

## Dynasty and Hierarchy in the Tombs of Monte Albán, Oaxaca

TELL ME YOUR NAME

*Alfonso Arellano Hernández*



*In memoriam*

*Beatriz de la Fuente (1929–2005),*

*for her many teachings*

*Ma il mistero è chiuso in me,  
il nome mio nessun saprà; no, no.*

*Sulla tua bocca lo dirò  
quando la luce splenderà*

—Giacomo Puccini, *Turandot*,  
Act III, “Nessun dorma”

Throughout human history the names of people who have had a major impact—Alexander the Great, Cleopatra VII, Pakal II, Charles V, Moctezuma Xocoyotzin, and Mao Tse-tung—have been celebrated. In the particular example of pre-Hispanic Oaxaca, it is important to mention Lords 8 Deer Jaguar-Claw and Cociyoesa. Certainly, personal names reflect the cultures of those who bear them, providing social confirmation and, therefore, identity. Thus, it is meaningful to investigate the significance of the Classic period Zapotec names that can be deduced from the records found in the mural paintings of tombs.

First, it is necessary to review the well-known concept of names derived from the calendar. According to this convention, a person received his or her first name from the day of their birth, which was taken from the *pije*, or ritual cycle of 260 days. This name marked their entire life

because they were influenced by the fate—the vital essence or burden—of the day, whether that be bad, good, or neutral. This created an irrevocable, sacred connection that meant names were never spoken. They were secret, taboo, magic. If anyone wanted to harm someone else, it was (and is) sufficient to say the complete calendrical name of the individual and curse him or her. Colonial sources confirm that to avoid danger, people did not usually include the number of the day and slightly altered the name itself, as in the case of Pedro and its diminutives Perico, Periquillo, Perote, and Pedroche. Similarly, *cipactli* (saurian) became *cípac* (Córdova [1578] 1942, 203; Sahagún [1829] 1989, lib. 4, *passim*).<sup>1</sup> The *pije* was an important part of baptisms in the central valleys of Oaxaca, even in the middle of the twentieth century (Weitlaner 1958, 299).

A person was not only named according to the calendar. He or she had another name that could be spoken in



Figure 6.1. Lady 10 Flower Rainy-Spiderweb, *Codex Selden*, page 8. Unpublished color drawing by Alfonso Arellano Hernández (2015), based on Caso 1969, 8.

public and is referred to by some scholars as a nickname (*sobrenombre* in Spanish). Most evidence indicates that this appellative was given to children when they were about six years old or sometimes with the beginning of puberty—at about thirteen to fifteen years of age. Therefore, one can speak of the Ladies 6 Monkey Serpent-Quechquémitl and 10 Flower Rainy-Spiderweb (fig. 6.1), as well as Lords 8 Deer Jaguar-Claw, 7 Reed Flint-Snake (Itzcóatl), and 1 Deer Fasting-Coyote (Nezahualcóyotl). Nicknaming is a general Mesoamerican custom, shared by Mixtecs, Aztecs, and many other people.<sup>2</sup> What else do we know about the Zapotec customs for naming people?

#### COLONIAL OAXACAN EXAMPLES

The earliest data are found in the writings of friars and the *Relaciones*, from around 1579 (Acuña 1984, *passim*). The most important sources pertaining to Zapotec Oaxaca are *Arte del idioma zapoteca* (Córdova [1578] 1942), the *Relación auténtica de las idolatrías, supersticiones, y vanas observaciones de los indios del obispado de Oaxaca* (Balsalobre [1656] 1988), and the vast *Geográfica descripción . . .* (Burgoa [1674] 1934). For study of the Mixtec area, an essential resource is the *Arte en la lengua*

*mixteca* (De los Reyes [1593] 1976). In Córdova one reads the following general traits:

Appellative or common names of people are neither imposed nor taken from lineage, but they take them from the day of their birth. . . . And these days and signs, some are considered good and others, evil and bad. These days and names served for many things related to the life of the people. The first: they served for birth, for as the day had its name, so they [the people] named the boy or the girl that was born on it [the day], and this was his/her principal name, although they had another. . . .<sup>3</sup>

And each one of those animals, that were twenty, had thirteen numbers; and even though all those thirteen numbers were one thing in themselves, they distinguished them with adding or taking away letters, and with altering the numbers, as follows.<sup>4</sup> It is as if we were to say: Pedro four and Perico five, and Periquillo six, and Perote seven, and Pedroche eight. All of these signify this name Pedro, but in different ways, and this because of the variation in letters and numbers as appears here. (Córdova 1942, 17, 203)

TABLE 6.1. Names and birth orders of Zapotec children

FINGER	SON	DAUGHTER	BIRTH ORDER
right thumb	<i>yobi</i> or <i>yopi</i>	<i>zaa</i>	1st
right second finger	<i>tini</i> or <i>teni</i>	<i>xoñi</i>	2nd
right third finger	<i>tixi</i> or <i>texi</i>	<i>niyo</i>	3rd
right fourth finger	<i>payo</i> or <i>xayo</i>	<i>laxi</i>	4rd
right little finger	<i>yopiye</i>	<i>zee</i>	5th
left thumb?	<i>teiye</i>	<i>zayee</i>	6th
left second finger?	<i>texiye</i>	—	7th

