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CHAPTER 8

When Is a House a Palace?

ELITE RESIDENCES IN THE VALLEY OF OAXACA

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Introduction

In this chapter we use elite residential architecture in the Valley of Oaxaca to trace shifting conceptualizations of social and political power through time. We frame our discussion by making a heuristic distinction between elite residences and palaces. Although this latter term is often used simply to describe an elite residence, we envision palaces here as multipurpose structures that combine both domestic and public functions. Unlike a residence, a palace provides a physical location for the "pomp and circumstance" surrounding an important individual or individuals (as opposed to deities, deceased persons, or institutions), and may also include civic spaces such as council rooms, storage facilities, and ritual areas (Flannery 1998; Soles 1991; Webster 1998). By implication, the explicit fusion of public and private roles in a palace ties individuals or kin groups to a set of social and governmental activities in a more comprehensive way than does a private residence located in physical proximity to public buildings. Power and social roles are materialized differently in each case, implying different conceptions of power. To track changes in the notion of power in the Valley of Oaxaca, we describe elite residences from the Early Formative (1800–850 B.C.) to the Postclassic (A.D. 800–1521) periods (Table 8.1). We argue that through time a growing number of elites in the Valley of Oaxaca began to build palaces that provided a physical location for the celebration of individual and familial power. We see in these changes a growing expression of power as individualized, exclusive, and materially explicit.

In this chapter, we take a diachronic approach, providing a résumé of the currently available data on pre-Columbian elite residences from the Valley of Oaxaca. A variety of research (Flannery, ed. 1976; Whalen 1981; Winter 1974) has provided an excellent source of information on Formative-period elite and non-elite domiciles. There are also a few well-documented Terminal Classic and Postclassic residences (Bernal and Gamio 1974; Lind 2001; Lind and Urcid 1983; Winter et al. 1997). We have attempted to collate what

TABLE 8.1. Valley of Oaxaca Regional Chronology

Time Period	Regional Phase	Dates
Late Postclassic	Monte Albán V	A.D. 1250–1521
Early Postclassic	Liobaa	A.D. 800–1250
Late Classic	Monte Albán IIIb–IV	A.D. 500–800
Early Classic	Monte Albán IIIa	A.D. 200–500
Terminal Formative	Monte Albán II	100 B.C.–A.D. 200
Late Formative	Monte Albán Ic	300–100 B.C.
	Monte Albán Ia	500–300 B.C.
Middle Formative	Rosario	700–500 B.C.
	Guadalupe	850–700 B.C.
Early Formative	San José	1150–850 B.C.
	Tierras Largas	1400–1150 B.C.
	Espiridión	1800–1400 B.C.
Archaic	NA	8000–1800 B.C.

data are available for all these periods in order to trace changes in the spatial organization, architectural elaboration, and locale of elite residences. We have focused on these aspects of elite residences because this information is available for all time periods. Indeed, despite a lack of detail in much of the published data, we argue that the available evidence demonstrates a clear shift in the way elite residences were shaped and tied into their surroundings. By providing an increased connection between public and private space, elite residences in the Valley of Oaxaca developed from high-status houses into palaces.

The Social Construction of Residential Architecture

We follow a variety of other social scientists in looking at architecture to describe and explain social phenomena (Bachelard 1969; Foucault 1995; Rapoport 1969, 1982). Domestic architecture, in particular, has enjoyed extensive study and is well theorized (Blanton 1994; Kent 1990; Santley and Hirth 1993; Wilk and Ashmore 1988; Wilson 1988). Elite residences, like all built forms, are culturally negotiated and socially meaningful entities that serve to communicate ideas to residents and outside viewers (Blanton 1994; Rapoport 1969, 1982). In Mesoamerica, for instance, the presence of elite residences at early sites has provided researchers with a means of demonstrating the existence of status distinctions (Cliff 1988; Flannery, ed 1976; Flannery and Marcus, eds. 1983). Variation in the size, elaboration, and labor requirements of elite residences has led other archaeologists to distinguish social classes based on architectural data (Abrams 1994; Flannery 1983a; Willey and Leventhal 1979; Winter 1974). Inscriptions and architectural sculpture on

residences at sites like Copán, Honduras, have enabled researchers there to identify specific individuals and their self-proclaimed social status in the archaeological record, as well as to describe the organization of ancient hierarchies (Webster 1989; Webster et al. 1998). Like these researchers and many others, we look to elite residential architecture as a means of studying social phenomena that extend far beyond the front door of the domicile itself.

We rely on three characteristics of residential architecture to demonstrate conceptions of power in the Valley of Oaxaca: spatial organization, architectural elaboration, and locale. Spatial organization, or residential layout, enables architecture to shape space in ways that reflect and often reinforce social action (Blanton 1994; Bourdieu 1977; Rapoport 1969). The residence, as the site of socially defined interactions and relations, shapes where and how such action occurs. The residence provides an organizational framework for a variety of social activities, and its layout will inhibit or encourage some activities over others. Furthermore, as a common metaphor for concepts like the body, the community, or the universe (Gillespie 2000b; Knapp 1999; Oliver 1987; Smith and David 1995; Wilson 1988), the residence serves to reaffirm cultural norms as residents' use of domestic spaces situates them within the universe as they understand it (Bourdieu 1977:89–90). At the same time, spatial organization is nondeterministic. The residence does not simply impose behaviors and social notions on inhabitants; there is instead a creative interaction between people and their built environment (Gutman 1976; Rapoport 1976). As Robert Gutman (1976:45) observed,

the organization of space in . . . a room can influence our capacity to concentrate on the task of exchanging information, thoughts, and understandings, and it can lead us towards these ends, but it cannot dictate that we will reach them.

The existence of interaction between residences and residents enables people to continually reformulate their surroundings to meet emerging social and environmental situations.

Through architectural elaboration, residences transmit messages regarding social identity (Blanton 1994:10). Architectural elaboration serves its purpose for all viewers: it informs nonresidents of the social positions of those who inhabit a structure while reaffirming that position for residents themselves. As Jeff Kowalski (1999:8) observes, "Architecture provided one of the most monumental, visually impressive, and semiotically potent expressions of the authority and power of Mesoamerican elites." He, like Blanton and many others, emphasizes the power of architecture to convey messages relating to status, power, social positioning, wealth, and access to particular knowledge or resources. Residential architecture, in particular, is vital to any expression of these social categories because a residence is definitively related to particular individuals, groups, or genealogies—"house forms and

their resident social groups are mutually constituting" (Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zúñiga 1999:4). Domestic architectural elaboration thus provided ancient elites with a means of expressing their social condition to others while at the same time reiterating it to themselves.

Locale is the final element of elite residences that we deem pertinent to a discussion of architecture and notions of power. Drawing on archaeological landscape studies and the concept of sacred geography, we define a residence's locale as its placement on the culturally defined and modified landscape. A variety of researchers have noted that Mesoamerican peoples have a long tradition of mapping cosmological principles onto a horizontal plane (Ashmore 1991; Sugiyama 1993). Placement of a residence within this materialization of cosmology would have provided a means of situating the inhabitants not only in geographical space but also within an ideological universe (Joyce 2000, 2003).

Domestic architecture orders space, and human action imbues it with meaning. As cultural artifacts, residences themselves reflect the "webs of significance" through which human groups structure their world (Geertz 1973:5). Clifford Geertz (1973:17) argues that "it is through the flow of behavior—or, more precisely, social action—that cultural forms find articulation." Residences arrange, direct, and organize the flow of behavior at the most basic level. They thus provide a central forum for the creation and re-creation of culture (Bourdieu 1977). Residences also provide a physical location for the social entities that inhabit them by ordering space in such a way as to signal who belongs and who does not (Wilson 1988). Ultimately, the physical and social entities that make up a residence are inseparable (Gillespie 2000a). Together, a residence and its residents form a culturally negotiated "unit" expressive of the wider world to which they belong.

House and Palace

Each of the aspects of residential architecture described above plays out in our distinction between an elite residence and a palace. A residence, for our purposes, is a structure built for the purpose of encapsulating domestic activities. This definition is regrettably vague, but it acknowledges that domestic activities, like residences, are culturally defined. All residences, however, share the purpose of providing a physical space for the enactment of daily productive and reproductive tasks without explicit reference to public performance. Residences are first and foremost *inhabited* structures shaping the space around private, small-scale social interactions. The distinction between an elite residence and any other residence is one of scale rather than function. All residences maintain a private, controlled, inward focus that makes them distinct from more open, public venues.

For this chapter, we envision palace architecture as explicitly defining public spaces in addition to private ones. Along with its residential function,

a palace is a hub of governmental and ritual activity, often including council rooms, audience halls, state storage rooms, and ritual spaces (Andrews and Fash 1992; Evans and Pillsbury 2004; Flannery 1998; Inomata and Houston 2001; Klingensmith 1993; Miller 1998; Soles 1991; Thurley 1993). Palaces often function as physical celebrations of specific individuals, with open spaces for audiences to observe activities carried out by a palace's residents and an emphasis on organizing space around the display of a ruler or primary resident (Miller 1998). For instance, Klingensmith (1993:5) notes that "as the place where the ruler was 'at home,' the palace was preeminently the seat of ceremonies" for the Bavarian electorate. An important function of a palace, as opposed to an elite residence, is to provide space for the public display of one or several residents. The "public" witnessing such displays could in fact be relatively small, often limited only to other nobles (Klingensmith 1993; Thurley 1993), but was nonetheless distinguishable from the actual inhabitants of the palace. Another characteristic distinguishing a palace from a residence is the incorporation of institutional activities such as the storage of state surplus or the administration of political activity. The palaces of Crete, for instance, incorporated commercial and storage functions along with residential ones (Soles 1991:70). Palaces in early Renaissance England included Chapels Royal for the performance of religious services in addition to their audience and residential rooms (Thurley 1993). The Potala, the residence of the Dalai Lama in Tibet, incorporated residential, religious, and state functions in one massive structure (Iyer 1993). In each of these cases, and in many others worldwide, the domestic function of a palace becomes inextricably tied to larger institutional activities. A palace is home to both the administrators and the administration of power.

Looking at each of these architectural forms from the viewpoint of the characteristics of residential architecture described above, several distinctions appear. The spatial organization of an elite residence and a palace might in fact share many characteristics. As representations of social relations and ideas, both types of structure draw upon a similar lexicon of social concepts. The use of domestic architecture to represent cosmological principles will also occur in a palace, although palace space may be formed to refer to specific residents and their position in the cosmic order. For instance, both Stephen Houston (1998) and Susan D. Gillespie (2000b) note the Classic Maya use of house as a metaphor for container: the house represents "a manmade container for both the living and the deceased" (Gillespie 2000b:146). This is visible in the presence of hieroglyphic benches in Maya palaces at Palenque (Miller 1998) and Copán (Andrews and Fash 1992; Webster 1989; Webster et al. 1998). Inscriptions on the bench in Structure 9N-82 clearly situate the bench's ancient owner within both the celestial and political realms of Copán (Fash 1993). At a more basic level, a palace's layout will facilitate some actions and social relations while discouraging others. Many throne rooms, for instance, place the ruler in an elevated position. This spatial distinction

makes material the ideological distinction between a king and a lesser noble, putting the ruler both physically and socially higher in social interactions. The presence of nondomestic spaces within a palace also presents distinctions from a residence. A palace provides a physical space for activities such as public display or governance, formalizing this element of palace function. Most importantly, however, palaces situate particular forms of power in the home of an individual or group, inextricably tying the two together. A palace makes it impossible to separate the power from the residents, since the two "live" together. A palace provides the physical location for an individualized or familial power—a power that is inseparable from its wielders.

