though this description may be more evocative than called for, certain is that other Mesoamerican regions also experience drastic changes in this time period. These changes are primarily seen through political and urban fragmentation, following a general, though certainly not exclusive trend of going from perceived centralized urban centers to the wide-spread city-state political organization of the

Postclassic period (Marcus 1989). This trend is one of the leading motifs of the Mesoamerica Epiclassic period that preceded Postclassic times.

The Postclassic is represented in the Mixteca Alta by the Natividad Phase (AD 900 – 1521), which in fact still is imbalanced by an overwhelming reliance on Postclassic ceramic types appearing in the second half of the period. The Postclassic period is also the time of florescence of Tilantongo, as attested by numerous 16th century historical sources as well as abundant references in Late Postclassic pictorial manuscripts which place emphasis on the regional influence of its powerful political elite (cf. Anders et al. 1992a,b; Acuña 1984; Burgoa 1934 [1678]; Jansen and Perez Jimenez 2005; Reyes 1976 [1593]). Other than Tilantongo, such historically lauded centers of power are Coixtlahuaca; Teposcolula; Tututepec; Achiutla and Tlaxiaco, among a few others, but only the first three convincingly reflect the historical reports in their Natividad archaeological record (cf. Bernal 1948; Joyce et al. 2004; Spores and Robles in press, Spores 1993; Stiver 2001). Overall, the Natividad adheres to the trend for increasing interaction and mobility seen throughout Mesoamerica (Ball and Brockington 1978, Gutiérrez Mendoza 2000; Gutiérrez Mendoza and van Rossum 2006; Jansen et al. 1998); contact maintained through extensive networks of roads and paths that were eventually also used by the Spanish and their indigenous counterparts (Hassig 1985:171-219; Rees 1975; Sousa and Terraciano 2003).

The Postclassic ends historically with the arrival of the Spanish and the conquest of the Mexica capital Tenochtitlán in 1521. In the Mixteca Alta, cultural continuity seems to provide in a more accurate description of the period than the dominant image of Spanish Conquest normally evokes. The archaeological record, and in particular ceramic production, continues relatively undisturbed for several decades, before eventually beginning to show substantial change over the introduction of Spanish Colonial material culture. The Early Colonial Convento phase thus also shows significant overlap in style and diagnostics with its (as mentioned predominantly Late Postclassic) Natividad predecessor. Changes are first seen in iconography in, for example, the transition from Pilitas to Iglesia Vieja polychrome ceramics (Lind 1987). Eventually, in the latter half of the sixteenth century an increasing influence of the Spanish political and religious administration is seen that has its effect on the settlement pattern, thereby ending one of the primary indicators for archaeological analysis and the pre-colonial landscape of the Mixteca Alta.

1.1.2 Site-based and Valley-based archaeology

Much current archaeological research in Oaxaca is defined by the multiscalar approach (Feinman 1997, 1998) whereby diverse scales of archaeological analysis are considered, ranging from household analysis (e.g. Blanton 1994; Feinman and Nicholas 2004; Feinman et al. 2002; Haines et al. 2004; Flannery 1976b; Pérez Rodríguez 2003) via settlement-based analysis to regional analysis (e.g. Spencer and Redmond 1997; Balkansky et al. 2000).

Settlement-based research in Oaxaca is well-developed and continues to be one of the primary ways for conducting archaeology, with frequently small numbers of sites being subjected to excavation in the Oaxaca Valley and the Mixteca (recent examples include Blomster 2004; Feinman and Nicholas 2004; Finsten 1995; Heredia Espinoza 2005; King 2003; Pérez Rodríguez 2003; Spores and Robles in press; Sherman 2005; Workinger 2002).

Far less common are site-based projects in Oaxaca that also involve a heritage management aspect; the most established example of this approach being the Monte Albán Archaeological Zone. Monte Albán is the only UNESCO World Heritage Site in the state, and numerous heritage initiatives have developed at the site over the last 20 years, overshadowing any of the other sites in Oaxaca linked in some way to heritage management projects. Other than those based on communitarian museums, no heritage projects initiated by non-local partners have developed in communities.

In terms of community involvement, a drawback of site management is that it often entails activities of preservation and as a result thereof, the site is often divorced from its contemporary local functions. This leads to the apparent severing of existing ties between the nearby community and the site itself, which is then increasingly associated with state policies born from preservation measures. Alternative scenarios are possible though, and heritage management does not, however, necessarily lead to this separation: case studies of site-based heritage management projects from Mesoamerica and other areas of the world can be named that focus more on the incorporation of local values that are then invested in the site and where pragmatic avenues of protecting the site are sought (Grimwade and Carter 2000; Breglia 2005). The contrast of smaller and thus *monumentally* arguably less impacting sites to a site like Monte Albán, located next to the state capital and attracting 100,000s of visitors on a yearly basis, is obvious, but this difference in size makes conservation of smaller sites, like many of those in the Mixteca Alta, even more desirable in light of their local value and position in the cultural landscape.

In many of the regional archaeological projects, valleys form a natural setting, a preference that goes back to the origins of settlement pattern surveys in the Americas (cf. Willey 1953) and its early applications in Mesoamerica (MacNeish 1972; Sanders et al. 1979). Central to many of these studies is the concept of cultural ecology (Kowalewski and Finsten 1983; Sanders and Nichols 1988), being the identification and study of processes by which a human group adapts to a particular social and natural environment (Steward 1955:40-42). This has pushed archaeologists active in Oaxaca to develop strategies enabling the production of comprehensive explanatory models regarding cultural continuity and change. For Oaxaca, this has resulted in the increased application of anthropological as well as ethnohistorical data from more recent periods.

As argued above, the Mixteca Alta represents a particularly well-suited region to conduct valley-based archaeological surveys, enriched by data from later periods as for example the

Postclassic period and the transition to the early Colonial period or in some cases contemporary times through ethnoarchaeological research. This linking of data from one period to explain processes in an earlier one is part of a long tradition in Valley-based research in the Mixteca Alta and started with the Nochixtlán Valley Project. This project explicitly outlined the application of the direct historical approach in its methodology (Spores 1972). More recent continuations of this line of interdisciplinary research are projects undertaken in the Oaxaca Valley and on the Oaxaca coast (Gutiérrez Mendoza 2000, 2002; Jansen et al. 1998; Kröfges 2006; Zeitlin 1991, Joyce et al. 2004). In all, valley-based research has thus proven to be a common setting for archaeological research in Oaxaca (recent examples include Balkansky 1998b; Feinman and Nicholas 1999; Stiver 2001; Winter 1996; and Balkansky et al. 2000, with the difference that this latter research incorporated multiple valleys).

1.2 Objectives

The choice to conduct the archaeological activities in the municipal territories of Santiago Tilantongo and Santiago Apoala had its origin in two written applications of the respective political authorities at the regional office of the National Institute of Anthropology and History (herafter Centro INAH-Oaxaca) for an archaeological investigation. Leiden University through the Faculty of Archaeology and this author subsequently became involved due to a formal agreement of collaboration with the Centro INAH-Oaxaca. The parameters set for this agreement outlined the triangle of local community-Centro INAH-Oaxaca-Faculty of Archeology, and explicitly put the emphasis on community-based initiatives for conducting the archaeological research.

1.2.1 Participatory archaeology

A first objective for the research conducted in both Tilantongo and Apoala was to establish and explore the dynamics of participatory links to the locally involved communities and pursue their inclusion in the archaeological research. The origins for this objective lie in archaeological activities undertaken in the Mixteca Alta communities of Villa Hidalgo de Chalcatongo and Santiago Yosondúa during two fieldwork campaigns in 1998 and 1999 (Figure 1.3). The fieldwork conducted during this project consisted of the surface survey of the Chalcatongo Valley and the surrounding hills, reaching south to include some areas of the municipality of Santiago Yosondúa. This area, located at about 2500 meters above sea level in the southern extensions of the Mixteca Alta, had not yet seen any systematic archaeological activities despite a remarkably rich archaeological record, which became evident in the surveying and mapping activities (Caretta and Geurds 1998; Geurds 1999).

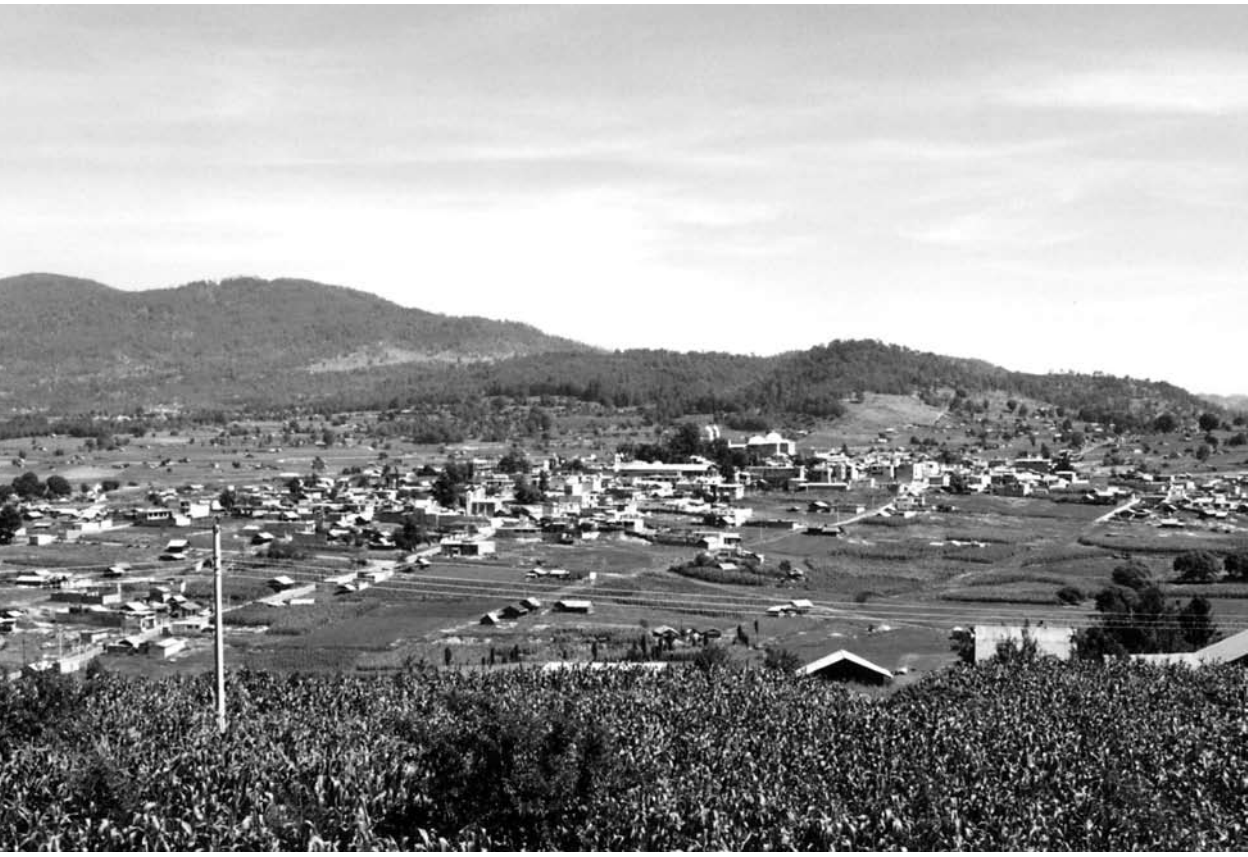


Figure 1.3 Villa Chalcatongo de Hidalgo.

Apart from these archaeological results however, inhabitants of Chalcatongo or Yosondúa did not fill any role of significance in the fieldwork. The two field campaigns were conducted by a team consisting of four persons and they used a rented house at the outskirts of the municipal centre for housing and processing of the collected data. Despite the fact that the level of Spanish language proficiency of all the participants, excluding the Mexican field director, was below many standards for meaningful communication, this did not result in any limitations for the project as it took its course. In other words, no communication with the local community was required, nor sought.

Interaction with the municipal authorities was limited to the initial phase of the project, and consisted of cordial visits to the municipal president in order to present the project and formally request permission for the field activities and lodging in the community. Although these meetings were filled with elegant semantics, no factual initiative for input (other than

agreeing or disagreeing to the project) was debated in these conferrals. In later stages of the project, it became virtually impossible to meet up with any of the representatives of the authorities, who commonly were not to be found at the municipal building, evidencing the lack of participation. Moreover, the popular approval of the authorities in Chalcatongo was low and our scarce meetings with them were viewed with indifference or even mistrust. Meetings with other municipal authorities in surrounding communities took on a similar character, reaching instances where it was implicitly advised not to speak to the authorities at all. As said, the lack of communication did not affect the objectives of these two field campaigns, but it did represent a moral lacuna in the overall field research.

The abovementioned provided for one of the problems addressed in case-studies of the archaeological activities undertaken in Santiago Tilantongo and Santiago Apoala. As such, a contribution is sought to the growing debate of ethics in archaeological fieldwork. Ethical considerations in archaeology have in recent years seen a significant increase in publications (e.g. Green 1984; Lynott and Wylie 1995; Meskell and Pels 2005; Scarre and Scarre 2006; Vitelli 1996), and are characterized by attempts to outline ethically 'good practice' as well as attempts at probing ethical dynamics during archaeological fieldwork. The heterogeneity of contemporary cultural settings against which this fieldwork takes place, has proven to be a difficult element to reconcile with the establishment of guidelines for practicing archaeologists. These settings range from urbanized areas where building contractors; local or supra-local governing bodies; and other local stakeholders are involved in the archaeological fieldwork, to rural settings where comparable supra-local bodies fill very different social roles and local political actors may have a determining voice in the archaeological activities. Stakeholders in material culture, based on their cultural association to these materials represent a further dimension of influence on the archaeological praxis.

The present study is primarily concerned with the latter two scenarios that intertwine in the regional setting of the Mixteca Alta, and it seeks to evaluate participatory approaches, such as that of the 'community archaeology' (see Chapter Two). Finally, it looks to add to existing debates on the present and future of archaeological praxis in Mexican stakeholder settings. Archaeology in Oaxaca, and in particular in the Mixteca Alta, is a field traditionally characterized by an emphasis on regional survey in order to seek understanding into socio-political development during pre-colonial times, and this study seeks to illuminate the praxis in which these understandings are reached.

1.2.2 Monte Negro Mapping and Heritage

The activities undertaken in Tilantongo departs from the aforementioned request from the municipal authorities of Santiago Tilantongo and thus hold a survey of the spatial arrangement of monumental architecture in the site's core area as one of the primary research goals. In the process of this goal, structures will be described and, where possible, identified as to their

functionality. Part of this inquiry into functionality will be an analysis of spatial order in the architecture visible on the surface. It will be argued that from this architectural layout, inferences can be made about the social position of rulership in relation to sacredness during Late Formative times at Monte Negro.

In order to obtain an understanding of the state of conservation, all the architecture visible on the surface will be mapped, thereby establishing an inventory of damages to the structures in the core area. In this inventory numerous types of damages are recorded and assessed in terms of graveness and possible urgency of consolidation. The management of this monumental site with archaeological features is rare for the Oaxacan region and an architectural character previously noted for its uniqueness is a second point of emphasis in the field. It is thus a concern for this research to provide advice on how to maintain it materially sound and safeguard it from additional damages in the future.

1.2.3 The Apoala Valley survey

The principal aim of the Apoala Valley survey is to register all archaeological remains in the project area, which is defined by the limits of the Apoala municipal grounds. This includes registration, description, and mapping of the extant archaeological sites. An additional goal included in the process of mapping these sites is the proposition of site boundaries. These registering activities assist in the ongoing INAH project for the development of an updated state-wide database on archaeological sites (García García and Palacios González 1976). In doing so, particular attention will be given to determining the nature of the regional relationship to the nearby Cuicatlán Cañada and Nochixtlán Valley. A focus on the nature of interregional interaction with the Oaxaca Valley is not considered a primary goal for the survey in light of the small size of the covered area relative to previously surveyed areas that did address this question (see also Chapter Two).

The local initiative for an archaeological investigation is primarily taken in consideration of the substantial flow of tourism towards the community of Apoala. Accordingly, research design emphasizes the recording and investigation of archaeological sites and their natural surroundings in order to ensure their future protection and conservation, and to propose the necessary protective measures regarding their preservation. Due to the geographical attractiveness of the Apoala Valley, the area functions as one the few destinations for mainstream state; national; as well as international tourism in the Mixteca Alta. The influx on a daily basis of visitors to the Valley aids the local economy, but also causes a stress on the local archaeological record that normally is not seen in the Mixteca. This leads to a necessity for the management of these cultural remains; an observation supported locally by many Apoala residents. Archaeological research is therefore needed in order to structure the management of these remains in advance of their destruction.

A following objective is to collect information about toponyms or place-names in the Mixtec language still now in use in the Apoala Valley. Examples may include terrains; hilltops; monolithic rocks; caves; stones; and other known locales. This element of the research is to be conducted in collaboration with community members in order to establish a map of the toponyms coordinated by the municipality of Santiago Apoala.

Finally, the third research goal is to conduct a survey of the valley to create an overview of contemporary agricultural activities. As the natural surroundings are marked by a high degree of fertility by the year-round flowing Apoala River, the irrigation system features have developed into a complex network of main streams and side branches reaching into the remote pockets of the valley floor (Geurds and Van Broekhoven 2003, 2006; for a comparable example from the Oaxaca Valley see Lees 1973).

1.2.4 Organization of the thesis

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter Two will be dedicated to presenting the geographical characteristics of the Mixteca Alta and some relevant neighboring regions, as well as include an introduction to the archaeological investigation that helped shape the current knowledge of pre-colonial developments. Following this will be the methods employed in the archaeological research in addition to a summary of the ceramic chronology used for the Mixteca Alta. After this, the thesis discussed is divided into two parts: Part I consists of two chapters detailing the execution and results of the mentioned research in Santiago Tilantongo and Apoala, which are structured in the following way: Chapter Three discusses the surface architecture of Monte Negro. After an overview of existing research at and ideas on the local and regional role of Monte Negro, the monumental features will be described and analyzed with regard to the distinction between residential and non-residential architecture. Lastly, a conservation assessment of several of the structures in the core area of the site is given in which proposals are made to ensure the continuing preservation of the structures.

Chapter Four describes the inventory of sites registered in the Apoala Valley, after having highlighted some elements of Apoala history as recorded during the Late Postclassic and Colonial periods in ethnohistorical sources. On the basis of the site inventory, a habitation history of the valley is reconstructed that ranges from the Formative to Colonial periods. Finally an interpretation of the settlement dynamics from the Formative to the Postclassic period in the valley is provided.

Part II analyzes the case studies of Tilantongo and Apoala in light of the participatory elements contained in the archaeological fieldwork. Participation is described with regard to which persons took part in what part of the research, and on what basis this occurred. Through reflexive examination of the social dynamics of the chosen participatory approach of 'community archaeology', social actors involved in the project activities and their positions during the periods of fieldwork are identified and evaluated as to their role and goals in the overall

archaeological research. The chapter goes on to illustrate the social dynamics of participatory archaeology through examining personal views on the historicity of the Monte Negro and Apoala Valley surroundings. From this, it will become clear that the participatory praxis of archaeology involves issues of trust and therefore mutual obligations. These dynamics are often oversimplified and romanticized in current description of participatory forms of archaeology, like that of the community archaeology. These obligations are problematic and must be presaged when building partnership in local contexts. The primary conclusion is that the construction of local history in both Monte Negro and the Apoala Valley is intimately linked to landscape features. These features are not exclusively archaeological sites, but may also be natural places; lacking any material culture. Stories are articulated that alter these landscape features by naming them and weaving them into particular narrative elements.

Chapter Six proposes the incorporation of oral tradition in participatory archaeology as a locally present body of historical data that can be of relevance to the overall research questions of the given project. Contained in oral tradition, the concept of landscape is introduced as an epistemic canvas of memory used by both archaeology and local community for generating knowledge regarding history. It is proposed here that both the study of toponyms as well as stories provide entry points into this narrated landscape that can serve as a more comprehensive methodology and enable a synthesis of knowledge by both participating partners through dialogue and searching for truths.

The Conclusion finally summarizes the research findings and the deconstructive and constructive elements put forward in Chapters Five and Six. It finishes by advocating a participatory archaeology in Oaxaca that de-traditionalizes conceptions of indigenous communities where webs of social relations suffuse the community sphere, disabling the current framework in which community archaeology operates. Ultimately, by incorporating a perspective of multivocality, the creation of alternative histories will be enabled that work along scientific principles whilst simultaneously incorporating local indigenous perceptions of history.

2

Background, Methods, and Approach

2.1 Geographical and Cultural Backdrop

The archaeological materials reflected on in this book originate from several regions neighboring the Mixteca, such as the Oaxaca Valley and the Cuicatlán Cañada. This warrants a geographical description that briefly elucidates the primary geographical features of these regions, before detailing the geography of the Mixteca Alta.

2.1.1 Oaxaca[1]

Largely located between 15°40' and 18°40' degrees North Latitude and 93°40' and 98°35' West Longitude, the modern state of Oaxaca is marked by significant diversity, in terms of geography as well as flora and fauna (Figure 2.1). Physiographically, Oaxaca is situated between a neovolcanic plateau to the northwest and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to the southeast. Its geology has been argued to be one of the most complex in Mexico (Ferrusquia-Villafranca 1971: 14). Topography is determined by the two major mountain systems of the Sierra Madre del Sur and the Sierra Madre Oriental which make contact in Oaxaca; causing a majority of terrains that are quite rugged, many of which are slightly or severely affected by soil erosion. Elevation ranges from the Pacific coastal stretch up to over 3200 meters for the highest peaks inland. The topographic fragmentation sketched above has created numerous climatic and biological niches, such as cloud forest, savanna and pine forest habitats. The fragmented nature of Oaxaca is often cited as the primary causal factor for the cultural and linguistic diversity seen during pre-colonial times as well as in current day expressions of culture in Oaxaca (Monaghan 1994). The Mixteca Alta is characterized by the typical reddish earths of the Yanhuitlán Beds that underlie for example the Nochixtlán Valley (Kirkby 1972).

1 'Oaxaca' is a term used to refer to the region encompassing the modern day Mexican state Oaxaca, but in practice many times its use will be restricted to the archaeologically more well-known sub-regions within that state: the Mixteca (consisting of the Alta, Baja and Costa areas); The Oaxaca Valley; and the Cuicatlán Cañada. Even though the state encompasses many more sub-regions, archaeological data from them is, regrettably, still fragmentary. This use of the term Oaxaca is consistent with widespread use in the archaeological literature.

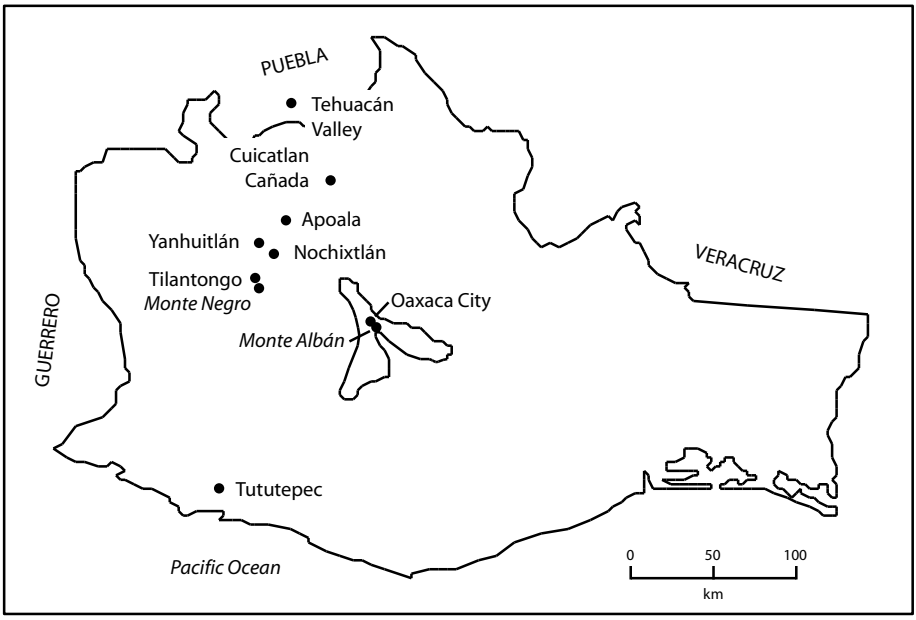


Figure 2.1 Map of Oaxaca and the Oaxaca Valley (modified from Marcus and Flannery 1996).

Besides speakers of Zapotec, located in the centre and eastern part of the state, speakers of Mixtec culture occupy a central role in the Oaxacan cultural spectrum and are predominantly located east of the Oaxaca Valley in the Mixteca. Scattered throughout the mountains, small agriculturally attractive highland valleys are found, some of which have significant sizes. The Oaxaca coast is marked by fertile coastal flatlands. The largest of agriculturally productive terrains however, is the Oaxaca Valley.

The Oaxaca Valley is the single largest area of flat alluvial grounds in Oaxaca, and features the Salado and Atoyac Rivers draining the valley floor at a mean altitude of 1600 meters above sea level (Figure 2.2). Mean temperature is around 20° degrees Celsius and precipitation is 500 to 850 mm on average per year depending on the location in the valley (Garvin 1994: Table 2.5). Both rivers meet near the modern state capital Oaxaca de Juarez. The Formative period human occupation of the valley has been researched exhaustively and goes back to at least 3500 years BP (Drennan 1976; Fisch 1982; Flannery 1976a, 1986; Flannery and Spores 1983; Flannery and Marcus 2000; Marcus 1983c; Pires-Ferreira 1975; Whalen 1976). Speakers of Zapotec have been the dominant people in the Valley in the past and still today represent a large majority of indigenous language speakers, along with a somewhat smaller number of Mixtec

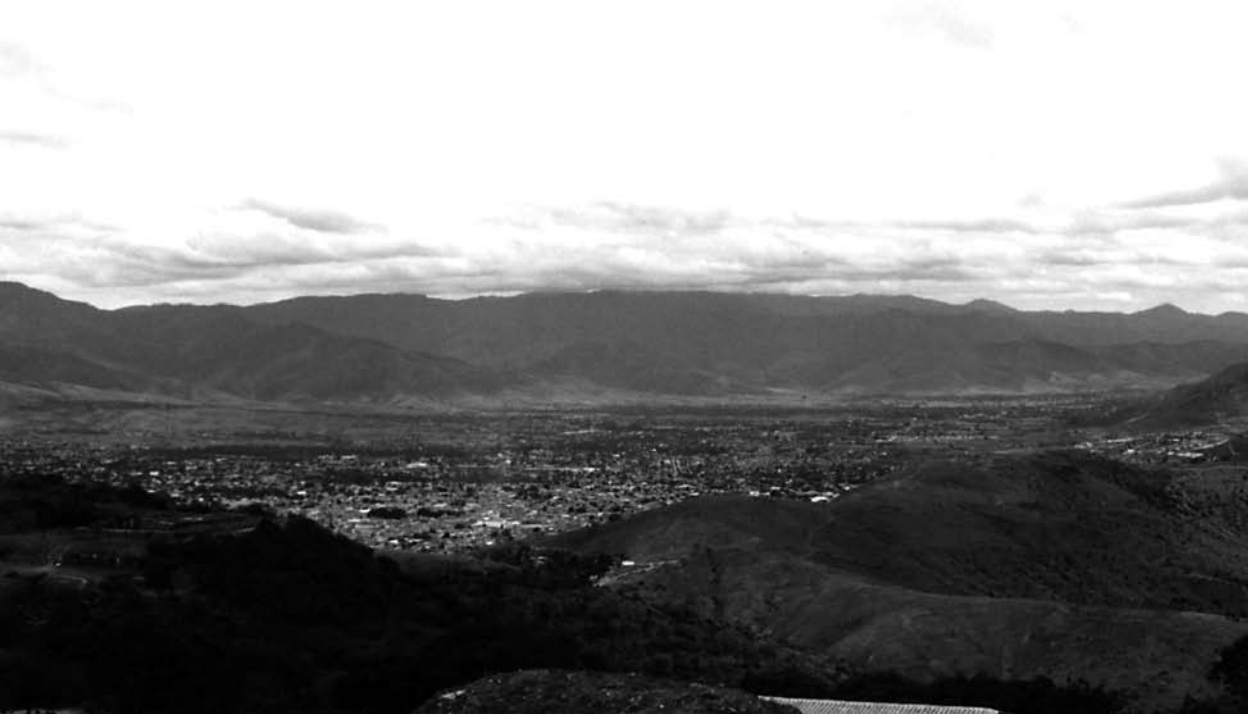


Figure 2.2 The Oaxaca Valley.

speakers. Cultural development in the Oaxaca Valley culminated in the genesis of one of the earliest examples of the early state in Mesoamerica, with the foundation of the Monte Albán settlement dated at 500 BC (Blanton 1976; 1983a). Monte Albán would undergo explosive growth during its period I and subsequently exert influence on other areas of Oaxaca, including the Cuicatlán Cañada. This influence is primarily attested through traces of material interaction and scenarios of conflict and conquest (Balkansky 2002; Blanton et al. 1999; Marcus 1976, 1983; Payerón Moreno 1960; Redmond and Spencer 1983; Spencer 1982; Spencer and Redmond 1997, 2001a,b), and the nature and extension of Monte Albán influence has been a debated issue (Mason et al. 1977; O'Brien and Lewarch 1992; O'Brien et al. 1989; Urcid 2000; Workinger 2002; Zeitlin 1990; Zeitlin and Joyce 1999).

The Cuicatlán Cañada is situated north of the Oaxaca Valley and northeast of the Mixteca Alta and is formed by a canyon with the Río Grande draining it in a northwestern direction toward the Tehuacán Valley. Altitudes are substantially lower here than in the Oaxaca Valley and do not exceed 700 meters above sea level. Mean temperatures are thus also significantly higher

than in the Oaxaca Valley, averaging around 25° degrees Celsius. Precipitation in the Cañada is on average around 400 mm per year (Rodrigo 1997). Cultural ties between the Cuicatlán Cañada and the Oaxaca Valley materialized during the period of Monte Albán growth (Cruz Vasquez 1999; Spencer and Redmond 2001b); connections to the neighboring Mixteca Alta though, are far less clear pronounced in the material record.

2.1.2 Mixteca Alta

The Mixteca Alta forms part of a three-fold regional division of the Mixteca area, the other two being the Mixteca Baja and the Mixteca de la Costa (Figure 2.3). It is largely populated by ethnic Mixtec, but also includes speakers of other languages pertaining to the Otomanguean language family, such as Trique, Amuzgo, Chatino, Chocho and Popoloca, as well as few remaining speakers of Ixcatec. Despite the longstanding and widespread reference to these three areas, the precise regional boundaries have not been defined and remain somewhat debatable. Mean altitude however, seems to be a central delimiting feature. Roughly speaking, the Mixteca Baja is located to the northwest of the Mixteca Alta, reaching and overlapping somewhat into the neighboring modern states of Puebla and Guerrero, and terrains are lower (on average between 800 and 1600 meters above sea level)

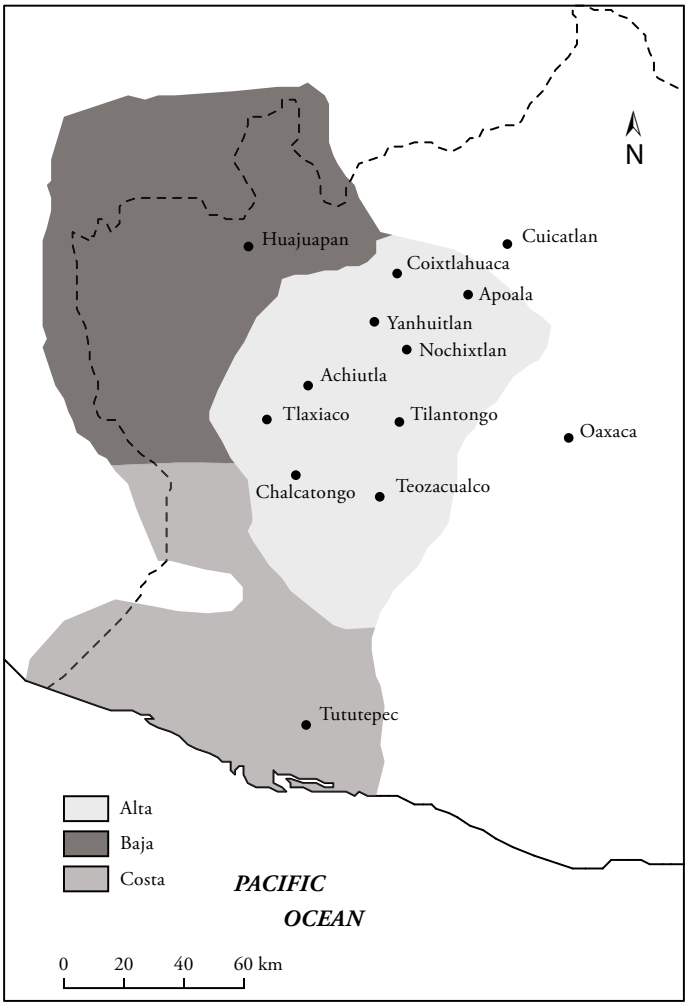


Figure 2.3 Map of the Mixteca, outlining the three sub-regions (modified from Terraciano 2001).

and thus warmer and dryer on average than in the Alta. The Mixteca de la Costa is determined by the coastal strip starting in the west around the border with Guerrero and continuing on to the coastline of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. Leading inland, height is the determining factor, where 750 meters above sea level provides the border to the Mixteca Alta (Spores 1984: 11). The Mixteca de la Costa annually receives much more rainfall than the Alta or the Baja combined. This is due to meteorological depressions that float in from the Pacific Ocean and deposit the bulk of rainfall before passing the southernmost mountains of the Alta. Annual rainfall has reported to be over 2200 mm in some places (Rodrigo 1997).

The Mixteca Alta features several valleys at valley floor altitudes of on average around 2000 meters above sea level. These valleys can be divided in primary and secondary valleys based on their relative sizes. Most of the valleys are quite narrow and have a limited amount of arable alluvium, with piedmonts rising at steep inclinations (Figure 2.4). As a result, environmental diversity is abundant in the Mixteca Alta (Smith 1976). The largest primary valley is the centrally located Nochixtlán Valley, which was a major habitation zone during the entire pre-colonial sequence (Spores 1972, 1974a), and the only valley that supports year-round agriculture (Kirkby 1972). The Nochixtlán Valley is neighbored to the west by the smaller Tamazulapan and Teposcolula Valley. The former directly connects to the Mixteca Baja; the latter is the principal access to the central and southern parts of the Mixteca Alta. To the southeast of the Teposcolula Valley, the area of Tilantongo and Jaltepec is located that incorporates the Monte

Figure 2.4 Mixteca Alta landscape.

Negro mountain, subject of discussion of this book. North of the Nochixtlán Valley, the Apoala Valley does not link directly south to the Mixteca Alta's primary valley and is substantially smaller still than the mentioned Teposcolula and Tamazulapan secondary valleys. Further to the south, the Mixteca Alta is defined by the secondary valleys of Tlaxiaco, Chalcatongo and Achiutla Valleys. The Tlaxiaco, Teposcolula and Nochixtlán valleys are now marked by the regions largest urbanized cities, with the city of Tlaxiaco (17°15'40" North Latitude, 97°40'50" West Longitude) and Nochixtlán (17°28'20" North Latitude, 97°13'50" West Longitude) being the most populous in the Alta. The Chalcatongo Valley, with Villa Chalcatongo de Hidalgo as its main town (17°02'00" North Latitude, 97°36'00" West Longitude), is irregular in shape and wider than some of the other secondary valleys, with low hills protruding the valley floor and valley width changing as it snakes southward to the modern town of Santiago Yosondúa (16°51'55" North Latitude, 97°34'10" West Longitude). Additional valleys are those of Coixtlahuaca, Juxtlahuaca, and Yanhuitlán.

Given the altitude of the area, vegetation in the Mixteca Alta includes patches of coniferous forest, along with several other dominant plant species such as numerous species of pine trees (*Pinus sp*); oak trees (*Quercus sp*); Juniper (*Juniper flaccida*); Mulberry (*Morus celtidifolia*); Maguey (*Agave sp*); prickly pear (*Opuntia sp*); and Biznaga (*Echinocactus viznaga*). In addition, numerous fruit plants are cultured in some of the more fertile valley floors. Dominant cultivated crop plants are corn (*Zea mays*); wheat (*Triticum sp*); beans (*Phaseolus sp*); and squash

Figure 2.5 Severe gully erosion in the Mixteca Alta.

(*Cucurbita sp*). Some of the primary minerals to be found in the Alta are listed by Spores (1984:12) as being basalt, chert, gold, limestone, mica, and salt.

Today, the vegetation of the Mixteca Alta, particularly in the primary valleys has changed substantially from pre-colonial times. Demand of wood for combustion and construction has cleared large segments of the forest-like flora, affecting both geological processes as well as current flora and fauna. Erosion is one of the most visible and concerning developments from partially caused by these activities (see Joyce and Mueller 1997 for an analysis regarding the Mixteca de la Costa). Fauna has also been affected by the above and through hunting, and the list of currently endangered or even extinct larger species includes felines, deer, fox, coyote and squirrel among many others (Figure 2.5).

2.1.3 Monte Negro

The archaeological site of Monte Negro and the community bearing the same name are located on the hilltop of the Cerro Negro, just south of the municipal centre of Santiago Tilantongo in the Tilantongo-Jaltepec area (Figure 2.6). Santiago Tilantongo is a contemporary community with approximately 1200 inhabitants, located just south of the Nochixtlán Valley. The site pertains to the pattern of human settlement that had its impact mostly in the Tilantongo area to the north, and seemingly much less so toward Achiutla and Tlacotepec to the south. The rugged topography most likely provided the natural boundary for intensive human interaction

Figure 2.6 Santiago Tilantongo with Monte Negro in the background.

that might have reflected in the settlement pattern. The modern residents on the Cerro Negro hilltop, close to the Monte Negro site, are a reduced number of Mixtec speaking families that build their livelihood from temporal agriculture, with most inhabitants working the land during the summer months. As we were told, the families that live in the area at this moment, only moved there relatively recently, during the years Alfonso Caso initiated his field campaigns. In addition, individual households practice commerce either through stores or on the Tilantongo marketplace on Sundays. The connection to the regional infrastructure is fairly weak, for access to the community remains by means of a number of dirt roads leading in different directions. With the central part of the community located on one of the small hills of the surrounding valley, many people have residences either in the centre itself or in the centre with secondary houses at the foot of the hill. Inhabitants of the surrounding agencias (subsidiary communities) usually travel back and forth to the centre for their recurrent household needs.

The Cerro Negro has little to no natural provisions of water. The calcareous rock does not permit streams to descend across the surface of the hill and small periodic pools of standing water beyond the eastern edge of the hilltop are the only resource for the livestock that is herded around the archaeological site. This lack of water may be the cause of the limited amount of families that live on the hilltop; a pattern that seems to have been similar in the recent past, when even fewer people inhabited the hill. It is in fact also one of the principal issues in explaining the reasons for settling on the Tilantongo valley floor instead of on the hilltop. An additional problem for maintaining agriculture are the erosion processes that affect some folds of the hillsides. The terraces that envelopes the hillsides has not been able to prevent the erosion from proceeding in some areas of the Cerro Negro.

The municipal center of Tilantongo (17°17'30" North Latitude, 97°20'00" West Longitude) annually receives rainfall to the amount of some 605 mm and the average yearly mean temperature is 17.2° degrees Celsius (Garvin 1994: Tables 2.1, 2.5). However, rainfall and temperature data are not specified for Monte Negro and considerable variation to the valley floor circumstances are to be expected. Clouds and drizzle frequently envelop the hilltop, thereby having its effect on the mean temperature. During the months of December to February, the climate includes frequent light frost and the lower mean temperatures impeding the crop production, which is predominantly maize.

The entire municipality features a geomorphology of low hills surrounded by two chains of mountains. One chain divides the municipalities Santiago Tilantongo, San Juan Diuxi, San Pedro Tidaa, and Yodocono de Porfirio Díaz from those within the Tlaxiaco district to the west and that of Teposcolula to the northwest. The other mountain chain separates these municipalities from those to the east of the chain: San Isidro Jaltepetongo and Magdalena Jaltepec.

2.1.4 Apoala Valley

The Apoala Valley forms part of the natural reserve within the biosphere Tehuacán-Cuicatlán. It is located about 35 kilometers north of the Santiago Nochixtlán and is situated on an alluvial plain, which rests on Cretaceous limestone sediments that forms a small U-shaped valley (Figure 2.7). The Apoala River enters the valley from the southwest through a narrow canyon. From this side the river runs in a northeastern direction for approximately 1 km across the valley floor until it drops over a 50-meter high rock face, and eventually drains into the Río Grande near Cuicatlán some 20 kilometres downriver. Mean altitude of the valley floor is 2000 meters above sea level.

The alluvial plain allows for year-round irrigation agriculture, and as a consequence, the entire valley floor is a patchwork of agricultural fields, bordered and crossed by an intricate system

Figure 2.7 The Apoala Valley.

of canal irrigation (Figure 2.8, 2.8a). The streams are diverted across the lands by means of small canals and brush-and-boulder dams. Surrounding the plain to the northwest and southeast are two steep rock faces with eroded hillsides upon which the majority of pre-colonial terracing is located. The choice of the Apoala Valley for settlement placement would clearly have been influenced by the agricultural possibilities, which are higher than in much of the surrounding terrain on offer in the Apoala Valley.

The modern town of Santiago Apoala (17°38'50" North Latitude, 97°08'30" West Longitude) is positioned on the alluvium of the valley floor and its municipal territory covers the entire natural valley. Moreover, the described landscape of the valley offers some of the more spectacular views in the northern part of the Mixteca Alta. The sharp drop of the rock faces to the north and south as well as eccentric shape of the narrow canyon would have been an attractive locality for inhabitants of the region during the entire pre-colonial period.

Climate data for the Apoala Valley does not diverge from the general climate of the southern highlands. Marked dry and rainy seasons run respectively from October to March and from April to September, with considerable fluctuation being possible from year to year. Temperatures are lowest in the months of December through February and peak during April and May.

Flora in the Apoala Valley is not particularly diverse and largely modified by human intervention with exception of parts of the upper piedmont and the surrounding hilltops. An earlier study conducted for the Nochixtlán Valley pointed to the past changes in human modification of the flora as the cause for the present abundance of cacti, shrub bushes and trees. Harvesting of large trees in the past has enabled the growth of these smaller types of plants (Smith 1976). In fact, in the Apoala Valley the former pine forest cover has all but disappeared, with merely some patches of pine trees still growing in the immediate vicinity of the Apoala River. Piedmont and hilltops are entirely stripped of large vegetation.

What has replaced this vegetation is almost exclusively determined by human intervention, namely in relation to the domesticated plants such as maize (*Zea Mays*), squash (*Cucurbita sp.*) and beans (*Phaseolus sp.*) that grow on the alluvium and lower piedmont in combination with sporadic cultivation of mango (*Mangifera indica*), fig (*Ficus carica*), tomato (*Lycopersicon esculentum*), and onion (*Allium cepa*). Also indifference or tolerance because of an excessive amount of energy required to remove vegetation from certain locations (mainly the higher located zones) has created the current floral variation in the Apoala Valley, as mainly consisting of xerophytes such as nopal (*Opuntia pilifera*), maguey (*Agave sp.*), and mala mujer (*Cnidocolus multilobus*).

Figures 2.8 and 2.8a Canal irrigation in the Apoala Valley.

2.2 Previous Research

Archaeological research in Oaxaca is divided between work conducted in the Oaxaca Valley and adjacent areas and the Mixteca with its sub regions Alta, Baja and Costa. Certainly other areas of significant research include the Cuicatlán Cañada, the western pacific coastal strip, and incidental projects (often salvage or rescue archaeology) in other areas, such as the western half of the state. Most academic discourse however, on the pre-colonial development is based on data from the two formerly mentioned regions.

Archaeological discourse on the Oaxacan past is also a divided affair. Factions of those active in the region organize separate symposia, demonstrate selective literature referencing, and only sporadically collide in the academic arena (cf. Balkansky 1998; Joyce, Zeitlin, Zeitlin and Urcid 2000; Zeitlin and Joyce 1999). Ironically, despite the lifespan of these factions the theoretical orientations of Oaxacan archaeology are remarkably little discussed (but see Balkansky 2001, 2006). Clearly outlined 'theoretical egos', as sketched by Michelle Hegmon (2003), are nowhere in sight.

2.2.1 Themes in Oaxacan Archaeology

Archaeological activities in Oaxaca prior to the 1960s are largely descriptive in nature. The forefront of archaeologists active in the region led by Alfonso Caso and including Ignacio Bernal, John Paddock and Jorge Acosta, was preoccupied with attaining an overview of the pre-colonial material record based on establishing well-structured typologies, in combination with and aided by excavations at some of the mayor sites. This was done in order to create an understanding of Native American historical development in the region. As such it did not fill an exceptional position in the larger Mesoamerican culture area; from an early point on, an understanding of the possible relationships *between* cultures in Mesoamerica was a priority in developing archaeological projects. In doing so, archaeologists eventually ventured from the larger Oaxacan cities, such as the capital itself or regional capitals such as Santiago Nochixtlán, into the many rural areas of the state.

The Mixteca Alta certainly claimed its share of the early archaeological attention. The extensive investigations at Monte Albán seemed to show a presence of material culture having its origin in that region (Acosta 1958-9, 1965, 1975; Caso 1932, 1935, 1938, 1939; Caso and Bernal 1952; Caso, Bernal and Acosta 1967) (Figure 2.9). These investigations, in combination with the geographical position of the Mixteca locked between the Tehuacán and Oaxaca Valley and respectively behind those the Central Mexican plateau and the trade routes to south-eastern Mesoamerica, made the Mixteca Alta a prime candidate for archaeological reconnaissance. Ever since Alfonso Caso commissioned his collaborator Eulalia Guzmán to conduct an exploratory mission into the region (Guzmán 1934), the Mixteca has been an investigative focus within

Figure 2.9 The monumental core of Monte Albán.

the archaeology of Oaxaca (for a regional history of investigation, including bibliographic references (see Balkansky 1998a, 1999, 2006).

After 1960, the primary focus has been on the long-term development of social complexity in pre-colonial times; thereby asserting that society consisted of at least two social strata or classes. Analysis has taken place primarily through the evolutionary looking glass, by applying multi-linear or divergent evolutionary perspectives (Byland 1980; Flannery & Marcus 1983; Spores 1972). Introduced at the end of the 1960s, evolutionary analyses were a marked changeover from the diffusionist approach such as that of Ignacio Bernal, and were aided by early colonial documentation of the socio-political circumstances in Oaxaca (Spores 1967, 1974b, 1984). Archaeological interpretations have relied heavily on shifting patterns in the configuration of settlements across the landscape, fitting a growing tradition of archaeological research in Mesoamerica (Balkansky 2006). Main 'thresholds' in evolving complexity are the emergence of urbanism and the rise of the city-state or *cacicazgo* system. In recent reviews of Oaxacan archaeology the paradigmatic focus on long-term complexity studied through large-

scale settlement surveys is underscored, and no fundamental changes in this line of research were prognosticated for future studies (Balkansky 2006; Finsten 2001).

Debates on the role of ideology in the Oaxaca social system have been at the forefront, whereby a distinct level of determinism has been emphasized. Structuration theory has gained ground in these studies (e.g. Hamann 2002; Hutson 2002; Joyce 2000; Joyce, Bustamante and Levine 2001), some using it for an elite-centred approach, others to ilucidate commoner perspectives.

Lastly, a subfield of archaeology in Oaxaca that remains largely understudied is research into the historical period of Oaxaca, and the transitional 16th century period from the Late Postclassic to the Early Colonial period (but see Spores and Robles in press).

2.2.2 Themes in Mixteca Alta Archaeology

Earliest examples of investigations into the history of the Mixteca include the studies of 19th century historian Manuel Martínez Gracida (1847-1924). Among his many writings, he compiled an extensive description of the Mixteca in collaboration with Manuel López Ruiz, including geomorphologic features as well as cosmological perceptions in Santiago Tilantongo and several other communities (Martínez Gracida 1910). He also recorded local oral tradition that placed a Postclassic period site under, around and near the present-day Tilantongo in the municipal centre, as mentioned in his *Cuadros sinópticos de los pueblos, haciendas y ranchos del Estado libre y soberano de Oaxaca* (1883):

> 'Tilantongo, pues, fué la capital del imperio, y de ahí salieron los que fundaron los otros pueblos de esa Nación Mixteca tan valiente é ilustrada en otros tiempos. El Rey de Tilantongo tenía su morada en un pequeño plano hácia el Sur de la iglesia antigua, donde estuvo el palacio de aquel señor, de cuya habitación solo se conservan pequeños cimientos. Todo está conforme con la tradición de los habitantes del pueblo, quienes aseguran que fue fundada esta población donde se halla hasta la fecha, la cual estaba dividida en cinco pueblos pequeños que tenian por nombres Santa Catarina, San Pedro Tiahun y Yucunduchi, los que se hallaban situados en la montaña que pasa de Poniente á Sur…, y el último, San Juan Martín, que se hallaba situado entre Poniente y Sur, en otra montaña más distante de esta población pendiente de la misma cordillera; y por petición del párroco que tenia a cargo esta parroquia, cuyo nombre se ignora, fué reducida a una sola de cuyos pueblos solo uno quedó conforme que fue Yucunduchi y los otros tres tomaron distinto rumbo. Todavía existen ruinas de antiguos templos en aquellos lugares y se encuentran edificios y sepulcros [...].'[2]

2 Reference provided by Maarten Jansen.

Besides collecting pre-colonial objects, he also embraced oral history which he recorded whilst adding his own personal romantic elements. These were later printed and distributed throughout the region.[3] Besides information regarding the natural environment and the social structures, Gracida also included an exploration of a number of archaeological sites. In the municipalities of Tilantongo (San Juan Martín), Peñoles (Pueblo Viejo), Taltepec (Jaltepec), and Yucuíta he recorded the sites with monumental architecture. The descriptions, with some detail, provide the bases of the encountered structures from different sides as well as a plan drawing. He describes the surrounding areas and the ruins, noting the exact localities and their names in Mixtec.[4]

Eduard Seler (1849-1922) and Caecilie Seler-Sachs (1855-1935), contemporaries of Martínez Gracida, visited several towns and archaeological sites in the Mixteca Alta during their travels in Mexico between 1895 and 1897 en route to the Oaxaca Valley. These included the Postclassic settlement Pueblo Viejo near present Teposcolula among several other sites in the Nochixtlán Valley. Presidential permits, however, did not allow Seler to excavate at any of the sites, and restricted him to purchasing previously encountered vessels in the towns and picking up surface materials in a haphazard fashion (Seler 1960a [1904]:216-217, 1960b [1908]:522-531).[5]

The initial studies by Martinez Gracida and Seler were followed by archaeological explorations led by Alfonso Caso. Although Caso is commonly associated with the investigation and reconstruction of the site of Monte Albán, an additional objective for his explorations was to define the material cultures present beyond the Oaxaca Valley; to amplify data gathered on the Zapotec culture and to connect to Eduardo Noguera's parallel project in the Puebla area (Noguera 1954, 1960). Within this framework, particular attention was awarded to the Mixteca to which a number of expeditions were mounted. In doing so, Caso stressed the importance of the mobility and exchange of these cultures within a greater supra regional cultural scheme, that would later be defined as Mesoamerica. Caso argued for more research in Oaxaca by arguing an imbalance in archaeological advances between Oaxaca as opposed to the Maya region as well as the Valley of Mexico:

3 The information contained in these leaflets can still today be heard in oral history, for example through the popular culture-hero of the '*Flechador del Sol*'. The investigation into the material remains resulted in a study packed with architectural drawings and notes regarding the status of structures over a century ago, on the one hand, and reflections of indigenous perception of these structures and their locations, on the other.

4 Together with other contemporaneous investigations, undertaken by Manuel López Ruiz and Abraham Castellanos, this type of description is unique in its kind. Unfortunately, integral studies of Martínez Gracida's work are still lacking as well as any detailed publications of his writings.

5 Upon reaching Oaxaca City, Seler took active part in the scene of local collectors, whose primary representatives, other than Martinez Gracida and Castellanos, were Fernando Sologuren, and Francisco Belmar, all of which counted substantial private collections in their possessions (see Van Doesburg 1998 and Sellen 2006 for more detailed historical information on Seler, Belmar and Sologuren).

> Pero si bien es cierto que abundan las descripciones de los viajeros entusiastas, arqueólogos o amateurs, muy pocos estudios se han emprendido con el objeto de poder penetrar en los misterios de esas civilizaciones, y averiguar sus puntos de contacto con las culturas Maya y Nahuatl. [...] Aun cuando la literatura sobre la arqueología de Oaxaca, no es escasa, nos damos cuenta después de conocerla, que los autores generalmente han repetido lo que otros habían dicho, sin añadir, en la mayoría de los casos, ninguna investigación personal o dato nuevo que hiciera avanzár la ciencia (Caso 1928:7).

The archaeological tradition in Oaxaca is thus rooted in the comparison of cultures in the central Mexican highlands to the northwest and the Maya to the east and northeast. The pioneering work was conducted by Alfonso Caso and several of his students and assistants, but he was preceded in the Mixteca by Juan Valenzuela. In 1933, Valenzuela toured the Nochixtlán Valley with a number of his students, taking photographs of archaeological sites, including Yucuíta, Chachoapan, Pueblo Viejo, and Tinducarrada. In 1934, Eulalia Guzmán, who was also a member of the Monte Albán project, returned to the sites explored by Valenzuela, and made preliminary maps of the sites Yucuíta, Yucuñudahui (near Chachoapan), Yanhuitlán, Pueblo Viejo (near Teposcolula), Yatachío (near Tamazulapan), and Tejupan. She also made some observations regarding ceramic types and general location of the visited sites (Guzmán 1934). This study was extended by two of Caso's assistants; Martín Bazán and Daniel de la Borbolla, who created an unpublished report regarding several sites in the Mixteca (see Caso 1938: 41). These short expeditions would serve as preparation for the Caso exploration of 1935.

The 1935 Caso expedition focused mainly on Yucuñudahui and had the threefold objective of registering structures, locating tombs, and determining the stratigraphy of the site (Caso 1938:43). Among other things, Caso, Bazán, Acosta, and Romero registered a ball court, a tomb with several incised slabs, and gathered considerable quantities of ceramic material. No archaeological activities would follow at Yucuñudahui until the excavations under direction of Spores in 1970 (see below).

Following the exploratory trips to the area, archaeological investigation of the Mixteca Alta remained incidental and largely focussed on excavation protocols that favoured the outlining of monumental structures and the registering of tomb architecture and their contents. Also, test pits for gathering data on ceramic typology formed a primary research objective. All of these emphases favoured the objective to discern relationships of the Mixteca to the surrounding areas, in particular the Oaxaca Valley (reflected in Bernal 1965. Single-site investigations were undertaken at Monte Negro by Caso during the late 30s (see below for a more detailed description); at the Inguiteria site near Coixtlahuaca (Bernal 1948) during the late 40s; at the Yatachío site near Tamazulapan in 1952 (Paddock 1953); and at the Huamelulpan site in 1957 (Gamio 1957) and 1961 (Caso and Gamio 1961). In the mid 50s, José Luis Lorenzo excavated

Yuzanú, the first pre-ceramic site registered in the Mixteca Alta (Lorenzo 1958), which received a tentative dating between 5000 and 2500 BC.

Archaeological activities received a significant impetus by means of a survey that charted the Nochixtlán Valley in the late 60s. Directed by Ronald Spores, the survey yielded sufficient data from systematic surface collections and controlled excavation to propose the first chronological sequence for the Mixteca Alta (Spores 1972, 1974a).[6] Since its initial proposition, the ceramic typology, the basis for the chronology, has been revised and updated periodically, but has remained the keystone to understanding continuity and change in the region. Since the 1970s, numerous regional surveys have connected to the Nochixtlán Valley survey, for example in 1977 for the Tamazulapan-Tejupan area (Byland 1980); the Yucuíta area (Plunket 1983); the Tilantongo-Jaltepec area (Byland and Pohl 1994); in 1990 for the Peñoles area (Finsten 1996); between 1993 and 1995 for the area around Tlaxiaco (Spores 1996); in 1996 en 1997 for the Teposcolula area (Stiver 2001); and most recently in 1999 by means of the Central Mixteca Alta Settlement Pattern Project more extensively for the Tlaxiaco and Achiutla Valleys (Balkansky et al. 2000). At present, the Mixteca Alta is known archaeologically through a number of regional survey projects that cover an estimated total of 2.000 km^2; an amount large by any means of comparison to other areas of Mesoamerica.

Excavation projects in the Mixteca Alta have also steadily increased in number over time, although the density of projects has not been able to keep track with the surge in surveying activity. Following the excavation of houses at Yucuíta, Yucuñudahui and Chachoapan by Michael Lind (1977, 1979) subsequent projects were initiated at the early urban centres of Huamelulpan (Balkansky 1998b; Gaxiola 1984) and Yucuita (Winter 1982; Robles 1988); the formative centre of Etlatongo (Blomster 1998, 2004; Zárate 1987), as well as occasional salvage archaeology projects (e.g. Matadamas 1992; Paddock 1970). Thus, the excavation of Postclassic contexts has remained largely absent; a trend that recently was broken by the excavation of Postclassic period two houses and several terraces in the Teposcolula Valley by Veronica Pérez Rodríguez (2003).

Archaeological projects in the Mixteca Baja and Mixteca de la Costa were undertaken early on by Brockington et al. (1974); Fernández and Gómez (1988), and Winter et al. (1989), and more recently by Rivera (1999) and Winter (1996) in the Baja; and by Joyce (1991a, 1991b, 1993, 1994); Joyce et al. (1995); King (2003); O'Mack (1990); Workinger (2002); Levine (in prep), and Heijting (2006) in the Río Verde Basin on the Mixtec coastal strip. Beyond the Oaxacan state border, the Mixtec region of Guerrero was investigated by Gutierrez Mendoza (2002).

6 The Nochixtlán Valley Archaeological Project pioneered a multidisciplinary approach to the Mixtec past, whereby archaeology and ethnohistory were applied in conjunction in order to shed light on the Postclassic, but possibly also on earlier periods of history in the Mixteca Alta (Spores 1967, 1974b, 1983a,b,c, 1984). This approach echoes the so-called direct historical approach that was frequently applied in archaeological studies in the US during the first half of the 20th century (Steward 1942; Lymann and O'Brien 2001).

2.2.2.1 Monte Negro

Due to its high historical profile, Santiago Tilantongo was visited and studied by a number of early explorers. Manuel Martinez Gracida provides the first report on archaeological remains in the area, together with his collaborator Manuel López Ruiz (Martinez Gracida 1910). The initiation of archaeological investigations at Monte Negro was a direct result of the abovementioned visit by Alfonso Caso to Santiago Tilantongo in 1935.

In the village itself, a structure was encountered to the west of the church, which in turn was noted to be constructed partly on top of a number of pre-Hispanic mounds and had a codex-style glyph of a man seated in an opening mountain built into one of its walls. The structure was interpreted by Caso as a 'palace', because of its patio type build-up, and presence of polychrome ceramics. Other structures in the direct vicinity revealed a calcareous slab with a codex-style representation of a personage named 5 Death, which is elaborately described by Caso:

> La lapida de "Oon Diyi" es en mi concepto la mejor muestra que conocemos de la escultura mixteca. […] se ve la figura de un guerrero, hombre o dios que tiene su nombre jeroglífico "5 Muerte", representado por cinco puntos y un cráneo humano con oreja y voluta que sale de la nariz. […] El pelo lo tiene detenido con una venda y por detrás aparece un penacho muy elaborado, en el que además de las largas plumas de quetzal, tan características de las representaciones de dioses en los códices poblano-tlaxcaltecas y mixtecos, […] (Caso 1938:57).

Interesting in the above citation of Caso is that the name given for the carved stone is provided in Mixtec and also reported by Caso as such. This practice is not a unique example for this period and is illustrative of the value placed on description in the indigenous language during this pioneering period of archaeological research in the Mixteca Alta. By the time Caso decided to visit Tilantongo, it had not yet been correlated to the place glyph of origin for the doings of Lord 8 Deer; perhaps the most prominent and exhaustively studied individual mentioned in a number of the Postclassic pictorial manuscripts originating in the region. A number of pioneering studies into these manuscripts had looked at this matter (Castellanos 1910; Clark 1912; Spinden 1935), but the definite identification was established by Jiménez Moreno in 1944, based on his work at the *Mapa de Teozacualco* for a conference in Guadalajara (mentioned in Caso 1949).

Caso registered and mapped an elite residential structure located to the south of the church, but was also drawn to monumental remains of Monte Negro on top of the Cerro Negro, overlooking Tilantongo. The ensuing activities resulted in a first inventory of the ceramics; principally achieved through the locating and excavating of a number of mortuary tombs. Helped by what was known about chronology at the time, Caso encountered ceramics indicating an occupation synchronous to the first ceramic period of occupation at Monte Albán, period I

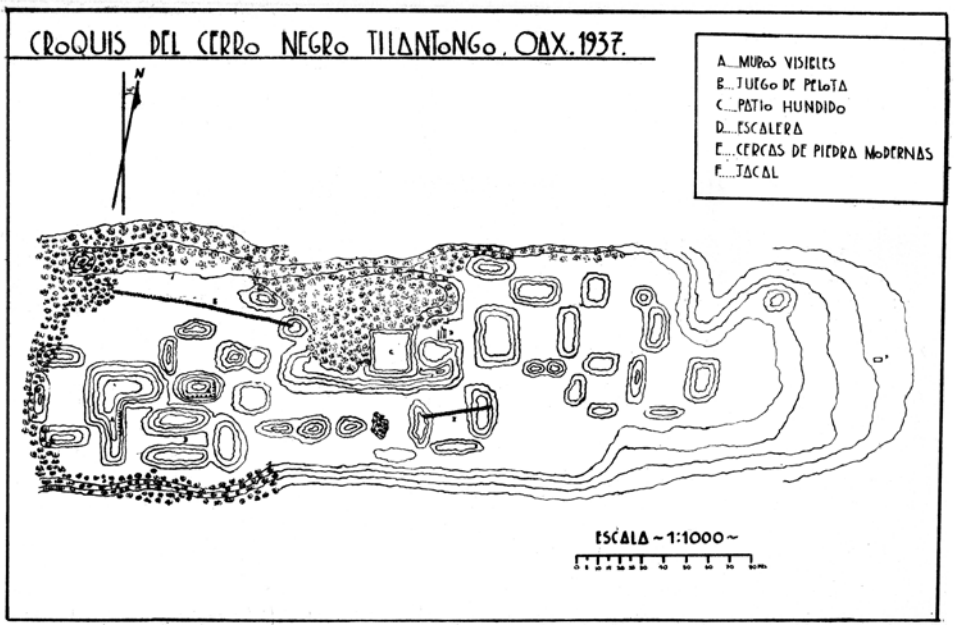


Figure 2.10 Early map of Monte Negro (Caso 1938).

(500 – 200 BC). Monte Negro's Late Formative single component occupation history was of particular interest to Caso, since it provided a possibility to understand the contemporaneous occupation period of Monte Albán, which is largely inaccessible due to building activities in subsequent periods (Acosta & Romero 1992: Figure 9; Caso 1938: Plan 8; Guzmán 1934). A preliminary map of the site area was drawn, noticing a ball court, sunken patio, and several staircases (Figure 2.10). Further investigations were limited to the following season.[7]

In addition to data on the Monte Negro ceramics, several maps were produced in order to provide an overview of the architectural lay-out of a) the Postclassic elite residence in the centre of Tilantongo and b) the Late Formative Monte Negro settlement. At Monte Negro, Caso mapped what he considered the central architectural part of the site and excavated, besides the above mentioned tombs, several monumental structures. The data published by Caso did thus not provide information on the extensions of the site, nor did it reflect on the positioning of

7 With respect to its location, Monte Negro posed considerable logistical problems for Caso. Situated at an approximate height of 2600 meters above sea level, on one of the higher ridges of the Cerro Negro, this location did not permit staying in the municipal centre of Tilantongo. Caso was required to hire an architect for constructing a base-camp adjacent to the monumental core of the site (Caso 1939:161). Remnants of this encampment still remain visible today and initiatives have been proposed to replace logs for the walls and restore the roof. Other than the pouring of a cement floor and the constructing of cement poles for roof support, no action has been taken.

Monte Negro in relation to other settlement in the surrounding landscape. This apparent lacuna in Caso's Monte Negro reports can be adequately explained by the emphases placed within archaeology in general at the time, and in particular, by the specific interests regarding Monte Negro's possible relation to Monte Albán set forth by Caso. This first archaeological activity at Monte Negro immediately exposed a large segment of the monumental architectural features and defined the contemporary image of the site, well known to archaeologists who have been active in Oaxaca ever since.[8]

The investigations undertaken by Caso in Monte Negro during the 1937-38 season focused on the group of structures situated roughly at a west – east axis, and a considerably smaller group located to the northeast, with a north – south axis. Major attention was given to the southernmost structure of the smaller section, named Temple T-S. This structure drew Caso's attention because of the presence of six columns on top of the elevated platform. This platform is reached through stairs consisting of four steps. In the western part of the platform floor, Caso discovered two tombs, which yielded the first ceramic material useable for Caso's objective of establishing a chronology for the Mixteca. With respect to this, Caso observes:

> Toda la cerámica de la tumba y del entierro, así como la que encontramos en la 7a. temporada, es semejante por sus formas a la que encontramos en Monte Albán I, y podemos afirmar que hasta ahora no se ha encontrado en Monte Negro cerámica que parezca posterior a esta época antigua (Caso 1939:163).

Furthermore, he states:

> Sin embargo, el barro es completamente diferente y la técnica también, demonstrando esto que fueron fabricadas en el lugar y no importadas del Valle de Oaxaca (Caso 1939:163).[9]

In summary, the ceramics encountered during Caso's excavation point to a combination of influence from the productive Valley of Oaxaca, and a simultaneous reformulation of forms

8 Excavation activities have produced substantial and numerous refuse heaps consisting of excavated material. This currently makes an analysis of the stratigraphy particularly difficult, and will cause future archaeological activities to consider an 'archaeology of archaeology'.

9 Kent Flannery has later criticized these statements, in one of his contributions to the Cloud People volume. Flannery clearly prefers the model in which, during the Rosario phase, Monte Albán and the population residing in the Valley are described as looking for expansion into other regions (Flannery 1983b). Although Flannery points to the distance between Huitzo and Tilantongo as being 'only' 50 km (ibid.: 102), it would be more telling to look at this question, not from looking down at a cartographic map, but rather from the perspective of distance in hours foot travel. This could in fact turn out to be well over 20 hours of walking distance. Influence from the Valley may thus have to be formulated somewhat more tentatively. When taking into account Caso's observations regarding the distinctive character of the ceramics encountered in Temple T-S, Flannery's clarification remains limited to a comparison of the relative occurrence of grey ware at Monte Negro, compared to those at Yucuita and Huamelulpan.

and slips pointing to the maintenance of an autonomous character of Monte Negro and the surrounding region of the Mixteca.[10]

Ever since those first archaeological activities, Monte Negro has played a prominent part in discussions concerning the rise of social complexity in Oaxaca in general, and the Mixtec region in particular. Examples of these discussions include comparisons between Monte Negro and contemporaneous sites of primary importance in the Valley of Oaxaca, such as late Middle Formative San José Mogote and early Late Formative Monte Albán (Flannery and Marcus 2005:471; Marcus and Flannery 1996:165-168). These comparisons have aimed to identify activities related to ritual at both sites, as well as architectural comparisons between Monte Albán and Monte Negro (Flannery 1983b:99-102).

Monte Negro witnessed no additional archaeological interventions following Caso's third and final field season apart from the production of a number of additional maps that intended to expand on what was known of the lay-out of the entire settlement. Jansen and Winter analysed an elaborately carved stone in 1978 that was brought to their attention whilst in Santiago Tilantongo (1976), and interpreted it to have originated from an archaeological site referred to as Yuku Ñuu Yuchi (Geurds 2001; Van Broekhoven and Geurds 2001) or Mogote del Cacique (e.g. Spores 1967: 30,42), located in the present-day Tilantongo agencia of Tres Lagunas.

Byland and Pohl provided a map of Monte Negro during their survey of the Tilantongo-Jaltepec area in the late 80s (Byland and Pohl 1994). They located numerous previously unrecorded structures, but the map lacked in sufficient precision to enable further study (ibid.: Map 10).

In 1999, the abovementioned Central Mixteca Alta Settlement Pattern Project in 1999 included Monte Negro in its survey and created a further map of the site (Balkansky et al. 2004: Figure 9). During 2002 archaeological attention again shifted to excavations at the site,

10 Caso describes several types of ceramics apart from the grey wares, these include: yellowish-pink, darkish grey-black, and black slipped wares. Forms generally reflect flat-based fine grey bowls with a wall that leans or flares outward. Decorations include circular scratching motifs on the interior side of the bottom (Caso 1939:164). These bowls have been divided by Robert Drennan into 12 bowl rim forms, 8 of which were restricted to the Rosario phase in the Valley of Oaxaca (Drennan 1976:Fig. 28). Other forms include the cylindrical braziers also encountered during the excavations at Yagul in the Tlacolula arm of the Valley of Oaxaca by Charles Wicke and John Paddock (Caso, Bernal and Acosta 1967; Chadwick 1966; Paddock 1983a). Although most examples are rather coarse, beautiful exceptions are included in the two tombs of Temple T-S at Monte Negro and similarly at Yagul (Caso 1939:Fig. 7, Chadwick 1966:Fig.2). A further type of decoration on a vessel found In Tomb 1 of Monte Negro is the representation of the supernatural force of Rain (translated as Cocijo in Zapotec and Coo Sau in Mixtec). Numerously encountered at Monte Albán, as well as in the Mixtec area of the state of Guerrero, this type of vessel is reminiscent of Olmec iconography (Caso 1939:166-68, Caso et al. 1967:149-50). Another correlation to the Mixteca, are the early ceramic periods of San Martín Huamelulpan. This site, located between Tlaxiaco and Teposcolula, is composed of five mounds aligned along an east-west axis. As analyzed by Margarita Gaxiola, the ceramics of Huamelulpan I bear some resemblance to the grey wares of Monte Negro, whilst connections to the Cruz phase in the Nochixtlán Valley are also present (Gaxiola 1976, 1984). Lastly, Caso encountered shoe-shaped vessels, which have been common in the Mixteca up until the Spanish Conquest.

attempting to create an update to Caso's 70 year-old findings, and representing yet another episode in the study of Monte Negro's early urban characteristics. Results of this latter research have not yet been published.[11]

2.2.2.2 Apoala Valley

Until now, the Apoala Valley has not been included in any of the aforementioned regional survey projects in the Mixteca Alta. The potential archaeological importance of the Apoala Valley is first mentioned by Ronald Spores, when he characterizes it as a settlement with ten subject communities during the 16th century, based on historical documentation (Spores 1967:100, 167). He also predicted that the population density of the Apoala Valley would be equivalent to the limited territorial extension of the valley (ibid.: 183). The archaeological data needed to verify this thesis, however, has until now not been provided.[12]

Two short-term archaeological interventions in the municipal center of Santiago Apoala were commissioned by the Centro INAH-Oaxaca during the 1960s and the 1980s of which still some form of unpublished documentation currently exits. One of these was an inspection combined with a salvage excavation during the installation of water pipes in the municipal centre. The second was during a surface survey required for the construction of an electricity line in the region. The reports of this survey consists of unpublished, and yet to be edited, field notes, written during previous registration campaigns undertaken in the surrounding areas (personal communication Matadamas 2002).

2.3 Archaeological methods

In the months of February to June of 2000, May to July of 2001 and July to August of 2004 archaeological activities were conducted within the municipal boundaries of Santiago Tilantongo, whilst the project activities in Santiago Apoala took place between February and June 2002. The extent of the area to be included in the investigations of a) the Monte Negro site and b) the Apoala Valley was determined in conjunction with the territorial extent of the municipalities of Santiago Tilantongo and Santiago Apoala. For the mapping activities at Monte Negro this resulted in the incorporation of a large area of the Cerro Negro surrounding the monumental core and the habitation zone. For the Apoala Valley it entailed approximately all of the terrains situated within the municipal limits. Pursuing these extensions for the two projects, ensured a) the inclusion of all the human occupational traces of Monte Negro, and b) the incorporation

11 Christopher Glew personal communication 2004.

12 The project area in the Nochixtlán Valley had its limit a couple of kilometers north of the Nochixtlán community, and thus did not include any part of the Apoala Valley (Spores 1969, 1972, 1974).

of different ecological zones of the Apoala Valley, namely the ridge and hill tops; upper and lower piedmont, and valley floors.

2.3.1 Site-based mapping at Monte Negro

Detailed architectural maps have been produced in Oaxaca for the Monte Albán site (Peeler 1994) and as part of the archaeological projects in the Río Verde drainage basin (Workinger 2002). For the Mixteca Alta, an abundance of sketch maps are available, but more detailed mapping has remained rare (but see Smith 1996).

During 2000, the February to June field season at Monte Negro centered on mapping the site and unsystematic surface survey of the surrounding slopes in order to determine the site limits. Within the approximate 3½ month period, every architectural detail visible on the surface was mapped and the site boundaries were determined and plotted on a digital map. The emphasis of the project was on mapping the architectural surface remains, and surface materials were merely used to establish presence or absence of habitation. This prioritization was made partly based on the fact that the overlapping parts of the Cerro Negro had been intensively surveyed for artefacts in 1999 during the CMSPP (Balkansky et al. 2004), and more detailed analyses of those activities were to be expected.

The survey of the area within and around the perimeter was thus undertaken employing an essentially haphazard sampling technique. Since the area was limited in extension but diverse in topography and vegetation, small two-person teams walked the area following the specific contours of the hill; streambeds, erosion gullies, secondary crests, footpaths, agricultural fields etc. Attention was focused on architectural features and artefact scatters. The perimeters of site limits were determined by maintaining a minimum of 75 meters distance between encountered artefact scatters (Table 2.1). Applying this distance allows for the possibility of a disturbed scatter due to, for example, post-depositional processes as well as the horizontal margin of error included in the GPS measurements. Surveyors were guided by using INEGI cartographic material, such as topographic maps and aerial photographs (both 1:50.000 scale) in combination with digital orthophotos of the area.

2.3.1.1 Mapping

Principal goal of the mapping activities at Monte Negro was to provide a complete and precise map of all architectural remains visible on the surface. Alongside the registration of all remains, a second goal was to assess the preservation and possible damages that structures in the monumental core of the site had suffered in modern times, principally after Caso's activities in the 1930s, and propose interventions if necessary.

The mapping was conducted using two Total Stations, one a Sokkia (type SET 4B) and the other a Pentax (type PTS-III 05). First, a network of locations in the field was established where the Total Station could be positioned (from hereon referred to as 'station points'). In

Table 2.1 Point measurements taken for Monte Negro perimeter

	Point	UTM Coordinates	
1	S1	675241	1909024
2	S2	675659	1909093
3	S3	675808	1909132
4	E1	675861	1909203
5	E2	675869	1909274
6	E3	675801	1909339
7	E4	675703	1909371
8	E5	675583	1909395
9	N1	675216	1909448
10	N2	675148	1909532
11	N3	675129	1909554
12	N4	675094	1909612
13	N5	675033	1909630
14	N6	674959	1909602
15	N7	675026	1909414
16	N8	674962	1909134
17	N9	674977	1909006
18	NE1	675513	1909440
19	NE2	675437	1909486
20	NE3	675390	1909495
21	NE4	675357	1909479
22	NE5	675328	1909453
23	NE6	675274	1909425

order to limit moving about with the machine as much as possible, these locations were picked in such a way as to ensure maximum visibility, ideal distance and angle to particular structures. The latter was done in order to even further reduce the chance for errors. In this way, a closed ring of station points was established. Doing so enabled us to continue taking measurements throughout the day without having to move the Total Station during a measurement session, and start the next day from a fresh location. The fact that the site is located on top of a ridge-line of the Cerro Negro and that vegetation was mostly limited to individual or small groups of large trees facilitated this procedure. Doing so, an arbitrary grid oriented to magnetic north was established in which a total of 30 station points (SP's) were identified and used throughout the mapping campaign, with SP 0001 (x 3000.0000, y 8000.000, z 1000.0000) located on the Northern half of System R. The SP's were marked by nails or permanent marker on protruding

Figure 2.11 Mapping at Monte Negro.

bedrock. In the case of SP 0001, located on top of the System R structure, an existing modern slab of cement was used (Figure 2.11). In order to obtain the UTM coordinates, a handheld GPS receiver (Garmin eTrex Vista) was used.

Once the Total Station was set up, groups of three persons would typically execute the mapping activities. Two persons operated the Total Station; one controlling the registration process in the connected field computer, and the second tracking the stadia rod. The third person would systematically walk the site with the stadia rod in search of features. Upon encountering any architecture on the surface, a certain amount of points would be taken, for example on the corners of the structure or on any other extremity, including the containment walls of terraces, which were recorded by means of a point at the base and one at the top of the wall. To further aid the precision of the mapping and to prevent overlooking any remaining features, the other members would walk the area previous to, during, and after the mapping session and discuss their observations together.

Plotted points on the map and resulting plans of architecture were compared to visual observations, aerial photos and the Caso photo archive. Discrepancies were modified accordingly in the drawing improving exactness and representation. This was deemed the best approach to resolve the paradox between exactness of the Total Station on the one hand and the ambiguity of the surface remains and the visual observations on the other.[13]

13 For this reason, the final overview maps of Yuku Duha and Yuku Ñuu Yuchi (not included here) represent a combination of architectural and environmental elements.

After each mapping session, all points were downloaded from the field computer into the corresponding software package SDRMap 6.5. This software utility converts the points into a Drawing Interchange Format (.dxf) file, which is recognized by the architectural design utility AutoCAD 14.0. All partial AutoCAD maps were saved separately as well as fitted in the overall map of the site. In addition to the creation of the plan of the site, the entire set of registered points could also be applied in Surfer 6.0 to create a topographic contour map. In order to do this, the SDRMap coordinates (x, y, and z) were transformed into a separate (.cgp type) file, with which it was possible to combine a wire frame and a contour map. This combination produces the three-dimensional image of the site. The advantage of this type of imagery is that they permit a more realistic perspective of the archaeological zone, by including topographical elements such as *barrancas*, inclined and flat terrain.[14]

Determining how the final form of any surface structure would appear in the map depended on the surface visibility of the walls, steps, terraces etc. For example, if one of the four corners forming the wall foundation of a rectangular structure could not be discerned, then it was not registered in the map, even though the location would be self-evident in the field. This cautious approach was chosen in order to incorporate the bias created by the erosive nature of the soil in several parts of the site. It furthermore facilitated comparisons to the Caso maps and the Acevedo map included in the 1992 publication (Acosta and Romero 1992: Figures 10, 15, 42).[15] Doing so enabled the assessment of the destruction rate that some of the included structures had suffered. Occasionally, extra measurements were taken through the conventional tape and compass method. This was necessary when surface features were impossible to register from any of the station points due to blocking of the line of sight.