Balsalobre ([1656] 1988, 32) repeats the previously mentioned data. He also offers a list of twenty-six people named in Zapotec. We find Gabriel and Agustín Coxó, Alonso Pérez Guesèe, Baltazar Ramírez Xáa—pupil of Marcos Xèe—Diego Guachilla, Diego Yaguila, Felipe Guelaláa, Lorenzo Nachinaa or Lachinaa, Lucas Pedro Guesecho or Guesechi, and Tomás Laa. We note that with the exception of *Diego Guachilla* (6 Crocodile), these are nicknames, not calendrical names.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century at Villa Alta, testimony given in an idolatry trial against some Indians provides some novelties:

All those of his town do not call their children by the names of the saints that they give them during the Holy Baptism, but by the names of animals that Gerónimo López gives them, which are *tie-tio-beag-bayo* and others that [he] gives to women: *saa-xoni*. Asked about what those names signify, he [the witness] said that *tie* is deer, and *tio* is lion, and *beag* is squirrel, and *bayo* is boar-pig, and what *saa* is, he knows not, nor *xoni*. (De la Fuente 1949, 105)<sup>5</sup>

Of course, the witness translated the Zapotec words ambiguously. These terms deal with the order of birth and the sex of the children, and also they involve the fingers, beginning with the right thumb and ending with the left little finger (Córdova [1578] 1942, 212–14; table 6.1).

Gerónimo López speaks of the fourth son and the firstborn and second-born daughters; perhaps he also includes the second and third sons (Córdova [1578] 1942, 212–14). A will dated 1789 offers the calendar names of the caciques of Solaga (De la Fuente 1949, 111): Belachilla, Quialaana, and Yalao Lachixoza. These can be translated as 3 or 9 Crocodile, 1 Death, and 1 Flower. The last one

includes the nickname Lachixoza, which perhaps means “Field of Branches.”

The information related to the Mixtecs is almost the same. The *Relación de Xaltepetongo* points out, “This town, in the age of their infidelity and when the Spaniards came to it, belonged to a Mixtec lord named Yaxixaayo, which means ‘Lord [10] Rabbit’ in Spanish” (Acuña 1984, 150).<sup>6</sup> In that of Tanatepec, one reads, “Before the Spaniards came, they [the Indians] had in this town as natural lord an Indian named Iztetecoana, which means ‘Great Lion Claw’, who resided outside this town, in the town of Tilantongo” (Acuña 1984, 157).<sup>7</sup> And the *Relación* from Cuicatlán notes, “Before the Spaniards came to conquer this New Spain, the lords of this town obeyed the Mexicans, and when the Mexicans subjugated it, the Lord of this settlement was Tiñaña, who had this name in his own language, and in the Mexican [Nahuatl] he was called Tecuantecutle, which in Spanish means ‘Captain Lion’” (Acuña 1984, 167).<sup>8</sup>

The last quote refers to a ruler Jaguar-Claw, Tiñaña or Tecuantecutle, in other words, his public name but not his calendrical one. Interestingly, the second quote mentions Lord Iztetecoana of Tilantongo, who was undoubtedly 8 Deer Jaguar-Claw, Ñunacuaa Tiñaña. On account of this kind of data, it is possible to compare Zapotec names and to formulate general guidelines for studying the Classic period. In other words, this information corroborates two tendencies regarding calendrical names: (1) they are not divulged due to their deeply sacred quality; (2) they are included in legal documents imbued with sanctity whose aims are, for example, to justify the right of the caciques to rule and possess wealth or to reaffirm the sacredness of their lineage. Texts were used to establish affiliation, as well as family, social, and political identity.

Lastly, it must be remembered that in Zapotec, as well as in other indigenous languages, particular affixes qualify numbers. Some refer to the past (*co-*), some to the future (*hue*), and others to material characteristics. These indicate whether things are long, short, bulky, flat, tall, thin, circular, quadrangular, concave, and so forth. For example, numbers that precede days (*quia-*, *pil-*, *pela-*, *nel-*) refer to tortilla-shaped things.

### THREE TOMBS, THREE FAMILIES FROM THE PRE-HISPANIC ERA

A great majority of the Zapotec names known from the Classic period come from the central valleys, especially from the Monte Albán archaeological remains (see map 1.5 for the location of the settlement). Of particular interest to this investigation are the wall paintings found in the tombs, which provide an overview of appellative glyphs of both the sacred calendrical and public types. Of a total of seventeen painted tombs, eight have remains that are more or less complete (Tombs 7, 10, 72, 103, 104, 105, 112, and 125). Outside the metropolis are other painted graves in El Rosario Huitzo (Tomb 1), Lambityeco (Tombs 6 and 11), San Pedro Jaltepetongo (Tomb 1), Suchilquitongo (Tombs 4, 5, and 6), Xoxocotlan (Tomb 3), Yucunúdahui (Tomb 1), and Zaachila (Tomb 1).<sup>9</sup>

Of special interest are Tombs 103, 104, and 105 at Monte Albán, which date from around AD 400–650. In this study I propose preliminary readings of the nominal glyphs and nicknames found there. It is significant that the three tombs belong to elite residences, a common pattern at Monte Albán. Through the Classic period, elite inhabitants decorated their sepulchers with painted murals and furnished them with exquisite items. However, the main goal was to portray their lineages and their founders, as well as to commemorate the members of the dynasty by painting calendrical and noncalendrical (nickname) glyphs or by sculpting them on slab stones that served as doors. It is also noticeable that these painted glyphs are unique within the entire corpus of Zapotec epigraphy; they are not to be found twice in either painted or sculpted form. Therefore, analysis becomes quite difficult due to the lack of epigraphic texts that allow direct comparisons. As noted previously, comparisons can be made with the Mixtec codices, but only in terms of broad Mesoamerican similarities.