We suggest that the type of power demonstrated by palaces did not exist in the Valley of Oaxaca until late in that region's pre-Columbian history. In the following pages, we present an overview of elite residential architecture from the Early Formative through the Late Postclassic periods to propose that concepts of power may have shifted through time from corporate to more restricted, individualized forms.

Early and Middle Formative Residences in the Valley of Oaxaca

The Valley of Oaxaca is a semiarid valley located in the highlands of southern Mexico (Figure 8.1). The valley floor lies at an elevation of 1,500 to 1,700 masl, with surrounding peaks exceeding 3,000 m. It is a Y-shaped valley, with the arms forming three subregions: the Etla arm is to the north, extending east is the Tlacolula arm, and to the south is the Valle Grande. Archaeological and linguistic evidence (Flannery and Marcus, eds. 1983; Winter 1989) suggests that the Zapotec ethnolinguistic group has a deep history in the Valley of Oaxaca, extending back to the Archaic period (ca. 8000–1800 B.C.). This region of Mesoamerica is one of the most intensively studied by archaeologists (Blanton 1978; Caso 1932, 1935, 1938; Caso et al. 1967; Flannery, ed. 1976; Flannery and Marcus, eds. 1983; Joyce 2000; Joyce and Winter 1996; Kowalewski et al. 1989; Winter 1989, 1994). This research has shown that settlement in the Valley of Oaxaca extends back to mobile populations of the Archaic period. It is not until the Early Formative period (1800–850 B.C.), however, that the first sedentary agricultural villages developed, which included the earliest residential structures in Oaxaca (Flannery, ed. 1976). Toward the end of the Early Formative, during the San José phase (1150–850 B.C.), archaeological evidence suggests the first differentiation in size and elaboration of residential architecture occurred, although it is not clear if these differences reflect the development of hereditary social inequality (cf. Blanton et al. 1999; Marcus and Flannery 1996).

Early Formative people in the Valley of Oaxaca lived in small agricultural villages usually about 1 to 2 ha in area (Marcus and Flannery 1996). The site of San José Mogote in the Etla arm, however, was considerably larger than other communities, reaching perhaps 70 ha and a population estimated at 1,000
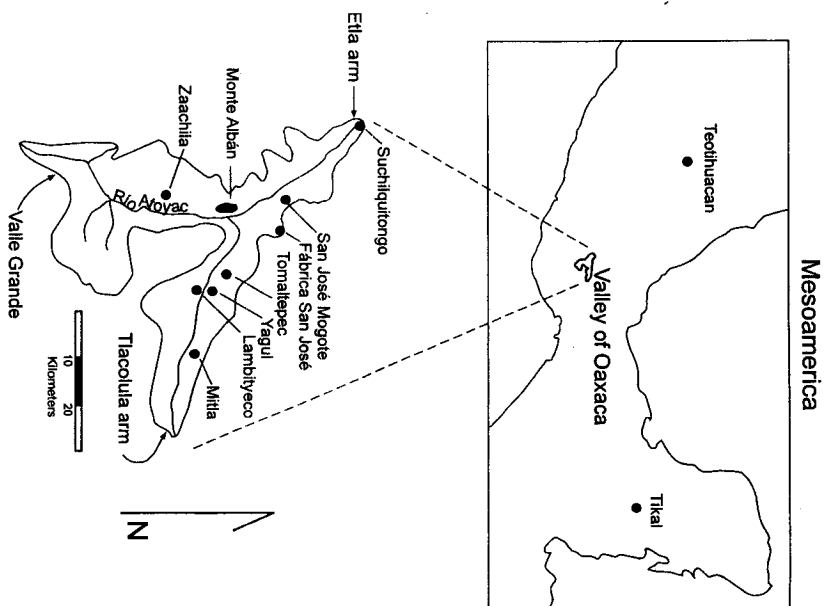
FIGURE 8.1 Mesoamerica and the Valley of Oaxaca

people by the San José phase (Marcus and Flannery 1996:106). Early Formative houses in the Valley of Oaxaca were generally small one-room wattle-and-daub structures with thatched roofs and floor areas ranging from about 18 to 24 m² (Flannery 1976; Winter 1976, 1986b:332–340). An area of about 300 m² that contained domestic features such as ovens, human burials, and bell-shaped storage pits surrounded each house.

By the San José (1150–850 B.C.) and Guadalupe (850–700 B.C.) phases, residences began to exhibit differences in architectural elaboration and associated evidence for wealth inequality. Most residences continued the earlier pattern of small single-room wattle-and-daub structures (Drennan 1976; Flannery and Marcus 1983a; Whalen 1981; Winter 1972, 1986b). More elaborate residences included House 2 and the House 16–17 complex from San José Mogote, Tomaltepec Unit ES1-1, and Fábrica San José Households LG-1 and

LG-6. These residences were architecturally similar to lower-status houses, although some of them included walls with whitewash over the daub, larger posts, drains, and stone foundations (Flannery and Marcus 1983a:55; Whalen 1981:34–38). San José Mogote House 16-17 included a residential building (House 17) and a roofed work area (House 16) where occupants apparently manufactured chert bifaces.[1] These "higher-status" houses exhibited greater evidence for participation in craft activities such as the manufacture of chert tools, baskets, shell ornaments, and pottery, as well as woodworking and sewing (Blanton et al. 1999; Flannery and Marcus 1994:333; Whalen 1981:58–59). Members of these households also had greater access to deer meat and exotic items like marine shell, jade, imported pottery, ceramic masks, stingray spines, fish spines, and drum otoliths (Flannery and Marcus 1994:333; Marcus and Flannery 1996:104).

During the San José phase, most adults were interred in communal cemeteries (Flannery and Marcus 1983a, Whalen 1981; Kent Flannery and Joyce Marcus (1994) argue for the presence of several residential wards at San José Mogote, which may suggest affiliations with restricted social groupings such as lineages or moieties (also see Blanton et al. 1999:39–42). It has been argued that these possible social divisions were symbolized in were-jaguar and fire-serpent motifs on decorated pottery (Blanton et al. 1999; Marcus and Flannery 1996; Pyne 1976), although other scholars disagree with this interpretation (Clark 2001; Winter 1989:28–29). By the Guadalupe phase, some people were buried near their houses, often in multiple burials with an adult male and female and sometimes children, although communal cemeteries continued to be present (Drennan 1976; Winter 1972). This change in mortuary patterns may reflect an increasing identification with the residential group. Burial data also suggest rising inequality during the Guadalupe phase, although it is unclear whether status differences were hereditary.

In the San José and Guadalupe phases, the differences between residences and associated artifacts indicate a continuum from lower- to relatively higher-status households (Flannery and Marcus 1983a:55). Based on a variety of factors, Marcus and Flannery (1996:93–110) argue that hereditary social inequality had developed in the Valley of Oaxaca by the San José phase. Richard Blanton and his colleagues (1999:36–42) disagree, arguing instead that the evidence for social inequality does not demonstrate ascribed status differences. Although hereditary social inequality remains a possible explanation for San José–phase social organization, the available data seem more consistent with fairly modest differences in social status at this time. Domestic spatial organization was open, such that craft production and other activities in patios would have been visible to passersby. Architectural elaboration was limited, with whitewashed walls possibly communicating higher status. There does not appear to be locational data suggesting distinct differences in social status such as associations between high-status residences and public buildings. Overall, the residential data from the Early Formative

and the beginning of the Middle Formative reflect a continuum in status distinctions rather than fundamental differences between elite and commoner residences that might symbolize hereditary and especially class differences. Although hereditary inequality could have existed without being reflected in residential patterning (Marcus and Flannery 1996), it is also possible that these distinctions did not arise until the latter part of the Middle Formative (700–500 B.C.; see Blanton et al. 1999:42–47).

Ideology and the Origins of Elite Residences at San José Mogote

The Rosario phase (700–500 B.C.) in the Valley of Oaxaca was a time of interpolity conflict and innovations in politico-religious ideas and practices that contributed to increasing social inequality, including hereditary status distinctions (Blanton et al. 1999:42–47; Joyce 2000; Joyce and Winter 1996; Marcus and Flannery 1996:121–138). These social transformations resulted in the founding of Monte Albán at 500 B.C., which would become the Valley of Oaxaca's first urban center and capital of a state polity. The social changes of the Rosario phase are reflected in transformations in architecture and the spatial setting of high-status residences. For the first time in the Valley of Oaxaca sequence, status distinctions were being communicated via fundamental differences in the spatial layout, architectural elaboration, and location of high-status residences. These developments in residential patterning can be related to ideological changes that would contribute to the creation and legitimation of a Zapotec noble class (Joyce 2000).

Rosario-phase residences at lower-order sites such as Fábrica San José in the Etla arm and Tomaltepec in the Tlacolula arm generally reflect a continuum of status distinctions much as in earlier periods. Observable status differences are based on relative concentrations of exotic items like shell, obsidian, and greenstone, as well as associated burials with greater quantities of offerings (Drennan 1976:111, 133; Whalen 1981:64–74). Household Unit R-1 at Tomaltepec, however, exhibited a number of architectural features that appear to have differentiated it from simpler houses. The household unit consisted of two residential structures surrounding a patio rather than a single structure, as was typical of most residences. In addition, each house had a well-laid stone and adobe mortar foundation about 0.6 m wide. The size of these foundations suggests that they supported substantial adobe, rather than wattle-and-daub, walls (Whalen 1981:67). The presence of a large oven or roasting pit and a relatively high bowl-to-jar ratio suggests the occupants might have sponsored communal feasts (Whalen 1981:67–70). Feasting could have been a means by which social obligations, identities, and authority were extended within and between communities (Clark and Blake 1994; Dietler and Hayden 2001). Household Unit R-1 is also located only about 15 m north of Structure 12, a public building, which could be indicative of the emergence of an elite-ceremonial precinct consisting of a high-status

residence and public buildings where communal rituals were performed. These data suggest that elite residences were being located in areas where public ceremonies were also carried out, although there is no evidence suggesting that the residential buildings were designed to house administrative activities.

Evidence for the development of architectural and spatial patterns that indicate high-status residences is even more clearly demonstrated at the first-order center of San José Mogote. During the late Rosario phase, a series of high-status residences were built on Mound 1, a natural hill architecturally modified into a huge platform (Flannery and Marcus 1983a). The best-preserved of these residences consisted of three structures (Structures 25, 26, and 30) surrounding an interior patio. The rooms had stone foundations that supported adobe walls similar to those of Household Unit R-1 at Tomaltepec. Structure 26 included a storage room (Room 1) with its floor more than 1 m below the patio. The storeroom contained several large serving bowls, a cooking pot, and an anthropomorphic incense brazier—objects that could have been used in feasting (Marcus and Flannery 1996:131). Associated with these elite residences were two tombs, the first formal stonemasonry tombs known in the Valley of Oaxaca. The most elaborate was Tomb 10, which was found beneath the patio floor and consisted of a chamber and an ante-chamber with a coating of mud plaster on its interior (Marcus and Flannery 1996:133). Most of the contents of the tomb were removed in antiquity, but an offering of 11 small obsidian projectile points buried in a deposit of red ochre remained.

