

Bridging the Gaps

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**Integrating Archaeology and History
in Oaxaca, Mexico**

A Volume in Memory of Bruce E. Byland

EDITED BY

DANNY ZBOROVER AND PETER C. KROEFGES

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Cover photographs. The genealogy of the rulers of Ihualtepec, photograph by Vittorio D'Onofri
(*top*); Carved human mandible from the Museo Rufino Tamayo, Oaxaca City, photograph by Danny
Zborover (*bottom*).

DZ: To my parents, Anca and Yona Zborover, and to my Verónica.

PK: To my grandmother, Elisabeth A. Carlson, and in
memory of my grandfather, Conrad W. Carlson

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Using Nineteenth-Century Data in Contemporary Archaeological Studies

The View from Oaxaca and Germany

VIOLA KÖNIG AND ADAM T. SELLEN

When we think about museum collections from Mesoamerica, especially those that are now part of institutions in Europe and in North America, an image of glass cases and dusty storerooms comes to mind, full to the brim with three-dimensional objects—most notably ceramics—that were excavated long ago by individuals who had little regard for the rigors of current archaeological practice.¹ Although it is generally true that the older archaeological collections from Mexico were not systematically excavated, we tend to overlook the wealth of associated information that documented, often in surprising detail, how and where these troves of objects were retrieved. Moreover, we might think that these collections are only composed of three-dimensional objects, but a cultural artifact can have many forms: it can be a native painting on deerskin, *amate*, or European paper; or it can be a photo, drawing, diary, or newspaper clipping; or an audio artifact containing an oral history or music. The modern term *multimedia* aptly defines many of the artifact types that we discuss here.

The purpose of this chapter is to call attention to, and suggest ways of analyzing, a wide range of multimedia artifacts generated by nineteenth-century travelers and collectors that today constitutes a rich source of information on Oaxaca's archaeological past. The record is fragmentary, but when stitched together it composes a kind of multidimensional scrapbook that can be used to reconstruct early excavations, archaeological collections, and object provenience, as well as function as a unique look into the mindset of our intellectual predecessors. We believe, therefore,

that these data can greatly contribute to our current knowledge of Oaxaca's ancient cultures. In this limited space we look at some examples of collectors and their collections by comparing views from Mexico—and Oaxaca in particular—and from Germany. We also discuss some of the methods used to assemble and process nineteenth-century archaeological data, the limitations encountered, and the possibilities for future studies.

PREHISPANIC OAXACA IN MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

The interest in collecting ethnographic and archaeological specimens from Oaxaca began at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and by the end of the era known as the *Porfiriato* (1880–1910), large sections in Mexico's National Museum of Anthropology were dedicated to the region's many cultures, a well-stocked museum existed in the state's capital, and thousands of objects from local private cabinets had been acquired by foreign museums. The philosophical force behind the frenzy in collecting was *positivism*, an intellectual movement that swept the world in the middle of the nineteenth century and arrived in Mexico with the restoration of the Benito Juárez government. For the collectors and for Mexican archaeological practice in general, the crucial contribution of positivism was the scientific empiricism that it enshrined. Evidence about past societies was to be found in objects and monuments that were not studied in situ, but were rather carted off either to private collections or public museums. So conceived, these cabinets, consisting of a wide variety of objects, were not meant to articulate different kinds of cultural and social messages—as we think of museum collections today—rather, they were seen as laboratories where debate and classification could take place. Typically, these collections were housed in ethnological museums that covered a broad range of disciplines from anthropology and archaeology to visual arts and theater, and that broadly defined their holdings as “cultural artifacts.”

An example of one of these mixed ethnographic-archaeological collections was a result of the efforts of Cecilie and Eduard Seler, who in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century assembled for Berlin's Ethnographic Museum one of the largest holdings of Mesoamerican artifacts ever known (Seler 1902, 1904, 1908; Seler-Sachs 1925) (figure 15.1). Their diaries and personal letters illustrate how the couple employed a clear division of work: Eduard described, commented, and drew, while Cecilie took pictures and negotiated with local dealers (König 1999, 2001, 2003, 2007; Sellen 2006). These personal papers also paint a picture of how the collections were obtained from a wide range of sources and, when analyzed in light of other information such as photographs and drawings, or their correspondence to and from the museum, constitute an excellent record—although at times



FIGURE 15.1. Gold pendant in the form of a monkey, from Tlaxiaco, thirteenth–sixteenth centuries CE. Cecilie and Eduard Seler collection before 1897. © Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum IV Ca 26080. Photo by Claudia Obrocki.

fragmentary—of how Oaxacan artifacts were removed from their country of origin and reincorporated into a foreign, implicitly public, context.

