Propaganda, Lineage, and the Divine: An Exploration of the Meaning of Two Vases from Monte Albán

Sofia Muñoz

Trinity University, smunoz3@trinity.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.trinity.edu/infolit_usra

Repository Citation
https://digitalcommons.trinity.edu/infolit_usra/87

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Information Literacy Committee at Digital Commons @ Trinity. It has been accepted for inclusion in Undergraduate Student Research Awards by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ Trinity. For more information, please contact jcostanz@trinity.edu.
Propaganda, Lineage, and the Divine:
An Exploration of the Meaning of Two Vases from Monte Albán

Sofía Muñoz
ANTH 3335: Ancient Art of Mesoamerica
Dr. Jennifer Mathews
Introduction

In this paper I will be examining ‘Cylindrical Cups with Glyphs 1A and 1B’, which are part of the Ancient Art of the Americas permanent collection at the San Antonio Museum of Art. These are photographed together in Image 1, and separately in Image 2 and 3. These are earthenware vessels each with a glyph carved onto the front, likely from a tomb in Monte Albán (2021 File…). I have determined the glyph on vessel 1A to be glyph B and the glyph on vessel 1B to be a glyph J, as assigned by Javier Urcid in his 2001 book on Zapotec hieroglyphs (Urcid 2001, Urcid 2005). In the next pages I will give a general background of the Zapotec at Monte Albán including their tombs, religious beliefs, and systems of hierarchy. I will attempt to describe the likely use of these vessels, the meaning of their glyphs, and what this meaning indicates about the tomb in which they originate.

In the pages that follow I argue that these vessels were used to hold offerings of food or drink in tombs and that they depict a specific couple of noble or divine lineage. I will analyze the meaning of glyph J, maize, and glyph B, jaguar, and give a basic breakdown of the calendar in which these glyphs hold significance. These glyphs together and in the context of a tomb are likely the representation of a primordial or royal couple associated with a founding dynasty in Monte Albán (Marcus 1992, Marcus and Flannery 1996, Urcid 2005, Taravez 2022). Based on this, and the background I will later give regarding the importance of lineage at Monte Albán, I will demonstrate that vessels 1A and 1B are likely indicating the perceived noble, or even divine, heritage of the individual(s) buried in their tomb of origin, positioning this individual high within the hierarchical society at Monte Albán.

The file provided by the San Antonio Museum of art states that these vessels were donated to the collection in 1995 and their accession numbers are 67.53.20-1A and 67.53.20-1B
(2021 SAMA…). They are described as earthenware cups from Monte Albán measuring roughly 2.5 by 3.5 inches, and the date given is 500-200BC, roughly the dates of Monte Albán I (2021 SAMA…). Using comparison to other vessels with known provenance, shown in images 4-7, I have determined that these are likely vessels found from tombs in Monte Albán. In particular, Image 7 depicts a vessel currently located in the Peabody Museum which has an exact provenience and estimated time frame (Peabody). This vessel is roughly the same size, made of the same material, and has the same variation of the glyph on vessel 1A. Because of this I am confident in stating that these vessels are from Monte Albán. However, verifying the date or era is more difficult as the variation between periods is not significant and this type of vessel was found in all stages of Monte Albán, roughly 600BC–800AD (Elson and Sherman 2007, Miller 2019).

Zapotec and Monte Albán

The Zapotec were a people that lived in Oaxaca, Mexico from the Middle Formative to the Early Classic period (Miller 2019). The Zapotecs were defined by their civilizations at Monte Albán, an archeological site in central Oaxaca considered to have serious religious significance and potentially even be a sacred place (Miller 2019, Jansen and Jimenez Gabina 2017). In addition to Monte Albán the Zapotecs also extended into the Valley of Oaxaca, where there have been a multitude of archaeological sites examining tombs and burials (Marcus 1992, Marcus and Flannery 1996, Gonlin et al. 2016). Monte Albán was a huge hub for religion and politics, it was considered an urban area with a population estimated to have reach upwards of 17,000 people (Marcus and Flannery 1997). Monte Albán was where rulers and religious leaders resided, maintaining control of the greater valley of Oaxaca, whose population is estimated to have reached 50,000 (Marcus and Flannery 1997). Monte Albán’s development is divided into a series
of eras including Monte Albán I, II, IIIa and IIIb (Miller 2019). It has been one of the richest sites in Mesoamerica for tomb excavation, leading to extensive analysis of human remains, ceramics, and other archaeological materials (Miller 2019, Jansen and Jimenez Gabina 2017, Urcid 2005, Gonlin et al. 2016, Sellen 2011). This richness is a direct reflection of the thriving culture that existed throughout the years at Monte Albán. It is also important to note that the Zapotec lived alongside, and sometimes overlapped with Mixtec culture and there are significant similarities between the two (Marcus 1992, Marcus and Flannery 1996).