The location of elite residences on Mound 1 suggests an increasing separation between elites and commoners. Mound 1 was the largest structure at San José Mogote, and prior to the late Rosario phase, it supported only public buildings (Marcus and Flannery 1996). The construction of the elite residences adjacent to the temples on Mound 1, therefore, created an elite-ceremonial precinct that was spatially segregated from the rest of the community. Not only were the temples and high-status residences in close proximity to one another, but the 15 m elevation of Mound 1 would have restricted physical access to the area as well as people's ability to observe the activities of its residents. The increasingly enclosed patio spaces of high-status residences would also have restricted access to elite residential activities, indirectly communicating the increasing social separation of elites and commoners.

The Rosario-phase data from Tomaltepec and San José Mogote indicate the presence of hereditary elites in the Valley of Oaxaca. This social group was living in larger and more elaborate residences that were increasingly associated with public ceremonial spaces and buildings, creating distinct elite-ceremonial precincts. These changes in high-status residences were occurring at a time of social and political upheaval in the region, including major transformations in the politico-religious ideas and practices that created and

legitimated elite power (Flannery and Marcus 1976; Joyce 2000; Marcus and Flannery 1996). By considering the broader social context of the Rosario phase, it is possible to show that changes in the size, form, and locale of elite residences were directly related to the communication and negotiation of ideological principles and practices that were altering power relations in the Valley of Oaxaca.

Regional data suggest that the Rosario phase was a period of political crisis at San José Mogote (Joyce 2000). Increasing interpolity conflict within the valley is indicated by a high frequency of structures destroyed by fire and a sparsely occupied buffer zone separating the Etla arm of the valley from the two other arms, each of which were occupied by competing polities (Kowalewski et al. 1989:70–75). At approximately 600 B.C., just prior to the construction of the elite residences at San José Mogote, a temple on Mound 1 was burned to the ground, perhaps as a result of raiding (Marcus and Flannery 1996:129). The destruction of the temple suggests that a raiding party penetrated the most restricted and ritually important part of the site. At the same time, survey data indicate that San José Mogote was losing population, with the area of the site decreasing from 70 ha during the Guadalupe phase to 34 ha by the Rosario phase. These data suggest that elites were unable to maintain their coalition of supporters and that commoners were "voting with their feet" and leaving San José Mogote.

The creation of an elite-ceremonial precinct on Mound 1, coupled with evidence for changes in sacrificial practices, suggests a transformation in structural principles involving people and the sacred. In response to the political crisis of the Rosario phase, elites may have tried to develop more potent means of contacting the sacred on their own behalf and that of their followers, through changes in sacrificial practices and rituals involving ancestors (see Joyce 2000). In pre-Columbian Mesoamerican creation myths, sacrifice was shown to be a fundamental condition of human existence based on the formation of a sacred covenant between people and the gods (Monaghan 2000). In the sacred covenant, humans agreed to offer sacrifices to the gods, with death representing the ultimate sacrifice, and in return, the gods allowed people to practice agriculture and achieve fertility and prosperity. Mesoamerican elites occupied a special place in relation to the sacred covenant and the acts of sacrifice it required. Human and autosacrifice performed by and on the bodies of nobles were the most potent forms of sacrifice (Boone 1984; King 1988; Schele and Miller 1986). Sacrifice therefore operated as a kind of social contract between commoners, elites, and supernaturals (Monaghan 1994:23), with nobles acting as intermediaries between people and the sacred. Sacrifice and ancestor veneration were key idioms through which power relations were constructed and negotiated.

Evidence from Mound 1 at San José Mogote indicates major changes in sacrificial ideas and practices during the Rosario phase, suggesting that people were struggling to develop new and more potent ways to contact the

sacred. The first evidence for the practice of human sacrifice in the Valley of Oaxaca is found on Mound 1 in the form of a possible sacrificial victim buried beneath Structure 26 and on a carved stone (Monument 3) depicting a victim of heart sacrifice. By offering a new, more dramatic form of sacrifice—human sacrifice—to the deities, nobles at San José Mogote were struggling to respond to the political crisis as well as demonstrating their ritual potency and generosity to followers. The elites living on Mound 1 were also carrying out more traditional autosacrificial bloodletting rituals, as shown by the recovery of an obsidian bloodletter (Marcus and Flannery 1996:133).

The evidence for the increasing religious significance of noble ancestors, especially their interment in formal masonry tombs seen for the first time with the Mound 1 residences, further suggests that elites were expanding the ways in which they communicated with the sacred. Based on the principles of the sacred covenant, the interment of elites in formal masonry tombs can be interpreted in sacrificial terms. Nobles interred in tombs were not sacrificing their bodies at death in the same way as commoners, since their bones remained in the tombs and were not assimilated by the earth in the same way as those of other people. As a result, nobles could directly consult their ancestors by reopening the tomb and performing appropriate rituals (Miller 1995). The separate and accessible resting place of elites in tombs may have helped deify noble ancestors. The anthropomorphic incense brazier recovered in Structure 26 also suggests an increasing concern with elite ancestors, since it represents one of the earliest examples of a type of incense burner used in later periods to communicate with deceased nobles (Flannery and Marcus 1994:61).

These changes in religious ideas, institutions, and practices were communicated in the architecture and spatial setting of high-status residences. The increasingly enclosed and private setting of elite households, their increasing size and architectural elaboration, the interment of elites in tombs, and the close association of elite residences and public buildings were means by which the identity of nobles came to be marked as fundamentally separate from that of commoners (Joyce and Winter 1996; Marcus 1992). In particular, the presence of subpatio tombs in elite residences, a pattern that would continue through the remainder of the pre-Columbian period, communicated principles of sacrifice and ancestor veneration that legitimated the power of nobles. During the Rosario phase, some commoners continued to be buried in communal cemeteries (Drennan 1976:129; Drennan and Flannery 1983:70), but by Monte Albán I (500–100 B.C.) commoners were also interred beneath their households. Although this meant that the living resided in the midst of the dead, these tombs facilitated reentry rituals that enabled direct consultation with the dead. It is uncertain whether the innovation of tombs in elite residences on Mound 1 at San José Mogote marks the beginning of the deification of noble ancestors, but it clearly implies a greater religious significance of those ancestors.

Despite the political and ideological changes of the late Rosario phase at San José Mogote, by 500 B.C. monumental construction on Mound 1 ceased and the site may have continued to decline in size (Kowalewski et al. 1989:89–90; Marcus and Flannery 1996:139). At approximately 500 B.C., a group of Etla Valley nobles and commoners founded the hilltop site of Monte Albán that would soon grow into the Valley of Oaxaca's first urban center (Marcus and Flannery 1996; Winter and Joyce 1994). The changes in ideology and ritual that were creating and legitimating elite power would continue to be communicated in the sacred geography of Monte Albán, including in the architecture and spatial symbolism of high-status residences.

Late/Terminal Formative Noble Residences and the Symbolics of Power at Monte Albán

Monte Albán was founded about 500 B.C. on a previously unoccupied series of hills in the center of the Valley of Oaxaca. By the end of the Monte Albán Ia phase (500–300 B.C.), Monte Albán far exceeded any other site in the Valley of Oaxaca in size, population, and scale of monumental architecture (Blanton 1978; Kowalewski et al. 1989; Winter and Joyce 1994). The civic-ceremonial center of the site was the Main Plaza, a huge public plaza measuring roughly 300 m north-south by 150 m east-west. In its final form, the Main Plaza was bounded on its north and south ends by high platforms supporting numerous public buildings. The eastern and western sides of the Main Plaza were defined by rows of monumental buildings; a third row of structures ran north to south through the center of the plaza. As Figure 8.2 shows, the Late Formative or Monte Albán I (500–100 B.C.) version of the Main Plaza consisted of only the plaza itself, along with the western row of buildings and much of the eastern half of the North Platform (Winter and Joyce 1994). The central and eastern rows of buildings and probably the South Platform do not appear to have been built until the Terminal Formative or Monte Albán II (100 B.C.–A.D. 200; see Figure 8.3; Acosta 1959; Winter 2000). Monte Albán grew rapidly, covering 320 ha by the end of the Monte Albán Ia phase (500–300 B.C.) and 442 ha during Monte Albán Ic (300–100 B.C.). A reason for the dramatic growth in population at Monte Albán may have been the popularity of the religious principles and practices that were a central motivating factor for the early inhabitants of the site. An important way in which these principles were symbolically communicated was through sacred geography, involving the symbolism of the spatial arrangement of architecture and iconography in and around the Main Plaza. Elite residences were an important component of Monte Albán's sacred geography throughout its history of occupation.

Evidence from Monte Albán suggests that a goal of the earliest inhabitants was to construct a ceremonial center that symbolized the version of the sacred covenant developed at San José Mogote during the previous cen-
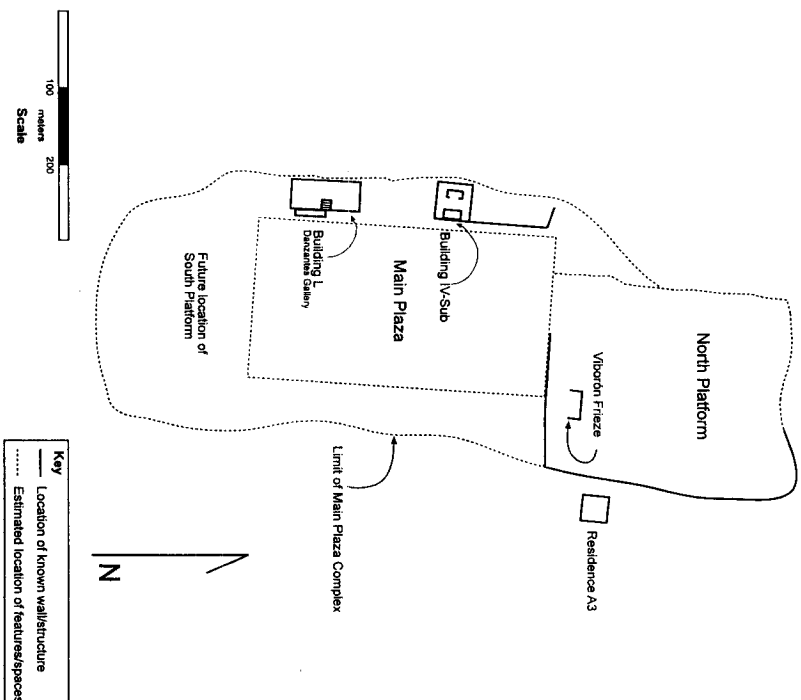
FIGURE 8.2 Main Plaza, Monte Albán I (500–100 B.C.)