A total of 40.50 hectares were mapped, the full extent of the Monte Negro site area, excluding some of the lower terracing in two *barrancas* located to the west and east of the ridge top. The perimeter was determined using the handheld GPS receiver. Twentythree point measurements were taken at every major turn in the perimeter or at regular intervals during longer straight distances (see Table 2.1). As mentioned above, whenever a registered scatter of surface materials seemed to end, the surveyor would circle the area, trying to determine whether or not the scatter would continue in any direction.

14 Particularly in the case of Yuku Duha its exceptional location is pertinent to the architectural structures that were planned and built in this spot.

15 This publication included materials mainly from the Acosta campaign (1939-40) that followed the initial two campaigns (1937-38, 38-39), headed by Caso. As mentioned in the prologue by Acosta the report is based on a much more concise report presented during the *VIII Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología* Round Table Conference, held in Oaxaca City in 1957. It was augmented by previously unpublished materials held in the Technical Archive of INAH and were joined in this book by its main archivist José Luis Ramírez Ramírez.

2.3.1.2 Heritage Management

The field campaigns conducted by Caso and Acosta almost 70 years ago, entailed besides the excavation of a considerable number of structures at Monte Negro, also the reconstruction of several of those excavated structures, including the platform structures featuring columns (Acosta and Romero 1992). Upon terminating the archaeological activities, the structures were left exposed, and have endured all climatic circumstances ever since. Also, the impact of human intervention has been considerable, given the numerous looting pits; traces of extracted worked stones; removal of plants and trees; and painted graffiti that mark many of the structures. Due to this exposure, several of the structures have deteriorated and present a range of damages; some of which endanger the integrity of the structure.

In response of these deteriorations, an inventory was created during the mapping activities at Monte Negro of all the structures in the monumental core of the site, in order to assess the need for future consolidation measures (see Appendix A). The format for this inventory was adapted from the *Plan de Manejo de la Zona Arqueológica de Monte Albán* (Robles 2001), which was initiated and executed under direction of Nelly Robles García.

In order to determine the areas in which intervention might be required, a survey of the monumental core was conducted, thereby identifying structures with light, moderate or severe damages. Plan drawings of the individual structures were used to indicate the damages by means of symbols; categorized into individual types of damages (see Appendix A).

The following types of damages were encountered:

- Cave-in: The fragmenting of a distinct section of architecture
- Fracture: The disjoining of an architectural element.
- Collapse: The collapse of a distinct segment of a structure.
- Sinking: The dislocation of a (section of a) structure below its original position on the ground surface
- Displacement: The shifting of a (section of a) structure along its horizontal axis.
- Inclination: The inward or outward leaning of a (section of a) structure.
- Disintegration of constructive material
- Crack: Cleft wider than 1 cm in one or more worked stones
- Gap: Split worked stones
- Loss of constructive material
- Loosening: Single worked stones loosened from the architectural section
- Surface changes: Changes in the level of a surface
- Component movement: Small repositioning of several architectural elements
- Sheet Erosion: Movement of section of ground surface
- Rain filtering: Intrusion of precipitation in a (section of a) structure

- Erosion: General deterioration of ground surface
- Separation: A (section of a) structure with more than 10 cm of altered position
- Exfoliation: Weathering caused by prolonged climatic influences
- Concentration of Mineral Salts: In clefts of worked stones
- Fill Accumulation: Covering of a (section of a) structure by earth material
- Growth of Microorganisms: Damages caused by fungi, insects, etc.
- Growth of Major Vegetation: Damages caused by Pine trees
- Growth of Minor Vegetation: Damages caused by mosses, magueys etc.
- Graffiti: Damages caused by human agents through painting or spray can paintings
- Vandalism: Damages caused by human agents
- Looting: Damages caused by human agents
- Minor Fauna: Damages caused by small animals

2.3.1.3 Terraces

Of central importance to the delimitation of the site perimeter are the agricultural and residential terraces that surround the monumental core of the site. Terraces are defined as sections of a sloping terrain that are artificially flattened by means of stone retaining walls. These were not included in the Caso and Acosta campaigns, since their main interests were focused on the architecture and the ceramics. However, in order to achieve a proper understanding of not just the site extension, but also the population dimensions, an overview of terrace dynamics is included, as it has been in past studies (cf. Spores 1969). Studies are hampered by the ongoing pluvial erosion in certain segments of the site which in part has impacted the overall integrity of many terraces that skirt the Cerro Negro.

Terraces were registered based on observations during the survey or in combination with aerial photograph analysis. Apart from the terraces that skirt the hill, the extensive *lama-bordo* terraces were also pinpointed on these photos. Considering their characteristic positioning in natural hill slope drainage channels; conspicuous construction technique; and typically long extension across the landscape, they stand out on aerial photos and are thus quickly registered. The dating of these *lama-bordo* terraces is complicated by the regular maintenance that they undergo. A recent study into lama-bordo terraces has revealed that they may have long, gradual construction histories (Perez Rodriguez 2003:153-170). In order for these terraces to preserve their stability; they have to be reinforced as well as periodically enlarged. This necessity is caused by the relatively rapid accumulation of sediment on the terraces. *Lama-bordo* terracing thus is an extremely productive way to create and extend the agricultural and residential area in a mountainous terrain, but at the same time a labor intensive method, requiring regular attention. Therefore, precise determination of the initial building period is effectively only viable through excavation. According to Spores's analysis of lama-bordo terraces in the Nochixtlán Valley (Spores 1984:40), the technique was developed during the Las Flores period (AD 300-

1000), during times of increased population pressure in the area. How this relates to the examples on Cerro Negro remains to be determined. In the case of Monte Negro, straightforward association of the lama-bordo terraces to Monte Negro's Early Ramos occupation solely based on their proximity to the site is thus not to be recommended.

In order to evaluate the problem of terrace dating, specific attention was given to the functionality of the terraces in the core area of the site. Although plowing practices complicated observing the terrace morphology in certain locations (particularly in the northwestern eastern and southern sections); containment walls by and large followed the contours of the hill and thus also the contours of lower or higher situated terraces.

Based on the methods described above and the contemporary functionality of terraces, it was decided not to include the *lama-bordo* terraces in the perimeter of the site. This decision was further guided by the purpose of the perimeter. A reforestation project was planned for the northern slopes of the Cerro Negro, which neccesitated a detailed report on the extents of the archaeological site. In addition, the municipal authorities had discussed with us the option of implementing a complete ban on any type of construction activity within the site perimeter, thereby following the definitions for site perimeters as proposed by INAH. This would have implied a stop to the maintenance activities for the *lama-bordo* terraces, which in turn would have resulted in endangering the integrity of the terrace walls instead of contributing to their consolidation.

2.3.2 Valley-based surveying in the Apoala Valley

During 2002, the period between February and June was spent in Santiago Apoala, conducting and completing a reconnaissance of the valley in which the town is situated. A total of 21 archaeological sites varying in size, complexity and location, were registered and mapped, enabling a reconstruction of the extent of Apoala's pre-colonial history. The archaeological sites were catalogued conforming to the requirements of the *Dirección de Registro Público de Zonas y Monumentos Arqueológicos* of the INAH, using the forms *Catálogo e Inventario de Zonas Arqueológicas* and *Catálogo de Sitios con Manifestaciones Gráfico Rupestre*. Additionally, detailed descriptions of the site components as well as its location were elaborated, taking into account the access to the site; the characteristics of the natural surroundings; and the constructive elements of the site.

The methods employed for conducting the surface survey were adapted to the relatively narrow valley in which the work was to be conducted. The three principal sections in which the valley could be divided are: a) a large section consisting of a thick layer of alluvium on the valley floor alluvium, b) the sloping and extensively terraced piedmont terminating at the two rock faces, and c) the ridge and hill tops in which a number of sites were located. The valley floor was not surveyed to its entirety since the project was executed in spring when corn crops were already growing several feet high in many of the agricultural fields, effectively nullifying surface

visibility. The piedmont was surveyed by means of a field by field survey technique. Despite our limited time-frame and equally restricted human resources, this technique could be applied for the much more restricted amount of terrain to be covered in the Apoala Valley, when compared to neighbouring survey projects. This also enabled the project to spend much more time at any given site. This in turn, makes it possible to study the internal valley relationships between the sites. The survey tactics were adopted from previous surveys in Oaxaca that had involved a

Figure 2.12 Surveying the Apoala Valley.

mountainous terrain with abundant terracing (Blanton et al. 1982; Drennan 1983b, 1989:367-372; Finsten 1996). A survey crew consisting of 4 persons combed the piedmont surrounding the small valley in which the municipal centre of Apoala is located, focussing attention on the numerous terraces, and using them as analytic units. This was far from straightforward though, since the sloping piedmonts in the valley more often than not, presented, what appeared to be, semi-defined terraces or small retaining walls no more than a meter or two in length; and terraces that opened up a slope at one of the extremities. Whenever architectural elements such as mounds, plazas, platforms, house foundations or walls were encountered, a description and map were created using either compass and tape measure or a Total Station (Sokkia SET 4B). Temporal information was acquired through surface materials, which were analysed in the field. Since building a comparable collection of these surface materials was not a goal of the

campaign, and would be more prudent during a possible second stage in the investigation, no materials were analysed outside the field.

Crew members surveyed the project area at a spacing largely determined by the abundant terracing. This implied discerning the individual terraces dotting the hillsides and identifying artefact scatters on them. Once an architectural feature or artefact concentration was identified, it was measured and sketch mapped, and its location was recorded using a handheld GPS receiver. Archaeological sites and site sections were defined according to the clustering of architectural features, using an arbitrary distance of 125 m between isolated or clustered artefact scatters or architectural remains. The constructive parts of the sites were documented by means of a photographic registry. Also, a systematic description of the structures and the composition of the archaeological sites were made.

Figure 2.13 Surveying with guide in the Apoala Valley.

In the more mountainous upper piedmont and actual ridgelines and hilltops, systematic walking was unproductive in both necessitated time investment and additional results (Figure 2.12). Thus steeply inclined areas and precipitous terrain were not always surveyed for settlement traces. The chance of encountering residential patterns in these surroundings was deemed fairly unlikely, although ritual non-habitation sites might indeed have been overlooked using this technique.

Where visibility permitted, surface artefacts were documented in the field. Decorated ceramics and rim sherds (> 5 cms.) were photographed and stylistically dated. Small non-probabilistic sample collections of ceramics and obsidian as well as some lithics were made, mainly in the vicinity of architectural features. All other artefacts, such as stone objects (including *manos* and *metates* grinding tools) were counted and left in their original position in the field. In the case of multiple architectural features in close proximity to each other, such as platforms in combination with a plaza and house foundations, each feature was documented and surveyed individually.

The western part of the survey zone was covered in collaboration with a guide, following existing paths and the guide's personal knowledge of locations with surface remains (Figure 2.13). This section, delimited to the east by the waterfall and the general drop of the cretaceous plate, is characterized by considerably more rough terrain and both in terms of vegetation inclination. Due to the latter and in combination with the detailed knowledge of our guides, it was decided to largely depend on guide knowledge and thus restrict the coverage to roughly 35-45%. This percentage of coverage is in harmony with methods applied during previous settlement pattern surveys in rugged mountain terrain in Oaxaca (Finsten 1996). In contrast to this western section, the piedmont areas to the north and south of the valley floor were densely covered, slowly walking the agricultural fields and terracing that dots the piedmont, reaching coverage of 85-90%. Finally, the valley floor itself was covered in similar fashion, using the intricate network of irrigation channels as access points besides the existing unpaved roads that cross the valley floor to and from the municipal centre of Santiago Apoala; this enabled coverage of 90-95%. Despite this high percentage of coverage, the valley floor yielded relatively few surface remains. This is due to alluvial deposits and perhaps also due to recent urban construction activities, even though the municipal centre still only covers a modest section of the total valley floor.

In total, the survey area consisted of an irregularly shaped section of the Apoala municipal grounds, generally following municipal limits or highest points in the topography, measuring approximately 8 km^2 (2 km (north-south) by 4 km (west-east) at its widest points). Most likely not all pre-colonial sites were recorded, but it is similarly likely that a representative reflection of the total settlement pattern was established.

2.4 Reflexive methods

More than twenty years ago Bruce Trigger argued that the social context, from which archaeologists construct their theses, is a growing concern for that very same discipline of historical investigation. He observed that "archaeologists believe that, because their discipline's findings concerning the past are consciously or unconsciously seen to have implications for the present or about human nature generally, changing social conditions influence not only the questions

archaeologists ask but also the answers that they are predisposed to find acceptable" (Trigger 1984:13). The emphasis on social context is intended by Trigger to serve as a counterweight to objective empiricism. The attention to social contexts within archaeology as raised by Trigger, has remained with the discipline ever since, albeit with varying degrees of acceptance or rejection.

Social context in archaeology is bewildering to many archaeologists, and those active in Oaxaca are not excluded from this sentiment. Attention to the social context of archaeological research raises questions regarding the processes and methods involved in the collecting of data; the purpose of collecting; and even (dare one go as far) the nature of data itself.

By following the lead of theorists in other social sciences, one of the self-reflexive outcomes of these last twenty years has been the explicit emphasis on the relationships between the archaeologist and his or her research. In this respect, the application of critical theory is one of the more explored attempts in American (historical) archaeology (Leone et al. 1987; and several publications in the journal Historical Archaeology; for a critique see Wilkie and Bartoy 2000). Through description of the circumstances in which historical research takes place in combination with the background of all those involved, critical theory attempts (inspired by the Frankfurt School) to illuminate the structures and forces responsible for the production of historical knowledge. Relevant terminology here includes, for example, 'partnership', 'political impact', 'multiple publics', and 'contingency'. The application of critical theory in archaeology effectively acknowledges the influence that various types of social contexts have on the archaeology practice, and turns it into its focus of analysis. One of the central points of attention in critical archaeology is clarifying the interests held by the researcher, with regard to the research itself. In this respect, the body of work incorporating a critical view on historical archaeological research in North America has grown in recent years (Schmidt and Patterson 1995), and this critical self-awareness in archaeology will probably continue to be a presence in the near future. In the United States, the impact that federal legislation, addressing issues of Native American cultural ownership, is having on the archaeological practice, is far-reaching and certainly not yet fully addressed (most recently Watkins 2005, 2006). The issue of who gets to interpret whose history is a contentious one, and indeed proof that political matters, and social context therefore, are inextricably linked to the archaeology of Indigenous American cultures.

The research conducted at Monte Negro and in the Apoala Valley relied for its research approach on the existing disciplinary methods recognized under the concept of 'community archaeology'. Both projects sought to achieve community involvement in the archaeological praxis. Even though the discipline has always depended on working out an arrangement with the contemporary residents of an archaeological site, methods for framing local involvement have only recently developed. Historically, particularly in the case of descendant communities some form of collaboration was sought, however minimal it might have been. Up until the better part of the 20th century, the majority of these arrangements were either forced, (aided

by state or national legislations or personal grants for conducting an archaeological project), or merely of an informative nature. Approximately in the last 40 years though, a worldwide increasing urge of indigenous peoples for political and territorial self-determination has run parallel to more attention to the ethical sides of how the archaeological praxis is constituted (Derry and Malloy 2003; Dongoske et al. 2000; Marshall 2002; Shackel and Chambers 2004; Swidler et al. 1997; Thomas 2000; Watkins 2001).

2.4.1 Community archaeology

As an outcome of these developments, ways have been sought to bring descendant and stakeholder communities and archaeology closer together. Community archaeology as a concept crystallized from these projects undertaken during the 1990s in several parts of the world.[16] Many of these were presented and discussed in an issue of World Archaeology, dedicated exclusively to community archaeology and its establishment as a 'set of practices within the wider discipline' (Marshall 2002:211). The papers included in this issue feature archaeological field research against North American, Australian, Asian, African and Middle Eastern cultural settings and all focus on collaborative initiatives that spring from a conviction to bring archaeology closer to those people who actually live near to and/or relate in some way to the site that is being studied.

A general definition of community archaeology reads it as the collaboration between local populations and the archaeologist who investigates a part of that population's history. Proposals for developing a methodology have been put forward by the Quseir project in Egypt (Moser 2002:229-242):

1 Communication and collaboration
2 Employment and training
3 Public presentation
4 Interviews and oral history
5 Educational resources
6 Photographic and video archive
7 Community-controlled merchandising

From these components it becomes clear that the flow of information coming out of the archaeological investigation toward the stakeholder community is a central element for a community archaeology project.

16 The sub-field of US historical archaeology needs to be mentioned here as a field which has seen a significant number of projects in which contemporary communities fill an important role (Little 2002; Orser 1996, 2004; Paynter 2000).

The prioritization for the local diffusion of archaeological information is closely linked to the fourth principle of the 'Principles of Archaeological Ethics', drafted some years ago by the SAA (Society of American Archaeology), and an echo of growing attention for the ethics of the archaeological discipline (see Meskell and Pels 2005; Scarre and Scarre 2006; Wylie 2002; Zimmerman et al. 2003) for recent discussions of ethics in archaeology):

> SAA Principles of Archaeological Ethics, Principle No. 4:
> *Public Education and Outreach*: Archaeologists should reach out to, and participate in cooperative efforts with others interested in the archaeological record with the aim of improving the preservation, protection, and interpretation of the record. In particular, archaeologists should undertake to: 1) enlist public support for the stewardship of the archaeological record; 2) explain and promote the use of archaeological methods and techniques in understanding human behaviour and culture; and 3) communicate archaeological interpretations of the past. Many publics exist for archaeology including students and teachers; Native Americans and other ethnic, religious, and cultural groups who find in the archaeological record important aspects of their cultural heritage; lawmakers and government officials; reporters, journalists, and others involved in the media; and the general public. Archaeologists who are unable to undertake public education and outreach directly should encourage and support the efforts of others in these activities.

More explicitly this principle is outlined through seven elements for archaeological projects involving Native American heritage: (1) Identify the community with which they will be involved; (2) Form partnership beyond archaeology; (3) Understand the legal boundaries involved in the process; (4) Communicate effectively; (5) Recognize the diverse decision-making structures; (6) Place the goals of the project ahead of personal and private goals; (7) Be aware of social and gender issues (Watkins et al. 2000).

The ethical principles established by the World Archaeological Congress (WAC) hold a telling difference from the SAA principles, since they go beyond the communicative emphasis underscored by the SAA, and acknowledge the existence of distinct epistemologies, entailing different methods to learning or recounting the past, and the obligation of archaeologists to incorporate them in their activities such as: to acknowledge and recognize indigenous methodologies for interpreting, curating, managing, and protecting indigenous cultural heritage; and, to acknowledge that the indigenous heritage rightfully belongs to the indigenous descendants of that heritage. A major difference between the SAA Code of Ethics and that of the WAC is that it was drafted by indigenous people instead of archeologists (Zimmerman 1997:51-52).[17] Research that operates along those lines is more frequently referred to as 'covenantal archaeology' (Zimmerman 1997:52-54).

17 World Archaeological Congress First Code of Ethics, established in 1991, and published in *World Archaeological Bulletin* 5:22-23.

As an example of a region where local community involvement is widely spread, Clarke observes for the Australian national context that '[…] community consultation has become a routine and accepted part of professional practice' (Clarke 2002:251). This reflects the fact that the involvement of Aboriginal communities in developing archaeological activities has become common practice throughout the Australian continent (Brady et al. 2003; Dalley 2004; Field et al. 2000; Pardoe, 1990, 1991). But apart from an ethically sound practice, Aboriginal involvement in archaeological activities has expanded since the early 1990s to co-determining research questions and the curating and management of artefact collections has seen a range of initiatives. Moreover, critical analyses regarding the politically laden relationship between archaeologist and material culture with respect to the political position of Aboriginals in Australia, is seeing more and more debate (Smith 1999). For other world regions numerous case-studies have emerged, with noticeable regional emphases in Asia and North America. Remarkably, examples from Latin American nations have remained relatively restricted until now. Many times, archaeological projects that can be identified as having an explicitly community-oriented focus, originated in regions or nations where stakeholders in the local past have come forward. Of this group, indigenous peoples as cultural descendants represent an important segment, but are certainly not the only one: in principle all contemporary inhabitants close to an archaeological site, qualify in this set of practices as a community that can interact with the archaeological investigation (Marshall 2002; Moser et al 2002).

2.4.2 Participatory Archaeology in the Mixteca Alta

For Oaxaca, and the Mixteca Alta in particular a few archaeological projects in the Oaxacan region have explicitly and centrally focused on the usability of local knowledge, but this has led to a static 'blue-print' approach for 'dealing with' communities near the archaeological site of interest to the archaeologist present (cf. Pérez Rodríguez 2000). The majority of work remains limited to ethically virtuous forms of consultation with the local communities, implicitly profiling indigenous authority as a peripheral voice in the actual decision making on what, where, and how to research the particular element of local history in question.[18] The question remains why not more initiatives along the lines of community archaeology have come into being in an ethnically pronounced area such as the Mixteca Alta. This lack can be understood when

18 Care is needed in avoiding to place causality primarily among archaeologists active in the region. When comparing Mexico to settler colonies like those of Australia and the US it can be observed that these have undergone divergent paths concerning the political position of the respective indigenous peoples living there; the legislative voice that has been achieved in both nations is different from the de facto non-status of different indigenous identities in Mexico. Even though in recent years legislation was passed concerning the indigenous peoples by the UN and later also by Mexico, it did not much more than acknowledge their existence, thus remaining far removed from a situation similar to the former two nations. This national situatedness of indigenous peoples has indirectly impeded the growth of a united indigenous voice, which, even though problematic by itself, might have *forced* archaeology to reconsider its field praxis, rather than merely *contemplate* changing it.

looking at the backgrounds of those working in the archaeology of Oaxaca. In recent decades archaeological projects in the Mixteca Alta have mainly been developed and executed by professionals from two different educational systems: the Mexican National School of Anthropology and History (ENAH), and the North American collegiate system. The majority of US educated archaeologists has and still is practicing an academic archaeology in accordance with objective empirical science, thereby constructing a specialized and technical view on the pre-Columbian past, which generally remains at best enigmatic to local communities in the Mixteca Alta. The archaeologist trained at the ENAH enjoys an academic education partly aimed at working for the governmental INAH, and he or she does receive guidance in transmitting any acquired knowledge to the 'general public' in Mexico, in fact diffusion is one of the prime directives for INAH and is thus much more on the agenda than it is amongst academic archaeologists based in the US or at any of the Mexican Universities. However, INAH and its employees are more often than not faced with time-constraining excessive bureaucratic burdens. This goes at the cost of any time spent in (and with) Mixtec communities, which then often remains limited to lightning visits to the Mixteca Alta and otherwise scheduled appointments in Oaxaca City. During these contact moments, the agenda is dominated by explaining regulations instead of developing initiatives, and conserving bureaucratic distance rather than breaking social barriers.

Even though archaeology in the Mixteca Alta has in most cases strived for openness in the information gathered, a fact often contested in the past, the communicative problems lie in part with the use of technical language (besides the English-Spanish language barrier), effectively blocking any further communication or understanding between archaeologist and Mixtec community. Furthermore, the methodological point of view expressed in archaeological research in the Mixteca, is firmly locked in a processual stance. All major regional archaeological projects developed between 1966 and today are built on systematic surveys of the Mixteca (Balkansky 1999). As the main goal of these projects was to reconstruct the developments related to settlement history in the region, contact with local communities did not constitute a nexus in the daily fieldwork activities of the archaeologists involved. During these studies the amount of indigenous involvement remained limited to the campesino in his plough field who basically had the choice between agreeing or disagreeing on letting the archaeologist enter the field and do 'his' or 'her' research. The occasional pointing out where the ceramics or the mounds are to be found is of course well-received information leading to the data.[19]

This lack of involvement of local communities and their inhabitants is illustrated when reviewing the publication record. As a region featuring primarily small towns, the interaction of archaeologists with these communities is frequent and goes back to archaeology's earliest pres-

19 It is ironic that these regional studies 'are undertaken to address questions regarding human and environmental interaction beyond the scale of single, face-to-face communities […]' (Fish and Kowalewski 1990:33), and as such do explicitly leave out interactions with communities, even on the methodological level.

Figure 2.14 Esteban Avendaño (at left) at Monte Negro.

ence in the Mixteca Alta. Already in the Caso reports, traces of this interaction can be found. During his first visit to Santiago Tilantongo, Caso incorporates an inhabitant of the Mixteca Alta in the text on multiple occasions. On one of these occasions, this Esteban Avendaño is mentioned as the person who pointed out to Caso the presence of Monte Negro, and is quite likely the one who guided him and his associates from the centre of Tilantongo up Cerro Negro to indicate the road to the site:

> En primer lugar el señor Esteban Avendaño, localizó una gran zona arqueológica que parece haber sido el Tilantongo primitivo, pues su nombre así lo indica. En efecto se llama actualmente Cerro o Monte Negro, y Tilantongo quiere decir en mexicano "el lugar negro" [ibid. 55].

Avendaño is mentioned in the report as the *vigilante de la zona Mixteca* (ibid. 52) and even features prominently on one of the included photographs (ibid. 55, Figure 2.14). Ironically, this early prominence also seems to have been the final depiction of a local inhabitant of the Mixteca Alta in *any* archaeological report published since 1937.[20]

Currently, the status of people living at or near the many archaeological sites in the Mixteca Alta is relegated to the peripheral texts of archaeological narratives: the dedication, preface and acknowledgments. Publications into the archaeology of the region demonstrate an ever-increas-

20 Avendaño might also feature on a group photograph taken at the Caso encampment at Monte Negro a year later (Acosta and Romero 1992: 24). This would be the person standing next to Caso and mentioned as 'persona no identificada'.

ing decadence in thanking communities and dedicating them to individuals. This is where local knowledge is implicitly reflected on, in the peripheral small-print where the quintessential Don Simpatico and Doña Gracia seem to live, to paraphrase Rudolf Stavenhagen (1973:181-182).

Upon seeing that a large majority of research in the Mixteca Alta is conducted by archaeologists academically educated and trained in North America, an odd discrepancy can be observed. Social movements in the United States, which saw their rise in the 1970s, have since then claimed a place for alternative and equal voices in the discipline (Ferguson 1996). The term 'stakeholder', for example, has become commonly heard in North American archaeology. This has become the encompassing reference to all individuals or institutions who claim to have a say in handling of past (pre- as well as colonial) material culture alongside archaeologists. Social awareness factions such as the civil rights movement and the antiwar and peace movements, all came to have a voice in North American society during the 1970s. These developments were a direct outcome of the racial struggles throughout the United States, and the countries' heavily disputed foreign policy. In these arenas, archaeology was not an evident player, but it did have concrete effects on the ways in which archaeologists positioned themselves on the societal canvas (Patterson 1995). Not in the least, because of the publishing of recently passed away Vine Deloria's Custer died for your sins: An Indian manifesto (Deloria 1969). These effects ranged widely within the archaeological community, from critical self-reflection (to a stern defence of scientific integrity and the applauding of archaeology's presumed neutral position in society. Partly, archaeologists became more aware of the role they played in constructing history, which in turn was used to establish a national past. Native Americans, African-Americans and immigrants served in this past as examples of the melting pot theory: Examples for the 'successes' of the truly united America. Eventually, the acknowledgement of the problematic position in the United States occupied by amongst others, Native Americans, resulted in the abandonment of this sociological theory of assimilation.

The awkward lack of stakeholder voices in specifically the area of Oaxaca is in part explained by the marginal socio-economic position of indigenous peoples. However, it still does not entirely resolve the issue from the disciplinary viewpoint. This answers partly why North American archaeology is in an existential state of flux and Mexican archaeology is not. Clearly this has had profound effects on the ways in which American archaeologists approach their discipline in the United States and Canada, and has arguably been the most shaping development on the practice of archaeology after the introduction of processual archaeology (Hegmon 2003; Watkins 2003). Currently, anthropology departments across the United States educate their archaeology graduate students in dealing with this changed working environment. The oddity lies in the fact that this rearranging of the societal context of archaeology in the US has apparently trickled down only marginally to the Mixteca Alta. This thesis seeks, by critically applying participatory approaches to archaeology in the region, to add to this changed working environment.

3

Site-based mapping at Monte Negro

3.1 Monte Negro in Oaxacan perspective

Monte Negro represents a case where a new settlement was founded on a previously unsettled hilltop location (Figures 3.1 and 3.2). As survey studies in the nearby Tilantongo valley have convincingly demonstrated, Monte Negro's founding, Late Cruz period (600-300 BC) population likely originated from a location lower in the valley (Balkansky et al. 2004:42-44; Byland & Pohl 1994:49-51). Since Monte Negro's occupational history is short, and its reasons for abandonment unknown, the importance of the site for the population of the Tilantongo area in times following the Early Cruz period, remains an empirical problem. Apart from low-frequency Natividad period (AD 1000-1521) ceramics on the surface in the ceremonial precinct (Van Broekhoven et al. 2000), no archaeological data on post-Early Cruz times are available.

Archaeological interpretations have relied heavily on shifting patterns in the configuration of settlements across the landscape and main 'thresholds' in evolving complexity are the emergence of urbanism and the processes of state formation, identified architecturally by the large monumental centers of the Las Flores period, and the architecturally less dominant city-state centers of the Natividad period. In the Mixteca Alta, initial urbanization occurred at the onset of the Late Formative period, or Early Ramos in the local chronology (300-100 BC). Settlement pattern data have revealed that during that period a significant number of sites appeared at or moved to specific geographic locations (Spores 1972). In addition, preexisting sites such as Yucuíta, Cerro Jazmín, Huamelulpan and Monte Negro grew to considerable sizes (Spores 1983b).

Although elements related to the study of urbanization in the Mixtec region, such as settlement patterning and settlement hierarchy, architectural features, and population sizes have received significant attention in recent years, much of the debate has remained restricted to confirming or discrediting the infamous 'conquest-issue', revolving around the nature and form of Monte Albán's wider socio-economical influence in regions neighboring on the Valley of Oaxaca.

In part based on the disputed iconographic analysis by Joyce Marcus (1976, 1983a; see Urcid 2000:61-63 for a critique) of numerous iconographic scenes fixed on Building J at

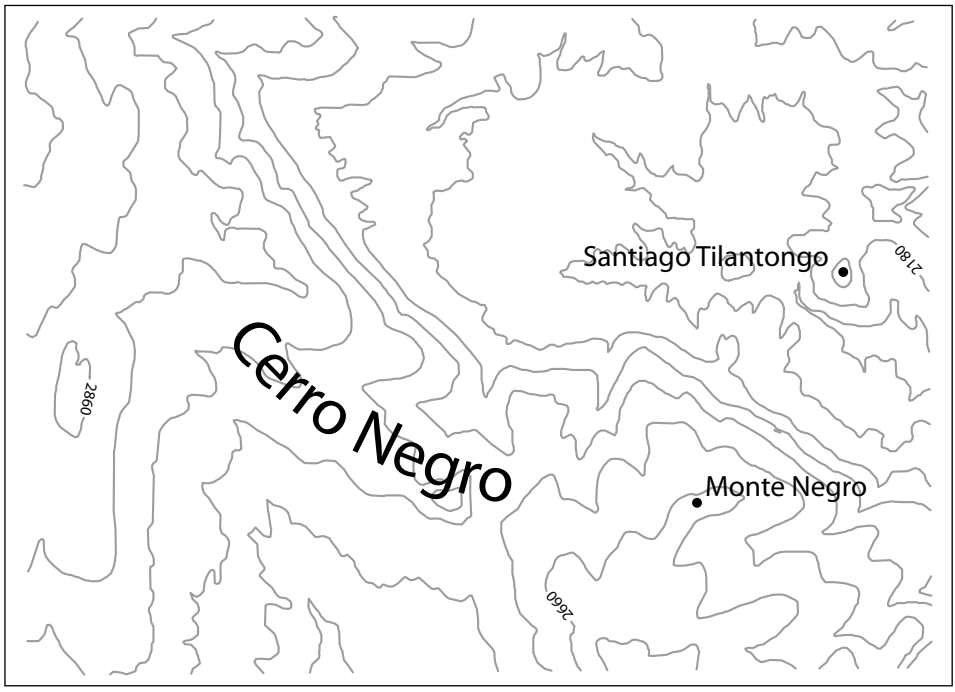


Figure 3.1 Map of Cerro Negro (modified from INEGI E14D35).

Figure 3.2 Aerial photograph of Cerro Negro, centrally showing Monte Negro.

Monte Albán; in addition to the presence of grey-ware ceramics in these regions, this debate mirrors the popular notion that an initial impetus for urbanization in the Mixtec region was provided through coercive interaction with primary centers in the Valley of Oaxaca, headed by the settlement of Monte Albán. Confirmation for this thesis has primarily, and perhaps exclusively, been found in the survey and excavation data from the neighboring Cuicatlán Cañada (Spencer and Redmond 1997). A dominance of grey-wares in the ceramic inventory and Ramos phase fortifications, in combination with the identification of one of the aforementioned iconographic scenes as representing the toponym Cuicatlán and its subjugation (Marcus 1983a) sustain this argument. However, since such evidence has never been nearly as conclusive for the Mixtec region (for a discussion see Balkansky 2004 et al.:51-55), Monte Albán-led incursions are to be excluded as a direct

or sole impetus for Mixtec urbanization during Early Ramos times. Rather, it has been argued that a diversity of local causal circumstances in combination with non-coercive influences from beyond the regional sphere aided in creating the simultaneous and clear changes in settlement pattern and architectural complexity during the Early Ramos period (Balkansky et al. 2004:40-41). During this transition, primary settlements changed in location or appeared at hilltops, in contrast to preceding lower-lying positioning, of which Monte Negro is one of the primary examples.

3.2 Mapping Results

The founding of Monte Negro required some leveling and most likely the clearing of the core area of the hilltop of Cerro Negro on which it is located. The chosen setting for the central (monumental) portion of the settlement determined to a high degree the subsequent location of the surrounding residential zones and terrace constructions. It has not yet been established which section of the monumental epicenter was constructed first.[1] Nor is it known if a clear temporal distinction in construction activities can be established.[2] Because of its high location in comparison to other hills in the area and especially in relation to the preceding settlement on the valley floor, Monte Negro would certainly qualify as a defensible location. However, no indications of defensible features other than its location were recorded and thus this remains a speculative proposal. Defensive locations are known from other sites in Oaxaca (Peterson and MacDougall 1974; Flannery 1983c) providing indications of defensive elements, and these might be expected here given the significant shift in settlement location.

In mapping the architectural features visible on the surface, a division is made between architectural elements of the site. Patios, Plaza's, and other public structures will be grouped and discussed as such. Where useful, Caso's original terminology will occasionally be referred to.

3.2.1 Residential units

The examination of patterns of residential architecture at Monte Negro helps to recognize choices made in the positioning and overall architectural lay-out of these units that conform to the term household. For the case of Monte Albán, Winter (1974, 1976a,b) has identified a gradual development from spatially autonomous rectangular shaped structures to more closed,

1 Epicenter will be used here as a term describing the central administrative zone of Monte Negro. The term was originally introduced by Smith (2005).

2 The one period occupation of Monte Negro obviously complicates this matter substantially. Besides obtaining differing relative dates from ceramics, exact dating methods (e.g. carbon 14 dating) may also only with difficulty provide a solution, due to the shortness of the time of occupation. However, recent excavation data gathered by Christopher Glew may shed more light on this matter. As yet, these data remain unpublished.

inward oriented ones from during Period I through Period IIIb. In accordance with this, three stages are defined by Winter (1974:982, Fig. 2) based on relative position as well as building materials used. Structures with walls made of pole and thatch from Period I are replaced in Period II by walls of adobe blocks and stone foundations (ibid.: 983). The argument presented is that this movement runs parallel to increasing social inequality. Subsequently, this reasoning was recently adopted, extending it to include a perspective on spatial techniques of domination (Hutson 2002). As Hutson argues: 'Adobe walls conceal sound and movement better than pole and thatch, therefore limiting the amount of information that could be extracted by authorities and enabling commoners to assemble more freely and construct a hidden transcript of resistance' (ibid.:66). This argument enriches current analyses of monumental achitecture by acknowledging the importance of adding sensory perspectives to conclusions reached on social hierarchies at monumental sites in Oaxaca.

The relative small area, on which the monumental mound groups are situated at Monte Negro, creates the possibility to apply similar sensory perspectives, in particular since this is a single-component site, Monte Negro's ceramic surface and tomb material pertains to the Monte Albán Ic period, or 300 to 100 BC (Balkansky et al. 2004), and all architecture was thus constructed within a short time frame, without causing the problem of later architecture that covers earlier features as is the case at Monte Albán. It is a splendid example of early urbanization in the Mixtec region. Whether its architectural features consequently also display a concordant homogeneity and coherence, will be the subject of analysis. The Late Formative period presents an analytical opportunity since no detailed data are available for monumental architecture prior to this period in the Mixteca.

3.2.1.1 Unit 1

This unit is located south of the main avenue, close to Unit 4 (see below). The architectural structure of the unit is marked by a high degree of complexity, and the fact that it was excavated but only in part, effectively adds to the complexity. The western and southern sides were excavated, leaving the interior of the unit untouched with the exception of a possible tomb in the north room. The entrance in the northwest corner presents good conservation. In the north room, for example, the east wall still has an altitude of 87 cm (Figure 3.3).

A passage of 3.5 meters in length and 3.75 meters wide leaves the main avenue by means of a low step and ends in a staircase with surfaces of 42 by 50 cm and steps of 23, 32 and 8 cm After these steps, the passage continues for an additional 1.8 meters. It connects to the west room, which may have had a narrow doorway to the north room. The west room has dimensions of 4.7 by 7.8 meters. In the floor of the room a fire pit was registered with a radius of 55 cm and an altar-type construction which is located adjacent to the south wall. This construction has dimensions of 1.27 meters east-west and 1.16 meters north-south, and a current height of 25 cm The interpretation as an altar is sustained by the presence of the fire-pit in the same room.

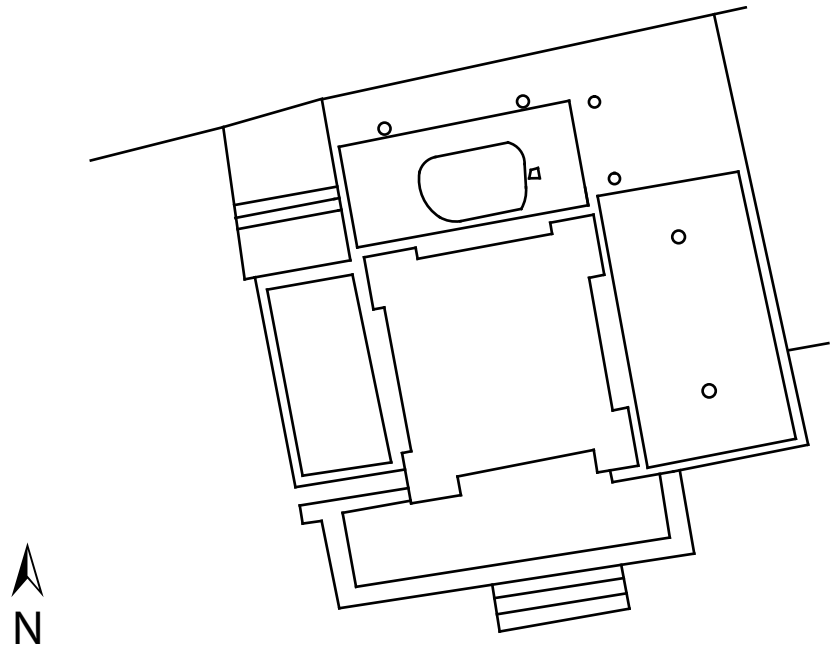


Figure 3.3 Drawing of Residential Unit 1.

The patio is approximately 8.4 meters wide and about 9 meters long. A narrow second passageway departs from the west wall on the south side of the patio. It measures 52 cm in width and 3.9 meters in length and leads to the constructions west of the patio. The walls alongside the passageway have a maximum altitude of 60 cm. It separates the west room from the south room. The south room measures 12.8 by 3.8 meters. To the south a staircase led down in a southerly direction, but currently it is disintegrating rapidly. The north room is largely destroyed because of a large looting pit of 3.4 by 2.3 meters. On the surface of the room a number of columns disks were recorded. Some of them appear to be close to their original location, others were clearly moved about in the past. The presence of three of these, which are also seen in the Acosta map as fixed in their position, suggests that this room features four slender columns, comparable in size to those encountered in the east room of the so-called Temple T-N (see below). The dimensions of this room are estimated to be at 8 by 5.9 meters.

The east room measures 6.0 by 10.2 meters. In this room also some columns disks were registered. Some of these disks are in peculiar locations and serve to illustrate the complexity of this part of the Unit 1. The dimensions of the north and east room depend on the hypothesis

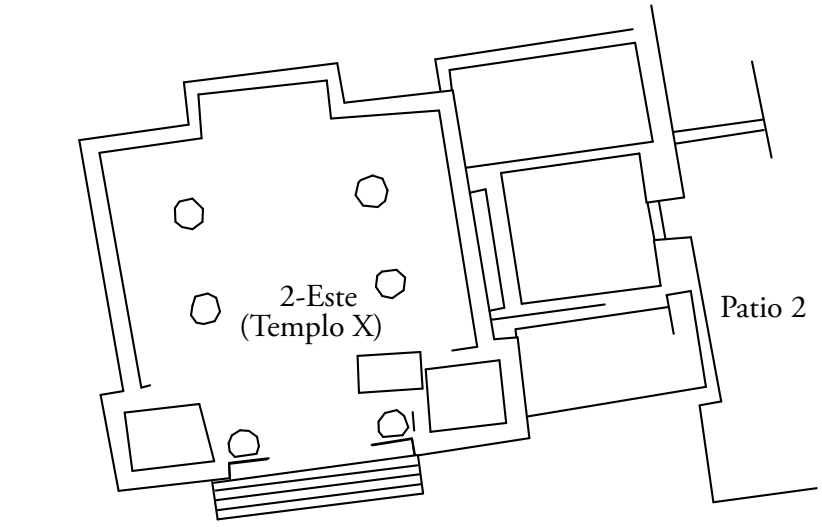


Figure 3.4 Drawing of Residential Unit 2.

Figure 3.5 Residential Unit 2.

that the northeast corner of the patio is a separate room (6.0 by 5.7 meters), when in fact it may have formed part of either the north or the east room.

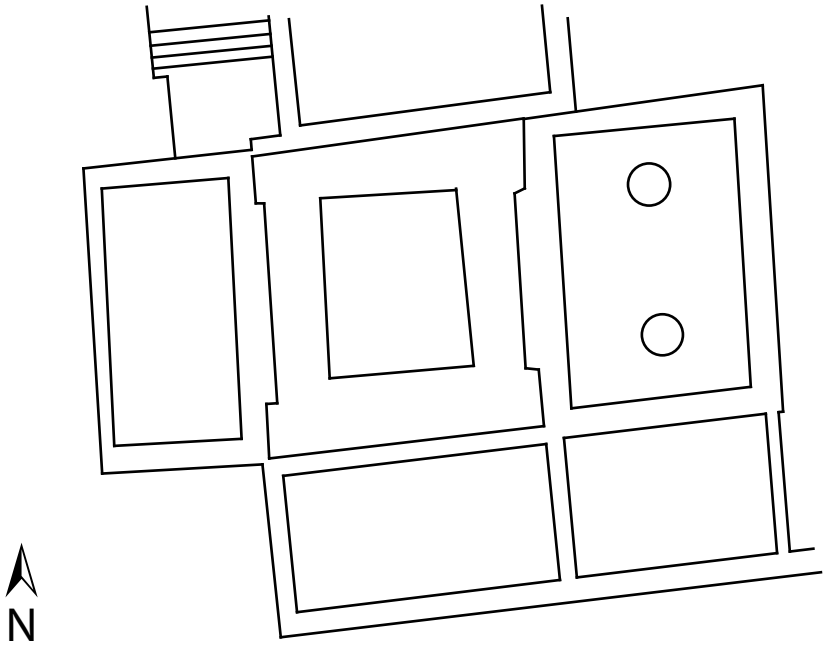
3.2.1.2 Unit 2

This unit differs from the typical Monte Negro residential structure since it does not have sloping walls (Figure 3.4). The patio itself has a depth of 82 cm and is delimited by two rooms (east and west). A staircase (1.5 meters wide) leads down to the patio from the main avenue featuring surfaces of 43 cm and steps of 32 and 38 cm (Figure 3.5). The patio size is 5.6 by 5.9 meters; the east room measures 4.0 by 7.6 meters and the west room has dimensions of 4.2 by 8 meters. In Acosta's drawing two columns are included in each of the two rooms, but these have currently all but disappeared. Between the south wall of structure 2-Este and the north wall of the patio is an opening of 60 cm by 5 meters.

3.2.1.3 Unit 3 (X)

East of structure 2-Este (Temple X) is a unit where some of the more characterizing elements of Monte Negro residential units are evidenced. The patio measures nearly 7 meters from east to west and some 7 meters from north to south (Figure 3.6). It is a patio with what might be regarded as an 'impluvium', including four delimiting rooms, aligned along the cardinal directions. Both rooms featured two columns for sustaining the roofing structure; this is also seen in Acosta's drawing (Figure 3.7). In the patio itself, the corners of the 'impluvium' no columns were recorded. The remaining walls of the rooms do not exceed a height of 82 cm above ground level in the interior and a height not exceeding 1.10 on the outside of the patio. The rooms most likely were platforms, on top of which adobe walls and roof constructions were built. The north and south platforms are currently substantially lower than the other two.

The north room is to be divided in two parts. The eastern part (6.5 by 2.4 meters) is rectangular, with columns present in all four corners. The exact dimensions are unclear since the north wall is not to be observed. The eastern segment has a staircase which grants access to the west room, measuring 2.6 by 3.0 meters. Between this staircase and the east room a small passageway is present (60 cm wide); this is the entrance to the patio. A seeming irregularity is an open space of some 35 cm wide in the extreme southwest of this residential structure to a side of the east room of Unit X-S. The latter is a result of the construction process of the buildings, but is seems to narrow to ever have had a practical use. The typical cross-shape of these residential structures is 'disturbed' by the presence of an additional platform in the southeast corner that measures 5.8 by 3.5 meters. Since the south wall of the east room is worked as an exterior wall element standing on a low platform, it is assumed that the former was added on at a later stage. The columns that were registered in these rooms are severely damaged, but they appear to have been slimmer in form than those found at structure 2-Este (Temple X). The west room measures 6 by 8 meters, the south room 7 by 4.5 meters and the east room 4 by 7.5 meters.



Approx. scale 1:190 cm

Figure 3.6 Drawing of Residential Unit 3.

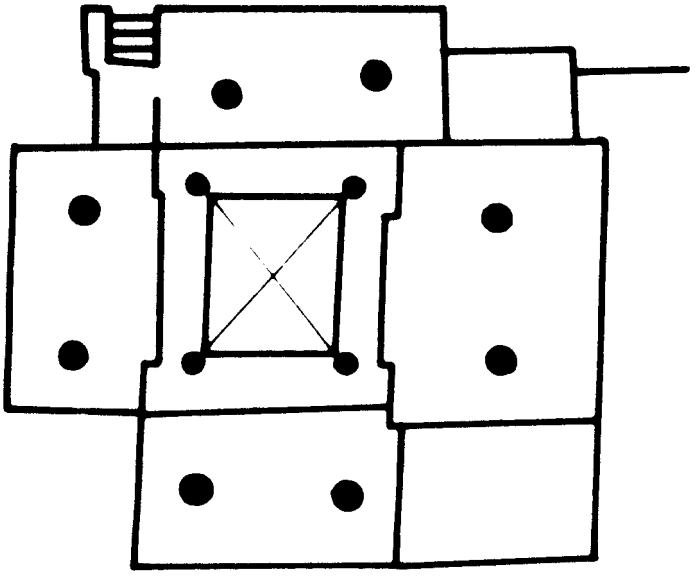


Figure 3.7 Drawing of Residential Unit 3 (as illustrated in Acosta & Romero 1992).

3.2.1.4 Unit 4 (Building W)

West of Unit 5 another building is located with two large columns. This suggests, in combination with the map of the entire structure that it is another one of the typical unit complexes. It may be proposed here that there are rooms to all four sides, even though these are no longer visible today (Figure 3.8). Loose stones and dirt cover the majority of this structure. The east room measures 5.6 by 7 meters. The south room measures some 6 by 3.5 meters. The east room appears to have had delimitation to the east side, parallel to the west wall of the west room of Unit 4. South of the east room yet an additional room is located, measuring 2.8 by 2.6 meters. The latter seems to have been a room that architecturally 'filled up' the southeast corner of the unit structure. Two further openings from the outside to the interior of the patio are a narrow passageway of some 60 cm between the western wall of the east room pertaining to Unit 4. Secondly, an open space between this room and the staircase of Unit 4 is still present.

3.2.1.5 Unit 5 (Building U)

This unit is similar to Unit 3 (X). It is a typical unit, with sloping walls on all sides forming the patio (see Figure 3.8). All rooms are alligned to the cardinal directions. The north room measures 10.5 by 5.4 meters, the west room measures 4 by 11.5 meters, the south room 10.3

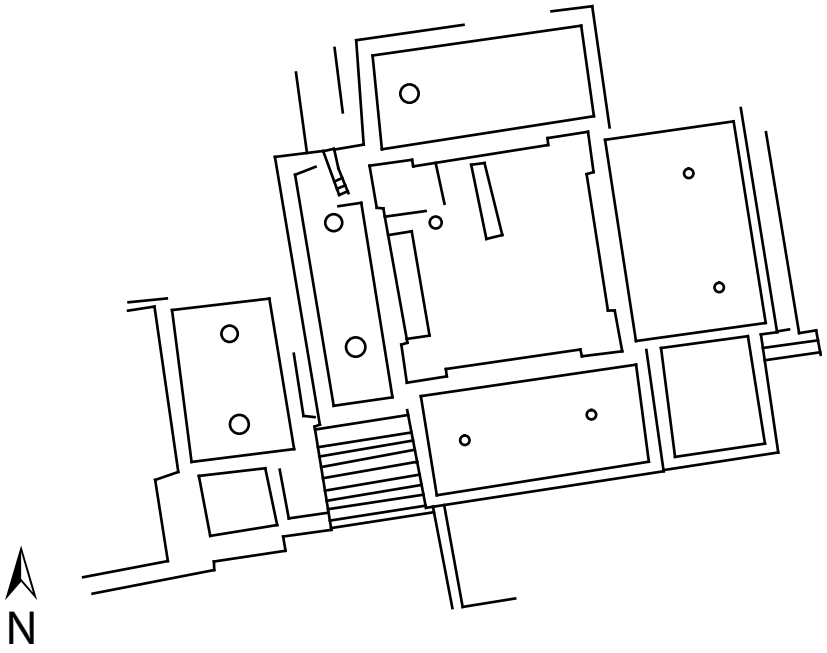


Figure 3.8 Drawing of Residential Units 4 and 5.

by 5.3 meters and the east room 6.6 by 9.7 meters. In the southwest corner a large staircase is located (3.8 by 4 meters), protruding some 20 cm in a westerly direction, with 9 steps granting access to the west and south rooms from the main avenue. The surfaces of this staircase measure 40, 46, 43, 43, 45, 28, 30 and 37 cm from the avenue up, and the steps are respectively 8, 28, 28, 26, 19, 20, 25, 27, and 14 cm. Each room is built using two columns. This unit complex is one of the best preserved at the site. The south wall of the south room measures 1.10 meters in length and the western side of the west room is 1.6 meters in length.

An additional entrance to the patio is found in the northern end of the west room by means of a stepped passageway; it has an average width of 40 cm. It is slightly curved and not ideally aligned to the related structure. It exits from a room located to the north of the west room. There are some wall foundations in the northeast corner, and also in the interior of the patio itself. Perhaps a small room was located in the patio, as for example a temazcal. South of this small room a clay tube is vertically fixed in the patio surface, with cemented small stones serving as reinforcements. This tube also appears in one of Caso and Acosta's photos, but without the reinforcements, these are thus most likely placed during the 1930s, even though the Acosta report makes no mention of this. In the central section of the patio a pile of adobe was deposited at a certain time, the pile, of about 1 meter high, is leaning against the wall of the small aforementioned room in the patio and an additional wall located to east side. Similar to what was registered in Unit 3, in the southeast side a room is formed by the walls of the east and south main rooms. This room may have been one more entrance to the patio interior, given that additional small walls foundations indicate a passageway.

3.2.1.6 Unit 6

This unit complex is poorly preserved. It appears to have been excavated and the walls encountered did not exceed 1 layer in height, this still permits the plan to be sketched, but it jeopardizes the integrity of the structure. It consists of a patio of 5 m2 with four rooms defining it. In the north room (5 by 1.6 meters) the bases of two columns were registered. This room, similar to the west and south room, is rectangular and rather elongated. To the north, directly outside the room, an alignment of stones is still visible which formed either a terrace or a staircase leading to the north. Both options indicate that the north wall of the north room is a suitable location to encounter an entrance to the patio. The building diverges from the regular cross-shape since the west room is so large that it alters the architecture of the building. The west room measures 2.65 by 11 meters. The south room measures 4.8 by 2.3 meters. The east room measures 2.9 by 5.9 meters. In the southeast corner is a small additional room.

3.2.1.7 Unit 7

This again is a typical unit for Monte Negro standards. The patio is delimited by walls with protrusions, and even though no elements of the 'impluvium' walls remain today, the columns in the corners are still visible. The patio is square and measures 5.5 meters on the sides. The entrance is located east of the north wall and connects to a staircase north of the east room, leading down in an easterly direction (Figure 3.9). Currently there is an additional separation between the east and south room, but Acosta encountered a separating wall east of the south patio wall in the east room just in front of the south column in that room (Figure 3.10). This would make the dimensions of the east room some 3.7 (rough estimate based on missing east

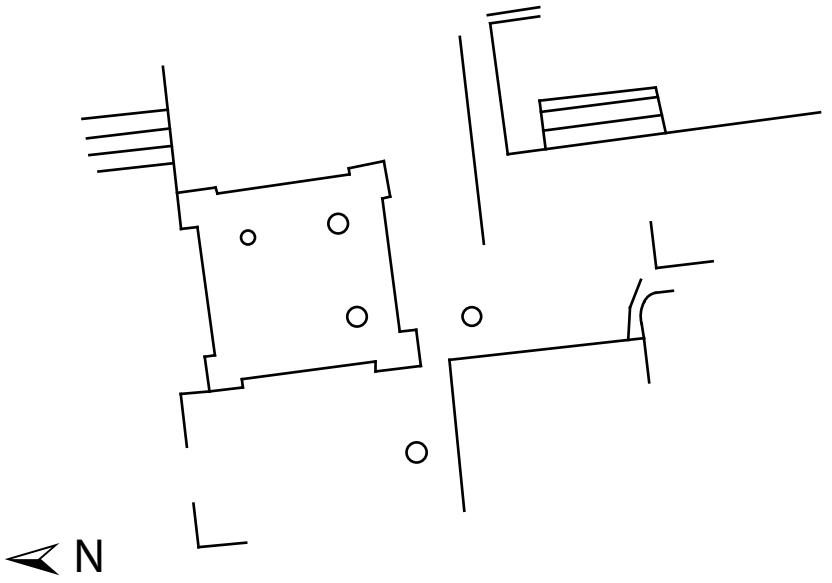


Figure 3.9 Drawing of Residential Unit 7.

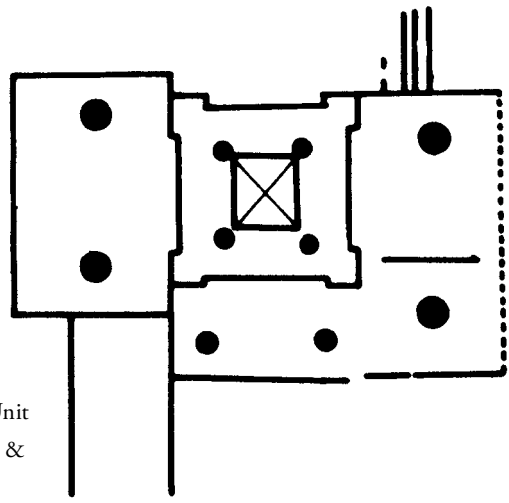


Figure 3.10 Drawing of Residential Unit 7 (as illustrated in Acosta & Romero 1992).

wall) by 5.7 meters, and those of the south room 9.5 by 3.1 meters. These latter measurements are also estimates, but comparing them to the plan drawing by Acosta they should be close to actual size. An alternative option is that the southeast part pertained to the east room, giving it a length of 8.9 meters, and correspondingly the south room a width of 6 meters.

The west room features at least 4.4 meters in width, taking into consideration the destroyed western wall, and it is to be expected that it had a length of 7 meters, based on the fact that the northern wall is missing. The south column in this room is still partly in its original location. The presumed north room is totally missing; there is no indication of it apart from the limiting patio wall to the north. The entire complex is located at some 2 meters below the so-called Temple T-N, and it does not appear to be constructed on top of a platform, merely to the north of the patio the surface slopes down.

3.2.1.8 Unit 8

This unit features a patio with the four walls remaining and having a maximum height of about 1 meter with protrusions unto the patio floor. The protrusion to the north is larger than the other three. It was paved with flat stones and features a height of 65 cm. On its surface an additional step was placed leading up to the north room. Yet another step makes a turn in the northwest corner of the patio. This step provides access to a space between the north and west rooms, and may have functioned as a passageway leading around the western part of the north room and continuing to circumscribe this room until the narrow passage east of the east room.

The north room measures 8.5 by 3.6 meters, the east room 3.4 by 8.2, the south room 6.4 by 3.5 meters, and the west room 3.2 (excluding the protrusion) by 4.2 meters. The patio itself measures 7.5 by 4 meters and has a maximum observable depth of 1 meter. To the east of the east room is a passageway (1.7 meters wide) delimited on the east side by a low platform (30 cm in height above the ground surface). South of this passageway is a staircase leading 3 steps down (surfaces of 33 and 40 cm and steps of 29, 23 and 23 cm). The platform to the east has dimensions of 4.4 by 8 meters. The eastern wall of this platform has a protrusion.

3.2.1.9 Unit 9

This structure has a patio with rooms to the sides, in one of which drainage is present. The drainage element consists of a square hole that appears to run to the east from a pit with dimensions of 46 by 16 cm and a depth of 20 cm Caso restored it using the small stones and cement seen earlier in Unit 5. This residential unit differs from the standard unit lay-out, being more similar to that of Unit 11, since it has no ´impluvium´. The walls have a very slight protrusion into the patio, but never more than 1 to 1.5 meters wide.

Of the west room merely the east wall still is visible. The eastern and part of the northern wall still remain of the north room, which will have had dimensions of 5 by 3.4 meters. To the

east of this room is some sort of an open space which may have functioned as a doorway to the patio (it has a width of 60 cm). This doorway grants access to a room in the northeast corner of the complex, which has a staircase in the northeast, leading north. This room most likely had similar dimensions as the north room. The east room is 4.8 meters wide and 6.8 meters long. The structure in the south actually is merely a platform; no indications of a superseded room appear here. It is 6.8 meters wide and 2.9 long and the walls currently feature a maximum height of 70 cm. The patio itself measures 5.4 by 5.8 meters, excluding stairs and protrusions, and has a depth of 45 cm A noteworthy detail of this complex is that one of the walls has been constructed by means of vertically placed flat stones.

3.2.2 Plazas

Besides residential units, Monte Negro is marked by an overall form of the monumental epicenter that is elongated, stretching across the hilltop of Cerro Negro. Balkansky has remarked on this form that it holds 'no obvious central plaza. Such an arrangement is distinct from plaza centered Valley of Oaxaca sites' (1998:467). Indeed, Monte Albán is characterized by the dominant Central Plaza and this is markedly different from the contemporaneous building activities at Monte Negro. The function that the plaza at Monte Albán had to perform was apparently not required at Monte Negro. Instead, a number of smaller, square plazas were constructed on a roughly west-east axis.

3.2.2.1 Plaza 1

This plaza measures 21.5 meter from east to west and 23.5 meter from north to south. It is defined by four rectangular structures: 1-Sur on the southern limit; 1-Oeste to the western limit; 1-Norte to the northern limit; and 1-Este to the eastern limit. Structure 1-Este also forms part of the Sistema R, as defined by Caso (Figure 3.11). These four structures do not entirely close off the plaza; the four corners of the plaza are accessible from the outside, with the exception of the northeast corner (see Acosta and Romero 1992: 30). The preservation of all four structures is poor; the one showing the least deterioration is 1-Este. This 1-Este still features some architectural details on the surface in the form of a staircase. The remaining three are platforms lacking any further architectural details. Structure 1-Sur is the best preserved of these three. The cornerstones of the structures were encountered, enabling the recuperation of their dimensions:

Structure 1-Sur	3.6 x 15.5 meter,
Structure 1-Oeste	3.8 x 15.9 meter,
Structure 1-Norte	6.4 x 15.7 meter

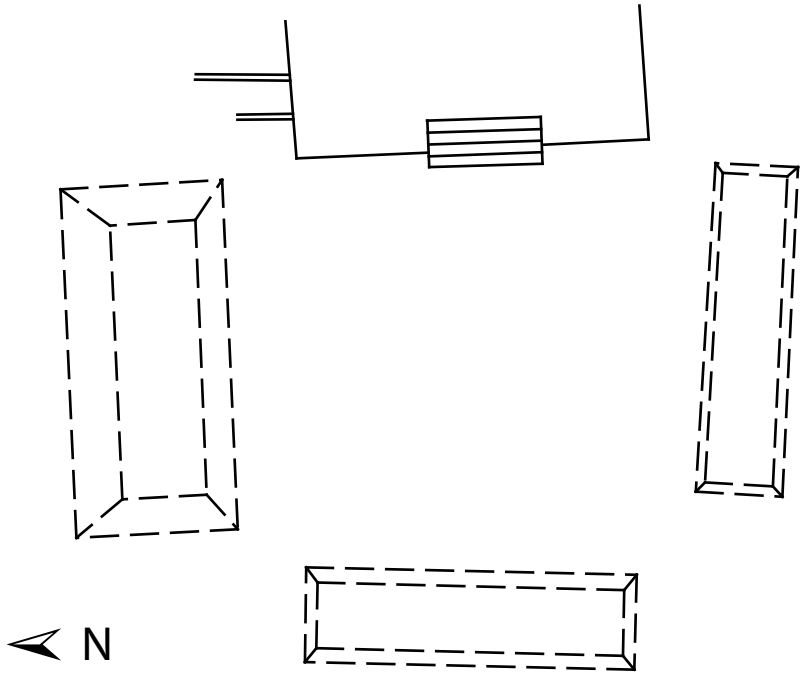


Figure 3.11 Drawing of Plaza 1.

Structure 1-Norte features a facade with an inclination stronger relatively to the others, partly caused by the natural sloping of that segment of the terrain. During the Caso campaigns a staircase was registered in the north wall of 1-Sur, connecting the top of the structure to the patio surface (see Acosta and Romero 1992: map on page 30). This staircase is no longer present. The mentioned map also indicates that the platform was characterized by a division into three surfaces. Two small rooms (as wide as the staircase) feature in the central part of the platform surface. Remains of the east wall in this central part are still present. A function of passage building to and from the plaza seems doubtful given that no staircase was encountered on the south side of 1-Sur. An interpretation as residential unit is difficult to maintain in light of the 'open' character of the plaza.

3.2.2.1.1 Structure 1-Este ('Sistema R')

This structure was designated by Jorge Acosta as a 'system' due to its complex shape, incorporating various structures in large platform (see Figure 3.11). This platform features measurements 36 meters in length and 17.5 meters in width at the western side and reducing to a minimum of approximately 12 meters before expanding in width once more towards the eastern extrem-

ity. It seems that a number of structures stood on this platform, but only fragmentary remains of foundations remain today.

One of the more particular elements pertaining to '*Sistema* R' is the structure nominated 'Templo Z' by Acosta and Romero (1992:72). However, no indications were found that this element was in any way separated from the neighboring architecture. Perhaps additional features such as the character of the ceramics encountered there led Acosta to separately denominate this structure. A large staircase, with a width of 5.6 meters, grants access to and from Plaza 1. The staircase is extremely deteriorated and only the remains of three stairs are discernable. On the platform surface are located the scattered remains of two columns in the southwestern corner. It seems plausible that at least two further columns were located to the north. The columns partly delineate a slightly sunken patio in the western half of the platform surface. The patio floor was paved with flat stones, a double row of which runs west-east through the central axis of the structure. Approximately 20 meters east of the western extremity of 'Sistema R', an additional plaza is located. This plaza also features four platform structures to its sides. The Acosta map shows a room (10 by 5 meters) on the platform at the northern side, which today is no longer visible on the surface. Noteworthy is also that the north wall of the room is drawn by means of an interrupted line, reflecting the insecurity of the observation at the time. Today a part of this wall is still visible although it is poorly aligned. A short foundational wall appears to invade this room from the direction of the tunnel (see below). The room to the east is referred to by Acosta as 'Templo Z'. Its measurements are 5.1 by 8.7 meters at the time when Acosta mapped it. Current measurements, however, are 6.3 by 8.8 meters. South of the patio no clearly aligned room is visible, but the exterior wall of the structure 1-Este and its corners correspond to the size of the patio. This allows a size reconstruction of the room of 9 by 4.3 meters. The patio itself has four sloping walls, rising approximately 25 cm from the patio surface. In the center of the patio a sunken square surface is located, approximately 4.5 meters on each side. In the corners of this sunken surface Caso encountered columns which had fallen down into the patio, but with the segments still more or less united. An additional construction is a narrow tunnel located at the western edge of the north patio wall. It connects the patio to a room outside of the structure, constructed west of the north room. The tunnel has a width of 50 cm and 90 cm in height and is lower than the patio itself; most likely a staircase was constructed inside the patio in order to use the tunnel. Acosta called this a patio (Acosta and Romero 1992:70), but until today the walls have a height sufficient to have formed a room, and no further indication of it being a patio were encountered. Its dimensions are 2.5 by 5.5 meters. Of interest is a staircase that leads from the avenue to the south room. The stairs are incorporated in a U-shaped structure. The first step features a large surface of 1.35 meters and it is built in a tiled area. The other step surfaces measure 0.40, 0.40 and once again 1.35 meters. The ledges of the steps measure 15, 25, 20, 27 y 25 cm. Important to mention concerning the staircase is that an empty surface of approximately 60 cm between the staircase and the south room of the patio. Acosta does not

include this empty surface in his drawings. It does not appear to be recent though: the walls are too well constructed to allow for this explanation, an entire step would have to have gone missing. The step measures 4.8 by 4.5 meters and the sides are 1.2 (North) and 2.0 meters (South). This staircase protrudes into the avenue more so than structure 1-Este and this observation points towards two different construction events and perhaps two different architectural purposes. Perhaps the entire unit was a later addition to structure 1-Este.

3.2.2.2 Plaza 2

Since this is the most centrally located plaza, it appears to have been one of the foremost at the site (Figure 3.12). It measures 22 by 23 meters and is limited by structure 2-Este; the platform of structure 2-Oeste; the structure 2-Norte and the structure 2-Sur. It is thus surrounded by structures on all sides and features an entrance in the southwest corner (Acosta and Romero 1992: 30). Not much of this entrance remains today. In the southeast corner, to the side of structure 2-Sur, a small room is located (5.6 by 4.1 meters). An additional similar room is present in the northeast corner. Of this latter one, part of the south wall is visible; the remaining segments are covered in refuse heaps. The structures 2-Norte and 2-Sur respectively measure 15 by 5 and 14 by 3.2 meters. Both have staircases granting access to the plaza, but each has different dimensions: the 2-Norte staircase is 3.8 meters wide, with surfaces of 49 by 36 cm and steps of 13 and 20 cm The 2-Sur staircase has a surface of 50 cm and a step of 24 cm Acosta drew these structures in such a way to present them as if they were similar in form. Structure 2-Norte may feature a low platform underneath it.

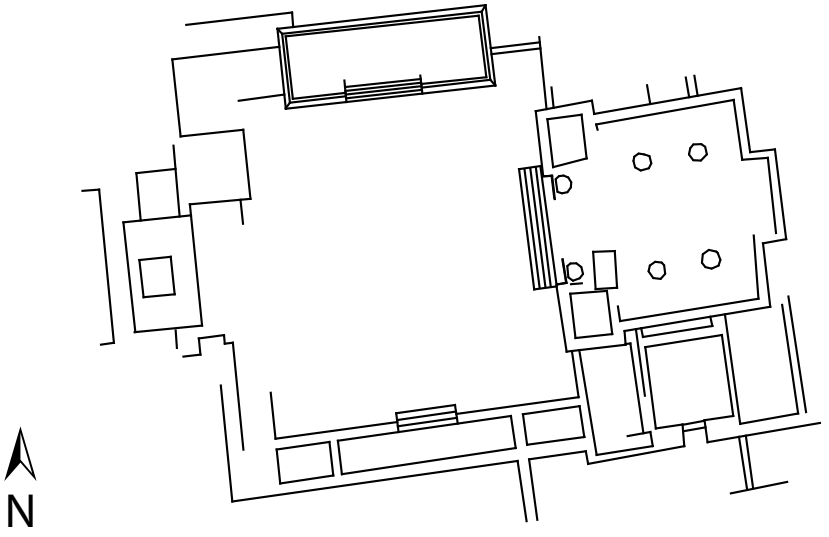


Figure 3.12 Drawing of Plaza 2.

3.2.2.2.1 Structure 2-Este ('Templo X')

This is currently one of the best preserved structures at the site, since it was included in Caso's restoration activities (Figure 3.13). In addition, Caso's restorations were in turn restored by the INAH in 2000. It is a platform structure that features a number of architectural details that are otherwise rare at the site. From the western side, a main staircase grants access from the surface of Plaza 2 to the top of the platform. As seen from west to east, the stairs feature surfaces of 40, 38, 43, 40, and 64 cm. Respectively, the steps measure 20, 29, 17, 17, 30 and 20 cm. Similar to Structure 1-Este, the west side has a protruding segment in the middle. This western side measures 17.5 meters wide, the south and north side approximately 15.8 meters and the protruding part at the east side measures some 6.5 meters. In total it measures 18.5 meters in length, when including the protruding west staircase. Four stone columns of 1.4 meters in diameter sustained the roof of the top structure in the central and east parts of the building (see also Acosta and Romero 1992: 39). All were assembled according to the following procedure: A core of flat stone disks was put together and pasted against them was a mix of clay and a variety of small stones. On the western side are two more columns, which are each characterized by a flattened frontal western part. This architectural practice is otherwise not found at the site. A stylistic comparison can be made to a column encountered in Monte Albán, in the System IV structure. That particular one features a niche (see Acosta and Romero 1992: 158). The possibility of a niche cannot be verified since Caso encountered all columns largely,

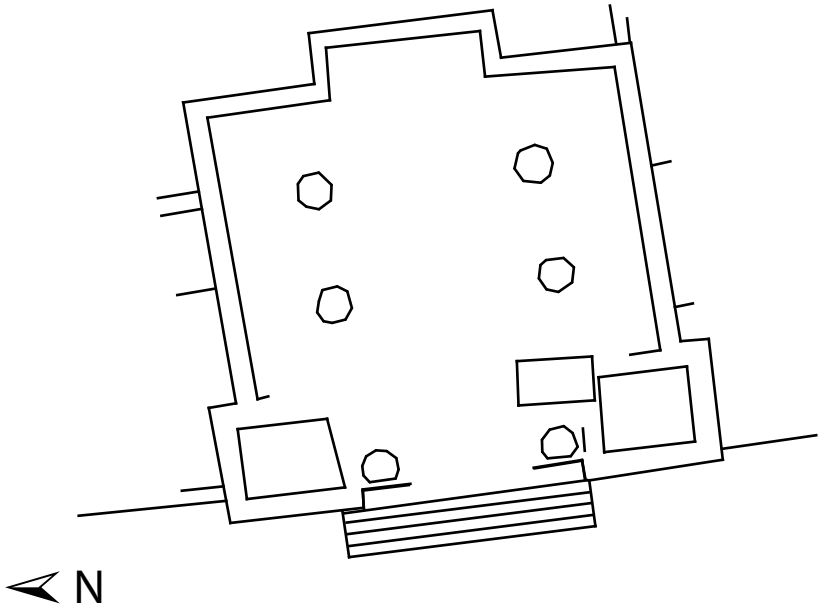


Figure 3.13 Drawing of Structure 2-Este ('Templo X').

to entirely fragmented during his restoration activities. Columns featuring niches, however, are present at various other sites, outside Oaxaca. Acosta mentions Teotihuacán, Tizatlán and Tlaxcala (1992: 158).

Two small surfaces delimited by aligned stones are located in the frontal part of the structure, which in turn is delimited by a staircase on one side and an external wall on the other. Interpretation as rooms is impossible through mere surface prospecting alone since no entrances seem to be present. Both measure approximately 2.6 by 3.2 meters. They appear to have had a minimum depth of 50 cm (i.e. the southern example) and 75 cm (i.e. the northern example) in relation to the surface on which Structure 2-Este rests, as determined by the staircase. The remains of two adobe walls are still visible on the platform surface that separated the western (i.e. frontal) side of the structure from the central part. A step crosses the entire building form north to south where this wall would have been. The two flattened columns cross this separating line. The central segment of this wall is currently not visible. It may be argued therefore, that the two separating walls ran from the northern extremity to the column and vice versa for the southern side, as such leaving an opening between the columns. The platform floor was treated with stucco and two fire pits were still registered in the eastern (i.e. back) side of the structure. These fire pits (*tlecuiles* in nahuatl) were constructed from small unworked pebbles. The one who was best discernable had a radius of 55 cm (see also Acosta and Romero 1992: 39). Acosta also makes reference to an altar that he found to be associated to this structure:

> 'En un altar del Templo X […] se descubrió un magnífico brasero cilíndrico con cara típicamente "olmeca", es decir, con "boca de tigre", el cual plantea interesantes relaciones con Monte Albán y la cultura de La Venta.' [Acosta and Romero 1992: 80; see also Figure 46]

Acosta also encountered a stone axe (ibid.: 125-127). The only C14 date associated with Monte Negro came forth from this structure (ibid.: 167). The walls have a general thickness of about 60 cm, with facings consisting of stones of various sizes, cut in such a way as to produce a smooth surface. The interior of the walls consist of small stones mixed with earth and at times an adobe brick. The walls have a height of 2 meters.

3.2.2.2.2 Structure 2-Oeste ('Templo Y')

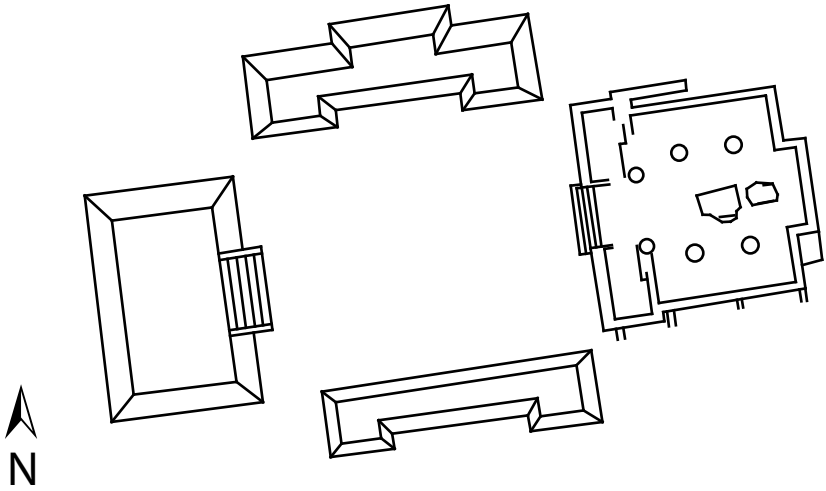
This structure is a very poor state of conservation. It needs to be emphasized that the excavated buildings have been left largely unattended since then and this has resulted in extraordinary problems for further study of the site. In this case, the map published by Acosta provides more information then the structure currently demonstrates. For this reason, the description will be based on both the observations in the field and the Acosta map. The structure consists of a platform with a superimposed building. The platform has an eastward entrance, towards Plaza X. The east side measures 14.2 meters in length and the central segment measures 13.6 meters.

Several of the walls that Acosta included in the map are still vaguely discernable. For example, the main staircase is utterly destroyed and measurements are impossible. It seems that this staircase was already in this state during the Caso project. The staircase provides access to the top building. This building has a rectangular shape and measures 5.7 by 7.8 meters. The east wall is located at 50 cm from the edge of the platform. In the center of the building a small, north-south oriented wall is visible. On one side of the wall a small pit was registered. This pit is not mentioned by Acosta, so its reason of existence is also uncertain: it may be an old looting pit, an excavation unit or even part of the original architecture. This latter option is rather unlikely though given the size and slope characteristics of the pit. The southern edge of the platform is utterly destroyed, as it already was when Caso registered it. A modest staircase, consisting of 5 steps and 3.6 meters in width, is located at the northern side of the top building and provides access to the back part of the platform structure. This back part can be defined as a separate U-shaped platform encircling the western side of the entire structure.