Religion was highly important within Zapotec society, as with most Mesoamerican cultures (Marcus 1992, Marcus and Flannery 1996, Miller 2019, Jansen and Jimenez Gabina 2017, Urcid 2005, Gonlin et al. 2016, Sellen 2011). The main themes within Zapotec religion were flora, fauna and sacrifice (Marcus and Flannery 1996, Jansen and Jimenez Gabina 2017, Urcid 2005, Gonlin et al. 2016, Sellen 2011). They believed in deities which embodied animals, plants, and natural forces such as the jaguar, corn, or lighting (Marcus and Flannery 1996, Urcid 2001, Sellen 2011). They employed different mechanisms of sacrifice such as animal, human and autosacrifice, in which individuals drew their own blood, all in an attempt to please the Gods and draw on the life force they believed existed in all things, known as pé (Marcus 1992, Soleri et al. 2013). Blood was considered to be directly related to fertility and had to be spilled in order for life to continue (Sellen 2011). There also existed a hierarchy of priests, many of whom had significant political power within both noble and common communities (Marcus and Flannery 1996).

The hierarchy that existed in Monte Albán was tied directly to their religious beliefs, with noble and royal people’s power coming from their ties to certain deities and Gods (Marcus 1992, Marcus and Flannery 1996, Elson and Sherman 2007, Gonlin et al. 2016). Monte Albán was
built upon what many archaeologists believe was seen as a sacred mountain, and because of this was likely considered a sacred place (Marcus and Flannery 1996, Miller 2019). This sacrality meant that those who lived on, in, or close to Monte Albán were seen as godlike and their closeness to this sacred place gave them significant power or authority due to their perceived connection to the gods (Marcus 1992, Marcus and Flannery 1996, Elson and Sherman 2007, Gonlin et al. 2016).

The importance of divine heritage is a factor that played directly into the class standing of Monte Albán’s society (Marcus and Flannery 1996, Gonlin et al. 2016). One story was that rulers descended from venerated ancestors who ruled on earth and then ascended into the sky to live in proximity to Lightning, or Cocyo, which the Zapotec believed to be one of the most important life forces (Marcus 1992, Marcus and Flannery 1996, Elson and Sherman 2007). Tying oneself to this type of lineage was essential for rulers to remain in power, and a very important part of ones claim to nobility, thus genealogy and representation of ancestors became propaganda (Marcus 1992, Marcus and Flannery 1996, Elson and Sherman 2007, Gonlin et al. 2016). The claim to divine heritage was often finalized with one’s burial place, and tombs are the best opportunity to examine how individuals laid out genealogy, tying themselves to divine, royal, and human ancestors (Marcus 1992, Kerpel 2010, Gonlin et al. 2016). It is also important to note that due to the various stories, histories, mythology, and genealogy present in different sites and written works archaeologists are hesitant to draw hard lines classifying ancient beings described in Mesoamerican texts as either human or God/deity, often leading our interpretations of individuals to be simultaneously divine and human (Marcus and Flannery 1996, Urcid 2005, Tavárez 2022).
Tombs in Monte Albán and Their Meaning

Tombs in Monte Albán have been heavily excavated and studied (Elson and Sherman 2007, Kerpel 2010, Gonlin et al. 2016, Miller 2019). They are widely known to be resting places for those of higher class because Monte Albán carried great significance, and only the elite were buried there (Marcus and Flannery 1996, Gonlin et al. 2016). Tombs also carry deep spiritual meaning because being found within the mountain likely meant they were considered to be an entrance into the underworld (Kerpel 2010). Because they were seen this way, the goal for tombs was to create a space in which the dead would be able to enter into the underworld and depictions of ancestors were used to help the dead individual along in this process (Elson and Sherman 2007, Kerpel 2010).