### Fragments of a Family in Tomb 103

Tomb 103, found intact and excavated by Alfonso Caso in 1937, is the largest grave in the North Platform. Its flat (not vaulted) ceiling and ceramic offerings (several with traces of polychrome painting) signal construction between AD 550 and 650. The tomb sheltered the bones of two people. Caso saw painted glyphs, which he considered to be contemporary with Tomb 104, but these have faded away. We know the glyphs from drawings included in Caso's (1938) report (fig. 6.2). On the facade, over the entrance, the number 3 and remains of Glyph M, *pelaquij*, or 3 Lightning [Wind], were recorded. However, due to its location, perhaps the text did not refer to an individual's name.

On the north wall were—from top to bottom and left to right—the following glyphs:

Nelaa: 8 Reed, Year Bearer

Pillaa or Pelalaa: 2 or 3 Reed

Pelalache: 3 Jaguar

On the south wall:

Pillòo: 2 Monkey

Pelaquij: 3 Lightning

Nelaala: 8 Owl

Pelalachi: 3 Iguana

Quianaa: 1 Maize

Pelachina: 3 Deer

Other texts are now lost or survive only as fragments. Therefore, I regard the aforementioned glyphs as probable references to close ancestors of the last inhabitant of the tomb. Nevertheless, deterioration prevents further analysis.

### An Incomplete Family in Tomb 104

Tomb 104, which was also intact when it was excavated by Martín Bazan in 1936 (Caso 1938, 125), can be interpreted in more than one way. Archaeological data indicate that it was occupied only once, by an adult male who was forty to fifty years old. The funerary offerings led to the conclusion that this tomb was built, painted, and occupied between AD 600 and 700, probably some years later than Tomb 103. Paint drips show that the color was applied hastily.<sup>10</sup>