3.2.2.3 Plaza 3

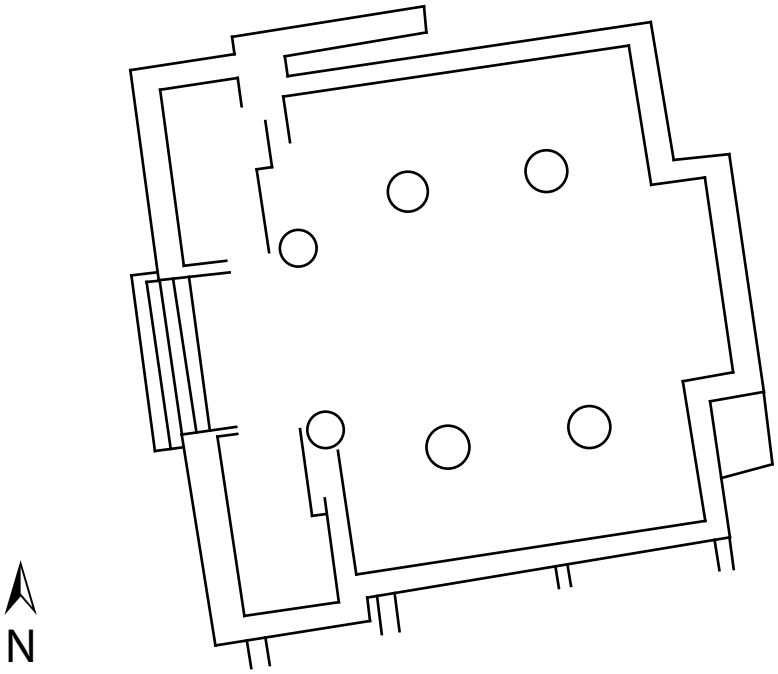
This plaza does not appear in any of the Acosta maps, even though it is situated between the two main architectural clusters that were proposed by Caso and Acosta. Perhaps it was not identified as a plaza due to its relatively large size: it measures 26 by 28 meters. Four platform structures surround the plaza, but leaving room between them at the corners (Figure 3.14). It seems a plausible route that the main avenue would have entered the plaza on the southwest side and continued again by curving around Temple T-S (see below) and then passing by Temple T. On the northern side structure 3-Norte is located. It is a platform structure with low height on the plaza side and considerably greater height at the back (northern) side. Precise dimensions of this structure are impossible to provide, given the rate of destruction, but an estimate can be given of about 17 by 5 meters. It featured a staircase that descended toward the plaza, and two banquettes along its sides. Overall, it demonstrates great similarity to several other Monte Negro platform structures, such as 1-Norte and 1-Sur. The staircase measures about 10 meters in width. The structure seems to have been built on top of a low mound.

The structure 3-Oeste is all but destroyed. Merely the differences in level are possible to discern today, given that they are considerable. In the Marquina map (1951), which was exclusively based on Caso and Acosta's work in the 1930s a curving line is included on the northwestern side that represents a recently constructed wall, made of stones placed against the side of the platform structure. This is all that remains of structure 3-Oeste and the northwestern limit of the plaza. Structure 3-Sur also merely consists of a rocky mound and its dimensions are uncertain. The plaza delimited on the east side by means of structure 3-Este (Temple T-S).



Approx. scale 1:640 cm

Figure 3.14 Drawing of Plaza 3.



Approx. scale 1:250 cm

Figure 3.15 Structure 3-Este ('Templo T-S').

3.2.2.3.1 Structure 3-Este ('Templo T-S')

This structure resembles Structure 2-Este (Temple X) primarily because the six columns that adorn the structure have a width comparable to those found at structure 2-Este (1.4 meters). Secondly, the entrance to the structure is located at the west, mainly recognizable by its staircase (5 meters in width) connecting Plaza 3 and the top of the platform (Figure 3.15). The dimensions of the structure are 19.2 by 18.5 meters, excluding the staircase that protrudes the west side. The columns on the west side are circular, so not comparable to the ones on Structure 2-Este. The distance between the frontal columns is less compared to the other two pairs. At the foot of both frontal columns a step is located that turns into a wall foundation, both to the north and the south. On top of this wall remains of abode bricks still continue to be discernable. To both sides of the staircase traces of adobe describing squares still remain. These may have been alignments of walls similar to those found at Temple X. The western face of the structure, similar again to structure 2-Este, is wider than the other sides. It extends some 90 cm along a north-south axis. In addition, 2-Este features an extension on the back (east) side of 1.8 meters.

Of particular interest is a wall that extends on the north side from the northwest corner of the building (see Figure 3.14). It has a width of 86 cm and runs parallel to the north wall for 4.8 meters, leaving a distance between 2-Este and this semi-connected wall of 70 cm. On the north side of this wall a passage of formed of 1 meter wide by the wall and so-called Temple T. It features a current height of 1.8 meters, and is as such in accordance with the general height is the Platform Structure 2-Este. Furthermore, the construction of this wall appears to postdate the construction of the main structure since the stones used in the building process do not penetrate the wall on the north side of 2-Este.

Two tombs related to Structure 2-Este are reported by Caso and Acosta. They were found in the central section of the platform surface, slightly east of the central axis. Today, the traces of the excavation process remain visible as two pits of considerable size. It is uncertain whether Caso decided to leave them open (quite unlikely), or whether they were reopened by looters after Caso's activities. In both tombs some of the architecture was still easily discernable today in the form of tombs walls constructed of adobe bricks and some semi-worked stones. The staircase has surfaces of 40, 43, 46 and 50 cm from bottom to top and steps of 30, 32, 30 and 30 cm respectively.

3.2.2.4 Plaza 4

This plaza is located in the extreme eastern segment of the monumental epicenter as recorded by Acosta. It measures 26 by 34 meters, reflecting the dimensions of the surrounding buildings. Of these surrounding mounds the two to east and west are both larger in size than those to the north and south (Figure 3.16).

The north mound, structure 4-Norte, is 19.6 meters wide and 5.6 meters in length. The base of this structure is characterized by its long rectangular shape. The frontal (south) side is defined by a staircase which is somewhat embedded in the structure itself; the architectural elements to the sides of the staircase thus protrude more into the plaza than the staircase itself. Its width is approximately 10 meters. A tentative identification of an additional staircase on the north

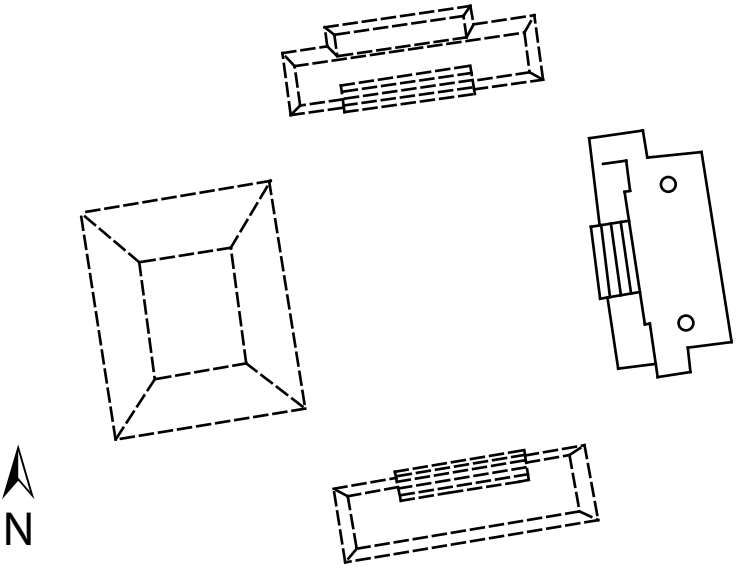


Figure 3.16 Drawing of Plaza 4.

side can be made, but the degree of destruction does not allow for any solid observations. The height of this structure is quite limited; comparable to structure 3-Norte, structure 2-Norte and perhaps also 1-Norte and 1-Sur.

Structure 4-Sur is largely covered in loose debris, making it impossible to describe most of the architecture. In particular the west side is entirely covered. The staircase has a width of 6.1 meters.

Structure 4-Oeste demonstrates the poorest degree of preservation. It is higher than the other Plaza 4 structures and features dimensions of 18 by 20 meters. Significant amounts of vegetation, including several fully-grown trees currently cover the structure. The large amount of loose debris covering the sides of the structure do not permit the establishment of the architectural limit, but on top of the mound barely visible walls still remain. A square shaped structure is visible in the southern side of the top level. The west side may have featured a stair-

case, leading down to Temples T and T-S, but in fact the only indications are the abundance of semi-worked stones and the inclination of the slope.

Structure 4-Este is characterized by a T-shaped plan. The widest part includes a staircase that leads down to the plaza. This western side, including banquettes and staircase have suffered extensive damages and overall dimensions of the structure are only available from the top of the structure, thus leaving out the staircase and banquettes. Tentative dimensions in this case are 6.5 by 16 meters. The staircase has a width of 11.4 meters. The east wall, in combination with the eastern parts of the north and south walls appear to have been excavated by Caso. The primary indications pointing to excavation are the remains of a 1.8 meter deep trench following the walls. The height of the wall also equals 1.8 meters. On the top surface remain two cement plates, one of which is numbered '11' and has a metal rod sticking out of it.

Plaza 4 appears to have had entrances to all four sides, similar to Plaza 3. In the southeast corner of the plaza a large flat stone was deposited, bearing an inscription of 'T-B-17'. The meaning of both this inscription and the formerly mentioned one on the cement plate is unknown they likely may date back to Caso's activities.[3]

3.2.3 Public Architecture

The plazas and residential unit in the monumental epicenter area are positioned along eight structures that are unique at the site considering their respective shape and size. These are also the structures previously worked on by Caso and Acosta, and currently have been largely exposed due to those activities and have also undergone the most extensive reconstruction activities. With the exception of Structure R-Norte, none form part of the mounds that delineate the mentioned plazas. These particular structures have received little analytical attention regarding their morphology and relatedness to surrounding structures. In holding with Lindsay Jones, who underscores the dialectic relationship between monument and those who perceive it by means of introducing a 'superabundance of meaning', Monte Negro's monumental architecture is to be seen here as a narrative that transmits ideas about its reason for being as well as supports new ideas concerning its meaning (Jones 2000:22).

3.2.3.1 Temple T

This structure served as an entrance or passage building, similar to the ones seen for example at Monte Albán (i.e. System IV), and comparable to Structure R-Norte at Monte Negro. It has two staircases, one to the western side (surfaces of 52, 46, and 53 cm and steps of 27, 32, 29, and 49 cm from bottom to top) and one the eastern side (surfaces of 51, 43 and 53 cm and steps

3 The personal correspondence of Alfonso Caso is partly archived at the Library of the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City. Reviewing this archive did not yield any references to activities at Monte Negro. Further sections of his archive are preserved in the Institute for Anthropological Investigations of the National Autonomous University of Mexico, but remain to be investigated regarding Monte Negro.

of 27, 34, 39 and 36 cm, from top to bottom). Two walls on the top surface of the structure narrow the passage from one staircase to the other, but leaving an opening of 3.15 meters wide. On top of these walls, eroded leftovers of some adobe bricks are still present.

The entire structure measures (excluding protruding staircases) 6.5 by 8.75 meters. The staircases add 1.5 meters to the eastern and western sides. To the west of the mentioned top surface passage are the remains of what were two columns. To the east of the walls is a ledge which runs nearly the entire length of the building from north to south, but turns 90 degrees to the west 50 cm before reaching the southern extremity of the building (Figure 3.17). Temple T is in architectural alignment with the aforementioned Temple T-S to its south and Temple T-N (see below) to its north. Separating Temple T and Temple T-S is a narrow passageway of 1 meter wide going west to east. The staircases stand out because of the large worked stones that were used in their construction, typical of Late Formative architecture. The eastern staircase, furthermore, features the only carvings in stone of Monte Negro.

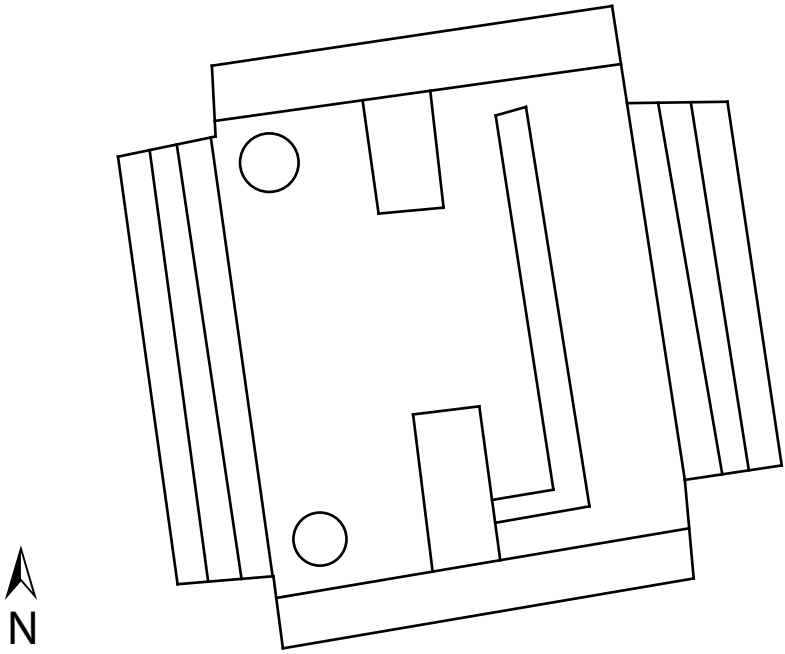


Figure 3.17 Temple T.

3.2.3.2 Temple T-N

One of the most architecturally elaborate structures, Temple T-N is in fact a misnomer. It is most likely not a public building, but in fact a residential structure, similar to the above described residential units, albeit substantially more complex in lay-out (Figure 3.18). The centre of the structure is defined by an impluvium surrounded by a patio and its defining walls and protrusions. The patio measures 7.2 by 8 meters but only a few of the walls are still visible

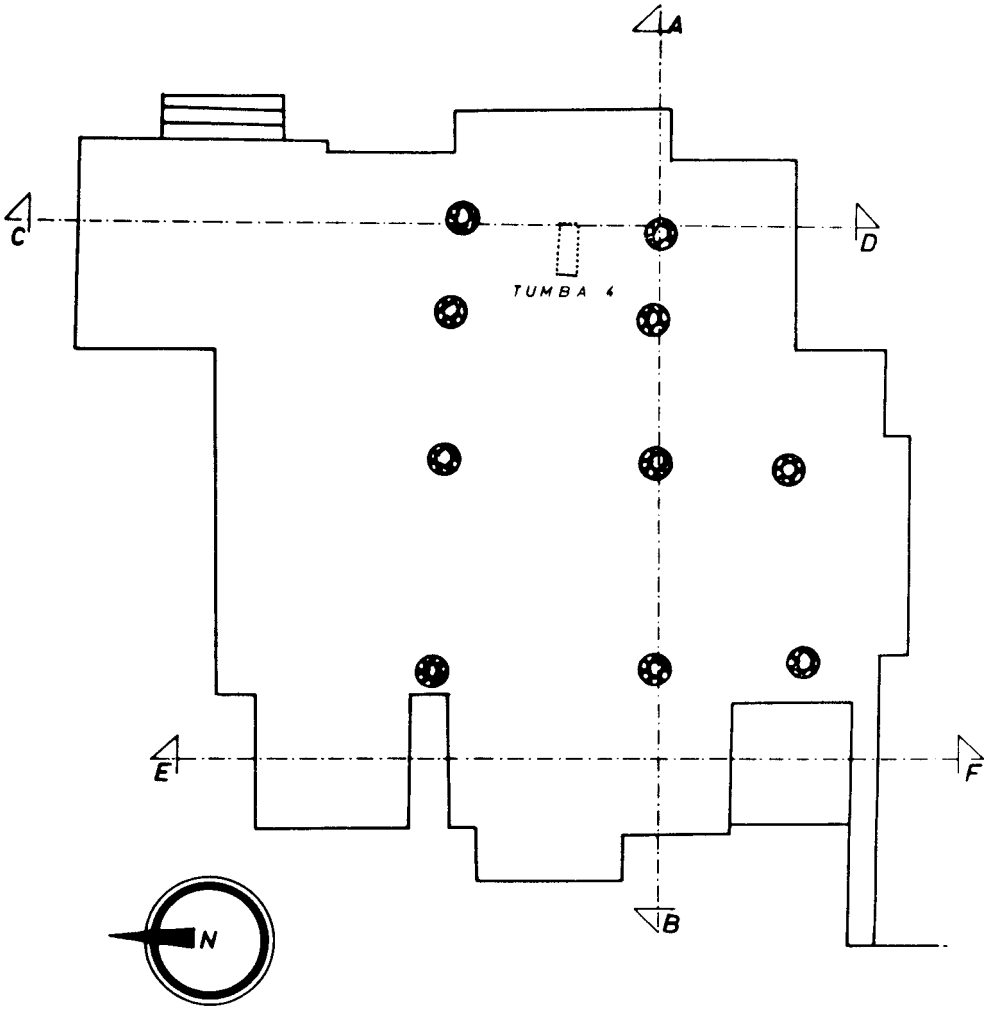


Figure 3.18 Drawing of Temple T-N (as illustrated in Acosta & Romero 1992).

on the surface. The impluvium has dimensions of 3 by 5.6 meters. In the southeast corner of the impluvium remains of one column were registered, and considering the predominant patterns at Monte Negro, the other corner most likely also contained columns in the past. To the east of the patio is a large room with measurements of 8.3 by 12.9 meters, including the protrusion pertaining to the eastern wall. This room possessed four slim columns, which were reconstructed by Caso and Acosta. Today three of these remain. A doorway in the east protrusion of the patio grants access to this room. The difference in height between the patio and the room would have required a now no longer visible staircase. In the northwest corner of this room a passageway occupying a space of 4.2 m2 crossed from the northern wall on the east side of the patio to the staircase on the east side of the structure. That passageway seems to have had a width of about 90 cm, but the delimitation to the north is not entirely clear. Yet another passageway diverges from the aforementioned one and leads to the western wall of the east protrusion of the exterior wall in the north section of the structure. This passageway has a width of 30 cm and ends in the mentioned wall at a height of about 1 meter above the current ground level. The section where the north room of the patio would have been is today largely covered in refuse heaps, but the approximate dimensions must have been around 6.5 by 5.6 meters. Perhaps there has been another exit from the patio in the western part of the northern wall. This northern wall was constructed with at least half a protrusion, since the north room extends 1.1 meters more to the north than its adjoining room to the west. However, since the northern wall of this north room has all but entirely disappeared due to movement of tree-roots, establishing whether the protrusion was completed more to the east is impossible.

The west room is also covered by refuse heaps. No separation between this room and the north room is visible, even though the general pattern would predict this. In addition, a separation was recorded by Acosta in his map of Temple T-N, in the form of a recessed section of the western wall leading to the east (see Figure 3.18). The dimensions of the room in the northwest corner are thus around 4 by 5.5 meters and those of the west room are 6.2 by 7.5 meters. There are still remains of a staircase climbing up to the patio from the west room. South of the west room is an additional room filling up the southwest corner, and measuring 3.5 by 3.8 meters; this room may have formed part of a neighboring building, since it does not appear to have any entrance from anywhere in the Temple T-N. An exception may be the western wall which is sufficiently low to allow for a possible entrance; the remaining walls have heights of around 1.8 meters. The south room features two reconstructed slim columns. The room measures 10.3 by 5.3 meters, including the protrusion of the southern wall which defines the passageway between this structure and the northern part of Temple T. This protrusion is in dimension identical to the width of Temple T.

There is no separation between this south room and the east room. The southwest corner generally adheres to the form of the overall cross-shape of the patio. A difference in construction material is visible for Temple T-N, where on average considerably smaller worked stones have

been used than in the construction of Temple T and Temple T-S. In particular the staircase to the north of the exterior eastern wall was constructed with much smaller stones than the monoliths applied in the staircases of these two southern neighbors. Even though this staircase has suffered extensive damages, some of the approximate dimensions have yielded measurements of 41 and 41 cm for the surfaces and a step of 37 cm. The stepped entrance may have been located in a narrow passageway to the east of the building with no other exit. It has a width of 2.3 meters, but the eastern wall delimiting this alley currently consists of only 1.4 meters of low wall foundations to the north.

3.2.3.3 Structure R-Norte

This structure is one of the westernmost located ones, and most likely was one of the access points to the ceremonial centre. It measures 10 by 13 meters, is reconstructed to an altitude of 1.8 meters, and due to recent consolidations quite well preserved. As the Acosta drawing shows (Acosta and Romero 1992:30), it was already interpreted by Caso and Acosta as an entrance building to the main avenue. The main avenue initiates at this structure and initially maintains the width of the staircase (approximately 5 meters). Two reduced spaces are left to the north and south, which may have served as rooms and measure 5.7 by 2.9 meters.

To the north of the structure and between structure 1-Este is a narrow alley, with a minimum width of 80 cm. When looking at the issue of access control to the site, this passageway could be seen as a complicating factor: How to secure access control through an entrance building, when at the same time there are apparent by-passes next to the structure? This, however, is a redundant question when seen in the light of the numerous passageways and access points throughout the ceremonial part of the site. The surfaces of the west staircase measure (from bottom to top) 47, 53, 50, 59 and 68 cm, the steps measure 15, 30, 30, 19, 25 and 35 cm. The east staircase has surfaces of 60, 64, 66, and 77 cm (from bottom to top) and steps of 30, 9, 20, 24, and 33 cm.

The west staircase features a stone in talud position, forming part of the southern banquette of the west staircase. Acosta mentions a similar talud on the northern side of the same staircase, (Acosta and Romero 1992:59), but that one no longer is present. The building was constructed by means of two superimposed platforms. The altitude of the lower platform is between 80 and 90 cm, reaching a maximum of 1.25 meters on the north side. In the north wall there is a recession of 40 cm that is difficult to functionally explain. In light of the symmetry of the building, there is no such opening on the south end, but this is explained by Structure R-Sur platform which is connected to 1-Norte on the south side. The limits of the upper platform are 1.5 meters inward from the mentioned lower platform on the eastern and western sides and feature an I-shape.

3.2.3.4 Structure R-Sur (System R)

As mentioned above, this platform structure is the southern continuation of structure R-Norte. Its shape is rather diffuse, and without obvious other examples at Monte Negro. The height of the limiting walls was about 80 cm above the current ground level, in balance with the south side of the lower platform of Structure R-Norte.

The only factual argument to list the two connected structures as separate is a recession in the wall on the east side. This space measures 2.8 m^2; it appears to have been constructed to increase the symmetry of the east façade of Structure R-Norte. The south section is poorly preserved, with an abundance of stones dislodged from the walls. Excessive vegetation is present on the surface of the structure and immediately around it. The southeast corner of the platform is of a complex and uncertain shape; it consists of both a curved part as well as an angled section. In the current drawing the curved part was not included, however, since it most likely has recent origins. This decision implies that a segment of the corner is destroyed.

Any superimposed structures on R-Sur are not present, or have entirely been removed. The total dimensions of the structure are 21 by 16.5 meters. Finally, connecting to the southwest corner Acosta encountered a further building, but all but the northeast corner remain today.

3.2.3.5 Structures A, B, and C

The mound which is closest to the R-Norte-R-Sur complex has been named Structure A. A wall exists west of Structure A, distanced from Structure A by means of a passageway of 1.2 meters wide that runs between them. Structure A has suffered considerable damages and of the original building only the exterior wall remains up to a height of 65 cm. At present, it approaches a rectangular shape, measuring about 6.4 by 4.8 meters. In the Acosta drawing the southern wall is indicated as having protrusions towards the south. It was one of the structures that delimited the plaza located east of Structure R-Norte.

Structure B is the second building; it is a platform structure, featuring the typical residential unit cross-shape and in addition a room filling the northwest corner. The interior walls are covered by several refuse heaps, most likely dating back to Caso's activities. Its dimensions are 18.4 by 12.5 meters.

Structure C is a modest-sized platform which is colliding with the northeast corner of Structure B. It is also partly covered by refuse heaps, but to the west and south sides alignments of worked stones can still be observed. It seems these stones formed a staircase along with two superstructures of reduced height which feature a corner. This corner grants access to a platform that reaches a higher level than that of the road east of the mentioned possible staircase.

3.2.3.6 The main avenue (Ichi Iya)

This is actually not an autonomous construction, but rather formed by the many structures that border it (Figure 3.19). Its principal architectural features are a number of staircases that were installed to assist in leveling off the sloping terrain. The main avenue observable today is about 120 meters in length and varies between 4 and 6 meters in width (Acosta and Romero 1992). From the east to west, a ledge descends, with a surface of 50 cm and a step of 35 and 12 cm. The other three staircases feature surfaces of (from east to west) 44, 44, and 32 cm, respectively and steps of 33, 33, 22, 23, 14 and 25 cm.

Figure 3.19 The main causeway 'Ichi Iya'.

3.3 Heritage assessment of the monumental core

Heritage assessment for archaeological sites is an uncommon feature of archaeological research in the Mixteca Alta. This primarily is caused by the lacking tourism industry in the region, with some small-scale exception such as the Apoala Valley. Tourism, as an opportunity for local development, has the capacity to promote sites from valueless to valuable. This in turn invokes a perception of material heritage as having something of an inalienable value and thus being a non-renewable resource (Porter and Salazar 2005). As mentioned in Chapter 2, by far most attention for conservation and thus management of sites is restricted to Monte Albán, where extensive studies of heritage management are undertaken (Robles García 1982, 1996a,b, 2001).[4] The close relationship between archaeological sites that are exposed to cultural heritage management and surrounding contemporary communities, is evidenced here. This has, for a long time, been one of the primary concerns of the cultural heritage management of these sites, alongside its management with regard to the more than 600.000 tourists that trod the site on a yearly basis. Robles García and Moreira Quiros (1990) identify five elements where the social context shrugs against possible heritage concerns of archaeological sites in the Oaxaca Valley. Focussing on the community of Mitla, the five main elements are: (1) implications of the site delimitation process; (2) competing forms of land tenure; (3) conflicts over land use; and (4) competing social groups. These elements are valid not only for Mitla or the Oaxaca Valley; in large parts of Oaxaca and indeed Mexico, territorial conflicts of interest are at play around sites. As a result, local stakeholders in the given archaeological site may see archaeologists practicing heritage management as effectively 'doing' archaeology, as has been shown in other archaeologies also (Smith 2000). Who holds the right to heritage management of a site like Monte Albán? A stakeholders' conviction to conduct heritage management is by no means in practice a precursor to the right for stewardship. In Oaxaca, as in entire Mexico, management responsibilities of sites pertain to government organisations like INAH, along with the privilege to shape the site's public representation.

For the case of Monte Negro, the immediate arrival of the tourism industry is unlikely and thus sustained heritage management is uncalled for, the current state of preservation however might require short or long-term attention. Therefore, several of the structures in the epicenter area of the site are analyzed for deteriorations, and proposals are made to ensure the continuing preservation of these structures.

4 Nelly Robles has in many regards pioneered heritage managements in Mexico and in particular in Oaxaca, attracting national as well as international ways of conserving Monte Albán, not in the least by means of UNESCO World Heritage list.

3.3.1 Current State of the Site

One of the destructive characteristics of archaeological methods is the detrimental effect of weather and climate upon exposed material remains. As a result of the Caso excavations, segments of the Monte Negro epicenter area were brought to the surface and are thus affected on a daily basis by these influences and have been for over 70 years. Drastic changes in weather conditions which frequently occur at this 2700mts high hilltop location (e.g. dense cold morning fog, followed by 30˚ Centigrade temperatures) are prone to affect the structures. The low-density of human occupation during much of the 20th century may have prevented additional damages caused by settlement. Nonetheless, large segments of the terrain are currently cultivated. In addition, tourism and pilgrimages also will have their effects on the preservation of the site. However, despite the scientific importance of the site, in addition to its role in Mixtec history and its relevance for the history of Mexican archaeology, a detailed analysis of the level of conservation is lacking.

In order to create an inventory of the state of conservation of Monte Negro conservation forms were created and the inventory was executed; an initiative originally based on the mentioned work by Robles Garcia (2001) at Monte Albán. This overview reaffirmed preexisting conservation concerns in the sense that Monte Negro appears to be approaching an overall state of severe damage. Some deterioration is by definition to be found at an archaeological site that has gone largely unconsolidated in the past, but the situation registered at Monte Negro allows hypothesising that many of its damages are likely to result in loss of archaeological and architectural characteristics of the site in the immediate future. The site is located at the summit of one of the higher slopes of the Cerro Negro mountain range. This range acts as a secondary watershed between the Tilantongo Valley to the east and the Achiutla Valley to its western side, by its relatively high altitude, Cerro Negro collects a substantial amount of clouds, which subsequently influence the flux of temperature and the amount of precipitation at the Monte Negro site. These geographic and climatological circumstances have proven to have had a negative effect on the architectural integrity of structures, through loosening by means of precipitation as well as on constructive materials, damaging many of the worked stones. The registered damages are not only due to natural causes though; the site has in the recent past also been subjected to extraction of stones for modern construction purposes.

Overall, Residential Units 1 and 5 require urgent attention whilst several other Units are in need of short-term consolidation and repairs. Also, Plaza 3; Temple T-N; and Structure R-Norte and R-Sur showed several indications that collapse of architectural elements is imminent and thus also are in need of urgent consolidation attention. Numerous other tested structures are deemed to merit detailed attention in the near future; with practically all other structures in the monumental core area of the site also deserving consolidation acitivities to some degree (see Appendix A for detailed reports on individual structures).

3.3.2 INAH consolidation

Alongside these registration activities a consolidation project was underway under supervised by INAH and executed in the field by an ENAH student. While the actual *execution* laid in the hands of local Monte Negro community members (Figure 3.20), various Leiden University students were asked to assist in these activities (Figure 3.21, Appendix E). They analyzed the ceramics that had been collected opportunistically both from the dismantled walls (including the southern wall of the southern quarter belonging to Unit 3 ('X'), and the removed refuse heaps (including those surrounding Temple X and Temple T-S). They also assisted in the dismantling and subsequent consolidation of these walls and made drawings of them.

Figure 3.20 Artemio Hernandez G. and Taurino Hernández C. consolidating Residential Unit 3.

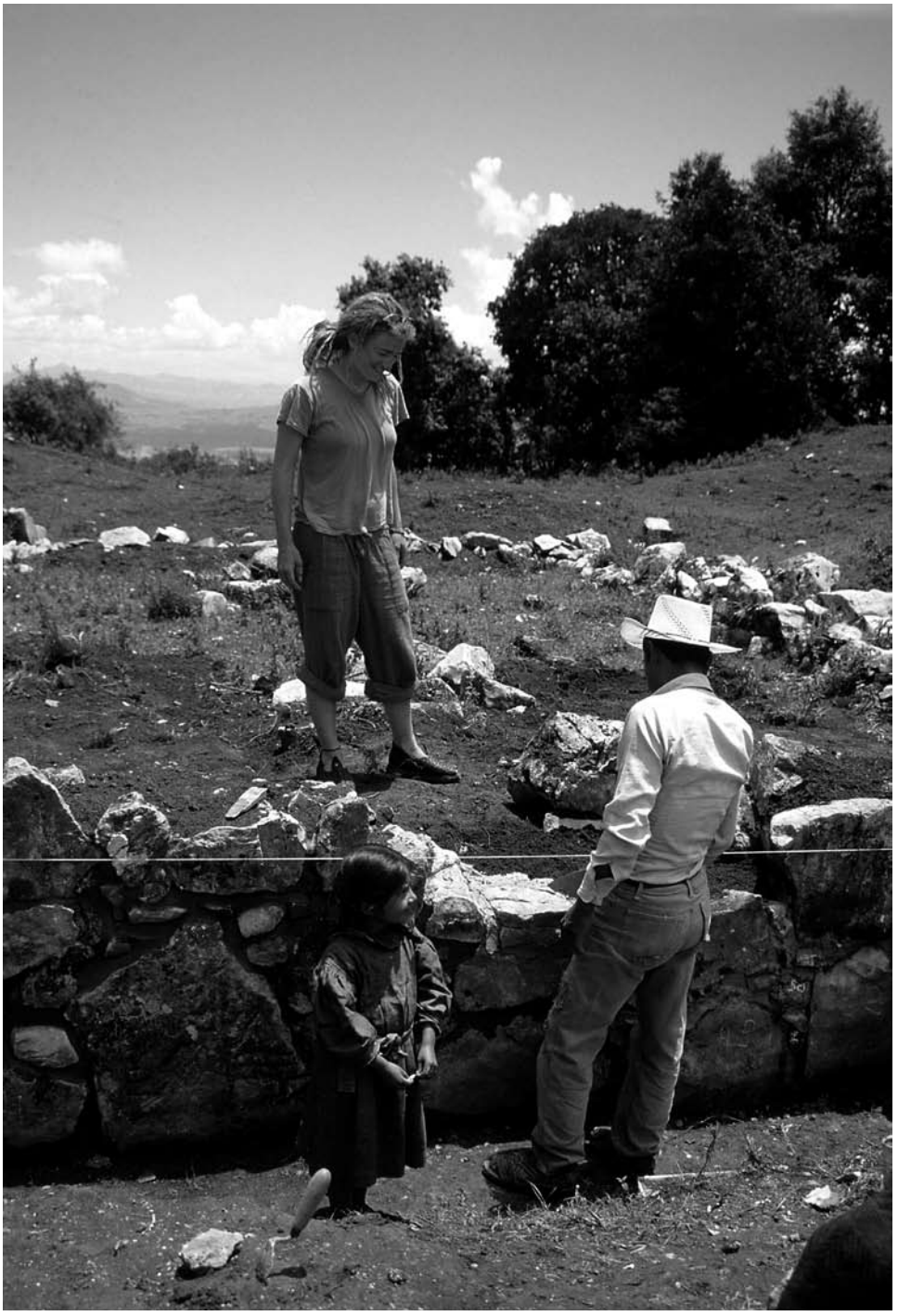


Figure 3.21 Joke de Vrieze consolidating Residential Unit 3.

Figure 3.22 Contemporary residences at Monte Negro.

3.3.3 Contemporary residences

In accordance with the INAH requirements for creating an overview of contemporary domestic areas within or near the perimeter zone, the total number of inhabitants was registered as well as the extension and overall make-up of their housing. These domestic areas predominantly consist of several wooden and/or brick one or two-room quarters (Figure 3.22). First of all there is the main quarter, typically serving as the place to sleep. This is, for example, where the family altar stands and the bulk of the family belongings are guarded. Most often this is the quarter that has received the most attention with regard to its construction and the materials used. In addition, there is a quarter serving as a kitchen. Without exception, these are wooden structures; of course primarily build as such for ventilation purposes. Besides these structures, numerous secondary structures were recorded, such as wooden corrals, wooden or brick outhouses, water tanks and garbage pits. In general none of them posed any imminent threat to any of the site structures, apart from some structures built as if leaning against a terrace wall. These latter ones are quite remarkable in their architecture and probably are derived from much older, perhaps pre-colonial examples.

3.4 Analysis

The analysis presented here builds on previous studies in Oaxaca that have reconstructed socio-political organization and issues of power from architectural data within the wider regional context of settlement pattern analysis (Blanton 1978; Blanton et al. 1982; Kowalewski et al. 1989). Recently, a number of edited studies have appeared focusing exclusively on the monumental epicenter of sites debating the concept, form and function of elite residences and palace structures, the latter different from the former in the sense of having an added public purpose (Christie 2003; Christie and Sarro 2006; Evans and Pillsbury 2004; Inomata and Houston 2000, 2001). This return is different from early studies on monumental architecture when European analogies often held the most explanatory power. Now, instead looks have turned on more humanistic approaches to analyzing monumental architecture.

The largely intact foundations of fifteen residential structures were registered at Monte Negro, the most architecturally detailed of which were presented above. Also, over forty non-residential structures (including the ones originally registered by Caso) were recorded, alongside a large amount of stone foundations no longer forming complete features, either due to the active removal of stones or processes of erosion. Numerous pre-colonial terrace walls completed the architectural survey of the site, which was estimated at a total area of 41 ha. In comparison, the Central Mixteca Alta survey also added a significant amount of previously unregistered structures, but apparently failed to include others, among which some excavated residential features (Caso 1938: Plate 8, compare to Balkansky et al. 2004: Figure 9).

The survey and mapping results indicate an architectural lay-out much more complex in shape and functionality than previously known. Given that this is one of the earliest dated sites featuring monumental architecture, it is surprising that only little attention has been awarded to its analysis. The only present exceptions are Flannery's observations with regard to the elite residences and their relationship to comparable structures in the Valley of Oaxaca (Flannery 1983b). These comparisons were made within a framework of specific cultural evolution between the two regions, and have argued the existence a less developed architectural complexity in the Mixteca when compared to that of the Oaxaca Valley. Specifically, Flannery concentrates on the morphology of the elite residences and the public buildings. Rather than singling out individual buildings in order to determine their function and meaning, it is argued here that the relationships to surrounding architecture and landscape will provide insights not found otherwise. This leaves out the analysis using *external* comparisons, but generates insights into its *internal* coherence. A recent study of an elite residence excavated at a site near San Martín Tilcajete contemporaneous to the construction activities at Monte Negro, has added further elements in the study of architecture indicating early forms of social hierarchy (Spencer and Redmond 2004).

From the survey and mapping it has become clear that architectural features at Monte Negro are numerous and diverse. The site represents one of the few early urban examples of complex architecture in the Mixtec region. It is complex in the sense of featuring a range of morphologically distinct residential as well as public features. Other contemporaneous and studied examples in the region with a significant degree of monumentality are Yucuíta (Plunket 1983, 1985) and Huamelulpan (Balkansky 1998b; Gaxiola 1984). A small number of other Late Formative ceremonial centers is bound to exist in the Mixtec region, but has not been examined to this date.

In general the structures at Monte Negro do presently not exceed 2 meters in height and are of single terraces. Architectural finesses, such as stone decorations, incised slabs, and minute symmetric constructions are all but lacking. Most of the current findings on architecture are currently based on the 1938-39 field season. The most substantial map of the epicentre of the site was produced, including the long east-west axis and the north-south aligned structures (Acosta & Romero 1992). Acosta produced drawings of the major structures in this area, including the tombs, and Javier Romero analyzed the human remains in the several tombs encountered by Caso and Acosta.

The area excavated by Caso and his team in 1937-38 was limited to the Temple T-S as described. Flannery and Marcus observe the reminiscence of this structure, together with those of Temple T, Temple T-N, and Temple X, to some examples of early architecture in the Valley of Oaxaca. First, the structure buried under the structure referred to as System IV, which is situated on the western side of the Main Plaza at Monte Albán, is compared to the basic architectural features of the Temple structures at Monte Negro. System IV is dated as pertaining to Monte Albán I, and is described by Flannery and Marcus as consisting of a large platform and a pair of rubble masonry columns (Flannery & Marcus 1983:90). The second comparison relates to San José Mogote, the Rosario phase centre in the Northern Valley Arm.

The residential structure located to the west of the main Temple X, is analyzed by Caso as followed:

> "La arquitectura de los patios con los cuartos en los lados, demuestra que ya desde esa época era conocido ese sistema de construcción que después se extenderá a todas las culturas de México central y Centroamérica, […]" [Caso 1939:167-69].

This patio structure is also examined by Flannery, and whilst acknowledging Caso's findings, he extends the discussion to the question of whether or not these structures qualify as a 'palace', as defined by Kubler. Flannery concludes that they do not, due to the fact that there are no waiting spaces or elaborate decorations (Flannery 1983b:101-02). The relationships between the residential structures are not involved into the discussion by Flannery, and the matter remains

limited to stating that they 'fall short' of those at Monte Albán and deciding whether or not the pre-defined term 'palace' is applicable.

Caso's early reports on the site's spatial characteristics already refer to its extensive architectural diversity. He interpreted some of the mounds as being a ball court during his first visit, several residential units and some staircases (Caso 1938: Figure 76). These observations prompted him to develop a more substantial survey and excavation of the site in the years thereafter. As a result of these extensive excavation and restoration activities, Monte Negro represent one of the most elaborate and best visible centers of monumental architecture in the Mixtec region. This complexity and diversity make it specifically a suitable case-study for looking at the relationship between rulership and sacrality at the onset of urbanization in the region.

The region where some of the most telling interpretations of monumental architecture have been made is that of the Maya, where ever since the historical valorization of the iconography present on many of the monuments in the 1960, epigraphy and iconography have increasingly become part of an interdisciplinary enterprise to understand the monumental history of a given Maya settlement (for a recent overview see Christie 2003). Moreover, recent findings indicate that the writing tradition of what can be termed 'Maya' is most likely the one with the longest developmental trajectory in Mesoamerica (see Saturno et al. 2005, Saturno et al. 2006), and thus compares well to the early emergence of writing in Oaxaca.

In the Mixtec region this combining of interdisciplinary data is more complicated, however, and has been subject of contestation ever since Alfonso Caso initiated the modern study of iconography in the region. One complicating factor is the limited corpus of detailed information on Mixtec monumental architecture, one that is particularly striking when compared to some of the already mentioned Mesoamerican neighbors, such as the Aztec and the Maya. As mentioned, relatively few Classic period sites have been the subject of extensive excavation, and even less information is available for the Postclassic period in this regard.[5] Thus, apart from the lack of detailed knowledge of elite residences, the spectrum of Mixtec monumental architecture in general is also shrouded in uncertainties. It is suggested here that incorporating iconographic information offers opportunities to help resolve some of these problems.

Mixtec iconography entails detailed information about the life histories of the lords and ladies that made up the leadership of Mixtec communities from the Late Formative period onward (Anders et al. 1991). As such, the texts narrated are comparable to what is found in the Maya region where dynastic history is also an overwhelmingly dominant theme. In the Mixtec region, iconography is found on Classic period carved stones in parts of the Mixteca Alta, Baja and Costa and during later times also in the form of pictorial manuscripts.[6] An important

5 Assuming the validity of the proposed decrease in building activity during the Postclassic in the Mixtec region, this then does not imply any presupposed lack of interaction with monumental architecture, be it newly built or dating back to the Classic period.

6 Even though the entire corpus of Mixtec pictorial manuscripts in existence today dates from the Late Postclassic and the Early Colonial period, it cannot be ruled out that this tradition dates back to earlier times.

difference to the Maya region is that the iconography is usually not directly associated to a monument, but rather loosely linked to a general location, such as a community, which may prominently feature in the iconographic narrative. Reflections in these pictorial documents on the importance and reinterpretation of earlier settlements during subsequent periods represent a body of data still largely untouched (but see Hamann 2002).

Therefore, the only two ways in which iconographic information can meaningfully be integrated in the study of Mixtec ceremonial centers is through a) locating the origin of iconographic media, such as worked stones that once were constructive elements in monuments, or b) studying iconographic narratives that have reliably been fixed in term of origin, but may date from later time periods.

In the Mixtec region, the study of the Mixtec codices has resulted in numerous verified identifications of pre-colonial communities through the study of the depicted toponyms (e.g. Smith 1973; Jansen 1982). An element that has appeared because of these identifications is the emphasis that is placed in the codices on sacred geography. Many localities are indicated by means of clusters of toponyms, revealing intrinsic values that are awarded to that specific part of the Mixtec landscape. For the study of Monte Negro, the codex Vindobonensis is of primary importance. Maarten Jansen identified the glyph that depicts Monte Negro and a cluster of secondary toponyms that, he speculates, must be located in the immediate vicinity of the site.

A drawback may be that only form and location can be discussed in deducing function, and that artifact remains are only incidentally included in the analysis, mostly relying on Caso and Acosta's findings. Only excavation of one or a sample of the features can resolve this problem, taking into consideration that achieving this detailed perspective through excavation for the entire mapped area is a practical impossibility. The discussion below is therefore speculative in nature and refrains from extensively addressing the evolution of Mixtec monumental architecture. As mentioned before, furthering the understanding of the relation between early Mixtec rulership and sacrality is of principal interest here.[7]

The analysis will include references to the above described form of the structures and their location relative to each other. Formal elements of the monumental architecture will be summarized and differences between building categories explained, involving ideas developed by Hillier and Hanson (1984). The proposal for a social logic of urban or built space includes the importance of space as a constituting element of architecture itself. In their view the way buildings are constructed defines the space in and around these buildings, and the way in which

7 The balance between the level of speculation and the quality of the available evidence is a constant concern. The core purpose of this discussion is to propose a new hypothesis which is sustained by the gathered data, but cannot be proved at this time. It is an exploratory effort to reflect on these early relations of sacred rulership and to propose new possibilities for research. It is not intended as the final word on Monte Negro elite characteristics and housing. At present, for example, the coevality of residences is an issue that cannot be resolved, even though the time period of occupation and construction was most likely no longer than about 8 generations. In the future the proposals in this chapter will have to be tested through excavation.

this space is thus formed through architecture has both intentional purposes and unintended characteristics. It is primarily the purposes which are evidenced here at Monte Negro, whereas the unintended characteristics are less self-evident and require the aforementioned interdisciplinary approach.

3.4.1 Relations between rulership and sacrality

This relationship between rulership and the supernatural has been fundamental for understanding Mesoamerican cultures, yet the origin of this relationship still entails unanswered research questions: How far back in time can this sacred affiliation be traced? Studies of the Early and Middle Formative have shown that depictions of individuals conducting ritual acts related to either the supernatural world in general, or supernatural entities in particular are in fact not an exception but a dominant theme in the regional Mesoamerican iconographies. Formative period Olmec iconography is a well-known example in this context. (Grove 1999; Reilly 1999). How this question is to be addressed for the Mixtec region has as yet not been determined.

Given the lack of Early and Middle Formative iconography in the Mixtec region, the analysis has to be approached through a different means. Architecture has frequently been used to evidence and describe leadership and behavior of leadership in early (Joyce 2004b) and later (Freidel and Schele 1988) socially stratified Mesoamerican communities.

The lack of information on early material manifestations of Mixtec sacred rulership connects to a discrepancy in relation to other areas of Oaxaca and Mesoamerica: few studies have given primary attention to the *housing* of the Mixtec high social stratum. Long-standing research traditions have developed in, for example, central Mexico regarding Aztec elite residences and a comparably large corpus of studies have addressed form, location, and function of Maya elite residences. Quantitative and qualitative knowledge of Mixtec elite residences is largely lacking to this day. Excavations at Iglesia Vieja, Chachoapan by Michael Lind in the 1970s have generated some data on Postclassic housing (Lind 1979). Classic period housing is predominantly known from (King 2003), and Late Formative data is only available from Huamelulpan (Gaxiola 1984; Balkansky 1998) and Yucuíta (Winter 1976a, 1982).

In the particular case of the Mixtec region and Monte Negro, the analysis is expanded by incorporating elements coming from the much wider data set which is formed during the subsequent Classic, Postclassic and Early Colonial periods. This data, however, comes from different disciplines including ethnohistory and iconography, and the variables produced by them cannot be studied by means of archaeology alone. It is along lines of interdisciplinary research then that an understanding of the Monte Negro monumental architecture can best achieved.

3.4.2 Form

Between the formal and material aspects of Monte Negro architecture two principal types of structures can be discriminated: residential and non-residential or public structures. The latter type is arguably even on a primary division too rough a distinction, since it may include anything other than residences itself. It is thus not a defining category, but rather may include structures ranging as widely as platforms, rectangular mounds, altars, staircases, passageways, roads, and open plaza areas.[8] What unites the structures of this type though is that most will be pertinent to the (semi-) public ceremonial activities that took place at the site.

The central and highest located portion of the site is characterized by diverse configurations of plazas and mounds. Without exception, the structures are built using relatively large, worked blocks of limestone and consisting of a ruble and earth interior. This is a form reminiscent of the early monumental architecture in the Valley of Oaxaca, as has been noted by Flannery and Marcus (1996:166). A road running in west to east direction and effectively linking the four main open ceremonial plazas, further defines this area of Monte Negro.

The westernmost structures are the most enigmatic ones (see Figure 3.11). Plaza 1 is located in the extreme west of the central precinct and its three rectangular structures to three of its sides complement one principal mound to the eastern side. In contrast to the other mounds, this principal structure, approximately 2 meters in height, continues for approximately 20 meters to the east and then unites with the so-called Temple Z, in accordance with Caso's terminology. To the south of this structure, Structure 1-R, Sur functions as one of the endings to the aforementioned road. Also this feature is not autonomous in shape, since it is connected to the platform-like structure to its southern extremity. Seen together, these groupings of structures outline the western extremity of the ceremonial precinct. In addition, they form the entrance to the ceremonial precinct, given that the main path up the hill is located further northwest. Other paths leading to the hilltop from the valley-floor to the north do exist and remain in use but the architectural features here suggest at least some function of guiding or controlling the visitor regarding the Western side of the monumental precinct.

The issue of access control *to* the epicenter rather than *within* it is only partially to be reconstructed. Even though most of the attention for this aspect is commanded by Structure 1-R Sur, this does not exclude the possibility of several access routes to the site. In fact, the likelihood of a network of smaller paths leading up to the settlement and the ceremonial epicenter is quite likely to have existed. A distinction can be made here between ceremonial routes and paths used during daily life. In only few instances in Oaxaca are the access routes to hilltop sites well documented. Monte Albán is perhaps the most illustrative example; where no consensus has been reached on how ceremonial and non-ceremonial access was facilitated to the site. The

8 An argument could be made that plazas are not structures, since they do not directly involve worked stone, but since would then disregard the leveling process to create the open space, which by itself does constitute construction activity.

apparent imbalance between on the one hand the abundant attention in design and construction given to the monumental structures, and on the other the seemingly 'forgotten' issue of infrastructure to them, is puzzling. Recent findings at Cerro Jazmin, a large Classic period site in the Nochixtlán Valley, have shed some light on this issue, determining several paved access roads (Heredia Espinoza et al. 2004).

The presence of numerous plazas which in their lay-out and architecture are highly alike is one of the principal characteristics of form among Monte Negro non-residential structures. The differences between these plazas are based on size and additional features, such as residential structures. In Caso's map, one of two principal ceremonial areas was the one associated with the enigmatically named Temple X. This ceremonial area consists of the eastern extremity of the previously discussed structure, a plaza with 2 rectangular mounds north and south, and the already mentioned principal structure, Temple X (see Figure 3.13). This agglomerate of structures provides ample indications of ceremonial activities to have taken place on or near to them. Caso and his associate Jorge Acosta excavated a vessel for ritual purposes with 'Olmec' designs (Acosta and Romero 1992:80); two fire pits are present in de back part of the stuccoed floor, and adobe walls created a separation within the features superstructure, similar to examples from San José Mogote and Monte Albán.

More to the east, separated from the just described ceremonial area is Plaza 2, the second of the primary areas of ceremonial activity (see Figure 3.12). It has a size of 26 by 28 meters approximately, was not reconstructed by Caso and his associates; instead merely its principal architectural feature, Structure 3-Este, or Temple T-S as named by Caso was excavated and consolidated. There appear to be no valid reasons for applying a nomenclature that associates this structure in the group of three buildings, aligned along a north-south axis. As will be shown below, the implied coherence of these three structures is in fact a misrepresentation of the relations between these structures and the architecture that surrounds it.

Temple T-S named after its relation to two structures directly to its north is a ceremonial structure remarkable for its considerable height of 1.8 meters, and overall similarity to the principal structure of the aforementioned plaza (Structure 2-Este). The presence of two tombs (Tomb 1 and 2) in the middle part of the stuccoed floor, and six pillars sustained a roof construction, and this is also comparable to Structure 2-Este. The building, which was supported by this structure, covered its entire surface and probably consisted of one room, given that no wall foundations were encountered on the surface of the platform. The adjoining features to the north, namely Temple T and Temple T-N, were built in close proximity to Structure 2-Este. In fact, architectural elements have been incorporated in Temple T-N that parallels those of Temple T. In turn, Temple T was constructed using dimensions comparable to those of Temple T-S.

Temple T is a ceremonial structure, comparable in layout to above mentioned Structure 1-R Sur at the western extremity of the road (see Figure 3.11). It was the first structure to be con-

solidated by Caso, and one of the best preserved ones at the site (Acosta & Romero 1992:32). Architectural particularities are its size and architectural shape: Temple T-S features a wall to its northern end identical in dimension and height to the width of Temple T, and a similar construction features on the southern side of Temple T-N. Acosta and Romero note that although it carries the denominator of being a 'temple', it in fact did not function as one. Absent stone foundations lead them to interpret this building as a ceremonial structure used as a passageway during rituals (ibid.: 32). Flannery and Marcus accept the functional interpretation as a 'temple' as provided by Caso, but do not follow the interpretation as a passageway structure. Instead they compare its architecture to examples of temples from the Valley of Oaxaca, drawing conclusions as to its incipient architecture in contrast to the two-room temple described in the Valley of Oaxaca (Flannery and Marcus 1996:167). In addition, the iconographic carving found on the bottom step of the eastern staircase, is referred to (Flannery 1983:101). Upon comparing this carving to iconographic elements on Monument 3 found in the passageway between Structure 19 and 14 at San José Mogote, Flannery and Marcus conclude this to be a drop of blood (Figure 3.23). This comparison, in combination with two obsidian bifacial blades, encountered in an offering of the adjacent Templo T-S, leads them to associate this structure with human sacrifice.

Figure 3.23 Stone carving on structure Temple T.

Apart from the unknown functionality of the two blades, this interpretation is problematical because the "drop" is carved horizontally: it is not falling down as it were, but is turned 90 degrees sideways. This puts the identification as a drop in doubt, since it is something that by definition falls or flows down, and not something that floats horizontally. Moreover, besides some simple geometric or circular carvings on that same staircase, being the only other examples of (possible) iconography at the site, its isolated position also seems to be a more than unstable basis for positing ritual activities involving bloodletting, let alone human sacrifice.

In contrast to the Flannery & Marcus hypothesis, the function of Temple T as proposed by Acosta & Romero is more convincingly argued. This in fact was not a temple, in the sense of a building for an inner sanctum where rituals could take place, for there is no closed off room. This, in combination with the architectural context of the building seems to suggest a use in ceremonial processions through the site. Ceremonial processions are ethnographically evidenced throughout Mesoamerica, and are also frequently described in archaeological and ethnohistorical sources (e.g Kubler 1967:12, Anderson and Dibble 1951). Empirically attesting these processions in the archaeological record is anything but straightforward and most productively approached by means of access- and pathway analyses on monumental complexes like Monte Negro leading to reconstructions of likely procession routes through the ceremonial centre.

As an indication of architectural design for ritual procession purposes, at least two further groups of mound-plaza structures, one of considerable size, were registered further east of the monumental core area. These feature mound structures with greater volume than most others (Figure 3.24, see also 3.16), but in a state of poor preservation. They are however connected throughout by means of pathways. This allows for placing more analytical emphasis on roads and paths joining monumental structures, a perspective which is usually reversed, where the structures themselves take center stage in the architectural analysis, leaving aside the infrastructural context in which these buildings must have functioned and were interpreted. This eastern section of the site was not reported or reconstructed by Caso and Acosta, and (perhaps also because of this) has been subjected to agricultural use in recent years. These plazas have not frequently been used in architectural analyses of the site (but see Balkansky et al. 2004), but certainly merit more attention since they provide clues to the sociality of Monte Negro. The presence of multiple mound-plaza groups is not a self-evident feature at a site which is both reduced in number of inhabitants as well as in temporal occupation. The comparison to other settlements in Oaxaca and Mesoamerica has pointed to the value of plazas as communal public areas, where usually each settlement would feature one main plaza.[9] In case of more than one plaza at a settlement one can establish a size order that relates to the division of the

9 For Oaxaca, Monte Albán again provides the most elaborate and investigated example.

Figure 3.24 Plaza 4, seen from northeast corner.

settlement in diverse neighborhoods.[10] These size orders commonly display one dominant plaza and a number of satellite plazas. At Monte Negro, however, the proximity of these mound-plaza groups clearly diverges from this pattern. All but one plaza is located on a line that runs approximate west to east and is situated at relative close distance from each other. The only mound-plaza group which is not aligned is located in the northern section of the site (Figure 3.25). However, due to agricultural practices in the recent past, this plaza is severely damaged and altered in form, and observations concerning it must wait until excavation results become available at some point in the future.

Apart from mound-plaza features, other ceremonial structures are also present at the site. The quintessential category of Mesoamerican ceremonial architecture is the ball court. Caso already registered a location for such a feature in the ceremonial precinct of Monte Negro (Caso 1938: Plan 8). Likewise, more recently, a ball court was identified by Balkansky et al. (2004:

10 It has been argued that Monte Albán was also divided into these neighborhoods, possibly from the Monte Albán I period onward (Blanton 1978).

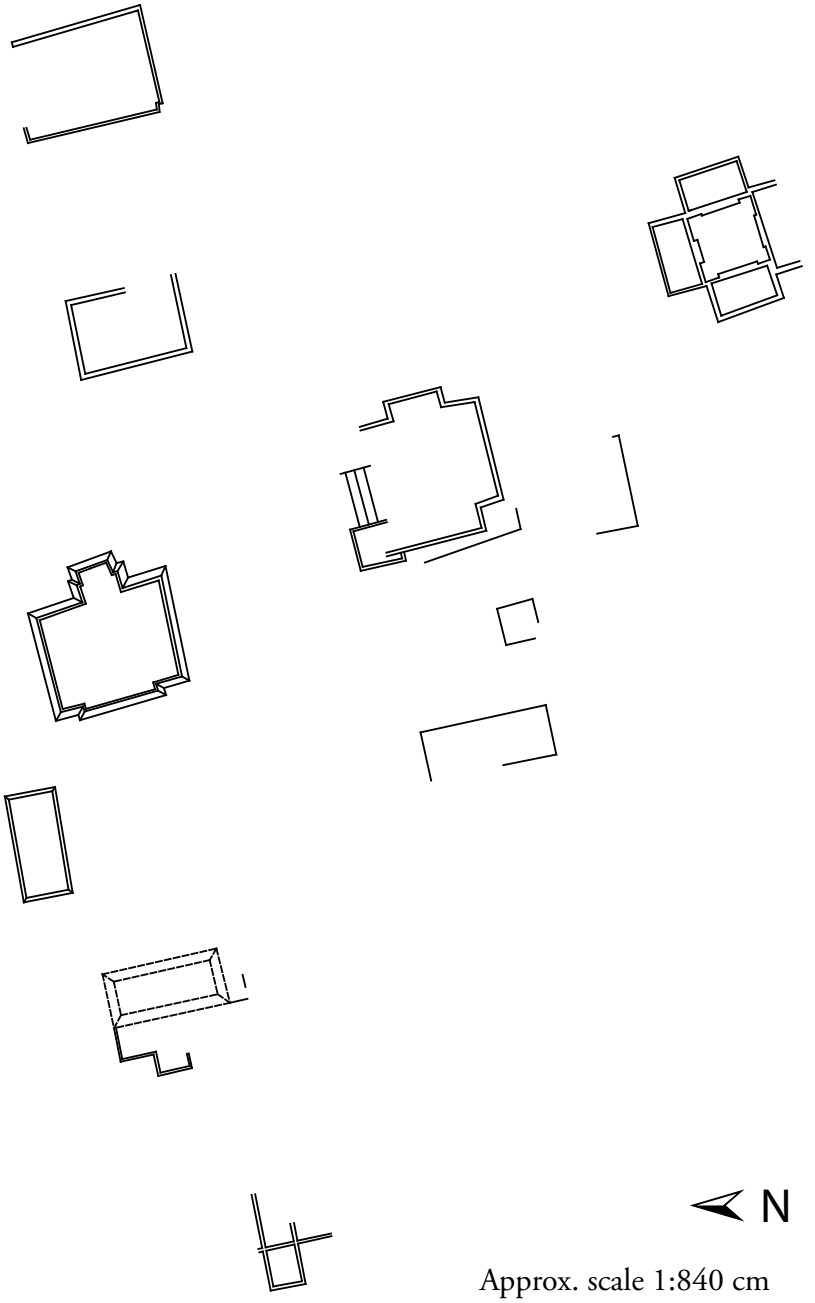


Figure 3.25 Drawing of North section.

Figure 9). The uncertainty of both identifications is evidenced, however, by the fact that the Caso location is entirely unrelated to the one determined by Balkansky et al., and both in fact point to locations of unlikely nature: the former an area devoid of any architecture, sustained only by the low platform Structure B, and the latter by erroneously nominating Caso's 70 year-old refuse heaps. During our intensive mapping campaign no remains of a ball court were identified; however, multiple refuse heaps were recorded, some of sizeable height and volume and sometimes bearing superficial resemblance to the two parallel mounds usually associated with a ball court. These mostly date from the Caso excavations, and have altered the visual lay-out quite drastically at times.[11]

3.4.3 Location

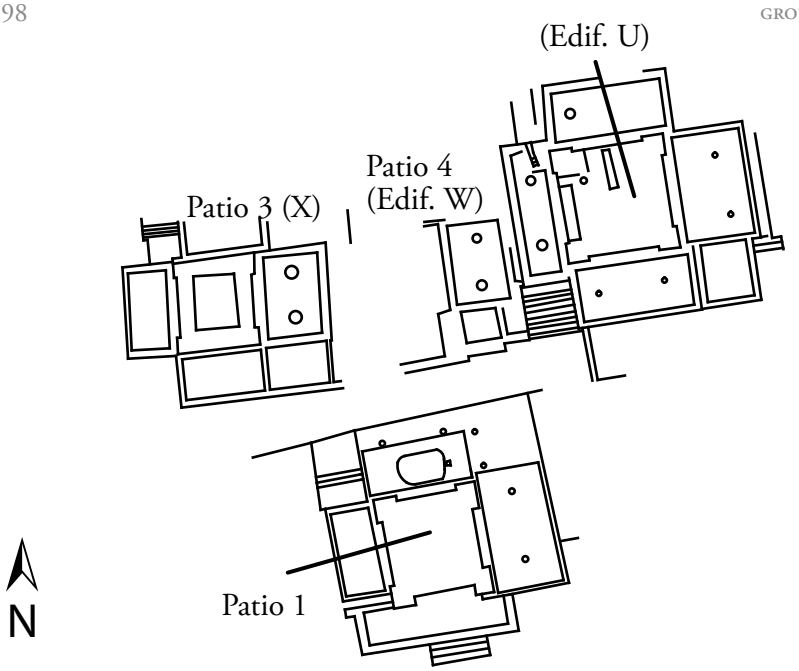
Both the general landscape location as well as the specific location of individual structures and types of structures in relation to each other is of relevance for the analysis of the balance between sacrality and rulership.

In particular considering their location relative to other buildings, the residential structures in the ceremonial center of the site are the most rewarding for an analysis reflecting on relationships between rulership and sacrality. A significant amount of structures in the ceremonial epicenter consists of residential structures, always located in the vicinity of the mound-plaza complexes. These residences consist of a square patio delimited by a certain number of rooms and several of them were included in Caso and Acosta's campaigns of excavation and consolidation. It is the most frequently encountered residential structure at Monte Negro, and is comparable to contemporaneous examples from the other Mixtec Formative, Classic as well as Postclassic sites and the Valley of Oaxaca (Whalen 1988; Winter 1974).

During the survey a total of 15 residential structures were recorded in the ceremonial epicenter and several of them –the most complex and large ones- were constructed close to, or even as part of one of the ceremonial structures. Arguably the total number of residential features at a given moment was significantly higher than what remains from the total occupational period today, given that the intensive processes of erosion at various parts of the site area will have affected or destroyed numerous architectural features. They generally consist of four rectangular quarters aligned around a central square patio (Figure 3.26). In almost all of the examples at Monte Negro the floor surface of the quarters is slightly higher than the surface of the patio.

One extraordinary example is Unit 5, which features a sunken patio with a depth of approximately a meter (Figure 3.27). This patio is one of several that include a ceramic drainage system. In size and architectural complexity, only the so-called Temple T-N surpasses this Unit

11 The reasons behind why Caso and/or Acosta left behind as many refuse heaps as they did are not entirely clear. The amount of material moved during the excavation of the numerous structures must have formed a substantial problem to the project leader, given that most of the structures are too closely grouped together to allow straightforward removal of earth. Caso or Acosta evidently choose to look for the investigative and reconstructive end result, leaving the actual state of the site as a secondary point of concern.



Approx. scale 1:620 cm

Figure 3.26 Drawing of Residential Units at Monte Negro.

Figure 3.27 Unit 5, seen from Structure 3-Oeste.

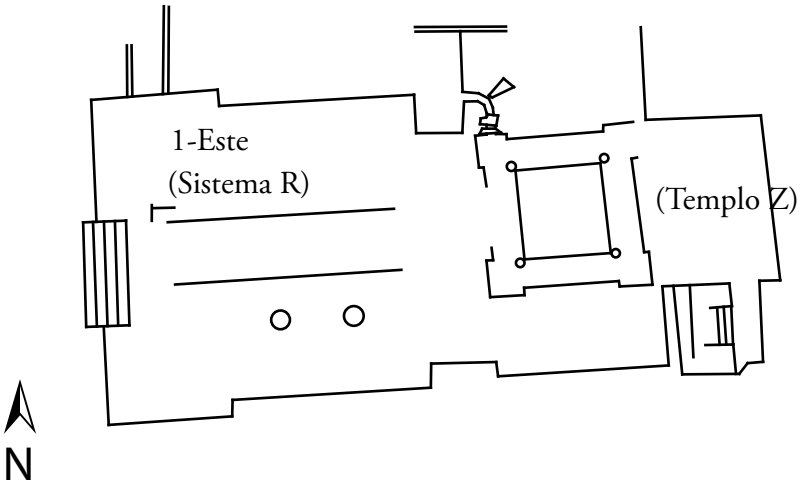
5. It is located behind Structure 3-Oeste of Plaza 3 and has a built passageway leading past Structure 3-Oeste up to the Plaza. These passageways are an integral part of Monte Negro´s architectural design and may have served to allow the nobility an exclusive and perhaps theatrical entrance to the mentioned public plaza. Another example of these theatrical elements in architecture can be found at System R, specifically the so-called Temple Z.[12]

Temple Z is in fact a residential structure characterized by the same patio and four quarters that is observable throughout the site (Figure 3.28). Its architectural relationship to the Structure 1-Este is unique at the site, but has not received any discussion in the existing literature. Acosta and Romero do not touch upon these structures, and it is thanks to the compiler of the '92 volume on Monte Negro that a drawing became available (Acosta and Romero 1992:71-72). Clearly visible here, is the coalescence of residential and ceremonial structures. The residence of Temple Z is built on the east, back end of Structure 1-Oeste. The described paved path that runs from the patio residence toward the western end of the structure ultimately leads to Plaza 1. The architectural relationship between a residential structure and the public space of the plaza is explained by the limited surface area of these residences, where ceremonial acts could only with difficulty be held, even if only with a limited amount of participants. The plaza is required for these ritual events, but the paved path and the overall location of Temple Z at the same time underscores the social mandate that the inhabitant carries.

Over on the northeastern side of the ceremonial epicenter stands the structure called Temple T-N by Caso. This is a residential structure with a relatively high architectural complexity for Monte Negro´s standards. Moreover, it is located at the highest point in the hilltop topography and offers overviews of the entire ceremonial epicenter and the surrounding hillslopes. In general terms it features an architectural layout conforming to other residential structures, but stands out from examples at Monte Negro due to (1) it's overall size (second after Unit 5), including the sunken patio (7.2 by 8.0 meters) and central depression (3.0 by 5.6 meters); (2) several architectural details, some of which have no determined function; and (3) its positioning in proximity to several ceremonial structures (Temple T and Plaza 3).

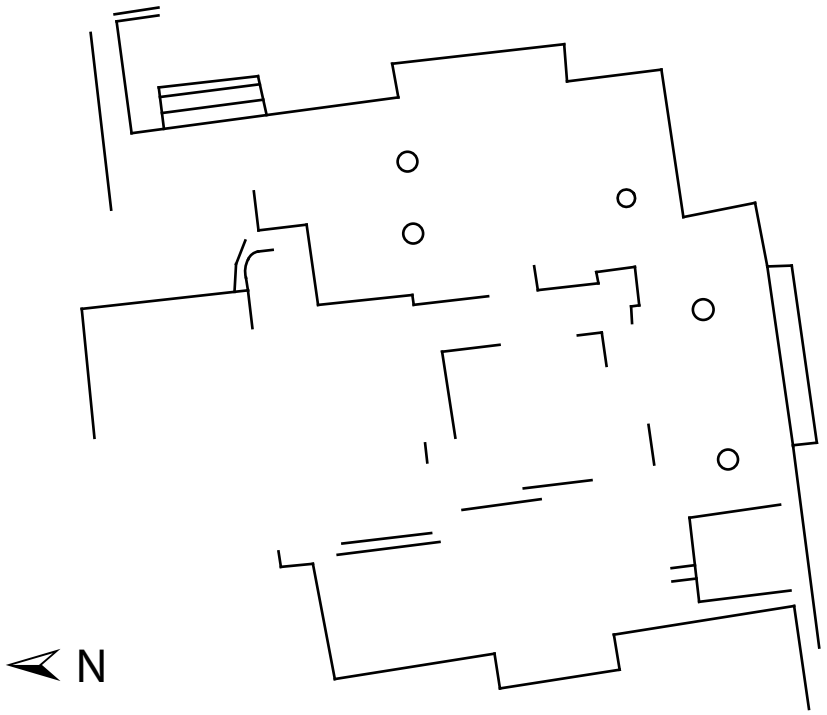
The residence is adorned with numerous columns, partly in the open patio, partly to sustain the roof constructions of the 4 living quarters (Figure 3.29). Of the twenty burials registered at Monte Negro, some were adobe walled tombs. One of these, Tomb 4, was encountered in the center of the eastern quarter and opened by Acosta during the excavations in 1938 (Acosta and Romero 1992:43). Access to the quarters is mostly through small staircases on the extremes of one of the long sides, and sometimes access is merely possible by passing through an entrance on the patio side. A seemingly exaggerated amount of energy was involved in the construction of this residential structure, since it is located on down-sloping terrain, yet was elevated to such a height to conform with the adjoining ceremonial structure of Temple T. Walls reaching

12 The specific reason why System R was named as such by Caso and Acosta is unknown, but the unity of the identifiable buildings in that area of the site must have led to designating them as a 'system'.



Approx. scale 1:400 cm

Figure 3.28 Drawing of Temple Z showing architectural ties to Structure 1-Este.



Approx. scale 1:260 cm

Figure 3.29 Drawing of Temple T-N.

nearly 2 meters in height on the northwestern side of the structure serve as evidence of this. Precisely in this western wall, and also in the northern ending of Temple T-N, again two passageways are located. As mentioned before, the functionality of these passages is speculative: they might serve as alternative entrances to the mentioned staircases, but are effectively too small for such a purpose. Moreover, the passageway located in the western wall has an exit located well above ground surface. It, in fact, is more reminiscent of the height of a window. Perhaps a wooden construction pertained to this passage, allowing proper exiting, but as said, that remains speculation. A further lack of understanding is found regarding the 'room' that forms the southwestern corner of the structure. This feature has a difference of more than 1.8 meters with the surface of the western and southern quarters and has such a reduced size (2.9 by 3.1 meters) that only storage purposes seem fit for this feature. Theatrical constructions motifs also seem to have played a determining role for the form of this structure.

The southern quarter is the one that is linked to the northern extremity of the Temple N by fitting it with a perfectly similar width in comparison to that of Temple N. A narrow passage of merely 0.9 meters wide and 1.90 high, separates the two structures. In all, the architectural lay-out is evidence of an elite residence with dominating perspectives over the entire epicenter and the northern terraced slopes.

Other examples include the residential structures (Unit 2 and 3) located near Plaza 2 (see Figures 3.4-6). The close bonds to the surrounding ceremonial structures are again confirmed here, where Unit 2 is built against Templo X and Unit 3 closely alongside it. Also, these two residential structures face the causeway running west-east and linking at least three of the four centrally located ceremonial areas at the site (i.e. Plazas 1, 2 and 3).

A socio-political plurality is reflected in the residential structures. Archaeological observations confirm the predominance of the quadripartite structure, both within the buildings in the arrangement of four quarters around a central patio, and within the site itself. It is possible to locate four main ceremonial areas, which recall the four houses in the foundation rituals of Codex Vindobonensis. As such, the positioning of residential and ceremonial structures in close harmony is indicative of more than just their architectural relatedness.

3.5 Conclusion

The well-known reference to Monte Negro as consisting of two linear alignments of structures, perpendicular to one another (see Marquina 1951), in fact does not hold great explanatory value, since it ignores a functional or even conceptual analysis at the level of individual structures. Nor does it adhere to reality, since construction at Monte Negro seems to have made pertinent use of the shape of the hilltop, rather than look for a grand architectural plan, as Ignacio Marquina would perhaps have preferred. Instead, the functionality of residential fea-

tures should be understood in the context of their neighboring ceremonial features, this is, after all, one of the main reasons why they were constructed in such a way. As we have argued, an analysis that strictly separates residential from ceremonial architecture is not in accordance with the nature of Mixtec rulership. In addition, regional comparison of ceremonial precincts is unlikely to result in feasible similarities. However practical architectural similitude would serve as a relative dating method in early urban times, difference and uniqueness of ceremonial layout are the rule and not the exception. Whether this is an indication of a changing political climate in the region remains to be confirmed.

The example of the residential structure aptly denominated Templo T-N by Caso and Acosta, demonstrates that Late Formative Mixtec architecture did not discriminate between sacrality and rulership. The ceremonial structures are places of a 'delicate' nature. Ritual activities express and underscore their sacred character. In some other Ramos period, and countless other Las Flores period examples, the ceremonial precincts are located on the higher or highest locations of the hilltops, with residential terracing harboring the majority of the community at lower altitudes, and this is no different at Monte Negro. The fact that a limited number of architecturally elaborate residential structures is located near or even connected to these ceremonial plazas and mounds, emphasizes on the one hand the social profile of ruler vis-à-vis the commoners, and on the other hand the intimate relation between ruler and Ñuhu. In describing the ceremonial center of Monte Negro, Jorge Acosta mentioned this apparent closeness to and apparent joining of residential and ceremonial structures (Acosta 1965: 832). He chose, however, to pursue this particularity no further instead focusing his attention on the more general and comparable architectural features. Even at this early stage of investigation, archaeological traces of Mixtec social organization had already started to become apparent.

Multiple architectural examples illustrate the character of sociopolitical structures during early urban times at Monte Negro. In a detailed comparative study, Lindsay Jones observed the superabundance of monumental architecture (Jones 2000:20-37). Among other things, he refers to the constant release of fresh meaning through the perception of architecture. This, in turn, allows for a multitude of activities, making monumental architecture such an apt setting for ritual activities of many natures and at many different moments in time. Indeed, the architecture at Monte Negro also reflects this adaptability, in the end that is why architectural interpretation remains very much a speculative reflection on spatial dimensions in a built landscape. To argue a singular meaning in Monte Negro's architecture would be senseless, given its nature and form, but Mixtec semantic categories can be recognized in the structural choices that these Late Formative mason's made in how to build, what, and where.

4

Valley-based surveying in the Apoala Valley

4.1 Introduction

The nature and development of pre-colonial settlements in the Apoala Valley is one of the outstanding problems of importance to understanding the context and character of social interaction in the northern Mixteca Alta. In order to shed light on this previously little known area, a surface survey was conducted in the valley during which 21 archaeological sites were located and registered. This complex of sites is characterized by a relatively high variety in form and size. It includes sites with monumental mound architecture; fortified sites on ridgelines or 'hillforts'; residential units; systems of agricultural and residential terraces; several rock shelters and caves with traces of human occupation or use; as well as petroglyphs and an elaborate rock carving.

As a contemporary community in the Mixteca Alta with municipal authority, Santiago Apoala is known in oral tradition as the place of origin for Mixtec culture, as recounted in a text by the Dominican friar Gregorio García:

> 'En el año, y en el día de la obscuridad, y tinieblas, antes que huviese días, ni años, estando el mundo en grande obscuridad que todo era un chaos, y confusion, estaba la tierra cubierta de agua, solo havia límo, i lama sobre la haz de la tierra.
> En aquel tiempo, fingen los indios, que aparecieron visiblemente in Dios, que tuvo por nombre un ciervo, i por sobrenombre Culebra de Leon, y una diosa muy linda, y hermosa, que se nombre fue un ciervo, i por sobrenombre Culebra de Tigre. Estos dos dioses dicen haver sido principio de los demás dioses, que los indios tuvieron. Luego que aparecieron estos dos dioses, [...] fundaron una grande peña, sobre la cual edificaron unos muy sumptuosos palacios, hechos con grandisimo artificio, adonde fue un asiento, i morada en la tierra. [...] Esta peña, i palacios de los dioses estaba en un cerro muy alto, junto al pueblo de Apoala, que es en la provincia, que llaman Mixteca Alta. Esta peña, en lengua de esta gente, tenía por nombre, lugar donde estaba el cielo' (García 1981 [1607]).

Partly because of this, but also due to its unusual natural setting, it is also a community with a relatively lively tourist industry. It receives several hundred national and international tourists

per year, and the infrastructure of the village is developed accordingly. A small but comfortable guesthouse is available for visitors who stay overnight, and a locally appointed committee manages all activities related to these visitors. Apoala is advertised on the Internet as an adventurous semi-paradisiacal destination for national as well as international visitors to the state of Oaxaca (Sedetur 2001). Both motifs have resulted in a contemporary outsider's perspective of the village as an attractive example of indigenous life in rural Mexico, marked by impressive natural surroundings and mysterious remnants of distant pasts.

Figure 4.1 The Apoala Valley.

A research design was developed consisting of three emphases: first, conducting an archaeological survey of the Apoala municipal territory, being the urban area, surrounding terrains and the adjacent municipal satellite villages or *agencias* (Figures 4.1 and 4.1a). Secondly, the registration and analysis of numerous artefact categories, mainly encountered during the survey, but also of pieces found throughout the years by locals. Third, the collaboration with the community with regard to the documentation as well as protection of archaeological features, which are part of the guided tour offered to visitors.

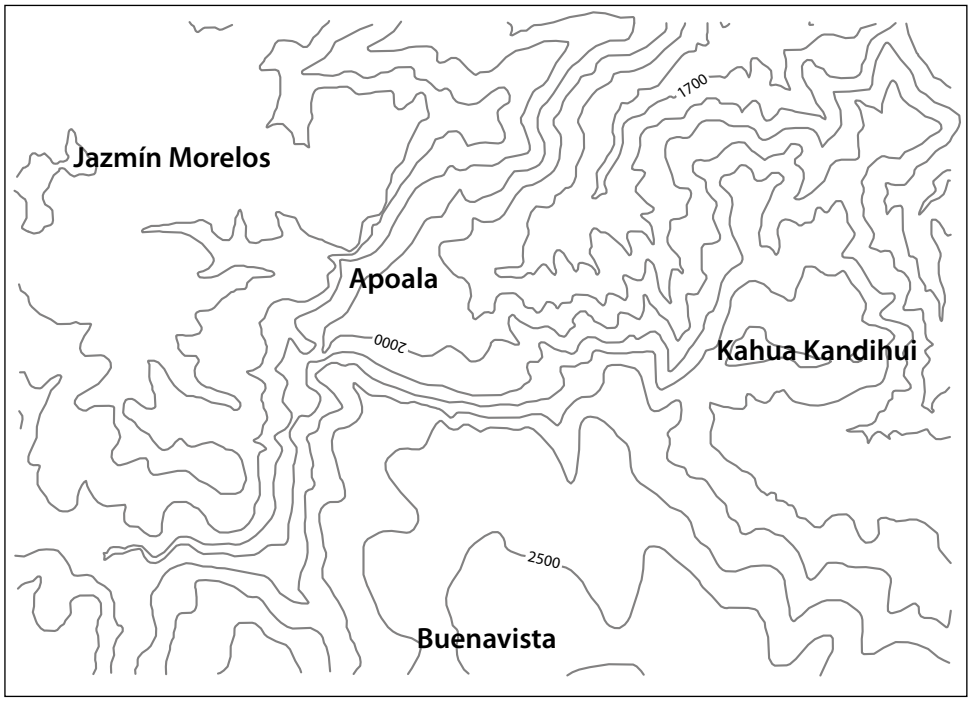


Figure 4.1a Map of the Apoala Valley (modified from INEGI E14D26).