The afterlife was of the utmost importance to the Zapotec. Because of this they believed the tomb needed to contain all that was necessary for them in the underworld, including valuable stones and jewelry, animal companions, offerings of sacred food and drink, and most importantly their ancestors (Marcus and Flannery 1996, Jansen and Jimenez Gabina 2017). These ancestors were represented on ceramics, in funerary urns and effigy vessels, carved into stones, and in artistic murals (Kerpel 2010, Gonlin et al. 2016, Jansen and Jimenez Gabina 2017). Another reason ancestors were represented throughout tombs was as a message for those around them, to demonstrate to the public that in this tomb lay a person whose lineage meant they had significant amounts of power (Marcus and Flannery 1996, Kerpel 2010, Jansen and Jimenez Gabina 2017). The tomb is a place in which one’s ancestors were laid out for them as they entered the underworld, as well as a marker to demonstrate their heritage and position in society.
**Ceramics in Monte Albán**

The ceramics found in Monte Albán have been extensively studied within the context of tombs (Balkansky et al. 1997, Elson and Sherman 2007, Miller 2019). The most well-known and studied vessels are Zapotec effigy vessels made of gris paste which often depict deities, maize, and associated motifs such as fertility and sacrifice (Elson and Sherman 2007, Sellen 2011). The vessels that I am examining are crema ceramics, which are significantly less elaborate, but are more likely to be associated with an elite status (Elson and Sherman 2007). Crema ceramics were more simplistic and uniform to manufacture, they usually resembled vases and had straight walls and simple rims (Elson and Sherman 2007). Vessels from Monte Albán were used to depict ancestors and connection to the divine, and as Elson and Sherman posit, demonstrate how the elite were expected to be intermediaries charged with speaking to and thanking the Gods (2007).

Other vessels similar to the ones I am examining represent specific people found in the Zapotecs timeline. Image 4 and Image 6 are vessels located at the Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City and specifically reference 13 Monkey and 5 Eagle, potential founders of royal dynasties (Marcus and Flannery 1997:223). These specific vessels were thought to have been drinking cups, used to honor past rulers (Marcus and Flannery 1997). These vessels are similar to 1A and 1B in that they were likely used to carry foodstuffs and beverages, and they represented past rulers and the divine (Marcus and Flannery 1997, Miller 2019). Based on this and what we know about tombs, vessels 1A and 1B likely represent ancestors helping to guide the entombed to their resting place while also serving as propaganda to tie elites to the divine (Marcus 1990, Marcus and Flannery 1997, Elson and Sherman 2007).
Names and The Zapotec Calendar

Within Mesoamerica there were many calendrical systems used including a non-religious calendar of 365 days, a sacred calendar of 260 days and a 52-year cycle which was a result of these calendars each running concurrently (Marcus 1992, Urcid 2001). For the purposes of examining vessels 1A and 1B I will be explaining and deconstructing the 260-day calendar, sometimes called the *Tonalpohualli*, and known by the Zapotec as the *piye* (Marcus 1992). This calendar was thought to be “alive and therefore sacred” (Marcus 1992:125). The name *piye* has the prefix *pi* which is believed by some scholars to come from the Zapotec concept *pé(e)* which is the vital force contained in all life (Marcus 1992, Soleri et al. 2013).

The 260-day calendar was made up of two series: first, the numbers 1 through 13 and second, 20 entities (I - XX) named after a variety of plants, animals, or natural powers such as wind or lightning (Marcus 1992, Urcid 2001, Urcid 2005). These ran side by side offering each day in the calendar a unique name, such as 2X or 13XI, as shown in Figure 1 (Marcus 1992, Urcid 2001). The 20-day names have been a source of debate in the archaeological community for many years, with there being disagreement about which names went with which days and what the significance of these names may be (Marcus 1992, Urcid 2001, Urcid 2005). In his 2001 book on Zapotec hieroglyphs Javier Urcid lays out his argument for each of the 20 days, giving them an assigned glyph. It is my understanding that these are still considered to be the most accurate day names, as I have found no other more recent sources which dive into this with the same specificity, and it how I determined the name for the glyphs on vessels 1A and 1B.