In this new museum context, many cultural artifacts have been stored and sporadically exhibited for over a century, and in the process they acquire a life history, that is to say, a distinct identity that developed during their time in the museum. Scholars have used the term *second life* to refer to this trajectory that begins upon its discovery, distinguishing it from a *first life*, the story of an object before it is deposited in the ground, the time period that tends to be the intellectual focus of most traditional archaeologists. This issue has been extensively discussed in a number of recent works (Gosden and Marshall 1999; Holtorf 2002; Schiffer and Miller 1999). Accepting that artifacts have biographies as people have, we can come to understand how their stories can connect different periods, from pre-Columbian times to the Colonial and Postcolonial periods, and up to the present. The Codex Tulane, for example, with its complex history and adventurous journey through different collector's hands in Mexico, Germany, and the United States, illustrates how an artifact can link time, place, and culture (König 2005; Smith and Parmenter 1991).

When considering an artifact in a museum context, then, a series of questions need to be asked (though the answers may be elusive) in order to complete the picture of an object's biography:

- Where did the artifact come from and when was it collected? What was its final destination? When did it leave the country? When did it arrive in the museum?
- Who made and/or used the object? Who excavated it? Who acquired, collected, or purchased it? Who owned it? Who sold it? Who gave it to the museum?
- What does the artifact represent? How was it used? Did it change its function? What was the context of its find? What happened to it before entering into the museum? What happened to it in the museum? Is it an original, a copy, a fake, or a reconstruction?

Furthermore, we need to be cognizant that we do not understand these diverse collections in the same way as the collectors and contemporaries understood them.

The research that has been carried out for over a century has broadened our horizons, expanded our knowledge and, from the overall view of the past, we are in a better position to identify the collectors' backgrounds and networks. Still, when we find unknown or lost collectors' "files," new insights are gained. In the best cases we can link the sources of different media from different persons and places, and there are a few notable examples, such as the Selers, where the documentation is quite complete though some questions remain. Generally speaking, documents written in German before the 1940s are in an outdated script that today can be read by only a few specialists or an older generation. For these collections a transcription into Latin alphabetic script is badly needed.

Photographs and sound recordings are also common in these files, but they are a delicate medium. Although the old glass photographic plates can be restored, more contemporary film, audio tapes, prints, and slides have been deteriorating to the point of being unusable; some images can fade away in a researcher's lifetime. In light of this situation, public and private institutions in Oaxaca have begun to register, evaluate, and document the state's photographic legacy. One hopes they will extend their net because a rich corpus of images showing people, sites, and artifacts from Oaxaca, and dating back to the very invention of the technique, remains scattered in European institutions.

COLLECTOR'S BIOGRAPHIES

Another way to understand objects is by reconstructing the lives of those who collected them. Recently there has been a wealth of scholarly interest in collector's biographies. *Baessler-Archiv*, the academic journal of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin, Germany, for example, has seen a notable increase in the number of articles dealing with the theme. In many cases the focus is placed on the collectors' personal backgrounds, such as education, participation in social movements and networks, work, and family life. Traditionally historians have provided this information, but

today anthropologists, ethnologists, and archaeologists are active biographers as well. In this regard the blurring of the disciplines is welcome, because in the end we learn something new about the collector's artifacts and the respective culture they represent. However, many biographers fall short and fail to establish a relationship between a collector's biography, collections, and methods, and to the collections' sources. Family backgrounds or political engagements (such as a scholar with a Nazi background) are of vital interest to historians, but anthropologists and archaeologists generally examine other types of questions. They look for biographical data that will help in their analysis of the collection and interpret sources within the context of the cultures that produced those artifacts.

A VIEW FROM GERMANY: THE MULTIMEDIA LEGACY OF SIX GERMAN COLLECTORS IN MEXICO

The following selection of six personalities, who traveled, studied, and collected in Oaxaca or in the neighboring interethnic areas, exemplifies the multimedia character of their output. They collected and left physical remains such as archaeological and ethnographical objects, including written documents such as codices and *lien-zos*, but also a legacy of intangible heritage in the form of tape recordings of songs, prayers, music, and interviews that are often linked to the physical paraphernalia.