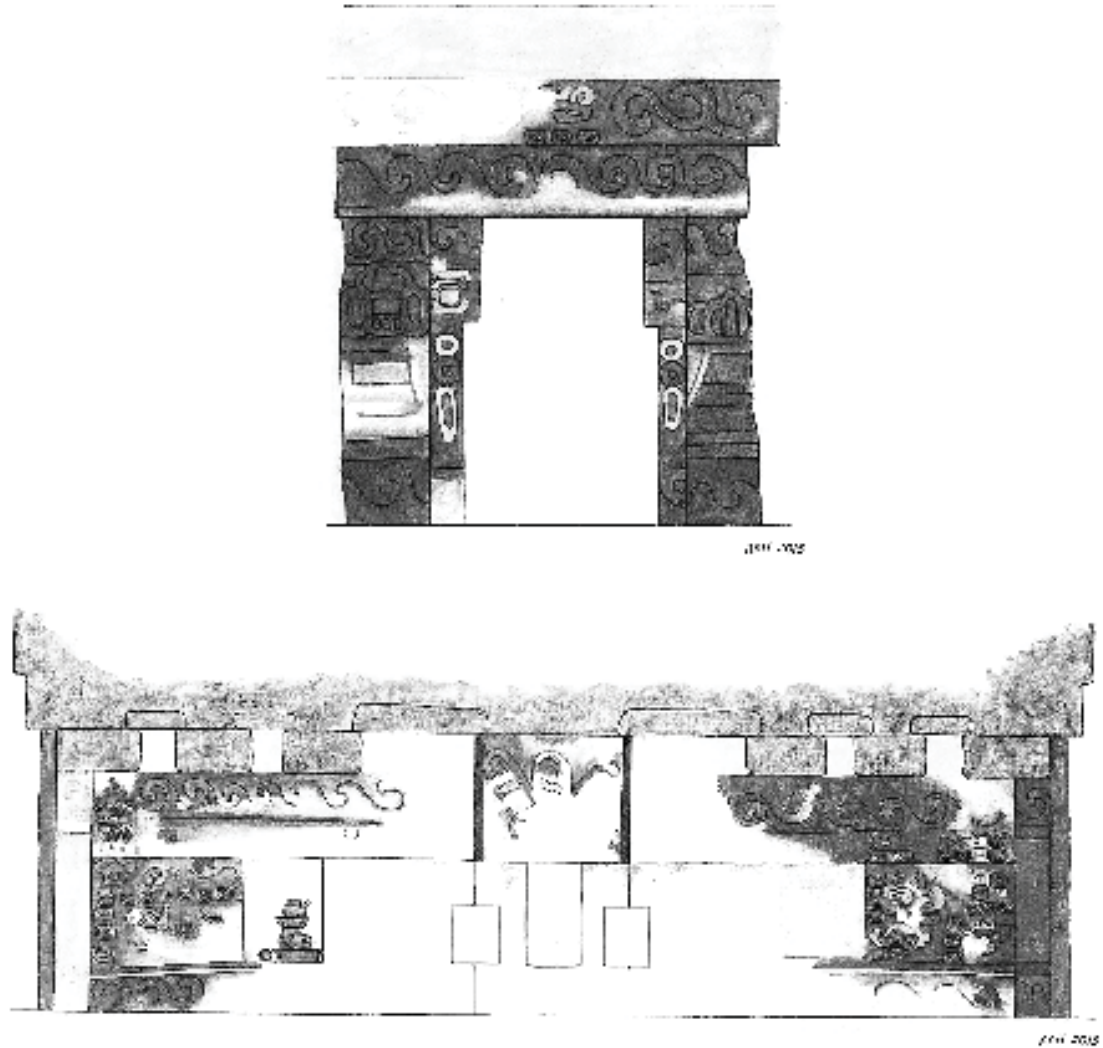


Figure 6.2. Tomb 103, Monte Albán. Unpublished color drawing of reconstructed mural paintings by Alfonso Arellano Hernández (2015), based on Caso 1938, plano 15.

The written texts suggest a date of either AD 628–642 or AD 680–694, probably related to the life and burial of the deceased lord. Two main individuals are depicted on the longest walls. One of them is old and one is young, and they are accompanied by several glyphs and images (fig. 6.3). The reading of the glyphs follows the boustrophedon order, starting at the bottom right with respect to the viewer and moving upward from right to left.

On the back wall, we see the founder of the lineage, Bigola Pecixò Peciloó Niguijo (Lord Grandfather 5 Earthquake 5 Face). On the wall on the right (south) side, two names are painted: Yobi Pillaa Niguijo (Firstborn Lord 2 Lightning) and Tini Pecizee Be'ellalubi (Second-Born Son 5 Serpent Exhaling-Snake). I am certain that

this is the old man, Tini Pecizee Be'ellalubi, who is painted next to the entrance of the chamber (inside it).

On the left side of the tomb, three names are registered: Tixi Quelaala Guelabedxi (Third-Born Son 6 Night Screeching-Owl), Payo Peciquij Todxi (Fourth-Born Son 5 Sharp Lightning), and Yopiye Quiaguechi Niguijo La'dxicho'ogu (Fifth-Born Son Lord 1 Iguana Slashed-Heart). This man, Lord 1 Iguana Slashed-Heart, is depicted as a young person; perhaps he was the father of the only inhabitant of the tomb. Another possibility is that it represents the decedent as a young man.<sup>11</sup>

In any case, I am convinced that the unit shows a *tijacoqui*, or lineage of great lords, which is represented here through the male line. In other words, no women



*Figure 6.3.* Tomb 104, Monte Albán. Reconstruction, Oaxaca Room, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City. Photo by Miriam Mejía (August 2014), published with her kind permission.

are shown. Thus, if my working assumption is correct, it appears that this tomb refers to a marriage between a family of principal men and one of lesser women. This would explain why no known images or glyphs show women, who evidently were not regarded as worthy of inclusion. Urcid Serrano (2008, *passim*) has also commented on this custom of hypogamy.

#### Family Changes Recorded in Tomb 105

Lastly, I consider Tomb 105. It is part of the most impressive architectural complex outside the Monte Albán Main Plaza because of its dimensions and closeness to a ball court. The tomb was discovered in 1937 by Caso, who dated it as Late Classic, AD 650–1000, which is contemporary with the palace discussed previously (Caso 1938, 127). Two main features of the burial chamber can be identified. The first of these is its cruciform floor plan; the lateral niches were almost transformed into small rooms. Secondly, the walls were painted at least four times, with indications of alternating sexes and names for some of the individuals (De la Fuente 2005, 84). The personal name glyphs distinguish nine couples, with both men and women shown. As I have previously stated, the painted glyphs are unique, and Tomb 105 neatly exemplifies this assertion.

The repainting of this burial chamber is the result of at least four successive uses and of changes in the record

of the main lineage of the heirs. The alterations are most conspicuous on the jambs and the back wall of the tomb (affecting ten of eighteen individuals). This makes it difficult to identify the persons named by the glyphs. Accordingly, I will only comment on the remaining eight images, painted on the long walls, from the niches to the entrance. These figures, men and women who are shown as pairs and probably form marriage partners, appear to be leaving the tomb (figs. 6.4 and 6.5). Their accompanying glyphs are to be read from top to bottom and in boustrophedon fashion from one wall to the other. Alternating from male to female, they register both calendrical names and nicknames.