Because of the religious significance assigned to this calendar, individuals were named after the day on which they were born (Marcus 1992, Urcid 2001). These names were represented with a glyph that depicted one of the 20 entities for which days were named, such as
a jaguar, and a series of bars or dots to represent the number 1-13, with a bar representing 5 and a
dot representing 1 (Marcus 1992). Each day ran from noon to noon and was known as a *chiy*, and
each could have a malevolent, benevolent, or neutral fortune (Marcus 1992). The Zapotec
divided up the calendar into 4 units of 65 days and each of those are called *cociyo* or *pitáo*
(Marcus 1992). Each 65-day unit is then divided into 5 sets of 13 days, these are called *cocii*
(Marcus 1992). The *cociyo* and *cocii* also had positive or negative associations (Marcus 1992).

Due to the positive or negative associations each day and unit could hold, it was common
practice for the elite or noble to have a diviner rename their children to a name with a better
fortune, had they been born on a day which was considered unlucky (Marcus 1992). This led to
there being significant overlap in certain names, resulting in a common practice of assigning
nicknames, seen in Image 8 from the Codex Vindobonensis (Marcus 1992, Anders 1992:27). The
nicknames and overlapping day names in addition to the lack of certainty about day glyphs, and
inability to distinguish between Gods and human ancestors, means it is very difficult for
genealogical data to be read and interpreted as an accurate representation of the past (Marcus
1990, Marcus and Flannery 1997, Urcid 2001, Elson and Sherman 2007). This is an important
concept to understand as we dive into the meaning of the glyphs on vessels 1A and 1B.

**Glyph B and Glyph J**

Using Javier Urcid’s 2001 book I was able to identify the glyphs represented on vessels
1A and 1B. I did this using the glyph chronology and image break downs he provides, seen in
Figures 2-6. My attention to these glyphs was due to their representation in Figure 2, which
shows them on two vessels similar to 1A and 1B. Urcid uses Alfonso Casos’ system of assigning
letters to calendrical day glyphs, which allows for their names to potentially change over time
(Marcus 1992, Urcid 2001). Alfonso Caso is considered the father of Zapotec hieroglyph study,
and his system is the base used by most Zapotec scholars today (Marcus 1992, Marcus and Flannery 1997, Urcid 2001).

I have determined vessel 1A to depict the glyph J. This is based on the glyph’s evolution through time and the breakdown of its various features, shown by Urcid in Figures 3 and 4. In Figure 3 we see the elements which make up glyph J, including the U-shape base, lateral curved appendage, and central appendage with inner marks, all of which are present on vessel 1A. In Figure 4 we can see chronology of glyph J, which contains different variations, but all still contain the core the elements laid out in Figure 3. This glyph is associated with the 15th day in the 20-day calendrical cycle, thought to be a representative of Maize (Urcid 2001). Maize, or corn, is a hugely significant item throughout Mesoamerica and is tied directly to concepts such as fertility and sustenance (Sellen 2011). The specific representation of maize as glyph J is found in a multitude of places, including ceramics, murals, and codices (Urcid 2001).

Maize has deep spiritual significance as well, it was seen as the Gods gift to humanity and many of the sacrificial practices taking place in Mesoamerica were made with the specific goal of thanking the Gods for this gift (Sellen 2011). Blood is thought to be a significant holder of pée, Zapotec life force, and was often let onto the ground through ritual sacrifice or auto sacrifice in an attempt to help maize grow and thank the Gods for their gift (Sellen 2001). It is important to note that Glyph J has been assigned a variety of names, including Flower and Field, however the argument laid out by Urcid 2001 to assign the general meaning of maize is the one which I am inclined to believe. This is because Field would be in reference to ‘cornfield’ and Flower would be representative of the flower that sometimes blooms on corn plants, meaning either name would call on the same significance of the corn plant (Marcus and Flannery 1996, Urcid 2001, Tavárez 2022).
The glyph on vessel 1B I have determined to be Glyph B, which represents a jaguar. This is based on the glyph’s evolution through time at Monte Albán and its various features, seen in figures 5 and 6. In figure 5, the variants of this glyph are also shown and the front facing head has many of the same features as the glyph on vessel 1B, including the eyes, nose, and teeth. Figure 6 lays out the chronology of the glyph at Monte Albán and while there are a multitude of variations, numbers 38 and 37 resemble the front facing jaguar seen on vessel 1B, again because of the presence of eyes, nose, and teeth. This glyph is associated with the 14th day in the 20-day calendrical cycle (Urcid 2001).