Germans started to travel to Mexico at the end of the eighteenth century. From that period the best-known explorer is undoubtedly Baron Alexander von Humboldt, who inspired like-minded academics such as geographers and mineralogists as well as German businessmen, traders, miners, and manufacturers, instigating a voracious appetite for collecting not only Mexico's material culture but that of the whole world (Penny 2002:2). Twenty years after Humboldt's stay in Mexico, Carl Adolf Uhde (1792–1856) began to retrace his steps. During his time in Mexico City in the 1820s and 1830s, Berlin-born merchant and German consul Uhde assembled a huge archaeological collection that, through his family museum in Heidelberg, eventually ended up in the Ethnological Museum in Berlin. Uhde spent a fortune incorporating precious and rare artifacts into his collection. He kept a field staff of young, intelligent employees who were sent all over the country to excavate or buy antiquities, and in the German community of Mexico City, Uhde and his staff were called *Götzenreiter*, or “idol hunters” (Pferdekamp 1958:201). Their collections have little explicative documentation, and perhaps these men did not take notes on purpose, hoping to keep the sites they pilfered secret from the competition. As a result, in many cases we do not know the precise origin of the artifacts they collected, although a number of objects are reported to be from Oaxaca (Schuler-Schöming 1970) (figures 15.2 and 15.3).



FIGURE 15.2. Polychrome bowl from the Mixteca, Oaxaca, fifteenth–sixteenth centuries CE. Carl Uhde collection before 1850; © Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum IV Ca 1933. Photo by Claudia Obrocki.

Fortunately, two of Uhde's contemporaries, the German mining engineers Eduard Mühlenpfordt and Eduard Harkort, would not only collect but also record what they saw and experienced with native peoples. Both men arrived in Mexico in 1827, hired by a British mining company. They stayed in the country for seven years but, strangely enough, never mention having met each other. Accompanied by his wife, Mühlenpfordt (1801–1853) worked as a director of road construction in Oaxaca, and the couple spent seven years traveling the state. He left three important works: *Los Palacios de los Zapotecas en Mitla* (Mühlenpfordt 1984), an album he completed between 1830 and 1831, and his two tomes *Versuch Einer Getreuen Schilderung der Republik Mexiko of 1884*² (Mühlenpfordt 1969), and *Mejicanische Bilder: Reiseabenteuer, Gegenden, Menschen und Sitten 1827–1835*,³ a manuscript that was recently transcribed and published by Corinna Raddatz (2000). She found this last work, a document of 434 pages, in the library of the Hamburg Museum of Ethnology (Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg). Even though parts of this text are partially published in his two-volume work, the reader will find detailed descriptions he did not publish elsewhere. For example, he provides data on archaeological sites that were less known than Mitla, such as the mounds and terraces of Soyula in the Cuicatec region, and he also includes a Cuicatec vocabulary. Mühlenpfordt paints colorful vignettes of the native Mexicans: we learn how



FIGURE 15.3. Effigy vessel with an image of Xipe, Oaxaca? Eighth–tenth centuries CE? Carl Uhde collection before 1850; © Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum IV Ca 2641.

the Mixtecs desired to make money from the cochineal and other trade but, rather than spending their savings, they buried them in secret places, refusing to tell even their children where it was hidden. Accordingly, foreign idol hunters armed with shovels must have appeared a very suspicious lot to the hoarding Mixtec (Raddatz 2000:121).

The other miner, Eduard Harkort (1797–1836), quit the company that hired him to become instead a freelance cartographer, surveyor, and mineralogist under contract to the state government in Oaxaca. He left a diary that was translated into English with the bleak title of *In Mexican Prisons* (Harkort 1858, 1986), and his legacy also includes sketches and two copies of a Chinantec and Mixe *lienzo* that Viola König found in the Hamburg Museum (König 1989) (figure 15.4). Pérez García (1998:127) later published a different version of the Chinantec *lienzo* that had been signed by Harkort.