The lineage founder is 13 Monkey: Bigola Picigolòo Niguijo (Lord Grandfather 13 Monkey). Three couples, with alterations made by repainting, follow:

Xonaxi Piñolòo Dxoba': Lady 12 Monkey Maize  
(right wall)

Coqui Netella Cocijo Dxoba'gue': Lord 8 Knot [Dog]  
Thunder Blue Maize (left wall)

Xonaxi Quianiza Dxoba' Chonatani: Lady 1 Water  
Maize 3 Mountain . . . (left wall)

Coqui Nelaquij Dxoba': Lord 4 Lightning Maize  
(right wall)

Xonaxi Nelatella Dxoba': Lady 4 Knot [Dog] Maize  
(right wall)

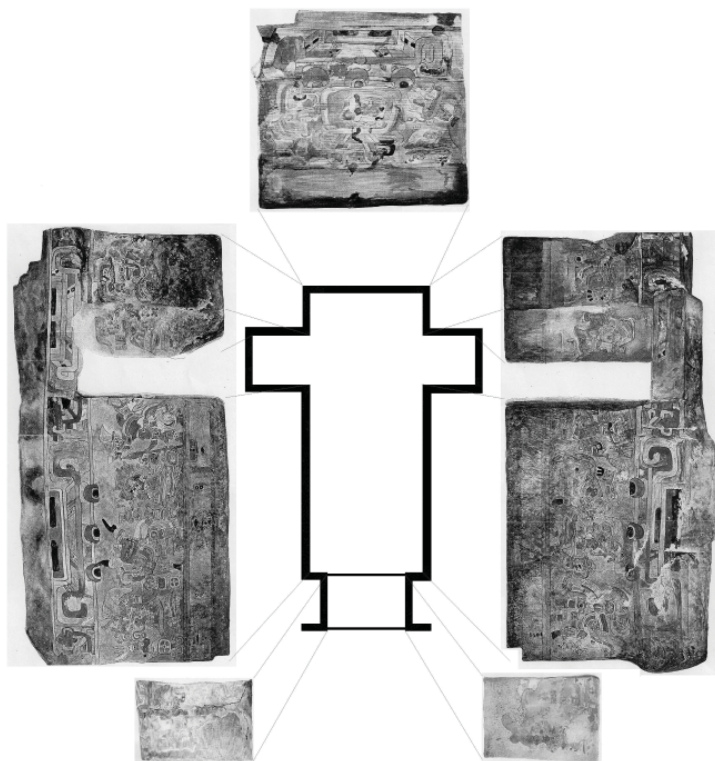


Figure 6.4. Tomb 105, Monte Albán. Drawing of a plan with flattened walls by Alfonso Arellano Hernández (2015), based on Caso 1938, plates II-A, II-B, III, IV, V.

Coqui Quiaxòo Dxoba'xòo: Lord 1 Earthquake Trembling Maize (left wall)

Xonaxi Pillaxòo Xica Guichadu'ubi': Lady 7 Earthquake Feathered-Hair (right wall)

Patojo-Vessel (left wall)

Coqui Pelagòo Quijo: Lord 3 Monkey Thunder (right wall)

The last couple lacks the probable Maize family name, which raises a question. Does this suggest a change of lineage (referred to by scholars, including Caso [1938, *passim*] and Urcid Serrano [2008, *passim*]) that motivated the revisions of the paintings? If this is the case, perhaps surviving relatives ordered the changes to the six figures in the rear part of the grave. They may have justified the interment of a new family in the tomb and established connections with the founder through bloodlines. Another interpretation that is persuasive to me is that this could be an example of a marriage allegiance between lineages of the same hierarchical level, which Urcid Serrano (2008) calls *isogamy*. In this circumstance, both men and women were equally noble, which gave sufficient reason to represent the entire family. Also, Tomb 105 demonstrates that

women adopted the surnames of their husbands (here, the Maize family).

Still to be resolved is the matter of why the last couple, Xonaxi Pillaxòo Xica Guichadu'ubi' and Coqui Pelagòo Quijo, are not connected with the Maize family. Another outstanding concern is whether the adoption by wives of their husbands' surnames could have come as a result of Spanish influence.<sup>12</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

My effort to read and speak the names of the distinguished members of a *tijacoqui* is far from complete. The explanations that I have offered here are preliminary, requiring further exploration over the long term, as a better understanding of Zapotec epigraphy develops. Nevertheless, it is possible to summarize some ideas.

Funerary mural painting deals with dynastic images and names of specific persons who were members of very illustrious families. Usually, the founder of the lineage—probably a man—is depicted on the back wall, and his successors are shown on the long walls, commonly arranged as marriage pairs. This organization indicates a high level of interest in marking family

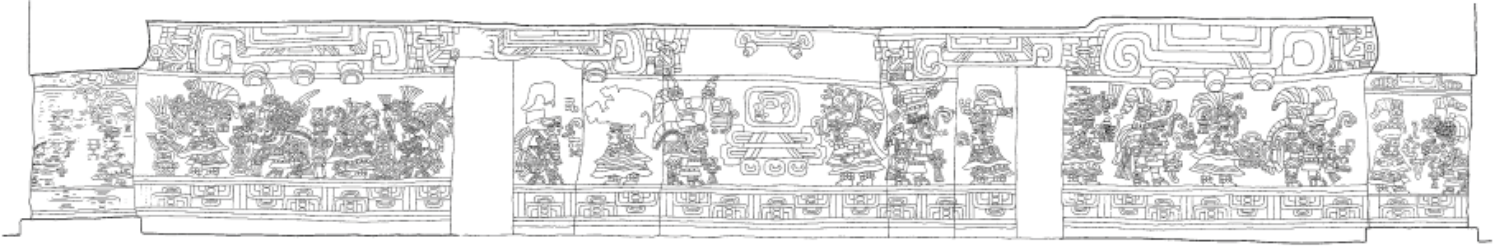


Figure 6.5. Tomb 105, Monte Albán. Unpublished line drawing with flattened walls assembled by Alfonso Arellano Hernández (2015), based on Caso 1938, plates II-A, II-B, III, IV, V.