The jaguar is also a symbol which holds significant meaning throughout Mesoamerica and is found in hieroglyphs depicting a variety of stories and people (Urcid 2001, Urcid 2005, Kerpel 2010). The jaguar is often associated with warriors, he is seen as the ruler of the underworld, depicted consuming human hearts, as a protector and often depicted as the dual identity of an individual used to connect with their ancestors and the divine (Urcid 2001, Urcid 2005, Kerpel 2010). The jaguar is not often depicted facing the front, and when this is done it is often on single or paired vases and considered to be calendrical when seen with other day name glyphs, such as glyph J (Urcid 2001).

According to many archaeologists there exists a primordial, or possibly real couple, named 1 Jaguar and 2 Mazie (Marcus and Flannery 1997, Urcid 2001, Tavárez 2022). They are thought to be either a representation of a divine couple, or one of the founding couples within a dynasty at Monte Albán (Marcus, 1992, Marcus and Flannery 1997, Urcid 2005, Tavárez 2022). There are a multitude of vases from Monte Albán containing depictions of this couple (Marcus and Flannery 1997, Urcid 2001). Marcus states that these depictions could reference a couple from the Teozacoalco dynasty who were known as ‘Jaguar’ and ‘Feathers and Flower’, who have
names without a number (1992:272). Marcus and Flannery propose that they are the ‘Zapotec equivalent of the Mixtec lord 1 deer and lady 1 deer’ (1997:224). Tavárez supports this and proposes they could be 1 Jaguar and 2 Field (his name for glyph J Maize), the counterparts of the first Zapotec diviner couple, who are unnamed (2022:144). It is also important to note that there is significant variation in the depictions of this couple throughout Monte Albán (Marcus and Flannery 1997, Tavárez 2022). All of these theories have merit and could contain a portion of or the whole truth, and because of this I do not choose only one to believe. The message I choose to take away from them is that this couple, divine or not, had great respect and power.

An important note is the lack of the bar and dot system which is usually associated with day name glyphs when they are used to reference specific people. As described above an individual in Zapotec society was often named after the day on which they were born, and this name is represented using a glyph attached to bars and dots (Marcus 1992). There are a variety of reasons there are no bar or dots located on these vessels however their lack of provenience means we will likely not understand have the context necessary to fully understand the lack of naming. It is my belief that these vessels did not need dots because they were representative of a couple who was so widely known at the time. Some scholars believe that figures which were divine were not assigned day names, as they were not ‘born’, and because of their potential divinity Jaguar and Maize did not have numbers assigned to them (Marcus 1992). In addition to this theory, nicknames must also be considered as a reason why this couple is referenced without numbers. The couple referred by Marcus as potentially part of the Teozacoalco dynasty were named without numbers, meaning they could have been given nicknames (1992:273). In all, it is clear the presence of bars and dots is not entirely necessary to indicate that these vessels are naming people. And no matter their name, history, or divinity, there is obvious power and
closeness with the Gods associated with this couple. Their presence together on other vases in Monte Albán helps support the authenticity, origin, and significance of vessels 1A and 1B.

Conclusions

It is important to acknowledge that I have found multiple sources to contradict one another regarding specifics from Zapotec religious beliefs and surrounding the couple which my vessels depict. I have generally regarded the most recent sources to be considered industry standard and the most up to date. I acknowledge this at certain points in my paper and demonstrate the lines of thought to which I am more inclined to subscribe. I also believe that it is possible for more than one line of thought to be considered correct. For the most part I consider that there is a common throughline in the majority of theories I have read, and I use these commonalities to come to my own conclusions regarding the meaning and significance of the glyphs and vessels themselves.