4.2 Ethnohistorical data on the Apoala Valley

Even though the archaeology of the Apoala Valley does not play any role of significance in discussions on pre-colonial developments in Oaxaca, the available historical data have had a considerably larger impact.

The historical information contained in a group of pictorial manuscripts narrates the political developments in the Mixteca during the Postclassic period. The use of historical information has run parallel to archaeological research in Oaxaca (and Mesoamerica in general) during the better part of the 20th century and the Mixteca is no exception to this. Based on proposals by Wigberto Jiménez Moreno (1966), the interpretation of numerous archaeological findings are brought (either implicitly or explicitly) in connection to historical data from the same location (e.g. Byland and Pohl 1994; Balkansky et al. 2000; Joyce et al. 2004).

Santiago Apoala features both in the Late Postclassic pictorial documents as well as in the Colonial period writings of three Dominican order friars who resided in Oaxaca. The information gathered by them points to Apoala as the mythical place of origin for the Mixtec lineages of

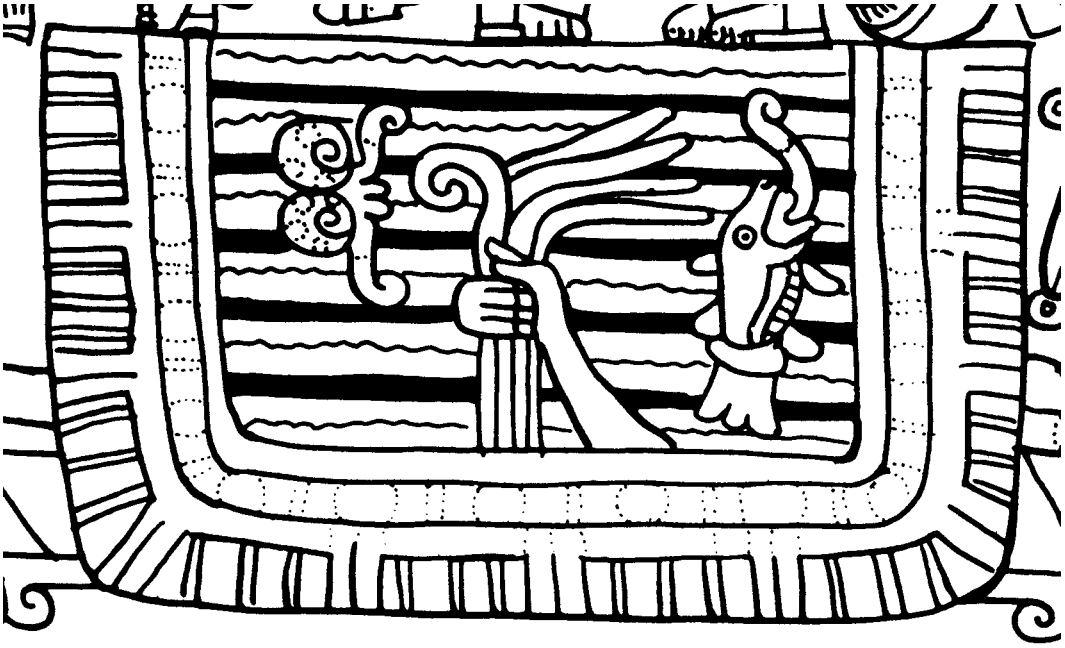


Figure 4.2 Detail from Codex Zouche-Nuttall, Page 36 (modified from Anders et al. 1992b).

lords and ladies. As such, Antonio de los Reyes (1976 [1593]), Gregorio García (1981 [1607]) and Francisco de Burgoa (1934 [1674]) all refer to Apoala in this context. Through iconological investigations first by Caso (1960), and later by Smith (1973) and Jansen (1982), the toponym used in the pictorial manuscripts (i.e. Codex Vindobonensis and Codex Zouche-Nuttall) was correlated with the 16th century Mixtec reference to Apoala: *Yutsa Tohon*. The toponym consistently is made up of a hand clenching a bundle of reed or plumes (Figure 4.2). The translation of *Yutsa Tohon*: 'River that Pulls' provided Caso with a firm localization of the toponym.[1] Several of the toponyms that accompany the Apoala toponyms were later also correlated by Jansen (1992) to the Apoala Valley and its immediate surroundings.[2] Most recently, the origin of the linage founder at Apoala was determined to be Tonalá located in the Mixteca Baja (Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 2000, 2005).

Previous researchers have related Page 36 in the Codex Zouche-Nuttall in its entirety to the valley setting of Apoala. This page consists of a single scene that is framed on the left and right side and bottom by a serpent figure (Figure 4.2a). The central section of the scene features a number of representations of topographical features of the valley: two rivers, a cave and a wa-

1 Also translated as *Rio de los Señores* (Jansen 1992).

2 Currently, a study is being undertaken bij Ubaldo López García into the oral history of Santiago Apoala that promises to shed further light on the toponymic data.

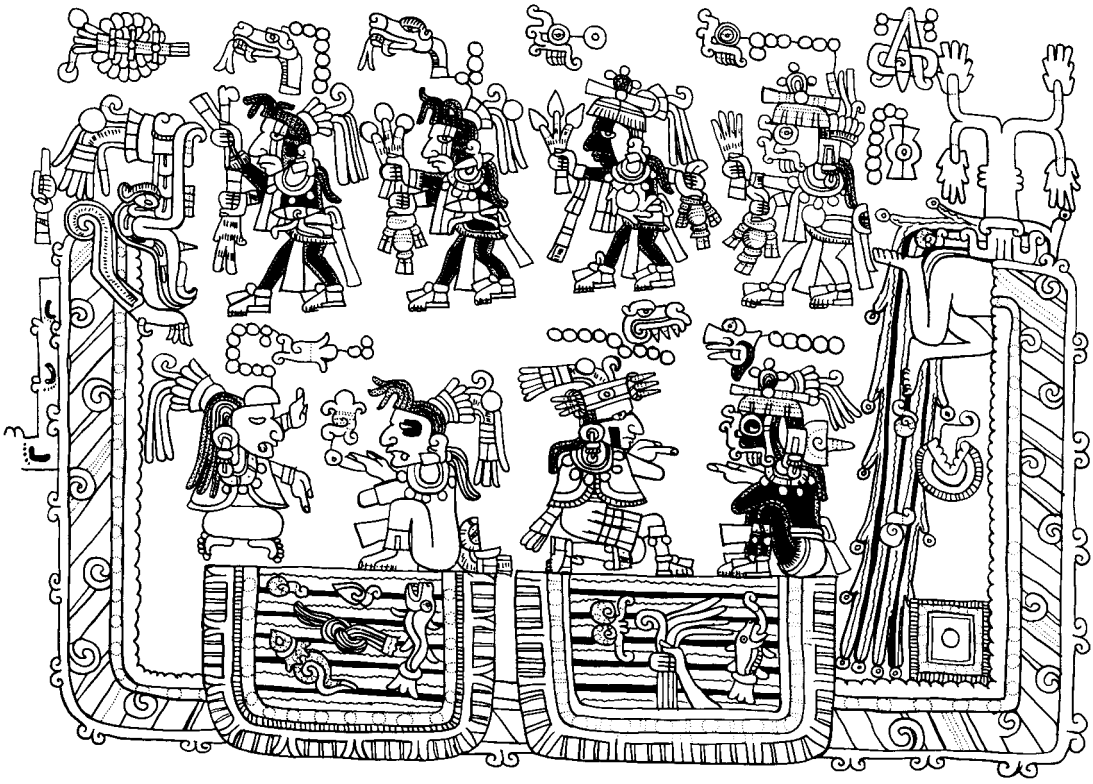


Figure 4.2a Codex Zouche/Nuttall, Page 36, depicting the Apoala Valley (modified from Anders et al. 1992b).

terfall. The above mentioned *Yutsa Tohon* is represented as a body of water in which is depicted the sign of the fist full of plumes as well as several shells and a small fish.[3] The second depicted river is most likely a seasonal tributary of the Apoala River. Currently, the only tributary to the Apoala River is named *Yutsa Danama*[4], which is a dry riverbed during the dry season, but an active tributary to the Apoala River during the rainy season. It joins the Apoala River at a rock outcrop named *Kahua Laki*. This section of the cliff wall is currently also known as *Cueva del Diablo* (see below).[5] Further, a cave known as *Yahui Koo Maa* ('Profound Cave of the Serpent') is located on the west end of the valley-floor, in the direct vicinity of the canyon.

3 Although speculative, this fish may be related to the in Mixtec called *chaka* which until recently was to be found in the Apoala River.

4 Two translations were provided in Santiago Apoala for this name: 1) *Río del Amole* (Amole is a soap won from the *Chlorogarum pomeridianum* plant or 2) River where one climbs up to do confession.

5 Devil is a Christian religious concept which has no obvious equivalent in the Mixtec culture and therefore also not in its language. The word *laki* translates as 'to scare' or 'ghost'.

The last element to be integrated in the image is the waterfall, depicted in the image as the tail of the serpent. This is the drop that the Apoala River makes on the Eastern end of the valley. In the illustration in Codex Zouche-Nuttall the waterfall is depicted as a precious tail of a serpent (Jansen 1992). This depiction is reflected in the contemporary toponym of the western section of the Apoala River: *Tooma Koo* ('tail of the serpent'). Also depicted is a jade quadrant, located behind the lower part of the waterfall. This is the iconographic reference to a beautiful and valuable place (Jansen 1992).

In the Codex Zouche-Nuttall and Vindobonensis furthermore an origin account features as a principal theme.[6] On pages 36 and 37 of Codex Zouche-Nuttall the toponym of Apoala is seen in relation to the marriage ceremony taking place on the sacred date of the year 5 Flint and day 8 Movement, between Lady 9 Lizard 'Rain' and Lord 5 Wind 'Rain'. 9 Lizard is depicted as daughter of the elders Lord 1 Flower 'Precious Bird' and Lady 13 Flower 'Quetzal' and Lord 5 Wind 'Rain'. Both Lord 1 Flower and Lady 13 Flower are depicted on pages 36 and 35 of the Codex Vindobonensis as having been born from the sacred tree located in or near the Western edge of the Apoala Valley.[7]

Four priests are depicted as presenting offerings in the Yahui Koo Maa. These four priests, named 7 Serpent; 4 Serpent; 1 Rain and 7 Rain, carry with them bone and maguey needles for bloodletting as well as bags containing copal, branches of palm tree among other plants. In the top left corner of Zouche-Nuttall page 36 also shows the offering left behind in the cave: a roseton consisting of strips of ocote or pine wood. This scene is then followed by a peregrination by these four priests to a toponym consisting of a sand belching mountain (identified as Añute or Jaltepec) and a toponym consisting of a black-and-white frieze (identified as Ñuu Tuun or Tilantongo). This also is reflected in the contemporary oral history by means of a story about a king being born from a sacred tree and then traveling in the direction of Santiago Tilantongo (see Appendix B). Contemporary oral history holds a popular reference to a large tree which, even though now no such tree is physically in existence, is still remembered by elders in the community as standing at the western end of the valley and is said to be 'the birthplace of the first kings' (see Appendix B).[8]

In order to secure the marriage, Lord 1 Flower conferred with Lord 9 Wind 'Quetzalcoatl', requesting him to be ambassador to the marriage of his daughter. Once having accepted this

6 The most recent interpretation by Anders, Jansen and Reyes García (1991) is also the most thorough, largely because the interpretation of the signs was linked to contemporary and 16th century elements of the Mixtec language. The information used here is based largely on this mentioned work, unless mentioned otherwise. Other studies have also analysed this origin account using contemporary oral tradition (e.g. López Garcia 1991).

7 The Codex Bodley (p. 40-39) and Selden (p. 1) also depict the primordial couple of Lord 1 Flower and Lady 13 Flower.

8 Current oral history also describes one of these kings as traveling to Santiago Tilantongo. He is invariably identified as *dios del sol or flechador del so*,. A second king travels in the direction of Puebla and is identified as *Dzahui Ndanda*.

responsibility, Lord 9 Wind goes to a nearby mountain, clutching a scepter signifying rulership. The mountain has been interpreted as *Kahua Kandihui*, located at the northwest edge of the Apoala Valley (Jansen 1992). There he received and heard Lord 5 Wind 'Rain'. At *Kahua Kandihui*, it was agreed upon that the date for the marriage would be the day 5 Wind of the year 9 Rabbit, and that the ceremony would take place in Apoala. What follows is a detailed description of the elements which played a role in the ceremony, and which continue to do so in contemporary Mixtec marriages ceremonies: Offerings and gifts, flowers, copal, smoke, and occasional attire.

The aforementioned description of Codex Zouche-Nuttall page 36 underscores the role of the Apoala Valley in the Mixteca Alta region as recorded in the context of different political elites from the region. In contrast little attention is awarded to the local political authorities. Certainly for the time period described in this document, there does not seem to have been a powerful regional political attraction coming from the Apoala Valley. This reflects the situation in the Early Colonial period where 16th century Spanish administrative documentation identifies Santiago Apoala as one of several dependencies of Yanhuitlán, located south in the Nochixtlán Valley (cf. Jansen 1982; Spores 1984). Thus based on precolonial as well as colonial period documentation, the image of the Apoala Valley produced is one of political periphery combined with ritual primacy on the regional perspective. Archaeological verification by means of the surface remains should help illucidate both elements.

4.3 Survey results

This paragraph will present the total of 21 sites registered featuring pre-colonial occupation located in the Apoala Valley. Table 4.1 shows the diagnostic ceramic types documented at each site. Site coordinates are referenced to the appropriate topographic maps issued by the *Instituto Nacional de Estadistica Geográfia e Informatica* (INEGI). Descriptive information for the site will begin by presenting the local name for the site, followed by a site code. This code consists of the letters AV which stand for Apoala Valley and a sequence number which was produced when sites were encountered in the field; thus for example AV1 is the first site that was registered. In doing so, a continuous list of 1 to 21 was created. Whereas previous compilations of site information integrated the municipal administrative authority in the site code (cf. Blanton 1982; Kowalewski et al. 1989; Spores 1972; Stiver 2001) this was superfluous since all encountered sites are on grounds under Santiago Apoala authority. The mentioned commonly used system consists of a site code made up of four elements: two letters designating the ex-district; two letters indicating the municipality; two letters indicating the *agencia*, followed by the sequence number.

Table 4.1 Total site and component sizes for all phases

Site code	Cruz			Ramos	Las Flores	Natividad	Convento	Total Area (ha)
	Early	Middle	Late					
AV1					1,05			1,05
AV2				2,44				2,44
AV3					0,88	5,38		5,38
AV3a			0,20	0,20	0,20	0,20		0,20
AV4					0,02			0,02
AV5								0,01
AV6								0,01
AV7						0,03		0,03
AV8					4,82	6,22	2,00	6,22
AV9				0,60		9,33	0,05	9,33
AV10				3,29	5,88	3,60		6,88
AV11				0,01	1,34	1,17		1,34
AV12				0,01	8,54	2,33		8,54
AV13					0,03			0,03
AV14					8,50	15,22		15,22
AV15					10,00	10,00		10,00
AV16				1,10	12,22	14,10		14,10
AV17						0,25		0,25
AV18					0,78	1,51		1,51
AV19						0,01		0,01
AV20								0,01
AV21								0,08
Total	**0,00**	**0,00**	**0,20**	**7,65**	**54,26**	**69,35**	**2,05**	**82,66**

After the site code, information concerning the localization of the site will be given. This information serves to facilitate relocating the site for future verification and follow-up research. In addition, the sites coordinates based on the Universal Transverse Mercator (UTM) system will be provided, as well as a reference to the pertinent standard topographical INEGI map. These coordinates will consistently refer to the central area of the site. Following this, the topographical setting will be described, including overall characteristics of the terrain as well as environmental data. This will include references to the nature and appearance of the soils at the site; indications as to the level of erosion encountered; and attention for any outstanding natural features that may exist at the site, such as rock outcrops, large boulders, but also sources of clay, flint or basalt. If pertinent, a hydrographical description will be added to include any

springs, streams etc. The current use of the site (if any) will also be described. This may centre on a range of agricultural uses, but might also include contemporary structures, such as roads, houses, sheds, levelled sports fields, and walls consisting of heaped up stones that delimit personal properties. Finally, if any evidence of past or present water management was encountered, such as channel irrigation then this was also included in the site descriptions.

Following this more general site information, the archaeological features encountered will be presented. This will be done first by means of the general description of the registered features, including mounds, wall foundations, retaining walls for terraces, and floors. In addition, information as to the temporal occupation of the site is given, based on the surface ceramics encountered at the site. Several sites only demonstrated single components; this was to be expected given the relatively small surface measures of many sites. Some sites, however, feature multi-component occupation. Surface materials differed in density in the Valley and are thus described in two qualitative densities based on the scale developed by Sanders et al. (1979:38-39) and used previously in Oaxaca (Blanton et al. 1982:10; Stiver 2001: 55-56). Scanty presence of surface materials implies up to 2 sherds found every few meters, and light-to-moderate implies sherds found every 20 to 20 cm with occasional build-up.

The well-established chronological framework used for analysing Mixteca Alta ceramics, is based on the five-phase sequence proposed by Spores (1972, 1974a). That sequence is also adopted in this study. Since initial publication of this chronology, several survey and excavation projects have utilized this framework, as well as proposed adjustments to temporal start- and end-points, and subdivision of existing phases (Balkansky et al. 2004; Byland 1980; Gaxiola 1976; Lind 1987; Plunket 1983; Robles 1988; Stiver 2001; Zárate 1987). Since the Apoala Valley is located at a diffuse edge of certain Mixteca Alta regional wares, occasionally comparison will be made to bordering regions through the cross-ties established by horizon markers. These regions are the Oaxaca Valley, the Tehuacán Valley and the Cuicatlán Cañada (respectively for the Oaxaca Valley based on Drennan 1983a; Caso, Bernal and Acosta 1967; Kowalewski et al. 1989; Martínez López et al. 2000; for the Tehuacán Valley MacNeish 1972; for the Cuicatlán Cañada Spencer and Redmond 1997). Given the limited amount of material documented at the 21 sites, some of which lacking any surface material entirely, and the unsystematic survey methods applied, the subdivisions were integrated in the analysis where possible, but more extensive analysis during future investigations is to be advised.

4.3.1 Tiki Tinduu Akama (AV1)

This site is located at the western end of the Apoala Valley (E 96152, N 195177, INEGI E14D26). The site is estimated to be 1.05 hectare in size, and is situated on the summit of the gently sloping hill, overlooking large part of the Apoala Valley to the east and the canyon to the south. Gullies are present to the southwest and northeast of the site, leading to the canyon below, where the riverbed runs. Soils in this location are thin, and the habitation almost certainly

remained limited to a few houses. This is confirmed by the modest amount of architectural remains, consisting of 4 alignments of stones, together forming a low platform (Figure 4.3). The northern limit of this platform is poorly preserved. Surface vegetation consisted of a minimal amount of scrub and some low grass. Despite the limited vegetation, surface artefacts are only visible to a very limited degree, and only occur with some frequency in ploughed or otherwise disturbed areas. Some small looting activities have taken place in the recent past, as evidenced by small pits (diameter < 0.5 m) in the sides of the platform. The site area is situated in a remote corner of the Jazmín Morelos agencia, and is entirely located on communal terrain. It is noteworthy that the site by its location forms part in a ring of sites circumscribing the Valley, and simultaneously forms an extension into the canyon leading south.

Surface materials documented revealed a single Las Flores component at the site and include Chachoapan Orange ware and Nochixtlán Greys in scanty densities.

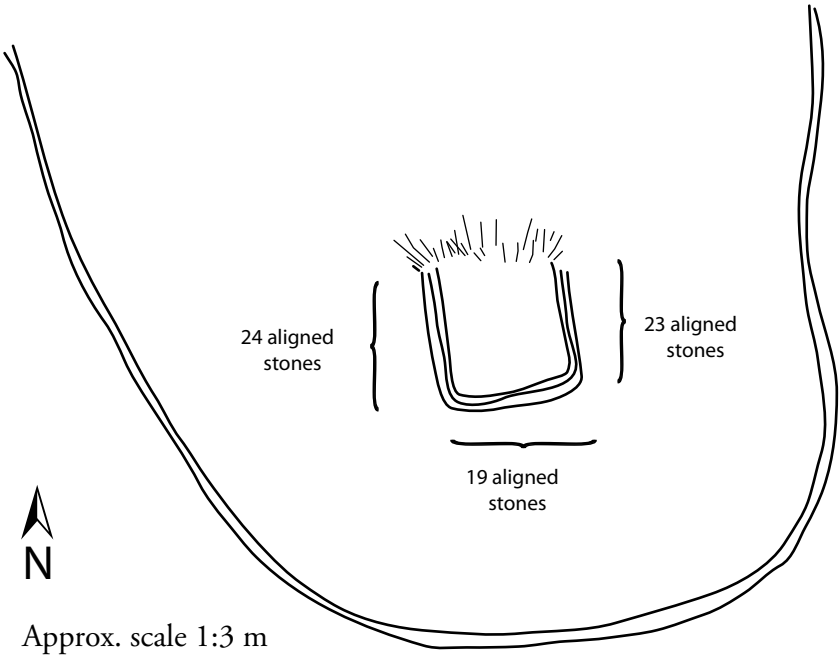


Figure 4.3 General map Tiki Tinduu Akama (AV1).

4.3.2 Tiki Kahua Akama (AV2)

This site is located on a hill approximately 1.05 km southwest of the administrative centre of Santiago Apoala, and directly preceding the point where the river enters the valley from the canyon (E 696700, N 1951951, INEGI E14D26). The site is reached by walking west from the centre across the path called *Ichi Akama* ('quick road'). The central area of the site is currently under use for agricultural purposes and the owner of the terrain has built a residential

structure in the site area (Figures 4.4 and 4.5). The upper part of the site (i.e. the hill) is communal land, whereas the central and north parts are private property. The site is 2.44 hectares in total extension and situated on a hill with many rock outcrops at its summit and various terraces covering the steep inclined hillside. The architectural build-up of the site further consists of a plaza on the north-eastern foot of the hill. The most notable architectural feature of this site though is the significant amount of walls that were built on the higher parts of the slope and immediately below the summit. These walls were constructed so as to take advantage of the natural rugged, rocky features of the hillside. The walls would have protected the summit of the hill, on which surface artefacts were recorded in low-to-moderate density. Even though the walls do not exceed a height of more than 1.8 m, the steep inclination in combination with the sharp, rocky outcrops must have worked effectively in prohibiting access to the summit. Evidence of conflict actually taking place at the site was not found.

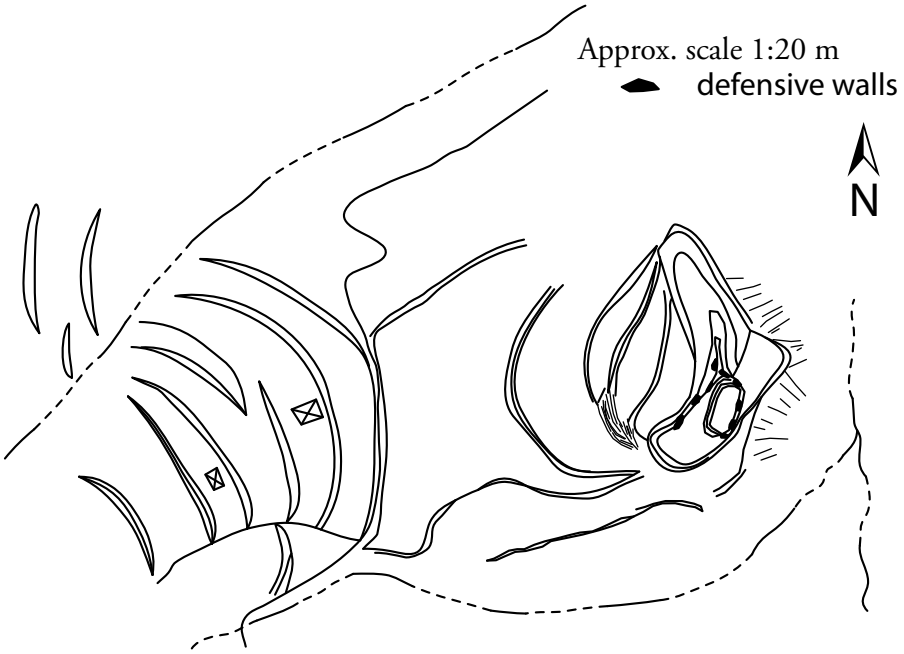


Figure 4.4 General map Tiki Kahua Akama (AV2).

The degree of potential destruction at the site requires attention, since due to short-term infrastructural activities; the small-scale extraction of stones; and the levelling of the area at the foot of the hill for agricultural activities, the chance of destruction in the near future is significant. The retaining walls of the terraces on the slopes have suffered somewhat by the extraction of stone and some of the defensive walls have suffered damage, possibly due to the movement

of earth and/or on account of past seismic activity. Overall, erosion at the site is considered to be moderate in most sections.

The only archaeological features are the terraces, the defensive walls and three platforms with stone alignments at the northern section of the site. The structures are built using worked stone, in combination with earth and stone rubble. Although the overall site character is still maintained, the damage to architectural elements can be classified as severe. Largely intact walls are found in the eastern section of the hill slopes; these walls represent an additional scientific interest, since they represent some of the rare examples of fortification in the Mixteca Alta. Besides its location near the canyon, the site holds an excellent strategic position. A final aspect to consider for this site is the combination of natural and cultural characteristics. Numerous natural monoliths dot the summit of the hill as well as its slopes (Figure 4.6), replicating a pattern of cultural importance that is granted to these large boulders near several locations in the valley as well as in the local oral history (see below).

Figure 4.6 Boulders that characterize Tiki Kahua Akama's landscape.

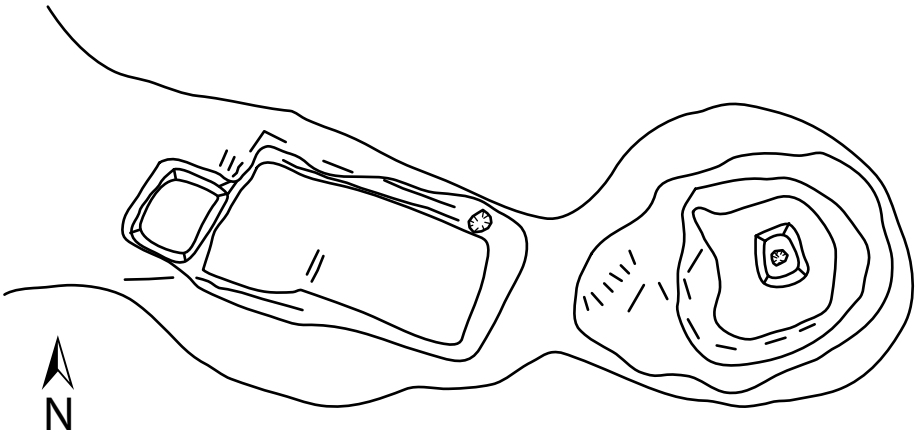
The single component documented at the site is Ramos. Other than at the summit, the density of surface artefacts is scanty. Finally, at the south-western side of the hill a complete Juanito Fine Grey tripod sub-hemispherical bowl was recorded.

4.3.3 Tiki Kahua Kuchindahua (AV3)

This site is located at approximately 1 km from the administrative centre of Santiago Apoala (E 696855, N 1952689, INEGI E14D26). The site is located on a high ridgeline and can be reached by continuing the path that runs alongside the riverbed of the Yutsa Danama. Soils at this hilltop location are few and erosion is also limited. The overall layout of the site consists of three parts: a rocky peak; a plaza; and some rocky peaks exceeding the earlier one in height. The path leading to the site carries on across the plaza and continues to the Jazmín Morelos *agencia* (Figure 4.7). The entire site is located within Santiago Apoala's communal lands, and is located just to the side of a canyon that divides it from Jazmín Morelos. The total extension of the site is approximately 5.38 hectares, and its current use is for stockbreeding and a herding place for goats and cows. The layout of the site is determined by the topographical contours of the hill itself, dividing it into three sections. From west to east, it consists of a flattened area; followed by a plaza that is located some 70 meters below, and finally some wall foundations that are placed at the summit of a rocky peak, slightly further to the east (Figure 4.8). The flattened area is characterized by a large amount of worked stones, spread out chaotically across the surface of the hilltop. The majority of the stones are of moderate size, estimated at 30 centimetres to an end, and given their sheer abundance

Figure 4.5 Panoramic view of Tiki Kahua Akama.

Figure 4.7 View of the Apoala Valley featuring the Tiki Kahua Kuchindahua peaks in the central background.



Approx. scale 1:16 m

Figure 4.8 General map Tiki Kahua Kuchindahua (AV3).

Figure 4.9 Well preserved defensive walls at north side Tiki Kahua Kuchindahua.

this area must have seen quarrying activities in the past (Figure 4.9). A considerable amount of similar stones were used in constructing walls between the jagged rock outcrops that feature along the edges of the hilltop. This phenomenon, as well as the specific execution is reminiscent of the walls registered at Tiki Kahua Akama.

Due to the character of the site, in particular the delicate position of the walls constructed between the rock outcrops, the potential for imminent damage to the site is considerable. Also the current use of the site as a herding place is damaging the surface materials, and in particular the frequently observed removal of the practically sized stones for contemporary construction activities is threatening the site.

Archaeological features are predominantly architectural elements. A large part of these consist of walls in varying shape and size. These are mostly encountered at the two elevated western and eastern sections of the site. The plaza section, in between the two mentioned sections, features retaining walls at its northern side. Given the gradient at which the terrain drops in altitude at this side, several walls were built in sequence; one below the other. The walls are constructed using worked stone; earth and loose rocks. Several of the walls remain in their original position and still display a relatively good coherence and solidity. The walls never exceed 5 meters in height and predominantly extend to approximately 5 meters in width and 3 meters in height (with some going up to 5 meters in height). The wall constructions encountered throughout the three sections of the site, make the identification of this site as a primarily defensive location tenable.

The overall condition of the site is poor. Even though soil erosion is limited, surface materials have been washed away from the three sections, all of which are exposed to rain and wind. This, in combination with the current use of the site and the removal of stones, makes it remarkable that some of the walls between the jagged crests are still in what appears to be excellent state. This most likely has to do with their location, somewhat below the edge of the hilltop, overlooking a steep drop of some 200 meters down to the valley floor, making them extraordinarily difficult to reach.

Components at the site are Las Flores and Natividad. During the Las Flores phase, the occupation appears to have been restricted to the site section featuring the plaza, and covers 0.88 hectares. Several diagnostic Las Flores artifacts were documented on and around the plaza area. These are orange wares, similar to the Chachoapan Orange in the Nochixtlán Valley, as well as tan and rust colored rough surface cooking vessels. Diagnostics for the Natividad phase are

some examples of cream wares, comparable with the Yanhuitlán Red-on-Cream type. Given the level of exposure the site has, only small fragments of ceramics remaining in the patchy topsoil.

4.3.3.1 La Cueva (AV3a)

A site associated to the Tiki Kahua Kuchindahua site is a dry cave of shallow depth located some 25 meters below the area of the plaza. The total surface area with materials measures 0.20 hectares. This apparently nameless cave can only be reached via a hazardous trip down from the plaza along a narrow path full of *mala mujer* plants. Other than the mala mujer, vegetation outside the cave is limited to some isolated small trees and scrub bushes. Inside the cave no vegetation was documented. The soil inside and under the overhanging opening is a fine grained light grey, with a maximum depth of 20 centimetres. The surface in front of the cave mouth and in its interior features a significant amount of well-preserved ceramics on the dry surface, including several semi-complete vessel sherds. This site yielded the longest occupation history in the entire Apoala Valley, with materials pertaining to the Late Cruz; Ramos; Las Flores; and Natividad phase. Present types documented are two sherds of Filemón Variety Yucuita Red on Tan ware; dominant quantities of Anita Variety of Chachoapan Orange ware; Mariana Variety of Yucuita Tan ware; as well as some sherds of Miguelito Hard Grey and Juanito Fine Grey. The Mariana Variety predominantly shows up in ceremonial contexts (Spores 1972:53). This is in line with the probable functionality of the cave as a ritual place. Finally, some sherds of Chachoapan Sandy Cream were recorded in the cave (see also the description of the Toto Ndzaka archaeological site). The Anita Variety is a hallmark for the Las Flores phase. Miguelito Hard Grey, as abovementioned, is indicative of Natividad period use. All this suggests that the cave was used in instances lying perhaps several centuries apart.

4.3.4 El Guerrero or Danzante del Kahua Laki (AV4)

This site is located at approximately 500 meters from the administrative centre of Santiago Apoala (E 697215, N 1952785, INEGI E14D26). This site consists in large part of a rock carving; a neighbouring rock shelter as well as a cave of shallow depth located some 10 meters above the foot of the rock face, extending over about 200 m^2 or 0.02 hectares. This latter cave is referred to as *Cueva de Kahua Laki* or *Cueva del Diablo*, and is visible from almost any location on the valley floor and its opening is sufficiently large to allow being spotted even from the southern side across from the valley. The site is reached from the centre of Apoala by means ascending the cone of eroded runoff from the rock face for some 120 meters until reaching the upper limits of the cone and thereby the foot of the rock face. Characteristics of the surrounding terrain are, given the rocky terrain, quite barren; apart from the immediate environments of the rock shelter, no topsoil presents itself in any section of the site. The rock carving is located on the rock face at approximately 1 meter above the foot of the face and to the east of the rock shelter and the cave.

Figure 4.10 Rock carving, known locally as 'El Guerrero' or 'El Danzante'.

Figure 4.11 Drawing of 'El Guerrero' rock carving.

The rock shelter features numerous modifications to three of the rock outcrops (2 on the western side of the shelter, one on the eastern side), that are in form reminiscent of incisions of groves. These groves do not exceed 2 centimetres in depth and are no longer than 30 centimetres. Moreover, these rocks have a shiny patina from an apparent consistent and frequent use in the past. The rock shelter is limited in size, at approximately 10 meters wide and 5 meters in maximum depth. The ceiling is covered in soot, further indication of past use. For determining the habitation history of this rock shelter, excavation is required. This site might provide evidence of (Early) Cruz period occupation for the Apoala Valley.

The rock carving, to the side of the rock shelter is most likely temporally not related to the rock carving locally known as 'El Guerrero' or 'El Danzante'. This carving represents the frontal image of an erect standing male human figure. The figure carries an oblong shaped object, plausibly an *atlatl* or hurling stick, in the left hand and a round shield in the right hand (Figure 4.10). The carving presents the highest degree of detail in the headdress, which is decorated with various geometrical designs (Figure 4.11). What is remarkable is that the composition of the carving presents a particular balance when it comes to the amount of detail invested in discrete components of the figure. For example, the face and the already described headdress

are significantly more detailed than then torso and arms and legs. Even though comparable figures are unknown for the northern part of the Nochixtlán Valley, it most likely is a figure dating from the Las Flores period, given its comparability to contemporaneous iconography in the Valley of Oaxaca and that of the Mixteca Baja.

4.3.5 Kahua Tidinuu (AV5)

This site is located at approximately 1 km from the administrative centre of Santiago Apoala (E 697544, N 1953314, E14D26). This is a site consisting of two groups of rock paintings, along a stretch of terrain of 0.01 hectares. The site is quite difficult to reach, but principal access is gained from the main road that connects Apoala and Jazmín Morelos. At the cemetery, one needs to climb some 100 meters, crossing the erosion cone until reaching the foot of the rock face. The paintings are grouped along a small stretch of rock shelters and smaller openings in the face of the rock. The name of the rock at this location is Tidinuu, called this way because of the small maguey plants that grow in niches of the rock face. The majority of the paintings are

Figure 4.12 Rock art with black paint at Kahua Torri Kahua (AV6).

located in a rock shelter at a height of some 5 meters as. No diagnostic surface materials were encountered, that might have enabled a relative dating of the site.

The paintings are executed using black paint, and the predominant forms are circles dotted on the inside; other clusters of dots are not encircled. A second group in black paint depicts human and animal figures and several human hands, painting using the negative blowing technique. The paintings are relatively well protected against influence of sun and rain, and do currently not appear to be affected by tourists visiting Apoala. However, the paintings are utterly unprotected at the moment, and installing measures to protect them from vandalizing activities (currently evidenced by trash littering the site and graffiti on the surrounding rocks) must be a priority.

4.3.6 Kahua Torri Kuaha (AV6)

This site is located at approximately 1.2 kms from the administrative centre of Santiago Apoala (E 697630, N 1953522, E14D26). It consists of a single rockpainting. The site can be accessed starting from the main road that connects Apoala and Jazmín Morelos. A small path leads from the road up, passing the site of Kahua Tidinuu, to the most easterly part of the rock face. The

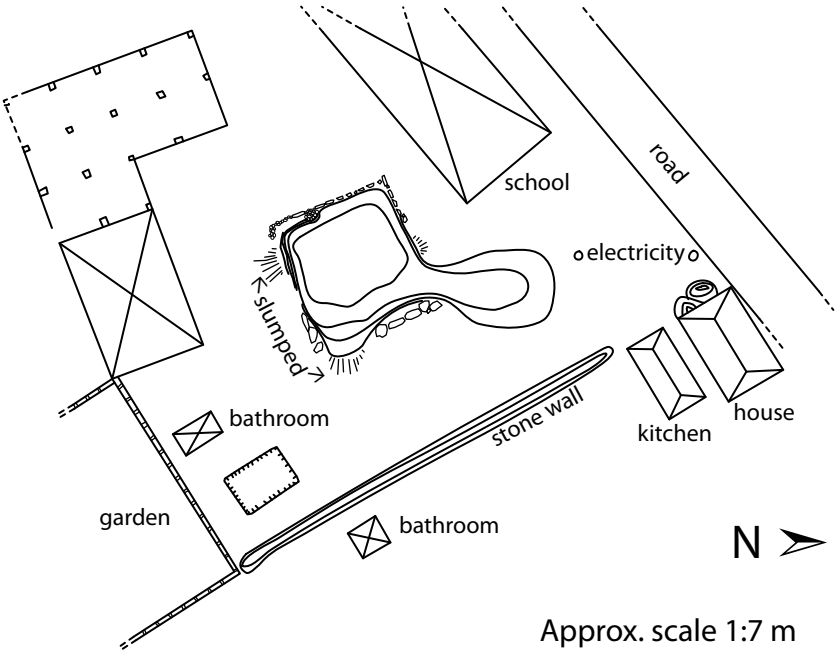


Figure 4.13 Map of Tinduu Va (AV7).

painting is located some 10 meters above the foot of the rock face under the underside of a flat stone protruding from the wall. No diagnostic materials were recorded on the surrounding surface. Current use of the sites surroundings is for stockbreeding and occasional harvesting of fire wood. The terrain pertains to Mr. Mario Jiménez, resident of Santiago Apoala.

The painting consists of a single representation of a zoomorphic figure (Figure 4.12). Discernable are what appears to be a curling tail, colored using black paint, whereas the other parts of the representation are painted with red. The painting has not suffered any damages visible to the eye and despite some small-scale modern graffiti located to one of the sides of the painting it appears to be in overall good condition. Most likely this has to do with the protected position which it is in. Given the empirical value and scarcity of complex rock paintings in the Mixteca Alta and the attractiveness to the further development of small-scale tourism in Apoala, it is to be advised that protective measures are taken, most likely in conjunction with those for Kahua Tidunuu. Assigning a period to the painting was not possible.

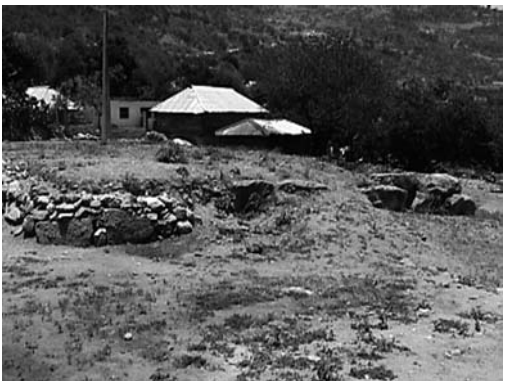


Figure 4.14 Platform and adjacent modern structure at Tinduu Va (AV7).

4.3.7 Tinduu Va (AV7)

This site is located at approximately 380 meters distance from the Municipal Palace of Santiago Apoala, in the playground of the *Telesecundaria*, 20DTV,0042I (E 697600, N 1952629, E14D26). The site consists of a single small mound. The total extension of the site is calculated at approximately 0.3 hectares, but this is a conservative estimate given the likelihood of the site being larger. This likelihood is given by the fact that recently levelling and construction activities for concrete buildings have taken place in the site area; one of which is a dependency of the *Telesecundaria* (Figures 4.13 and 4.14). During these construction activities, it was asserted, several aligned stones were observed. Apparently several parts of the mound have been altered or reconstructed. Residents with houses neighbouring the site, recounted plans of some years ago for an artisan market building at the site's location. These plans were only executed so far as to dig a whole of some 5 meters deep at the location, just east of the currently remaining mound.

The single component of this site appears to be Late Natividad phase given a couple of diagnostic Pilitas sherds documented in the direct vicinity of the site. The mound was constructed

of worked stone and a mix of earth and loose rocks, with an orientation roughly 20º west of north. Its west side is currently the best preserved one, when taking into consideration the overall positioning of worked stones. The east side is the only part of the mound that appears to remain without recent modifications.

Figure 4.15 The southern end of the Apoala valley showing the extensive terracing of Yahui Che'en in the background (AV8).

This small site, located in the urban centre of Apoala might hold possibilities for didactic ends, when considering its position close to the Telesecundaria school and its centrality in the community itself. Signage explaining the history of Apoala and some elements of pre-colonial architecture is an option for this site. This might be done by adding a reconstruction drawing of the mound structure in combination with an explanation of its relation to the nearby Natividad phase Ndodo Che site (see below). The assumption might be made that this mound in fact forms part of the much larger Natividad phase settlement, which is now covered by the urban centre of Apoala. Natividad diagnostics encountered throughout the centre support this hypothesis. This warrants a more detailed survey of the urban area itself, the fact however that most of that terrain is private property might problematize such a project if not undertaken in collaboration with the involved residents. Tinduu Va is located on the communal terrain of the school and the eastern part in a private property functioning as garden and agricultural field.

4.3.8 Yahui Che'en (AV8)

This site is located in the southern part of the urban centre of Apoala at approximately 600 meters distance from the Municipal Palace (E 697420, N 1952050, E14D26). It is located on a broad ridge slope of the lower piedmont zone at the southern side of the Apoala Valley. Soils are quite deep, and the site area has in the past received a function as an agricultural area, as it still does today. Brown soil is preserved over large parts of the site, partly due to the maintained retaining walls that abound in the site. Vegetation predominantly includes scrub bushes, maguey and small cacti. A small *barranca* runs through the site and has contributed to some sheet erosion near its sides. This is a site primarily characterized by its agricultural terracing, part of which seems to date to pre-colonial times, and part is still cultivated today (Figure 4.15). The unpaved road leading to Santa Maria Apasco from Apoala runs through the site,

Figure 4.16 Yanhuitlan Red on Cream sherds.

effectively cutting it into two halves and destroying some of the terraces. After having passed through Yahui Che'en, this road continues and passes at the foot of the Kahua Kandihui site (see below). Contemporary houses are still found mainly in the middle section of the site (just north and south of the Apasco road), with an exceptional house located on one of the upper terraces, reminiscent of what the pre-colonial terrace housing may have looked like.

Apart from the road and the contemporary houses, the site appears to be in good condition. Harvesting of worked stones for construction projects, as well as agricultural levelling and cleaning of terrain does remain a concern. No mounds were recorded, only several alignments of stones, indicating housing structures. The only registered proprietor of terrains at this site is Mr. Gilberto López; property lies in the upper section of the site. Residents reported the presence of a cave in that section, most likely at the foot of the rock face. This cave is called Yahui Che'en and thus also gives his name to the surrounding area. It was also mentioned that the cave contained human burial remains, apart from several stone axes and ceramic vessels.

Figure 4.17 Eagle or vulture tripod vessel support in Miguelito Hard Grey.

This is a multi-component site with initial occupation covering 4.82 hectares during the Classic period, as represented by a Las Flores phase component. Occupation continued and expanded to the site maximum of 6.22 hectares into the Postclassic period as evidenced by the abundant presence of a Natividad phase component. Finally, early colonial period occupation is evidenced through a limited presence of Convento phase diagnostics. The overall presence of surface material is abundant, in particular in the lower section of the site. The materials for the Natividad component are Miguelito Hard Grey; Yanhuitlan Fine Cream; Yucuita Tan Mariana variety; Chachoapan Sandy Cream; and some sherds of Cacique Burnished (Figure 4.16). Among the diagnostics of Miguelito Hard Grey are a significant amount of so-called stamped bottom sub-hemispherical bowls, and a number of tripod vessel supports with the endings moulded to represent eagle/vulture or serpent heads (Figure 4.17). Also, some scarce Pilitas diagnostics were documented at the site. The Convento component is more restricted in

extension than the previous Natividad site area. Convento covers about 2 hectares (mainly on the lower terraces and the edge of the alluvial plain, whereas the Natividad component extends across the entire surface of the site, totalling 6.2 hectares.

4.3.9 Sata Kahua Laki (AV9)

This site is located at some 400 meters to the North of the Municipal Palace (E 697400, N 1952600, E14D26). It is characterized by multiple levels of terraces reaching from the upper piedmont down to the urban centre of Apoala. The majority of the site area is currently under use for herding goats and mules, and the lower piedmont is used for construction purposes with multiple residential structures covering that section of the site. In addition, a concrete water collecting tank was built on one of the upper terraces. Stones from terrace retaining walls provided the building material for this tank; a practice often seen in the Mixteca Alta given the high and thus often hard to reach locations in which these tanks are built. A narrow path zigzags across the western terraces, and leads up to the Guerrero site (AV4). The total extension of the site is 9.3 hectares. Despite the relative ease of accessing this site, no traces of looting were encountered, and it appears to be in an overall good condition. Archaeological features are primarily the retaining walls for the terraces as well as numerous alignments of stones indicating the presence of residential structures on the terraces. These stones are in their original position and consist of worked stones sized between 20 and 50 centimetres.

This site features Ramos, Las Flores, Natividad, and sporadic Convento components. A small number of Ramos components was documented at a segment of the lower piedmont area of 0.6 hectares, the only associated diagnostic is Juanito Fine Grey. The Las Flores component is more extensive and incorporates the Ramos segment and in addition the greater part of the terraced upper piedmont. As mentioned, the extent of residential traces at this site is substantial and the maximum extent is reached during the Natividad phase when it covers the entire 9.3 hectares of the site and appears to have been a neighboring *barrio* of the large Natividad settlement in the urban centre of Apoala, as discussed above. This analysis is based on the low-to-moderate density of Natividad diagnostics documented on the surface of the site. These include Miguelito Hard Grey; Chachoapan Sandy Cream; Chachoapan Orange, Fine Anita variety; Yanhuitlán Fine Cream; as well as several varieties of Yanhuitlán Red on Cream. The Convento component is limited to a select few sherds encountered at the lowest part of the piedmont over 0.05 hectares, spilling over in the alluvial fan.

4.3.10 Toto Ndzaka (AV10)

This site is located at some 800 meters distance from the Municipal Palace (E 697921, N 1953084, E14D26). A path leads to the site, which is a terrain currently under use for agricultural purposes and stockbreeding. Modern structures at the site include two residential structures currently in use. It is located on a ridge just south of the road leading to Jazmín Morelos,

Figure 4.18 Yanhuitlan Red on Cream subhemispherical bowl at Toto Ndzaka (AV10).

on the edge of the lower piedmont and the edge of the 75 meter drop that the alluvial plain makes at this point. Soil varies from 0 to 50 centimetres in depth, measured by several cuts in the landscape caused by erosion run-off from a *barranca* that runs down on the eastern extremity of the site. Vegetation includes scrub bush, maguey, juniper, nopal and short grasses.

The general condition of the site is poor, with moderate to severe erosion visible at a number of locations at the site. Short term infrastructural projects, in combination with the extracting of stones from walls and stone alignments, as well as levelling for agricultural purposes, has

added to the deterioration of the site. Several sections of the walls of the mounds have collapsed or are about to do so. Archaeological features include retaining walls for terraces, which were recorded at E 697983, N 1952887, and have suffered substantially from the removal of stones. In particular, exposed constructive elements are walls and alignments of stone consisting of worked stone, earth en rubble. The mentioned walls consist of variously sized stones, with the tendency of placing the larger stones in the lower locations. Various walls have also been partly restored in recent times. The terrain of Toto Ndzaka currently is property of various owners who predominantly have their residence in the urban centre of Apoala.

Other principal archaeological features are the single mound of the site; the levelled terraces, and surface materials including Ramos, Las Flores and Natividad components, with low-to-moderate density of surface material at two sections of the site (i.e. around E 697983, N1952887 and on the terraces of E 698056, N 1952877), and moderate accumulations of artefacts throughout the remainder of the site. It should be noted that given the relatively steep gradient of the terrain on which the site is located, that deposition may have obscured part of the archaeological features. Large part of the surface ceramics display light to moderate erosion damage. Ramos is represented by diagnostics for Yucuita Tan ware, and Yucuita Red on Tan, and covers with 3.29 hectares almost the entire site area. The Las Flores diagnostics are spread out evenly in low-to-medium density covering 5.88 hectares, and mostly represented by wares such as Chachoapan Orange. The Natividad component is represented by its dominant domestic ware Chachoapan Fine Cream, as well as some Yanhuitlán Fine Cream ladles and *comal* fragments; Yanhuitlán Red on Cream, including several fragments of 1 subhemispherical bowl (Figure 4.18); Cacique Burnished; Chachoapan Sandy Cream, and Miguelito Hard Grey. All these cognates are present in high frequencies at the site and represent 3.60 hectares; the maximum extent of the site.

Similar to Yahui Che'en, the Miguelito Hard Grey diagnostics included the variety of stamped bottom (*fondo sellado*) sub-hemispherical bowls (or G3M bowls), featuring the same trademark effigy eagle and serpent tripod supports. Spores (1972:188) refers to this variety as being introduced from the Tehuacán Valley (pertaining to the Venta Salada phase Coxcatlán Grey ware, see MacNeish 1970:188-197) and the Cuicatlán Cañada where they show up with much greater frequency than in the Nochixtlán Valley where they are relatively scarce. Stiver confirms Spores' findings for her research in the Teposcolula Valley, where these stamped bottom bowls are also rare (Stiver 2001:80). In the Apoala Valley, however, they are thus a less than rare occurrence. This may serve as an indication of the increasing interconnectedness during the Postclassic between different sub-regions of Oaxaca, in this case between the north of the Mixteca Alta, the Cuicatlán Cañada further to the north, and perhaps the more distant Tehuacán Valley.

4.3.11 Yuku Ñiñi (AV11)

This site can be reached by means of a path leading away from the urban centre of Apoala for about 700 meters (E 698500, N 1951450, E14D26). Contemporary use of the site is limited to temporal agriculture and stockbreeding; the upper parts of the site are not under use. The overall condition is poor, with some sections affected by erosion and others by levelling of terrain for the agricultural activities. Overall, the site is characterized by agricultural terracing and one terrace used for habitational purposes. An additional danger is posed by several contemporary residences located on the lower section of the site. This section is private property of the heirs to Mr Juan López, who passed away some time before the survey was conducted. The higher section of the site is communal land. Archaeological features are absent, apart from some aligned stones.

The components at the site are Ramos, Las Flores and (Late) Natividad diagnostics. The Ramos occupation is confirmed by the presence of the figuring fragment dated to the Late Formative period, as well as a sherd of the Filemón variety, pertaining to the Red on Tan vessels widespread throughout the Nochixtlán Valley. The extent of the site is impossible to determine given the scarcity of the diagnostics from the Ramos phase, but for that reason the site was probably quite small. During the Las Flores occupation the site increases to its maximum size of 1.34 hectares as represented by Anita Variety of the Chachoapan Orange ware and Juanito Fine Grey ware (not exclusive, but most dominant during Las Flores) diagnostics. The Natividad phase is evidence through Chachoapan Sandy Cream utility ware; Miguelito Grey ware, remarkable is the presence of effigy tripod vessels and stamped bottom bowls; Yanhuitlán Fine Cream; Cacique Burnished and Yanhuitlán Red on Cream ware, the latter is present on the surface in low-to-moderate densities. Lastly, some specimens of Pilitas polychrome were also documented in the lower section of the site. Natividad occupation is slightly smaller in size at 1.17 hectare, but the increased density of surface materials may indicate equal or even higher population densities than during the Las Flores phase. This Natividad settlement may also have formed part of the large Natividad occupation present in the contemporary urban centre of Apoala.

4.3.12 Tinduu Toto Ñee (AV12)

This site is located about 1.5 kms from the edge of the urban centre of Apoala (E 698714, N 1951916, E14D26). Access to the site is attained by means of a path that leads from the contemporary agricultural fields on the alluvial valley floor to the southeast of the church. Soils vary in thickness between 5 to 30 centimetres and have a loose texture with brown to light grey colour. Vegetation includes grasses, scrub bushes, and small pine trees. The site extends over a total of 8.54 hectares. The majority of the terraces surrounding the site is under current use as agricultural lands, and has for that reason been levelled in some spots. Sections of the site were also observed to be used for grazing of goats and mules.

Erosion at the site has overall remained limited to the steepest patches of terrain. This is primarily due to the retarding factor of the terrace retaining walls and three platform mounds on the upper level of the hill top. The terraces have redefined the entire upper piedmont of the ridgeline on which the site is located; both sides of the ridge feature five principal levels of terracing. Each terrace is about 1 to 3 meters deep and 4 to 6 meters across. The platform mounds on the top of the ridgeline are partly constructed on top of each other, as is also seen in other Mixteca Alta sites. The perspectives from the site are particularly dominating, with the entire Apoala Valley as well as the canyon through which the Apoala River flows east in the direction of the Cuicatlán Cañada. In particular the terraces represent one of the most complex and best preserved examples for the Apoala Valley and merit a more detailed future study, focusing on the construction dynamics and the temporality of the terraces. Given the strategic location of the site, a follow-up investigation into the functionality of the structures on the uppermost part of the hill is also called for.

Las Flores and Natividad components were documented as the site, with a possible but tentative identification of incidental Ramos phase materials. Overall evidence is quite scanty on the surface of the site, suggesting a purpose other than as a permanent residence. The Ramos component is identified based on one example of Juanito Fine Grey, and thus no reasonable estimate can be given for the areas covered in this phase. The Las Flores component is considerably better represented at the site, and includes a dominating relative amount of Chachoapan Orange ware diagnostics. During this phase the site area extends to 8.54 hectares, which includes many of the hillside terracing. Finally, a much more modest sample of Natividad cognates, predominantly Miguelito Hard Grey, is limited to the upper section of the site, measuring 2.33 hectares.

4.3.13 Tinduu Ñuu Kuaa (AV13)

This site is located at 1.2 kms from the urban centre of Apoala and it is located at the side of a path leading from the valley floor to Kahua Kandihui (E 698844, N 1952264, E14D26). On the southern edge of the path, an erosion cut reveals the cross section of a house floor along with stone foundations of a structure. Vegetation is dense and includes several types of trees and small grasses. Some narrow *barrancas* characterize the ridgelines and their lower slopes. The location is part of Apoala communal land. Estimating the extent of the site is complicated by the erosion that has covered the floor under a soil deposit ranging in depth from 40 centimetres at the edge of the cut to some 80 centimetres 10 meters further north. A conditional estimate of the extent lies at 250 m². Mr. Roel García reported that some months previous to this survey a number of aligned stones had been removed to widen the already existing path; principally in order to facilitate the passing by of small cattle. For these reasons of modern use of the site, the chance of (further) damage to the site is likely and probably imminent. Currently the erosion and infrastructural activities have partially exposed an alignment of stones as well as an *endeque* floor contained in a stratigraphy. Considering this poor state of conservation, protective

measures and a consolidation project are called for in the near future. The dense vegetation holds the possibility of further house floors and alignments of faced stoned in the vicinity, but no actual evidence of this was encountered during the survey.

Surface material is poorly preserved, due to the gradient of the terrain and the damages caused by the footpath. The only diagnostic sherds documented are a few badly eroded fragments of Anita Variety Orange ware.

4.3.14 Yuku Andyishi (AV14)

This site is located at a distance of 3.4 kms from the urban centre of Apoala (E 700230, N 1952864, E14D26). A footpath following the contours of the hill slopes, leads from the Apoala Valley to the site, located to the east. The site is situated on the lower piedmont slopes of the Kahua Kandihui. The entire terrain is the private property of Mr. Juan Cruz, a resident of Apoala, who uses large parts to develop agricultural activities. Vegetation at the site includes types of trees, grasses, types of cacti, and scrub bushes. Current use of the site is principally through farming activities, such as herding and seasonal agriculture. For this latter purpose, extensive levelling and clearing activities have taken place at the site. The agricultural fields currently in use display a heightened frequency of stone materials on the surface. This, usually, is an indication of the archaeological features that have been partly or entirely leveled in the near vicinity. Oftentimes the stones are left on the field to improve hydration of the soils.

Despite the intensive modifications that the terrain has witnessed, several alignments of stones, some in near complete state, indicating ground plans of structures, remain visible on the surface. The site extension is considerable for the Apoala Valley, since archaeological features were encountered over an area of 15.22 hectares. Yuku Andyishi is furthermore characterized by several mounds, some of which are superimposed on each other. None of the mounds exceed 10 meters in height. The site forms part of the complex of sites associated with Kahua Kandihui; the largest site in the Apoala Valley (see below). This complex runs below the upper parts of the mountain, probably encircling it. This latter remains to be confirmed, as the survey did not include the municipal terrains of Santa Maria Apasco, in which the southern slopes of Kahua Kandihui are located.

Figure 4.19 Panoramic view of Tiki Tinduu Ndodo Kimi (AV15), seen from northeast.

As already mentioned, recent levelling has most likely obscured parts of the site's monumental composition, but the considerable open spaces between the mounds are such that they may very well have a pre-colonial origin. On the upper piedmont, at the foot of the rock face that separates Yuku Andyishi from Kahua Andihui proper; several rock shelters are visible positioned lower and higher up between the calcareous rocks.

Figure 4.20 Alignments of worked stone at Tiki Tinduu Ndodo Kimi (AV15).

This multi-component site has its earliest material dating to Las Flores, with considerable intensification during Natividad, as evidenced by the documented surface materials. Despite the extensive area over which Las Flores diagnostics were documented (totalling 8.50 hectares), the density is only low, with few areas showing more than five sherds per m². Associated wares are Chachoapan Orange (Anita Fine variety) and Juanito Fine Grey. This latter ware has some reduced continuation into the Natividad phase. Yuku Andyishi undergoes significant growth during the Natividad phase, when it reaches its maximum extent of 15.22 hectares. Cognates encountered for this phase are Chachoapan Sandy Cream.

4.3.15 Tiki Tinduu Ndodo Kimi- Yuku Andyishi (upper slope) (AV15)

This site is located at approximately 3.6 kms from the urban centre of Apoala (E 700730, N 1953350, E14D26). The site is reached by means of the same footpath that leads to Yuku Andyishi and is located at the higher hill tops to the east of this latter site (Figure 4.19). Vegetation on the hill top is sparse, and limited to windswept short grasses. The light brown colour topsoil is little affected by erosion, and has a depth of some 25 centimetres in some spots. The lack of erosion is surprising given the narrowness of the flat surface between both slope edges going downhill on either side.

Archaeological remains of the site are well-preserved house foundations, encountered along the highest ridge of the hill (Figure 4.20). The aligned stones forming the outlines of the structures are recognizably situated around a central patio; reminiscent of a predominant form of Mesoamerican residential housing. Additional features are dispersed worked stones, as well as a remarkable round stone disk of 50 centimetres in diameter and 25 centimetres thick apparently not *in situ* on the surface. Despite the well preserved mentioned house foundations, the surrounding terrain with a higher inclination, must have suffered more substantial damages due to erosion. This is confirmed by several locations where ceramic material had accumulated to high densities due to downwashing of soil. Based on these concentrations and their approximate original positions, the site is estimated at a maximum extension of 10 hectares. Ceramic diagnostics pertain exclusively to the Las Flores and Natividad phases, and are similar to those found at Yuku Andyishi: Juanito Fine Grey and Chachoapan Sandy Cream dominate the corpus. Sherds are marked by heavy breakage and surface erosion, making them quite difficult to recognize.

4.3.16 Kahua Kandihui (AV16)

This site is located at the edge of the Santiago Apoala municipal terrains, with the *mojonera*, or border stone located within the sites area (E 700700, N 1951900, E14D26). Due to this limit, the site was not entirely surveyed, and in fact from aerial photographs it could be deduced that only a minor part of the site is located in Apoala grounds. The majority appears to be in the jurisdiction of the neighbouring community Santa Maria Apasco, with extensive terracing covering the wide slopes of the mountain. Contacts between the Apasco municipal authorities and Centro INAH-Oaxaca were established, but scheduling prevented from extending the survey to include this municipality. Access to the site is granted by means of several footpaths that climb to the mountaintop; these paths originate both in the Apoala Valley as they do in the Apasco Valley. Coming from Apoala, the site of Yuku Andyishi needs to be traversed before a steep path leads up to the Kahua Kandihui ridge top. Coming from Apasco, the site can be reached through accessing the Tiki Tinduu Ndodo Kimi site.

Figure 4.21 Boulders dot a path granting access to Kahua Kandihui (AV16).

Despite comprehensive inclusion in this survey, the Kahua Kandihui site merits an extensive study in the near future, since it is regarded as a sacred place of high regional significance. The minority section was inspected, which displayed natural features, such as large boulders (Figure 4.21), in combination with architectural features. In addition, it is the highest mountain in the Apoala Valley and dominates the surrounding landscape. The top of the mountain, particularly the western side, features a field on which the large boulders lie strewn across.

Kahua Kandihui is identified in a number of different historical sources as the location on which some of the key formative events transpired of Mixtec sacred dynastic history (Anders et al. 1991; Jansen 1979, 1982). Parallel to the historic value, the extension of the site is large for Apoala Valley standards, with several concentrations of surface material visible at first sight throughout the stretched mountain top. Components at the site are low density and dispersed Ramos diagnostics across the south-western side of the ridgeline (tentatively estimated at 1.10 hectares); low-to-moderate density Las Flores material extending over the entire ridgeline totalling 12.22 hectares and with similar extension and density during the Natividad period (estimated at 14.10 hectares) judging by a quick preliminary inspection, but follow-up survey is required to confirm these observations. Architectural features are quite limited perhaps indicative of the primarily ceremonial use the site has witnessed.

4.3.17 Ndodo Che – Centro Apoala (AV17)

This site is located in the urban centre of Apoala, immediately west of the *Parador Turístico* and the *Centro de Salud* (E 697480, N 1952525, E14D26). The site is divided in a number of small private properties, among which those belonging to Mr. Alvaro Ramos López and Mr. Isauro López López are the primary ones. Vegetation is sparse given the urban use of the terrain, but some small trees and occasional patches of grasses are present. Soils are primarily dark brown, which is explained by the alluvial plain in which the site is situated. The overall state of conservation is poor, with three unpaved streets passing over the site; construction and agricultural activities; incidental excavations; daily passing pedestrians and animals all having left their mark on the Ndodo Che. Three alignments of stones were disturbed during the recent large-scale excavations for the installation of sewage pipes, below one of the streets that cross the site.

Despite the previous damages, the site still demonstrates a significant amount of architectural remains, consisting of worked and faced stones in alignments still reaching up to 12 levels high on the current surface. Fragments of standing pre-colonial walls are thus still to be found, with some reaching 2.5 meters in height. Most of the wall fragments seem to be interconnected given their form, orientation and distance from each other. This results in a structure of such dimension that its most feasible function was public. In addition, the surface changes in height up to some 2 meters, forming the contours of a platform.

Terrain owners reported that in the recent past (concentrated in the 1970s), other architectural remains as well as tombs were encountered during excavations for construction projects. These tombs contained human burials. Accompanying grave gifts consisted of sometimes complete and semi-complete ceramic vessels that were taken from the tombs and resulted in a heightened interest for the site and its '*tesoros*'. Numerous older and more recent looting pits visible on the surface corroborate the report. Further evidence of these looting activities was provided by one of the terrain owners, by showing the collection of vessels he had accumulated in his residence over the years (Figure 4.22).

The overall form of the architectural layout as well as the limits of the site is only partially discernable, given the contemporary residences that cover large parts of the surface. It is clear though that this is the most significant site in the Apoala Valley. Ndodo Che must have been a focus point for settlements in the Apoala Valley given its centrality and the primary monumental structure it contained. Other sites, such as Sata Kava Laki to the north and Yahui Kaha to the west were satellite settlements, or perhaps more like *barrios* to Ndodo Che.

Its position in the urban centre of Apoala, calls for more extensive investigations into this site, as well as the development of a program of protective measures ensuring conservation is deemed urgent. The mentioned small-scale but systematic looting activities considerably damage the site's constructive elements and must be addressed in some form.

Figure 4.22 Semi- or complete vessels in a private collection from the Ndodo Che site (AV17).

This is a single component site with a strong Natividad component. Diagnostics are present throughout the site, covering 0.25 hectares in low-to-moderate density, and include significant amounts of Yanhuitlán Red on Cream; Yanhuitlán Fine Cream; and less high amounts of Nochixtlán Rust wares and Cacique Burnished. Occasional sherds of Pilitas polychromes were also documented. Also, an instrument possibly used to process amate bark paper or deer hides was documented (Figure 4.23).

Figure 4.23 Basalt instrument, potentially utilized in the production of amate paper.

4.3.18 Yahui Kaha – Centro (AV18)

This site is located at approximately 500 meters distance from the Municipal Palace (E 697200, N 1952400, E14D26). It is one of the largest concentrations of residential areas in the valley. The character of the site is defined by levelled sections contained by retaining walls that feature a high density of house foundations. The site extends to the west along the lower piedmont toward the Kahua Kuchindahua site. To the east, the site runs toward the Yutsa Danama *barranca*. Modern houses are quite abundant in the western section of the site, but the apparent damages does not compare in severity to the other sites located on the alluvial fan or the lower piedmont. Veg-

etation at the site consists of small isolated tree, several types of cacti, nopal, grasses and *mala mujer* bushes. Soils are coloured brown to light grey. The site consists of private terrains with several owners, who use it for herding and stockbreeding other than the mentioned agricultural purposes.

The principal architectural features at this site are the mentioned house foundation, more specifically the numerous alignments of worked stone. A dilapidated small colonial period house is located on one of the terraces, in the middle of one of the cultivated fields. Cultivation has affected numerous alignments of stones. The abundance of the house foundations is signalled by the high presence of worked stones dispersed throughout the cultivated fields.

Overall, the site appears to adhere to the Natividad phase tendency for establishing settlement on the terraced lower piedmont on both sides of the alluvial valley floor. Ndodo Che is a notable exception to this pattern. Natividad settlements are thus predominantly located on the lower piedmont and valley floor north of the *Yutsa Tohon* River. The valley floor to the south of the river is entirely without occupation. An explanation to this may be that this part of the valley floor was in pre-colonial times, as it is currently, the area most favoured for year-round agriculture.

The components at the site are Las Flores and Natividad. The Las Flores component appears to be the initial occupation of the area and is largely limited to the lower part of the site, skirting the alluvial fan. The only documented diagnostic for this phase is the Anita Variety of Chachoapan Orange ware and the occupation for this period appears to have covered an area of about 0.78 hectares. During the Natividad phase the site grows to 1.51 hectares and features the diagnostics of Miguelito Hard Grey; Yanhuitlan Red on Cream; and Cacique Burnished.

4.3.19 Ndoko Yoo-Ofrenda a la luna (AV19)

This site is located on the far west side of the Santiago Apoala municipality, and can be reached by a footpath leading from the urban centre west toward the narrow canyon, following the river for about 500 meters (E 696524, N 1951793, E14D26). Upon exiting the canyon, a *barranca* named Nduhua Sata Kahua, is passed before climbing a second unnamed *barranca* upstream for some 75 meters until reaching the site which is located on a rock called Kahua Cho Ehe. It is a site consisting of rock paintings. The name was reported by local residents to translate as Rock of the 9 Hummingbirds. Vegetation is quite abundant with small and larger predominantly eucalyptus trees; small cacti; sizeable *mala mujer*; and short grasses. Soils in the immediate surroundings are light brown to grey and thin, never deepening beyond 10 centimetres, with the rock surface protruding the top soil in several areas. Upon registration of this site, foxes dwelled in a crack in the rock face, roughly a meter above the paintings.

The site consists of a complex of rock paintings, situated in a rock shelter at the foot of the Ndoko Yoo hill, which in turn is found bordering on the Yutsa Tohon River. In the complex, five largely intact figurative elements can be discerned. Encircling these 5, numerous other

Figure 4.24 Rock art with white paint at Ndoko Yoo (AV19).

remains of white paint remain visible today, but they demonstrate an extremely poor state of conservation prohibiting any observations as to their original form and position on the rock surface. The mentioned five elements are clearly distinguishable on the rock surface since they were painted using a bright monochrome white paint. The figures consist of geometric designs; straight parallel and intersecting lines of two to three centimetres in width, in combination with curving lines. The figures appear to be three renderings of the sun or the moon, as well as a rendering of a maize figure (Figure 4.24). For the fifth figure it was not possible to propose an interpretation, given its level of abstraction; an avian figure is a possibility though. The paintings have a general orientation toward the south, and the site did not yield any additional archaeological materials on the surface.

The ceiling of the rock shelter is marked by soot, which may serve as an indication social context in which these paintings functioned. According to several Apoala residents no ritual purpose is given today to this site, but there was uncertainty about such use in the past.

4.3.20 Yahui Kahua Tidinuu (AV20)

This site is located at about 700 meters distance from the urban centre of Apoala, and at about 200 meters from the Guerrero rock carving (see AV4), located to the west (E 697474, N 1953323, E14D26). This site is a complex of rock paintings that are spread out along the outer edges of a rock shelter. The rock shelter measures some 25 meters in width at the opening, and is estimated at 10 meters in height. The deepest point from the entrance is 12 meters. The outer part of the surface features numerous large boulders that have fallen from the overhang at some time in the past. These boulders limit the view to the surface of the rock shelter. Further alteration of the surface occurs by means of a tree that grows in the centre of this shallow cave. To the side of this tree, a recent looting pit was registered. Other vegetation is absent from the interior of the rock shelter, but the surroundings feature dense scrub bushes; *mala mujer* plants; occasional nopal; as well as small trees. Soils in the cave are light grey, and reach a depth of 20 centimetres. However, given the obstructions on the surface this depth may be considerably greater.

On the surface of the site numerous large sherds of contemporary ceramic were registered, evidencing the current use of the cave as a ritual place. Most of the sherds are located at the back end of the rock shelter, and are accompanied by walls covered in soot, as well as remains of candles and flowers. This was quite surprising given the limited access to this cave; vegetation complicates reaching it; and not many people in Apoala ever went there. This is the second location, after Saha Kahau Laki that may help shed light on the earliest occupation of the Apoala Valley.

4.3.21 Yahui Koo Maa (AV21)

This site is located at an approximate distance from the urban centre of Apoala of 1 km (E 696910, N 1951935, E14D26). It is a cave located some 10 meters above the valley floor on the low piedmont at the western edge of the valley. The size of the cave could not be determined, but it clearly is the one of greatest depth in and around the Apoala Valley. A segment of the cave extends down, and is filled with rain water, complicating any further measurements of size. The small entrance is to the side of a source that discharges into the *Yutsa Tohon* River year round. After the initial narrow entrance, the cave widens to a degree where small groups of people can comfortably stand and move about. Besides the section that extends downward and below water level; a second section is directed upward by means of a sloping surface. This section is estimated at 75 meters in depth and 10 meters in height. It was reported by some residents, that the inundated section can be passed during the dry season, and that it leads to a larger space in which archaeological materials had been seen. Lack of training and equipment prevented any verification of this report. Surveying the interior of this cave was complicated by the substantial amounts of mud that are deposited during the wet season throughout the cave surface.

This location is one of the two principal destinations during guided tours through the valley, and many tourists thus regularly enter the cave. This warrants taking measures to protect the cave from future damaging or stress caused by the interested visitors. The survey, which was co-conducted by Maestro Ubaldo López García, registered several examples of modern graffiti on the inside of the cave; some by means of paint, others through scratching. The ritual character of this location adds to the urgency of the protective measures it is in need to receive.

4.4 Settlement dynamics

The results of the settlement survey are provided hereunder by dividing the occupations in the ceramic phases previously established for the neighbouring Valley of Nochixtlán survey directed by Spores. Given the restricted size of nearly all sites registered during the survey, it proved untenable to subdivide them in discrete units. Would this have been a viable option than it would have aided in determining the extent of occupation per ceramic phase. In light of the emphasis placed on locating diagnostics for determining the temporal components at a site, no extensive statistical analyses were included in the research. Comparative values of ceramic types are provided though whenever possible (see Appendix F). Provenience studies into the ceramics were also not conducted since all materials remained behind locally.

4.4.1 Early and Middle Cruz (Early Formative phase) Settlement

No Early (1400 – 1150 BC) and Middle (1150 – 700 BC) Cruz phase sites were recorded during the survey. This is in fact a to be expected result given the overall regional scarcity of surface ceramics from this period and the likely misidentification that may have occurred with Late Cruz Period types considering their resemblance to these later types.

Survey projects with more extensive coverage in neighbouring regions have yielded small amounts of Early Formative ceramics (Blomster 1998; Byland 1980: 125-135; Plunket 1983; Stiver 2001:85-95), but overall the propensity is that settlement was quite sparse in the Mixteca Alta during the Early Formative with compact and dense sites found along river courses (for optimal corn yields) and showing a gradual increase in number, as well as initial site size differentiation appearing during the Middle Cruz phase. Early Cruz sites had significant continuity into the Middle Cruz phase. The Apoala Valley was most likely no exception to this. In order to verify this, however, deep pit testing would be required for future research, particularly on the valley floor. Valley floors, featuring rich alluvial soils in combination with readily available sources of water, are the most favored location during the Early and Middle Formative in the Mixteca, but due to the rapid accumulation of these soils are often hard to encounter.

4.4.2 Late Formative (Late Cruz phase) Settlement

Research in other parts of the Mixteca Alta has demonstrated a significant increase in the total amount of sites documented, and even though the Apoala Valley does not mirror this tendency, the first indications of settlement do appear in this period.

The survey of the Apoala Valley located 1 site with Late Cruz (700 – 300 BC) occupation, the cave site AV3a. The scarcity of Late Cruz habitation for the relatively attractive valley surroundings is not consistent with patterns observed elsewhere in Oaxaca, where Middle Formative occupation continues to be strongly correlated to agricultural productivity of the place of settlement. An explanation for this may lie in the fact that Late Cruz occupation is predominantly located on habitation areas near or on alluvial fans, and maintaining a short distance to the river course. Surface surveys, however, are not particularly well suited to address these alluvium settlements, particularly when the river course has consistently meandered across the even valley floor, covering traces of Late Cruz habitation. The fact that the only evidence of a

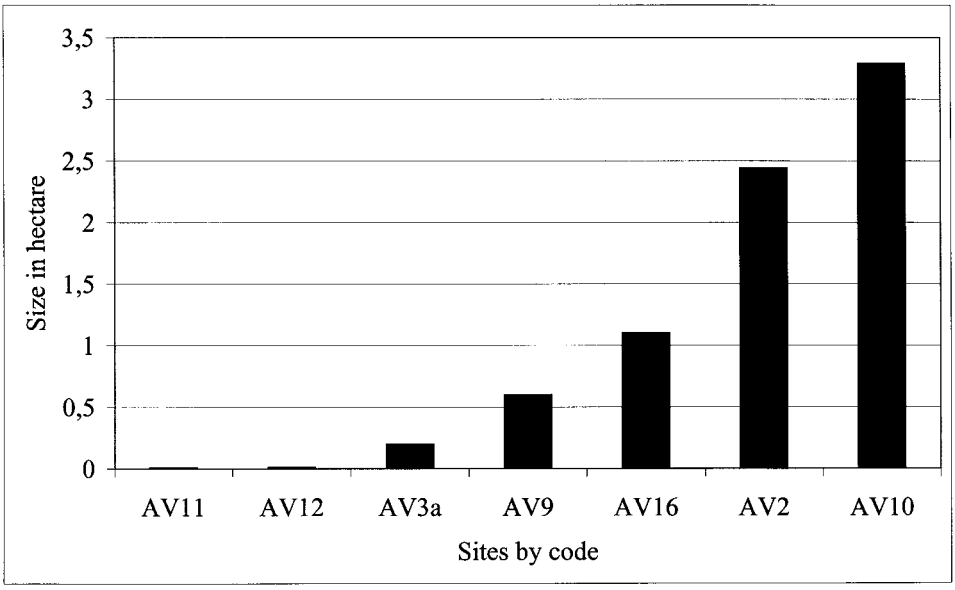


Figure 4.25 Ramos Phase site sizes.

Late Cruz component was encountered in a cave some 150 meters above the valley floor, was perhaps to be expected instead of being divergent from the common pattern.

The increase in population, evidenced for example in the Nochixtlán, Tamazulapan, and Teposcolula Valleys, remains to be determined for the Apoala Valley through subsurface testing, but concluding such growth is certainly not warranted based on the meagre Late Cruz presence on the surface.

The transition from Late Cruz to the (Early) Ramos phase is one of intensive change in the settlement pattern throughout the Mixteca Alta, with many sites that stop being occupied and Ramos components appearing in other (higher up) locations. This tendency could not be discerned in the Apoala Valley.