origins, in order to verify individual and group identities (figs. 6.6 and 6.7). Although neither faces nor bodies convey individuality, we can recognize particular people through their dress and nominal glyphs, which may be either their calendrical appellatives or nicknames. Thus, it seems appropriate to refer, as I have done, to the Ladies Piñolòo Dxoba' (12 Monkey Maize) and Quianiza Dxoba' Chonatani (1 Water Maize 3 Mountain) and to

the Lords Nelaquij Dxoba' (4 Lightning Maize) and Yopije Quiaguechi Niguijo La'dxicho'ogu (Fifth-Born Son Lord 1 Iguana Slashed-Heart). In the same way, names suggest examples of marriage between men and women of lesser or equal status and also the adoption by women of their husbands' family names. In this I follow Urcid Serrano's (2008) recognition of hypogamy and isogamy.

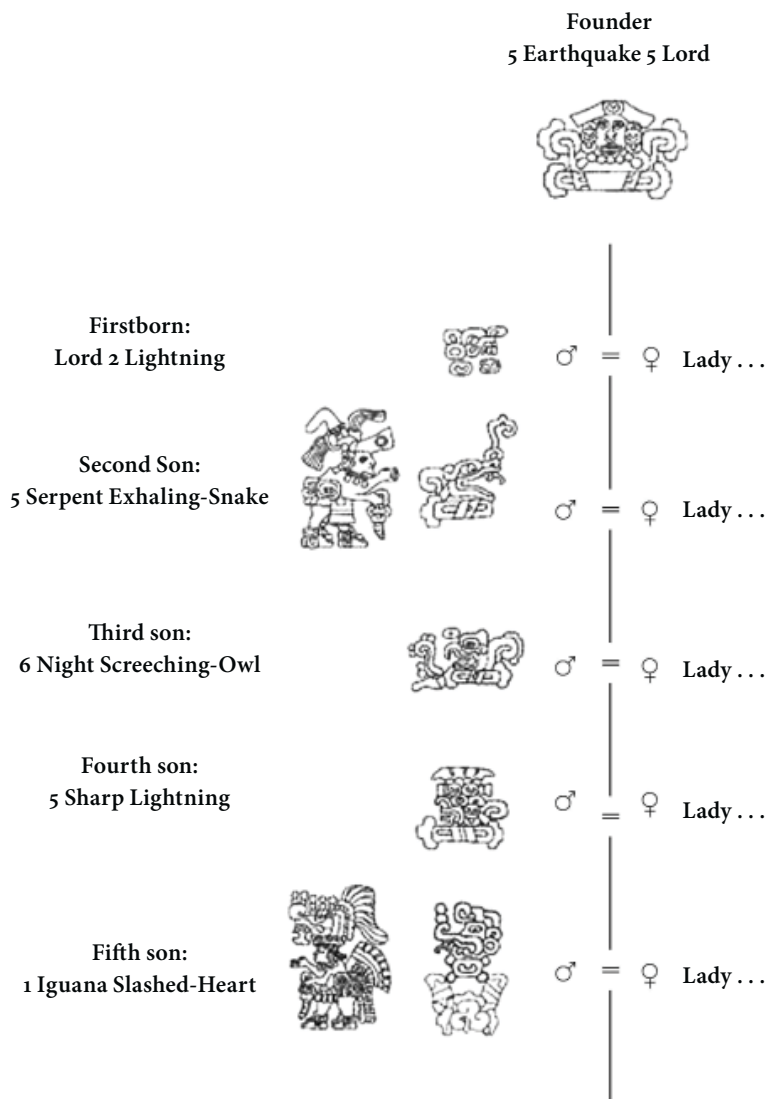


Figure 6.6. The hypothetical birth sequence of the persons mentioned in Tomb 104, Monte Albán. Unpublished line drawing by Alfonso Arellano Hernández (2015), based on Caso 1938, plate I.