tury (Joyce 2000, 2003). From Monte Albán's earliest years, its sacred geography resembled that of other Mesoamerican cities where the cosmos was rotated onto the surface of the site's ceremonial center such that north represented the celestial realm and south the earth or underworld (Ashmore 1991; Sugiyama 1993:123). The southern end of the Main Plaza contained iconographic references to earth, sacrifice, and warfare. These references included over 300 carved stones representing sacrificial victims that were erected in Monte Albán I (the Danzantes of Building L); the conquest slabs of Monte Albán II, with their depictions of conquered places and decapitated rulers; and the South Platform program of bound captives from Monte Albán III (A.D. 200–800). The North Platform included iconographic references to sky, rain, and lightning in the form of the Monte Albán Ic Viborón Frieze, with its depiction of a skyband with clouds, rain, and possibly Cocijo, the Zapo-
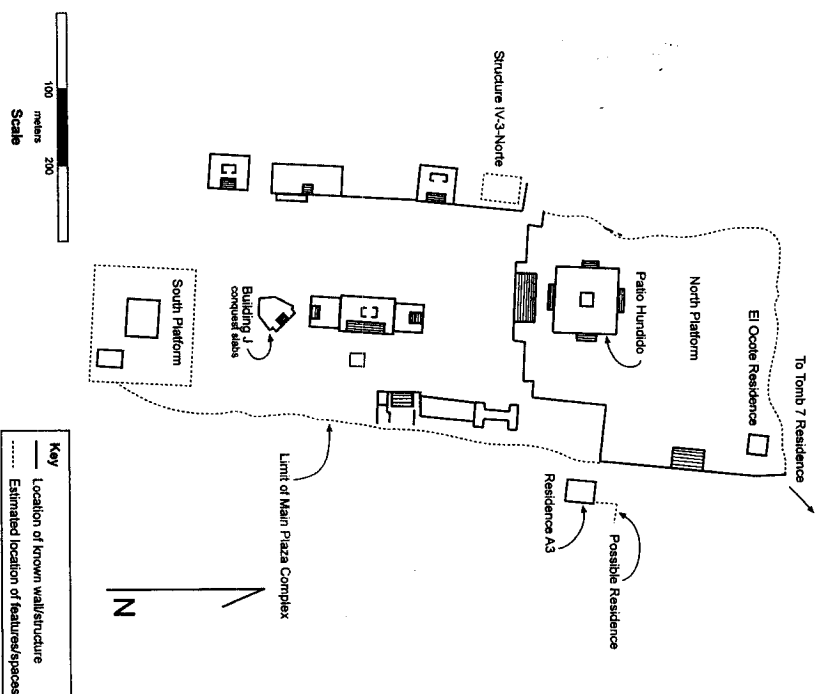
FIGURE 8.3 Main Plaza, Monte Albán II (100 B.C.–A.D. 200)

tec lightning (sky) deity. During Monte Albán III, the North Platform was marked by numerous depictions of the "jaws of the sky" motif on carved stones. Also known as the *fauces del cielo*, this motif referred to noble descent (Marcus 1983b:139) and the divine home of elite ancestors (Miller 1995). The sacred geography of the Main Plaza was a symbol of the Zapotec vision of the cosmos, and it invoked the creation myth in which sacrifice led to the creation and continual renewal of the world (Joyce 2000). The Main Plaza was also a public arena where people were engaged in state rituals, including sacrifice, that communicated ideological principles and bound people to rulers and other state symbols.

The location of high-status residences at Monte Albán was part of the sacred geography of the site and communicated aspects of the dominant ideology. Although the configuration of early buildings is not completely

understood, due to later construction activities, from Monte Albán I until Monte Albán IIIa (A.D. 200–500) the vast majority of elite residences and tombs were concentrated in areas around the North Platform (Joyce 2003; Martínez et al. 1995; Miller 1995:54; Winter 1995; Winter and Joyce 1994). The placement of elite residences around the northern end of the Main Plaza indicates an association between the celestial realm, nobles, and noble ancestors. Tombs in these residences often contained effigy vessels depicting Cocijo. These data suggest not only an increasing association of nobles with the celestial realm but also the deification of noble ancestors (Marcus and Flannery 1996:159). An increasing association between elite residences and religious symbols and artifacts beginning in Monte Albán I further indicates that nobles were gaining greater control of politico-religious rituals (Joyce and Winter 1996:36).

The earliest high-status residence known from Monte Albán, Residence A3 (see Figure 8.3), was excavated during the Proyecto Especial Monte Albán 1992–1994 (PEMA) directed by Marcus Winter (Winter 1994, 2000; Winter and Joyce 1994). Residence A3 was built on the hillslope east of the North Platform in an area of huge terraces constructed over bedrock. The terraces supported several platforms that were probably high-status residences dating from Monte Albán Ia to Monte Albán II. Residence A3 was built on a low platform on one of the terraces. The platform supported the walls of an elite residence with a stuccoed patio, a red-painted east wall, and a large subpatio tomb (Tomb 204). The tomb had a chamber and antechamber, and although these were largely cleaned out in antiquity, fifteen Monte Albán Ic vessels remained. Residence A3 was expanded in size in Monte Albán Ic and again in Monte Albán II. Another probable Monte Albán I residence was associated with a high-status burial (Burial VI-12) located about 400 m northeast of Residence A3.

Though neither Residence A3 nor the high-status residences on Mound I at San José Mogote were completely excavated, based on available data, they appear to have been similar architecturally. Both residences were larger and more elaborate architecturally than low-status households. Commoner households continued to be typified by small single houses, although by Monte Albán I they usually had adobe walls on stone foundations and occasionally had areas with flagstone pavements (Winter 1974:982). The high-status residences at Monte Albán and San José Mogote both had multiple rooms partially or entirely enclosing a patio, had subpatio tombs, and were located in relatively restricted locations.

Excavation data from the PEMA suggest that an early version of the Patio Hundido, or Sunken Patio, in the North Platform was also built during Monte Albán I. Several researchers have argued that the Patio Hundido was the ruler's palace at Monte Albán, especially by Monte Albán III (Blanton 1978:61–63; 1993:93; Flannery 1983a:133–134). We disagree with this interpretation, since there is little evidence for domestic activities and, ar-

chitecturally, the Patio Hundido conforms more closely to a temple-patio-altar complex (Winter 1986a) than a residence (also see Flannery 1998:34; Miller 1995:56–57). Instead, we agree with Flannery's (1998:34) more recent interpretation that the Patio Hundido was a nonresidential governmental building.

The only other Monte Albán I high-status residences that have been excavated in the Valley of Oaxaca come from the sites of Tomaltepec in the Tlacolula arm and El Palenque in the Valle Grande.[2] By Monte Albán I, Tomaltepec was a small administrative center of 5 to 8 ha (Whalen 1981, 1988). During Monte Albán Ia, the occupation of the higher-status Rosario-phase residence continued and included a pavement of adobe bricks, which made it more elaborate than other Monte Albán Ia houses at the site. The residents of this household (Unit 1a-1) had greater access to deer meat, obsidian, fine chert, mica, and shell than other residences, although these differences were relatively modest. By Monte Albán Ic, however, a significantly more elaborate residence (Unit Ic-1) was constructed in this area, consisting of at least two platforms with cut-stone foundations, adobe walls, and plaster floors that probably surrounded a patio. Built into the center of the north-ermost of the two platforms was a slab-covered, adobe-walled tomb containing burials of two adults and a child, along with offerings of jade and 37 ceramic vessels. The high-status residence is located to the north of a plaza, flanked by probable public buildings on its east (Structure 13) and west (Mound 2) sides. Its location indicates the continuation from the Rosario phase of the elite-ceremonial precinct and perhaps a sacred geography similar to Monte Albán's that associated nobles with the northern/celestial realm. Though the Monte Albán Ic residence at Tomaltepec was more elaborate than other houses, both its structural and tomb architecture were not as fancy as those of Residence A3 from Monte Albán. The residents of Unit Ic-1 may have been a family of lesser nobles who were administering this small center (Whalen 1988). By the Monte Albán II phase Tomaltepec was in decline, and by Monte Albán IIIa it was abandoned.

El Palenque was a Monte Albán Ic regional center for the Valle Grande, located near the modern town of San Martín Tilcajete, and appears to have been independent of and in conflict with Monte Albán at this time (Elson 2001; Redmond 2000; Spencer 1999; Spencer and Redmond 2001). The excavations at El Palenque exposed Structure 7, a high-status residence measuring 16 × 16 m and located on the north side of the site's main plaza, which was bounded on the east by temples (Spencer and Redmond 2001). Structure 7 was built on a masonry platform 80 cm high and consisted of eight rooms surrounding a central patio. Excavations at El Palenque suggest that the site was under siege and may have been conquered by Monte Albán, leading to the subsequent establishment of the Monte Albán II hilltop center at Loma de los Mogotes, which by then was incorporated into the Monte Albán state (Elson 2001; Spencer and Redmond 2001).[3]

During the Monte Albán II phase at Monte Albán, large, architecturally elaborate residences continued to be concentrated in the northern end of the Main Plaza (Figure 8.3; Winter 1994, 2000). Definite Monte Albán II residences at Monte Albán included Residence A3 and probably others in the same area, a large residential complex known as El Ocote on the northeastern corner of the North Platform, Structure IV-3-Norte located on the northwestern corner of the Main Plaza (see Figure 8.3), and the Tomb 7 Residence. Though none of the Monte Albán II elite residences have been totally cleared, they follow the floor plan of earlier high-status residences in having multiple rooms enclosing a central patio. The El Ocote complex probably had a larger number of rooms and a more complex layout than the other high-status residences of this period. El Ocote is the first elite residence at Monte Albán that does not appear to have had a tomb. Structure IV-3-Norte is the first elite residence directly facing the Main Plaza, which might suggest that this residence was more "public" than others, although the entrance to the structure was to the north rather than to the east onto the Main Plaza. The Tomb 7 Residence was located northeast of the North Platform. Excavations of this residence uncovered fragments of three stucco floors, a formal stairway, and a subpatio tomb (Tomb 7-bis; Martínez 2002).

Monte Albán II high-status residences are also found in some of Monte Albán's barrios beyond the Main Plaza. By the Monte Albán IIIb–IV phase the site appears to have included 15 barrios, many of which had a resident elite family and public buildings (Blanton 1978:66–93). In Monte Albán I all of the known high-status residences were located around the Main Plaza. By Monte Albán II, however, there was apparently an elite residence at the El Pitayo barrio that included two tombs (Tombs 77 and 96). Possible elite households were also present at Paragüito, Atzompa, and El Gallo. The presence of high-status residences at lower-order sites like El Palenque and Tomaltepec by Monte Albán Ic, as well as at Oaxaca's barrios by Monte Albán II, suggests an expansion of the nobility and probably the emergence of a state bureaucracy.

Outside of Monte Albán, high-status residences have been investigated at the subregional centers of San José Mogote and Loma de los Mogotes. Excavations in Mound 9 at the northern end of the Main Plaza at San José Mogote exposed a possible high-status residential complex consisting of multiple patios surrounded by three or four rooms (Marcus and Flannery 1996:180). At Loma de los Mogotes, Christina Elson (2001, 2003; also see Redmond 2000) excavated a high-status residence built on a stonemasonry platform measuring 12 × 12 × 1.6 m and with remains of a stuccoed exterior surface. The residence consisted of six to eight rooms surrounding a central patio. As at its predecessor, El Palenque, the elite residence at Loma de los Mogotes was located on the north end of a plaza with a temple to the east. A second probable residence was excavated on a terrace to the east and downslope from the plaza.

The increasing number of high-status residences during the Monte Albán I and II phases at Monte Albán and other sites in the valley indicates further institutionalization of changes in ideology and political relations that legitimated noble status. By the Late/Terminal Formative (500 B.C.–A.D. 200), a separate noble identity, with an accompanying set of practices, was increasingly evident in the Valley of Oaxaca (Joyce 2000; Joyce and Winter 1996; Marcus 1992). Noble identities were symbolized by the increasing size and elaboration of elite residences, the close association of elite residences and public buildings, interment in masonry tombs, performance of special rituals like human sacrifice, as well as the control of exotic artifacts such as urns and incense burners and of knowledge such as hieroglyphic writing and calendrics. These ideas and practices marked nobles as fundamentally different from commoners and contributed to the legitimation of politico-religious power in the Valley of Oaxaca. There are also some indications of the beginnings of differentiation in the size and elaboration of elite residences that might suggest variation in social roles, status, wealth, and power within the nobility. For example, by Monte Albán II there were high-status residences both with and without tombs. This variation could be the consequence of the growth of the nobility, resulting in a group of lesser nobles in addition to rulers. Another possible explanation is the differentiation of religious and secular authorities. Additional research is needed to better document the variation in Late/Terminal Formative elite residences and to investigate what this might mean in terms of social organization.