4.4.3 Ramos (Terminal Formative phase) Settlement

The number of sites grows from one to seven during the Ramos (300 BC – AD 200) phase in the Apoala Valley. This is not a reflection of the overall tendency in the Mixteca Alta of decrease in number of settlements and an increase in average settlement size. Total occupation in the Apoala Valley is estimated at 8.05 hectares with two sites that are markedly larger than the other five (Figure 4.25): the hilltop site Tiki Kahua Akama (AV2) and the monumental piedmont site Toto Ndzaka (AV10). The change in settlement location, indicated by the large-scale abandonment of Late Cruz phase occupied areas, is not possible to verify given the all but absence of Late Cruz from the settlement pattern, but the preference for locations higher up in the landscape is reflected in the Apoala Valley.

Terraced upper piedmont and hilltop sites like Sata Kahua Laki and Kahua Kandihui evidence this mentioned preference for higher locations, but this does not provide sufficient proof to substantiate the interpretation of warfare or even conflict. Defensive architectural elements were encountered neither at Sata Kahua Laki nor at Kahua Kandihui, leaving this location open for other interpretations. Sata Kahua Laki's remains of residential structures is concurrent with the regional trend of terracing hill slopes for establishing residential areas on narrow, long, and often by means of ramps connected terraces. The residential remains associated with Ramos diagnostics exclusively consist of single room structures.

Monumental architecture is first represented in the valley in the form of the Toto Ndzaka, although, when associating the diagnostic surface material to the presently visible constructions, much of it dates to architectural overlays from the Las Flores and Natividad phases. This is concurrent with other areas in the Mixteca Alta, where the emergence of hierarchies in settlements is placed in the (Early) Ramos phase (Balkansky et al. 2000), showing an increasing willingness to invest time and energy in building these public structures. Notwithstanding the marked increase in overall settlement in the valley, the density remains low when compared to the much denser occupation during the Las Flores phase. Densely settled areas, like those of Huamelulpan in the central Mixteca Alta and Yucuíta in the Nochixtlán Valley representing absolute 'peaks' in settlement density during the Ramos phase, do not compare easily to the Apoala Valley where overall settlement increase is more gradual and less pronounced in terms of internal complexity. Processes of initial urbanization reflected in other areas of the Mixteca Alta, seem to have had a limited yet noticeable impact on the Apoala Valley.

The change in location from Late Cruz to Ramos phase is particularly telling at Toto Ndzaka (AV10). This mounded site is located just east of the valley floor's edge, on a substantial pro-

trusion from the piedmont. Its position warrants an interpretation as being strategic vigilance, affording views on the river course downstream, the valley floor, as well as several of the areas where access to the valley would have logically been granted.

The ceramic corpus of the Ramos phase holds important changes to the previous phase. In the first place, the increased presence of grey wares is noticeable from the registered surface material in the valley. These grey wares are particularly distinctive in their hardness and firing temperature, many of the registered sherds producing the snapping noises mentioned by Spores (1972). During Ramos phase Juanito Decorated Fine Grey developes into an important marker. Flat bottom bowls with concentric decorations are common (identical to G-12). Other decorative elements disappear (but seem to diffuse to Yucuita Tan ware).

The reasons behind the growth and changes that are recorded to have taken place during the Ramos phase are not straightforward. The external threat proposition (Redmond 1983; Marcus and Flannery 1996; Spencer and Redmond 1997) positing the expansionist tendencies of Monte Albán in the Valley of Oaxaca, are hard to demonstrate for the Apoala Valley. Arguably far from having the size of the other areas such as the Cuicatlán Cañada or the Huamelulpan Valley, the Apoala Valley shows no evidence of defensive constructions, merely the shift to higher locations is seen in the survey data, as it is in many regions during this period.

The appearance of grey ware ceramics indicates the growth of local trade networks between areas in the Mixteca Alta, as well as to the further Valley of Oaxaca. The presence of Juanito Decorated Fine Grey ware is probably the best indicator of this macro-regional interaction. This ware, related to the similar but undecorated Juanito Fine Grey, is recognized by the incisions that feature predominantly on the inside of flat bottom conical bowls and cylindrical bowls (rarely on the outside).[9] These grey wares correspond one-on-one to the Tehuacán Valley Quachilco Grey, and Phase I G-5, G-15, G-16, and G-17's found with frequency in the Oaxaca Valley, and develop during the Ramos phase into an important marker.

Competition seems thus to become a factor influencing local lives in the Apoala Valley; a development that may have prompted more pronounced manifestations of local identity and presence by initiating monumental construction activities at the strategically and visually pronounced geographic location of Toto Ndzaka.

4.4.4 Las Flores (Classic phase) Settlement

The Las Flores phase (AD 200 – 900) in the Apoala Valley is a period of further and more pronounced florescence in terms of total amount of settlements as well as coverage in hectares.[10] The total amount of sites grows from eight to twelve and the area covered increases dramati-

9 Motifs are varied, but fine line incising is the most common technique employed (Spores 1972). Hachuring, cross-hatching, and triangles are found on exterior walls of hemispherical bowls, most other design elements (circles, ellipses etc.) are found on the rim or wall of flat bottom bowls.

10 It should be noted that the Las Flores phase consists of two sub phases (Early and Late), but clearly discerning the characteristics of Late Las Flores diagnostics has proven difficult, and for that reason these sub phases

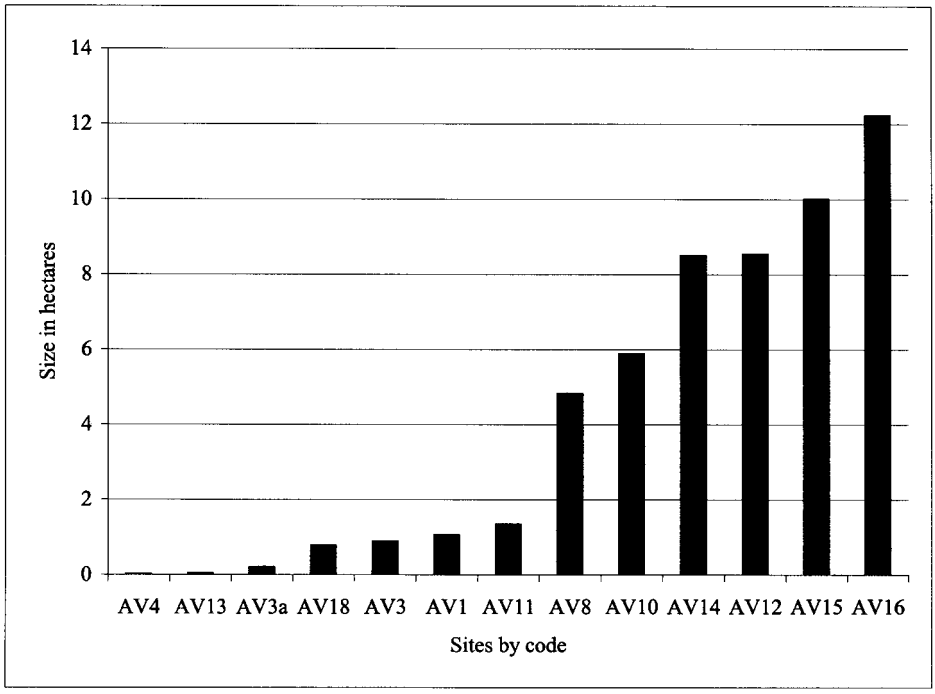


Figure 4.26 Las Flores Phase site sizes.

cally from 8.05 to 47.92 hectares. Along these two variables, Las Flores is only surpassed by the following Natividad phase. The continuity of Ramos settlements to the Las Flores phase is reasonably strong, with four settlements continuing to be occupied, and three of those undergoing substantial growth. Four settlements (AV12, AV14, AV15, AV16) are significantly larger than all other sites (Figure 4.26).

These developments, albeit at a more reduced scale, mirror what occurs in this Classic period in other areas of the Mixteca Alta. Settlements have a pronounced tendency to remain on geographically higher locations and expand that pattern to smaller secondary valleys, like the Apoala Valley itself. Terracing practices are expanded and now cover large tracks of numerous valley hill slopes. These terraces are maintained at considerable cost, providing a reflection of the population increase in the valley and perhaps the surrounding areas.

The site of Cerro Jazmín is one of the most telling examples of a site whose Ramos period monumental structures continued to be occupied into Las Flores, but with extensive modification and augmentation (cf. Heredia Espinoza et al. 2004). Settlements also peak in size, most research indicates a small percentage of settlements outgrows the large majority to a substantial

were lumped together in this analysis.

degree; changes in the rank-size coefficients are the result (e.g. Balkansky et al. 2000:376-379; Stiver 2001: 150-155).

Monumental architecture reaches a maximum during this period, with Toto Ndzaka expanding its monumental structures and associated Las Flores ceramics more than twofold, and making formal structuring of plaza and mound combinations visible. Toto Ndzaka, being the architecturally most complex site, does not qualify it as a second-tier site from the regional Mixteca Alta perspective. First-tier sites typically feature more than 10 mounds and 2 plazas, and are expected to hold an authoritative importance in a wide radius across the site itself (Balkansky et al. 2000). As a second-tier site, Toto Ndzaka underlines its function as the primary site in a valley context.

The political situation in the Mixteca Alta during the Las Flores phase is marked by the shifting of the balance of power from Huamelulpan and Yucuíta to sites like the mentioned Cerro Jazmín and Yucuñudahui, both in the Nochixtlán Valley. This valley experiences growth that is comparable to the increase seen in the Apoala Valley, but a primate centre, like Monte Albán in the Oaxaca Valley, is absent, as it also was during the preceding Ramos phase. Political ties in the Mixteca Alta seem more evenly distributed than in the neighbouring Oaxaca Valley.

The end of the Las Flores phase and the initial period of the Natividad phase should be a time where origins of the Postclassic *cacicazgo* political system are situated, a political system that marked the Mixteca Alta as well as neighbouring regions right up to the arrival of the Spanish. This transition, however, has not produced the definitive answers hoped for (Winter 1989, 1994). Some researches suggest a process of political reconfiguration (Spores 1972; Byland and Pohl 1994), whereas others signal elements of continuity in the settlement pattern (Balkansky et al. 2000). Partly this uncertainty is explained by the diluted typology that defines this transition; Late Las Flores ceramic types are largely identical to Early Las Flores and even Early Natividad phase types. This complicates analyses of continuity and change in the settlement pattern. Earlier perspectives that see political development in the Oaxaca Valley (i.e. the abandonment of Monte Albán) as causal to the Late Las Flores changes in the Mixteca Alta, have recently been re-evaluated (Stiver 2001:171-175, 264-267), leading to the proposition that more satisfactory explanations are to be found in the larger Mesoamerican perspective. The Epiclassic political changes in central Mexico are crucial in this sense, but linking these data sets is only in the beginning stages at this time.

4.4.5 Natividad (Postclassic phase) Settlement

The Natividad phase (AD 900 – 1521) in the Apoala Valley demonstrates extensive growth in number of sites and area covered by them, although it does not represent such a dramatic increase as the Ramos – Las Flores transition. Out of the Las Flores sites that continue to be occupied in the Natividad phase (nine out of twelve), seven remain the same or increase in

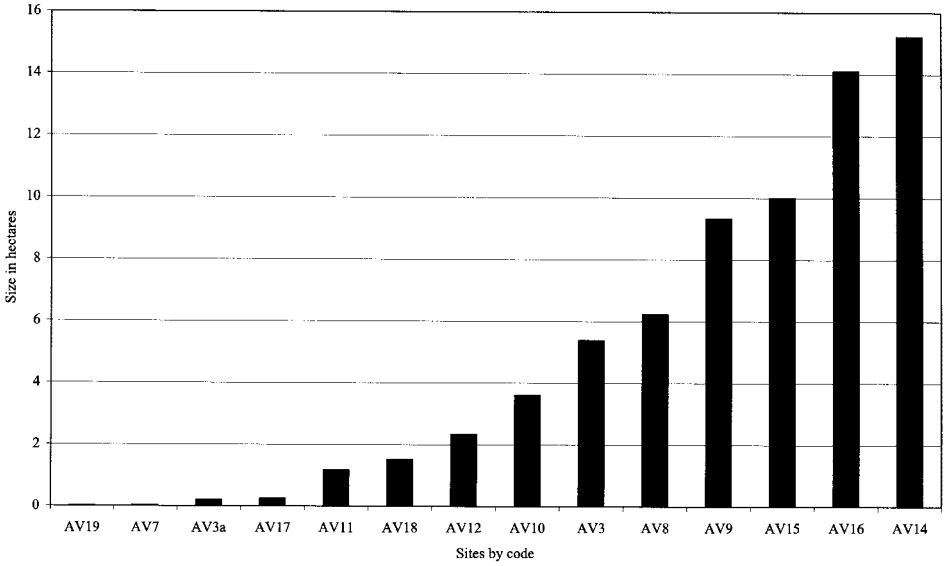


Figure 4.27 Natividad Phase site sizes.

size (Figure 4.27). This also contrasts with recent findings in neighbouring regions, where this increase has been three-fold (Balkansky et al. 2000:377, 380) or even four-fold (Stiver 2001: Tables 6.1, 7.1), a development accompanied by intensive building campaigns of agricultural terraces. Even if these data are susceptible to survey biases, the increase is dramatic and most likely realistic in its dimensions.

The attention awarded to the construction of monumental structures is limited in comparison to the Las Flores phase, and as said a considerable number of sites that hold Las Flores components also feature Natividad diagnostics. These phase markers are the Yanhuitlán Fine Cream ware as well as the Chachoapan Sandy Cream ware and are the dominant examples of material culture for this period in the Mixteca Alta.

Chachoapan Sandy Cream wares is the basic utility ware in the Nochixtlán Valley, consisting of mainly globular jars (olla), with a low neck and prominent upturned or down curved lips. Comales also are common in this ware. This ware is without significant decoration, and commonly fire blackened from use in cooking. Spores describes this ware as being especially common in the Northern part of the Valley, and this is confirmed in the presence in Natividad components of the Apoala Valley where is the dominant ware besides the fine cream ware.

By far the main Natividad marker for fine wares in the Apoala Valley is Yanhuitlán Fine Cream which appears in a wide spectrum of spatially restricted plain undecorated forms as well as with painted designs. Fine Cream wares have been recovered by Bernal in Coixtlahuaca (Bernal 1948), by Spores in many sites to the North and Northwest of the Nochixtlán Valley (Spores 1972), also more toward the central Mixteca Alta (Spores 1996), and by MacNeish in the Tehuacán Valley (Macneish 1972), and Noguera in Cholula (Noguera 1954). Spores emphasized that this is a 'pan-Mixteca ware' and a ware that is present in abundant quantities and local variants in the Mixteca Alta during the Natividad phase, diluting into the Convento phase (Spores 1972: 28).

The registered Fine Cream sample from the Apoala Valley features a clay body that generally is firm, with little inclusions of quartz, and a fine to lightly sandy structure. Encountered forms are hemispherical and sub-hemispherical bowls (conical *cajetes*). Surfaces are well treated, and in a large majority of cases polished. A large majority is decorated and thus pertains to the Red-on-Cream variant, with painted designs on red, orange, grey, and black paint.

For the Tejupan-Tamazulapan Valley, Byland (1980:65) provides some further consideration for these Fine Cream wares. He sees the Fine Cream ware as being generally related to the later part of the Natividad phase and the Red-on Cream Comiyuchi type to the earlier parts of the Natividad phase (no stratigraphic verification available). This Comiyuchi type was however, hardly registered in the Apoala Valley. These considerations in ceramic diagnostics and the tentativeness with which these are identified for the Early Natividad phase, argues for a conservative stance in discussing the Natividad phase as an entirety. For this research, the majority of diagnostics pertain to the Late Postclassic phase.

Settlement choice for the Natividad phase is generally one of settling in a new location; given the increase in terrain that covers the investigated parts of the Mixteca Alta, this is hardly surprising. Considerations for the defensive features of a settlement are thus also not of paramount importance; no site in the Apoala Valley was identified where defensive structures could be associated to Natividad occupation, and this is consistent with patterns in other areas of the Mixteca Alta. Newly emphasized areas are low-lying valley floors, and this pattern is also reflected in the Apoala Valley. The Yahui Kaha (AV18) site, one of the sites featuring monumental architecture, is located on a loma in the flat bottom lands near the Apoala River. This site is the likely location of the political authority in the Late Natividad phase given the monumentality of the architecture visible on the surface and relative abundance of fine cream ware in combination with polychromes. These consist exclusively of the Las Pilitas variety, with sherds featuring the distinctive decoration on interior as well as exterior rim. In addition to these special purpose polychromes, tripod vessels with serpent head supports were also registered incidentally.

The reutilization of the Las Flores phase monumental architecture seen in the Mixteca Alta is also seen in the Apoala Valley through the Natividad component at the Toto Ndzaka (AV10) site. In all however, monumentality in the Apoala Valley is limited in the Natividad phase, and

this most likely reflects the regional political hierarchy in which the Apoala Valley participated (Spores 1983a,c).

Even though politically well-known through the extensive study of early-colonial written and painted documentation (Anders et al. 1991; Jansen 1992;Monaghan 1994; Pastor 1987; Romero Frizzi 1990; Spores 1967, 1976, 1984, 1992; Spores and Flannery 1983; Terraciano 2001; Van Doesburg 2001, 2003), the Natividad phase is archaeologically still rather poorly defined, similarly to the parallel developments in the Oaxaca Valley (Appel 1982; Blanton 1983b; Martínez López et al. 2000) Explanations for the continuity in settlement density between the richly populated valley during the Las Flores phase and the subsequent flourishing in the Late Natividad phase are perhaps found in similar patterns that have been observed in surveyed areas around the Nochixtlán Valley. The latter also does not witness any decline of significance (Byland and Pohl 1994; Plunket 1990; Spores 1983c) during the Early Natividad, and will thus have continued to be a politically strong influence on the surrounding secondary valleys, such as the Apoala Valley. This influence is seen through the comparable developments in settlement pattern density through the Classic and Postclassic periods.

4.4.6 Convento (Early Colonial phase) Settlement

The colonial period in the Mixteca Alta is initiated by the passing of Pedro de Alvarado between 1523 and 1526. No early colonial buildings could be identified in the Apoala Valley, with the exception of a small chapel on the southeast piedmont of the valley. In that area, a few sporadic samples of colonial period glazed ceramics were registered. No abrupt changes in material culture are seen, and the Late Natividad diagnostics most likely continued for a number of decades into the Convento period.

Settlement data for the Convento period was not possible to report on given the scarcity of diagnostic wares and their predominantly special purpose uses.

4.5 Summary Survey data

Settlement history in the Apoala Valley extends back to the Late Cruz period and leads up to the Late Natividad period. Late Cruz traces are extremely incidental and thus no solid conclusions can be drawn from this material. The settlement density and thus probably also the population size in the valley grew considerably during the Ramos period when the total number of occupations increased to eight, with the largest settlement covering about 3.3 ha situated on the lower piedmont of the valley.

In the Las Flores period the number of occupations continues to grow to twelve, many of which were located at different types of locations and elevations in the valley. The total amount of settlement increases to almost 50 ha and the largest Las Flores occupation measures about

12.3 ha. From this period, sites were registered on the hilltops that represent defensive positions most of which based on fortifications around rock outcrops on these hilltops.

All but two of the sites with Las Flores components continue to be occupied during the subsequent Natividad period. In four new locations traces of Natividad period are present, one of which is an elaborate rock carving of what appears to be a warrior. In addition, the largest Las Flores occupation is the second largest during Natividad, one site doubling in size to over 15 ha. In total, Natividad period occupation increases to over 69 ha in total. These developments largely follow the observations by Balkansky et al. (2000) for the central part of the Mixteca Alta as well as Spores' results from the Nochixtlán Valley (1972). In both areas the Natividad period holds the most prolific settling in many locations and thus arguably also the greatest population number. In all, the settlement pattern in Apoala is certainly significant in the wider regional context, but the extraordinary emphasis placed on Apoala in the Late Postclassic pictorial manuscripts does not seem to reflect accordingly in the habitation history.

5

Deconstructing Community Participation

5.1 Introduction

The practice of archaeology in the Mixteca Alta is an archaeology of the recent past (Buchli and Lucas 2001). The subject matter it deals with is of importance to the Mixtec community at large and to specific communities in the Mixteca Alta in particular. This is the principal reason for seeking involvement of descendants in the archaeological research process, reflecting a growing tendency over more than two decades to do so in archaeology (Gosden 2001; Hodder 1995; Kehoe 1998; Trigger 1989). In 1980, in their history of the discipline, Willey and Sabloff concluded in reference to the United States, as well as Mexico that 'the ways in which the demands of public policies are met by the archaeological profession will have a crucial impact on the future development of American archaeology' (Willey and Sabloff 1980:261-261). Their examination of archaeology in the Americas was the first to devote prominent attention to the position of archaeology in the matter of public needs and demands. In following years, the amount of attention awarded to this matter has steadily increased and diversified, to include historical, feminist and critical forms of archaeology (Ardren 2002; Gero and Conkey 1991; Leone et al. 1987; Marcus 1998; Nelson 2006; Orser 1999). Concern over archaeological activities rising from backgrounds other than purely academic research development, has thus been a preoccupying matter for many professional archaeologists and this concern ranges from methodology (i.e. the nature of the field praxis) to the disciplinary philosophy (i.e the construction of knowledge in archaeology). A singular way of knowing the past no longer is a certainty.

This chapter presents an examination of the ways in which inter-cultural perceptions, interaction and representation shaped the field research that was conducted in the communities of Santiago Tilantongo and Santiago Apoala (see Chapters 3 and 4). Contrary to the preceding chapters which follow a traditional narrative of archaeology, I will introduce the first person singular where necessary and look at the way residents of Tilantongo and Apoala were involved, either actively or passively, in the different stages of the project. The initiatives for participation formulated at the outset of the two projects in collaboration with the Centro INAH-Oaxaca are critically evaluated by looking at the effects of power relations and identity creation and transformation.

5.1.1 Archaeological fieldwork and social context

One might argue that archaeologists have always been a source of potential controversy whilst conducting their fieldwork. Be it because they are found to be the personification of the 'myopic, the unworldly and the inconsequential' (Trigger 1984:357), or even as just another 'ologist' doing his of her traditional 'thing' in some agricultural field to which local residents may simply have shrugged their shoulders. This is an inclination found with frequency in the Mixteca Alta where contemporary communities have never formed part of the archaeological research or its discourse. Responding to this deficiency in interaction, one development in particular has seen promising responses: this concerns the active involvement of local indigenous communities in archaeological projects.

Echoing the statement by Derry that: 'if the community does not help to define the questions, the answers probably will not interest them' (1997: 24, quoted in Moser et al. 2002: 229), in recent years the practice of archaeological fieldwork increasingly calls for research that is both significant and interesting to indigenous communities, and thus the approach may depend upon practical responses to particular field contexts. These contexts share in their diversity one thing, which is that many of them are currently the landscape of communities suffering from economic and social hardship. These communities are tied to the landscape by their life histories; their more distant historic past and the even more remote archaeological past. What can be discerned in the development of collaborative projects are two currents: the reactive and the interactive approach (Greer et al. 2002).

For now, reactive elements in archaeology are seen with much greater intensity, and have also had an impact on the interaction between researcher and Mixtec communities. These two currents can be described as followed:

1. Reaching consensus on the different archaeological activities planned and executed in a communal area.
2. Creating methods for collaborating with indigenous communities during these projects.

Both developments demonstrate a consensus element, implying a negotiated participation where both parties have an equal say in deciding on what research will entail, where and when it will be executed, and how persons are to be integrated in this process. It is emphasized that this restructuring of power relations is explicitly aimed at enabling community involvement in all elements of the archaeological fieldwork. Subsequent involvement can be intensified by, on the one hand, providing communities with meaningful non-specialist feedback on the information gathered, and on the other, by encouraging the sharing of local knowledge and ideas with the group of researchers.

5.1.2 Knowledge production in the field

All historical accounts produced through archaeology, in whatever form, be it processual materialist or hermeneutical post-processual, are reflexive since all generated knowledge is introduced back into the realities it describes. This recalls the well-known post-processual accusation of the theory-laden nature of the archaeological practice (see for example Hodder 1999). As Hodder notes, the excavation of sites is always conditioned by previous interpretations of that site. The same is valid for the interaction with local social actors; the social experiences generated involve the 'object' of research and the archaeologist. In this regard the ethnographer Peter Hervik, active in southern Yucatán, has concluded:

> '[…], it depends on a personal engagement. Shared social experience is not: a blueprint to use others to trigger one's fantasies, or to be confused with; the conventional autobiographical focus on personal success or failure of the lone hero; or, mistaken for diary- the personal articulation of dailiness; it is not about the author in the field; strictly speaking it is not the anthropologist's biography of others; or to be confused with dialogues as such; the words of other's; or post festum reflections on fieldwork' (Hervik 2003: 187).

It is this preoccupation with the personal generating of knowledge which conjures up the image of the quintessential Mesoamerican archaeologist gazing down into the excavation pit. He (or less frequently she), having investigated 'enough', retreats to the field camp and, soon after that, to his academic institution where the generated conclusions are put in writing. A parallel observation was expressed by Kent Flannery at the outset of his seminal work *The Early Mesoamerican Village* (Flannery 1976), in his characteristic acidic writing style: 'There is a tremendous credibility gap between what Mesoamerican archaeologists say they are interested in, and what they really do' (Flannery 1976: 2). Although specifically referring to the lack of a well-defined methodology in the archaeology of Formative period Mesoamerica, Flannery touches upon a cardinal point valid for many practiced archaeologies in Mesoamerica. Many archaeological field work campaigns are carried out in collaboration with locally hired workers; usually men from the communities near to the archaeological site. They free areas of surface vegetation and open up pits, collecting artifacts as they go along. The archaeologist directs and takes responsibility for these activities, often assisted by students. In doing so, he depends to a substantial degree on what the workers show and tell him. This makes archaeology an inherently shared social experience and thus an enterprise of collective knowledge production. The archaeologist reflects on the objects with his contracted workmen, listens to their findings and opinions, yet it is not customary for these interactions to be specified in the final published results. The involvement of local inhabitants through the community archaeology concept is essentially similar in its process, but diverges in the regard it has for the agency it awards these local partners.

5.2 Participation Dilemmas: A chronology of contact

In the process of seeking, building and maintaining participation in the communities involved in the archaeological project, communication is the key ingredient. If community archaeology attempts to establish involvement through conversations and agreements between community and archaeologist, then the ways in which this dialogue takes form and the fashion in which it is perceived by the participants in the dialogue, are to be included in the description of the fieldwork. Subsequently, in order to valorize this involvement, the reasons behind the coming about of communication must be analyzed as well. Even though participation was an element in the original research design, its role in the research process proved to be significant in aspects that I had not anticipated.

What follows is a detailed account of identity and representation strategies employed by those persons involved in the activities in Tilantongo and Apoala, that can offer insights into the nature of communication in participation –based archaeological research in the Mixteca Alta. This account will take the form of a reflexive narrative, a method introduced almost 25 years ago (Ruby 1982) to add individual and case specific contexts to the hitherto matter-of-fact reports of ethnographic fieldwork accounts. The empirical methodology applied here is aimed at the analysis of research data acquired by means of first-hand interactions with members of Tilantongo and Apoala over the time period of the activities in the communities. Along the lines of Bourdieu, reflexivity is defined as a cognitive reasoning process influencing the enculturation of cultural knowledge embedded in social practice (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

The purpose of this reflexive narrative is to theorize about the epistemology of participatory archaeology as it takes form through numerous individual moments of dialogue during which beholders or participants in the dialogue modify the perception of this situation and the other participants in it, thus actively or passively altering their participation in it. With this demonstration I will problematize the relationship between the different actors involved in the field work, in order to go beyond participation where the presence *an sich* of dialogue is the defining feature. Creating an understanding of the ways in which social actors in local communities perceive themselves and the social relationships among them will facilitate a less idealistic and more critically aware participatory archaeology.

Extending on the abovementioned definition by Ruby, reflexivity in the context of archaeology is defined by Ian Hodder, one of the disciplines principal proponents, as 'the recognition and incorporation of multiple stakeholder groups and the self-critical awareness of one's archaeological truth claims as historical and contingent' (Hodder 2003:56). The introduction of reflexivity in archaeology is thus not a novelty (see Chadwick 2003; Hodder 1999; Hodder 2000 provides several case studies from the Çatalhöyuk site, Meskell 2002; Shanks and Tilley 1988), but has primarily been directed at the archaeological excavation process. Far less attention has been given to reflexivity in the communicative aspects of local –and, in the context

of this research, cultural descendant- participants as part of the archaeological fieldwork. A majority of the case-studies presented in the aforementioned Community Archaeology issue of the World Archaeology Journal, for example, provide methods of locally diffusing project information and produced data through participating stakeholder communities, but ultimately little attention is given to the ways in which this participation is sought, established, and perceived.

The reflexive analysis of the participation established in Tilantongo and Apoala centres on the communication in the field and includes illustrations of formal meetings, as well as interpretations of gradually changing professional and personal relationships to and among persons living in the communities of Tilantongo and Apoala.

One specific objective of this reflexive analysis is to identify some of the dynamics under which knowledge is shared or hidden in the course of negotiations and conversations between the various actors including myself, fellow archaeologists and municipal authorities. In particular, the analytical focus will be on the discussion of personal narratives by social actors involved throughout or in parts of the research project, including its initial development and final activities. Who is participating and on whose conditions? Identifying the 'stakes' of stakeholders in these encounters is crucial. This goes especially for a discipline such as archaeology, with the territorially invasive character that its fieldwork entails.

In the first segment the encounters between archaeology and the municipal authorities functioning as local political office-holders are described and analyzed. Following the initial meetings in Tilantongo and Apoala, a series of gatherings were planned in both communities to specify the further design of the two archaeological projects. In this period of further planning, the role of INAH was in both communities one of close collaboration and ultimate responsibility on their side. The day to day communication took place through an archaeologist based at the Centro INAH-Oaxaca who joined the team of archaeologists and the political office-holders in the meetings organized in the municipal buildings of the two communities.

These kind of encounters often form the first and one of the foremost arenas for the negotiation of knowledge. How these are organized or how they form the eventually ensuing archaeological activities in the field, however, has received little documentation and has remained understudied in the area of the Mixteca Alta.

Lastly, the actual field activities that took place in Tilantongo and Apoala are presented and an examination is offered of the impact that these activities (e.g. walking across several private properties for surveying purposes, introducing instruments for mapping purposes) had on individual members of the two communities. As these segments aim to express the experiences of archaeological fieldwork in written form, they are explicitly subjective in doing so. Writing is a process intimately linked to the human ability to direct the course of events along his of her personal intention or preference, but also and perhaps more frequently it is an end result of a series of unintentional choices. Archaeological writing is no exception to this. In a recent

examination of archaeological narratives Rosemary Joyce states that the 'writing of archaeology begins long before an author puts pen to page (Joyce 2002:2). It should be stressed though that this is not an egocentric text; it does not relate only directly to personal experiences. Rather, it looks at the communal nature of these experiences. The analytical practice of reflexivity aids in identifying this experiential decision-making process.

5.2.1 Positionality in initiating participation

The concept of positionality is applied here to describe the socially constructed positions of all social agents involved in the archaeological participation. These positions are apt to change depending on particular socio-cultural settings such as gender and class that are often temporally and spatially bounded (Hodder 2003). Two assumptions underlie this idea. First, cultural communities (including the archaeology community) are not entities to which one always belongs. Second, the position in relation to this community can change. The binary opposition sketched through the insider – outsider concept, becomes problematic when viewed from the positionality debate, since it renders positionality a fixed attribute in places of research. As a researcher, my personal assumptions of the Mixteca Alta and its people were initially based on an undergraduate university education, but also influenced by exposure to expressions of Mexican national identity. The latter certainly added to an image of 'Mixtec culture' as a monolithic concept equal to 'Aztec culture' or 'Maya culture', grounded in a period of greatness of cultural expression some 500 years ago with merely a bleak reflection of this in contemporary times. The formerly mentioned education nuanced this image through exposure to historical documents and a more synthetic analysis of Mixtec regional history incorporating the distant past as well as the present. This nuance contributed to the perception of the Mixteca Alta as a cultural region under threat from the 'outside world'. The social context of the Mixteca Alta included topics such as poverty, alcohol abuse, territorial conflicts, societal discrimination and intensive international labor migration, although accompanied by indirect exposure to a rich oral history, vibrant contemporary material culture, and a deep knowledge of the landscape. All these had a determining impression on me as a starting Ph.D. student implicitly guiding my decisions made in research orientation. Be it the former or the latter though, both presented the Mixteca Alta and its inhabitants as a coherent region dotted by separate but comparable communities. Once present in the region itself, and becoming embedded in some of these communities, the abovementioned pre-existing conceptions were shifted in what is part of an ongoing cognitive reasoning process regarding, what Clifford has referred to as the poetic and the political (Clifford 1986).

5.2.1.1 Political Office-holders

An important group of actors addressed in these studies is that of the political office-holders at the municipal level. They can be depicted as agents who derive their power from the municipal resources that they control, as well as from the social capital that they gain through their connectedness to a range of social relations inside and outside the community. Their role in the community is under the scrutiny of public opinion, whereby moral judgment is passed on them during and after their elected term in office. This judgment depicts municipal presidents who have either done well or not done well at all. Almost exclusively, however, archaeologists attempting to establish contact with a community start by going through these political office-holders. In light of the mentioned public scrutiny, this can bring along considerable associative implications in the popular opinion of the community. The Chalcatongo case study described in chapter 1 is exemplary in the regard.

5.2.1.2 Santiago Tilantongo: Power of Authority

Initial contact with Santiago Tilantongo was established on the initiative of the at the time municipal president. By contacting the Centro INAH-Oaxaca in late 1999, he directed attention to the archaeological site of Monte Negro, located within its municipal boundaries. Obviously, this site had already been well-known to local INAH archaeologists and in the history of Oaxacan archaeology. Nor was it extraordinary that a local municipal president would contact the state archaeological office with regard to a site in municipal territory. Frequently, local authorities or even organized groups of individuals will approach INAH either in writing or simply by going to the INAH office in the state capital and draw attention to a matter of their concern that involves archaeology in one way or another. In fact, many of the INAH 'field activities' are originally based on declarations, claims or complaints by community authorities. What was particular in this instance though was the reasoning behind seeking contact with INAH. He had specified in his application letter that Monte Negro was part of Santiago Tilantongo's rich and long history and that, in order to clarify Monte Negro's role in this history, it needed to be subjected to archaeological studies. In other words, the municipal president of a community in the Mixtec region, was interested in constructing a local community history, and attempted to involve archaeologists in this process. What was initially unclear was whether he was writing on behalf of the entire community (represented by those present at one of the periodically held general assemblies) or exclusively on behalf of the political office-holders or even merely and entirely on behalf of his own personal interests. This last scenario was not unthinkable as he was listed as an anthropology student at the ENAH. Arguably thus, his decisions could have been motivated by an increased personal interest in history.

The meetings we had in Tilantongo usually consisted of the municipal authorities (with differing office-holders present, but always the municipal president), me, two other archaeologists involved and a state INAH archaeologist. The latter person filled a role in these talks as what

might best be compared to a legal counsel; he offered clarifications on the status of archaeological sites in national legislation and the abilities as well as restraints for archaeologists and local inhabitants. At the onset of the talks, he also represented a mediating factor between the authorities and 'us archaeologists'; he was the one who had at an earlier stage formerly introduced the parties to each other and had already become acquainted with the municipal president to a certain degree. As an academically trained and professionally employed archaeologist, an INAH representative might have been considered an actor equal in role to ours, but in practice his role was quite different. He represented a third party and as such was geared toward safeguarding the archaeological site from any undesired measures, including the (re)moving of stones, the straightforward reconstructing of buildings and the modification of the natural environment pertaining to the site (i.e. felling of trees, agricultural practices).

As trained archaeologists, these are all objectives that I and my involved colleagues subscribe to, but they did not seem central to the investigative purpose of these meetings. From my point of view, the primary aim of these meetings should be to explore the possibilities of collaborative research and not, albeit valid, the underscoring of rules and regulations. The latter tended to put the local participants in the defensive corner, and defensiveness was very clearly the opposite of our objective. In addition, it seemed to create a suggestion of ignorance on the part of the municipal authorities: there was a clear willingness to talk with and listen to them, but ultimately the INAH agenda was paramount in importance. The paradox of authority manifested itself in these design meetings: visiting state authority implied the overruling of hosting municipal authority.

By stressing the importance of protecting one's culture, the representative of INAH attempted to induce the authorities to adopt a positive stance toward the INAH propositions for the project. Therefore different conversational skills were strategically put to use by him. At different stages he referred to overarching non-local topics, such as the omnipotence of INAH in protecting the national patrimony. He also stressed judicial restrictions and obligations, thereby sometimes using bureaucratic terminology. Finally, his authority in the fields of cultural and historical studies was stressed. These skills enhanced the likelihood that the authorities would agree to certain specifics in an archaeological undertaking they had not envisioned as such beforehand.

The position in the meetings taken up by INAH had considerable importance on how an archaeological project that emphasizes participation evolves. Since the representation of INAH archaeologist as government officials are relatively widespread in Mixtec communities, their presence during these meetings will have determining effects on how our positionality as archaeologists is perceived as well as on the overall character and particular points of discussion that are put on the agenda. Apart from the INAH topical emphases brought forward, the municipal authorities also will have particular interests and points of focus for the archaeological investigation of their municipal territory.

The disconnectedness observed in the communication between INAH and the Tilantongo municipal authorities certainly did not seem to express any concern over who had the ultimate say regarding Monte Negro; the site was located within municipal terrains of Santiago Tilantongo and its future should therefore also be decided by the pertinent stakeholders, namely the authorities. In retrospect, the dynamic created during these meetings was often one that was very much unpredictable and taking the form of strategic negotiations. It was discussed what should be done and all three parties involved tried to secure their own interests to the best of their abilities and knowledge. At the outset, our project team and the participants from Tilantongo were focused on the content and precise practicalities relating to the execution of the archaeological fieldwork. The proposal for delimiting the site was developed by INAH. Since this received enthusiastic approval from the local authorities, it became part of the activities.

The municipality expressed their desire to be able to draw more attention to the site; adding certain grandeur and thereby increasing the local as well as regional status of the community. This reflects a discourse which is becoming increasingly common in the Mixteca Alta, and relates to desires to create what is sometimes referred to as a 'Monte Albán Chico', emulating the current handling of the archaeological site of Monte Albán. Ultimately, that should serve to attract and secure a slice of the ever increasing tourist industry typifying contemporary Oaxaca, but as yet mostly limited to the Valley of Oaxaca and a few coastal resorts.

Some successful examples in the Mixteca Alta already exist. One of those is San Martín Huamelulpan, but another is Santiago Apoala, where a modest tourist infrastructure was built in recent years (Figure 5.1). Further, the INAH archaeologist mentioned the possibility of constructing a local museum in the centre of Tilantongo. A side-room in the municipal building could be used as a starting point and the community would be eligible to receive material help for such a project.[1] For management of cultural heritage, this type of local museum is currently one of the principal ways of adding relevance to, for example, the local archaeological record of a rural community. The benefits emphasized include making available the local history and contextualizing artifacts. Management is left largely in the hands of the community itself and in practice this usually takes the form of an individual who has a particular interest in history or someone who accepts managing the museum as a communitarian duty, called *cargo*. For INAH this is a win-win situation where the community is given responsibility over its local heritage, and the preservation of locally registered artifacts remains a local issue instead of it being shipped of to an INAH warehouse in Oaxaca or Mexico-City. As such, communitarian

1 INAH manages a programme aimed at supporting initiatives for local museums and in the state of Oaxaca this has until now been deployed in 19 different communities. This programme was established in Mexico in 1983, and is managed for Oaxaca by the *Unión de Museos Comunitarios de Oaxaca* since 1991. Material help in the form of furniture, tools, and the design and manufacturing of signage is a standard option for these museums in Oaxaca. Besides archaeology, and depending on local conditions and the choice of the inhabitants, emphasis is sometimes placed on artisan traditions, colonial and recent history, as well as local flora and fauna.

Figure 5.1 Municipal sign of Santiago Apoala, on the main entry road from Nochixtlan.

museums are often mentioned in introductory meetings, however, they do not always substantially add to the success of the participation. In the case of Tilantongo, a local museum has been a topic of discussion among many inhabitants for over three centuries, but no substantial advances have been made so far. In fact, for a number of years, Tilantongo had already disposed over a small museum, which actually holds more resemblance to a storage facility for ceramics or lithics that at various points in the past were handed over to the local authorities by local residents. This room, however, is not officially recognized by INAH as a museum.

When the museum option was brought up, one of the project team members did emphasize the complex nature of tourism dynamics and the scale of investments it would take to achieve these goals, but at the same time we found ourselves not trying to discard tourism as an attainable aspiration for the community or mention the downsides and potentially damaging aspects that attracting foreigners would have on the environment and the community structure. It seemed an issue for later concern and certainly not one that should be critically discussed by 'us archaeologists'. Moreover, we had little confidence that installing measures of control for this yet-to-be-created tourism infrastructure would receive much appreciation.

The initiative to develop archaeological activities at Monte Negro took place largely based on municipal authority initiatives and turned out not to have involved residents that actually

lived near Monte Negro itself. Only at a much later stage was the representative of the small Monte Negro community notified of the planned project. As might be expected, this proved to be a far from ideal introduction to the Monte Negro community. At a later stage in the project, Monte Negro inhabitants commented to me the ambivalence and hesitation at which they accepted our presence. The sole reason for not refusing hospitality was the obligatory request made by the authorities.

Political office-holders do not always, arguably not even frequently, speak for the community they govern. This is essential for a clear understanding of what local participation in archaeology entails when the handling of the initial participation is done through political representatives. The position of 'power-holder' that the archaeologist may seem to characterize is in fact highly dependent on the intermediary role that local authorities fill.

The origin of the mapping activities at Monte Negro thus lay in the interest expressed by the municipal authorities to INAH-Oaxaca which was followed up by contacting Leiden University in the winter of 2000. This in turn resulted in numerous communications between INAH-Oaxaca and the researcher, eventually leading to the proposing of the mapping and survey campaign to be executed in the spring and summer of 2000.

5.2.1.3 Santiago Apoala: Absence of Authority

The situation concerning political office-holders at Santiago Apoala during initial contact in 2002 was markedly different. Municipal elections had just been held, during which considerable differences of opinion surfaced that centered on how the leadership of the community should take form. The four separate communities that constitute the Apoala municipality could agree on how the representation of these communities in the municipal authorities should be settled. In particular one of the outlying communities cherished a desire for more influence in the political authority of Apoala, and refused to acknowledge the outcome of the election. For this reason, the initial effort for a participatory project in archaeology did not come from the political office-holders, but rather from an inhabitant of Apoala who had not held any position of authority in recent years. He was, however, an older individual with a corresponding social position in the community.[2] For several years, he had served in the municipal palace, climbing the ladder of social and political responsibility until eventually serving as Municipal President. In addition, he had pursued a scholarly career and established himself in Apoala and wider Oaxaca as an intellectual authority on the study of Mixtec language and history. Both characteristics made him a potentially valuable broker in establishing partnership with the current political authorities. His professional occupation as a linguist of the Mixtec language and his personal interest in Mixtec regional history, exemplifies him as someone who consciously nurtures pride in his place of origin, and Santiago Apoala was viewed by him as a particularly

2 Having been actively engaged with the study of the Mixtec language, he is a central figure in the revalorising process of the Mixtec language in general and Apoala's history in particular.

important place of origin; one that transcended the local sphere and filled a role as a cultural place of origin on a regional level.

This person initially introduced me and the other project members to the town of Apoala and he introduced us to the political office-holders. Due to the abovementioned election problems, the political office was not held by local representatives at the time of our initial arrival; only an interim administrator (*administrador*) was present. The constitutional authority temporarily granted to him by the state government was not accepted by the majority of the community, not only because he was not from Apoala or even the Mixtec region, but perhaps more determining, his political presence was not wanted in Apoala. Even though people certainly treated him with the respect that the social role of *administrador* entails, he was viewed as the materialization of the political failure in Apoala at that time.

Contrary to the Municipal President of Tilantongo, I already had been somewhat acquainted with our above mentioned Apoala partner since our professional paths had crossed in the past. This obviously facilitated communication with him, and similarly enabled him to express his desires more candidly toward the project members. A downside was that, it also reinforced distrust toward him from other Apoala residents who, because of his opportunity to pursue further studies outside the community, had given him a negative cultural identity of a 'know-it-all' who had 'abandoned' the community to go and live in Oaxaca-City. The latter fact is an often recurrent reason in the Mixtec region for speaking negatively about a person, since it is perceived as deserting the community and responsibilities it entails. Moreover, popular opinion tends to regard this moving away from the community as a choice made possible by financial gains; gains most likely originating, it is inferred, from self-enrichment during the period of holding political office. Naturally, this was never expressed as detailed as this toward me or any of the project members, but it was a sentiment that clearly hovered under the surface of conversations with several Apoala inhabitants. These conversations habitually started out by stating the significant contributions that he had made to knowledge about Apoala history and culture, but at the same time there often were slight reservations noticeable when he and his role in initiating the archaeological project came up in discussions.

The initial meetings with the interim administrator proved two-sided. On the one hand, we were able to express our plans with him fairly directly: He resided in Oaxaca City; worked together with non-Apoala residents more often than not, and at the same time had had more exposure to archaeology in the past. This was experienced by us as easing the communication in relation to, for example, certain technical elements of what we were proposing to incorporate in the project. On the other hand, he also left everything entirely up to us and preferred to serve occasionally as a mediating element between us and the inhabitants. Even though he was the official holder of power, through his outsider status in the community, he effectively had

little directive or legitimating authority.[3] There did not seem to be much more than a 'formal' collaboration with the municipal authorities at the outset of the project; it was in fact one of individuals.

The introductory process in Santiago Apoala and the INAH role therein, was marked by the out of the ordinary opposition between the local Apoala secondary political office-holders on the one side, and the interim administrator and the INAH official on the other. The latter two had either had previous acquaintance or were connected socially based on their mutual place of residence in the state capital. This complicated matters during the negotiation noticeably. When we had our first introductory meeting at the municipal palace, the friendly greeting with the administrator stood out immediately. Up to that moment, we had not informed ourselves sufficiently on the political situation in Apoala, but this meeting left no doubt that there was a strong division between the administrator and his local auxiliary municipal staff. While we entered the meeting anticipating a possible long introductory explanation on our professional backgrounds and our goals for this project, the meeting actually diverged in a different direction. The INAH official did not show his badge, nor did he expound on the legal parameters of archaeological patrimony and registration thereof, like happened in Tilantongo. Instead he joked with the office-holders (predominantly through the administrator) and enthusiastically introduced us to them. The difference to Tilantongo was stark; no stern faces, formal rhetoric and verbal emphasis on restrictions here.

Upon this first meeting with the administrator and some inhabitants, we experienced him to be rather disconnected from the specifics of Apoala as a community. He was there to do what he was assigned by the state government to do, which was to temporarily oversee municipal governance. Arguably, his superiors in Oaxaca City could just as well have positioned him in an entirely different community, and it would not have mattered to him. This made him a difficult actor in the collaboration with Apoala; one that cooperated well (in terms of 'easing the way'), but partnered much less so.

Initial contact with the Apoala community thus was grounded in a personal initiative of a community-member. Using his social role as a senior authority, he placed the importance of the archaeological record on the municipal agenda and proposed collaboration with our project team, based on his previous knowledge of us. The extraordinary impasse that the municipal authorities found itself in at the time, made for a tempered initial enthusiasm from the community at large.

As one of the identified toponyms in the corpus of Mixtec pre-colonial pictorial documents, Apoala features as the place of origin in Mixtec narratives and as the ascription of this

3 The term 'outsider' is used in this chapter in combination with 'insider', wherein the former describes a person who is perceived not to belong to a group of persons, and the latter is a person that does belong to a given group. These groups can take any size and form, and are not to be equated with the concept of 'indigenous group', which is frequently regarded as a derogatory description for indigenous peoples.

cardinal role in present-day Mixtec oral and pre-colonial painted narratives provided us with a suitable historical counterpart to the Tilantongo project. In contrast, the interest expressed by the authorities leaned much more towards cultural heritage management in relation to the tourism that frequented Apoala and its surrounding landscape. Even though this was not in direct relation to the historical reasons of interest, this proved for us to be a welcome asset to the activities to be developed. Since it fell within the INAH parameters of registration and protection, Apoala was ideal for the implementation of effective protection and subsequent knowledge diffusion (the third INAH parameter). It became clear that interests for collaboration between Tilantongo and Apoala respectively, and our project team were never equal and at times opposed, but willingness to find mutually reinforcing emphases in the research design in the end enabled the project to take shape in both communities.

5.2.1.4 Summary

The issue of power turned out to be paramount in participatory efforts in Tilantongo and Apoala. Although different in its manifestations, political office-holders as well as INAH and the project team held particular power agendas, some of which were made explicit (such as in the case of the INAH representative), others were negotiated implicitly (such as in the case of us, and the local authorities). The aspect of power has a long history in archaeology, and goes back to the origins of the discipline itself, and needs not be expounded here in detail (see McLaughlin 1998 for an overview in US archaeology). The manifestations of power, however, in these two research project were not exclusively focused on the territoriality of archaeological sites, as it is in many existing examples, but rather on the personal power agendas. From an early stage onward these implicit power struggles over the shaping of the participation had their effect on the mutual trust between the partners, essential for a truly successful partnership. The triangle of directive power described above was not intended however, to be the main theatre of communication in these participations; my conviction at the outset of the project was to involve what I regarded as the 'essence' of the community itself: the individual stakeholders who owned and were knowledgeable of the local terrains.

5.2.2 Agency of social actors

In their background and goals the political office-holders in both communities might have been very different, but neither were passive objects with regard to the strategies of positioning that formed part of the meetings attended by the INAH archaeologist and I. On the contrary, they too constructed ambiguous messages that omitted as much as they revealed.

All parties involved were careful not to prioritize certain elements of the partnership too quickly or too obviously. Whilst the INAH archaeologist proposed several alterations and additions to the projects in both communities, the municipal president and his secondaries refrained from criticizing or disagreeing to the propositions, perhaps in order not to jeopardize the en-

tire project. The hidden agenda in these meetings often became clear only during the project fieldwork, mostly by discussing matters further with the authorities and speaking to additional individuals in the community (see below). So, unwillingness or disagreement is stated either through verbally agreeing or by remaining silent. As such, the local authorities are not passive objects under manipulation by outsiders, but subjects and strategic actors in their own right.

The roles of involved actors in this introductory stage of the research can be interpreted as power laden and to a high degree determining the evolution of the partnership. Parties involved held certain expectations, some made explicit, others remaining implicit, directing the talks and constructing the way in which this collaboration would ultimately unfold. Moreover, these meetings seemed not so much to revolve around the question of what was known, but rather centered on how knowledge was constructed. This seemed to be a continuous process; one where all discussion partners involved in the meetings constantly balanced feeding of each others input and proposing own agendas.

What was anticipated beforehand, namely the joining of several bodies of knowledge into one coherent and focused research project, through following the principles set out by community archaeology, after analysis seemed rather naïve. Indeed, the knowledge expressed by the municipal authorities in Santiago Tilantongo was as adaptive and externally oriented as the seemingly opposing science-based knowledge aspires to be.

5.2.2.1 Santiago Tilantongo: 'Donde no hay agua'

The introductory meetings took place on days at which the municipal authorities were commonly present in the municipal building (Figure 5.2). Saturday and Sunday were the most common days since activities in the centre of Tilantongo reach a weekly peak because of the Sunday market. Between 6 AM and 4 PM vendors and their clientele fill the centre of town, and particularly the area around the municipal building. Initially, our arrival was through local transport, and later in our own pick-up truck, accompanied by the INAH archaeologist in his truck bearing INAH signing. After having spent some time in the municipal building, our presence quickly became a topic of discussion among people of Tilantongo and those frequenting the marketplace. On one of those occasions I overheard a shopkeeper mention to the person beside him that "they probably are anthropologists or geologists". His tone of voice indicated that he had had ample experience with 'ologists' and that they held no secrets to him anymore. When I directed myself to him and acknowledged my identity as an archaeologist, he smiled contently to his conversation partner. Without ever having talked to this person or anyone in his surroundings, assertions about my identity had begun.

Other occasions would be festive gatherings where our group would be invited and people would associate us invariably with being from North America, and share their knowledge and opinions on widely publicized international issues such as the US or Palestinian conflicts. Since we were 'international', it was assumed that these would be suitable topics of conversation. Also,

Figure 5.2 Laura Van Broekhoven in a communal meeting in front of the municipal building at Santiago Tilantongo.

persons who had a migrant worker in their family or circle of acquaintances or had been to the United States themselves would immediately approach me and demonstrate their knowledge of English and describe the experiences of everyday life that had befallen them. The fact that our project team did not originate from the US but had come from Europe seemed to be an insignificant detail, whilst to us it was certainly a matter to be clarified. Being identified as a North American is quite possibly always one of the first examples of identity labeling that befalls European archaeologists in Mexico. It is relatively safe to assume that this is simply caused by the majority that North Americans constitute among foreigners in Mexican archaeology. The phrase *¡No soy Gringo!*, popular throughout Latin America, extends from the tourist realm into that of archaeology. So repeatedly I found myself debating associations that were predefined and very much determining. I approached the association with the US at first by geographically placing us in Europe instead of the US, and this habitually resulted in an increase of understanding, but it also became clear that the preconceptions with regard to the US were that much better defined and deeply ingrained, that these geographic corrections were not useful at all.

With regard to the students involved in the 2000 project, it quickly became apparent that they too were individually guided in their social behavior by their assumptions about or ex-

perience with Mexico. The majority relied almost entirely on pre-set personal assumption and academic depictions rather than on local experiences. Only one of them had been to Tilantongo before, all others could fall back on 'classroom experiences'. Apart from courses in Spanish and Mixtec; and the lectures on the archaeology of the region. Preparatory sessions at the university had focused on social circumstances and the economically difficult environment of the Mixteca Alta. These preparations were given to the students either through lectures or reading assignments, but also through Mixtec language courses guided by a native speaker of Mixtec. So, one could judge the students to have had substantial exposure prior to leaving for the area, but yet they hardly seemed to reflect on them whilst participating in the project in Tilantongo. Instead most of them fell ill during the course of our stay, one quite seriously midway through the campaign, and their interaction with residents of Monte Negro remained, partly due to that, rather limited. Some other students struggled with what has been referred to as a 'disorienting dilemma' (Mezirow 2003 in Sandlin and Bey 2006:264-265). This dilemma entails a confusing confrontation with local social or cultural circumstances that do not conform to the previously established perspective, often leading to the adaptation of that perspective.

For the students the environmental and social differences as well as the language barrier proved to be an additional impediment, even with preceding Spanish and Mixtec language preparations. In the end, most of them were unable to establish meaningful contact with local residents. Notable exceptions to this were a male student who had briefly stayed in Tilantongo prior to the 2000 project and an additional female student who did not seem to have trouble adapting to the changes in climate, food and hygiene. The former participated extensively in the INAH restoration activities at the Monte Negro site that took place parallel to our project activities and was identified by residents near the site as a 'hard worker', a 'man of little talk and many deeds'. Indeed, he had been qualified so positively that at the outset of our stay in 2000, persons near Monte Negro communicated mostly to us through him; he was their point of reference. The second student had mastered Spanish and had no particular inhibitions in blending in with Monte Negro residents or in participating in activities. As a result, she was judged very positively in the community also.

From the aforementioned it follows that reflection is not exclusive to the archaeologist engaging with a local community. The residents, particularly those I had contact with on an irregular basis, share in this process of stereotyping. Pre-existing knowledge of 'archaeologists', for example, pictures them as being a possible source of income or perhaps a possible threat to their personal landownership. In the Mixteca Alta in particular, encounters with archaeologists have been relatively common, and as such it is one of the few professional occupations that consistently has drawn outsiders to the area. The sheer distance traveled by archaeologists to get to a particular community, is seen by many inhabitants of that community as an indication of the material gains that he or she is after. Parallel to this, the archaeologist is also regarded for the economic potential that he or she represents. Also, the legal aspects of the discipline,

particularly with regard to aspects of territory, are responsible for identity construction; many times with slight to considerably negative connotations. Stereotyping is however limited between persons with fleeting or generally poor communication, caused for example by language deficiencies or general lack of insight in social dynamics of a community. Once communication is intensified, the outsider status is many times changed into a, what might be called a temporary insider status, invoked in certain social events or time periods.

The described examples from the mapping and heritage management activities at Monte Negro enable some degree of nuance for the conceptualization of outsiders in Tilantongo society. The westerner archaeologist is never just a stereotypical *guero*, but rather defined according to his or her specific role, actions, and achievements in local society. Involvement in local economic and social activities are key in defining this image, and the issue of returning to a location for at least a second time, but preferably multiple times, is a primary forming criterion for outsiders.

An additional factor in the design meetings was an archaeologist employed by Centro INAH-Oaxaca to do some restoration work on a select amount of Monte Negro's monumental structures. The goal of his project was to restore them to a level that Alfonso Caso had restored them in the 1930s, and in order to do so, some local inhabitants near Monte Negro were taken under contract. It involved removal of earth around a number of structures, reinforcing walls with cement and reassembling the numerous columns that feature these two structures. This project had developed alongside the orientating and design meetings for our project, but had already progressed significantly when out activities at Monte Negro would eventually commence.

5.2.2.2 Santiago Apoala: 'Santuario de la Mixteca'

Community response in Apoala was more varied and generally more outspoken than in Tilantongo. The mentioned identification of Apoala as a tourist destination ensured that many inhabitants had had a relatively large amount of exposure to foreigners. In contrast though, the archaeological landscape had never witnessed any significant survey; excavation, or reconstruction activities, which was different in contrast to Tilantongo's archaeological record which has seen quite a substantial amount of archaeological enterprises. Several of Apoala's residents expressed an interest in what we were intending to do during our stay. Upon introducing myself as an archaeologist, the immediate response would include references to locations in the surroundings of Apoala; the cave featuring '*El Obispo*' would come up, people would point out the Kahua Kandihui overlooking the Apoala Valley, as well as other locales.

Associations with removing artifacts from the community were also heard. A particular example in this case was the reference made a number of times to a person from the US who had settled in Apoala during the 1970s. He built his own house, but had in fact not returned since 1995. He was a linguist with the Summer Institute of Linguistics and was viewed with

considerable esteem by the people we talked to about him. Several times the fact of him owning a residence on the outskirts of town was mentioned, also stating that his prolonged stay had earned him the respect of many persons in Apoala. In these comments, he was mentioned in connection to the local purchasing of vessels and taking them home, presumably to the US.[4]

The fact that a foreigner, even though he had in this particular instance, spent part of his life in Apoala and had invested in the community, was being accused of trafficking vessels out of the community and out of the country, is significant in the sense that the accusations are focused on him not having returned to the community in recent years. This representation as a foreigner in combination with his prolonged absence was reason enough to associate this to theft of artifacts. There was thus a reason to approach the eventual handling of objects found in the field by local persons with the required sensitivity. We did this by respecting peoples privacy towards third parties, and yet making our association to these objects clear, by announcing our intentions of describing and registering them.

In informal settings, some of the senior inhabitants of Apoala expressed considerable skepticism at the idea of (any) archaeologists working in Apoala, emphasizing the occurrence in which one of them had been 'tricked' by interested outsiders into cooperating with them, for example by showing the vessels they had encountered. A complete inventory was likely not achieved, but, as far as I could observe, families that had vessels in their possession were only relatively few. They were either brought to our attention by others in Apoala (e.g. family members, friends or simply people who knew of the existence of these vessels) or by the possessors themselves. The possessors were cautious to guard the vessels, but also curious to find out more about them at the same time. As time progresses, however, and afternoon conversations became a regular occurrence, worries faded away and our intentions were becoming more and more disconnected from negative experiences related to archaeologists in the past. The success of these conversations lay in the willingness of inhabitants to speak their mind about the importance of the research being undertaken (Figure 5.3). In that way, we could distance ourselves from our power-related position as scientists, and engage in conversations where all the participants' opinions are valued equally. After these initial conversations about our intentions and knowledge of these objects, we were in all instances allowed to see the vessels, handle them and register them through photography and drawings.

The mentioned exposure to the tourist industry accounted for particular interests in collaboration with our team. Specifically, the at-the-time manager of the guest-house was poised to use the project to advance the options for increase in the flow of tourism to Apoala (Figure 5.4). A previous experience with an environmental study conducted in the community some

4 Whether this actually transpired as recounted, remains somewhat inconclusive; Maarten Jansen believes the objects currently reside in the Summer Institute of Linguistics office in Tlalpan, Mexico City (personal communication 2006). Photographs of some of the objects, including a small stone statue are published (Jansen 1982).

Figure 5.3 Communal meeting on the church lawn at Santiago Apoala.

years earlier, provided the blue-print for his ambitions. It involved estimating the potential of the environment for tourism in and around Apoala and included proposals the likes of hiking paths, cycling routes, which pass by a number of points of interest among which some archaeological sites. The person who had conducted the study in Apoala had left behind a written report, including the suggestions. This report, served to the manager as comparative material of what an archaeological collaboration could involve. The gradually blossoming tourist industry in Apoala and the previous collaborations with outsiders that had taken place as part of this industry, illustrates the complexities of archaeological collaboration with indigenous communities. Participatory dialogue was not based on separated realms of ideas and visions; instead it was conditioned by previous and intervening projects originating outside the community.

5.2.2.3 Summary

In summary, the initial period of our project group in the two communities was shaped to a significant degree by the previous experiences that inhabitants of Tilantongo and Apoala had had with outsiders. For us, the comparison to other Mixtec communities was equally hard to avoid. This stood in some contrast to the political office-holders who responded to the proposals for archaeological collaboration more purposeful; attempting to use the collaborations for implementing their particular personal agendas. Community-members tended to construct

Figure 5.4 The *Parador Turistico 'Ve'e Turista Yutsa To'on'* in Santiago Apoala.

their initial reactions based on their experiences with archaeology, or sometimes precisely the lack of them. Numerous persons in Apoala had had several experiences with interested visitors, yet hardly any experiences with archaeologists. In Tilantongo, the situation upon our arrival was quite the opposite. Sightseeing visitors were a rarity, but at least on four occasions had national and predominantly international archaeologists stayed in the community in order to conduct an archaeological activity within its municipal boundaries. The uncritical notion of a community member (other than those holding political office) also is in need of evaluation. Many inhabitants of Tilantongo and Apoala took no interest in the archaeological activities going on in their communities; some had a casual notion of what was ongoing and made an occasional chat; and a minority took an active interest and influenced the research process. The public in the community can thus be split up in discrete categories, based on interest. Similar observations are made by Francis McManamon who delineates three subdivisions in the general public of archaeology (McManamon 1991: 123-124, quoted in Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2006a: 124-125).

Constructed identities with regard to archaeology and archaeologists that we observed upon our initial period in the two communities were of differing influence, principally in two defining ways. The first identity was based on the previous encounters with foreigners, particularly visiting tourists, and two previous encounters with archaeologists or other project-based out-

siders. Besides archaeologists, other scientific fieldworkers that frequent both communities include anthropologists, linguists, environmentalists, biologists, geologists, topographers, and all equally belong to this second category, but are merely not the focus of this argument.

5.2.3 Positionality in collecting data

The periods of conducting field research involved in the mapping of Monte Negro and the survey of the Apoala Valley were characterized by the traversing of many agricultural fields, residential areas, uninhabited mountainous terrains and (monumental) archaeological sites. The activities were in part realized in collaboration with a substantial amount of local inhabitants, and were completed by either creating a record of visual observed artifacts, a database of digital recordings (i.e. mapping by means of Total Station, a handheld Global Position System receiver, and a digital camera), and a range of written or drawn accounts of spatial knowledge and oral histories. During these activities the communication between me and the authorities decreased, and the interaction between me and other community members increased. This transition between initiation, presentation and planning on the one hand, and execution on the other, provided for situations in which senses of impartiality and trust intensified, and agreements previously made with the municipal office-holders had to be renegotiated, ironically precisely because they had been reached with those authorities.

5.2.3.1 Mapping Monte Negro

During 2000 and also during 2001 and 2004, archaeological (and, in the latter case ethnographic) fieldwork was conducted in several parts of Tilantongo, with the largest time period spent at Monte Negro on one of the ridgelines of the Cerro Negro. The families living near the site are few, and do not constitute the status of *agencia* regarding Tilantongo, as such there also are no official representatives at the municipality. An unofficial representative had been appointed though. At the onset of the fieldwork in 2000, the municipal authorities clearly demarcated the social boundaries of who got to decide what. The initial impression that the (unofficial) representative for Monte Negro later mentioned to us came down to the fact that he was 'informed' of the archaeology-related plans, but had no part in the decision-making process. By providing an insight into the web of power relations in which we had been inserted, this was one of the first instances at which it became unclear how the community-approach would crystallize upon actually being in the community itself.

Community authorization and cooperation was clearly different from enthusiasm or collaboration. On more than one occasion, we were challenged in the community by mentioning that we were attempting to make a profit by doing this research. Whether warranted or not, archaeology's dubious reputation as a business of treasure seekers has a long-standing tradition

in many communities, and it did not take long to get absorbed in this discourse.[5] Given the tense nature that characterized the relationship between municipal authorities and residents at Tilantongo, it was not surprising that through our initial association with the authorities we were often met with suspicion.

Our project team, in addition to a total of six students provided food for debate in Tilantongo. Numerous occasions provided examples of the shifting identifications in which the group or individuals within the group were viewed by parts of the Tilantongo community. For example, whilst the collaboration with persons who lived near Monte Negro developed well, the representation of me by residents in the municipal centre was based on the identities constructed during the presentation and planning meetings in the municipal building. This further complicated the goals set out by the concept of community archaeology.

During the first stay in the community, the location of our residence was at Monte Negro itself, an hour's walk uphill from the urban centre of town. We chose to remain there, close to the archaeological site, because of the considerable distance to the municipal centre and the fact that we used relatively heavy equipment for our mapping activities. In addition, the municipal authorities had initially proposed this location. In general, choosing to stay on Cerro Negro left a very positive impression on all of the fieldwork participants, apart from the bleak weather conditions we had to endure whilst there.

In the first three weeks of the fieldwork at Monte Negro we stayed mostly near the site itself, only infrequently doing the one hour hike downhill to the centre of Tilantongo. We were occupied with the mapping process and thus spent as many hours as possible on the site, using the Total Station to map all features visible on the surface. The process entailed lots of walking about the site, which in turn included traversing many personal properties as well as unused terrain or simply uncultivated meadows or sections of the forest which surround the central area of Monte Negro. Here is where it became most obvious that municipal initiatives in this regard are not at all a free-pass for conducting investigations. Even though hardly any objections were expressed in our direction while we were walking the fields, perhaps due to the fact that many residences were not occupied at the time, the act of crossing into private property did not seem to be warranted solely by having discussed a project of collaboration with the authorities or having local participants in the field with us. In a way, it seemed necessary to somehow involve all those people affected by our activities in the project. At times this even extended to those affected by merely our presence. The problematic nature of local participation in archaeology started to appear in 'the field', where at the outset this was presumed to be the most productive location.

5 Perhaps the most infamous example of this contentious relationship between archaeology and local community members is the excavation project undertaken at Zaachila in the Oaxaca Valley during the early 1960s. Archaeologist Roberto Gallegos was forced to 'recurrir a la protección federal' during his field activities. In Gallegos' writing this is contrasted to the fact that inhabitanta of Mexico City, native to Zaachila, had originally apllied for the project with INAH (Gallegos Ruiz 1978:7).

One person, who also held unofficial responsibilities as a municipal custodian for Monte Negro, was of structural importance for the development and subsequent execution of this research. Not only did he integrate his extensive knowledge of the Cerro Negro localities, he also actively participated in involving other, more hesitant, individuals in this research. Instead of the frequently encountered hesitant responses by community-members, he used the project initiative to express his convictions of a need for more research in Monte Negro in general and in particular with regard to the oral history. He effectively had already been the main collaborative partner in the earlier archaeological activities at Monte Negro and continued to be central to the workings of the project during 2004. The significant amount of time that he invested in the project seemed partly grounded in prolonged stays away from Tilantongo. He told us repeatedly how impressed and interested he was with the 'modern' world, as he referred to it. For example all types of long-distance communication had his interest; particularly the Internet and e-mail had caught his attention whilst away on contract work in either Oaxaca City, Veracruz or Mexico City. He also managed the satellite telephone that had been installed recently on Cerro Negro. Despite the fact that it broke down after only a couple of years, which he analyzed as a lack of proper maintenance by the company that came to install it, he viewed it as a glimpse of things to come in the near future. He profiled himself as a Tilantongo inhabitant who was not satisfied with being only that. As such, he was the clearest profile of a reduced number of community-members in Tilantongo as well as Apoala who viewed collaborating in an archaeological project, partly characterized by outside initiatives, as an opportunity to discuss what may seem to be the opposite of local community matters, namely 21st century global developments.

In the municipal center of Santiago Tilantongo, the common perception of Monte Negro is one of an ancient and timeless ruin located on a hill on which otherwise only a handful of families reside, for reasons which are beyond the comprehension of many. Contact of our group with those living in the immediate surroundings of the site was established quite quickly and this was most noticeable on the Sunday market, for which we would descend from the mountain; meet up with or return with several members of the families living on Cerro Negro. A particular characteristic of these trips was that we would meet up with some of them occasionally on the market, but they made a habit of it not to be seen with us for longer periods of time. We never recorded any negative comments that anyone of them might have received concerning their public association with us, but one of them did acknowledge that people would generate more gossip, when she would be seen together with us, and that it would be preferable to avoid that from happening too many times. Upon addressing this topic much later and on separate occasions, another Monte Negro resident strongly denied ever having noticed anything of the sort, waving away the idea of it with a smile on his face. Upon commenting this to the maker of the initial comment, he indicated that it very much had been the case, without going into further detail, whilst immediately discarding it by saying that people will always gossip and that this would be just one more of those occasions. While it is not to be anticipated that many of

the ones who observed us on the market had a firm idea of what we really had were doing 'up there' on the mountain, certainly many centered their suspicions on topics ranging from some type of financial profit to a covert Protestant conversion campaign.[6]

The ongoing registering activities at the site provided a second occasion for interaction with persons from Tilantongo. The site is not a secluded area, but an accessible location where people can access freely and have done so in the past. The persons accessing the site area would mostly be residents of Monte Negro itself, considering the hike uphill from any other part of Tilantongo. Occasionally however, people from Socorro, the settlement located at the foot of Monte Negro, would make their way up the hill to either do some gathering of pinecones or with no other purpose than to just 'hang out'. It is probably fair to say that our presence was for many an interesting diversion from daily practice. Since the archaeological activities included lots of walking about the site area, including the peripheral segments where most houses would typically be built, we alerted dogs by our presence and the dogs alerted their owners, who in turn were alerted by the uncommon strangers approaching their residence. If not already obvious, at that point it became clear that neither the Tilantongo initiative to do research at Monte Negro, nor the meetings with the political office-holders had proceeded with the involvement of the dozen or so households dispersed on the site's periphery.

In response to these developments in our presence, I realized that the contact through the municipal authorities did not sufficiently trickle down to the greater community. Complementary to the dialogue with the authorities, an additional mechanism was needed to highlight the goals of the participation. Even though the political office-holders were *in principle* supposed to represent a nuanced reflection of the opinions and interests of the Tilantongo community, and also ensure that that community would be adequately informed of the archaeological participation, both moments of feedback seemed poorly developed. The opportunities for dialogue elaborated were two-fold: (1) individual dialogue, and (2) group dialogue. The former is the most straightforward and also the most effective method. Effectiveness is comparatively high, despite the greater amount of energy and time needed for each dialogue, because dialogue participants were more inclined to speak up and voice contrasting opinions and preferences with regard to the project; in contrast to the group meetings during which people mostly limited their contributions to observations 'fit' for all social actors present in the group. Group dialogue took predominantly the form of presentations for primary or secondary schools, for general assemblies, and for delegations of agencies.

A particular opportunity was created by organizing explicatory tours of the Monte Negro site. These meetings were held halfway through and near the end of the campaign. Invitations were extended to all of the community's political and civil office-holders, the Tilantongo public in general (by radio announcements), and in particular to students in Tilantongo's secondary

6 Protestantism is often viewed as the intrusive religion among the predominantly Catholic people of Tilantongo.

Figure 5.5 Communal meeting in the Monte Negro primary school building.

school. The meetings consisted of presentations focused on the nature of our presence in the secondary school; an explanation of our specific activities, and an exposition on the history of Monte Negro. The atmosphere during these meetings can be described as informal and formal at the same time. The relatively large amount of schoolchildren and some of their parents made for a laid-back and cheerful audience, whilst the presence of the municipal authorities provided a more formal element to the event (Figure 5.5). Dialogue at that occasion was fragmentary, due to the nature of the meeting but not in the least because the municipal president also attended the tour. The fact that we mentioned that one of our lecturers at Leiden University had been born and raised in the Mixteca Alta also created visible surprise and even astonishment. Finally, an interest was expressed in the links between the stories about Monte Negro and our findings. The meeting in the school building was followed by an excursion to the site where explanations were given to some of the structures; the nature and value of surface materials; and the overall architectural meaning to the site (Figure 5.6). During these explanations people listened either attentively or politely or would wander around a bit to familiarize with the environment. On a few occasions participants would pose for a picture to serve as a memento to the meeting.

These meetings did not so much serve to educate residents on the history of their local landscape; they rather proved to be a means to answer questions regarding who we were and what we were doing at Monte Negro. The perceived geographical as well as cultural distance perceived

Figure 5.6 Dialogue during a communal tour of the Monte Negro site.

between us and them was made clear when the Mixtec lecturer was mentioned. Some present were clearly amazed that a Mixtec person could actually live where we were from. This moment provided for some laughs, but in a way also was somewhat disconcerting. It was decided that the exposition on the history of the site was to be handled in a delicate manner, to avoid filling a top-down role in the meeting. In order to achieve this, the archaeological terminology was found to be highly unpractical and rather abstract. This may seem an obvious point to make, since even people who have enjoyed an extensive Western education are still likely to get confused upon having to digest something as opaque a term as 'Middle Late Formative' or to accept the procedure of analyzing potsherds in order to write a history.

An additional day was spent at the already mentioned secondary school in the urban centre of Tilantongo. This was a distinctly different setting since more students would be present, less adults, and the students would be coming from all Tilantongo´s *agencias*. The idea to prepare some presentations at the school was developed with the school director, and student turn-out was high. Students were mostly interested again in learning about the age of Monte Negro as well as that of surrounding contemporary communities.

A final dimension for communicating elements of the participation were interviews with our team members on the regional radio channel '*La Voz de la Mixteca*', which served as a catalyst in making the participation known in numerous other Mixteca Alta communities.

5.2.4 Trust in the field

Archaeological research always entails a certain amount of personal relations as part of the daily presence of an archaeologist during his or her fieldwork. In projects maintaining participation, these relationships are a prerequisite for establishing and maintaining an open channel to experiences and intentions of local partners. Without them, the intended participation would not reveal the positions and aims of archaeologist nor of the local partner. At first, from the outsider perspective, identities take the form of, say, a Mixtec man and woman from Monte Negro, and eventually these change to a respectful and warm relationship on a first name basis. In other words, categories such as 'community' or 'group' diversified into 'individuals' and 'personalities', and this was most visible during the mapping activities at Monte Negro.

Upon initiation the 2000 fieldwork season at Monte Negro, the archaeologist previously contracted by INAH had already been active at the site for about 2 months, and was going to remain there for another month approximately. His presence provided an opportunity for the students to analyze some of the ceramics that came out of the restorations of the structures and the removal of heaps of earth. Methods and practices employed by him to involve local participants in the archaeological activities contrasted rather markedly with what our project aimed for, and this caused some unexpected situations. A typical day in the field would consist of him reviewing the work schedule for the day with the local contractworkers and by and large distancing himself from the implementation of the activities. The local residents also expressed their surprise at the lack of participation by him in the execution of the daily work.

Notwithstanding these as locally uncustomary perceived work methods, the fact that an archaeologist had already been active at the site for some time provided the local residents with considerable enthusiasm in regard to more archaeologists remaining there in the following months. Since they were gaining additional income for their work at the site, several foresaw similarly favorable conditions for our stay. Several families recieved us in their homes; showed dimensions of daily life to students, and gave us in general their full participation and sincere interest in our activities. Although our work did not intensively involve their participation (most of the work consisted of creating maps with the Total Station), particularly one local resident developed into an important element in the field research. This resident had an extensive knowledge of the Monte Negro site and the Cerro Negro, on which it is located, and was able to provide guidance to the survey of the higher parts of the hill, locating several other, unrecorded sites in the process. Working together with him became a warm and unforced undertaking. Apart from his evident expertise regarding the site and its surroundings, he noticeably enjoyed the activities we developed together and always tried hard to open a spot in his busy daily schedule of agricultural activities in order to work together in the project. Apart from strictly project related activities we also frequently debated local as well as global issues with him on numerous occasions. Since the team of archaeologists and students lived in the houses next to

his, we shared all of our daily experiences with him and his family and this resulted in the erosion of formal relationships and the growing of ties of friendship.

The subsuming of cultural differences between our key partner at Monte Negro and me stripped away formal self-presentation and certainly added to improving the research and its eventual results. This has become so evident that it now appears strange and uncomfortable to write about it in this way. The changing relationship with the key collaborator for Monte Negro has ultimately led to somewhat of an ethical dilemma: How to academically analyze ones friendships?

Being accredited by or partnering with local community members and authorities implies a certain level of trust and concommitant responsibility. Trust in the archaeology of the Mixteca Alta is an untouched subject, yet paralleled by a growing body of literature in North American archaeology (Watkins 2001; Zimmerman et al. 2003). I viewed trust at the outset of the participatory approach as the nexus of collaboration; a delicate concept, all too often lost in archaeological interaction with local communities. Yet, the power agendas that evolved in the initial and planning deliberations between me, the municipal authorities and the INAH representative, seemed to lead to the opposite of a basis of mutual trust. Even though ownership of the past, through its material remains, was by no means an issue discussed (contrary to local partnerships in US and Australian national contexts), personal and professional power agendas got in the way of a fluid and transparent communication process. INAH did not have many incentives to invest energy in shifting decision-making power to the local authorities, and the local authorities in turn, pursued egocentric goals, as the case of Tilantongo demonstrates. Also in the case of Apoala, the extraordinary political situation of the municipality impeded trust from the inhabitants in the local authority and likewise the participatory archaeology suffered a negative initial image from this.