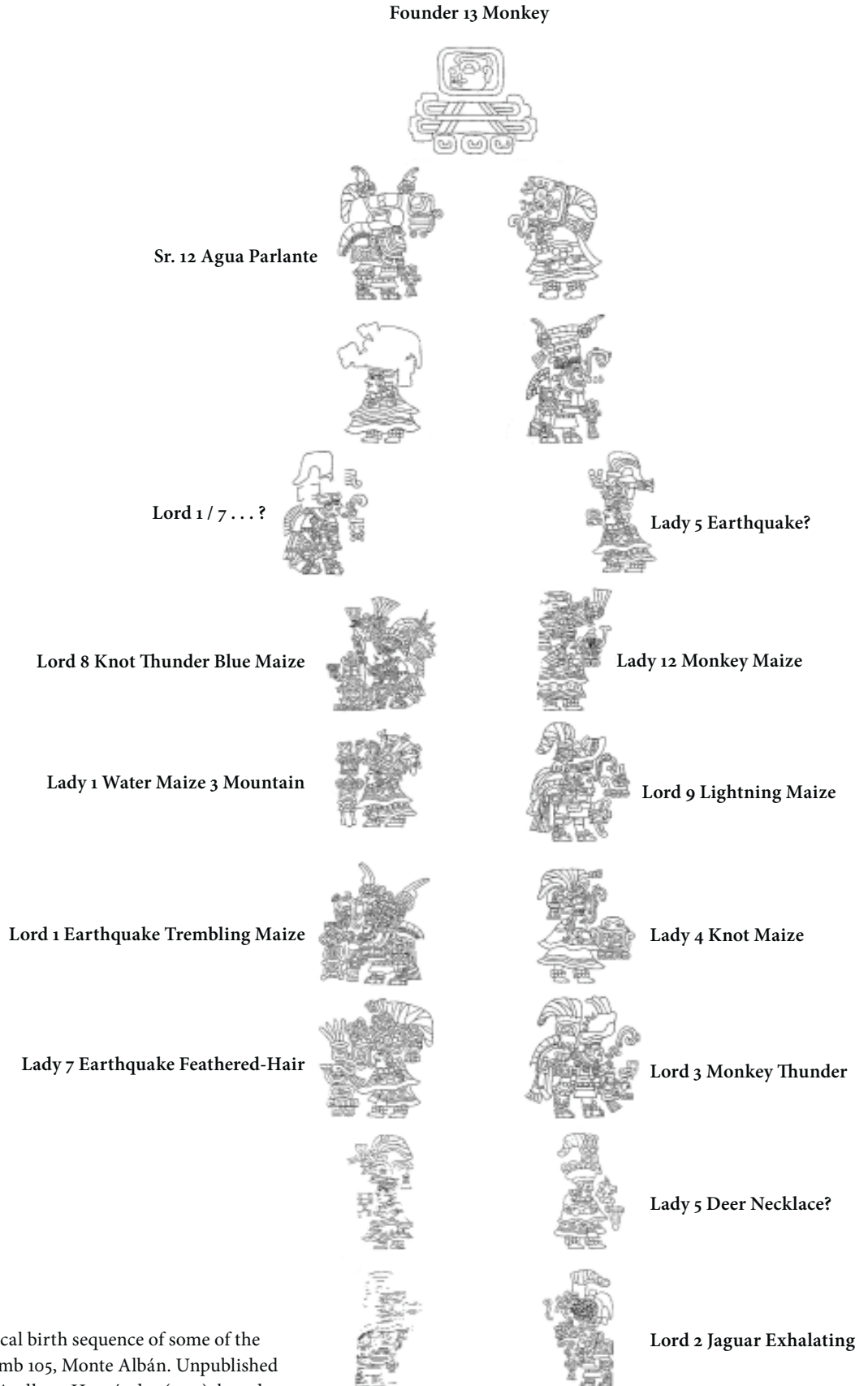


Figure 6.7. The hypothetical birth sequence of some of the persons mentioned in Tomb 105, Monte Albán. Unpublished line drawing by Alfonso Arellano Hernández (2015), based on Caso 1938, plates II-A, II-B, III, IV, V.

The power of names is such that their sacred essence expands, creating a vital force that transcends temporal, geographical, and cultural distances. In fact, it is known that only that which is named exists and occupies a place in the cosmos; those that were, are, and will be are named. Hence, past, present, and future become one within the universe. To speak of such names renews ancient existences. It makes these humans participants in the universe once again, allowing them to share endlessly the indissoluble and invisible ties that unify humankind, past and present. It is when all of us have the privilege of participating in such bonds that we know we are not alone. Despite the intervention of time and space, the names that preserve memories of some of the most powerful and elite members of pre-Hispanic Zapotec society also connect them with us.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am deeply indebted to Merideth Paxton and Leticia Staines Cicero for their numerous comments and observations related to this paper, both in its original Spanish form as well as in English. I offer them here my endless gratitude and friendship.

#### NOTES

1. I use the word *saurian* because the mythical cipactli has not been totally identified. It has been said that it represents a huge lizard, a crocodile, a monstrous fish (sometimes a shark), and even a *pejelagarto*, an ancient fish resembling a reptile.
2. *Aztec* should be understood as a general term that includes language and cultural traits, which is applied to the ancient inhabitants of the Basin of Mexico.
3. “Los nombres apelativos o comunes de los hombres no son impuestos ni tomados de alcuñas, sino tómanlos del día en que nacen. . . . Y estos días y signos a unos tenían por buenos y a otros por aciagos y malos. Estos días y nombres servían para muchas cosas tocantes a la vida del hombre. Lo primero: servían para los nacimientos porque como tenía el nombre el día, así llamaban al niño o niña que en él nacía y este era su principal nombre aunque también tenían otro.”