The Formalization of Elite Power: Monte Albán IIIa

Elite residences during the Monte Albán IIIa phase present a formalization of trends that began during Monte Albán I and II. Elite residences were essentially larger standardized versions of the same floor plan found in residences at all status levels: groups of rooms around a square patio. Commoner residences (Winter's "Type 1" [1974]) generally consisted of earthen patios outlined by a single course of faced stones. Measuring between 3.5 and 4 m a side, these patios were not always enclosed by rooms on all four sides. The rooms themselves were ephemeral and often lacked the stone foundation walls found in more elaborate buildings. Like all other residences in the Valley of Oaxaca at this time, commoner residences contained subfloor interments, usually slab-lined burials. Elite residences had enclosed flagstone patios surrounded by rooms with stone foundation walls (Winter's "Type 2" and "Type 3" residences). The variation seen in Monte Albán II residences became more formal by Monte Albán IIIa, with patios in elaborate residences ranging from 4 to 13 m per side (Winter 1974:983). This diversity probably reflects the existence of a more formalized social hierarchy with a number of noble status positions by the Classic period.

We use Residence Wi-A, a Type 2 residence recently excavated as part

of the PEMA, to exemplify the characteristics of Classic-period elite residences at Monte Albán (see Figure 8.7, a similar residence; Morales et al. 1999). Residence W1-A consisted of approximately eight rooms surrounding a central patio. The flagstone patio measured 10.2 m per side, the edges of which were marked by low steps leading up into the various rooms of the residence. A stone-slab drain ran from the southeast corner of the patio, beneath the structure's southeast room, to the outside. Of the structure's eight rooms, four were large and rectangular and four others filled the corner space between each of the main rooms. The south room was the best preserved and showed greater elaboration than any of the other four main rooms. It measured 6.22 m × 2.95 m. The south room's access stairway was set between sloping basal walls that flanked the patio. Beneath the west room lay a tomb containing a secondary burial and some Monte Albán IIIa ceramics. The residence's entrance was probably to the east. Although not preserved in this instance, other elite residences had an L-shaped passage that served to screen the patio from outside view as well as to channel the movement of anyone entering or exiting the residence. Beneath the patio, excavators encountered an offering of 10 whole and partial vessels accompanied by a burned rock—a possible dedicatory cache. No floor features related to domestic activities, such as hearths or ovens, were uncovered, although domestic middens have been found outside of residence walls (Winter et al. 1997). Storage facilities, such as the bell-shaped pits of earlier periods (Winter 1974, 1986b), were not present within the confines of this structure.

Architectural elaboration of residential space occurred through monumentality and tomb ornamentation. Known elite residences from Monte Albán IIIa, like the El Ocote complex on the North Platform or the Tomb 7 Residence, were often quite large. Elaborately decorated residential tombs also serve to distinguish elite residences from those of non-elites, which have only simple burials. A number of transitional IIIa to IIIb–IV tombs have been excavated that provide insight into elite behavior and the organization of power in the Early Classic period. Most notable are Tombs 103, 104, 105, and 112, all of which contained painted murals, providing a unique source of information on elite art and ideology (Caso 1938; Miller 1995).

The most famous of these, Tomb 104, lay underneath an elite residence measuring 20 m on a side, with a patio measuring 9.2 × 10 m (Winter 1974). The tomb itself was cut into the bedrock beneath the large western room of the structure (Miller 1995). The tomb façade includes an effigy urn that may represent a human wearing a Cocijo mask (Marcus 1983b:148; Masson 2001). A single male skeleton, along with a variety of offerings, including several anthropomorphic effigy urns, was interred within (Caso 1938; Miller 1995). A capstone bearing glyphic inscriptions covered the doorway to the tomb. The walls of the tomb's main chamber are covered with elaborate polychrome murals that appear to depict either contemporary relatives or ancestors of the tomb's occupant (Marcus 1983b:140; Miller 1995:126). Arthur G. Miller

(1995:126) further elaborates: "The subject matter concerns the family lineage of the residents inhabiting the house above the tomb . . . this funerary subject matter concerns the 'ascent' or 'return' to the 'fauces celestiales' (the ancestral abode)." The tomb's iconography describes the journey of the deceased into the celestial realm (Marcus 1983b:137; Miller 1995:129). The residence's locale on the north side of the North Platform provides a spatial reiteration of these ideas. The differences in style between the various elements of the tomb led Miller (1995) to suggest that Tomb 104, like many other tombs in the Valley of Oaxaca, was reopened and reused several times. Few other tombs in the region are as well preserved, but Tombs 103, 105, and 112 all had mural paintings dating to the late Monte Albán IIIa phase. These painstakingly ornamented residential spaces were remarkable in their variance from the daily-use spaces above. The tombs of Monte Albán IIIa—and indeed of all later periods as well—were brilliantly decorated and highly communicative of elite power and status. They were, however, invisible to all but the select few who participated in tomb rituals.

The locale of Monte Albán IIIa elite residences largely followed the pattern that developed during Monte Albán I and II. The vast majority of elite residences were located close to, or north of, the North Platform (Figure 8.4). The occupation of several Monte Albán II residences continued into Monte Albán IIIa, notably the El Ocote complex, Structure IV-3-Norte, and the Tomb 7 Residence. Another large residence, perhaps measuring as much as 20 m per side, was built north of the North Platform. This residence, like the El Ocote structure, does not appear to have contained a tomb. Two additional large residential groups were built around the North Platform in Monte Albán IIIa (Winter 1994, 2000). The first sits at the edge of a slope just off the southwest corner of the North Platform (PNLP-1). The PNLP-1 consisted of at least one, and perhaps several, enclosed-patio residences (Peeler 1994; Winter 2000; Winter and Joyce 1994). The only tomb associated with the PNLP-1 dates to Monte Albán IIIa, with reuse evident in Monte Albán V (Marcus Winter, personal communication, 2001). A second residential grouping lies on the southeast corner of the North Platform (PSA) and includes three residences separated by narrow passageways. The largest structure, with a patio measuring approximately 8 × 8 m, did not contain a tomb (Peeler 1994).

The Monte Albán IIIa residential data demonstrate a continuation of trends begun during earlier periods at Monte Albán, and several elements of elite residential architecture and tombs also foreshadow later patterns. The standard enclosed-patio residence that had fully developed by Monte Albán IIIa was to remain the defining floor plan of elite residences in the Valley of Oaxaca until after the Spanish Conquest. These enclosed and highly restricted domestic spaces served to limit access to elites and maintain an elevated level of privacy. Non-elite residences mirrored this organization of elevated domestic space. The only architectural space unique to elite residences was the tomb.
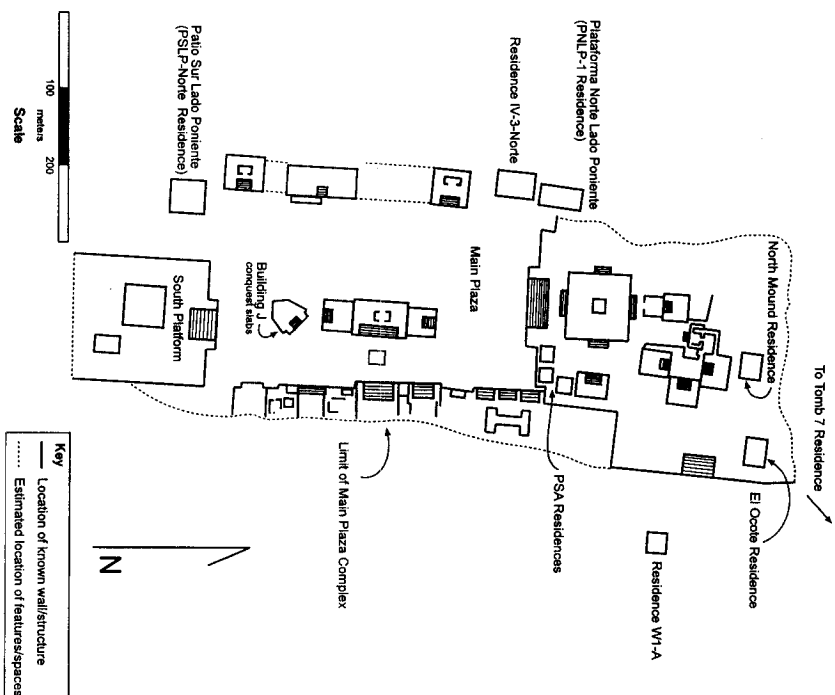
FIGURE 8.4 Main Plaza, Monte Albán IIIa (A.D. 200–500)

The most elaborate Monte Albán IIIa tombs were considerably more ornate than those of earlier periods but nonetheless present a continuation of burial patterns that began in the Rosario phase. Tombs provided elites with a space within which they could connect with their distinguished ancestors and retain their special relationship to the living, thus tying a residence's inhabitants more closely to one of their major sources of power. Tombs also provided a private but explicit architectural expression of elite power. Nobles did not make use of external architectural elements such as fretwork or sculpture to express their superior status. Structure size and the labor input such structures required were the only outward manifestations of elite status provided through architectural elaboration. Locale also served to demonstrate status,

since elite residences during this time continued to cluster around the North Platform. The sacred geography established during Monte Albán I still retained social significance in Monte Albán IIIa.

Overall, noble status and power appear to have been communicated through rather subtle means at this time. The "audience" viewing such signals as tomb ornamentation would have been quite small. The inward-focused layout of elite residences discouraged the public display of individual or familial dignity, a fact emphasized by the lack of architectural elaboration beyond monumentality. Although elite power remained tied to ancestry, and residences were home to both the living and the dead, residential architecture did not supply a public forum for the expression of power during Monte Albán IIIa.

Elite Residences and the Changing Face of Power at Monte Albán: Monte Albán IIIb–IV

The Monte Albán IIIb–IV phase (A.D. 500–800)[4] encompasses the florescence of Monte Albán (Blanton 1978; Kowalewski et al. 1989; Lind and Urcid 1983; Martínez et al. 2000). Elite residential architecture during this 300-year span demonstrates what we believe to be a qualitative shift from preceding eras, stemming from changing conceptions of power. These changes are visible in the spatial organization of a few elite residences in which ritual spaces tied to ancestry were architecturally formalized. Changes in architectural elaboration included increased embellishment of tombs and expressions of ancestry in more visible aboveground settings. New patterns in the locale of residences further demonstrated an emerging reconceptualization of power and its representation (Joyce 2003).