A positive outcome of the participations once they progressed, was that relations to individuals proved dynamic and this illustrates that a community archaeology cannot have a static focus, wherein archaeologists assume that social actors involved in the participation occupy fixed positions based on gender, race, or class, and will therefore at all times present the stereotypes assumed at the outset. Shifting power relations like those experienced by the team at Monte Negro, are the rule instead of the exception.

Choosing the Cerro Negro as specific place of residence contributed to the abovementioned blossoming individual participation, but it also played a role in a disturbance of social relations in wider Tilantongo. Registration of those changes is needed to keep a perspective on local social consequences of archaeological field activities. If residing in the community for longer periods of time, then the local social impact of staying in one particular section of the community will have to be addressed. In this particular case, this meant the area of residence was Monte Negro, as opposed to the municipal centre of Tilantongo. The resulting reshuffling of social relations in the community was caused by increased gossip about Monte Negro residents interacting with

our team. So while at times, the blossoming of trust between archaeologist and local inhabitant may in the short run prove beneficial to the project, it later can hurt the overall stability of community partnership, due to a renewed mistrust that targets 'other' local inhabitants.

5.3 Conclusion

My diagnostic argument is that existing examples of community-based archaeology almost exclusively stress the *advantages* of meaningfully involving local communities in archaeological research. Having examined how my positionality and that of the research team, in combination with power dynamics during the participatory occasions, are negotiated by all those participating, it is deemed doubtful that this process of involvement transpires in the atmosphere of supple mutual agreement as represented in the literature. Oftentimes the characterization of collaboration consists of content inhabitants joining forces with the group of newcomer archaeologists. It is very much a utopian idea that stresses the value of communication as an almost universal solver of problems between archaeologist and community. This may lead to, what Larry Zimmerman has referred to as the *remythologizing* of the archaeological practice (1997), wherein the past exclusion of local stakeholders in archaeology is morally balanced in the present by efforts of the archaeologist to establish or improve communication with local communities. This contrast to past power structures between archaeologist and community is surely a step in the right direction, but the contrast itself also tends to downplay any further analysis of how that community archaeology actually is constructed and perceived locally.

A critical reflexive analysis of the participation in Santiago Tilantongo and Santiago Apoala has revealed that (1) balances of power can have determining effects on how local participation evolves, and (2) the diversity of interest and collaboration of individual community members leads to the conclusion that 'the community' as such does not exist; it is a heterogeneous grouping of individuals, many of which have strong personal agendas that only occasionally are made visible to the outsider archaeologist. In similar fashion, does the locally constructed identity of 'the archaeologist' have any utility as a participatory tool in local archaeological activities. At no point did I or other members of the research team recognize any of the pre-existing identities concerning these local ideas about the practicioners of archaeology. These identities were however, a powerful dimension to be taken into consideration during communications locally.

The personal reflexivity can be a meaningful tool to archaeologists in identifying these social patterns since their identity in the Mixteca Alta is often disempowering, which in turn is detrimental to the dialogue so crucial to participatory archaeology. Seeking spaces of trust and openness, which are reached through honesty to the local partner, is an important strategy available for maximizing equality and minimizing partiality in participatory archaeological projects.

Apart from personal reflexivity though, a more theoretical consideration of participatory archaeology in the Mixteca Alta is needed to refrain from what can be viewed as particularistic perspectives from the two presented case studies. It is underscored that the social context in which these initiatives develop, is equal to the structure defined in Giddens' body of structuration theory (Giddens 1984). From this it follows that my research and participatory *agency* involved is of influence to the collaborative effort. It is not possible to introduce participatory initiatives in local communities without being structured by the spatial and temporal context of these communities.

The initial idea to establish participatory elements in archaeological projects by finding shared positional spaces in Tilantongo and Apoala, proved to be anything other than simple. As perhaps to be expected, my personal background and representation as an outsider archaeologist, were beyond my directing abilities. Also, the positionality of political office-holders as power brokers was identified as being just as dynamic as my own. The recognition and naming of the power relations and identity transformation that took place in the two projects, supports the argument that all participatory projects, many of which go under the heading of community archaeology, need to be understood as partnerships that need more than mere cooperation to be a true participation. In the cases of the joint efforts in studying the archaeology of Santiago Apoala and Santiago Tilantongo, differing responses were the result, materializing in a spectrum of enthusiasm and energy invested.

In both projects, persons from the two communities demonstrated the ability to influence the participatory inclination of political office-holders, in some cases these were elders with personal authority in the community, having held political office themselves some time in the past; in other examples these were persuasive younger members of the community. The meetings with the political office-holders were the moments at which the positionality of me as an archaeologist became most pronounced. Accordingly, stereotypes were evoked influencing the individual opinions on the proposed partnership. Simultaneously, this turned out to be the moment at which the archaeologist has the opportunity to create a space of trust and openness. In some meetings this certainly worked out better than in others, and given the dynamics of these meetings, no fail-safe method can be employed for striking the right balance in the meeting.

A local participatory archaeology in order to become what it aspires to be, needs to try to incorporate as many inhabitants as possible; a requirement which is at odds with the limited time periods generally available to archaeologists, especially foreign ones. This, in turn, puts a limit on the amount of interest that can be generated in a local community. It needs to be recognized that the information the archaeologist receives concerning the opinions on the participation in the community will always be partial, but realizing this will make the archaeologist's actions more prudent and increase reflexivity. As defined currently, 'community archaeology' is a concept that oversimplifies the lived realities in these communities of descendants and stakeholders, and still withholds from problematizing the narrative authority of the author. Too often have

archaeological projects in Oaxaca defined participation projects along lines of 'add community and stir'.

The goals contained in local participations in archaeological research are more often than not dissimilar, yet this does not disqualify the research undertaken as such. Initiatives for research are constructed at vertical hierarchical levels, but often find their origin in horizontal collaborative efforts. Both levels do not preclude difference of opinion, on the contrary they are defined by difference. Therefore, it is proposed here that when viewed in a reflexive manner, local participation in archaeological research has considerable potential to bridge preexisting constructed identities and enable acknowledging multiple understandings of the past.

Aligning multiple understandings of the past does not open the flood gates of extreme relativity, as some archaeologists continue to fear, but do force archaeologist and community member to venture out of the set stereotypes and methodologies to look for research that is meaningful to the local context and the scientific community. It should be along these lines that community archaeology takes the next step to becoming the example of true participation in the archaeological praxis, by recognizing and valorizing the importance of local knowledge and enabling its qualitative incorporation in archaeological research designs.

6

Constructing Landscape Narration

6.1 Introduction

The territorial limits of both the activities at Monte Negro as well as those in the Apoala Valley consisted of discrete landscape features: the former a ridge top and the latter a valley. These landscapes possess cultural meaning which is expressed through the local oral tradition. In the previous chapter, participatory initiatives such as those defined within community archaeology have been analyzed as consisting of individual actors. This analysis, based on reflexive analysis during the process of establishing and maintaining two partnerships in the Mixteca Alta, significantly complicates the initial goals set for these local participatory initiatives in archaeological research. In part, these complications are unforeseeable and socially contingent. This chapter will look at a way in which an archaeological project can broach this collaborative void by structurally incorporating oral tradition in the research, and thereby enabling mutual mediation of archaeological knowledge. Reported are elements of the partnership in Monte Negro and Apoala that held a landscape-oriented focus for both partners and involved data diffused through toponyms contained in local oral tradition.[1]

6.1.1 Oral tradition

Mixtec communities are tied to the landscape by, a) their life histories; b) their more distant historic past, and c) the remote 'archaeological past'. But this does not mean that monumental remnants and other archaeological material categories are regarded as solely pertaining to this remote past. Archaeological sites are many times interwoven with the cultural landscape through oral tradition and daily practice. As such, archaeological sites are not a mute testimonial of a long lost history, but active elements in the present. This approach to local histories is one, which has been hard to handle for archaeology in the past, but it is essential to recognize the synergies between past and present in order for any community approach to be successful. Jan Vansina defines oral tradition as verbally "reported statements from the past beyond the present generation" (1984: 27). This definition is of course only one among many, and Vansina

1 Toponyms are widespread in the Mixtec region, and represent one of the core vehicles for the transmission of oral tradition.

motivates his formulation in light of its particular applicability in historical research. In this context of historical research, the discipline of archaeology is recurrently mentioned, serving as a catalyst for verifying the evidential value of oral tradition.

The linking of archaeological knowledge to Amerindian oral tradition has been the subject of a number of studies in recent years (Anyon et al. 1997; Echo-Hawk 2000; Hegmon 2003; Riley et al. 2005; Swidler et al. 1997; Whiteley 2002), with particular emphasis on Native American peoples in the US and Canada, but in other parts of the world also (Moser 1995; Schmidt 1995; Ucko 1983). In these works, archaeology has evolved from monologue to dialogue, implying, among others, the use of oral tradition as a tool for archaeological interpretation. Following Anyon et al. (1997):

> 'An indiscriminate reference to oral traditions as "myths and legends" is demeaning to Native Americans. It perpetuates a false dichotomy that implies that oral history is less valid than scientifically based knowledge. Oral history and scientific knowledge both have validity in their own cultural context. Scientific knowledge does not constitute a privileged view of the past that in and of itself makes it better than oral history. *It is simply another way of knowing the past*' (emphasis added, Anyon et al. 1997).

Oral tradition has now taken a central position as a valid addition to Western science. This interest has been generated by the increased incentives for a more socially grounded archaeology; similar to the community archaeology approaches of recent years.

6.1.2 Archaeology and oral tradition in the Mixteca Alta

It is sad to say, that archaeology in the Mixteca still at times seems to be stuck in the monologue stage, while sometimes even that is hardly present. Oral tradition is the primary traditional conduit in Mixtec communities through which views on the past, present as well as the future are transferred. This transferal is marked by a relatively high degree of territorial boundedness and a considerable time depth. Both features, but in particular the latter one, have long been of interest to archaeology, a recent example of which is the survey conducted by Byland and Pohl (1994) in the Tilantongo and Jaltepec area.

Long before any academically motivated person had set foot in the Mixteca Alta, the Mixtec had started to engage with the archaeological sites in their immediate surroundings. By forming opinions on these monumental structures as an everyday practice, they became part of the oral tradition and have continued to be discussed and debated ever since. Probably since their moment of inception they developed into an integral part of the communities cluttered through the hills and valley that make up this cultural part of Mesoamerica.

Mostly touched upon through iconographic studies, oral tradition in the Mixteca Alta has regrettably remained an outsider in past and current day archaeological constructions of Mixtec

history. The sole investigation that emphasized its importance was the mentioned Byland and Pohl research at the end of the 1980s. This study attempted to unite data from commonly separated disciplines, by arguing that the anthropological keywords used with frequency in archaeology, such as religion and ideology, must remain grounded in an image of everyday concerns for those living in the past (Byland and Pohl 1994:4-5). In this attempt to unify archaeological research with contemporary localities, oral tradition fills an important void, the authors argue, and in this sense this research is to be commended. Clearly, however, and understandably perhaps, the questions under scrutiny are still largely based on the well-known research topics regarding socio-political development described in Chapter One. Even when an effort is made to underscore its potential scientific value, information from oral tradition does not substantially influence the conclusions regarding the historical development of the area in question, in this case the Tilantongo-Jaltepec sub-valleys. In apparent contrast with the aforementioned, the methodological justification states that oral tradition seemed to function primarily as a means to bridge the social gap between archaeologist and local inhabitant during the survey activities:

> 'By stopping and talking to the people we encountered, we not only assuaged natural fears of outsiders trespassing on their lands but also incorporated every interested person in the community into the survey process' (ibid 29).

The above observation raises questions as to what this 'incorporating' actually entailed, but the descriptions provided are unfortunately not sufficiently specific as to permit further analysis. However, Byland and Pohl are keen to emphasize the interaction that occurred between archaeologist and local population, and provide descriptions on a number of occasions in the book, but the question remains how structural instead of anecdotal this collaboration really was. Regrettably in their analyses and results not much is left of this interaction.

Oral tradition seems to have become a '*couleur locale*' for archaeology in this example, providing the research with a (admittedly much needed) local character. The success rate for the investigator regarding this type of multidisciplinary survey strategy seems to make it worthwhile, as Byland and Pohl conclude:

> 'By seeking out maximum contact, we benefited immensely from the knowledge and sophistication of the Mixtec people of today' (ibid 29).

Additionally, Byland and Pohl see oral tradition as a 'humanizing' catalyst in the study of the past. Although aware of the difficulties involved in applying current knowledge to the study of the distant past, no apparent procedures are proposed or integrated to tackle these difficulties (ibid 46).

In their research Byland and Pohl's approach taken does not consider oral tradition as an epistemologically valid tool, but rather as an additional category of information that can, but need not necessarily be, an asset in reconstructing the singular past of a given region that is the objective of many regional archaeologies to which the Mixteca Alta is no exception. It is, however, certainly considered as a facilitator for the archaeological practice.

It is the contention here that oral tradition as empirical source is meaningful in creating a more inclusive overview of the multiple perspectives on the past. The multiple perspectives on the past that are recognized in archaeological studies involving oral tradition use the cultural landscape as a canvas on which the history is narrated. Specifically this is manifested through personal life histories; place histories; and toponymic data.

6.1.3 Landscape

The use of a community-centered archaeology by itself already implies a focus on the locality of landscape. In turn, this locality draws attention to the built elements of that landscape, particularly monumental archaeological sites. Essentially this enables two ways of archaeological focus; one on the wider landscape through techniques such as survey or view-shed analysis, and another through site-based approaches, possibly functional interpretation of architecture and placement in the surrounding landscape. These two approaches, landscape and site, when applied either separate or combined, offer substantial entrances for creating a narrative by, and with the local community.

6.1.3.1 Landscape archaeology

Archaeology has always been involved with the study of landscape, but in differing ways through time. The use of landscape in archaeology has predominantly involved an analysis of empty space upon which human activities take place. This image of landscape as a backdrop to social action was in particular promoted by the New Archaeology, and portrayed landscapes as geo- and topographical sheets suitable for plotting archaeological remains.[2] Research goals in these types of analyses were the explanation of economical and political elements of past societies, by applying techniques such as resource analysis and site catchment area analysis, themes often seen in the archaeological studies in the Mixteca Alta. Post-processual approaches, however, have shifted some of the research emphasis to more social and symbolic connotations of landscape. The collective of these approaches are principally identified as studies regarding the 'sacred' elements of landscape. The heuristic dilemma apparent to archaeology has been that material remains seem to be disjunctive in relation to people's perception or experience

2 In archaeological theory, the main difference between processual and post-processual views on landscape are analysed as the distinction between landscape as an inert environment or powerful determinant, or, as an active element in the foreground of culture (Knapp & Ashmore 1994). The advent of settlement pattern archaeology meant a strong impetus for involving landscape in archaeological studies, despite it being grounded in the theoretical perspective of cultural ecology (Steward 1955).

regarding any given landscape. In other words, how can the material record offer insights into the understandings of environment? In response to this problem, experiments were undertaken to find ways to tackle the apparent discrepancy of data and research question, resulting in the aforementioned thematic diversity in landscape studies since the beginning of the 1990s.

One of these post-processual themes is multivocality; describing multiple interpretations on a given subject, it is intrinsic to the concept of landscape itself. In the context of the Mixteca Alta, the critical necessity to involve multiple perspectives in landscape archaeology implies the inclusion of local indigenous voices, as those whose past is represented (e.g. Maldonado Alvarado 2002). Inherently contextual (Johnston 1998), definitions of landscape are dependent on social interpretation; therefore making its use valuable to archaeology. This post-processual discursive widening enables archaeology to look at the landscape notion in diverse ways. In recent years, landscape studies have increased considerably in number and, more importantly, in diversity of subjects that are treated. Recent contributions by Ashmore & Knapp (1999); Bradley (2000); Hirsch & O'Hanlon 1995; Tilley 1994; and others (e.g. Bender 1993; Carmichael et al. 1994; Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003; Nash 1997) range from the experiential features of landscape to (re)constructed sacred landscapes, and from monumental aspects of landscape to those devoid of any physical human intervention. In general, landscape approaches in archaeology have centred on the de-quantification of space, instead enhancing its social and qualitative aspects.

6.1.3.2 Landscape Studies in Mesoamerica

In the archaeology of Mesoamerica, landscape has figured in the last two decades in a number of ways. Aside from numerous settlement pattern analyses, the sub-discipline of archaeoastronomy figures prominently (Aveni 2001; and see Aveni 2003 for a recent overview). Archaeoastronomy has drawn attention primarily to the linkages between cognitive elements of Mesoamerican societies (e.g. interpretations of celestial bodies and directionality) and orientations of landscape features. Events in the sky are, herein, considered of relevance to the planning of monumental sites such as Teotihuacán, Tenochtitlán, and numerous Maya ceremonial centres. Observations, however, have primarily focussed on layout characteristics of monuments and have largely disregarded landscape features, with a few notable exceptions (e.g. Broda et al 2001; Carrasco 1991; Šprajc 2000 on alignment Teotihuacán toward Cerro Gordo). To this day, archaeoastronomical studies in Oaxaca are few, and limited to the ceremonial centre of Monte Albán (Aveni and Linsley 1972; Orr 2001; Peeler and Winter 1993, 1995). On the whole, archaeoastronomical studies in Mesoamerica still show a bias towards monumental ceremonial centres, and pay little attention to the landscape in which they are situated, and in which they were perceived as part of daily social life.

Views of surrounding landscapes are in the Mixteca Alta often defined by religious interpretation of particular natural features, involving caves, hills, boulders, streams and waterfalls,

among many other elements making processual method and theory a poor medium of communication in the local context. Despite these contemporary landscape studies that point to the temporal elements of landscape (Ingold 1993), this is as yet not reflected in archaeological studies based in the Mixteca Alta. Monuments and settlements in general are, by and large, objectified by treating them as timeless architectural constructs, located in a specific environment, but largely independent of those surroundings. Among the Mixtec, as among other Mesoamerican cultures, these frontiers between monument and landscape are equally non-existent, and in order to represent Mixtec views on landscape, the continuities between the built and the unbuilt landscapes should be incorporated in archaeological research (Bradley 2000).

6.2 Landscape narration in the Mixteca Alta

Two landscape studies, one in Santiago Tilantongo and one in Santiago Apoala, were conducted in light of the findings from the reflexivity analysis contained in Chapter Five. The two studies are ordered along the spatial scales perceived by inhabitants of the two respective communities. In this sense, the research in Santiago Tilantongo took place in a discrete element of the greater Tilantongo landscape: Cerro Negro. This landscape defined by cold, and misty weather conditions was subjected to a toponymic survey after having undergone a 'traditional' surface survey. In the research in Santiago Apoala, the entire Apoala Valley landscape was included in the analysis. For both studies, archaeological information was augmented by existing analyses from some of the pre-colonial pictorial manuscripts originating in the Mixteca Alta.

6.2.1 Deep and recent times of the Cerro Negro landscape[3]

In the summer of 2004 a second field season was planned and executed on the Cerro Negro. This campaign consisted of the expressed desire by some of the local inhabitants of the Monte Negro *aldea* to create a register regarding the oral tradition of the mountain's natural and cultural features. In the course of the 2000 campaign, the topic of oral tradition had occasionally come up in discussions about meaning and origin of, in particular, the Monte Negro site, but also the events which were recounted to have taken place in the past and which were communicated in stories.

Oral tradition was involved in the form of a field survey of local toponyms as well several stories that were recorded in a communal setting (Figure 6.1). The preference for establishing a recording of the toponyms of Cerro Negro was founded in a desire for a written register that several local partners had envisioned for some time, in part also for territorial rights. In official

3 The analysis offered reflecting on information from pictographic manuscripts is based on a co-authored publication (Geurds and Jansen 2006), which in turn relies on interpretative iconological studies into the corpus of Late Postclassic period pictorial manuscripts by Maarten Jansen.

Figure 6.1 Laura Van Broekhoven discussing the Apoala political landscape at one of several stone border posts, or *mojoneras*.

documents the ownership to certain territories is described with frequent references to toponyms that may indicate borders of terrains or places in the landscape where two of more territories join. He indicated to us the importance it held to him to create such a register, also in relation to the municipal authorities who in his vision, tended to misinterpret, or even disregard these place names. The beneficial element for our research would be to be able to use the register for analytical purposes in relation to information contained in the representations of Monte Negro in the Mixtec pictorial manuscripts (Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2 Conducting the toponymic survey around Monte Negro.

The municipal authorities had changed since 2000, and did not express a particular interest in the collaborative efforts we presented at the outset of our proposed campaign in Tilantongo. Although they acknowledged our previous collaboration and offered their assistance in the upcoming campaign, no further active collaborative was to be expected. The changing of political office holders in Tilantongo had not implied that the line of collaborative archaeology would

be continued. This beginning with a clean sheet most likely has to do with the tense relations between the previous municipal president and the following one, elected when he left office.

After our initial encounters with the authorities we did not actively pursue further collaboration through them for three reasons. The primary reason came out of the lack of interest invested in the proposed campaign; we deemed it an uneconomical dedication of time to pursue an interest by the authorities that simply was not there. The second reason was that, after two prolonged campaigns in Tilantongo, we had built up an informal network of persons with whom we could discuss participatory efforts. Third, a significant amount of persons we spoke to during 2004 expressed themselves in very negative terms about the municipal authorities, in particular the municipal president himself. It was deemed counterproductive to work through political office holders that were held in such low esteem in the community itself.[4] These three reasons made for the decision to approach the initial design of the participatory efforts by means of Tilantongo residents not in political office, in a comparable way to how we had initiated the 2002 campaign in Santiago Apoala. This approach was subsequently approved of by the authorities.

6.2.1.1 Foundational symbolism of Monte Negro

As summarized above, existing studies regarding Monte Negro take as research goal to demonstrate, inspired by Marxist theory, the potential early presence of a base and superstructure, and the subsequent manipulation and exploitation of the former by the latter (e.g. Flannery 1983b), extending analyses previously applied in the Oaxaca Valley (e.g. Flannery 1983a). Emphasizing this relational discourse in Mixtec society, however, does not concur with data about rulership and sacrality from indigenous or early colonial historical sources, nor with concepts and terms in the Mixtec language. Architectural diversification, as one of the principal indicators of urbanization, has commonly played a prominent role in the archaeological analysis of core monumental areas of sites. The presence and development of residences destined for the local nobility, as well as the elaboration and changing architectural complexity of features intended for public -often ceremonial- purposes, are central to this discussion. Whereas the identification and thus differentiation of ceremonial and residential settlement patterns is common in Mesoamerican archaeology, they in fact misrepresent conceptual ideas about rulership and sacrality in Mixtec society.

By using data from numerous sources, and applying them to the gathered settlement pattern data of Monte Negro, the archaeological goal of this partnership was to demonstrate the unity of religious and political elements at this hill top site.

4 The principal reasons behind this low popularity of the municipal president are hard to judge based on individual comments. Public drunkenness and embezzlement of public funds were often heard, having said that, these are often heard in many indigenous communities. Whatever the cause, the lack of interest by the authorities and the public anger toward him prevented establishing any form of meaningful collaboration.

6.2.1.2 The water paradox

The fifty-two pages of the observe side of Codex Vindobonensis contain a long pictorial text about the foundation of the Postclassic period city-states and their dynasties. Many towns and sacred places are mentioned: they receive the sacred foundation dates – points of departure for their ritual cycles – from Lord 9 Wind 'Quetzalcoatl', i.e. the Plumed Serpent, known in the Mixteca Alta today as *Coo Dzaui* / *Coo Daui* or *Coo Ndute*, the 'Serpent of Rain' or 'Serpent of Water', and manifesting itself in nature as a whirlwind. According to the manuscript, this 'Bringer of Culture' was born from a 'Flint in Jewel Place', for which the most likely location is present San Miguel Achiutla. Fray Francisco de Burgoa (1934, I: 319 y 332-333) tells us that a jade image of a winged serpent known as 'The Heart of the People' was venerated there in a cave. Accordingly, in the Codex Vindobonensis (p. 47), Lord 9 Wind is depicted introducing the 'waters of heaven' to the Mixteca Alta, including the 'Divine Water' (*Nduta Ñuhu*) where the depicted wind-monster (manifested as a hurricane) lives. This latter location is most likely the Pacific Ocean.

Echoes of this ancient cosmovision revolving around water symbolism are present in the contemporaneous oral tradition at Cerro Negro, which recounts a deep time story containing a local ruler in the time of darkness who had made an agreement with the lord of Achiutla to bring water to Cerro Negro, but the intentions went bad, due to the their rivalry :

> 'Cuentan aquí los abuelitos que el rey de San Miguel Achiutla se juntó con este rey de aquí, de Monte Negro, y que se metió en un túnel atrás de este cerro. Este cerro, San Juan Diuxi, dice, para ese se metieron, abriendo un túnel y que tenían un acuerdo de que traían agua. Venían abriendo y allí venía el agua, atrás de él. Venían siempre como un canal, pues. Allí venía el agua. Entonces que este agua, tenían que traerlo acá, a Monte Negro. Pero, el rey de allí de San Miguel Achiutla venía arriba, por ejemplo, encima de la tierra. ¿Como nosotros acá, no? Y venía platicando con el rey de aquí de Monte Negro, que venía abajo tierra. Le dice, le estaba diciendo, el rey de aquí: ¿Ya vamos a llegar a Monte Negro?' 'Ya mero, ya mero, ya mero, ya mero.'
>
> Qué cosa, pues, se pasaron. Se pasaron. Se fueron todo el cerro. Se fueron todo el cerro. 'No ya mero, no pues, ahora si ya no.' Cuando salieron, abrieron hasta la casa de aquel [the lord of Achiutla], hasta atrás del límite de aquí de Tilantongo con otro pueblo' (see Appendix C).

There are many such stories in the Mixteca Alta referring to the powerful ancient kings, now often identified with mountaintops of impressive rock formations and called *Ndodzo* in the orthography of the Vocabulary of Francisco de Alvarado (1964 [1593]), which corresponds to *Ndodo* or *Ndoso* in respectively the Northern and Southern part of the Mixteca Alta today. Several of these deal with the reasons that certain places have water and others do not.[5]

5 Another example of this is a story of a male *Ndoso* of Chalcatongo who was in love with a female *Ndoso* of Santiago Yosondua and therefore gave her the water as a present. Therefore the contemporary community of Santiago Yosondua now has a splendid waterfall.

Another version of water symbolism in a foundation story is found in Codex Selden (p. 1-III / p. 2-I). Two priests are depicted taking stones with faces of the Rain God and a lizard or frog-like creature, to the ruling couple in the Apoala Valley. After receiving the blessing of Lady 9 Alligator, they place the stones at the foot of a tree pictographically associated with eyes. This 'Eye-tree' may represent a ceiba tree, regarded as sacred, and is seen in the manuscripts on the bank of the river of 'Flame Town and Jewel Place'. This locality is identified as present San Miguel Achiutla. The result of this ritual act is the birth of the male ancestor of the Jaltepec dynasty from that tree. The other stone in the form of a lizard or frog (both animals associated with rain) are reminiscent of the 'frog stones' found in the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlan. Fray Bartolomé de Alva enquires about these in his *Confesionario*:

> '¿Posees hoy día pequeños ídolos de piedra verde o ranas hechos de ella?
> ¿Los pones al sol para que se calienten?
> ¿Crees tú y sostienes por verdadero que esas piedras verdes dan el alimento y la bebida, como creían los antepasados que murieron en la idolatría?
> ¿Crees tu que ellas te dan ventura y prosperidad y buenas cosas y todo lo que quieres o deseas?"
> (Aguirre Beltrán 1973: 332)

The small jade figurines of deities are probably the so-called 'penates'. These and the frog stones, then, may be interpreted as sacred objects that provide the cited 'food and drink' and 'health and wealth'. Probably the famous 'lizard stone' on the uncovered corner of the big platform at Huamelulpan (Monte Albán II style) is an earlier parallel and holding similar meaning to the 'frog stones' of the Templo Mayor. The lizard, carved on a large slab, may be interpreted as a symbol of water and prosperity. It is accompanied by calendrical signs, which register either the sacred dates of the foundation or the names of the founders (or both), to be recalled in cyclical rituals.

Figure 6.3 A House of Water (*Vehe Savi*) on Cerro Negro, near the Monte Negro site.

The core messages contained in these stories all revolve around water or rain as a crucial factor, not to say the proverbial 'corner stone' for human settlements. This is always the case, of course, but even more relevant to stress and remember in a region called 'Land of Rain'.

Cerro Negro features several caves located along the periphery of the Monte Negro site. One of these is located about one kilometer further south, and is identified as a *Vehe Savi* (Figure 6.3). This refers to colonial period descriptions of the 'House of Rain', *Huahi Dzavui*, which are also generally located in a

cave or rock outcrop. The House of Rain is a typical Mesoamerican concept describing the Rain as living in the Earth, in caves in mountains, where water constantly drips.[6]

In Codex Zouche-Nuttall, the site of Monte Negro is indicated with a pair of altars, which also are used in the Mixtec writing system as a generic symbol for referring to building foundations. In this pictographic context it probably refers to ancient temple mounds known from Postclassic oral tradition as dating from deep time. More specifically, the altars on which Lady 1 Serpent 'Plumed Serpent' and Lord 7 Death 'Jaguar' are seated, are depicted as separated by water. This may refer to the ritualized importance of water in relation to the sanctuary on top of Cerro Negro, and is in turn reflected in the contemporary presence and role in oral tradition of the abovementioned *Huahi Dzavui* or *Vehe Savi*.

6.2.1.3 Foundations

The next symbolic element that we encounter in the construction of a ceremonial centre is the reference to the primordial time of darkness. The local oral history at Monte Negro stresses that in those times of deep history the stones were still soft and the ancient king could easily lift them and construct the as enormous perceived monumental structures:

> 'En esta escalera, que está allí, subían mucha gente porque aquí había un templo grande y aquí se sentaba el rey. Se sentaba como un sacerdote, como un cura de iglesia. Así se sentaba. Allí venían los que vivían aquí. Pero todo era de noche. Ellos vivían de noche aquel tiempo. No había sol. No había sol aquel tiempo cuando vivió el rey aquí. Todo el tiempo que vivió, vivió en la oscuridad. Por eso es que después, después cuando vino el sol: ¡Aaay! Cuando vivió él en la oscuridad, todos los árboles, todas las piedras estaban blanditos, estaban tiernos. ¿Por qué? Como no había sol que pegaba para que se macicen, entonces cuando el sol salió, entonces se macizaron las piedras. Por eso ahora pesan mucho. Y aquel tiempo cuando vivió el rey que vivió aquí, por eso porque estas piedrísimas, que hay allí, no pesaban porque no eran macizos, sino que estaban blanditos, estaban tiernos. Y fácil los agarraba por allí, los juntaba y los puso. ¿Porque? Porque estaban tiernos, no pesaban, y ya cuando el sol vino, ya cuando el sol salió, por eso que entonces se macizaron las piedras, los árboles, entonces, se macizaron que ahora pesan mucho. ¡Aaah! ¡Esas piedras! ¿Cuanto?… Tres, cuatro, cinco, no lo podemos alzar… Y aquel tiempo, él solo, el rey que vivió aquí, lo alzaba y lo puso. ¿Por qué? Porque no pesaban, porque estaban tiernas. No había sol en aquel tiempo. Todo, todo vivió en la oscuridad. No sé como veían para hacer esto, para trabajar, pero todo fue en la oscuridad. Y ya cuando salía el sol, entonces se macizaron. Los árboles eran muy débiles, muy dóciles. Pero ahora que salió el sol los árboles son muy pesados, y las piedras también. Pues, cuando hubo sol, entonces se macizaron, por eso están pesadísimos' (see Appendix C).

6 Currently still, many communities go in procession to such caves to ask for rain in the beginning of May (especially on May 3, the day of the Holy Cross).

These references to primordial occurences at Monte Negro are highly comparable to mentioning of the first sunrise as an important event mentioned in the Codex Vindobonensis on Page 23. The section opens with a pictorial rendering that can be read as a sun that rises above the salt water where the land ends, thus refering to the sun rising above the waters of the ocean. This scene is folowed by an group of primordial personages assembling at a location depicted as `Circle of Stones´, which is identified as present *Ñuu Dzai* or Huajuapan de León, in the Mixteca Baja. Consequently, a depiction of Lord Sun in a radiant disk is shown rising above a large altar featuring a staircase. Finally, this scene recalls the sunrise at the Pyramid of the Sun (*Tonatiuh Itzacual*) at Classic period Teotihuacán, as described in Aztec 16th century oral history by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (Book VII: ch. 2).

6.2.1.4 Summary

Approaches to urban sites have had a long-standing history of research in Mesoamerica (Chase, Chase and Haviland 1990; Ciudad Ruiz et al. 2001; Hirth 2000; Sanders and Webster 1988; Sanders, Mastache and Cobean 2003). Detailed analyses from Oaxaca are still limited (but see Flannery 1998), perhaps due to the lower average size and complexity of many monumental cores. Emphases have been on distinguishing internal and external factors that may have influenced and formed this architecture. An often mentioned external factor of importance for Monte Negro is the Oaxaca Valley and the rapidly expanding Monte Albán polity that was growing in political regional importance. Internal factors on the other hand are less frequently addressed for Monte Negro and may include the analysis of architecture from a number of interpretative viewpoints, ranging in spectrum from more functionalist to cosmological interpretations. As to be expected, all of these have received their share of criticism claiming either overly narrow viewpoints for the former, to sloppy regarding the latter. What has emerged in this analysis is that internal viewpoints involving information from oral history, when combined with epigraphic data from the pictorial manuscripts illucidates specific architectural characteristics of the settlement, and subsequently creates an understanding of the relationship of the entire settlement to the surrounding natural landscape.

In the case of Monte Negro, the religious public structures may have been dedicated to a plurality of divine powers (*Ñuhu*), such as the owners of specific places on the mountain and in the adjacent valleys (rocks, springs, caves, cultivated lands), together with many other divine powers such as Lord Sun (*Iya Ndicandii*), Lord Venus (*Iya Quimi*), Lord Rain (*Iya Dzaui*), and the Plumed Serpent (*Coo Dzaui*). Both the pictorial record and the oral tradition bear witness to Monte Negro's specific importance as a place for the cult of Water and Rain.

Religious motivations thus informed the construction of this ceremonial centre on a mountain-top. This is the locale where the transformation of darkness into light takes place, as the first light of the morning sun touches the highest points and from there descends into the surrounding valleys. In contemporary times, when archaeologists trod the Mixteca looking for

sites, the tops of mountains remain predilected spots for traditional curing ceremonies for ritual healers who invoke the spirits or *Ñuhu* that reside in the surrounding landscape.

6.2.2 Mapping knowledge: Toponyms in the Apoala Valley [7]

Initially, the spectrum of archaeological sites included in the archaeological survey was estimated to consist of monumental sites with line terracing on the hill slope together with complex monumental architecture, as well as clusters of ceramics spread across the valley. The survey, however, proved to be a turning point in the investigation. The activities in the field were undertaken with a small number of Apoala residents appointed by the municipal authorities and persons knowledgeable of local history. The familiarity with the natural surroundings of these collaborators had a significant impact on the scope of the survey plans. The information provided by them, altered our initial ideas on how to execute the survey. These preliminary plans were based on methods of field walking such as linear distance between surveyors and probability functions in relation to inclination of the terrain, as part of the survey methodology described in Chapter Two. The local participants guided us across the landscape by means of their referential orientation. This orientation departed from the complex network of gravel roads and small paths that surround the Apoala valley and connect it to the surrounding municipalities. As it turned out, their opinions and views on the landscape and its archaeological sites were quite varied, but none of them depended very much on geographical quantification, such as the just mentioned hill slope gradient for example. Remarkably enough, once these initial methodological parameters were handled more loosely, additional sites were encountered in locations that would have fallen outside the traditional survey methodology.

A further consequence of this collaboration was the incorporation of the community sphere of perception. That is, the survey aims were no longer restricted to the 'past tense', looking to analyse truly 'past' material remains, but were firmly and visibly placed in the present. Most places with a particular cultural significance were recorded, which implied going beyond the pre-Conquest material remains aimed at initially. As it turned out, the preconceived division of places into pre-Conquest and post-Conquest locales is an insignificant one in the cultural geography as implicitly expressed by members of the Apoala community. Contemporary sacred places were included in the survey, and those, more often than not, overlapped with sites of pre-colonial activity.[8] When these divisions were then made explicit in discussions with residents of Apoala, it was quite common to hear the standard qualification of all that referenced to as archaeology as being '*de antes*', meaning 'from before'. The issue of before *what* exactly, was more complex than the year AD 1521.

7 The recording of the toponyms by means of a drawn map was conducted in joint collaboration with Laura Van Broekhoven. She has subsequently also partnered in the analysis of the map and the toponymic data (Geurds and Van Broekhoven 2006).

8 The historical distance created by the static divisions of pre- and post-colonial, so common in archaeological and historical narratives in Mexico is not neutral but interpretive in its core (cf. Lucas 2001:140).

As it turned out, the landscape of the Apoala valley was filled with both archaeological monuments and additional sacred places, some of which were natural places i.e. devoid of cultural traces.[9] This not only opened up the possibility for archaeological study of agricultural activities; road- or path systems; and non-sedentary societies, but it inherently also geared research attention to social meanings of certain locations. These locations laden with historical meaning were conceptualised as 'places'. A prime example of this is the crest of the Kahua Kandihui (see Chapter Four). This hill dominantes Apoala's eastern horizon and is identified by many Apoala inhabitants as the location where the primordial royal Mixtec couple was joined in marriage. This is a narrative also represented in the Codex Vindobonensis and in a number of early colonial documents. With regard to the archaeological remains on this crest there is however, hardly anything conspicuous about it, let alone representative of primordial occurrences. Settlement remains are limited to a modest sized rectangular single room structure, with limited amounts of artefacts scattered around it (Van Broekhoven and Geurds 2002).

6.2.2.1 Mapping methodology

In part based on an original idea proposed for linguistic and ethnohistorical research in the Chocho speaking area that neighbours the Mixteca Alta (Swanton 2004), the construction of a toponymic map of the Apoala municipal territory was proposed. Originally five local researchers had been approached by us to join in our research but eventually only three participated on a regular basis, and several other collaborators joined the team on a voluntary basis, among which the parish priest, a theologist of Zapotec ethnicity. The administrative council of the municipality had elected our collaborators during a communal gathering prior to the projects commencement. They were elected on the basis of their geographical comprehension of the area, knowledge of the Mixtec language, and provenience. This last point was decided upon by the council, in the sense that each of Apoala's *agencias*, Jazmín Morelos (Progreso), Centro and Union Buena Vista had to have at least one representative in the research group, so that all place-names of all *agencias* could duly be recorded.[10]

During five consecutive days names of mountains, hills, rivers, roads and houses or other natural features like stones, wells and pasture fields were plotted on a paper map depicting the outlines of the Apoala Valley, that grew more extensive as time went by (Figure 6.4). The drawing process commenced at the crossing of the main road and the Apoala River in the heart of the municipal centre, and then worked westwards towards the boundaries with the canyon, then northwards towards Union Buena Vista, continuing southward towards Progreso and finally

9 The flux of elements relating to social theory into archaeological settlement studies, has moved attention toward the architecturally non-significant locations, and has extended to include those locations devoid of any human activity apparent from material remains (Bradley 2000).

10 Although Apoala formally consists of four *agencias*, the agencia of Ndu'ayaco was not attributed representation within the research group because of local political differences and also because the *agencia* is considered to be solely a modern-time settlement of little historical value.

Figure 6.4 Consulting the map during the toponymic survey in the Apoala Valley.

filling in the gaps towards the east (Figure 6.5). The amount of natural features that were named was considerable and requires a more elaborate explanation (Van Broekhoven and Geurds in prep.).

Surely one of the consequences of the exclusive focus of modern-day mapping on maps as communicators of spatial location is that in most official topographic maps that exist for the Mixteca Alta, natural and landscape features are usually not highlighted. In this sense, Jeremy Crampton (2002:12) concludes that 'our current context is based on a Cartesian-scientific worldview […] where we do not take account of maps as helping us find our meaningful place in the world.' Therefore in modern maps the features that appear are limited to rivers. These are usually only attributed one name, even when different parts of a river might be given different names; or even when certain rivers are attributed different names by different communities that live near it. Also included are roads which are usually shown but lacking name; towns, which are named but often only their Spanish name is given; and mountains, which are only very rarely indicated by name. Usually mountains are only represented by a relatively high amount of altitude lines and, if the mountain is considered to be of a particularly high altitude, a point might be placed in the middle of the circumcisions and attributed a number. Churches are usually shown on maps, much like some houses (as indication of a town) and from time to time an archaeological site will be attributed a little symbol, but again, no name will be given to it, unless it concerns exceptional sites like Monte Albán. Even though the 'locational' point

Figure 6.5 Processing toponymic data with local partners.

of view might have been optimized, and even when from an archaeological point of view great progress has been made when it concerns the accuracy and scale of topographical mapping; from a 'toponimical' point of view and thus in terms of communicating data of meaning, current-day mapping is less informative than, earlier, colonial period, maps.

Comparison of modern topographic maps with 16th century *lienzos*,[11] it is observed that the information that is given on the latter, seems to correspond much more to the locally relevant cultural landscape, communicated during the partnership in Apoala. Scenes of local history are intertwined with geographical information considered to be meaningful, which is again intertwined with genealogical information. All of this set in a map-like spatial ordering. According to Barbara Mundy (2002: 120) *lienzos* 'reflect the interests and needs of the individual communities that made or commissioned them.' Hence in most only a very partial element of landscape knowledge will be represented.[12] In this sense, the unique value of indigenous

11 *Lienzos* are a common medium used in the 16th century to document a community's history and indicate and determine a settlement's boundary line. Lienzos are usually made of strips of cloth sewn together (cotton, maguey fibre or deer leather).

12 For example, as Mundy indicates, in the state of Oaxaca, most 16th century examples were oriented toward the representation of dynastic foundations and the representation of genealogies of ruling families while in the central highlands of Mexico lienzos were used to record contemporary 16th century events (ibid.: 121; see also Asselbergs 2004).

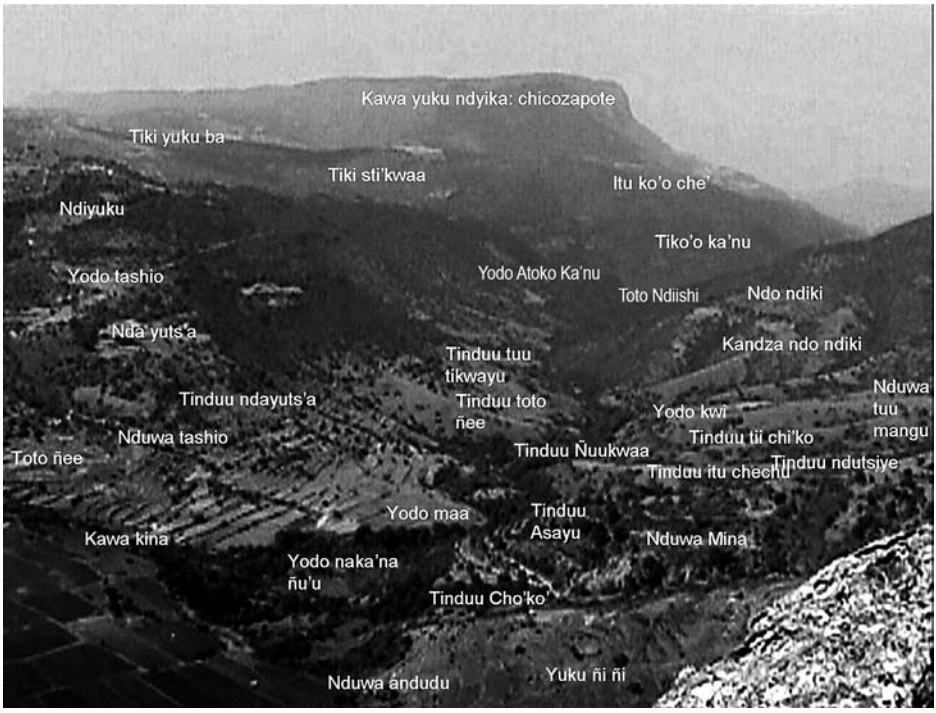


Figure 6.6 Sample of photographic representation of narrated landscape in the Apoala Valley.

pictorials lies in the fact that they provide local history captured in an indigenous medium of communication. They reflect local views on historical events, concepts, and moral.

However, since most *lienzos* date from colonial times, the representing of a local landscape was fulfilled within the sphere of Spanish courts and litigation during the vice-regency as proofs of landownership and to determine other territorial issues. This is a practice still common now, and this was reflected in the amount of discussion on toponyms at or near municipal limits. Thus even though a great deal of the exact genealogical information contained in *lienzos* has long been lost from memory, by no means has the 'lived landscape' and historicity of the landscape been forgotten.

The production of the toponymic map of the Apoala Valley, depicting the cultural landscape, provided new data, and empowered our local partners and the community of Apoala with a much-appreciated record (although partial) of meaningful places and objects in their surroundings (Figure 6.6). Notwithstanding the fact that many inhabitants of Apoala know several of the places depicted, the community of Jazmin Morelos decided to hang their copy of the map on the wall of the community house. This was done since they considered it to be an important testimony of their knowledge, and deemed it an important document for future

generations to remember. This decision echoes the argument of Afable and Beeler (1996:186) that 'the distribution of toponyms, the analysis of their meanings, and the patterns of place-naming can contribute to the recovery of information on foraging, fishing, and hunting strategies and long-term land-use activities and on political organization, settlement boundaries, prehistoric travel and migration routes, and language contact.' For archaeology, these local perceptions of territory and organization of space complement established site typologies and localities, leading to a manageable database of information for registration and interpretation of the archaeological record in the Apoala Valley.

6.2.2.2 Classification of toponyms

Over two hundred names in total were collected (see Appendix D).[13] To integrate these toponyms in a meaningful manner within our archaeological database the corpus was classified, following Afable and Beeler's developed standards (Afable and Beeler 1996). This enabled the inclusion of places which might not have archaeological remains but do constitute important places in the local cultural landscape.

Toponyms provide clues to present and/or past activities and relationships with the named place. Giving a place a name, apart from practical reasons of identification and communication, also endows it with identity and specificity. A name makes it possible to easily tell apart one place from another and at the same time gives an opportunity to emphasize its particular characteristics and significance.

Following Stewart, Barber and Berdan suggested a typology for toponymic studies (Stewart 1958, 1975 in Barber and Berdan, 1998: 116-119).[14] However, as was also noted by Afable and Beeler (1996: 189-190), Stewarts database was built upon European premises and didn't prove

13 Systematic studies of toponyms in the Mixteca Alta are scanty, and those studies that do exist vary greatly in coverage and quality (Alavez 1998). Afable and Beeler, in their analysis of Native north American place-names, argued that many of the toponym studies at hand offer hardly reliable data since they were drawn up by non-native speakers or non-linguistically trained scholars: 'typically in such work, poorly heard names that were poorly recorded in the first place are analyzed into smaller units, which are then compared with similar sequences in dictionaries' (Afable and Beeler, 1996: 189). For the area around Apoala the same can be said. Mixtec being a tonal language it presents the extra difficulty of tones, which from a linguistic point of view are difficult to integrate within toponym-studies since toponyms are often words with antique roots, it is therefore necessary to get the toponyms pronounced within the context of a phrase (Swanton, 2003: personal communication). Tones in toponyms are often overseen and conjectural meanings are presented on the basis of fanciful etymologies.

14 Stewarts classification for European place-names: Descriptive names (can be literal or metaphorical but are culturally or individually perceived); Associative names (name identify along cultural characteristic) e.g. historic activity; Incident names (specific event, can be profane or religious); Possessive names (referring to an individual closely tied to a place, or its history); Commendatory names (named as an attempt to characterize a place as especially positive, lucky, gloomy or disastrous); Manufactured names (such names are usually creatively thought up in a conscious manner such as texmex); Mistake names (misunderstood, mistranslated or mistranscribed historical place names); Shift names (names taken from a place of origin to a new place of settlement for example)

very useful in a Native American name-giving context. Afable and Beeler, for Native north American place-names suggested a different typology including descriptive names; locational names; names referring to human activities associated with a site and names referring to history, mythology and folklore. This typology was adopted for the Apoala Valley database. When using a western typology, virtually all toponyms we find in Apoala fall under the generic 'descriptive name' category thereby disregarding the native perception of the landscape or the connotations that the names of these places carry. While European names are often incident related or commendatory names referring to specific profane or religious events, indigenous names are often attributed with other intentions or memories in mind.

Geographical features in the Apoala landscape such as mountains, rivers, wells and rocks are likely to be named after a certain intrinsic quality they posses in their natural composition, such as Kahua Toon (Black Rock), where the stone in the mountain is formed of a black colour, or Tinduu Ndaa Yutsa ('Hill from where water flows'). Often mountains, hills or plains carry the name of a specific fruit, tree or vegetable that is abundantly present on its locality. The limits of a natural feature are culturally perceived, and rivers, mountains, plains, hills or roads can therefore carry different names in different places along it. A hill might carry a different name on top than at its foot. A river may have certain parts of it named differently depending on its position.

The highest concentration of names is not so much found in the centre of the village, as in the mountains surrounding it, and, obviously along the liminal parts of the town, along the borders of Apoala's territory. Toponyms such as Kahua Laki, Kahua Kandihui and Kahua Yahui Coo Ma have been written about by various scholars and writers alike, as they refer to some of the most sacred places of Apoala and the whole of the Mixtec world. There are names where the name-giving seems to have been straightforward and where the information seems to be of direct usage for scientific purposes such as *Ndu'a ta'ashio* ('Barranca del lugar donde agarran tierra para hacer comal'). An interesting name, since nowadays there no longer exists any comal production, or any kind of ceramic production for that matter, around Apoala. All ceramics that are used are either bought or have been replaced by plastic or other substitutes as aluminium. From an archaeological point of view *Ndu'a Ta'ashio* is certainly one of the places that is worth considering when taking clay samples for analysis of local comal production in pre-colonial times. In total 25 names were recollected that refer to the road network surrounding Apoala, concentrating mainly on the central part of the village.

6.2.2.3 Summary

By incorporating the toponyms used in the Apoala Valley a more complete image is created where pre-colonial monuments are not considered isolated spots of sacredness, as traditionally magnified by the archaeological looking glass, but rather embedded in a cultural geography that is recognized and endorsed by the local community.

The image eventually produced in community workshops mutually organized in the town centre, and preliminary reports presented to the community at the end of the field season (Van Broekhoven and Geurds 2002), displayed a landscape where past and present are not distinct but constituent parts of a whole. Remembered stories are mediated through the present and the present is permeated with memories.

6.3 Conclusion

My constructive thesis is that participatory archaeology depends on local knowledge, namely through oral tradition, to avoid the fragmentation of many community archaeology projects, observed in Chapter Five. In searching for and successfully establishing research that depends both on archaeological methodologies as well as local epistemic systems, archaeology remains what it as a discipline has always been: a science that looks over the fence to neighboring epistemic fields to further its own. The examples of research in Tilantongo and Apoala illustrate this thesis.

The demonstrated potential that oral tradition holds in local participatory projects in the Mixteca Alta is central to attaining a mutually beneficial practice. Bilateral knowledge construction is made possible through the incorporation of toponymic data contained in the oral tradition, whether on a limited or extensive scale as respectively at Monte Negro and the Apoala Valley. These archaeological partnership projects centre on the narration of the local landscape, simultaneously linking the canvas on which archaeology takes place and communities perceive their surroundings and joining those in a communal narrative of local history.

The incorporation of oral tradition in a landscape analysis of the Santiago Tilantongo and Santiago Apoala archaeological investigations, has resolved many of the discrepancies observed in Chapter Five. The key complicating factors in establishing a more inclusive community archaeology are:

1) *multiplicity* of histories through divergent opinions; values; and interpretations concerning the past.
2) *partiality* of knowledge through communication and exclusion.

While these two factors are clearly always present in conducting community archaeology, the incorporation of a landscape narrative as an overall background to the historical reconstructions that are being made, sets the horizon markers from within which both archaeologist and community member undertake their dialogue on local history.

The incorporation of these narratives in archaeological analyses inevitably emphasizes the cultural ties of the narrator and her/his community to the archaeological site. What becomes

clear from this is the implicit validation of the linking of past and present in these types of collaboration along the lines of the praxis of a socially aware archaeology. Creating these links is concurrent with the principal point that social archaeology attempts to achieve, namely, the deconstruction of differences between past and present, specifically represented in the dividing line between pre-colonial and colonial times in the indigenous history of the American continent.

7

Discussion and Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

This thesis has examined the participatory elements in the praxis of archaeology in the Mixteca Alta region of Mexico. Archaeological research was conducted in Santiago Tilantongo and Santiago Apoala, two communities that figure prominently in popular contemporary historical narratives in and of the Mixteca Alta. A reflexive analysis was provided of the constitutive elements of these partnerships, such as official meetings, public presentations and imparted conferences. In these elements, the involved local and non-local social actors have been shown to produce conflicting agendas by creating and transforming involved power relations. The attendant influences on the projects' participatory elements were detected and analyzed through applying qualitative techniques derived from ethnography and social geography. These reflections have situated participatory efforts that recently have received an increased interest from within archaeology, as a result of the broadening interrogation of archaeology's field praxis among descendant communities and its embeddedness in the political present.

It is argued that eagerly constructed participatory archaeological projects, many of which go under the heading of 'community archaeology', are in need of similar reflexive analysis of their field praxis in order to exclude idealized and thus unthinking narratives of a socially harmonious local archaeological praxis.

The argument, as outlined in the individual chapters, followed a narrative course that reflected the process of growing awareness of my own positionality, whereby early chapters present a objectifying narrative consistent with the regional archaeological writing tradition focused on materialist analysis of surface artifacts ranging from the Late Cruz to the Natividad periods (300 BC – AD 1521), collected through mapping, conservation initiative and surface surveying.

Based on this personal reflexive analysis of the participatory elements and local power relations recognized in them, in the subsequent chapters I have explored alternative means for embedding the production of historical knowledge in local perceptions of landscape and monuments. Landscape as a spatial concept is introduced as a local sphere of interest holding a recursive relationship to its inhabitants manifested through narrated histories in both pre-colo-

nial pictographic documents and contemporary oral tradition. The incorporation of indigenous knowledge regarding archaeologically relevant categories such as landscape perspectives and oral history has seen little application in the Mixteca Alta due in part to viewing indigenous knowledge as bounded, consensual and uniform. This lack of regard for local concepts is further enhanced by an often found poor understanding of locally spoken languages and the practical time constraints placed on stays in the community.

Incorporating landscape in archaeological narrative as a canvas upon which local knowledge is inscribed and evoked, allows for the integration of locally meaningful natural features in archaeological analyses. For the two case studies, the dialogue established in mutually narrating the local landscapes of Monte Negro and Apoala produced different, yet complementary accounts of the past. Ultimately seeking this integration leads to local histories that rely on archaeology to insert information on the when and how of historical developments, and on oral history to bring meaning into these archaeological histories. Such histories then are not only mutually produced in a form of participation between local community members and archaeologist, but also are meaningful and informative to both and represent ways to move beyond oppositional postcolonial discourse.

7.2 Discussion of key points

In the previous chapters I have reflected on two case studies in order to understand how the projects differentially led to participative elements of local community members. What emerged from the two presented case-studies of Tilantongo and Apoala was that there needs to be greater consideration of the spectrum of situations where relationships with a significant amount of local involvement take shape between archaeologists and stakeholder community. As shown, the body of literature reporting on 'community archaeology' project has grown steadily for areas outside of Mesoamerican studies, with some notable exceptions in the Maya area (e.g. Rissolo and Mathews 2006:198-209). A readily defined methodology underlying these participatory projects is currently unavailable From my presented argument it follows that such a set of methods proves complex to attain; and it is in fact not to be advized. In going beyond the required official relations between archaeologist and political actors in these communities, what has become clear is that collaboration comes in many forms and is determined on the community side by political interests; pre-existing experiences of collaborations with archaeologists; and on the archaeologists´ side by comparable pre-existing frames of reference.

I acknowledge that some of my disciplinary colleagues active in Oaxacan archaeology might view the changes proposed through participatory archaeology as drastic and perhaps even irresponsible. In the described case in the Mixteca Alta, involvement with local descendant communities has proven to be personally challenging and academically confronting for myself, and

I would speculate that my colleagues would or already have come across similar observations. Currently, descendant communities in Mexico do not own the material heritage to which they relate and can therefore not exert any definite control over these materials in terms of how they are handled; studied; and used. Control of archaeological remains ultimately remains an official state affair, which is represented by INAH, which in turn occasionally authorizes national and foreign university-based archaeologists. Command over the manner in which the material remains are handled is thus *not* a local affair. In other regional archaeologies, such as those of North America and Australia the situation of ownership is fundamentally different, and also there many archaeologists have described changes since the mid 1980s as concerning and sometimes much more directly condemning terms (e.g. Meighan 1984, 1996). However, I would argue that these changes are not principally grounded in legislative issues, but fit the larger post-processual paradigmatic changes that have engulfed archaeology for a similar time period, crystallizing in the recognition of the different, or perhaps even unique ways in which descendant communities construct their perspectives on the past (e.g. Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2006b). Community archaeology initiatives can be seen as a logical outcome of this shift, and even when taking into consideration the relative views on the fleeting of time in academia, can hardly be judged as unexpected or uncontrolled.

Mexico is not an exception to the abovementioned paradigmatic change. When considering for example the emergence of the community museums in Mexico, the state of Oaxaca is particularly illustrative of the shift in placing responsibility over the handling and interpretation of past material culture to the local community level. For the case of Mesoamerican archaeology, a critical evaluation of participatory archaeology is now called for in order to ensure that the momentum of initiatives is maintained and members of descendant communities in the Mixteca Alta and beyond can be involved in these projects to the benefit of both them and archaeology.

7.3 Landscape and authority

Many of the above mentioned initiatives, including my own, identify two key concepts as central to the understanding of a descendant community's motivation: these are oral tradition and heritage. The fact that the archaeological projects analyzed here are my own, points to a disconcerting poverty in Mixteca Alta archaeology with regard to projects of participatory archaeology. Participatory archaeology in the Mixteca Alta and extending into other parts of the state of Oaxaca remains to be defined and some of the points I have argued in the preceding chapters may help to isolate some of the key ingredients of such a definition.

Certainly many indigenous community members have participated in the past and the present archaeology of Oaxaca; they have done so since the beginning stages of the discipline,

but their role in the discussions held and decisions made remains minimal. Other than the well-known directive powers through simply denying access to terrains; views and opinions by community members concerning their role in archaeological projects were peripheral to archaeology. Through the findings presented above regarding Santiago Tilantongo and Santiago Apoala, an understanding is created of how community members prefer to engage with the past and how the situatedness of the material remains in the surrounding landscape is interpreted.

From findings in Chapters Three and Four is follows that the nature of authority in the Tilantongo as well the Apoala area is complex, both on the level of the political office-holders as well as among the other community members. Political actors have been identified as pursuing goals in participatory efforts with archaeology that are prone to diverge from the consensus opinion among non-politically active community members. In this regard an analogy is to be drawn between the handling of the past in the reflected upon Tilantongo present, and the handling of the Monte Negro present during Early Ramos period times. Both situations were sketched and concluded to have had community-building aspects as a central concern.

In the case of Monte Negro the high degree of monumentality as compared to the overall size of the community, indicates a preoccupation with the reinforcing of a natural ambiance (in the form of the hilltop surroundings) that filled a central role in the ritual aspects of social life. Through emphasizing this ritual meaning of the local landscape by means of civic-ceremonial architecture, the perceived unity and structure of the Monte Negro community was directed and shaped in ways that were approved by its members, given that they ultimately saw to the creation of the individual residential and non-residential structures. Social meanings of the Cerro Negro determined it to be a landscape associated with water symbolism and the monumental lay-out of the site clearly demarcates the ritual activities (e.g. through processions through the site along the central avenue, or semi-public ritual offerings in ceremonial buildings like Structure 2-Este) that must have taken place there. Political authority merged with religious importance at Monte Negro, but this ritual importance existed previous to the interest in absorbing this importance in the political agenda.

At a much later period in history, the 10th and 11th centuries described by the pictorial manuscripts, the early political importance of Monte Negro continues to draw the attention of political office holders, and the locations is integrated accordingly in scenes depicting nearby Tilantongo. The presented findings for Apoala Valley are in apparent contrast to Monte Negro in this regard, this location is all but absent from these narratives that describe political history in the Mixteca Alta.

Based on surface remains, monumentality was not a preferred characteristic during Early Ramos times, nor did it reach any form of dominance during later periods. The religious and ritual importance of the Apoala valley, as evidenced through the presented oral tradition and the mentioned pictorial manuscripts, seems clear though. Why thus this apparent monumental underplaying of ceremonial importance in the valley? It seems that the pre-colonial community in

the Apoala Valley has relied predominantly on the pre-existing characteristics of the surrounding landscape to confirm and renew messages and stories related to origin. Monumentality was most likely an option, but not a likely choice. Kahua Kandihui is perhaps the most iconic example of this practice; this hill features as the stage for primordial marriages in Mixtec history, but is largely devoid of any material traces. It does however dominate the Apoala and Apasco valleys with far horizons in all directions and the most likely principal access route is marked by a field of boulders the dwarf all those passing alongside and in between them. Religious social authority in Apoala seems thus to have been underscored primarily through the landscape. Any additional expressions of monumentality, thereby profiling local political leadership, was unwanted, perhaps not in the least given the regional importance of this landscape and the stories attached to it. This regional importance would have drawn religious pilgrims to the Apoala Valley, paralleling narratives in the pictorial manuscripts, and abundant demonstrations of local authority would have been regarded as inadequate for this public. The purpose of pilgrimages undertaken to Apoala is also illustrated in the pictorial manuscripts where political authorities are on multiple occasions portrayed in pilgrimage activities that lead to consultations with, what might be referred to as, oracles. The dominating presence of political and religious authorities in these manuscripts was most likely merely a sample of a much wider social practice of travelling the region for religious and ritual purpose. With its origin connotations in oral tradition, Apoala would have been a primary destination for these travels, but not leading to extensive political manifestations on the local valley level. As such, both Monte Negro and the Apoala Valley center a significant part of their meaning on ritual processions; in the case of Monte Negro most visibly site-based, even though several paths lead up the mountain and appear to date to precolonial times (cf. Balkansky et al. 2004: 47, Figure 10). In the case of the Apoala Valley it is mainly off-site, with processions taking place on the valley-floor and to hilltop locations like those of Kahua Kaandihui. An example of this is also found in the Codex Zouche-Nuttall on page 36 where a procession of priests is depicted, among which two are named 7 Snake and 4 Snake, which are also the lineage founders of the Tilantongo ruling dynasty as recorded in the Codex Vindobonensis Page 33.

The relationship between landscape and authority is complex, and not restricted to discussions of the past but firmly continuing into the present. Political authority relied on the social meanings of landscape and in debating the present-day authority over material heritage, landscape continues to provide the stage at which this is negotiated. A significant difference lies herein that currently territoriality has replaced rituality and stakeholders in the past are therefore primarily focussed on property limits; municipal borders; presence of building materials; and eventually also the economy of heritage management. When debating a participatory archaeology in the Mixteca Alta, or any form of archaeology in fact, these are aspects to be taken into consideration for the project to prove viable and meaningful to local community members.

7.4 Conclusion

Archaeologists working in the Mixteca Alta depend on local communities in similar ways as political office-holders depend on other community members through the meanings inscribed in the surrounding landscape. There is however an additional dimension of this power-laden relationship between archaeologist and community. Once collaboration is sought with political actors or any other member of the local community, then the identity of the archaeologist will become an element in the local strategic decision making process. As described in Chapter Five, social control and the innuendo connected to it will shape the image of the archaeologist and his or her local research activities and goals in ways beyond the immediate managerial powers of the archaeologist. The interconnected nature of the ideas locally raised during a field campaign make it counter productive to consider any particular example in isolation from its context. Therefore I have tried to describe local circumstances and emphasize the contingent elements that lead community members to become participants or remain bystanders. Reflexivity enables the examination of the potential of partnership. It is argued to proceed on a case by case basis, and avoid attempting to formulate a unifying methodology for working together with communities.

Finally, dialogue with community members has shown local partnerships in archaeology to be of primary importance in furthering trust in the local context. This trust is reached when all social actors involved in the partnership elucidate their respective goals and interest in the archaeological activities, and as has been shown, these may at times be far removed from each other and are always conditioned by the participant's position in the discourse. Participatory archaeology does not seek participation alone; it seeks also to reflect on the participation of archaeology in a descendant community in order to better understand communication to and among community members. This is a key points to emerge from the reflection on my own research by means of participatory archaeology.

Steps to be undertaken for increasing the window of opportunity for community involvement in scientific research have proven slow in materializing in other surroundings (e.g. Schmidt & Patterson 1995: 1), and it remains to be seen how this will evolve in the Mixteca Alta. Among the recent examples where Mixtec communities engage in a participation with archaeologists, the current multi-year project in Teposcolula will prove an interesting case-study. This project, investigating the Late Postclassic settlement Pueblo Viejo has sought multiple ways of involving the local public and the past and current complex political situation in Teposcolula will provide yet another dimension to participatory archaeology in this region (Spores personal communication 2005). Participatory archaeology points the way to a more ample archaeology; opening the door to detailed data on sites; surrounding landscape; and types of remains registered. The range of perspectives on the past is significantly expanded thereby enabling a more comprehensive and grounded understanding of the Mixtec past.

Epilogue

During the 2004 field work two persons from Mexico City appeared at the Monte Negro site for what was, by their own saying, a pilgrimage. They arrived at the site one afternoon, dressed in regular cloths but adorned with headbands featuring some feathers. In addition, one of the two carried a large flag with the depiction of a hill pictograph derived from Mesoamerican iconography. The other, the apparent leader of the two, walked the site carrying a tri-pod censor (of modern make) that contained burning copal incense, in one hand, and a conch shell (Strombus Gigas) in the other. Every minute or so, the conch was used a musical instrument for producing a sound. The scene of these two persons transgressing the ceremonial centre of the site in combination with the copal smoke and the periodic blowing of the conch, struck me as rather ominous, and at least very unusual to witness.

The two, after completing their rituals on several of the structures in the monumental core, arrived at the house of one of the residents of Cerro Negro. As it turned out, the leader of the two had already been to the site about a year earlier, and our local partner had known him since then. As he explained to me and all those present, he was on a mission dedicated to spreading the word of a better, more authentic Mexico, inspired by the Mexica society of Late Postclassic Mesoamerica, to paraphrase him. Although we did not refer to him as such at the time, it became clear from his rhetoric that he identified with the ideology of the popularly called Conchero sub-culture.1 Our local partner listened with interest to, what was unfolding to become a long monologue. He addressed the virtues Mexica society had offered to its citizens, and connected this to the contemporary social contrasts in Mexico.

Whilst this way of addressing the apparent problems in Mexico seemed to sound nice, it offered little concrete solutions to immediate socio-economic problems. In my perception of that afternoon, the two persons from Mexico City were apt to underscore the greatness of the Mexica, quite frankly, along the lines of a fascist ideology. Ironically, they drew numerous comparisons to the fact that our local partner was an indigenous person, but did not bother to sketch the complex cultural palette that has distinguished the territory now known as Mexico in place and time. In their view, however historically erroneous, our local partner should simply also turn around his way of life to once again become what his ancestors were: proud Mexica.

During this encounter we had a position as listening bystanders; an audience to his monologue and only later on did the attention in the conversation turn to me. When we identified ourselves as archaeologists, the leader of the two became visibly uncomfortable. Presumably, our disciplinary knowledge of Mexico's indigenous past was experienced by him as a threat to the expression of his authoritative discourse. The remainder of the day featured more prolonged rhetorical arguments on subjects such as the 'underestimated virtues' of Porfirio Diaz's reign, as well as several long inter*ven-*

1 This controversial movement finds its inspiration in the reconstructions of urban Mexica society, which significantly are generated to a large degree by archaeologists. It is based on the ideas of *Nueva Mexicanidad*, a cultural movement that emerged in the 1970s among middle class Mexican society, and generally, though not exclusively, attracts Mexicans with the fewest of economic possibilities and offers them, by propagating this utopian ideology, a goal to strive for in their lives.

tions on the glorious nature of the indigenous life-style. The next day they departed, for their last destination before returning to Mexico-City: coastal Zipolite.

The importance of these concheros visiting several sites in the Mixteca is significant in light of the discussions they entail on the meaning and purpose of these sites. As historically warped and politically dubious the expressed convictions may be, the discourse includes a strong emphasis on the need for site preservation. In their criticism they included a focus on abuse of the site for commercial practices; an emergent undertaking that for example enables people to have their wedding ceremony on one of the mounds at the site.2 Monte Negro is relatively exceptional to other sites in the Mixtec region concerning these (commercial) outsider claims to the site, but if anything it is a phenomenon that will most likely see further growth in the future. Apart from commercial uses for wedding ceremonies or tourism, they also include the spiritual pilgrimages by the concheros or other new-age related groupings. The change to be noticed here is that, if anything, the public representation of archaeological sites in Oaxaca is in flux, and this is a flux that claims sites before asking historical or territorial permission. Ever since the creation of the Mexican nation-state, the state itself has been a primary agent in creating representations of archaeological sites, largely for purposes of national history. In comparison to iconic sites such as Teotihuacán and Chichén Itzá, the monumental sites in the Mixteca Alta may seem to be a peripheral area in this process, but one only needs to look at the role of nearby Monte Albán to recognize the public claims and subsequent contestations of those claims. Cleary it is only a matter of time before archaeologists will be one of multiple interest groups in the Mixteca.

2 A discourse echoing recent occurrences surrounding the construction of a Bodega Aurrera (a Wal-Mart Coorporation subsidiary) near San Juan Teotihuacán and in the so called C- Perimeter of the Teotihuacán Archaeological Zone (Geurds in press).

REGISTRO FOTOGRÁFICO

CENTRO INAH-OAXACA – UNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN

Cédula de los daños a las estructuras del sitio arqueológico de Monte Negro. Santiago Tilantongo, Nochixtlán, Oaxaca.

NOMBRE: UNIDAD 1
UBICACIÓN: CONJUNTO CENTRAL

DETERIOROS

- Crecimiento de vegetación menor y microorganismos.
- Derrumbe y desplazamiento de la escalera Sur.
- Desplomo de la mayoría de los muros.
- Pozo de saqueo.
- Erosión avanzada en varias partes del Patio.
- Un muro en desplomo muy avanzada.

SISTEMAS CONSTRUCTIVOS

- Muros construidos con piedras y una mezcla de tierra.
- Muros construidos con piedras.
- Columnas construidas de piedra.
- Escaleras construidas de piedra.
- Tlecuil.

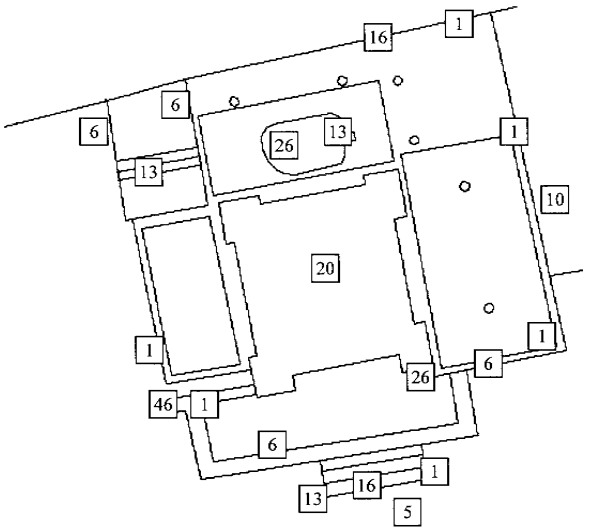
NIVEL DE ATENCIÓN

☐ MEDIANO PLAZO ☐ CORTO PLAZO ■ URGENTE

INTERVENCIONES

- Limpieza y desyerbe.
- Levantamiento arquitectónico, levantamiento fotográfico y por medio de dibujos.
- Desmantelamiento y reintegración de muros desplomados.
- Desmantelamiento y reintegración de la escalera Sur.
- Retiro de escombros y limpieza del área a intervenir.
- Relleno del pozo de saqueo.
- Reconstrucción de las columnas.

LEVANTO:	FECHA DE LEV.:
A. Geurds, J. de Vriese	10-07-2000



levantamiento de deterioros

Nombre: **Unidad 1**
UBICACIÓN: **CONJUNTO CENTRAL**

1 DERRUMBE.
2 FRACTURA.
3 COLAPSO.
4 HUNDIMIENTO.
5 DESPLAZAMIENTO.
6 DESPLOMO.
7 DISGREGACION DE MATERIAL CONSTRUCTIVO.
8 GRIETA.
9 FISURA.
10 PERDIDA DE MATERIAL CONSTRUCTIVO.
11 DESPRENDIMIENTO.
12 ABUFAMIENTO.
13 REMOCION DE COMPONENTES.
14 DESLAVE.
15 FILTRACION PLUVIAL.
16 EROSION.
17 SEPARACION DE ELEMENTOS.
18 EXFOLIACION.
19 CONCENTRACION DESALES MINERALES.
20 ACUMULACION DE RELLENOS.
21 CRECIMIENTO DE MICROORGANISMOS.
22 CRECIMIENTO DE VEGETALES MAYORES.
23 CRECIMIENTO DE VEGETALES MENORES.
24 GRAFITTI.
25 VANDALISMO.
26 SAQUEO.
27 INVASION DE FAUNA MENOR.

ANTES DE CUALQUIER INTERVENCIÓN SE REALIZARÁ UN REGISTRO GRAFICO DIGITAL (ESTACION TOTAL, FOTOGRÁFICO).

REGISTRO FOTOGRÁFICO

LEVANTO:
A. Geurds, J. de Vriese

FECHA DE LEV.:
10-07-2000

CENTRO INAH-OAXACA – UNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN

Cédula de los daños a las estructuras del sitio arqueológico de Monte Negro. Santiago Tilantongo, Nochixtlán, Oaxaca.

NOMBRE: **UNIDAD 3**
UBICACIÓN: CONJUNTO CENTRAL

DETERIOROS

- Columnas colapsadas.
- Desplomo parcial de la mayoría de los muros.
- Derrumbes, incluyendo una escalera derrumbada.
- Perdido de material constructivo (tierra).
- Crecimiento de vegetación menor y microorganismos.

SISTEMAS CONSTRUCTIVOS

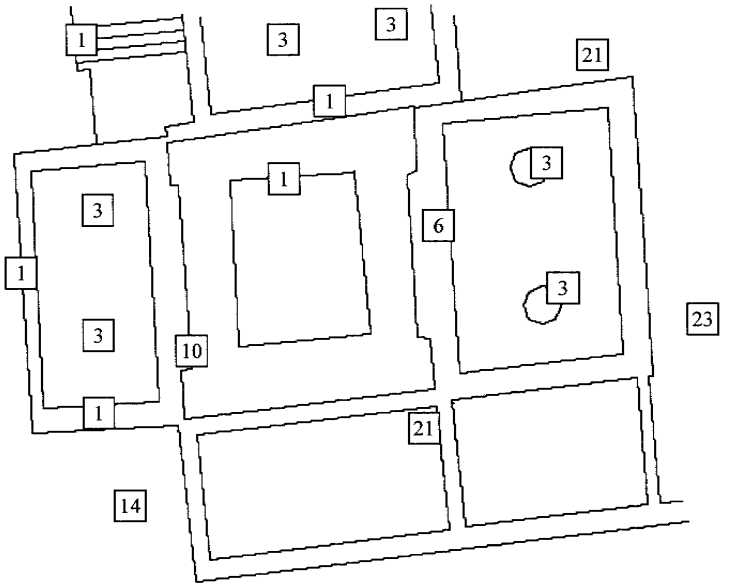
- Muros construidos de piedra con mezcla.
- Muros construidos de piedra con tierra.
- Muros construidos de piedra.
- Columnas construidas de piedra.

NIVEL DE ATENCIÓN

☐ MEDIANO PLAZO ■ CORTO PLAZO ☐ URGENTE

INTERVENCIONES

- Limpieza y desyerbe.
- Levantamiento arquitectónico, fotográfico y por medio de dibujos.
- Consolidación de muros sin mezcla y de los muros desplomados.
- Reconstrucción de la escalera.
- Reconstrucción de las columnas.
- Retiro de escombros y limpieza del área a intervenir.



1	DERRUMBE.
2	FRACTURA.
3	COLAPSO.
6	HUNDIMIENTO.
7	DESPLAZAMIENTO.
6	DESPLOMO.
16	DISGREGACION DE MATERIAL CONSTRUCTIVO.
17	GRIETA.
18	FISURA.
19	PERDIDA DE MATERIAL CONSTRUCTIVO.
20	DESPRENDIMIENTO.
21	ABUFAMIENTO.
22	REMOCION DE COMPONENTES.
23	DESLAVE.
24	FILTRACION PLUVIAL.
16	EROSION.
17	SEPARACION DE ELEMENTOS.
18	EXFOLIACION.
19	CONCENTRACION DESALES MINERALES.
20	ACUMULACION DE RELLENOS.
28	CRECIMIENTO DE MICROORGANISMOS.
29	CRECIMIENTO DE VEGETALES MAYORES.
30	CRECIMIENTO DE VEGETALES MENORES.
31	GRAFITTI.
32	VANDALISMO.
33	SAQUEO.
34	INVASION DE FAUNA MENOR.

ANTES DE CUALQUIER INTERVENCIÓN SE REALIZARÁ UN REGISTRO GRAFICO DIGITAL (ESTACION TOTAL, FOTOGRÁFICO).

levantamiento de deterioros

Nombre: **Unidad 3**
UBICACIÓN: **CONJUNTO CENTRAL**

REGISTRO FOTOGRÁFICO

CENTRO INAH-OAXACA – UNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN

Cédula de los daños a las estructuras del sitio arqueológico de Monte Negro. Santiago Tilantongo, Nochixtlán, Oaxaca.

NOMBRE: UNIDAD 5 (EDIFICIO U)
UBICACIÓN: CONJUNTO CENTRAL

DETERIOROS

- Crecimiento de vegetación menor, mayor y de microorganismos.
- Derrumbes en el Sudeste y Oeste del piso del patio.
- Desplomo cámara Sur (Nor. Oest.).
- Pozo de saqueo.
- Perdida de material constructivo en la escalera de la cámara Oeste.
- Desplomo de la escalera mayor.
- Colapso de columnas.
- Graffiti en el exterior al Sur.

SISTEMAS CONSTRUCTIVOS

- Muros de piedra construidos con tierra.
- Construcciones de piedras sin mezcla.
- Escaleras construidas de piedras.
- Tubo de barro dentro de una 'columna' construido por Caso, pegada con cimiento.
- Columnas construidas de piedra.
- Muro de adobe.