As demonstrated previously, one’s lineage in Monte Albán is significant when it comes to their place in society. As with most cultures in Mesoamerica, the majority of rulers claim to have their power because of a divine heritage (Marcus 1992, Marcus and Flannery 1996, Elson and Sherman 2007, Gonlin et al. 2016). They are considered close to Gods, acting as intercessors between humanity and the Gods, and are often treated as though they themselves are Gods (Marcus 1992, Marcus and Flannery 1996, Elson and Sherman 2007). This closeness to the divine is what gives them their power in the physical world (Marcus 1992, Marcus and Flannery 1996, Elson and Sherman 2007). The societal hierarchy is deeply intertwined with the spiritual world, and it is my belief and the belief of many other archaeologists, that a large part of gaining and maintaining power within society had to do with proving your divine heritage (Marcus 1992, Marcus and Flannery 1996).
Tombs acted as places for an entombed individual to access the underworld, or life after death (Kerpel 2010, Gonlin et al. 2016). As demonstrated, a large part of this meant tombs were decorated with depictions of ancestors, who would act as guides after death and welcome individuals into the underworld (Elson and Sherman 2007, Kerpel 2010, Gonlin et al. 2016). In addition to this, these representations served to show who the entombed was related to, enforcing their divine heritage and powerful genealogy (Elson and Sherman 2007, Kerpel 2010, Gonlin et al. 2016). These depictions were on murals, in effigy vessels, vases, and other ceramics, all of which served to show one’s heritage and guide them on their journey to the underworld (Elson and Sherman 2007, Kerpel 2010, Gonlin et al. 2016).

While it would be very difficult to come to an exact conclusion regarding the divinity of the couple 1 Jaguar and 2 Maize, also known by a variety of other names, it is clear that there is significant power associated with their names (Marcus, 1992, Marcus and Flannery 1997, Urcid 2005, Tavárez 2022). Their ties to divinity, creation stories, and founding dynasties all demonstrate that they held significant amounts of respect among people at Monte Albán. They are found throughout tombs, literature, and temples associated with the Zapotec, solidifying their ties to power (Marcus, 1992, Marcus and Flannery 1997, Tavárez 2022). Though the exact provenience of vessels 1A and 1B will likely never be recovered, in this paper I have proven the high likelihood they are from a tomb in Monte Albán and demonstrated their ties to similar vessels, also used to depict ancestors. Based on these conclusions it is my best guess that vessels 1A and 1B are propaganda demonstrating the noble, or even divine, heritage of the individual(s) buried in the tomb from which they were found. Leading me to believe these individuals were positioned high within the hierarchical society at Monte Albán.
Further Research

There is still much to be learnt about the religious beliefs, burial practices, and hierarchical structure of society within Monte Albán. The expansion of a few areas of research I believe would be very beneficial for gaining a more well rounded view of Zapotec society, as well as aid in determining the meaning and use of these vessels. To begin, performing tests on vessels 1A and 1B, and others like them, to better understand the food or beverage which they held would be deeply beneficial in understanding their role specifically in tombs. Do the offerings relate to the ancestor depicted? Are there different meanings or benefits tied to the different foodstuffs being given to certain gods? Answers to these questions would allow archaeologists to better understand the significance of these specific vessels while also giving greater context to the specific deities or ancestors they were worshipping.

A second area for further study is to delve specifically into the story of 1 Jaguar and 2 Maize. The couple obviously holds great significance in Zapotec culture and the society at Monte Albán, however there has not been specific research done into their origin, their place in the Teozacoalco dynasty, or their relationship to the diviner couple in the Zapotec creation myth. The significance of the jaguar and maize in Zapotec society, and constant depiction, has likely meant that there is overlap in stories which were not originally intertwined and being able to tame out each story would allow archaeologists to better understand the history at Monte Albán and what these vessels indicate for the entombed individuals whom they are found near.