While the spatial organization of most Monte Albán IIIb–IV elite residences at Monte Albán and surrounding sites followed the Monte Albán IIIa pattern, three notable exceptions stand out. The first is the Tomb 7 Residence (Martínez 2002). At some point during Monte Albán IIIb–IV, a two-room temple with columns in each doorway was constructed on the west side of the patio above the residence's large tomb. Two-room temples, such as that constructed at the Tomb 7 Residence, had been built in public contexts in the Valley of Oaxaca since Monte Albán II. The Tomb 7 temple, however, was the first and only such building to be constructed within a residence at Monte Albán. The size of the audience that could have witnessed and participated in events occurring at the Tomb 7 temple was considerably smaller than audiences for events occurring in two-room temples located on Monte Albán's Main Plaza. The residence retained its enclosed layout, and the interior patio was only 10 × 6 m. Yet the melding of a traditionally public architectural form with a domicile in Monte Albán IIIb–IV demonstrates a clear shift in the organization of elite domestic space from previous periods.

Residences on Mounds 190 and 193 at the site of Lambityeco on the val-

ley floor reiterate this shift. Both structures have been described in detail elsewhere (see Lind 2001; Lind and Urcid 1983, 1990), but several aspects of these residences merit discussion here. The Mound 190 residence (Structure 190-4) consisted of two connected patios enclosed by rooms (Lind and Urcid 1990). The entry patio on the west lacked a subpatio tomb. The more secluded eastern patio, however, had a small temple on its western side and a tomb on its eastern side. The façade of the temple was renovated at least once, and in its best-preserved iteration (dating to A.D. 650–700), it consisted of stucco sculptures depicting Cocijo holding symbols of lightning and rain. The spatial organization of the Mound 190 residence, like that of the Tomb 7 Residence, encompassed formal ritual space of a type that was found only in public contexts prior to Monte Albán IIIb–IV. The Mound 195 residence was considerably more elaborate and consisted of six superimposed residences spanning the years A.D. 600–750 (Lind 2001; Lind and Urcid 1983). In its earliest phases, the Mound 195 residence followed the standard Classic-period pattern of rooms enclosing a patio, with a tomb beneath the room opposite the entrance (Lind 2001). The third incarnation of the Mound 195 residence (Structure 195-4, A.D. 640 ± 100), however, broke from this pattern with the construction of a second, connected enclosed patio immediately to the north (Lind 2001). In addition, a raised bench or altar was built above the tomb in the east room of the original patio (Lind 2001:119).

The fourth version of Structure 195 (195-3, A.D. 690 ± 100, Figure 8.5) further developed the link between the east room of the south patio and the individuals interred in the tomb (Lind 2001). A large area of the south patio was remodeled to create a large "altar complex" along the eastern portion of the patio; several rooms were filled in, and a tripartite altar was placed just at the eastern edge of the patio (Lind 2001). The altar and the wall behind it were adorned with stucco panels depicting the faces and names of at least six individuals (Lind 2001; Lind and Urcid 1983; Miller 1995). The men were all depicted holding a human femur in their right hand, a symbol of rulership (Lind and Urcid 1983). The two-chambered tomb beneath this "altar" contained the remains of six individuals, both male and female (Lind and Urcid 1983:81). Javier Urcid (personal communication, 2001) suggests that the area had several uses, including as a throne, as an altar or table for offerings, and as a mausoleum with a genealogical record. The south patio of the Mound 195 residence had become a formal location for practices reiterating the ancestry, sacredness, and power of individuals from a particular domestic group. Whether these practices were public or semipublic is unclear, given the small size of the residential patio. By the final phase of occupation, however, public activities tied to the residence's inhabitants were certainly under way. Mound 195-1 (A.D. 730 ± 100) was attached to a civic-ceremonial building on the east side of a large public plaza. The inhabitants of the final residence on Mound 195 were living in a public building: a residential structure that incorporated highly public ceremonial space.
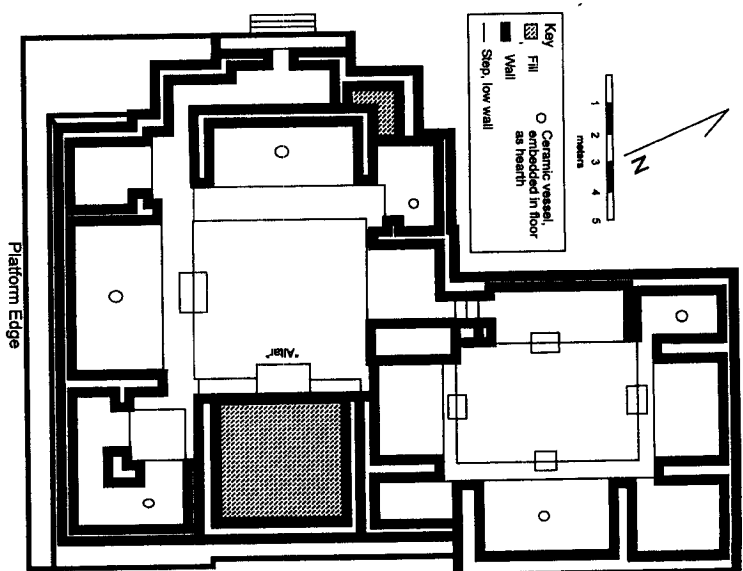
FIGURE 8.5 Structure 195-3, Lambityeco. Redrawn from Lind 2001.

Elite residences also became increasingly elaborate during the Monte Albán IIIb–IV phase. Much of this elaboration occurred underground, where elites built numerous large and ornate tombs. Across Monte Albán, tombs proliferated: 88 of the site's 214 tombs (41%) have been securely dated to Monte Albán IIIb–IV. Other tombs, such as Tombs 7, 104, and 105, were built earlier but experienced continued use into this period (Miller 1995). Indeed, tombs from this time period at Monte Albán and other sites in the valley demonstrate ongoing use—with later burials, reentry, and repainting clearly in evidence (Miller 1995). Funerary iconography from tombs at Monte Albán and other valley sites also provided a fuller expression of the genealogy-ancestry theme first articulated in late Monte Albán IIIa tombs like 103 and 104 (Marcus 1983b). The murals of Tomb 105, which were repainted at least once and probably more, depicted the ancestors related to the interred individual (Marcus 1983b:191). Marcus (1983b:191) sees these murals as a precursor to the "genealogical registers" found in Monte Albán IIIb–IV tomb art at other

sites in the Valley of Oaxaca, such as Tomb 5 at Suchilquitongo in the Etla arm. Genealogical registers are carved monuments found in Monte Albán IIIb–IV tombs that detail the ancestry of one or more individuals (Marcus 1992:283–284).

Suchilquitongo Tomb 5 was extraordinarily ornate, with iconographic elements that included 10 bas-relief doorjambs, two modeled-stucco lintels, 17 murals, one carved stela (the "genealogical register"), and several other incised and painted glyphs (Miller 1995; Urcid 1992a). A cruciform antechamber mirrored the enclosed patio floor plan of elite residences and literally made the tomb a "house" for the dead (Miller 1995; Urcid 1992a). The doorjambs appear to describe a genealogical sequence, whereas the stela—set in the tomb chamber itself—probably bears the image of a conjugal pair and is similar to other genealogical registers (Marcus 1983a; Miller 1995; Urcid 1992a). Ancestry and the association between genealogy and domesticity are emphasized in both the spatial plan and the decorative elements of Tomb 5 to a degree previously unknown in the Valley of Oaxaca. Tomb 5 was an elaborate home for the dead, glorifying the power of a particular lineage and tying that power to a certain place on the landscape.

In most cases, architectural ornamentation remained within the highly restricted spaces of elite residential tombs. At Lambityeco, however, images of ancestry and sacredness moved aboveground to adorn rooms at both the Mound 190 and Mound 195 residences. In residential contexts, depictions of Cocijo were restricted to tombs from earlier periods. At Mound 190, this traditional tomb imagery was materialized aboveground. In the case of Mound 195-3, the stucco sculptures adorning the south patio altar presented genealogical information strongly reminiscent of that found in Monte Albán IIIb–IV tombs across the valley (Lind and Urcid 1983). In this instance, however, ancestral power became publicly materialized in a space that would have been accessible to groups beyond the household itself. Although still restricted, these images of ancestors and supernaturals were far more public and explicit than tomb art. The architectural sculptures of both residences would have served as a frame of reference for the activities of certain individuals in a household, placing them within specific genealogical and supernatural contexts.

The locale of elite residences presented a further change from previous eras. At Monte Albán, several new residences were constructed on or near the southern end of the Main Plaza, violating the sacred geography of earlier eras (Figure 8.6; Joyce 2003). Excavations by the PEMA uncovered 11 Monte Albán IIIb–IV residences near the southwest corner of the South Platform (Winter et al. 1997). Only three of these residences were occupied at any one time. A large residence was also constructed on the southeastern side of the Main Plaza, just north of the South Platform. Known as the Palacio, Plataforma Este, or Building S, this residence is set on a high substructural platform and lacks a tomb (Figure 8.7). Two smaller residences flank
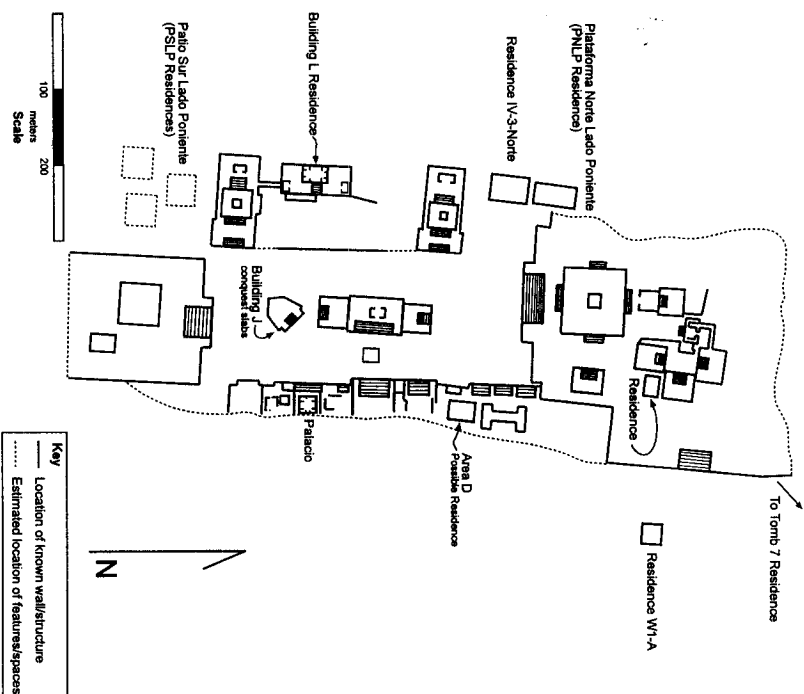
FIGURE 8.6 Main Plaza, Monte Albán IIIB–IV (A.D. 500–800)

the Palacio on its north and south sides, creating a multipatio residential group. The Palacio's patio measures nearly 10 m on a side, and the external walls measure 26 (N–S) × 22 m (E–W; Winter 1974). Another large residence was set on the substructural platform of Building L directly across the Main Plaza from the Palacio (Peeler 1994). Its patio measures approximately 5 to 7 m per side, and its external walls are approximately 17 to 18 m per side (Peeler 1994:Nr6E26). Building L was built in Monte Albán I as a public building and was adorned with images of sacrificial victims, better known as the Danzantes Gallery. It retained its public use through various renovations in Monte Albán II and IIIa. Both the Palacio and the Building L residence are in very public locations: they open onto the Main Plaza itself, they are set on elevated platforms, and one (Building L) is located above a structure that was previously public and ceremonial in use.
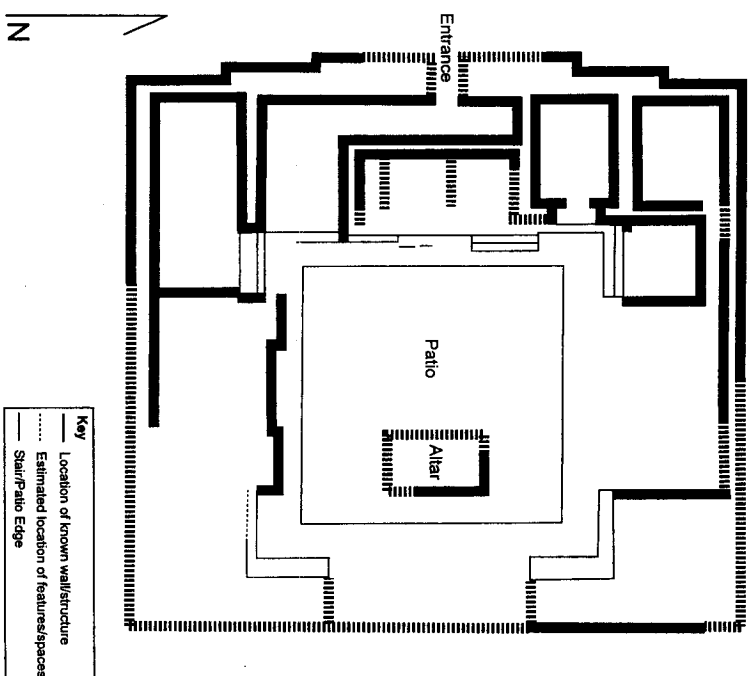
Key
— Location of known wall/structure
······ Estimated location of features/spaces
— Stair/Patio Edge