NIVEL DE ATENCIÓN

☐ MEDIANO PLAZO ☐ CORTO PLAZO ■ URGENTE

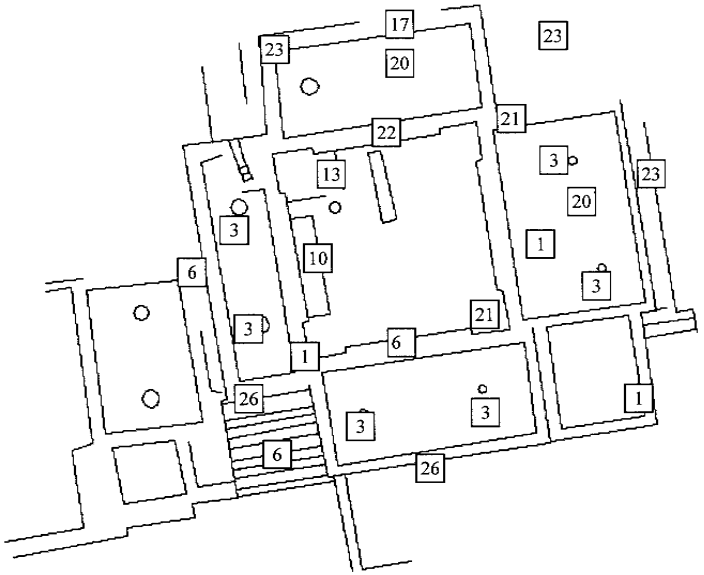
INTERVENCIONES

Patio
- Limpieza, desyerbe y desarbolo.
- Levantamiento arquitectónico (Estación Total), fotográfico y por medio de dibujos.
- Consolidación de las partes derrumbadas.
- Desmantelamiento y reintegración del muro exterior Oeste.
- Consolidación de la escalera Oeste en el patio.
- Consolidación de construcciones de piedras sin mezcla y de la escalera mayor.
- Consolidación de las columnas.

Pasillo
- Limpieza y desyerbe.
- Consolidación de los muros y de la escalera.

LEVANTÓ:
A. Geurds, I. Kisjes

FECHA DE LEV.:
12-07-2000



1	DERRUMBE.
2	FRACTURA.
3	COLAPSO.
8	HUNDIMIENTO.
9	DESPLAZAMIENTO.
6	DESPLOMO.
25	DISGREGACION DE MATERIAL CONSTRUCTIVO.
26	GRIETA.
27	FISURA.
28	PERDIDA DE MATERIAL CONSTRUCTIVO.
29	DESPRENDIMIENTO.
30	ABUFAMIENTO.
31	REMOCION DE COMPONENTES.
32	DESLAVE.
33	FILTRACION PLUVIAL.
16	EROSION.
17	SEPARACION DE ELEMENTOS.
18	EXFOLIACION.
19	CONCENTRACION DESALES MINERALES.
20	ACUMULACION DE RELLENOS.
35	CRECIMIENTO DE MICROORGANISMOS.
36	CRECIMIENTO DE VEGETALES MAYORES.
37	CRECIMIENTO DE VEGETALES MENORES.
38	GRAFITTI.
39	VANDALISMO.
40	SAQUEO.
41	INVASION DE FAUNA MENOR.

levantamiento de deterioros

Nombre: **Unidad 5 (Edificio U)**
UBICACIÓN: **CONJUNTO CENTRAL**

ANTES DE CUALQUIER INTERVENCIÓN SE REALIZARÁ UN REGISTRO GRAFICO DIGITAL (ESTACION TOTAL, FOTOGRÁFICO).

REGISTRO FOTOGRÁFICO

CENTRO INAH-OAXACA – UNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN

Cédula de los daños a las estructuras del sitio arqueológico de Monte Negro. Santiago Tilantongo, Nochixtlán, Oaxaca.

NOMBRE: UNIDAD 8
UBICACIÓN: CONJUNTO SUDESTE

DETERIOROS

- Derrumbe de varios muros.
- Deslave del núcleo de las estructuras al sur del Patio y acumulación de relleno en estas estructuras.
- Acumulación en el patio mismo.
- Crecimiento de vegetación menor y de microorganismos en la mayor parte de los muros.

SISTEMAS CONSTRUCTIVOS

- Muros de piedra con una mezcla de tierra.
- Piedras monolíticas sirviendo como esquinas de las estructuras alrededor del Patio.
- Escalera de piedra.

NIVEL DE ATENCIÓN

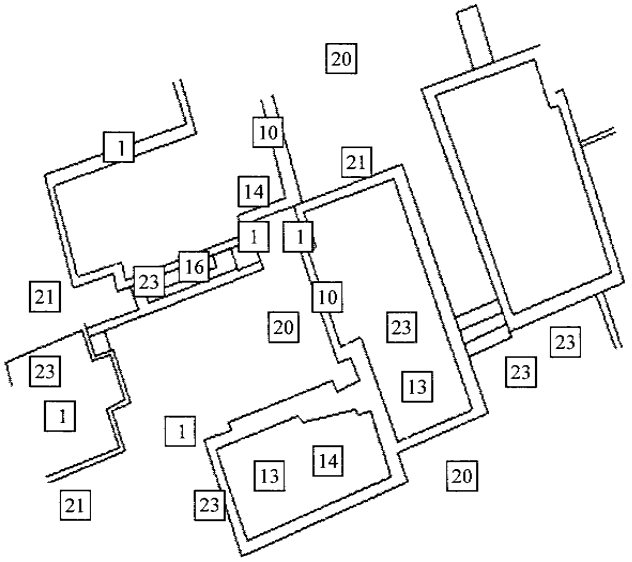
■ MEDIANO PLAZO ☐ CORTO PLAZO ☐ URGENTE

INTERVENCIONES

- Limpieza y desyerbe.
- Levantamiento arquitectónico (Estación Total), levantamiento fotográfico y por medio de dibujos
- Consolidación de muros derrumbados (más urgente en la parte Sur del Patio que en la parte Norte).
- Retiro de escombros y limpieza del área a intervenir.

LEVANTO:
A. Geurds, J. de Vriese

FECHA DE LEV.:
10-07-2000



levantamiento de deterioros

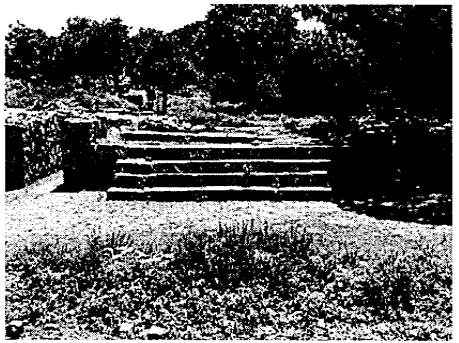
Nombre: **Unidad 8**
UBICACIÓN: **CONJUNTO SUDESTE**

DETERIOROS

1	DERRUMBE.
2	FRACTURA.
3	COLAPSO.
10	HUNDIMIENTO.
11	DESPLAZAMIENTO.
6	DESPLOMO.
34	DISGREGACION DE MATERIAL CONSTRUCTIVO.
35	GRIETA.
36	FISURA.
37	PERDIDA DE MATERIAL CONSTRUCTIVO.
38	DESPRENDIMIENTO.
39	ABUFAMIENTO.
40	REMOCION DE COMPONENTES.
41	DESLAVE.
42	FILTRACION PLUVIAL.
16	EROSION.
17	SEPARACION DE ELEMENTOS.
18	EXFOLIACION.
19	CONCENTRACION DESALES MINERALES.
20	ACUMULACION DE RELLENOS.
42	CRECIMIENTO DE MICROORGANISMOS.
43	CRECIMIENTO DE VEGETALES MAYORES.
44	CRECIMIENTO DE VEGETALES MENORES.
45	GRAFITTI.
46	VANDALISMO.
47	SAQUEO.
48	INVASION DE FAUNA MENOR.

ANTES DE CUALQUIER INTERVENCIÓN SE REALIZARÁ UN REGISTRO GRAFICO DIGITAL (ESTACION TOTAL, FOTOGRÁFICO).

REGISTRO FOTOGRÁFICO



CENTRO INAH-OAXACA – UNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN

Cédula de los daños a las estructuras del sitio arqueológico de Monte Negro. Santiago Tilantongo, Nochixtlán, Oaxaca.

NOMBRE: TEMPLO T
UBICACIÓN: CONJUNTO CENTRAL

DETERIOROS

- Crecimiento de vegetación menor y de microorganismos.
- Desplazamiento de piedras.
- Graffiti.

SISTEMAS CONSTRUCTIVOS

- Muros y escaleras de piedra construidos con mezcla.
- Muros construidos de adobe.
- Columnas y muros de piedra construidos sin mezcla.

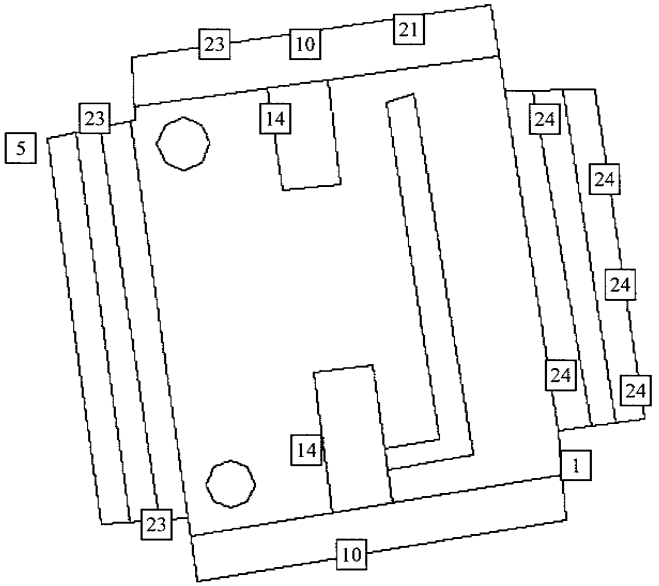
NIVEL DE ATENCIÓN

■ MEDIANO PLAZO ☐ CORTO PLAZO ☐ URGENTE

INTERVENCIONES

- Limpieza y desyerbe.
- Levantamiento arquitectónico (Estación Total), fotográfico y por medio de dibujos.
- Pegamiento de muros de piedra construidos sin mezcla (Escalera Este sería la más urgente.
- Consolidación de columnas.
- Remoción de graffiti.

LEVANTO:	FECHA DE LEV.:
A. Geurds, I. Kisjes	12-07-2000



1	DERRUMBE.
2	FRACTURA.
3	COLAPSO.
12	HUNDIMIENTO.
13	DESPLAZAMIENTO.
6	DESPLOMO.
43	DISGREGACION DE MATERIAL CONSTRUCTIVO.
44	GRIETA.
45	FISURA.
46	PERDIDA DE MATERIAL CONSTRUCTIVO.
47	DESPRENDIMIENTO.
48	ABUFAMIENTO.
49	REMOCION DE COMPONENTES.
50	DESLAVE.
51	FILTRACION PLUVIAL.
16	EROSION.
17	SEPARACION DE ELEMENTOS.
18	EXFOLIACION.
19	CONCENTRACION DESALES MINERALES.
20	ACUMULACION DE RELLENOS.
49	CRECIMIENTO DE MICROORGANISMOS.
50	CRECIMIENTO DE VEGETALES MAYORES.
51	CRECIMIENTO DE VEGETALES MENORES.
52	GRAFITTI.
53	VANDALISMO.
54	SAQUEO.
55	INVASION DE FAUNA MENOR.

ANTES DE CUALQUIER INTERVENCIÓN SE REALIZARÁ UN REGISTRO GRAFICO DIGITAL (ESTACION TOTAL, FOTOGRÁFICO).

levantamiento de deterioros

Nombre: **Templo T**
UBICACIÓN: **CONJUNTO CENTRAL**

REGISTRO FOTOGRÁFICO

CENTRO INAH-OAXACA – UNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN

Cédula de los daños a las estructuras del sitio arqueológico de Monte Negro. Santiago Tilantongo, Nochixtlán, Oaxaca.

NOMBRE: TEMPLO T-N
UBICACIÓN: CONJUNTO CENTRAL

DETERIOROS

- Derrumbe completo del muro Norte.
- *Derrumbe parcial de varios muros y de la escalera Este.*
- *Crecimiento de vegetación menor en mayor parte de la estructura.*
- *Crecimiento de árboles afecta los muros.*
- *Colapse y desaparición de la mayor parte de las columnas.*
- *Desplomo de varios muros.*
- *Erosión fuerte de la parte Norte.*
- *Cubrimiento de escombros de Caso.*

SISTEMAS CONSTRUCTIVOS

- Muros de piedra y mezcla de tierra.
- Muros de piedra sin mezcla.
- Columnas reconstruidas de piedra con mezcla de cimento.
- Núcleos de piedra y barro.
- Escalera de piedra.

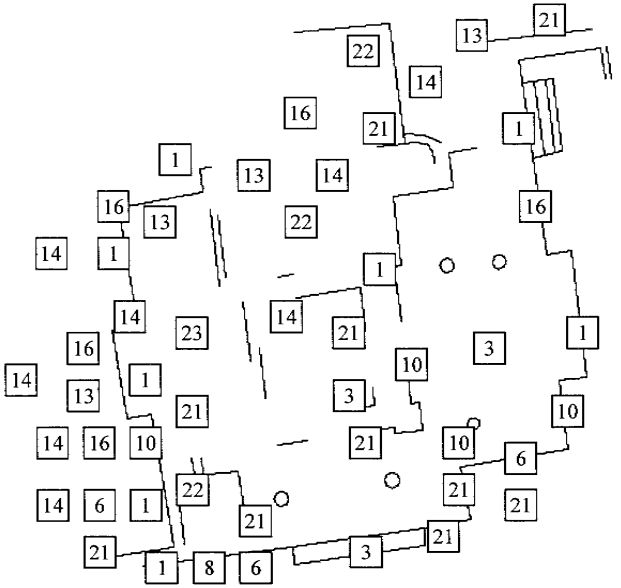
NIVEL DE ATENCIÓN

MEDIANO PLAZO	CORTO PLAZO	URGENTE
		■

INTERVENCIONES

- Limpieza, desyerbe y desarbolo.
- Consolidación del muro Norte.
- Desmantelamiento y reintegración de los muros de la estructura.
- Consolidación de las columnas.
- Retiro de escombros y limpieza del área a intervenir.
- Creación de un registro fotográfico y de dibujos de plantas y alzadas.

LEVANTO:	FECHA DE LEV.:
A. Geurds, J. de Vriese	10-07-2000



levantamiento de deterioros

Nombre: Templo T-N
UBICACIÓN: CONJUNTO CENTRAL

DETERIOROS

1	DERRUMBE.
2	FRACTURA.
3	COLAPSO.
14	HUNDIMIENTO.
15	DESPLAZAMIENTO.
6	DESPLOMO.
52	DISGREGACION DE MATERIAL CONSTRUCTIVO.
53	GRIETA.
54	FISURA.
55	PERDIDA DE MATERIAL CONSTRUCTIVO.
56	DESPRENDIMIENTO.
57	ABUFAMIENTO.
58	REMOCION DE COMPONENTES.
59	DESLAVE.
60	FILTRACION PLUVIAL.
16	EROSION.
17	SEPARACION DE ELEMENTOS.
18	EXFOLIACION.
19	CONCENTRACION DESALES MINERALES.
20	ACUMULACION DE RELLENOS.
56	CRECIMIENTO DE MICROORGANISMOS.
57	CRECIMIENTO DE VEGETALES MAYORES.
58	CRECIMIENTO DE VEGETALES MENORES.
59	GRAFITTI.
60	VANDALISMO.
61	SAQUEO.
62	INVASION DE FAUNA MENOR.

ANTES DE CUALQUIER INTERVENCIÓN SE REALIZARÁ UN REGISTRO GRAFICO DIGITAL (ESTACION TOTAL, FOTOGRÁFICO).

REGISTRO FOTOGRÁFICO

CENTRO INAH-OAXACA – UNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN

Cédula de los daños a las estructuras del sitio arqueológico de Monte Negro. Santiago Tilantongo, Nochixtlán, Oaxaca.

NOMBRE: ESTRUCTURA 1-ESTE (SISTEMA R)
UBICACIÓN: CONJUNTO CENTRAL

DETERIOROS

- Crecimiento de vegetación menor, mayor y de microorganismos.
- Desplomo de varios muros.

SISTEMAS CONSTRUCTIVOS

- Muros y escaleras construidos de tierra.
- Núcleo de tierra.
- Piedras careadas sin mezcla de tierra.
- Túnel construido de piedra (con lajas).
- Columnas construidas de piedra sin tierra.
- Patio hundido

NIVEL DE ATENCIÓN

■ MEDIANO PLAZO ☐ CORTO PLAZO ☐ URGENTE

INTERVENCIONES

- Limpieza, desyerbe y desarbolo.
- Levantamiento arquitectónico (Estación Total), fotográfico y por medio de dibujos.
- Desmantelamiento y reintegración de muros desplomados y de la escalera Este.
- Consolidación de las columnas y del patio hundido.

LEVANTO:	FECHA DE LEV.:
A. Geurds, I. Kisjes	12-07-2000

REGISTRO FOTOGRÁFICO

LEVANTO: A. Geurds, I. Kisjes

FECHA DE LEV.: 13-07-2000

CENTRO INAH-OAXACA – UNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN

Cédula de los daños a las estructuras del sitio arqueológico de Monte Negro. Santiago Tilantongo, Nochixtlán, Oaxaca.

NOMBRE: EDIFICIO R-NORTE Y SUR
UBICACIÓN: CONJUNTO CENTRAL

DETERIOROS

- Crecimiento de vegetación menor, mayor y microorganismos.
- Derrumbes al lado Sur y Oeste.
- Desplomo de muros al lado Norte.

SISTEMAS CONSTRUCTIVOS

- Muros de piedra con tierra.
- Núcleo de tierra.

NIVEL DE ATENCIÓN

☐ MEDIANO PLAZO ☐ CORTO PLAZO ■ URGENTE

INTERVENCIONES

- Limpieza, desyerbe y desarbolo.
- Levantamiento arquitectónico (Estación Total), fotográfico y por medio de dibujos.
- Consolidación de partes derrumbados.
- Desmantelamiento y reintegración de muros desplomados.
- Elevación de muros donde se pierde el núcleo de tierra por deslave.

REGISTRO FOTOGRÁFICO

LEVANTO:
A. Geurds, I. Kisjes

FECHA DE LEV.:
12-07-2000

CENTRO INAH-OAXACA – UNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN

Cédula de los daños a las estructuras del sitio arqueológico de Monte Negro. Santiago Tilantongo, Nochixtlán, Oaxaca.

NOMBRE: PLAZA 2
UBICACIÓN: CONJUNTO CENTRAL

DETERIOROS

- Crecimiento de vegetación menor y mayor.
- Considerables cantidades de escombros de Caso en la plaza misma.
- Derrumbe de muros y escaleras, especialmente de la Estructura 2-Norte y en la Estructura 2-Oeste (Templo Y).

SISTEMAS CONSTRUCTIVOS

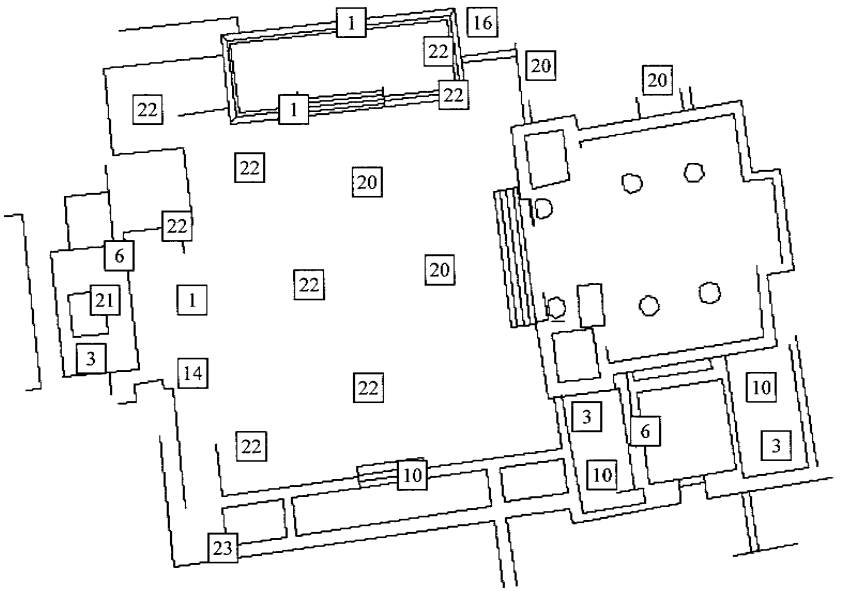
- Muros y escaleras construidos de piedra con tierra.
- Núcleos de tierra.

NIVEL DE ATENCIÓN

☐ MEDIANO PLAZO ■ CORTO PLAZO ☐ URGENTE

INTERVENCIONES

- Limpieza y desyerbe.
- Levantamiento arquitectónico (Estación Total), fotográfico y por medio de dibujos.
- Consolidación de las partes derrumbadas.
- Remoción de escombros.
- Consolidación de los muros y escaleras.
- Consolidación de la parte Este de la Estructura 2-Oeste (Templo Y), incluyendo escalera y muros.



1	DERRUMBE.
2	FRACTURA.
3	COLAPSO.
16	HUNDIMIENTO.
17	DESPLAZAMIENTO.
6	DESPLOMO.
61	DISGREGACION DE MATERIAL CONSTRUCTIVO.
62	GRIETA.
63	FISURA.
64	PERDIDA DE MATERIAL CONSTRUCTIVO.
65	DESPRENDIMIENTO.
66	ABUFAMIENTO.
67	REMOCION DE COMPONENTES.
68	DESLAVE.
69	FILTRACION PLUVIAL.
16	EROSION.
17	SEPARACION DE ELEMENTOS.
18	EXFOLIACION.
19	CONCENTRACION DESALES MINERALES.
20	ACUMULACION DE RELLENOS.
63	CRECIMIENTO DE MICROORGANISMOS.
64	CRECIMIENTO DE VEGETALES MAYORES.
65	CRECIMIENTO DE VEGETALES MENORES.
66	GRAFITTI.
67	VANDALISMO.
68	SAQUEO.
69	INVASION DE FAUNA MENOR.

levantamiento de deterioros

Nombre: Plaza 2
Ubicación: Conjunto Central

ANTES DE CUALQUIER INTERVENCIÓN SE REALIZARÁ UN REGISTRO GRAFICO DIGITAL (ESTACION TOTAL, FOTOGRÁFICO).

REGISTRO FOTOGRÁFICO

CENTRO INAH-OAXACA – UNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN

Cédula de los daños a las estructuras del sitio arqueológico de Monte Negro. Santiago Tilantongo, Nochixtlán, Oaxaca.

NOMBRE: PLAZA 3
UBICACIÓN: CONJUNTO CENTRAL

DETERIOROS

- Crecimiento de vegetación menor y mayor.
- Acumulación de escombros.
- Deslave del lado Norte de la Estructura 3-Norte.
- Varios derrumbes.

SISTEMAS CONSTRUCTIVOS

- Montículos construidos de tierra y piedras.
- Muros y escaleras construidos de piedra con mezcla de tierra.

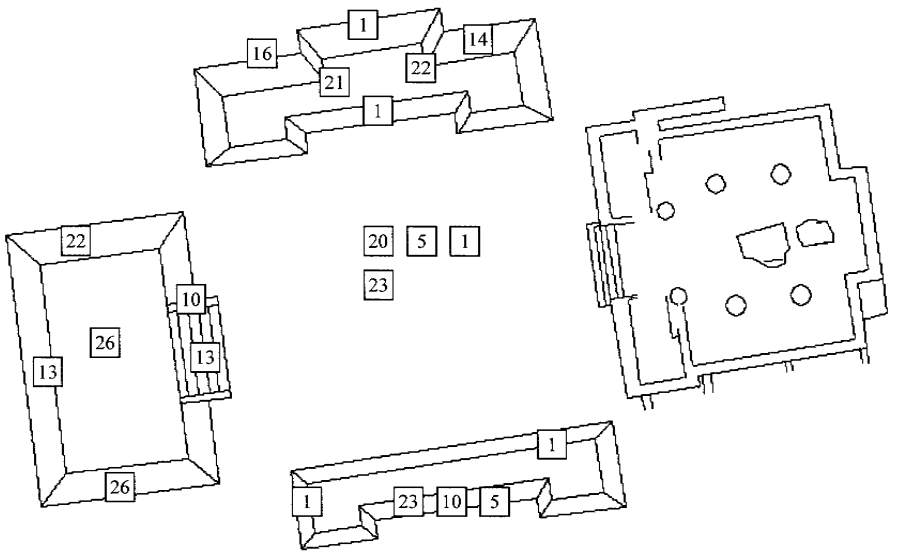
NIVEL DE ATENCIÓN

☐ MEDIANO PLAZO ☐ CORTO PLAZO ■ URGENTE

INTERVENCIONES

- Limpieza, desyerbe y desarbolo.
- Levantamiento arquitectónico (Estación Total), fotográfico y por medio de dibujos.
- Consolidación del lado Norte de la Estructura 3-Norte.
- Nivelación de la plaza, remoción de escombros.

LEVANTO:	FECHA DE LEV.:
A. Geurds, I. Kisjes	12-07-2000



1	DERRUMBE.
2	FRACTURA.
3	COLAPSO.
18	HUNDIMIENTO.
19	DESPLAZAMIENTO.
6	DESPLOMO.
70	DISGREGACION DE MATERIAL CONSTRUCTIVO.
71	GRIETA.
72	FISURA.
73	PERDIDA DE MATERIAL CONSTRUCTIVO.
74	DESPRENDIMIENTO.
75	ABUFAMIENTO.
76	REMOCION DE COMPONENTES.
77	DESLAVE.
78	FILTRACION PLUVIAL.
16	EROSION.
17	SEPARACION DE ELEMENTOS.
18	EXFOLIACION.
19	CONCENTRACION DESALES MINERALES.
20	ACUMULACION DE RELLENOS.
70	CRECIMIENTO DE MICROORGANISMOS.
71	CRECIMIENTO DE VEGETALES MAYORES.
72	CRECIMIENTO DE VEGETALES MENORES.
73	GRAFITTI.
74	VANDALISMO.
75	SAQUEO.
76	INVASION DE FAUNA MENOR.

ANTES DE CUALQUIER INTERVENCIÓN SE REALIZARÁ UN REGISTRO GRAFICO DIGITAL (ESTACION TOTAL, FOTOGRÁFICO).

N.B. LAS DIBUJOS DE LOS MONTÍCULOS AL SUR, OESTE, Y NORTE DE LA PLAZA SON BASADOS EN INTERPRETACIONES.

levantamiento de deterioros

Nombre: **Plaza 3**
UBICACIÓN: **CONJUNTO CENTRAL**

Appendix B
Oral History recorded in Santiago Apoala

La Rana que llevó el agua a Tamazulapan

Estaba una ranita que vivió allá, allá en la cueva de Yahui Kooma, y la rana se dio cuenta que era mucha agua lo que tenía y quería repartirla. Quería llevarse esta agua para que no se inundara aquí. Entonces pensó de hacer un canal subterráneo. Agarró y por allí por la peña se fue, se fue, se fue hasta no, llegar a un lugar que le dicen Yodo Koo, que es Coixtlahuaca ahora. Y allí llegó la ranita esa. Y se cansó ya de tanto excavar allí llevándose el agua. Y pensó que allí, allí iba a dejar esa agua. Pero cuando saltó al llano, pues, se dio cuenta de que allí había mucha víbora. Koo, es la víbora; y Yodo es llano. Por eso Yodo Koo ; Llano de víbora quiere decir esto. Y rápido se destumió otra vez la ranita y se escondió y se fue no más con su agua. Y tanto que trabajó, hasta no llegar a Tamazulapa y allí, allí trató otra vez con su agua. Y allí ya no le pasó nada, no hubo peligro; por eso allí dejó esta agua. Y regresó a cuidar su pueblo aquí. Y después, los antiguos; no se como lo harían pero contaban los abuelos que comprobaron que esta agua es la que sale allá. Porque fueron aquí echaron flores; flores, distintas flores, y hojas de naranja. Echaron allí en ese lugar donde se está subiendo esta agua, le mandaron a avisar; por Cuicatlan ; por Apasco ; por Huautla, por todos lados mandaron a avisar, que avisaran las gentes adonde iban a salir estas hojas, y mandaron a decir de Tamazulapan. Que allí salieron las flores. Y así fue como se comprobó que esa agua es de aquí.

Historia de los antiguos

En todos los pueblos hay una historia de los pueblos. De como y de donde salió la gente que llegó a poblar allí. Que como se alimentaban, como se vestían, y todo eso. Eso se cuenta. Y yo a grandes rasgos me contaban mis abuelos, que anteriormente no tenían casas como ahora. Como que se defendían del tiempo, de las aguas, del calor y eso. Sino se metían en las cuevas. Y por eso tienen su historia estas cuevas. Porque hay varias cuevas, hey, por allí, por allá, por aquí, por allá. Allí vivía la gente. Allí se defendían del tiempo. Y allí mismo hacían fogata, que lo llamamos lumbre, con leña, para hacer su comida. Y se alimentaban con pura carne de animales del monte. Como venado, coyote, conejo; liebres, todos los animales que existían antes. Y a la vez recogían mucha fruta silvestre. Y no les costaba; no les costaba mucho porque en aquel entonces por donde quiera había muchos animales. Por aquí había muchas gallinas del monte, gallina montera y guajolotes tenían muchos, grandotes así. Y sobre una peña que está allí en frente, allí iban a recoger huevos y agarrar gallinas que podían. Y con eso se alimentaban y no tenían mucha necesidad de trabajar. Tenían todo a la mano.

El árbol de origen

Este árbol, nació aquí en una parte que le dicen Tinuu. Y estuvieron las ramas así de peña a peña, una rama de aquel lado de la peña y la otra rama de aquel lado, se abrió su rama. Y este árbol fue un jococotal. Y pues allí en medio del árbol dicen que dormía el águila de dos cabezas. Y hasta que un día como el águila de dos cabezas vivía allá. Estaba, como siempre es parroquia acá, estaba el cura. El cura tenía sus toros, tenía sus borregos, tenía. Y venía el águila de dos cabezas y se comía a sus becerros, se comía a los chivitos. Y entonces, el cura, como tenía sus trabajadores decía: sabes que, me vas a balacear esta águila porque me esta haciendo daño. Y por eso uno de los topiles del cura fue a balacear al águila de dos cabezas. Entonces allí se lastimó, no se murió, no se murió. Por eso, el águila cuando lo balacearon acá. Voló hasta una parte de una peña que se ve de este lado. No se como se llama esta peña, una peña bien picuda. Y allí, dice, que paró el águila de dos cabezas. Y allí voló dicen, allí voló pues. Por fin, lo localizaron, pero ya muerte. Entonces, esta águila, dicen. Dicen, porque la mera verdad no sabemos, dicen que lo disecó esta águila y lo mandaron a España.

En este árbol, nacieron los primeros reyes. Y al nacer el primer rey… pues como nacieron allí, se fueron a otro lugar a buscar, pues, a buscar. De aquí salieron y se fueron a Tilantongo. Y de Tilantongo, y por eso de dialecto que hablamos nosotros y el de Tilantongo son similares.

La Boda

Ahora cada quien busca se mujer. Pero cuando yo busque todavía mi esposa, vi la muchacha y me gustó y le dije a mi mama. Sabes qué mama? Se vaya buscar alguien que vaya a pedir esta muchacha, no? Porque esta muchacha me gustó. Entonces mi mama fue a hablar con un señor muy grande. Al embajador, el toonisahu. Entonces, por favor hágame Usted, por favor, este favor porque, pues, mi hijo quiere su mujer. Y si, fue el señor, el representante. Fue, fue una vez, dos veces, a la tercera le contestaron que si. No necesita llevar cosas ni regalos, nada más va a pedir. Pero mi mama le tenía que darle su mezcalito, su cigarrito, cada vez que iba. O llevarle unas tortillitas, alguna recompensa al representante. Y cuando ya se definió, dice, pues ahora si, dijo que si, … Entonces con más razón se le da sus tortillitas, su mezcalito, porque ya aceptó. Yo todavía vi eso, porque así me fueron a pedir a mi esposa. Pero en la actualidad ya ni. Y para la boda, hizo mi mama, hizo un petate muy largo de cuatro, cinco metros. Allí se sentaron mis padres. Y yo me quedé en medio de los padrinos.

La bebida que se da a ocasión de la boda es el tepache, hasta la fecha ocupamos una olla, esto se enterraba, se excava un hoyo, y se entierra la olla. Ya no mas queda la mitad para que no se rompa porque con el agua se rompa. Porque una olla así en alto no puede, revienta con el agua. Y siempre acostumbramos enterrar las ollas, la mitad de la olla para que no se rompa. Por lo regular se hace una enramada [refiriéndose a la figura cuadrada de color café que viene

representado en el códice Vindobonensis al lado de la pareja sentado en el petate], porque no nos alcanza nuestra casa, y se hace entonces una construcción con un techo de puras ramas, las paredes de puras ramas.

Appendix C
Oral history recorded in Santiago Tilantongo

Monte Negro, Tilantongo, Nochixtlan, Oaxaca. 27 de Julio del 2004.
Plática con Don Taurino Hernández Cruz (Tau), Don Artemio Hernández (Art), Doña Ester (Est).
18:30 – 19:30

001 - 25:07 minutos

Tau: Pasase por allá y nosotros nos le vamos diciendo como están. […]
Alex: Entonces, aquí tenemos al cerro. Este… Y donde quieren empezar?
Tau: Pues, del camino de Kahua Andehe.
Alex: Aha, el camino de Kahua Andehe es por acá?
Tau: Aha, ese es.
Alex: El que baja del cerro entonces, por la casa de Don Artemio.
Tau: Si. Ya viene el agua.
Art: Va llover hé!
Alex: un ratito no más entonces.
Tau: Si el camino de Kahua Andehe. Ichi Kahua Andehe.
Est: Aurora! Quitate allí!
Alex: Y aquí, mero, mero, [sitio arqueológico], como se llama?
Tau: Aquí, por ejemplo mero donde esta situada la mera zona arqueológica, allí es **Nuu Ndoho**, no?
Art: Aha, Nuu ndoho,
Persona: No! Se dice yuku kaua nuu ndoko.
Art: No.
Persona: Si!
Art: Los papeles así están. Los documentos. **Nuu Ndoho** se dice.
Alex: Nuu Ndoho. Allí se llama la zona.
Tau: La zona arqueológica.
Alex: Aha, está bien. Y este.. aquí mismo también se llama así, donde están las casas?
Tau: No! Aquí por ejemplo, de acá en mis papeles, de mis documentos, aquí donde estamos en la escuela, aquí se llama **Shehe lomu ndatnu yundu luchi**. Aha. Es del, de aquí, de enfrente de la capilla, todo par arriba [indica al Poniente].
Alex: Par arriba, hasta la mera cima? O, donde?
Tau: No.. Si, hasta casi en el plancito acá arriba, está un plancito, casi porque allí, el mero plancito se llama **Ndatnu yundu luchi**
Art: Aha!

Tau: Si, si.
Alex: Es el plancito que cruzas cuando vienes aquí por la carretera?
Tau: He! Si, si.
Alex: Y alrededor de acá, por ejemplo, como se llama? O sea, no la ruina ni acá, pero los lugares colindantes pues.
Tau: Por ejemplo…
Art: Este lado se llama Lomu Yoko, dice no? Aquí este lado.
Tau: Pero la cañada aquí, por ejemplo, ese ya tiene otro nombre no?
Art: Su! Tambien, diki yuu… yata yuku dihi.. **T+k+ Yuu Yata Yuku Dihi**, así!
Tau: Aha.
Art: Este [apunta **no. 1**], atrás aquí.
Alex: Allá bajando?
Tau: No, desde aquí [apunta no. 1], esta cañada ya tiene nombre pues.
Alex: Entonces es esta parte [apunta en el mapa no.1], ok.
Tau: Aha, hé, este así pues.
Como lo voy apuntando
Tau: Así, ese **Yuu Yata Yuku Dihi**. Es este, y este es del plan del modroño que va hasta allá ya esta marcado, es una Y, y aquí es el de nosotros acá en la cañada el que va, da la vuelta que sale hasta con Tío Candi con Socorro. Si, allí esta! Chingo! Si!
Alex: Entonces aquí como era?
Tau: Aquí, este es yuu yata yuku dihi.
Alex: Y eso, que quiere decir?
Tau: Pues, es atras del cerro de la ….
Art: Quien sabe hé!
Tau: No, la cañada de cerro chiquito
Alex: Yuku es cerro
Art: No, no. Mande?
Alex: Yuku?
Art: Es cerro pues. Si, si cerro pues.
Tau: Es atrás del cerro, no?
Est: Es espalda, o…si, es atrás
Tau: Yata es nuestra espalda pues.
Alex: Eso es esta parte.
Tau: Si.
Alex: Y, se extiende hacia abajo?
Tau: Si, pero este llega hasta donde empieza la Y, es esta parte, aquí ya es otro nombre, este de acá abajo.
Alex: Ahá, entonces hasta acá digamos [apuntando en el mapa]

Tau: Esto! Hé! Es otro. Y ahora este, que se juntan los, del plan grande que pasamos hasta allá, antes de llegar a la desviación [para Monte Negro] es este, este que se junte, pero este que sigue recto aquí este se llama **Yuu Yata Kaua Dihi**. Este, yo lo entiendo, es atrás de la peña grande allí.

Alex: Es esta parte entonces [**no. 2**], bajando hasta la carretera pues.

Tau: Si, si! Hé! Ahá. Que pasa uno la carretera en la cañada es este, porque este blanco es carretera no? Ahá pues, si le digo pues, es este! Si es! Este son los, que colindan aquí junto a la zona arqueológica. Entonces ahora, vamos de este lado [en mapa]. Este es este [apuntando hacia el norte].

Alex: Este, es par allá, Norte es par allá.

Tau: Si. Este es este si, porque es, esta cañadita empieza de aquí paca, y si está mocha esta, esta es aquí, y el otro es el que viene atrás de allá de Yuta Daa. Si, allá está! Y abajo allí, se juntan no? Si se juntan, si, es este.

Alex: Entonces, esta…

Art: Yo ya no comprendo.

Tau: Si, está un poco difícil!

Alex: Pero si, allí vamos! El mapa es una manera de tenerlo. Allí vamos, entonces el tercer..

Tau: Aquí es, como se llama aquí?

Art: **Yuu d+k+ kaua ndehe**.

Tau: Yuu diki kaua ndehe.

Alex: Y eso, que quiere decir?

Art: Kaua ndehe? Peña derrumbada.

Tau: Aha.

Alex: Es esa parte [**no. 3**, en el mapa], y empieza donde?

Tau: Esa empieza de acá pues [apuntando hacia el NNO] Acá no más, y eso baja hasta allá, y esa llega hasta Socorro casi también.

Alex: Porque aquí también hay una Y, no?

Tau: Hé! Una Y, ese es.

Alex: Pero, esa sí baja hasta allí?

Tau: Este si, hasta allá no? O no más, aquí donde está Kaua Ndehe y aparte el que baja el otro es este de Yuta Daa no? Ha, entonces este, si es este, es lo mismo que viene aquí, es un mismo nombre. Si, si, allí está!

Alex: Y la otra parte de la Y?

Tau: Ese es, Yuta Daa, Yuta Daa también verdad?

Alex: Y yuta es agua verdad?

Tau: No, yuu es una cañada pues.

Alex: Aah, **Yuu Taa Daa**. Y Taa Daa que quiere decir?

Art: Flor de Siempreviva, según nosotros no? Aha.

Alex: OK, entonces son puras cañadas.
Tau: Si.
Alex: Sale, ese es el cuarto. Ese va así [**no. 4**].
Tau: Hé!
Alex: Y también.. Sube hasta donde? Donde empieza? Hasta la carretera, o hacía más abajo?
Tau: Si, casi a la carretera, pero aquí le pasaron un poquito arriba, y no, esa casi, pues sale de la carretera no mas no? A un lado a la carretera, pero aquí hay la carretera y aquí pasa y le subieron otro poquito más arriba y no, es nada es de acá de la carretera par abajo porque este, es la carretera de Monte Negro no?
Alex: Ahá! Si, si,si.
Tau: Allí está! Si, si, si.
Alex: Entonces, así más o menos.
Tau: Hé! Eso si. Hasta allí! Ahora, el de, vamos el del plan allá..
Alex: El plan, donde queda?
Tau: El plan es este, acá es el plan. El plan, entonces este es la cañada que viene aquí, que da la vuelta.
Alex: La larga así.
Tau: Entonces, ese es, este.. Como dice Usted?
Art: **Yuu Nduatnu Yundu Kahnu**
Est: Ese es.. cañada donde se cayó un…palo?
Art: Cañada del Modroño grande, ese
Tau: No, pero como dice, Yuu..pues es la cañada no? Pero, nduatnu es que se cayó o se quebró no?
Art: Nduatnu kahnu…. No! Porque, porque es grande pues.
Tau: Pero, ese que…
Art: Kahnu es grande.
Tau: No, no, pero ese es hasta adelante, pero acá dice Yuu Nduatnu…nduatnu
Est: Como que se cayó…
Art: Ah bueno, Que se cayó el modroño grande!
Tau: Eso! Ay, hé, hé. Si, si.
Art: Que se cayó el modroño grande.
Alex: Y madroño, que es?
Tau: Modroño es un palo huero, que hay aquí luego, allí está mire, el pequeñito que está allí, eso, como rojitos, que está, donde está la milpa enfrente para allá, esos pequeñitos. Es este. Si, si, ese es el modroño.
Alex: Ahh bueno, es un tipo de árbol entonces.
Tau: Aha, es árbol. Muy fino casi, muy fino, muy liso.
Art: Pero, ese cañada de anteriormente tiene nombre.

Alex: Aha, pero, es este entonces [apuntando **no. 5** en el mapa]. Todo esa parte, o…

Tau: Si! Llega hasta donde está, este es la carretera entonces aquí está el plan, este si está bien. Donde empezó la cañada, aquí está el plan, y de aquí, si está bien! Ha ha! Allí pasa la carretera da un quiebrecito, sale de la cañada de lagarto viene, si está bien ubicado he! Ha ha! Hijole!

Alex: Bueno, y esta parte por ejemplo, bajando hacia Tilantongo, la, donde se pone así bien inclinado?

Tau: Ha, por ejemplo no más bajando de la zona, no es, por ejemplo, la cañada de Juventino, como se dice aquí?

Art: Si, se dice. Tío Juventino… Cual?

Tau: Acá, donde se ve el terreno vencho [¿]

Art: No bueno, […] vahani, bueno kuaha sh+k+sh+ andene k+t+ andishauhe [¿] tikandoandi

Tau: Pero creo que así no funciona ese, mejor yuu…

Art: Yuu tyayuka, le dice. Ahh! Creo que si, yuu d+k+ chayika. Aha, si! **Yuu d+k+ Chaa yika**. Ha ha!

Tau: Esa casi sale, esta barranca, de acá de la zona, de acá empieza hasta… llegar hasta Socorro.

Alex: OK, entonces, es a lo mejor, es acá donde baja el agua [apuntando mapa **no. 6**].

Tau: Ese es! Ahá, ese es. Si, eso es. Si, allí está marcado! Ha, ha.

Alex: Y como era?

Art: Yuu chaa yika, no más.

Tau: No, pero como es arriba..

Art: Si. Yuu d+k+… si, si. Yuu d+k+ ch**oo** yika.

Alex: Y eso, que quiere decir?

Art: Hijole!

Alex: Cañada de…

Alex: D+k+?

Tau: D+k+ es…

Est: Cabeza, la cabecera

Art: Cabeza de…. Canasta!

Tau: Eso! Mero! Ah!

Art: Por allí si, he!

Tau: Si, cabeza de canasta.

Alex: Entonces choo yika es canasta.

Tau: Ahá, choo es, es canasta si!

Alex: Yuu d+k+ choo yika.

Art: Eso es. Cabeza de canasta.

Alex: Y tambien baja hasta Socorro?

Tau: Si, si!

Alex: Que más tenemos? Y la parte, este, más delante de esa cañada [apuntando en el mapa]? Este, donde se pone, donde baja así rápido, rápido, casi vertical. Donde se ve el muro de la peña.

Tau: Ah! Ese, que dice, que baja el agua derechito. Como se llame aquí? Ese?

Art: Pues casi no, ahora poco se abrió así.

Tau: Apenas, ese casi no se veía, no.

Art: Como dice de vertical, no baja pero caía

Tau: Eso! Mero! Allí! Como se llama pues? Crispin dijo un nombre que, pues yo pienso que es la misma loma de allí par acá, como dijo, pero la Loma del Muerto o algo así.

Art: No he, no se.

Tau: Ah, Yuu Ndishi, algo así, yo pienso pues, como es esta la […] donde marcó adobe.

Art: Ah, pero es esto, chaa y++ kaa dicen, **Cuesta Chaa Y++ kaa**

Tau: Ah, cuesta chaa yii kaa, es allí.

Art: Como dice que vertical, Cuesta Choo Y++ Kaa. Así como es vertical, es derechito!

Alex: Cuesta es cuesta, no, es Español, y Choo?

Tau: Es canasta pues.

Alex: Entonces es similar al otro.

Tau: Si, si, si. Hé.

Alex: Eso es por acá entonces [apunta **no. 7**] Y, pasando las ruinas hacía allá, este, también hay varias casas, no, que van bajando del cerro. Esas partes, como se llaman?

Tau: Es la casa de Tía Laurentina. Para abajo, donde vivía mi abuelito acá atrás.

Art: T+k+ Kaua. Aha, así no más. No pues, ya es, ya.

Tau: No, pues no, es igual. Como es como un borrador que está haciendo pues. Es corregirlo.

Art: **Sh+nd+ T+k+ Kaua**

Tau: Yindi diki kaua.

Alex: Diki o Tiki?

Tau: Yindi diki kaua. Eso, he, ya, es un borrador.

Alex: Y esto entonces es, pasando las ruinas, un poco más par abajo, donde están las casas [**no. 8**].

Tau: Si. Ahora, por ejemplo, estas son las casas de mi abuelito, por acá, allí sigue siendo Ndo-ho.

Art: Ah si, sigue siendo… o no?

Tau: No, y hasta allí, donde es de Usted [Artemio], como se llama allí?

Art: Como se llama, este, **T+k+ Toto Ñuu Ndute**.

Tau: Allí ya cambia pues, ahá.

Art: En mi documento pues, así está.

Tau: Es cabeza de la piedra de agua.

Alex: Ah, eso es interesante. Toto es piedra no? Y eso, donde es?

Tau: Eso es, aquí es donde están esas tres casas, esas tres, de allí par abajo [apunta **no.8** también], porque de estas tres que están de este lado casi juntos, ese es, se llama, Nuu Ndoho, igual que aquí pues, en la zona, pertenece hasta allí. Hasta allí colinda ya con otro nuevo paraje. Si, porque allí está la casa de Tía Pina; está de mi abuelita; está de mi Tío Fausto; allí están todos. Hi, hi.

Art: Yo ya no veo hé!

Alex: Lo interesante es que, por ejemplo, en los códices mixtecos también hay referencias a la importancia del agua en Monte Negro. Por ejemplo, el lugar de Monte Negro, como sitio arqueológico, como antes era una población, no? Hace mucho no? Y este, y allí en los códices viene mencionado como un lugar asociado con el agua, explícitamente. Y eso en realidad es raro porque, donde hay agua por acá, no? No es cierto? Pero entonces, si hay parajes que se llaman así. Por eso, me di cuenta que es algo interesante. Y este, que nos falta?

Art: Pues, casi ya no, casi se acabó.

Tau: De acá de Monte Negro, eso acá. Si ya, este es de acá de Monte Negro pues. Es todo. Cuando venga un cualquiera o haga un mapita aquí, que dice que va dejar un mapita, no, entonces eso que tenga en el documento que Usted va hacer. Para que nos deje y tenerlo pues. Si claro, si, si. Ese es el compromiso también del [Alex] pues. Que uno le apoye a ese y el también lo deje, porque lo que ellos hicieron, todo es, lo que ellos, su trabajo que vinieron a hacer, allí está el libro. Está aquí en la escuela. Por eso, mucha gente se imaginan que ellos vienen, se lo llevan y jamás vuelven, no! Ellos, el se lo va llevar en un año o dos mientras va analizar bien el libro entonces ya va volver para mandar aquí, aquí van estar el mapita. A lo mejor va ir hasta dirigido por el nombre de mi papa o Usted, quienes son los que dijeron que se acuerdan de los parajes pues. Entonces, esos libros, algún día nosotros vienen nuestros hijos, más!, o nietos de Usted, vienen aquí lo van a ver a Usted también que aquí estaba en ese tiempo, Usted dio, eso es la cosa!

Alex: Si, pero también tiene su importancia porque todos los nombres de parajes vienen mencionados en los documentos de territorio de Ustedes, allí hay que tener un mapa para hasta donde llegan los parajes.

Est: Y donde vive tu abuelito, no está allí?

Tau: Quien? Ah no, el ya vive de aquel lado. Allí ya es otro nombre. Este es… aquí, allí está, aquí, aquí está el camino, porque va donde está su casa. Este es donde vive mi abuelito. El [apuntando tercera persona]. El vive donde la carretera de aquel lado

Art: Cerca de la carretera

Alex: Aha. Tiene su casa pero no viene aquí [en el mapa].

Tau: No, no viene aquí, pero así es la barranca que baja, que va para [San José] Zaragoza, no para Zaragoza

Art: Ah, la otra cañada que…
Tau: Eso! Del Ocotal. Eso, allí va.
Alex: Porque aquí es Zaragoza [en el mapa].
Art: Ah, entonces porque la loma de este por acá, no está
Tau: No, si, aquí está, aquí pasa la carretera, aquí va la carretera. Y aquí está su casa de el
Tercera persona: Allí en mi documento dice, allí dice, en mi documento dice Loma Colorada.
Tau: Ahh, así, si.
Art: T+k+ K+sh+ Kuundió.
Tercera Persona: Pero en Español es Loma Colorada, así está en mi documento
Tau: Si pero esto, todo esto está bien.
Alex: Bueno ya. Quieren seguir o ya para hoy?
Art: Bueno yo me voy. Si ya nos vamos hé! Los animales hé!
Alex: A si claro, que ya se van.
Tau & Art: Ha, ha, ha.

002 – 00:41

Alex: Bueno, aquí por ejemplo también hay varias cañadas no? Que siguen por acá, frente a Zaragoza y hasta llegando a Tres Lagunas no? El siguiente por ejemplo, es el del otro lado de la carretera.
Tau: Aha, es ese, donde vive mi abuelito de aquel lado.
Alex: Y ese, como se llama?
Tau: Este… como se llama…

003 – 03:04

Tau: Entonces esta cañadita que sale, donde pasa la carretera, este se llama **Yuu Ndatnu Yusha**.
Alex: Y es esta [apuntando **no. 9** en el mapa].
Tau: Si, es este, claro.
Alex: Y baja hasta acá pues.
Tau: Es la que va por allí, sale hasta allí. Es la cañada del nda… la mano del ocotal, algo así.
Alex: Yusha es..
Tau: Ocotal, o ocote… Yuu… Ah, aquí mire, porque es nda es un plan, aquí lo estoy diciendo mal, este bórrale, todo, todo, eso es nada más Yuu, este, como dice aquí?
Alex: Yusha.
Tau: Aha, Yuu Nuyusha, eso es, nada más. Si, si, yuu es cañada. Eso es mero!
Alex: Y el siguiente? Es este, no, que corre desde aquí arriba, y baja tambien hacia Zaragoza. Y aquí llega casi hasta la carretera.

Tau: Si, ese si sale hasta allí, ese se llama… haber, un segundo voy a preguntarle a mi papa, porque está todavía hablando.

004 – 11:21

Tau: Entonces la cañada, en cual íbamos? En esta, no? Ahá, al otro lado de la carretera. Este se llama, entonces, de acá pasa un camino de acá mas o menos por acá, entonces esta colita, donde da la curva la carretera, aquí se llama **Yuu Yuchi Kuaa** [**no. 10**]. Yuu es cañada, yuchi es cuchillo, y kuaa es amarillo. Entonces, ahora, como de aquí viene el camino que sale aquí entonces de aquí par acá, esto se llama, este **Yuu Kaua Yashi** [**no.11**].

Alex: Eso es, cañada de la… peña, verdad

Tau: Ahá, de jícara. Entonces, le digo, que es una misma cañada pero tiene una división donde tiene dos nombres. Y aquí, de que estábamos hablando de Yuu Yata Kaua Dihi, ese también tiene dos nombres. Ahorita me acordé.

Alex: Ah, es el no. 2.

Tau: Entonces, aquí llega la división también, entonces de aquí par abajo se llama **Yuu Kaua Torri**, es de aquí que sale hasta donde está la carretera [apunta **no 2a** en el mapa]. Eso, ese partecita se llama.

Alex: Y torri, que es?

Tau: Es, es la torre, de la iglesia, porque está pelón. Es como un torre pues. Por eso se llama yuu kaua torri, tiene se variación también.

Alex: Entonces, ya, aquí hay otra cañada y aquí hay como una loma pues, una loma que separa el yuu kaua yashi al otro.

Tau: Aha, este que sigue hasta allí, allí es **Yuu Gaha** [**no. 12**]. La Boca del Tigre. Si yuu gaha, algo así. Si es yuu gaha, es ese. Entonces, ese quiere decir yuu gaha, cañada del tigre. Entonces, pero ese también casi divide a esta dirección, entonces, de aquí, aquí esta cañada se llama, y hay un plan, y ese plan se llama, este, Yuu, este, no, aha, **Yuu Ndaa Nuyusha**, allí quiere decir la cañada del plan del ocotal.

Alex: Ndaa es plan?

Tau: Aha, es un plan, un llano.

Alex: También ya habíamos otro con Ocote no?

Tau: Si, es, este aquí donde…

Alex: Por acá, mas adentro. Entonces, es arriba del Yuu Gaha, verdad, o es esa parte?

Tau: Eso! Si, es el mismo, allí viene por aquí, pasa por acá [apunta **no. 13** en el mapa]. Entonces, ese se divide, que ese casi salta también hasta la carretera y si así como viene, allí salta hasta allí y este llega hasta San José Zaragoza. Si, si, si, no si, está bien! Hijole! Allí viene la solita que salta..

Alex: Entonces, el cerro viene, este, divido en nombres mas que nada por cañadas en vez por las lomas mismas, digamos.

Tau: Hé! Por las cañadas, si cada cañada tiene diferente nombre y diferente paraje.

Alex: Ya se va acabar el mapa! Pero podemos seguir al otro lado, no? Aquí habíamos quedado, no? El no. 4., este el Yuu taa daa..

Tau: Entonces, aquí, aquí si no veo…

Alex:Aquí se ve Diuxi, la loma de Diuxi y hay una lomita en medio todavía parece, esto. Yo creo que también hay un montículo allí no?

Tau: Es una zona arqueológica, no? Según, si. Entonces, este, pero creo que, por acá viene esta, o este todavía es de…

Alex: Aquí el la desviación hacia Monte Negro, aquí sigue el camino recto..

Tau: Aha, este, este se va a Monte Negro, no? Bueno, este va para San Martín de las Palmas no? Este, se este. Entonces, aquí llega un quiebre, aquí hay otra cañadita que se junta con Yuu Taa Daa, este azulito que viene aquí…

Alex: Pero no se junta, porque va del otro lado de la loma. Aquí es la loma, o el cerrito pues, y aquí baja una cañada, un río.

Tau: Si, si, un río, y este llega, y si se junta hasta allá. Entonces este aquí se llama Yuu Toto T+ch+ [no. 14].

Alex: Y t+ch+ que es?

Tau: Aguacate.

Alex: Entonces, es cañada de la piedra del aguacate. Ya mero, y la loma misma también tiene nombre? El cerrito?

Tau: Hmmm, es igual. Lomu Toto T+ch+ [sin número]. Y este cerrito, este verde, que se ve aquí, este cerrito se llama Yuku Nuu Meeñu. Este cerrito, este verde, porque este, ahorita me estoy dando cuenta que no está, ni tiene nombre, entonces, hay que ponerle su nombre, y checkar no?

Alex: Y llega hasta donde, hasta la mera cima, o hasta la carretera?

Tau: Casi es el de aquel lado, el que viene, casi entra y se junta con este. Si, sube hasta arriba, pero aquí del camino, nada más llega y de allí es par abajo [no. 15]. Es a la mocha. Hasta allí, bueno, ahh, porque aquí es la carretera no? Entonces, nos pasamos, hasta aquí es, donde está el no 3., este, no. Aquí está un negrito, no más. Esta, casi la pura falda, es del 3 par abajo. O sea, que todo el verde pues, pero no es pegado a la carretera, es de acá, del mitad del camino. El arbuchito, es de aquí par abajo. Eso es! Entonces ese, yuku nuu meeñu es.

Alex: cerro… yuku;…

Tau: nuu meeñu, es cerro de en medio, dice.

Alex: Y nuu meeñu, son dos palabras, no?

Tau: Eso! Pues, creo que hasta allí, no?

Monte Negro, Tilantongo, Nochixtlan, Oaxaca. 28 de Julio del 2004.
Plática con Don Taurino Hernández Cruz y Don Artemio Hernández.
19:00 – 20:00

001 - minutos

Alex: Ah, entonces el lugar de Palma es en el centro.

Art: Si centro de Tilantongo

Alex: Y como se llama?

Art: Palma Real. En Español pues.

Alex: Si, y en idioma?

Art: En Mixteco, Tnuu Yuu Kaha

Alex: Y eso, como se traduce?

Art: Tnuu es como negro

Alex: Y yuu?

Art: Yuu es palma pues, es palma

Alex: Y kaha?

Art: Kaha, aquí nosotros le decimos, Kaha dice uno el injerte que baja, de que se estan colgado los árboles. Injierto, injierto. Kaha es.

Alex: Y donde exactamente es este lugar? Atrás de la iglesia?

Art: Si, atrás de la iglesia, donde está el curato.

Tau: Entrando a mano derecha.

Alex: Ah, entonces la parte mas alta digamos.

Art: Eso! Entrando la iglesia, está por este parte. Palma Real. Todo las palmeras que se sembraron frente a la iglesia que se ven, todo es palma real, ese no es palma como el que hay. Todo es palma real. Pero el viejo que así está reconocido de mucho antes, tiene cientos de años, no? Entrando por la iglesia e Tilantongo, esta por esta parte derecha, si.

Alex: Aha. Otro lugar a que también se refiere en los códices, relacionados con Monte Negro. O por lo menos Tilantongo, no, es un lugar del alacrán. Ya pregunté ayer al otro señor, pero el no tenía idea. Se ve como, otra vez un cerro con un animalito, con muchas patas y se ve como alacrán.

Art: Pero donde es este?

Alex: O un lugar del insecto, o algo así, o, un animalito pequeño pues.

Art: No, como que no. Solamente lo vemos aquí que los alacranes debajo de una piedrita o un tronquito, de allí salen no? Pero, pero que lugar o, no he. Vemos en el cielo también. Allá passa el alacrán, la forma, las estrellas se forman.

Tau: Y en la campana de la iglesia, pero… ese es un escorpión

Art: Es escorpión que está pegado allí, pero, no, no, no. Alacran, no.

Alex: Otra referencia es un Valle de Lodo, o un Río de Lodo, o un Lugar de Lodo pues. También puede ser allá abajo, no debe ser aquí encima del cerro, pero también puede ser allí por el centro.

Art: Ahh, pues allá donde estamos Yute Yodo se llama.

Tau: Aha, Yute Yodo.

Art: Yute Yodo pues, como quiere decir lodo

Alex: Entonces, Río de Lodo.

Art: No, Llano de Lodo… ah, no, si, Río de Lodo.

Alex: Y eso, donde es?

Art: Allí donde está la casa…

Alex: De la casa de Usted.

Art: Si, si, el llanito, todo ese, así se dice pues.

Alex: Y es un paraje grande, o, las extensiones, hasta donde llega?

Art: Pues, casi por allí, no mas, como mas o menos como 200 metros, allí no mas alcanza al Yute Yodo, no. Si, si, si.

Alex: Entonces, es una cierta parte del río que se llama así.

Art: Si, es una parte nada más, no todo.

Art: Mas abajo, ya tiene otro nombre. Ya no se como se llama mas par abajo, pero…

Alex: Por aquí, por ejemplo, allí la línea azul, y allí corre el camino no, y por acá debe ser la casa no? Después, del río no? La casa de Usted?

Tau: He, este es. Si.

Alex: Y allí es el único lugar que tiene que ver con lodo?

Art: Aha, si, si.

Alex: Un valle de lodo, por ejemplo no hay?

Art: Exactamente.

Alex: Y ayer platiqué también con el otro señor sobre un Cerro del Conejo, pero este…

Art: Pues no, no, no…

Tau: cerro del conejo… donde…

Alex: O la palabra para conejo, como es?

Art: La palabra para conejo es dyuku, vamos dyuku conejo, vamos a buscar conejo. Vamos a casar conejo.

Alex: Pero conejo así, es castellano, no? Pero en mixteco es lo mismo?

Art: Es lo mismo, si, si. Coneju en vez de conejo.

Alex: Bueno, como ya les platiqué un poco ayer, Monte Negro, en los codices, es un lugar a que se refiere mucho en contextos de agua. O sea, este, por ejemplo, hay referencias al centro ceremonial, de allí de Monte Negro, de las ruinas, este, y allí hacen rituales para el agua, y también el sacerdote de allí tiene que ver con agua. O se asocia con agua pues. Y este, y relacionado con el también la serpiente del agua, no? Como, entidad, digamos, y no sé si

allí existen historias o cuentos pues, sobre una serpiente de agua, allí en Tilantongo o acá en Monte Negro.

Art: Pues, casi, casi…

Alex: Koo Dau, algo así.

Art: Porque tenemos un posito a donde está mi casa, cuando Usted llegó, cuando yo estaba trabajando, arriba está un posito, un tanquecito, luego está, allí se llama Ndee Koo.

Alex: Entonces, eso ya un poco más por arriba?

Art: Si, si. De mi casa rumbo a Tilantongo, por allí, arribita está Ndee Koo.

Alex: Entonces, koo es serpiente y ndee?

Tau: Salió no?

Art: Ndee koo quiere decir 'está cuidando la culebra' Ndee Koo. Ves que está una piedra ancha allí donde está, bueno está […?] si no de así está la piedra, y la gente, ya lo dijeron que, que está cuidando la culebra.

Tau: Le tomen la foto también.

Alex: Aha, si, si vamos a pasar mañana para ver.

Art: Luego, tal tanquecito par abajo donde pasa uno, si un tanquecito pues no, está una piedra ancha, luego se ve la culebra, así está como retratado, pues.

Alex: Y mas, en términos de historias relacionados con, con serpientes o culebras. También hay, o no? Porque hace unos años, por ejemplo, Usted nos contó sobre este el rey que tenía apuestas con el rey de allí Jaltepec o de Achiutla no?

The following stories were told by Artemio Hernández:

La Señora Itandehui

"El rey Nahu, que era el rey de Achiutla, se enamoró de la reina Itandehui, que era de aqui, de Monte Negro. Y después, cuando Itandehui aceptó, y caminó otros días más, más rápido. Entonces, pues ya, ya venían a este discurso; el rey Nahu a casarse con ella. Ya ella decidió de casarse con él. Entonces llegó el día de que él vino con toda su gente. Bastante gente trajo, no, bastante. Ya decidieron que aquí iban a hacer la fiesta, la fiesta de casamiento pues. Y que según que había envidia, había envidia. Tal vez la Itandehui tenía otro novio aquí. Qué sabemos, no. Entonces, se oyó el rumor de que, este, había un peligro de que a lo mejor iban a matar el rey Nahu. Quien sabe. Entonces no hizo la fiesta aquí, sino los sacó y se fue por allá adelante, donde se encuentre un plan que se llama, este, el plan de fiesta, no. Y de allí iban a repartir la flor del xuchitl que es una señal del matrimonio, según. Y también que iban a repartir ya, pero también, como aquí había gente en aquel tiempo, entonces ya, se oyó el rumor que también que iban atrás de la novia, como queriendo ir a quitarla, no sé. Hubo una persona que le dijo: "Necesitas salir. Vámonos , no, vámonos a la loma pues." Ya la llevó a una parte que se llama, este, Flor de Xuchitl, se llama, este, allí un lugar, según dice. Hasta allí entonces, puro repartir la novia el

xuchitl. Se reparte todo en señal de matrimonio. Y ya, de allí entonces, ya según, tranquilos que la llevó el rey Nahu a Itandehui hasta, hasta la iglesia de Santiago Achiutla. Bueno, hasta allí."

El Cerro de Apuestas

"Ah, pues, el cerro de las apuestas! Según que iba haber apuestas entre el rey de aquí de Monte Negro y el rey de Jaltepec, no. Y que se pararon un día de la [?]… algún día sí se pararon allí; se encontraron allí en la loma de apuestas. Bueno, la loma de apuestas es así, porque luego hay dos nombres que le dice, la loma del chocolate. La loma del chocolate quiere decir nduu yuku dua. Nduu yuku dua quiere decir cerro de [apuestas?]… también es, este, tirar bala, igual una piedra, una cosa. Entonces, este, le dice el rey de Jaltepec: "Tira tu primero, no, avienta tu primero piedra y después aviento yo." Pero no sabía el rey de Jaltepec que el rey de aquí de Monte Negro tenía animalito que se llama codorniz. Un chingado animalito, muy bonito, así como un pollito, pero es de color gris, su plumita y su cabecita tiene una coronita muy bonita. De repente cuando va Usted caminando no son miedosos, de repente allá, como para pisarlo, "pfsiuuuw", y se avientan, se avientan y Usted ve que parece que se paró aquí, donde está la casa de Taurino. Pero no, allí llega con su vuelo, pero al sentarse va caminando hasta allí abajo. Entonces, calma su velocidad ó quien sabe. Por eso nosotros cuando se levanta por allí, ah, así se sentó, vamos, nooo. Llegando, no está. Camina uno hasta por allá abajo entonces… "pfsiuuuw", otra vez. No se queda allí donde se para sino que llega y va corriendo, caminando hasta donde no sé, pero así es, no. Entonces así fue de que le dice el rey de Jaltepec : "Tira tu primero y entonces tiro yo." No pues, no se dio cuenta el rey de Jaltepec, que el rey de aqui, de Monte Negro, tenía en su mano ó en su bolsa, según, la traía, mucho pantalón tenía, el godorniz. Agarró y no, claro cuando aventó, pues, voló el chingón codorniz y así voló y llegó hasta la loma de apuestas pues. Llegó hasta allí. "Ah bueno, ahora tira tu." No pues, el otro con su piedra tomando aquí como cien metros cuando mucho cayó la piedra. Y hasta allí. Por eso dicen que ganó el rey de Monte Negro la apuesta."

Como llegaron las Piedras en Monte Negro

"No sé pero así se oye, algo así curioso, que luego se me contaba finado mi abuelita que dice que hay un pueblo que se llama Coixtlahuaca. Coixtlahuaca, este, queda por donde estamos, Nochixtlán, por allá, allá. Está lejos. A donde se ve el cerro picudo, este, el Nudo Mixteco, le dice por allí más ó menos se encuentra el pueblo, este, Coixtlahuaca. Dicen que, bueno contaba mi abuelita, dicen que allí, este, venía el rey con un cajón de piedras y, este, pesaba mucho y, este, estaba plano por allí, no. Y sí aguantó cargar y allí venía con la cajota de piedras. Pero llegando por la Mixteca de Yodocono y ya no aguantaba. ¿Y como traerlo? Entonces, dice que abre la caja y la avienta. Por esto, todas estas piedras según llegaron hasta acá Monte Negro"

Antes, en la Oscuridad

"Un señor que vive allí abajo, me dijo ahora poco a la semana pasada sí vio como estamos trabajando aquí en las ruinas cuando todavía no se terminaban las columnas. Así este decía que pasó y empezó a platicar. Ah sí están reparando. Está bueno no. ¿Porque esto se cayó? ¿Porque tiene muchos años que vivió el chingado rey de aquí? Y allí donde estábamos p'allá , dice, esta escalera que está, allí subían mucha gente porque aquí había un templo grande y aquí se sentaba el rey. ¿Se sentaba como un sacerdote, como un cura de iglesia, no? Así se sentaba. Allí venían los que vivían aquí. Pero todo era de noche dice. Ellos vivían de noche aquel tiempo. No había sol, dice. No había sol aquel tiempo cuando vivió el rey aquí. Porque todo tiempo que vivió, vivió en la oscuridad, dice. Por eso es que después, después cuando vino el sol. ¡Aaay! Cuando vivió él en la oscuridad, todos los árboles, todas las piedras estaban blanditos, estaban tiernos. ¿Porque? Como no había sol que pegaba para que se macizara, entonces cuando el sol salió, entonces se macizaron las piedras. Por eso ahora pesan mucho. Y aquel tiempo cuando vivió el rey que vivió aquí, por eso porque estas piedrísimas, que hay allí, no pesaban porque no eran macizos, sino que estaban blanditos, estaban tiernos. Y fácil los agarraba por allí, los juntaba y los puso. ¿Porque? Porque estaban tiernos, no pesaban, y ya cuando el sol vino, ya cuando el sol salió, por eso que entonces se macizaron las piedras, los árboles, entonces, se macizaron que ahora pesan mucho. ¡Aaah! ¡Esas piedras! ¿Cuanto?… Tres, cuatro, cinco, no lo podemos alzar…, y aquel tiempo, él solo, el rey que vivió aquí, lo alzaba y lo puso. ¿Por qué? Porque no pesaban, porque estaban tiernas, dice. ¡Aaah! Sí tío Lencho, bueno Don Fidencio se llama, no, pero así de cariño, no, Lencho le dicen. Sí, así que contaba mi papá, cuando él ya estaba viejito y su papa más viejito. Tal vez así se contaba más allá porque no creo que el viejito ese lo vio pero cuentos que habían que venían de muy atrás. ¿No? ¡Aha! Dice que las piedras en aquel tiempo cuando vivió el rey no había sol sino que todo… No sé como se veía que trabajaban, que trabajaron para hacer todo esto. Pero no, no, no, no había sol en aquel tiempo. Todo, todo vivió en la oscuridad, dice. Contaba mi papa, dice, que toda vivía en la oscuridad. No sé como veían para hacer esto, para trabajar, pero todo en la oscuridad. Y ya cuando salía el sol, entonces se macizaron. Los árboles eran muy débiles, muy dóciles. Entonces quiere decir que muy blandito, algo tierno. Pero cuando salió el sol, por eso ahora los árboles son muy tlayudos, son muy pesados, y las piedras también. Pues, cuando hubo sol, entonces se macizaron, por eso están pesadísimos. Eso estaba contando este tío, cuando saltó allí."

Porqué no hay Agua en Monte Negro

"Cuentan aquí los abuelitos, no, este, el rey, este, el rey de San Miguel Achiutla, ó no sé, este rey Nahu ó otro chingado rey, quién sabe. Pero el rey de San Miguel Achiutla se juntó con este rey de aquí, de Monte Negro y que se metió en un túnel atrás de este cerro. Este cerro, San Juan Diuxi, dice, para ese se metieron, abriendo un túnel y que, según, le [?]… tenían un acuerdo de que traían agua. Venían abriendo y allí venía el agua, atrás de él. Venían siempre como un canal,

pues. Allí venía el agua. Entonces que este agua, tenían que traerlo acá, a Monte Negro. Pero, el rey de allí de San Miguel Achiutla venía arriba, por ejemplo, encima de la tierra. ¿Como nosotros acá, no? Y venía platicando con el rey de aquí de Monte Negro, que venía abajo tierra. Le dice, le estaba diciendo, el rey de aquí: "Ya vamos a llegar a Monte Negro?" "Ya mero, ya mero, ya mero, ya mero." Que cosa, pues, se pasaron. Se pasaron. Se fueron todo el cerro. Se fueron todo el cerro. "No ya mero, no pues, ahora si ya no." No, cuando salieron, abrieron hasta la casa de la chingada este. No hasta atrás del límite de aquí de Tilantongo como otro pueblo."

[Después Don Taurino Hernandez Cruz, el hijo de Don Artemio comentaba que el rey de Achiutla quería engañar al rey de Monte Negro porque este último era muy mujeriego y siempre estaba robando mujeres en la región. Abrieron el túnel en el río de la culebra. Y salieron hojas y veredas de aquí de Tilantongo]

The following stories were told the Tilantono agencia of Progreso by Don Epifanio Gómez:

De la reina Itandehui

Bueno, mire, a mi me platicaba mi abuelita, hace años, cuando era yo más o menos de la edad de mi hija (10 años), o un poco menos, como me gustaba mucho saber la vida de los antepasados. Y ya le preguntaba, cosas y cosas. Y había una vez que mi mama me contó una parte de lo de la reina, me contó una parte de lo del rey y del flechador del sol, de eso me hablaba mi mama. Ya le pregunte a mi abuelita si hubo más reyes. Y dice, si hubo, hubo más reyes, dice, porque hubo un rey, que apostó a una reina de allí de Magdalena Jaltepec. O sea, apostó con otro rey, dice, a ver quien de los dos se la llevaba. Y ya fueron a este mogotito, dice, que le decimos mogote de las pruebas, dice. Le decimos mogote de las Pruebas, dice, porque allí probaron, quien podía más, quien podía aventar más lejos, o sea, quien avanzaba más con las piedras que tenían en la mano. Pues, el rey del pueblo era, pues era tramposo, verdad, porque dicen que en lugar de lanzar una piedra, lanzó un pájaro. Y fue como se la ganó. Pero, apostaron el reboso de la reina, dice, apostaron el reboso, pusieron allí el reboso del otro lado, y ellos se pararon, justamente en el mogotito. Y allí cada uno lanzó su piedra. El que le pegara al reboso, este le iba a tocar. ¿No? Y como ganó el rey de aquí del pueblo, ya se hizo, se la llevó. Y celebraron su boda sobre el mogotito. Allí dice que hicieron una fiesta muy grande, mucho mole, mucha comida, muchas tortillas calientitas, así sacaditas del comal. Dicen que para eso hubo catorce molenderas, haciendo las tortillas. Catorce molenderas, allí hubieron.

Llegó el día que, pues, había guerra ¿no? y el rey de aquí, el rey que era su esposo se fue, a la guerra. Pero había otro que también quería ganársela. Vino y ya le dijo una mentira, que el señor había muerto, el rey, su esposo de ella. Bueno, pues que ya le dijo, murió tu esposo, así

que ya no cuentes con el. Y ella se puso muy triste. Se esperó un tiempecito. Y dicen que un día decidió bajarse. Había una laguna, allí del mogotito, hacía abajo. Bajó par allí y allí se dejó caer en la laguna. Pasó un tiempecito, y llega allí el rey. No era cierto que había muerto. Llegó y al no encontrar su esposa, igual, allí también se fue, allí fue donde murieron, dicen."

Cuando no había sol

Al rey se le hacía muy fácil construir sus pozos, sus casas, su todo. Incluso Monte Negro. Dicen que cuando no había sol, dicen que puso todas estas piedras. Dicen que antes, no cargaban las piedras, como hacen ahora, hoy hay que alzarlos, hay que meterlos, cosas así, en una carretilla. Dicen que el rey no más les decía que vinieran las piedras, que les hablaba. Solitas las piedras se acercaban. Por esto hay unas de este tamaño (haciendo gestos para indicar las medidas enormes de las piedras monolíticas de monte negro). ¿Quién las va levantar? Bien labraditas ¿no? Bienes bonitas. Allá en Monte Negro se les pueden ver. Que no más les hablaba y solas las piedras se juntaban, se recordaban, dicen. Y cuando salió el sol, dicen, que el rey dejó de hacer todas estas cosas, dicen. Que se macizaron las piedras.

Y hay unos pozos que dicen que estuvieron bajo tierra. Por ejemplo allí en el mero pueblo; hay unos pozos, que se ve que escarbaron, escarbaron mucho para descubrirles, pozos enormes, y grandotototes. Dicen que es del rey, que estaban ocultos. Y que la gente, esta generación empezó a excavar y excavar. Descubrió uno y descubrió el otro. Dos pozos, juntitos, están.