The final area for study which could be beneficial to understanding the meaning of these glyphs and vessels is to dig deeper into the significance of having the glyphs on two separate vessels. Why was the couple depicted on two separate vases and not together? We have only seen these vessels depict one individual at a time, but why? While common with their
representation at Monte Albán, it is never explored further. Did this type of vase specifically only represent a single individual because of the offerings they were given? These questions tie into the first area of study which would further examine what was placed in these vessels. Answering these questions further would allow archaeologists to better understand the meaning and use of these vessels and their larger contribution to Zapotec society.

What we do know about the Zapotecs and Monte Albán shows us what these vessels mean for the entombed individuals likely buried nearby. Their depiction of a powerful couple is an attempt to show the world the nobility or importance of those buried near them. But what we don’t understand about these vessels could begin to paint a significantly clearer picture about the powerful couple of jaguar and maize, how they were venerated, and what this means for those who claim them as an ancestor.
Appendix A – Figures

Table 3.1 The Mesoamerican Sacred Calendar (260 Days)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Roman Numeral</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Roman Numeral</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Roman Numeral</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Roman Numeral</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Roman Numeral</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Roman Numeral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>XVII</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>XXI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>XXIV</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>XXII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>XV</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>XXIII</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>XXIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>XXIV</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>XXIV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>XVII</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>XXI</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>XXV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>XXII</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>XXVI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>XV</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>XXIII</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>XXIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>XV</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>XXIV</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>XXIV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>XVII</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>XXI</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>XXV</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>XXVI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1: A table laying out the concurrent systems of numbers and roman numeral used to name days in the 260-day Mesoamerican Calendar (Urcid 2001:81)

Figure 2: Variations of glyphs B and J together on vessels (Urcid 2001:161).
Fig. 4.85  Constituent elements of glyph J.

Figure 3: A table demonstrating the three main elements of glyph J (Urcid 2001:182).

Fig. 4.84  Known examples of glyph J in chronological order.

Figure 4: A table laying out the variants of Glyph J over time (Urcid 2001:183).
Figure 5: A figure laying out the different variants of Glyph B (Urcid 2001:161).

Figure 6: A table laying out the variants of Glyph B over time (Urcid 2001:160).
Appendix B – Images

Image 1: Vessels 1A (left) and 1B (right) together, as photographed by the museum (2021 File from the San Antonio Museum of Art).


Image 4: Vase with name 13 Monkey, as identified by Marcus and Flannery, from the Museo Nacional de Antropología located in Mexico City (Marcus and Flannery 1996:224, MNA Archivo Digital).
Image 5: Vase with name 2 Maize, as identified by the Harvard Peabody Museum, from the Museo Nacional de Antropología located in Mexico City (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, MNA Archivo Digital).

Image 6, MNA: Vase with name 5 Eagle, as identified by Marcus and Flannery, from the Museo Nacional de Antropología located in Mexico City (Marcus and Flannery 1996:224, MNA Archivo Digital)
Image 7: Vase with name 2 Maize, as identified by Peabody Museum, from the Monte Alban IIA, Temple VIII ATZ1 #12 (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology).

Image 8: 2 Flower receives the nickname “Adorno de Plumas de Quetzal”, meaning decorated with Quetzal feathers (Codex Vindobonensis, Anders 1992:27).
Appendix C – Bibliography


   Hudson, Inc.

9. Sellen, Adam T. 2011. “Sowing the Blood with the Maize: Zapotec Effigy Vessels and

   “Archaeological Residues and Recipes: Exploratory Testing for Evidence of Maize and
   Cacao Beverages in Postclassic Vessels from the Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico.” Latin

    Pp. 141–77 in Rethinking zapotec time: Cosmology, ritual, and resistance in colonial Mexico.
    Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

    Research Library and Collection.

    Waltham, MA: Department of Anthropology, Brandeis University.

14. 2021 File from the San Antonio Museum of Art, Ancient Art of the Americas Collection,
    Accession #67_53_1 and #67_53_2, courtesy of Bernadette Cap, Andrew W. Mellon
    Curatorial Postdoctoral Fellow. In possession of the author.
Appendix D – Image and Figure Bibliography


7. 2021 File from the San Antonio Museum of Art, Ancient Art of the Americas Collection, Accession #67_53_1 and #67_53_2, courtesy of Bernadette Cap, Andrew W. Mellon Curatorial Postdoctoral Fellow. In possession of the author.