FIGURE 8.7 Plan view, the Palacio, Monte Albán IIIb–IV. Redrawn from Caso, Bernal, and Acosta 1967.

Monte Albán IIIb–IV elite residences reveal an emerging conceptualization of power as more individualized, exclusive, and explicit. The spatial organization of the Tomb 7 Residence and the two Lambityeco residences suggests a conflation of public social roles with particular kin groups. In a sense, corporate practices tied to the state were being domesticated—brought under the control of certain lineages. A budding connection between some state activities and particular kin groups would also have served to make those activities more exclusive. Both the participants in, and the witnesses to, activities in domestic ceremonial contexts were necessarily smaller than those in public ceremonial spaces. The increasing importance of ancestry as a source of power was emphasized in the proliferation of tombs and in elites' heavy investment in elaborate tomb art depicting genealogy. Elites also began to materialize their powerful ancestry more explicitly with embellishments such as the Mound 190 Cocijo sculptures and the Mound

195-3 residential altar. In both cases, powerful imagery that—in residential contexts—had once been limited to the highly restricted spaces of tombs began to appear aboveground. Elites were more openly signaling the sources of their power, a power that was exclusive and individualized because it was due to a specific genealogy. A break with earlier periods was also manifested by the increased number of residences on the southern end of Monte Albán's South Platform. The sacred geography that originally shaped Monte Albán's spatial layout may have been altered at this time (Joyce 2003). Overall, some elite residences of Monte Albán IIIb–IV began to resemble palaces: the Tomb 7 Residence incorporated a temple type previously associated with public facilities; the Mound 190 residence also contained a specialized and elaborate ritual space; and the Mound 195-3 residence had a throne/altar surrounded by symbols of nobility and ancestry. By the middle of the eighth century, the Mound 195 residence was a palace—a domestic public structure.

The Public Display of Exclusive Power: Monte Albán V

Elite residential architecture from the Valley of Oaxaca's Late Postclassic period (A.D. 1250–1521) demonstrates an entrenchment and elaboration of the individualized and exclusive power first manifested in Monte Albán IIIb–IV. The enclosed-patio residence remained the basic form for elite residential architecture even into this late period. Many elite residences—such as those at Yagul (Bernal and Gamio 1974) and Mitla (Miller 1995; Robles 1986)—were built along the lines of Lambityeco Structure 195, with patio groups connected by narrow passageways. The Palace of the Six Patios at Yagul (Bernal and Gamio 1974) represents an extreme form of this architectural plan.

By Monte Albán V, the distinctions between public and domestic space had become blurred at several elite residences. Monumental architecture at Yagul and Mitla explicitly combined residential and public functions into one structure. The Palace of the Six Patios at Yagul, a monumental residence consisting of five intricately connected residential patios and a sixth public patio, provides a clear example. Just below the Palace, to the south, are Yagul's ballcourt and a ceremonial precinct (Bernal and Gamio 1974:Plano 1).

Four long, narrow rooms surrounded each patio. The corner spaces were sealed off and unused. Rooms were elevated above the patio surface and were distinguished by a triple entryway created by dividing each doorway with two pillars (Bernal and Gamio 1974). Many interior walls were stuccoed and painted red. Patios B and E, the middle pair, had low columns surrounding the patio outside the residential rooms (Bernal and Gamio 1974:87). Patio F is of particular interest due to the fact that its south room opened out toward the site's ballcourt (Figure 8.8). Anyone using this room would have been visible from the public ceremonial spaces of the site. A low bench runs along the length of the room's back (north) wall (Bernal and Gamio 1974:56).

Patio C

Patio F

Bench→

Key
■ Wall
— Step, low wall
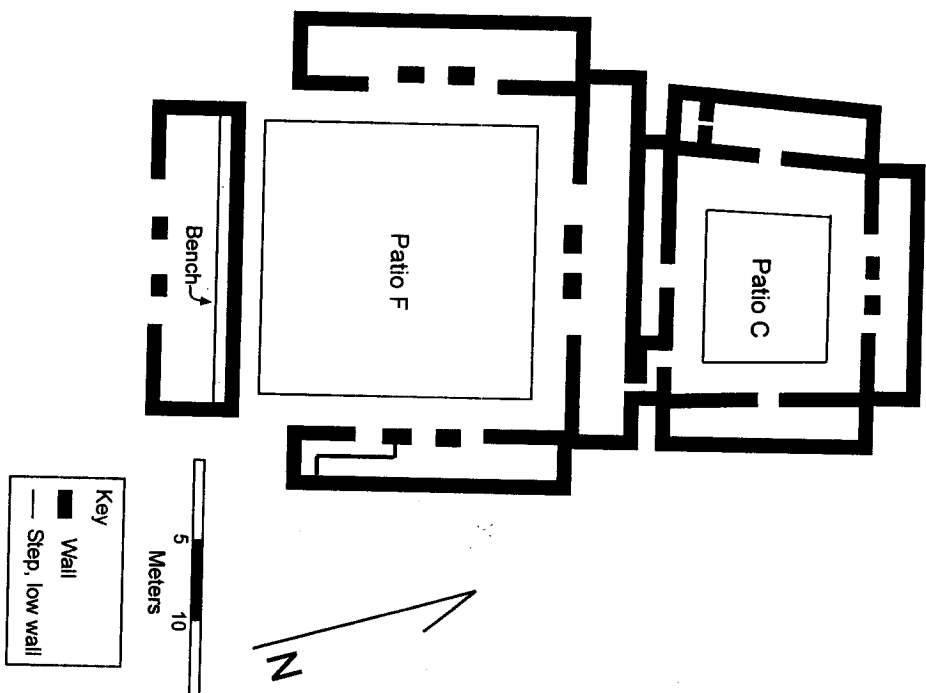
5   10
Meters

N

FIGURE 8.8 Plan view of Patios C and F of the Palace of the Six Patios, Yagul. Redrawn from Bernal and Gamio 1974.

Patio F's south room was not connected to the other three rooms of the residence; it was instead constructed slightly farther south than expected for a standard square patio. Its outward orientation and location on a high platform above the ballcourt made it a visible public space closely associated not only with residential architecture but also with ceremonial buildings. The terminal occupation at Yagul was probably during early to middle Monte Albán V, given radiocarbon dates in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Bernal and Gamio 1974:93–94).

At the later site of Mitla, a major Zapotec center into the Colonial period, the tie between residential and public ceremonial space became even more explicit. Although Mitla was occupied as early as the Tierras Largas phase, only its late Monte Albán V architecture has been well documented (Flannery and Marcus 1983b; Miller 1995). Several large, multipatio residential groups similar to Patios C and F at Yagul have been preserved at Mitla since pre-Columbian times. Two Mitla patio groups, the Arroyo Group and the Church Group, consist of three patios surrounded by three or four narrow triple-entry rooms. Both structures have murals painted on the lintels above room entrances (Miller 1995:217; Pohl 1999). John Pohl argues that the murals present historical and mythological narratives that describe the relations of particular lineages with both earthly and divine locations. "Ancestor worship thereby became not only a primary religious concern but also a means of determining class, rank, paramountcy, and titles to elite domains" (Pohl 1999:16). The mural paintings of Mitla's residences, like the earlier stucco sculptures of Lambityeco, provided viewers with a framework for interpreting the social and ideological placement of the individuals who used particular domestic spaces.

The nearby Group of the Columns was a combined residential and public area near the center of the ancient town of Mitla. The group consists of two plazas (approximately 40 m on a side), or large patios, aligned north–south and surrounded by four buildings set on high substructural platforms (Pohl 1999; Robles 1986). Both exterior and interior walls are extensively decorated with the stone mosaics for which Mitla is famous. The southern patio contains two large cruciform tombs, but the northern patio has none. The Hall of the Columns, on the north side of the north patio, is a narrow room with six columns set in a line along its east-west axis (Flannery and Marcus 1983b; Robles 1986). This room provided access, through a narrow passageway, to a domestic patio surrounded by four rooms that is highly reminiscent of Classic-period elite residences. Flannery and Marcus (1983b:296–297), citing the 1580 Relación de Tlacolula y Mitla by Juan de Canseco, state that the south patio was the location of government activity and the small patio north of the Hall of the Columns was the residence of a high priest. The Hall of the Columns is a palace: it was a public space fronting a very private residential structure. At least one religious leader at Mitla lived within the bounds of the temple, with access to the residence only possible by passing through the temple itself.

Although detailed information on elite residences in Monte Albán V is fairly limited, the spatial organization, elaboration, and locale of those structures that have been documented demonstrate a crystallization of the processes begun in Monte Albán IIIb–IV. The spatial organization of these residences created and reiterated a permanent connection between residents and particular offices or social roles. The Palace of the Six Patios at Yagul was designed to include a "public" domestic space. The Group of the Col-

umns at Mitla, which was both a temple and a domestic space, formalized the connection between specific people and specific public offices. Beyond monumentality, architectural elaboration at Yagul was limited. Architectural features such as columns were present, as was the use of stucco and red paint, although columns occurred only on interior patios away from the casual viewer. At Mitla, architectural elaboration took multiple forms. The intricate masonry mosaics at the Group of the Columns represented the first preserved outward residential elaboration in the Valley of Oaxaca beyond monumentality. The murals of several Mitla residences contained images explaining and justifying certain domestic groups' privileged position in relation to the sacred, based on ancestry. Finally, elite residences in Monte Albán V are located in very public places. The south room of Patio F at Yagul overlooks the site's ballcourt. Both the Palace of the Six Patios at Yagul and the Group of the Columns at Mitla fall under our definition of a palace. In each case, residential architecture incorporated public or ceremonial space, creating a permanent link between the residents and their public positions. In these cases, power "lived" with its wielders.