Appendix D
Toponymic data recorded for the Apoala Valley

Descriptive toponyms:

Physical configuration or appearance :

Yuts'a ndua: Río de la barranca
Yuts'a ndyi: Río que rueda
Yuts'a palenque: Río Palenque
Yuts'a tstinu: Río donde brotan de frente
Yutsa añuma: Río de cera
Ndu'a yodo atoko luchi: Barranca llano Escondido pequeño
Ndua koono: Barranca honda
Ndaa yuts'a: Ojo de agua
Ndáchi: Donde está destrosada / roto
Ndodo kawa tachí: Orilla peña donde sopla el viento
Ndodo yuts'a: Orilla del río
Yodo dii: llano amarrado tejido
Andutu: Lugar Brillante (Amatlan)
Tinduu ñu'u kua'a: Loma de la tierra roja
Tinduu ñu'u ndayu kahnu: Loma tierra rasposa grande
Tinduu ñu'u ndayu luchi: Loma tierra rasposa pequeña
Tinduu ñuu kua'a: Loma tierra roja
Tinduu ñuu kua'a: Loma de tierra roja
Tinduu ñuu kuaa: Loma de la tierra amarilla
Tinduu ñúu ndayu: Loma de la tierra arenosa
Itu bats'a: Terreno mucho
Itu kuni daa: Terreno del municipio
Itu sata la huerta: Terreno atrás de la huerta
Itu scuela: Terreno de la escuela
Itu tindu: Terreno loma
Itu yuku: Terreno montado / quelite
Kawa torri: Peña del torre
Ndaa kahnu: Lugar grande
Tinduchi: Algo que no se pela
Tiko'o kahnu: Bajo grande
Tinduu te'e: Loma chueco / corvado
Toto yadi: Piedra delgada

Yodo atoko kahnu: Llano escondido grande
Yodo atoko luchi: Llano escondido pequeño
Yodo dii: Llano amarrado Tejido
Yodo kenu'u: Llano bajo / que sale (del mojonera)
Yodo kuts'a kahnu: Llano redondo grande
Yodo niyiki: Llano que es pequeño (?)
Yodo niyoko: Llano vapor
Yodo rancho: Llano rancho

Associated to vegetation:

Atoko: Lugar Grano de Cochinilla (Nochixtlan)
A Yichi: Lugar Siempre Seco
Corra Yuu: Corral de piedra
Ita laa kua'a: Flor delicada roja
Itsa dii: Pasto grueso / resistente
Kandza ya'a: Cuesta del chile
Kawa ndzaua tiñi: Peña hierba mala mujer raton
Kawa tidinu: Peña del magueyito que crece en los arboles
Nda tichi toon: El Aguacate Negro
Ndodo kodo: Donde está parado la fruta zarzamora (ndikodo)
Yuts'a kua: Agua de cascara de encino
Ndu'a ño'o ndando: Barranca donde abunde la hierba santa
Ndu'a tuumangu: Barranca del árbol de mango
Ndu'a tuunañu: Barranca del árbol de mora
Ndua ndoyo luchi: Barranca pantano pequeño
Ndua nyo'o yoo: Barranca donde está sembrado Carrizo
Ndua tuuichi toon: Barranca del árbol de enebro Negro
Ñuu cruz siukuda'ya: Donde está la cruz / donde hay muchas flores silvestres que parecen a rosas
Shiti tuuñoo: Adentro del árbol de encino
Shiti yutuutiyaka': Adentro de los arboles, de fierro muy duros / amargas
Tiko'o ndaniyaku: Abajo donde sube / pega el sotol
Tinduu nda'ayudi: Loma donde el pastle está pegado
Tinduu ndodo tuuñini: Loma donde está parado tepehuaje
Tinduu tuutikuayuu: Loma de arboles guayaba
Tinduu yuuku shi'i: Loma donde se da hongos
Yodo yúkú: Llano del quelite
Tinduu ndodo chi:Loma donde está parado un cucharilla
Yut'sa ita: Río flor

Permanent or seasonal or single occurrence of members of a species of animals (mammals, birds, insects, fish):

Kandza kuuchi: Ladera puerco
Kawa tobasa: Peña de la guacamaya
Ndo'yo kahnu ndachimi: Pantano grande donde sube el tecolote
Ndua ndachimi: Barranca donde sube el tecolote
Kawa koo dána: Peña de la serpiente que de una bocana come una persona / conejo entera/ o
Kawa kuchindaka: Peña del jabali que vuela
Yuts'a ndi ido: Río del venado muerto venado
Yahui che'en: Cueva del zorillo
Toto ndiishi: Piedra del zopilote
Toto cho'onda'a: Piedra guajolote mono
Tinduu ndodo kimi / chimi: Loma donde está parado el tecolote
Tinduu choko: Loma de hormiga

Toponyms referring to parts of human or animal body or resemblances to other objects:

Yahui koo ma: Cabeza de la serpiente
Kaua to yiki: Peña del clavo
Kawa ndoko yoo: Peña sobre el carrizo hombro
Ndo katsa: Cobija tejedor de lana
Ndo ndiki: Cobija cuerno / encaje
Ndodo che: Cerrito alto / donde está parado un hombre
Yuku niñi: Cerro del mazorca

Toponyms referring to color:

Kawa toon: Peña negra
Kawa kuishi: Peña blanca
Ndani toon: La parte negra
Nduts'a kuishi: Agua blanca
Nduts'a ndi toon kahnu: Agua muerte negra grande
Nu cruz ñu'u yáá: Donde está la cruz tierra gris
Nuu kuishi: Pueblo blanco
Sa yodo yuu kuaa: Donde está amontonado la piedra amarilla
Tiki stii kuaa: Arriba brota amarillo
Tiki yuku kuishi: Arriba cerro blanco
Yodo kui: Llano verde

Toponyms referring to sound:

Wá: Donde hay / se oye mucho ruído

Locational, orientational, directional toponyms:

e.g. upriver, downriver; offshore, onshore

A kama: Lugar rapido

Ichi kahnu kuaá tiki yuku kuishi: Camino Grande que va a monte chicahua

Ichi koono sa'ata toto kayu: Camino que baja atrás de la piedra que hace ruido

Ichi kua'a itunduts'a: Camino que va a cobija quelite

Ichi kua'a ndoyo: Camino que va al pantano

Ichi kua'a tauwa: Camino que va a Apasco

Ichi kua'a tienda: Camino que va a la tienda

Ichi kua'a tinkawa: Camino que va a la peña

Ichi kua'a wá: Camino que va hacia donde hace mucho ruido

Ichi kua'a yahui koo ma: Camino que va a la cabeza de la serpiente

Ichi kuaa sata kawa: Camino que va atrás de la peña

Ichi kuchindaka: Camino del jabali que vuela

Ichi kuiñi kua'a a diki yuku: Camino Delgado que va a Buenavista

Ichi kuiñi kua'a a kama: Camino [….] que va rápido

Ichi kwa'a calvario: Camino […] calvario

Ichi ndaa yahui che'en: Camino que sube a la cueva del zorillo

Ichi ndodo che: Camino donde esta parado un hombre

Ichi ñundii: Camino que va al pueblo muerto

Ichi ñuu ranchu kahnu: Camino a Nduayaco

Ichi saa ndate'e:Camino subir mano que mide (?)

Ichi shiti kawa: Camino adentro de la peña

Ichi toto: Camino que va a la piedra

Ichi yodo atoko: Camino llano escondido

Ichi yuts'a ndawa: Camino que va al río en medio

Mojo sata kawa yut'sa davi: Mojonera atras de la peña río lluvia

Yodo tiki kawa laki: Llano arriba de la peña del espanto

Yu'u ñee: Piedra de sal

Yuku andyishi: Cerro donde está pegado una pila

Yuku kaada': Monte donde uno se acuesta

Yuku ndaviko: Cerro donde sube la nube

Yuts'a ndashino: Río que corre derecho

Yuts'a ndawa: Río en medio / en la mitad

Yuts'a dii yuku: Agua al lado del cerro

Yuts'a Itunduts'a: Río del terreno de agua
Tiki cuesta: Arriba de la cuesta
Tiki kawa kuchindaka: Arriba de la peña jabali volar
Tiki kawa laki: Arriba de la peña del espanto
Tiki kawa tokaka: Arriba de la peña del cacalote
Tiki kawa yahui koo ma: Arriba peña cueva serpiente profunda
Tiki toto: Arriba de la piedra
Tiki yahui: Arriba de las cuevas
Tiki yuku: Arriba del cerro
Tiki yuku ayee: Arriba del monte viejo / antiguo
Tiki yuku tawa: Arriba del cerro apasco
Tiki yuku wa: Arriba del cerro de ruído
Tiki yuts'a: Cabeza del río
Sa'a kandza ndo ndiki: Pie de la cuesta cobija
Sa'a kawa anyuma: Pie de la peña de cera
Sa'a kawa to'onde'e: Pie de la peña donde se arranca todo
Sa'a ndua: Pie de la barranca
Sa'a yodo kahnu: Pie de llano grande
Saa na nita'a yuts'a: Donde se juntan los dos ríos
Saka kawa nduts'a: Donde cae el agua
Saka nandutsa: Donde nace el agua
Sana ko'onduutsa: Laguna
Sata kaua: Atrás de la peña
Sata kawa nata'a: Atrás de la peña que cierra
Sata yuku: Atras del cerro
Shíchi carretera: Camino de las carreteras
Shiti kawa nata'a: Adentro de la peña que cierra

Toponyms referring to human activities carried on at a site:

Man-made structures, culturally important objects
Yodo ta'ahío: Llano donde agarran tierra para hacer comal
Ndu'a ta'ashio: Barranca del lugar donde agarran tierra para hacer comal
Ndua míína: Barranca donde explotaban alguna mina
Yodo ta'ashío: Llano donde agarran tierra para hacer comal
Toto ndzaka: Piedra para mirar / donde se sube gateando
Tiki toto na'ma: Arriba piedra confesar / un lugar hueco
Ńuu erra kahnu: Lugar donde triaban grande
Ndua andudu: Barranca donde se da un rezo

Toponyms referring to history, sacred oral history, folklore:

Certain features in the landscape are generally considered to be mnemonic markers as well as symbolic devices in conversation and story-telling in many cultures.

Toto kayu: Piedra que hace ruido
Toto ndaka: Piedra que vuela
Ichi kuchindaka: Camino del jabalí que vuela
Kahua kuchindaka: Peña del jabali que vuela
Kahua laki: Peña del espanto
Toto ndaka: Piedra que vuela
Yuku ayee: monte Viejo / antiguo
Sata veé ñu'u: Atrás de la casa del espiritu
Ka'andhuañu'u saa: Más allá, espíritu de la tierra sagrada nueva
Yodo ma: Llano de duendes
Yodo nakana ñu'u: Llano donde llaman el espiritu de la tierra
Yuku ndaviko: Cerro donde sube la nube
Ńuundii: Pueblo muerto
Yodo ndii: Llano muerto
Ndua ñundii: Barranca del muerto
Itu ve'e ñu'u: Terreno de la casa del espiritu de la tierra
Ndua andoyo: Barranca espantoso
Kahua yahui koo ma: Peña cueva serpiente profunda
Kahua kandihui: Peña donde descansa el cielo
Ndua ñu'u kua'a kahnu: Barranca espiritu de la tierra rojo grande
Sa'a kawa kandiui: Pie de la peña donde descansa el cielo
Sata kòò iti: Atras donde bajan las velas
Yahui koo ma: Cueva de la serpiente profunda

Unidentified / nuclear toponyms:

Ichi wadu: Camino […]
Yuts'a kaa yi bi: Río donde está tendido / regado el excremente
Yuts'a kúúku: Río que se muere [kuu] / ku'u [hierba] / kukuu [va ser]
Yawi ka'a: Curva […]
Toto ñe'e: Piedra […]
Yuts'a ndana'ma: Río de jabon / donde se sube para confesarse
Yahui daáka: Cueva donde se revuelva / de cera
Kawa kina: Peña del tejon / donde brote algo
Kawa ndoko yichi: Peña hambre / paredes seco
Ndaa kani: […]

Ndua tutinuu: Barranca […]
Tinduu asayu: Loma donde se enferma de nuevo [nasayu] / banco [titsayu]
Tinduu nu cruz toto kaaka: Loma donde está la cruz piedra de cal / cacalote

Appendix E
Ceramic Registration Forms Monte Negro (in Spanish)

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Patio 4, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	1

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	0	0	0	0
Borde	3	200	3	0
Base	1	<100	1	0
Apendice	0	0	0	0
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**4**	**200**	**4**	**0**

Decoracion	
blanco sobre rojo	0
policromo	0
zona de puntuado	0
zona de inciso en forma de X	0
inciso	1
modelado	0
modelado inciso aplicado	0
modelado inciso aplicado antropomorfo	0
punteado	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
otro	0

Bano	
rojo	1
negro	0

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	1
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

Otro	
comales recto perpendicular	0
comales triangular	0
comales curveados	0
comales redondos	0
comales planos	0
comales con pies	0
otras formas	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Patio 4, Muro Sureste
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	2

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	3	200	1	2
Borde	25	1200	21	4
Base	2	100	2	0
Apendice	0	0	0	0
Comal	2	100	2	0
Total	**32**	**1600**	**26**	**6**

Decoracion	
blanco sobre rojo	0
policromo	0
zona de puntuado	0
zona de inciso en forma de X	0
inciso	2
modelado	0
modelado inciso aplicado	1
modelado inciso aplicado antropomorfo	0
punteado	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	1
otro	0

Bano	
rojo	8
negro	3

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0

Bases	
plano	2
convexa	0
concava	1
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

Otro	
comales recto perpendicular	0
comales triangular	0
comales curveados	0
comales redondos	1
comales planos	1
comales con pies	0
otras formas	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca

Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Suroeste
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	3

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	3	100	2	1
Borde	19	700	17	2
Base	0	0	0	0
Apendice	1	100	1	0
Comal	3	200	3	0
Total	**26**	**1100**	**23**	**3**

Decoracion	
blanco sobre rojo	0
policromo	0
zona de puntuado	0
zona de inciso en forma de X	0
inciso	2
modelado	0
modelado inciso aplicado	0
modelado inciso aplicado antropomorfo	0
punteado	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
otro	0

Bano	
rojo	8
negro	1

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	1

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

Otro	
comales recto perpendicular	0
comales triangular	0
comales curveados	0
comales redondos	0
comales planos	3
comales con pies	0
otras formas	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	4

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	33	3300	33	0
Borde	13	1200	11	2
Base	3	600	3	0
Apendice	0	0	0	0
Comal	1	100	1	0
Total	**50**	**5200**	**48**	**2**

Decoracion	
blanco sobre rojo	0
policromo	0
zona de puntuado	0
zona de inciso en forma de X	0
inciso	2
modelado	0
modelado inciso aplicado	0
modelado inciso aplicado antropomorfo	0
punteado	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
otro	0

Bano	
rojo	22
negro	0

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0

Bases	
plano	3
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

Otro	
comales recto perpendicular	0
comales triangular	0
comales curveados	0
comales redondos	0
comales planos	1
comales con pies	0
otras formas	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca

Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	5

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	1	200	1	0
Borde	10	1000	10	0
Base	5	300	4	1
Apendice	0	0	0	0
Comal	1	<100	1	0
Total	**17**	**1500**	**16**	**1**

Decoracion	
blanco sobre rojo	0
policromo	0
zona de puntuado	0
zona de inciso en forma de X	0
inciso	2
modelado	0
modelado inciso aplicado	0
modelado inciso aplicado antropomorfo	0
punteado	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
otro	0

Bano	
rojo	7
negro	0

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0

Bases	
plano	5
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

Otro	
comales recto perpendicular	0
comales triangular	0
comales curveados	0
comales redondos	0
comales planos	1
comales con pies	0
otras formas	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	6

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	0	0	0	0
Borde	6	900	6	0
Base	0	0	0	0
Apendice	0	0	0	0
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**6**	**900**	**6**	**0**

Decoracion	
blanco sobre rojo	0
policromo	0
zona de puntuado	0
zona de inciso en forma de X	0
inciso	0
modelado	0
modelado inciso aplicado	0
modelado inciso aplicado antropomorfo	0
punteado	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
otro	0

Bano	
rojo	4
negro	0

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

Otro	
comales recto perpendicular	0
comales triangular	0
comales curveados	0
comales redondos	0
comales planos	0
comales con pies	0
otras formas	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca

Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	7

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	27	800	22	5
Borde	13	600	12	1
Base	1	<100	1	0
Apendice	1	<100	0	1
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**42**	**1400**	**35**	**7**

Decoracion	
blanco sobre rojo	0
policromo	0
zona de puntuado	0
zona de inciso en forma de X	0
inciso	0
modelado	0
modelado inciso aplicado	0
modelado inciso aplicado antropomorfo	0
punteado	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
otro	0

Bano	
rojo	10
negro	0

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	1

Bases	
plano	1
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

Otro	
comales recto perpendicular	0
comales triangular	0
comales curveados	0
comales redondos	0
comales planos	0
comales con pies	0
otras formas	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	8

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	28	1700	27	1
Borde	0	0	0	0
Base	2	<100	1	1
Apendice	0	0	0	0
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**30**	**1700**	**28**	**2**

Decoracion	
blanco sobre rojo	0
policromo	0
zona de puntuado	0
zona de inciso en forma de X	0
inciso	0
modelado	0
modelado inciso aplicado	0
modelado inciso aplicado antropomorfo	0
punteado	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
otro	0

Bano	
rojo	7
negro	0

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0

Bases	
plano	2
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

Otro	
comales recto perpendicular	0
comales triangular	0
comales curveados	0
comales redondos	0
comales planos	0
comales con pies	0
otras formas	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca

Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	9

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	20	900	17	3
Borde	8	200	4	4
Base	2	<100	2	0
Apendice	1	<100	0	1
Comal	2	100	2	0
Total	**33**	**1200**	**25**	**8**

Decoracion	
blanco sobre rojo	0
policromo	0
zona de puntuado	0
zona de inciso en forma de X	0
inciso	0
modelado	0
modelado inciso aplicado	0
modelado inciso aplicado antropomorfo	0
punteado	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
otro	0

Bano	
rojo	5
negro	1

Apendices	
asas	1
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0

Bases	
plano	2
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

Otro	
comales recto perpendicular	0
comales triangular	0
comales curveados	0
comales redondos	0
comales planos	2
comales con pies	0
otras formas	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	10

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	5	400	3	2
Borde	3	200	3	0
Base	0	0	0	0
Apendice	0	0	0	0
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**8**	**600**	**6**	**2**

Decoracion	
blanco sobre rojo	0
policromo	0
zona de puntuado	0
zona de inciso en forma de X	0
inciso	6
modelado	1
modelado inciso aplicado	2
modelado inciso aplicado antropomorfo	0
punteado	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
otro	0

Bano	
rojo	8
negro	0

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

Otro	
comales recto perpendicular	0
comales triangular	0
comales curveados	0
comales redondos	0
comales planos	0
comales con pies	0
otras formas	8

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca

Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	11

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	23	400	18	5
Borde	5	300	5	0
Base	1	<100	1	0
Apendice	0	0	0	0
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**29**	**700**	**24**	**5**

Decoracion	
blanco sobre rojo	0
policromo	0
zona de puntuado	0
zona de inciso en forma de X	0
inciso	1
modelado	0
modelado inciso aplicado	0
modelado inciso aplicado antropomorfo	0
punteado	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
otro	0

Bano	
rojo	3
negro	1

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0

Bases	
plano	1
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

Otro	
comales recto perpendicular	0
comales triangular	0
comales curveados	0
comales redondos	0
comales planos	0
comales con pies	0
otras formas	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	12

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	24	800	21	3
Borde	9	500	9	0
Base	2	<100	2	0
Apendice	0	0	0	0
Comal	2	100	1	1
Total	**37**	**1400**	**33**	**4**

Decoracion	
blanco sobre rojo	0
policromo	0
zona de puntuado	0
zona de inciso en forma de X	0
inciso	2
modelado	0
modelado inciso aplicado	0
modelado inciso aplicado antropomorfo	0
punteado	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
otro	0

Bano	
rojo	7
negro	0

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0

Bases	
plano	2
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

Otro	
comales recto perpendicular	0
comales triangular	0
comales curveados	0
comales redondos	0
comales planos	2
comales con pies	0
otras formas	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca

Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	13

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	13	700	8	5
Borde	2	200	2	0
Base	0	0	0	0
Apendice	0	0	0	0
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**15**	**900**	**10**	**5**

Decoracion	
blanco sobre rojo	0
policromo	0
zona de puntuado	0
zona de inciso en forma de X	0
inciso	1
modelado	0
modelado inciso aplicado	0
modelado inciso aplicado antropomorfo	0
punteado	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
otro	1*

Bano	
rojo	5
negro	0

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

Otro	
comales recto perpendicular	0
comales triangular	0
comales curveados	0
comales redondos	0
comales planos	0
comales con pies	0
otras formas	0

* parte de la mascara del jaguar

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	14

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	9	400	9	0
Borde	4	400	4	0
Base	0	0	0	0
Apendice	0	0	0	0
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**13**	**400**	**13**	**0**

Decoracion	
blanco sobre rojo	0
policromo	0
zona de puntuado	0
zona de inciso en forma de X	0
inciso	0
modelado	0
modelado inciso aplicado	0
modelado inciso aplicado antropomorfo	0
punteado	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
otro	0

Bano	
rojo	1
negro	0

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

Otro	
comales recto perpendicular	0
comales triangular	0
comales curveados	0
comales redondos	0
comales planos	0
comales con pies	0
otras formas	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca

Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	15

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	21	500	17	4
Borde	9	600	9	0
Base	0	0	0	0
Apendice	0	0	0	0
Comal	1	<100	0	1
Total	**31**	**1100**	**26**	**5**

Decoracion	
blanco sobre rojo	0
policromo	0
zona de puntuado	0
zona de inciso en forma de X	0
inciso	4
modelado	0
modelado inciso aplicado	0
modelado inciso aplicado antropomorfo	0
punteado	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
otro	0

Bano	
rojo	7
negro	13

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

Otro	
comales recto perpendicular	0
comales triangular	0
comales curveados	0
comales redondos	0
comales planos	1
comales con pies	0
otras formas	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	1

NR.	**FV**	**FP**	**FB**	**PB**	**GP**	**DM**	**%**	**DI**	**DE**	**CLI**	**CLE**	**CQ**	**TSI**	**TSE**	**BR**	**BN**	**Notas**
1	08	29	41	81	8	22	9	0	0	121	121	154	167	167	0	0	
2	08	28	41	81	6	24	7	0	0	121	121	153	169	168	0	0	
3	05	25	41	81	6	32	7	0	0	113	113	141	167	167	177	0	

Material ceramico encontrado como relleno del muro y durante la limpieza en frente del muro

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	2

NR.	FV	FP	FB	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	TSI	TSE	BR	BN	Notas
1	06	26	41	81	6	25	5	0	0	114	114	154	168	168	0	0	
2	02	20	41	81	5	32	4	0	0	114	114	147	168	168	0	0	
3	8	25	41	82	4	10	33	0	0	113	113	141	168	167	0	0	
4	01	17	41	81	9	30	5	0	0	113	113	141	168	168	0	0	
5	01	17	41	81	12	25	5	0	0	113	119	162	167	167	0	0	
6	01	17	54	81	9	34	5	0	0	128	128	157	167	168	179	0	
7	06	26	41	81	5	22	13	0	0	114	119	142	167	167	0	0	
8	08	28	41	86	5	10	15	0	0	121	121	154	167	167	0	0	
9	06	26	41	86	6	22	12	0	0	123	123	147	167	167	0	0	
10	01	17	59	81	4	30	4	0	95	114	126	154	167	167	0	0	
11	05	24	41	81	8	24	13	0	0	132	130	153	167	168	179	0	
12	08	28	45	81	7	18	8	0	0	132	132	153	169	169	179	0	
13	08	29	41	81	11	16	5	0	0	113	127	162	169	168	178	177	
14	08	29	41	81	9	34	8	0	0	127	127	157	169	168	0	182	
15	08	28	41	81	8	24	8	0	0	132	132	155	168	168	179	0	
16	08	29	41	81	9	30	13	0	0	132	132	153	169	169	179	0	
17	08	28	41	81	5	8	33	0	0	127	127	153	169	168	0	0	
18	05	24	41	81	7	24	17	0	0	127	113	153	169	169	192	181	
19	05	25	41	81	5	25	18	0	0	127	132	153	169	169	179	0	
20	06	26	44	81	7	34	3	0	0	114	114	154	169	169	0	0	
21	06	26	50	86	7	22	7	0	0	127	115	154	168	169	0	0	

Material ceramico encontrado como relleno del muro y durante la limpieza en frente del muro

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	3

NR.	FV	FP	FB	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	TSI	TSE	BR	BN	Notas
1	01	17	41	81	9	34	5	0	0	121	121	154	168	168	0	0	
2	06	26	41	86	6	20	9	0	0	114	114	154	169	169	0	0	
3	05	25	41	82	7	10	24	0	0	121	114	142	166	167	0	0	
4	06	26	41	81	4	16	15	0	0	127	129	161	167	167	0	0	
5	08	28	41	81	8	36	7	0	0	122	127	157	167	167	0	0	
6	01	17	41	81	7	26	5	0	0	127	127	154	167	167	179	0	
7	01	16	41	81	5	24	8	0	0	119	126	160	168	168	0	0	
8	06	26	53	82	4	22	4	0	0	119	127	154	167	167	0	0	
9	08	28	41	81	13	32	6	0	0	127	132	162	168	167	176	0	
10	01	18	41	81	8	38	5	0	0	127	122	163	168	167	0	0	
11	01	16	41	81	5	26	7	0	0	127	129	164	168	167	0	0	
12	01	17	41	86	4	16	4	0	0	129	129	165	167	167	0	0	
13	08	29	41	86	7	28	8	0	0	132	132	154	167	167	0	0	
14	10	32	45	87	8	30	5	0	0	127	119	142	167	169	0	0	
15	05	25	41	81	9	32	4	0	0	132	128	156	169	169	179	0	
16	01	16	45	81	10	34	5	0	0	119	119	141	171	167	0	0	
17	01	18	41	81	7	14	16	0	0	119	122	153	170	167	176	177	

Material ceramico encontrado como relleno del muro y durante la limpieza en frente del muro

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	4

NR.	FV	FP	FB	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	TSI	TSE	BR	BN	Notas
1	01	17	41	81	6	25	4	0	0	128	115	154	169	167	177	0	
2	01	17	41	86	5	22	11	95	0	119	119	142	167	167		0	
3	05	24	41	81	8	32	6	0	0	127	128	149	169	169	179	0	
4	05	25	41	81	6	32	10	0	0	127	128	149	168	169	179	0	
5	08	28	41	81	6	15	13	0	0	122	113	141	167	167	179	0	
6	08	28	41	81	7	28	6	0	0	130	114	154	168	167	182	0	
7	01	17	41	82	8	22	11	0	0	122	114	154	167	169		0	
8	08	28	41	81	5	28	15	0	0	127	128	154	169	169	179	0	
9	05	25	41	86	6	26	27	0	0	127	127	154	168	168	179	0	
10	05	25	41	81	7	22	15	0	0	127	127	156	168	168	179	0	
11	05	25	53	81	8	30	12	0	0	127	128	156	168	170	179	0	

Material ceramico encontrado como relleno del muro y durante la limpieza en frente del muro

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	5

NR.	FV	FP	FB	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	TSI	TSE	BR	BN	Notas
1	08	29	53	81	7	34	4	0	0	122	113	156	169	169	0	0	
2	08	29	41	81	5	26	6	0	0	122	132	156	169	170	181	0	
3	05	24	53	81	5	24	11	0	0	122	113	154	169	169	179	0	
4	08	29	53	81	5	26	32	0	0	122	132	156	168	169	181	0	
5	05	24	41	81	7	32	6	0	0	122	132	156	169	170	181	0	
6	05	24	41	81	7	28	10	0	0	122	128	149	169	169	0	0	
7	05	24	41	81	6	22	6	0	0	122	113	141	168	169	178	0	
8	08	29	41	81	3	5	30	0	0	122	122	154	167	167	0	0	
9	08	29	41	81	5	10	21	0	0	122	128	141	169	169	0	0	
10	08	29	41	81	4	10	6	0	0	113	126	141	168	169	0	0	

Material ceramico encontrado como relleno del muro y durante la limpieza en frente del muro

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	6

NR.	FV	FP	FB	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	TSI	TSE	BR	BN	Notas
1	08	28	45	81	7	26	21	0	0	122	127	156	168	169	0	0	
2	08	28	45	81	7	22	14	0	0	122	122	156	168	168	0	0	
3	05	25	41	81	10	28	16	0	0	122	127	156	168	168	176	0	
4	08	29	41	81	8	28	9	0	0	122	128	156	169	169	181	0	
5	08	29	41	81	6	6	25	0	0	122	127	154	167	167	176	0	
6	08	29	41	81	3	10	40	0	0	122	132	141	168	169	181	0	

Material ceramico encontrado como relleno del muro y durante la limpieza en frente del muro

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	7

NR.	FV	FP	FB	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	TSI	TSE	BR	BN	Notas
1	02	34	41	81	3	18	5	0	0	119	127	164	168	168	0	0	
2	05	25	41	86	8	20	3	0	0	127	128	147	169	169	179	0	
3	08	29	41	86	9	26	14	0	0	132	128	147	169	169	179	0	
4	02	34	41	81	3	18	3	0	0	127	119	154	168	169	0	0	
5	08	29	41	86	8	24	8	0	0	132	132	158	168	169	179	0	
6	01	15	41	81	10	30	7	0	0	127	132	155	167	168	176	0	
7	01	17	41	85	7	26	7	0	0	114	114	154	167	167	0	0	
8	01	15	41	81	8	28	5	0	0	127	132	155	167	169	176	0	
9	08	29	41	86	6	10	19	0	0	127	113	156	169	169	0	0	
10	01	15	41	81	8	28	5	0	0	127	132	155	167	168	176	0	
11	08	28	41	86	8	28	6	0	0	127	132	157	169	169	179	0	
12	08	29	41	86	6	14	30	0	0	113	127	*	167	169	0	0	

Material ceramico encontrado como relleno del muro y durante la limpieza en frente del muro
* interior negro, un exterior brun/rojo

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	9

NR.	FV	FP	FB	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	TSI	TSE	BR	BN	Notas
1	02	34	41	81	3	17	9	0	0	127	127	154	168	168	0	0	
2	02	34	41	81	3	17	7	0	0	127	127	154	168	169	0	176	
3	01	17	41	86	6	17	8	0	0	114	114	154	168	168	176	0	*
4	02	34	41	81	3	17	3	0	0	127	127	154	168	170	181	0	

Material ceramico encontrado como relleno del muro y durante la limpieza en frente del muro
* Es una cazuela con un base plano

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	10

NR.	FV	FP	FB	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	TSI	TSE	BR	BN	Notas
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Material ceramico encontrado como relleno del muro y durante la limpieza en frente del muro
Bolsa 10 tiene la mascara del jaguar. Ya que no es vasija no se describio

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	11

NR.	**FV**	**FP**	**FB**	**PB**	**GP**	**DM**	**%**	**DI**	**DE**	**CLI**	**CLE**	**CQ**	**TSI**	**TSE**	**BR**	**BN**	**Notas**
1	01	16	41	85	6	20	10	95	0	117	117	144	167	167	0	0	
2	05	24	41	86	9	32	5	0	0	128	128	154	167	167	0	0	
3	08	29	41	85	5	16	10	0	0	127	113	142	169	169	0	0	
4	05	25	41	86	7	25	3	0	0	132	132	155	169	169	179	0	
5	01	16	41	81	8	15	10	0	0	119	113	142	168	169	0	0	

Material ceramico encontrado como relleno del muro y durante la limpieza en frente del muro

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	12

NR.	FV	FP	FB	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	TSI	TSE	BR	BN	Notas
1	06	26	41	82	5	26	12	0	0	127	114	156	167	167	0	0	
2	06	26	41	82	4	26	8	0	0	127	127	156	167	167	0	0	
3	06	26	41	82	5	26	10	0	0	127	114	156	167	168	0	0	
4	08	28	53	81	7	32	7	0	0	127	114	154	169	169	0	0	
5	01	16	41	81	6	20	12	0	0	127	127	154	169	169	0	0	
6	01	17	41	81	4	*	*	0	0	127	127	153	167	167	0	0	
7	05	25	41	81	8	30	15	0	0	114	113	141	167	169	181	0	
8	01	17	41	81	7	18	15	0	0	122	130	153	167	166	0	0	
9	05	25	41	81	6	20	8	0	0	122	113	141	167	167	179	0	

Material ceramico encontrado como relleno del muro y durante la limpieza en frente del muro
* El borde es demasiado pequeno para determinar el diametro

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	13

NR.	FV	FP	FB	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	TSI	TSE	BR	BN	Notas
1	01	16	41	81	7	25	10	0	0	127	132	155	167	169	176	0	*
2	01	16	41	81	9	25	4	0	0	127	132	155	167	169	176	0	*

Material ceramico encontrado como relleno del muro y durante la limpieza en frente del muro

* Probablemente son partes de la mascara del jaguar de bolsa 10. Tienen las mismas caracteristicas como los tepalcates de la mascara. Por ejemplo, el color del barro y el color del bano rojo.

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	14

NR.	FV	FP	FB	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	TSI	TSE	BR	BN	Notas
1	05	25	41	86	8	22	8	0	0	127	127	154	169	168	0	0	
2	01	16	41	81	6	22	8	0	0	119	127	142	168	167	0	0	
3	01	17	41	85	6	32	3	0	0	129	129	154	169	169	0	0	
4	08	29	41	86	3	8	20	0	0	114	114	153	169	169	0	0	

Material ceramico encontrado como relleno del muro y durante la limpieza en frente del muro

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Monte Negro, Santiago Tilantongo, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Monte Negro	**Ubicacion**	Estruc. 2-Este, Muro Norte
Temporada	2000	**Bolsa**	15

NR.	FV	FP	FB	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	TSI	TSE	BR	BN	Notas
1	01	17	41	86	5	16	8	0	0	114	114	154	167	167	0	0	
2	01	17	41	86	5	22	10	0	0	122	122	154	167	167	0	0	
3	05	24	53	81	7	14	34	0	0	113	127	*3	168	168	0	178	*1
4	05	24	53	81	7	14	13	0	0	113	127	114	168	168	0	178	*1
5	05	24	53	81	7	14	13	0	0	113	112	*3	168	168	0	178	*1
6	05	24	53	81	8	26	20	0	0	127	128	154	168	169	181	0	*2
7	05	24	53	81	8	26	7	0	0	127	127	154	168	167	178	0	*2
8	05	24	53	81	8	26	17	0	0	127	127	154	168	168	181	0	*2
9	05	24	53	81	8	26	6	0	0	127	127	154	168	167	181	0	*2

Material ceramico encontrado como relleno del muro y durante limpieza en frente del muro.
*1 Parte de la misma vasija
*2 Parte de la misma vasija
*3 interior es negro, exterior es color cafe

Appendix F
Ceramic Registration Forms Apoala Valley (in Spanish)

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Yuku andyishi	**UTM**	700261/1952668/1985
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	I

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	0
policromo	0
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	0
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	0
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	0

Bases	
plano	1
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	0	0	0	0
Borde	6	0	4	2
Base	1	0	1	0
Apendice	0	0	0	0
Comal	1	0	1	0
Total	**8**	**0**	**6**	**2**

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	1
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Centro Yahui Ka'a	**UTM**	697133/1952282/2000
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	II

	numero	peso	>5	<5
Cuerpo	1	0	1	0
Borde	1	0	1	0
Base	1	0	1	0
Apendice	2	0	1	1
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**5**	**0**	**4**	**1**

Decoracion	
rojo sobre crema	1
policromo	0
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	0
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	1
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	0

Bases	
plano	1
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

Engobe	
rojo	0
blanco	0

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	1

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	0
otra forma	0

obsidiana gris

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Toto Ndzaka	**UTM**	697951/1953084/2000
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	III

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	13
policromo	0
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	0
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	3
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	2
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	2
raspado	0
otro	2

Bases	
plano	2
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	8	0	3	5
Borde	21	0	13	8
Base	2	0	2	0
Apendice	9	0	9	0
Comal	2	0	2	0
Total	**42**	**0**	**29**	**13**

Apendices	
asas	2
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	6
laddle	1

obsidiana gris claro
obsidiana gris oscuro

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	2
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Tiki Kahua Kuchindahua	**UTM**	696930/1952760/2200
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	IV

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	1
policromo	0
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	2
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	0
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	2	0	2	0
Borde	15	0	12	3
Base	0	0	0	0
Apendice	1	0	1	0
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**18**	**0**	**15**	**3**

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	1
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	0
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Sata Kahua Laka T2	**UTM**	697353/1952593/2000
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	XIV

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	2
policromo	0
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	1
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	1
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	1
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro rojo sobre anaranjado	2

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	1
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	2	0	2	0
Borde	15	0	9	6
Base	1	0	1	0
Apendice	6	0	4	2
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**24**	**0**	**16**	**8**

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	3
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	4

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	0
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Sata Kahua Laki T3	**UTM**	697300/1952634/2020
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	XV

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	1
policromo	2
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	0
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	1
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	1
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	6	0	1	5
Borde	12	0	4	8
Base	1	0	0	1
Apendice	4	0	2	2
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**23**	**0**	**7**	**16**

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	2
ladle	2

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	0
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Sata Kahua Laki T4	**UTM**	697334/1952616/2010
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	XVI

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	2
policromo	0
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	2
incision linear o curvilinear	3
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	1
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	1

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	4	0	4	0
Borde	8	0	5	3
Base	0	0	0	0
Apendice	8	0	8	0
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**20**	**0**	**17**	**3**

Apendices	
asas	3
agarradera	2
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	3
ladle	0

1 obsidiana verde

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	0
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Yahui Che'e T1	**UTM**	697352/1952737/2040
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	XVII

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	0
policromo	0
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	0
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	0
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	0	0	0	0
Borde	5	0	3	2
Base	2	0	2	0
Apendice	1	0	0	1
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**8**	**0**	**5**	**3**

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	1

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	0
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Yahui Che'e T2	**UTM**	697590/1951914/2010
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	XVIII

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	0
policromo	0
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	1
incision linear o curvilinear	0
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	2
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	2
concava	1
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	0	0	0	0
Borde	11	0	7	4
Base	3	0	3	0
Apendice	8	0	6	2
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**22**	**0**	**16**	**6**

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	3
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	3
ladles	2

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	0
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Yahui Che'e T3	**UTM**	697406/1952047/1990
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	XIX

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	0
policromo	1
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	1
incision linear o curvilinear	1
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	0
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	2
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	0	0	0	0
Borde	4	0	4	0
Base	2	0	2	0
Apendice	1	0	1	0
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**7**	**0**	**7**	**0**

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0
ladles	0

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	0
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Yahui Che'e T4	**UTM**	697590/1951880/2020
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	XX

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	1
policromo	0
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	1
modelado geometrico	2
modelado zoomorfico	0
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	10	0	6	4
Borde	27	0	23	4
Base	2	0	2	0
Apendice	14	0	9	5
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**53**	**0**	**40**	**13**

Apendices	
asas	3
agarradera	4
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	1
patas	3
ladles	3

3 piezas de obsidiana verde
1 pieza de vidrio morado

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	0
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Yahui Che'e T5	**UTM**	697658/1951865/2010
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	XXI

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	0
policromo	0
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	0
modelado geometrico	1
modelado zoomorfico	2
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	1

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	4	0	2	2
Borde	10	0	4	6
Base	1	0	1	0
Apendice	7	0	5	2
Comal	1	0	1	0
Total	**23**	**0**	**13**	**10**

Apendices	
asas	3
agarradera	1
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	2
laddle	1

3 piezas de obsidiana verde
1 pieza de obsidiana gris
4 piezas de vidrio
1 pieza de pedernal negro

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	1
comal planos	0
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Centro Ndodo Che	**UTM**	697402/1952461/1990
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	XXII

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	24
policromo	7
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	1
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	0
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	1
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	29	0	7	22
Borde	35	0	14	21
Base	0	0	0	0
Apendice	4	0	4	0
Comal	1	0	1	0
Total	**69**	**0**	**26**	**43**

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0
ladle	1

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	0
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Centro Ndodo Che (Ubaldo)	**UTM**	697398/1952531/1990
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	XXIII

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	1
policromo	0
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	1
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	0
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	2	0	0	2
Borde	5	0	3	2
Base	1	0	0	1
Apendice	2	0	2	0
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**10**	**0**	**5**	**5**

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	1
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	1
laddles	0

6 obsidiana verde
3 obsidiana gris
1 vidrio azul/morado
1 piedra negra

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	0
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Tinduu Toto nhee	**UTM**	699004/1951600/2183m
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	V

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	0
policromo	0
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	0
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	0
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	0	0	0	0
Borde	0	0	0	0
Base	0	0	0	0
Apendice	0	0	0	0
Comal	1	0	1	0
Total	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0
laddles	0

1 obsidiana verde

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	1
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Yuku andyishi patio1804	**UTM**	700755/1952695/2170
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	VI

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	0
policromo	0
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	0
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	0
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	0	0	0	0
Borde	1	0	1	0
Base	0	0	0	0
Apendice	0	0	0	0
Comal	1	0	1	0
Total	**2**	**0**	**2**	**0**

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0
ladles	0

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	1
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Yahui Che'e, Capilla	**UTM**	698095/1951791/1994.12msnm
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	VII

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	0
policromo	2
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	1
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	0
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	3	0	3	0
Borde	5	0	2	3
Base	0	0	0	0
Apendice	4	0	0	4
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**12**	**0**	**5**	**7**

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	1
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	3
laddles	0

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	0
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Tinduu Totonhee	**UTM**	698714/1951916/2040
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	VIII

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	0
policromo	0
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	1
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	0
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	3	0	2	1
Borde	1	0	0	1
Base	0	0	0	0
Apendice	2	0	2	0
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**6**	**0**	**4**	**2**

Apendices	
asas	1
agarradera	1
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0
laddles	0

2 obsidiana verde-café
3 mica
1 cristal
2 piedra gris

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	0
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	API, 26-2-2002	**UTM**	697974/1952874/1882
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	IX

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	0
policromo	0
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	0
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	0
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	3	0	0	3
Borde	2	0	0	2
Base	0	0	0	0
Apendice	0	0	0	0
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**5**	**0**	**0**	**5**

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0
laddles	0

1 mica

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	0
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Centro Yahui Ka'a	**UTM**	697257/1952413/2009
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	X

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	0
policromo	0
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	0
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	0
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	3	0	2	1
Borde	4	0	0	4
Base	0	0	0	0
Apendice	2	0	1	1
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**9**	**0**	**3**	**6**

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	1
ladle	1

1 obsidiana gris
1 magnetito (?)

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	0
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Toto Nhinhi	**UTM**	698363/1952061/2020
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	XI

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	4
policromo	3
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	0
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	1
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	1
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	1
raspado	0
otro	0

Bases	
plano	3
convexa	3
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	5	0	1	4
Borde	22	0	13	9
Base	6	0	4	2
Apendice	12	0	10	2
Comal	1	0	0	1
Total	**46**	**0**	**28**	**18**

Apendices	
asas	1
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	1
laddles	1

1 obsidiana verde
1 piedra gris

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	1
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Sata Kahua Laki T1	**UTM**	697276/1952669/2040
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	XIII

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	1
policromo	0
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	0
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	0
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	0	0	0	0
Borde	4	0	3	1
Base	0	0	0	0
Apendice	2	0	2	0
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**6**	**0**	**5**	**1**

Apendices	
asas	1
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	0
laddles	1

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	0
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada
Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Tinduu Akama	**UTM**	696656/1951954/2140
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	XII

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	0
policromo	0
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	0
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	0
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	0

Bases	
plano	0
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	0	0	0	0
Borde	1	0	1	0
Base	0	0	0	0
Apendice	0	0	0	0
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**

Apendices	
asas	0
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	3 (de 1 vas)
laddles	0

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	0
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Yahui Che'e Mont. 1	**UTM**	698023/1951860/2016 y 698003/1951919/2018
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	XXIV

Decoracion	
rojo sobre blanco	4
policromo	6
punteado	0
Incision lineas intersectadas	0
incision linear o curvilinear	1
modelado geometrico	0
modelado zoomorfico	0
modelado antropomorfico	0
modelado fitomorfico	0
decoracion con dedos	0
aplicacion de grano	0
fondo sellado	0
diseños bruñidos	0
moldura	0
doble lineas incisas	0
peinado delgado	0
peinado grueso	0
perforaciones	0
raspado	0
otro	0

Bases	
plano	1
convexa	0
concava	0
muy concava	0
pedestal o annular	0

	numero	**peso**	**>5**	**<5**
Cuerpo	5	0	2	3
Borde	8	0	5	3
Base	1	0	1	0
Apendice	5	0	4	1
Comal	0	0	0	0
Total	**19**	**0**	**12**	**7**

Apendices	
asas	3
agarradera	0
vertedera	0
base de olla	0
incensario	0
disco de ceramica	0
patas	2
laddles	0

Otro	
comal recto perpendicular	0
comal triangular	0
comal curveados	0
comal redondos	0
comal planos	0
otra forma	0

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio Yuku andyishi **Ubicacion** UTM 700261/1952668/1985
Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** I

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	E	FB	AP	Notas
01	01	16	41	82	4	22	10	0	0	128	128	152	197	197	0	0	231	Juanito Gris Fino
02	06	25	41	82	8	18	8	0	0	148	148	187	199	199	0	0	0	Nochixtlan Oxidado
03	05	29	41	81	9	0	0	0	0	147	147	185	196	196	0	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
04	05	25	45	81	11	34	10	0	0	148	148	187	198	198	0	0	0	Nochixtlan Oxidado
05	05	29	41	81	6.5	17	15	0	0	142	142	177	196	196	0	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
06	05	29	45	81	5	9	12	0	0	145	145	177	196	196	0	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
07	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	128	136	186	199	196	0	216	0	Comal
08	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	154	154	172	197	196	0	216	0	Base, Chach. Anarjado V. Anita Fino

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio Centro Yahui Ka'a **Ubicacion** 697133/1952282/2000
Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** II

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	E	FB	AP	Notas
01	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	216	231	?
02	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	231	?
04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	97	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	231	Serpiente Efigie, pata Miguelito Gris Duro
05	01	17	41	81	5	0	0	91	0	151	151	0	200	200	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio Toto Ndzaka **Ubicacion** 697951/1953084/2000
Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** III

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	E	FB	AP	Notas
01	01	18	44	81	6	22	10	0	0	126	127	164	200	200	0	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5 id
03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	id CO LN EN
04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	id
05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	97	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	231	id serpiente
06	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	97	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	231	id serpiente
07	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	225	id
08	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	102	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	231	id fondo sellado
09	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	102	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	231	id fondo sellado
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yucuita Cafe DelgadoRA
11	06	29	41	81	8	19	7	0	0	142	142	173	199	197	0	0	0	Yucuita Tan Ware
12	0	0	41	81	7	0	0	0	0	142	142	173	200	196	0	0	comal	id Variedad Mariana
13	01	19	41	81	7	35	11	0	0	142	142	166	199	199	0	0	0	id RA
14	01	18	47	83	6.5	25	6	110	110	157	157	188	198	197	0	0	0	Rojo sobre ocre? Yucuita Red on tan
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5
16	01	17	41	81	7	30	5	0	0	150	150	176	199	198	0	0	0	Pasta Azucarada
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Cacique Brunhido
18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	id CO LN EN
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	id
20	08	29	41	81	9	32	9	0	0	143	143	173	199	197	0	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa LN-EN
21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	136	137	167	197	197	0	0	225	asa
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	231	pata
23	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	127	156	164	200	200	0	0	232	laddle
24	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	127	129	162	199	199	0	0	0	<5 Yanhuitlan Crema Fino

25	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	148	148	189	197	197	0	0	0	<5 Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
26	0	0	0	0	5.5	0	0	0	0	142	143	173	196	197	0	216	0	base
27	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	142	143	171	196	197	0	216	0	base
28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	97	0	0	0	200	200	0	0	231	pata serpiente
29	01	18	41	86	7	22	1	91	0	146	136	191	197	197	0	0	0	Coyo Red on tan
30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	< 5 Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
31	01	18	41	81	5	15	5	91	113	151	151	190	200	200	0	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
32	01	18	45	81	7	18	8	91	0	157	157	189	200	200	0	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5 Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
34	01	18	45	81	7	13	18	113	113	157	157	189	200	200	0	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5 Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
37	01	18	45	81	6.5	18.5	40	91	0	150	150	189	199	199	0	217	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema 1 vasija37-42
38	01	18	45	81	6.5	18.5	40	91	0	150	150	189	199	199	0	217	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
39	01	18	45	81	6.5	18.5	40	91	0	150	150	189	199	199	0	217	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
40	01	18	45	81	6.5	18.5	40	91	0	150	150	189	199	199	0	217	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
41	01	18	45	81	6.5	18.5	40	91	0	150	150	189	199	199	0	217	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
42	01	18	45	81	6.5	18.5	40	91	0	150	150	189	199	199	0	217	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio tiki kahua kuchindahua **UTM** 696930/1952760/2200
Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** IV

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	E	FB	AP	Notas
01	06	26	41	81	7	40	7	0	0	131	131	174	198	198	0	0	0	Yucuita Tan Ware Variedad Mariana
02	06	26	45	81	8	19	5	0	0	131	144	172	197	197	0	0	0	Yucuita Tan Ware Variedad Mariana
03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yucuita Tan Ware Variedad Mariana
04	01	16	42	81	7	21	12	0	0	131	142	166	197	196	0	0	0	Yucuita Tan Ware Variedad Anita
05	06	26	41	81	7	40	5	0	0	131	131	177	199	198	0	0	0	?
06	06	26	41	82	7	40	5	0	95	129	131	183	197	197	0	0	0	?
07	06	26	44	82	7	14	8	0	0	129	129	190	197	198	bl	216	0	?
08	06	26	41	82	5	0	0	0	95	129	129	174	197	197	0	0	0	?
09	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5, ?
10	03	21	41	81	6	22	3	0	91?	151	151	179	199	198	0	0	0	Chachoapan Orange Variedad Anita Fino
11	01	16	41	81	5	12	5	0	0	136	142	173	198	199	0	0	0	Chachoapan Orange Variedad Anita Fino
12	05	29	45	86	5	18	21	0	0	127	127	162	200	200	0	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
13	06	26	41	81	5	17	15	0	0	127	127	162	199	198	0	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
14	0	0	41	81	4	0	0	0	0	127	127	162	198	198	0	0	227	Juanito Gris Fino cylindrical spout
15	06	26	41	82	14	32	3	0	0	143	143	192	196	196	0	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
16	01	16	41	81	7.5	31	6	0	0	145	145	177	198	198	0	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5, Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5, Chachoapan Crema Arenosa

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Tinduu Toto nhee	Ubicacion	699004/1951600/2183
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	V

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	E	FB	AP	Notas
01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	comal

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Tinduu Toto nhee	Ubicacion	699004/1951600/2183
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	V

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio Yahui Che'e Capilla **Ubicacion** 698095/1951791/1994.12 msnm
Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** VII

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	P	FB	AP	Notas
01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	col	0	0	0	0	213	0	0	Decoracion color verde, Post colonial
02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	92	0	0	151	0	0	0	206	0	0	Postcolonial
03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	137	149	194	0	0	206	0	0	Postcolonial
04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	92	154	149	0	0	0	206	0	0	Postcolonial
05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	132	132	162	196	196	211	0	231	Miguelito Gris Duro
06	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	149	149	0	196	196	207	0	231	
07	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	149	149	0	196	196	210	0	226	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
08	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	213	0	0	Cacique Brunished
09	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	213	0	0	
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	213	0	0	
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	213	0	0	
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	210	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
13	01	17	42	82	4.5	?	?	0	0	126	126	164	200	200	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
14	05	25	41	81	5	14	5	0	0	145	145	171	199	200	206	0	0	
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	95	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	0	
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	231	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	? Cuerpo

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio Sata Kahua Laki T2 **Ubicacion** 697353/1952593/2000
Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** XIV

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	P	FB	AP	Notas
01	2	19	41	81	6.5	21	6	0	0	126	126	162	198	198	213	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
02	6	26	59	85	6	31	12	95	0	158	158	162	197	197	213	0	0	Juanito Girs Fino
03	1	17	47	81	6	20	10	0	0	127	127	162	197	197	213	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
04	1	18	48	83	5	17	11	0	0	152	152	186	197	197	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
05	5	25	41	86	8	9	21	0	0	143	143	161	198	198	207	0	0	
06	1	16	44	81	5	20	5	0	0	127	127	162	200	200	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
07	1	17	44	82	6	23	6	114	0	126	126	162	198	198	213	0	0	Yucuita Rojo sobre Café, Variedad Filemon
08	2	19	41	81	5.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	213	0	0	Yucuita Café, Variedad Mariana
09	1	18	42	81	8	11	12	114	0	126	126	164	200	200	206	0	0	Juanito Gris Fino Decorado
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	213	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	126	126	0	0	0	206	0	231	Miguelito Gris Duro
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	126	126	0	0	0	213	0	231	Miguelito Gris Duro
13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	127	127	169	196	196	210	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	133	147	168	197	198	213	0	225	Nochixtlan Oxidado
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	133	126	164	197	197	213	0	231	
16	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	126	126	162	197	197	213	217	0	Juanito Gris Fino
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	147	147	169	198	198	210	0	226	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	154	154	172	197	197	213	0	226	
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	115	0	150	150	189	199	199	213	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	115	0	150	150	0	199	199	213	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
21	1	17	63	81	8	0	0	0	0	150	153	186	196	199	210	0	0	pintura anaranjado interior
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	0	<5
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	0	<5
24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	213	0	0	<5 Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio Sata Kahua Laki T3 **Ubicacion** 697300/1952634/2020

Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** XV

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	P	FB	AP	Notas
01	01	18	41	81	8	>35	6	0	0	150	150	164	196	196	211	0	0	
02	11	28	41	81	9	32	3	0	0	149	153	161	196	196	207	0	0	
03	0	0	41	81	12	>35	6	0	0	149	150	169	196	196	210	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
04	01	18	41	81	7	34	6	112	112	152	152	161	196	196	207	0	0	Yucuita Rojo Sobre Café, Variedad Filemon
05	0	0	44	81	0	0	0	0	110	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	0	Chachoapan Anaranjado, Variedad Anito Fino
06	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	92	0	151	0	200	200	206	0	0	Postcolonial
07	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	149	0	0	0	0	206	0	0	verde, Postcolonial
08	05	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	126	126	164	197	200	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
09	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	126	126	164	197	197	213	217	0	Juanito Gris Fino Decorado
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	97	Miguelito Gris Duro
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	145	145	175	196	196	210	0	225	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	152	152	189	197	197	210	0	226	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	150	150	184	196	196	206	0	225	interior vacio, Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	126	126	173	197	197	213	0	232	
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	213	0	0	<5, cuerpo
16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	0	<5 Miguelito Gris Duro
18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	213	0	0	<5 Yucuita Café Delgado
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	0	<5 Chachoapan Anaranjado, Variedad Anita Fino
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	210	0	0	<5
21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	0	<5 Miguelito Gris Duro
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	0	<5 Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	210	0	0	<5 Chachoapan Crema Arenosa

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio Sata Kahua Laki T4 **Ubicacion** 697334/1952616/2010
Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** XVI

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	P	FB	AP	Notas
01	1	17	44	81	7.5	6.5	40	0	0	152	152	164	197	197	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
02	1	17	41	82	6	16	13	0	0	126	126	164	200	200	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
03	1	17	44	81	10	24	10	91	91	153	153	161	199	199	210	0	0	Yucuita Rojo Sobre Café, Variedad Filemon
04	1	18	41	81	6.5	12	7	91	0	151	151	179	198	198	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
05	3	21	44	82	6	0	0	115	0	148	148	184	197	197	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
06	11	33	44	82	9.5	0	0	95	0	142	145	175	199	198	206	0	0	engobe negro int, Yucuita Café Variedad Alicia
07	1	17	41	81	9	16	13	94/95	0	133	133	164	197	196	210	0	0	Juanito Gris Fino Decorado
08	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	94	152	152	166	197	197	213	0	225	Yucuita Café, Variedad Alicia
09	6	26	41	81	6	0	0	0	0	150	152	194	199	199	213	0	225	Chach. Anaranjado Var. Anita Fino
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	138	138	175	197	200	208	0	225	Nochixtlan Oxidado
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	133	133	175	197	198	210	0	226	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	147	147	175	197	197	210	0	226	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	136	136	175	198	196	210	0	231	Nochixtlan Oxidado
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	132	132	164	198	198	208	0	231	Miguelito Gris Duro
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	152	152	172	196	196	213	0	231	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	132	132	162	198	198	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	132	132	164	199	199	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	97	152	152	189	197	198	206	0	0	
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	144	144	172	198	198	208	0	0	Nochixtlan Oxidado
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	95	144	144	172	197	197	208	0	0	Nochixtlan Oxidado

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio Yahui Che'e T1 **Ubicacion** 697352/1952737/2040

Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** XVII

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	P	FB	AP	Notas
01	06	26	41	84	8	11	17	0	0	132	132	170	198	198	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
02	6	26	53	82	11	0	0	0	0	144	144	172	196	196	210	0	0	<5, Nochixtlan Rust Ware
03	8	24	41	82	5.5	10	10	0	0	149	149	194	196	196	207	0	0	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
04	0	0	0	0	4.5	0	0	0	0	152	152	184	199	199	café	0	0	<5 pintura Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
05	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	144	144	171	196	196	210	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
06	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	144	144	170	196	196	210	0	231	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
07	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	144	144	172	196	196	210	0	0	Nochixtlan Rust Ware
08	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	144	152	171	196	196	213	0	0	<5

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio Yahui Che'e T2 **Ubicacion** 697590/1951914/2010
Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** XVIII

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	P	FB	AP	Notas
01	5	24	41	84	8.5	14	8	0	0	127	127	161	198	198	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
02	3	21	44	81	7.5	15	10	0	0	132	132	164	197	197	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
03	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	152	152	188	199	199	213	0	0	<5
04	1	17	44	82	5.5	21	9	115	115	152	152	185	197	197	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
05	1	17	50	81	7.5	17	8	0	0	127	145	162	198	198	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
06	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	126	126	162	200	200	206	0	0	<5, Miguelito Gris Duro
07	0	0	0	0	6.5	0	0	0	0	127	127	169	200	200	206	0	0	<5, Miguelito Gris Duro
08	4	23	41	81	7.5	23	10	0	0	129	129	169	197	197	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
09	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	126	126	164	197	197	206	0	0	<5, Miguelito Gris Duro
10	3	21	48	81	6.5	0	0	0	0	150	150	184	198	198	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	151	151	184	198	198	206	221	0	colonial white paint
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	128	127	161	197	198	210	217	0	Yucuita Tan Ware Variedad Mariana
13	1	17	41	81	9.5	0	0	94	0	137	137	162	197	197	210	218	0	Yucuita Tan Ware Variedad Mariana
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	152	152	164	198	198	206	217	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	132	132	162	198	198	206	0	226	Miguelito Gris Duro
16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	97	97	129	129	181	197	197	213	0	231	
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	149	149	179	196	196	213	0	231	
18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	144	144	172	196	196	210	0	231	<5
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	152	152	195	201	201	206	0	232	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	152	152	179	201	201	206	0	232	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	133	133	162	198	198	206	0	226	Miguelito Gris Duro
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	97	97	152	152	181	199	199	213	0	226	<5

5 piezas de obsidiana verde

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Yahui Che'e T3	**Ubicacion**	697406/1952047/1990
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	XIX

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	P	FB	AP	Notas
01	01	18	44	82	6	22	5	0	0	129	128	174	197	197	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
02	01	17	41	81	5	22	6	0	0	148	149	169	196	196	210	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
03	05	0	41	81	5	17	11	0	95	127	129	162	197	197	213	0	0	
04	05	25	41	81	8	25	9	0	92	0	149	179	200	197	207	0	0	DE y CLI de color verde colonial
05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	151	149	184	199	194	206	221	0	colonial
06	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	149	169	194	197	197	206	218	0	colonial
07	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	194	199	199	210	0	225	CLI y CLE de color verde, colonial

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio Yahui Che'e T5 **Ubicacion** 697658/1951865/2010
Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** XXI

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	P	FB	AP	Notas
1	6	26	41	81	7.5	18	8	0	0	132	132	162	200	200	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
2	2	20	41	81	5.5	10	25	0	0	129	129	164	199	199	213	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
3	4	23	55	81	7.5	25	8	0	0	128	152	161	200	200	206	0	0	Cacique Brunhido
4	0	35	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	152	152	176	199	196	206	0	0	Comal
5	11	29	41	81	11	0	0	0	0	144	144	185	197	197	210	0	0	< 5 cm Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
6	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	128	128	161	200	200	206	0	0	< 5 cm, Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
7	0	0	0	0	5.5	0	0	0	0	152	132	128	197	198	206	0	0	< 5 cm, Duresa muy alta
8	0	0	0	0	6.5	0	0	0	0	132	132	165	200	200	206	0	0	<5cm Miguelito Gris Duro
9	0	0	0	0	6.5	0	0	0	0	128	137	172	197	197	213	0	0	< 5 cm
10	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	152	152	161	197	197	206	0	0	comal
11	0	0	0	0	7.5	0	0	0	0	152	152	188	197	197	213	0	0	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	102	97	126	126	162	199	199	211	0	231	Miguelito Gris Duro aguila effigy
13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	97	132	132	162	197	197	206	0	231	Miguelito Gris Duro serpiente effigy
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	126	126	164	197	199	206	0	225	Miguelito Gris Duro
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	144	144	172	196	196	210	0	226	
16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	145	145	175	196	196	210	0	225	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa, nubbin
17	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	143	143	180	197	197	210	216	0	Yucuita Tan Ware
18	0	36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	152	152	179	198	198	206	0	232	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	132	132	162	198	198	213	216	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	96	132	132	161	197	197	213	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	127	127	161	196	199	213	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	128	152	161	199	199	213	0	0	Cacique Brunhido
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	128	152	162	199	197	206	0	0	Cacique Brunhido

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio Yahui Che'e T4 **Ubicacion** 697590/1951880/2020
Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** XX

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	P	FB	AP	Notas
01	0	30	0	81	6	0	0	0	0	132	132	178	198	197	206	0	0	< 5 cm Miguelito Gris Duro
02	0	16	0	81	6.5	0	0	0	0	151	151	188	200	197	213	0	0	comal
03	0	18	0	81	8	0	0	0	0	127	127	162	197	198	210	0	0	< 5 cm, Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
04	0	17	0	81	4	0	0	0	0	132	132	127	198	198	206	0	0	< 5 cm Miguelito Gris Duro fish plate
05	0	34	0	81	5	0	0	0	0	132	149	188	196	196	206	0	0	<5 CLI y CLE son 132/149
06	0	24	0	86	0	0	0	0	0	149	149	187	197	197	207	0	0	< 5 cm
07	0	26	0	81	4.5	0	0	0	0	132	132	164	198	196	213	0	0	comal
08	0	16	0	81	0	0	0	0	0	132	132	162	199	199	206	0	226	< 5 cm Miguelito Gris Duro
09	0	18	0	82	0	0	0	0	0	132	127	161	196	197	206	0	0	< 5 cm, Miguelito Gris Duro
10	0	17	0	81	0	0	0	0	0	144	144	161	197	197	209	0	0	< 5 cm
11	0	17	0	81	0	0	0	0	0	144	144	169	199	197	213	0	0	< 5 cm
12	9	26	41	82	5.5	0	0	0	0	128	128	164	198	198	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
13	1	33	44	81	8.5	18	10	0	0	127	127	164	197	197	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
14	1	30	41	81	7	0	0	96	0	127	127	162	197	197	206	0	0	Plato canada, Miguelito Gris Duro
15	1	24	41	81	4.5	14	13	0	0	152	152	161	197	197	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
16	2	26	41	81	7	20	5	0	0	152	152	186	197	197	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
17	5	0	41	81	7.5	14	14	0	0	132	132	162	198	198	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
18	6	0	44	0	6.5	16	13	0	0	132	132	162	199	199	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
19	1	0	44	81	8	21	8	0	0	127	152	187	198	198	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
20	1	0	44	0	4.5	14	9	0	0	141	152	162	197	197	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
21	1	0	41	0	5	16	10	0	0	132	132	162	197	197	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
22	1	0	41	0	5	19	8	0	0	129	129	168	198	198	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
23	6	0	44	0	7.5	17	10	0	0	132	136	164	198	198	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
24	11	0	41	0	10	26	8	0	0	143	144	171	196	196	210	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa

25	9	0	46	0	9.5	22	5	0	0	144	144	185	197	197	210	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
26	5	0	41	0	8.5	0	0	0	0	144	144	171	197	197	210	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
27	6	0	44	0	9.5	25	10	0	0	144	148	171	199	197	210	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
28	5	0	55	0	6.5	12	13	0	0	144	144	172	197	196	210	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	144	144	171	196	196	210	0	0	DI on lip, < 5cm
30	0	0	41	0	6.5	0	0	95	0	143	143	172	196	199	210	0	0	nubbins on rim
31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	144	144	172	197	197	210	0	230	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	150	150	185	198	199	210	0	225	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	144	144	171	196	196	210	0	225	< 5cm, Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	144	144	172	197	197	210	0	226	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	144	144	172	197	197	210	0	231	Mango de brasero/brasier handle Flores/Natividad
36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	144	144	171	196	196	210	0	226	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	137	137	185	197	197	210	0	226	< 5cm Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	132	132	162	197	197	206	0	231	Miguelito Gris Duro
39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	132	132	162	198	198	206	0	231	< 5 cm, Miguelito Gris Duro
40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	144	144	185	197	197	210	0	225	<5 cm, Chachoapan Crema Arenosa, nubbin
41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	151	151	179	199	199	206	0	232	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino Laddle
42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	152	152	179	199	199	206	0	232	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino Laddle
43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	152	152	179	199	199	206	0	233	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino Laddle
44	5	24	0	0	8.5	0	0	0	0	132	132	162	198	197	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro triangular spout pitcher
45	1	17	45	81	10	0	0	0	0	143	143	169	196	196	210	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
46	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	127	127	170	198	198	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	101	144	144	172	196	196	206	0	0	< 5 cm
48	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	96	0	132	132	164	199	199	206	0	0	Canada / Fondo sellado Miguelito Gris Duro
49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	128	132	162	198	198	206	0	0	<5 Cacique Brunhido
50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	137	137	162	197	197	210	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
51	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	126	126	170	199	199	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
52	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	144	143	161	196	196	210	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
53	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	132	129	176	196	196	210	0	0	< 5 cm, Chachoapan Crema Arenosa

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio Centro Ndodo Che **Ubicacion** 697402/1952461/1990
Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** XXII

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	P	FB	AP	Notas
01	6	26	41	82	6.5	23	8	91	0	152	152	195	199	199	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
02	1	17	41	81	7	22	5	91	0	151	151	179	199	199	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
03	1	17	41	81	6.5	23	9	91	0	152	152	184	198	198	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
04	1	17	44	81	5.5	16	11	91	0	152	152	184	198	198	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
05	1	17	44	81	5.5	20	10	91	0	152	152	164	199	199	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
06	6	26	41	81	6.5	21	7	91	91	152	152	166	200	200	213	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
07	1	17	41	81	6	16	9	91	0	151	151	188	199	199	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
08	0	0	0	0	5.5	0	0	117	91	132	151	189	199	199	206	0	0	<5cm Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
09	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	91	151	151	184	199	199	206	0	0	<5cm Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
10	0	0	0	0	6.5	0	0	115	91	149	151	188	199	199	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
11	2	20	41	81	5	0	0	91	91	145	145	175	197	197	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
12	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	91	91	127	152	187	199	199	206	0	0	<5cm Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
13	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	91	0	151	151	173	197	197	206	0	0	<5cm Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
14	1	17	41	81	6	18	4	91	0	152	152	184	199	199	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
15	0	36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	151	151	184	199	199	206	0	232	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
16	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	91	91	152	152	194	199	199	206	0	0	<5cm Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	91	0	126	126	171	200	199	206	0	0	<5cm Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	91	0	151	151	184	200	200	206	0	0	<5cm Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	91	132	151	194	199	199	213	0	0	<5cm Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	91	130	126	171	197	197	206	0	0	DE:126/130 Las Pilitas Policromo
21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	91	126	151	169	197	197	206	0	0	<5cm Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	118	0	151	151	179	200	200	206	0	0	<5cm Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	91	0	149	149	185	197	197	206	0	0	<5cm Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	91	151	151	184	200	200	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema

25	0	0	0	0	6.5	0	0	0	0	149	149	194	199	199	206	0	0	<5cm Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
26	9	30	49	81	6.5	11	17	0	0	127	149	177	197	198	208	0	0	Nochixtlan OxidadoLF/EN-LN/CO
27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	115	149	149	194	199	199	213	0	0	<5cm Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	POL	ICR	OM	E		200	200	206	0	0	policromo
29	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	138	138	191	200	200	206	0	0	<5 cm postcolonial
30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	106	115	128	149		199	200	206	0	0	<5 cm Las Pilitas Policromo
31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	115	126	149	171	199	199	206	0	0	<5cm Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	119	126	149	162	199	200	206	0	0	<5 cm policromo
33	6	26	41	86	11	33	10	0	95	126	126	162	197	200	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	95	0	147	137	191	200	200	206	0	0	<5 cm postcolonial
35	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	150	150	177	199	199	206	0	0	<5cm Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
36	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	131	131	178	197	198	206	0	0	<5cm Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	144	144	161	198	199	210	0	0	<5cm
38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	128	128	178	197	197	213	0	0	<5cm
39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	132	132	162	199	199	206	0	0	<5cm
40	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	91	0	151	149	187	149	199	213	0	0	< 5 Las Pilitas Policromo
41	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	127	127	170	197	197	212	0	0	<5 Miguelito Gris Duro
42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	128	128	161	199	199	213	0	0	<5 Miguelito Gris Duro
43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	137	137	128	197	197	212	0	0	<5
44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	152	126	188	146	197	206	0	0	<5
45	0	0	0	0	5.5	0	0	0	0	128	126	163	197	197	206	0	0	<5
46	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	91	126	151	164	197	199	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	137	137	176	197	197	208	0	0	Nochixtlan Rust Ware
48	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	137	128	176	197	200	213	0	0	<5: Yucuita Cafe Delgado RA
49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	132	132	195	197	197	206	0	231	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
50	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	144	144	169	197	199	213	0	0	<5 Yucuita Café Delgado
51	2	20	41	81	6.5	0	0	0	0	137	137	177	199	199	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
52	0	35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	126	126	179	198	196	213	0	0	comal
53	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	152	152	188	199	199	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
54	0	0	0	0	7.5	0	0	0	95	126	126	163	200	200	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
55	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	137	137	169	197	198	213	0	0	
56	1	17	41	81	8	29	7	0	0	137	137	172	197	196	211	0	0	Nochixtlan Oxidado
57	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	137	137	169	197	197	210	0	0	Nochixtlan Oxidado

XXII ss

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	P	FB	AP	Notas
58	0	0	0	0	6.5	0	0	0	0	132	132	164	194	199	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
59	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	126	126	164	197	197	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	152	152	188	197	197	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
61	5	24	41	82	7.5	17	10	0	0	137	132	172	197	197	210	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
62	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	126	137	171	196	197	213	0	0	?
63	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	142	142	188	197	197	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
64	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	162	128	169	199	199	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
65	0	0	0	0	5.5	0	0	118	119	151	149	185	199	199	206	0	0	Las Pilitas Policromo
66	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	120	0	128	128	162	197	197	206	0	0	<5 Postcolonial
67	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	120	95	128	149	194	198	198	206	0	0	<5 Postcolonial
68	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	151	151	177	200	200	206	0	0	<5 Las Pilitas Policromo
69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	128	128	161	200	200	206	0	0	<5 Yanhuitlan Crema Fino

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio Centro Ndodo Che (Ubaldo) **Ubicacion** 697398/1952531/1990
Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** XXIII

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	P	FB	AP	Notas
01	01	18	41	82	7	21	8	0	0	127	127	162	199	199	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
02	01	17	45	86	8	17	5	95	0	126	126	162	197	197	213	0	0	Juanito Gris Fino Decorado
03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	127	126	162	199	198	206	0	0	<5 Miguelito Gris Duro
04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	0	<5, Miguelito Gris Duro
05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	0	<5, Miguelito Gris Duro
06	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	226	Miguelito Gris Duro
07	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	231	Miguelito Gris Duro pata gruesa
08	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	91	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	217	0	<5 Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
09	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	213	0	0	<5 parte de ollita?
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	213	0	0	<5, Cacique Brunhido?

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio Yahui Che'e Mont. 1 **UTM** 698023/1951860/2016 y 698003/1951919/2018

Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** XXIV

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	P	FB	AP	Notas
01	5	24	41	82	9	24	15	0	0	143	143	173	199	197	210	0	0	Fire Clouded, Chach. Crema Arenosa
02	1	18	41	82	5	18	13	91	0	151	129	186	198	198	206	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
03	0	0	41	81	3	0	0	92	92	151	151	194	200	200	206	0	0	Las Pilitas Policromo
04	1	17	41	82	4.5	14	5	0	0	127	136	186	199	198	213	0	0	Cacique Brunido
05	1	17	41	81	3.5	18	3	92	92	149	149	175	200	200	213	0	0	Las Pilitas Policromo
06	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	92	0	0	0	0	200	200	206	0	0	engobe anaranjado, Iglesia Policromo
07	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	91	0	0	0	0	200	200	206	0	0	eng. blanco, Yanh. Rojo Sobre Crema
08	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	91	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
09	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	91	92	0	0	0	200	200	213	0	0	Las Pilitas Policromo
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5 Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
11	2	19	41	81	4	9	4	0	91	149	149	194	199	199	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	92	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	0	Las Pilitas Policromo
13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	95	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	225	?
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	225	<5 Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	216	0	Postcolonial
16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	92	91	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Postcolonial
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	231	Miguelito Gris Duro
18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	102	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	231	Miguelito Gris Duro
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	225	?

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio Yuku Andyishi **Ubicacion** 700755/1952695/2170
Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** VI

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	P	FB	AP	Notas
01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	126	126	164	196	196	206	216	0	comal
02	8	29	55	82	9	24	15	0	0	145	145	173	198	197	208	0	0	Nochixtlan Oxidado

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio	Tinduu Totonhee	**Ubicacion**	698714/1951916/2040
Temporada	2002	**Bolsa**	VIII

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	P	FB	AP	Notas
01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	213	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	210	0	0	Juanito Gris Fino
03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	225	Miguelito Gris Duro
04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	213	0	226	Yucuita Café
05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	211	0	0	<5
06	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	95	0	0	0	0	0	213	0	0	<5, Yucuita Café

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio API,26-2-2002 **Ubicacion** 697974/1952874/1882
Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** IX

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	P	FB	AP	Notas
01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	213	0	0	<5 Comal
02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	213	0	0	<5 Miguelito Gris Duro
03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	213	0	0	<5 Miguelito Gris Duro
04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	213	0	0	<5 Miguelito Gris Duro
05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	0	<5 Cacique Brunhido

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio Centro Yahui Ka'a **Ubicacion** 697257/1952413/2009

Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** X

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	P	FB	AP	Notas
01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	126	126	0	0	0	213	0	231	Miguelito Gris Duro
02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	126	126	162	200	199	213	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	126	126	162	0	0	213	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
04	0	0	0	0	3.5	20	2	0	0	127	138	190	200	200	206	216	0	Cacique Brunido
05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	213	0	0	Chach. Anaranjada Var. Anita Fino
06	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	232	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
07	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	210	0	0	?
08	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	0	Chach. Anaranjada Var. Anita Fino
09	0	0	41	81	5	0	0	0	0	127	127	190	200	200	206	0	0	Yucuita Café, Variedad Alicia

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio Tinduu Akama **Ubicacion** 696656/1951954/2140

Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** XII

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	P	FB	AP	Notas
01	01	17	41	82	4	15.5	100	0	116	127	127	0	200	200	213	0	0	Olla subhemisferica completa Miguelito Gris Dur

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio Toto nhinhi **Ubicacion** 698363/1952061/2020
Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** XI

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	P	FB	AP	Notas
01	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	126	127	162	197	199	206	217	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	102	0	132	132	170	197	197	213	0	231	Miguelito Gris Duro
03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	152	152	170	197	197	206	217	0	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
04	0	36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	152	152	179	197	197	206	0	232	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	132	132	162	197	197	213	0	225	Juanito Gris Fino
06	06	29	41	81	5.5	18	10	0	0	126	126	164	197	197	213	0	0	Juanito Gris Fino
07	01	17	47	81	5	16	7	0	0	126	126	164	197	197	213	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
08	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	151	151	179	198	198	206	0	232	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
09	02	17	41	81	5	17	12	0	0	128	128	162	198	198	206	0	0	
10	01	16	41	82	6	20	9	91	0	152	152	186	199	198	213	0	0	
11	05	25	41	86	9	?	.5	0	0	126	126	164	197	196	213	0	0	Juanito Gris Fino
12	05	25	45	82	6	14	3	0	0	145	145	192	197	197	210	0	0	Nochixtlan Oxidado ?
13	05	25	41	81	2	15	2	0	0	128	136	186	198	197	213	0	0	Cacique Brunhido
14	01	17	41	81	4	23	3	0	0	126	126	164	197	197	206	0	0	Miguelito Gris Duro
15	01	17	41	81	5	11	10	0	0	136	136	186	197	197	211	0	0	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
16	01	17	48	82	4	16	3	0	0	154	154	193	197	197	213	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
17	01	18	57	86	3.5	16	3	91	0	151	151	179	200	200	206	0	0	eng. blanco, Yanh.Rojo Sobre Crema
18	01	17	45	81	5	17.5	5	91	0	151	151	181	200	200	213	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
19	01	17	41	82	3	?	1	0	91	142	142	190	197	197	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5, Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5, Las Pilitas Policromo
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5, Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5, Yucuita Café delgado
24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5, Las Pilitas Policromo

25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5, Las Pilitas Policromo
26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	216	0	engobe negro interior y exterior, <5
27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	216	0	engobe negro int y exterior
28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	216	0	engobe negro int y exterior, <5
29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	217	0	engobe negro int y exterior
30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5
31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	cuerpo
32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	comal
33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	225	
34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	225	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	231	Miguelito Gris Duro
36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	225	Miguelito Gris Duro
37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	231	Yucuita Rojo sobre Café Var. Filemon
38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	231	Miguelito Gris Duro
39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	225	Miguelito Gris Duro
40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	233	Juanito Gris Fino
41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	225	
42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5 Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5 Cacique Brunhido
44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5
45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5
46	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5 Postcolonial

1 obsidiana verde, 1 piedra

Cedula de ceramica recolectada

Santiago Apoala, Noch., Oaxaca
Centro INAH-Oaxaca – Universiteit Leiden

Nombre del sitio Sata Kahua Laki T1 **Ubicacion** 697276/1952669/2040

Temporada 2002 **Bolsa** XIII

NR.	FV	FP	FL	PB	GP	DM	%	DI	DE	CLI	CLE	CQ	ASI	ASE	P	FB	AP	Notas
01	01	17	44	81	6.5	0	0	91	91	152	152	194	199	199	206	0	0	Yanhuitlan Rojo Sobre Crema
02	05	24	55	86	9	0	0	0	0	137	137	177	196	196	210	0	0	Chachoapan Crema Arenosa
03	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	137	128	176	196	197	210	0	0	
04	11	33	41	81	8	0	0	0	0	144	144	171	197	197	207	0	0	Nochixtlan Oxidado
05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	152	152	179	197	197	206	0	232	Yanhuitlan Crema Fino
06	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	137	137	171	197	197	208	0	225	Nochixtlan Oxidado

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Curriculum vitae

Alexander Geurds was born in Velp (Gld.) on December 10, 1974 and attended Het Rhedens Lyceum in Rozendaal, the Netherlands, between 1986 and 1994. In 1994, he initiated his undergraduate studies in Native American Archaeology and Culture History at the Faculty of Archaeology of Leiden University obtaining his MA degree in 1999. He subsequently was admitted with a scholarship to the Advanced Masters Program at the Research School CNWS, which he successfully completed in 2000. Immediately after that, he was granted a four-year junior fellowship at the CNWS to conduct research for this PhD dissertation. In 2002, more or less halfway through this position at the CNWS, he was offered a half-time position as assistant professor at the Faculty of Archaeology. In 2006, somewhat more than half a year before his fellowship at the CNWS would expire, he was granted a half-time position as Director of Studies at the Research School CNWS.

Alexander Geurds has participated in archaeological research in the Netherlands, Mexico, Nicaragua, as well as the French and British Antilles.