“Y cada uno de aquellos animales, que eran veinte, tenía trece nombres, y aunque todos estos trece nombres eran en sí como una cosa diferenciábalos con les añadir o quitar letras, y con mudarles los números, como parece adelante. Como si dijésemos: Pedro cuatro y Perico cinco,

y Periquillo seis, y Perote siete, y Pedroche ocho, que todos significan este nombre Pedro, aunque en diferentes maneras, y esto por les mudar letras y números como aquí parece.”

4. Córdoba uses the word *nombres* instead of *numbers*. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Spanish word *nombres* (commonly “names”) was another way to say *números* (numbers). In French also, *nom* means “name,” and *nombre* means “number.”
5. “Todos los de su pueblo no llaman a sus hijos con los nombres de los santos que les ponen en el Santo Bautismo, sino los nombres de animales que les pone Gerónimo López, que son tie-tio-beag-bayo y otros que le ponen a las mujeres: saa-xoni. Preguntado qué significan estos nombres dijo que tie es venado, y tio es león y beag es ardilla y bayo es puerco jabalí, y que saa no sabe lo que significa, ni xoni.”
6. “Fue este pueblo, en tiempo de su infidelidad y cuando a él vinieron los españoles, de un señor mixteca que se decía Yaxixayo, que quiere decir este nombre en español ‘Señor [10] Conejo’ en castellano.”
7. “Antes que los españoles viniesen, tenían en este pueblo por señor natural a un indio que se decía Iztetecoana, que quiere decir ‘uña de gran león’, el cual residía fuera de este pueblo en el pueblo de Tilantongo.”
8. “Antes que los españoles entrasen a conquistar esta Nueva España, obedecían los señores de este pueblo a los mexicanos, y al tiempo que los mexicanos lo sujetaron era señor de este pueblo Tiñaña, que tenía este nombre en su lengua propia, y en la mexicana se decía TecuanteCutle, que en la castellana quiere decir ‘capitán León.’”
9. For more data and interpretations dealing with these examples, see De la Fuente and Beyer 2005.
10. Caso thought the glyphs showed Teotihuacán influence, but his assumption lacks support because no such glyphs have been found in that great city.
11. The person who was interred may be named on the stone used as the door to the tomb.
12. Jorge Angulo (personal communication, 2005) mentioned this possibility and also encouraged me to look for colonial information concerning name changes by women. However, it seems unlikely that this list of names was influenced by European practices because the tomb predates the arrival of the Spanish by several centuries.

#### REFERENCES

- Acuña, René  
1984 *Relaciones geográficas del siglo XVI: Antequera*. 2(1)–3(2). Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas.

- Balsalobre, Gonzalo de  
 (1656) 1988 *Relación auténtica de las idolatrías, supersticiones, y vanas observaciones de los indios del obispado de Oaxaca*. Mexico: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón. Reprint, Mexico City: Ediciones Toledo.
- Burgoa, Francisco de  
 (1674) 1934 *Geográfica descripción de la parte septentrional del Polo Ártico de la América, y nueva iglesia de las Indias Occidentales, y sitio astronómico de esta Provincia de Predicadores de Antequera, valle de Oaxaca*. Mexico: Imprenta de Juan Ruyz. Reprint, Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación.
- Caso, Alfonso  
 1938 *Exploraciones en Oaxaca: Quinta y sexta temporadas, 1936–1937*. Mexico City: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia.
- 1969 *Códice Selden*. Mexico City: Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología.
- Córdova, Juan de  
 (1578) 1942 *Arte del idioma zapoteca*. Mexico City: Government of Michoacan Press.
- De la Fuente, Beatriz  
 2005 “Tumba 105 (Montículo de la Piedra de Letra).” In *La pintura mural prehispánica en México, Oaxaca*. Vol. 3, t. 1, *Catálogo*, directed by Beatriz de la Fuente, coordinated by Beatriz de la Fuente and Bernd Fahmel Beyer, 82–118. Mexico City: UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas (IIE).
- De la Fuente, Beatriz, and Bernd Fahmel Beyer, coordinators  
 2005 *La pintura mural prehispánica en México, Oaxaca*. Vol. 3, t. 1, 2, *Catálogo*. Mexico City: UNAM, IIE.
- De la Fuente, Julio  
 1949 *Yalálag, una villa zapoteca serrana*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH).
- De los Reyes, Antonio  
 (1593) 1976 *Arte en la lengua mixteca*. Mexico: Pedro Balli. Reprint, Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University.
- Sahagún, Bernardino de  
 (1829) 1989 *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*. (Originally published from 1576 text.) Mexico City: Porrúa.
- Urcid Serrano, Javier  
 2008 “El arte de pintar las tumbas: Sociedad e ideología zapotecas (400–800 d.C.).” In *La pintura mural prehispánica en México, Oaxaca*. Vol. 3, t. 4, *Estudios*, directed and coordinated by Beatriz de la Fuente, 513–627. Mexico City: UNAM, IIE.
- Weitlaner, Robert J.  
 1958 “Un calendario de los zapotecos del sur.” In *Actas del XXXII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*: 296–99. Copenhagen: Kaj Birket-Smith.