Discussion

Diachronic changes in the spatial organization, architectural elaboration, and location of elite residences over time in the Valley of Oaxaca demonstrate shifting representations of power despite an underlying conservatism regarding its sources. We follow Joyce (2000, 2003) in arguing that elite power in the Valley of Oaxaca stemmed in part from the ability of nobles to contact the supernatural world and invoke the sacred covenant between humans and deities. Noble ancestors served as important intermediaries between the living and the supernatural world, providing living elites with more potent means of connecting to the supernatural than commoners. Based on evidence from elite residences, this fundamental understanding regarding sources of power did not change for millennia. Beginning in Monte Albán IIIb–IV, however, elites began to reframe expressions of power to make them more individualized, exclusive, and materially explicit.

The spatial organization of elite residences followed a basic pattern from early in the valley's history. Beginning in the Guadalupe phase, higher-status domestic groups lived in multiple-room residences facing onto a patio. Through time, this pattern became increasingly formalized such that Monte Albán III elite residences were standardized across Monte Albán and the valley in general. Elite residences also revealed a growing emphasis on closed, private spaces (Winter 1974, 1986b). The patios of many Formative-period high-status residences appear to have been open on one or more sides, making the daily activities of elites to some extent visible. This was certainly not the case for most late Monte Albán II and Monte Albán IIIa elite residences, where domestic spaces were very private and inward-focused.

Elite residential patios, though considerably larger than non-elite versions, nonetheless organized space in a similar manner. The same set of residential characteristics found in non-elite residences—subfloor inhumation, enclosed patios, and lack of storage structures or other floor features—were present in elite residences as well. Unlike palaces, elite residences in the Valley of Oaxaca were not designed to hold large audiences. The patio of the Palacio at Monte Albán, for instance, measured only 9.85 m per side, and the entire structure itself was only 25.6 × 21.85 m (Winter 1974:Table 1). Compare that to the contemporary Great Palace at Palenque, which filled a substructural platform of 100 × 80 m (Sharer 1994), or the patio of Court 2 at the Central Acropolis at Tikal, which measured 40 × 25 m (Coe 1980). Zapotec elite residences did not organize space in a way that allowed for the large-scale public expression of individual, lineage-specific power prior to late Monte Albán IIIb–IV.

By the end of the Classic period, however, residential architecture had come to include spaces designed to create a frame of reference for the activities of particular individuals. The south patio of the Structure 195-3 residence at Lambityeco contained an elevated area that may have served as a throne (Lind and Urcid 1983:Figure 3). This patio, though still enclosed and lacking a large open area for public viewing, provided residential space within which an individual or individuals could be situated within a specific genealogical context. By early Monte Albán V, elite residential space had been architecturally "reopened." At Yagul's Palace of the Six Patios, Patio D had only three surrounding structures (Bernal and Gamio 1974). Neither of the southern corners of Patio F was closed off, and the south room of the patio faced outward. With its internal bench, the south room of Patio F provided yet another formal frame within which individuals associated with the residence could be viewed. Unlike Structure 195-3's viewing space, however, the south room of Patio F at Yagul was open and unrestricted. It was set on a high platform above the public ritual space created by the site's ballcourt. Occupants of this room would have been easily visible to a large audience. At Lambityeco's Structure 195-1 and Mitla's Group of the Columns, the residence is fronted by a public building. These residences not only provided a "public" domestic area but also merged the public and the residential into a single structure. Furthermore, the size of the public space at the Group of the Columns is considerably larger than that of earlier residences. Both patios at the Group of the Columns were over 40 m per side, providing ample space for the presence of large groups of people, probably numbering in the hundreds (Bernal 1965).

The growth of more individualized and explicit power was also expressed through architectural elaboration. Through Monte Albán IIIa, monumentality and labor-intensive building techniques provided the primary means of communicating status through architecture. Socially expressive architectural ornamentation—such as carved-stone monuments or murals—was

rarely used in residences to express elite power. Only in the secluded context of elite residential tombs did elaborate murals, plasterwork, and stone carving make an appearance. By Monte Albán IIIb–IV this pattern shifts. Although the ornamental plasterwork of Lambityeco Mounds 190 and 195 was still relatively private, it did, nonetheless, appear aboveground. The plaster friezes surrounding the Mound 195-3 south patio altar would have provided important contextual meaning to anyone viewing an individual sitting in that area. The images of named ancestors, coupled with the presence of their bones in the tomb immediately beneath the dais, would have clearly communicated the genealogy—and thus the cosmic connections—of a ruler seated in that place (Javier Urcid, personal communication, 2001). The ruler would literally have been sitting among his ancestors, propped up by their bones.

Mitla's Monte Albán V residential murals and mosaics would also have made explicit the power of elites. Mural paintings remained relatively private, although both the Arroyo and Church Group murals faced onto patios and would have been visible to outsiders entering the more secluded areas of the residence. The theme of these murals remained consistent with that of previous eras: ancestry and its relation to the social and ideological realms. Richly crafted stone mosaics were more public. The mosaics appear on both public and residential structures at Mitla during Monte Albán V, perhaps indicating a breakdown in the distinction between the two types of architectural space. The interior walls of the Hall of the Columns also bear extensive mosaic designs. Thus, these geometric images had associations with both ritual and elite domestic space.

Zapotec elites also relied on locale to advertise their distinguished position. As early as the Middle Formative Rosario phase, elite residences in the Valley of Oaxaca were constructed on or near public ritual spaces. With the founding of Monte Albán in the Late Formative, the spatial tie between elites and sacred space became more formalized. Joyce (2000, 2003) argues that the plan of Monte Albán's ceremonial core represented an expression of the sacred covenant made material through the organization of space. The concentration of elite residences on and around the North Platform helped to create the sacred geography of Monte Albán by connecting elites and their ancestors to the north. The celestial and genealogical themes of elite residential tomb art contrasted with the militaristic images from the South Platform and southern portion of the Main Plaza (Joyce 2000, 2003; Marcus 1983b; Urcid 1992b). The southern monuments depicted bound captives, elite individuals holding weapons, sacrificial victims, and military victories. Sacrifice and militarism were publicly displayed, whereas elite ancestry and the power it provided were only expressed in secluded, private contexts. The placement of elite residences in and around the North Platform also served to emphasize seclusion and privacy. The large North Platform residences from Monte Albán II and IIIa, especially El Ocote and the North Mound

complexes, were separated from the Main Plaza by a number of monumental constructions.

Again, this pattern broke down during Monte Albán IIIb–IV (Joyce 2003). At Monte Albán, a number of elite residences were constructed south of the North Platform. Most notably, the very large residences of the Palacio and Building L were constructed directly on the southern end of the Main Plaza, on elevated substructural platforms along the southern end of the Main Plaza. These buildings were set in public locations, a fact emphasized by their elevation above the level of the Main Plaza itself. Situated toward the south end of the Main Plaza, they are discordant with the sacred geography created in previous eras. The same sacred geography of Monte Albán does not appear to have existed at later sites, either. Neither Yagul nor Mitla has a formal ceremonial space similar in form or size to Monte Albán's Main Plaza. The organizing principle of Monte Albán's sacred geography may have been transformed toward the end of the site's occupation. And it certainly was not present in the same way in later times.

Conclusions

In concluding, we return to our original distinction between a house and a palace. We argue that for most of the Valley of Oaxaca's history, elites did not construct palaces in our sense of the word. Elite residences prior to Monte Albán IIIb–IV lacked public or semipublic audience rooms. Zapotec elite residences never included the massive storage areas found in the palaces of Crete (Flannery 1998; Soles 1991) and at Chan Chan, Peru (Moseley and Day 1982). Architectural elaboration was never employed by Zapotec elites the way it was in other parts of Mesoamerica. The ornate stone carvings found on the exteriors of Classic-period Maya palaces at Palenque and Copán, for instance, have no parallel in the Valley of Oaxaca. The exclusionary connection between individuals and social or political power so evident in the multipurpose palace does not appear until late Monte Albán IIIb–IV with Structure 195-1 at Lambityeco. Truly multipurpose palaces were only fully present in Monte Albán V, at Yagul and Mitla.

The architectural data indicate a major shift during Monte Albán IIIb–IV in the way elites chose to express and emphasize their social position. Prior to that time, elite residential architecture demonstrated elite power and status through characteristics such as locale, structure size, and highly restricted spaces. Zapotec elites did not undertake the blatant public advertisement of individual and familial status so common in the elite residences of other early states. Instead, spatial organization followed the format used by the rest of the population; depictions of elite power were restricted to subterranean contexts; and elite separateness was communicated through privacy, seclusion, and location. Beginning in Monte Albán IIIb–IV, however, the communication of elite status through architecture became more ex-

plicit. Residential floor plans began to include spaces for the public presentation of an individual. The "altar complex" at Lambityeco and the south room of Patio F at Yagul both provided a frame for the carefully staged presentation of noble individuals. Architectural ornamentation in residential patios also began to depict the exclusive genealogical ties that would have provided such individuals with their power. These depictions, though still somewhat private, were present on the walls of rooms facing domestic patios. Residential location also made explicit the connection between ceremonial spaces and particular kin groups. The construction of two large residences directly on the Main Plaza of Monte Albán, for instance, placed specific domestic groups in close and public association with civic space. This configuration continued through Monte Albán V at Yagul and Mitla, where residential space was clearly visible or connected to public space.

The foundation of elite power, namely elites' special connection to the sacred and to noble ancestors, did not change in its fundamentals for nearly 2,000 years. Over time, however, the way in which elites represented their power shifted from the communal to the individual or familial. This was reflected in the construction of palaces by the end of Monte Albán IIIb–IV. At this time, elites' expressions of power became more explicitly connected to specific ancestry. Elites began to publicize their differences from the mass of the population through changes in the spatial organization, architectural elaboration, and location of their residences. By the Late Postclassic period, the connection between elite individuals and the public functioning of the polity had become architecturally formalized through the presence of palaces that demonstrated qualitative differences from non-elite residences.

Acknowledgments

Notes

1. Two structures originally believed to have been high-status residences, Structure 16 from San José Mogote and Structure 11 from Tomaltepec, are now viewed as "special-purpose" buildings (Flannery and Marcus 1994:362–363).

2. Six Monte Albán I adobe tombs were excavated from residential terraces at Yagul, although there is no information on the associated residences, which presumably were high-status (Chadwick 1966). A burial from Abasolo with jade and 21 ceramic vessels as offerings is also presumably from a high-status residence (Marcus and Flannery 1996:170).

3. Since this chapter went to press, Charles Spencer and Elsa Redmond (2004) have published a more detailed description of Structure 7 and associated features. They refer to the entire complex as the "Area I Palace." Although Spencer and Redmond distinguish between residences and palaces, they focus on different criteria than we do here. Their findings indicate that some of the architectural features we define here as palatial have much earlier antecedents than previously suspected.

4. Although these phase names were originally designed to represent two archaeological time periods—the Late Classic (IIIb) and Postclassic (IV)—most archaeologists working in the Valley of Oaxaca have combined these two phases together due to a lack of distinguishing characteristics for the Early Postclassic ceramic assemblage in the region (Martínez et al. 2000:2–5). The material remains of the Early Postclassic period, what is today called the Liobaa phase (Muzgo 2000), are still poorly defined. For this reason, we follow our discussion of residences from Monte Albán IIIb–IV with a discussion of Late Postclassic Monte Albán V residences without specific reference to the Early Postclassic period.

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