Harkort no doubt came across these documents because he was commissioned by the Chamber of Justice to prepare an accurate map of the state and was also involved in native lawsuits (König 1993:28–29). These incidents, as well as “nocturnal Indian ceremonies,” are described in his diary (Harkort 1986:34–37). Today the whereabouts of the originals of the *lienzos* are unknown, and a source in common



FIGURE 15.4. *Mapa de Santa María Tiltepec Mijes*, Mixe region. Copy made by Eduard Harkort at Zaachila on November 30, 1831. © Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg. Photograph by Burkhard Brinker.

for both the Mühlenpfordt diary and Harkort's copies of the *lienzos*, all found in the Hamburg museum, could not be traced (König 1989). Other written records and a few sketches made by Harkort are kept in his family archive (Westfälisches Wirtschaftsarchiv Dortmund).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, another trio of German collectors arrived in Mexico: the dealer and amateur ethnographer Wilhelm Bauer-Thoma (figure 15.5); his more famous compatriot, the geographer Oscar Schmieder (1891–1980); and the ethnographer and philologist Leonhard Schultze-Jena (1872–1955). Schmieder's 1929 research in Oaxaca was published in German and English, but Bauer-Thoma's and Schultze-Jena's works exist in German only. For any research focusing on native Oaxaca and especially the Sierra Zapotecs, Chinantec, and Mixe, Schmieder's (1930, 1934) work is still one of the most useful sources for this area, but it has been tainted because of his collaboration with the Nazis.

Among European and North American ethnographic museums, the name of Wilhelm Bauer is well known, in part because he flooded these institutions with



FIGURE 15.5. Wilhelm Bauer-Thoma on his horse in Monte Albán, 1902. © The Seler Archive, Ibero-American Institute, Berlin.

his photographs to stimulate interest in the purchase of collections, such as the fine holding of Dr. Fernando Sologuren (Gyarmati 2004; König and Kroefges 2001). The Ethnological Museum in Berlin probably holds the largest Bauer collection from Mexico, including some four hundred objects from Oaxaca (figures 15.6 and Figure 15.7). Although he never managed to get hired at the Berlin Museum, he used the rumor of his association to the institution to create an air of respectability, but later his reputation became seriously damaged because he had sold fakes to the museum's curator, Eduard Seler (Goedicke et al. 1992; Sellen 2005a). Nonetheless, in comparison to Uhde's band of pot-hunters, Bauer was careful to record the exact provenience of the objects he collected. Furthermore, he left interesting documents such as a Mixe vocabulary by Fray Agustín de Quintana, and published the results of his 1902 field trip to a region inhabited by the Mixe and Sierra Zapotecs (Bauer-Thoma 1916).

Although most photographs published by Bauer and Schmieder are of poor quality, Leonhard Schultze-Jena (1938), in his volume *Indiana III*, provides high-quality plates that are in some cases augmented by drawings (figure 15.8). He also left a large archaeological collection from Central Mexico that is housed today at the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (figure 15.9). For the study of the Mixteca and the



FIGURE 15.6. Vessel with lid, found in a cave near Villa Alta. Wilhelm Bauer collection, before 1902; © Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum IV Ca 24183.

areas of Puebla-Tlaxcala-Veracruz, his linguistic records of the Nahuatl, Tlapanec, and Mixtec languages are of great value, including prayers and ritual texts. The instructions and procedures he recorded for hunting deer, for example, are reproduced faithfully in the *Codex Cospi* and to this day are remembered in the oral traditions of the Mixteca Alta (Pent 1996/1997). Indeed, Schultze-Jena was well aware that people in remote communities who could not be understood by Christian priests and Mexican functionaries constituted a “refuge of pagan tradition” and native knowledge. His examples also show that we need to cross state borders in order to find our sources and make more efficient use of them.

A VIEW FROM MEXICO: FOUR OAXACAN COLLECTORS

A parallel view on nineteenth-century collections is also available from the perspective of the Mexican collectors who early in the twentieth century divested the bulk of their private cabinets to public museums. Four of them in particular stand out because they worked together to build their collections: Fernando Sologuren (1850–1918), Manuel Martínez Gracida (1847–1924), Francisco Belmar (1859–1926), and Abraham Castellanos (1868–1918). The colossal amounts of archaeological material they collected contributed greatly to the formation of museum collections in Mexico and overseas, but few have studied this aspect of their lives. We know quite a few biographical details about Belmar, Martínez Gracida, and Castellanos, in



FIGURE 15.7. Fragment of effigy vessel with an image of a human face and serpent maws, from Zimatlán. Wilhelm Bauer collection before 1903; © Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum IV Ca 24875.

part because they also studied and collected indigenous pictographic documents such as *lienzos*, and we cite with admiration Maarten Jansen and a generation of his students who have compiled valuable information on many of these collectors (Doesburg 1998; Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 2000; Oudijk 2000; Van Meer 2008). On the other hand, their archaeological collections have received little scholarly attention. Until recently, for example, accurate biographical data about Sologuren—Mexico's preeminent collector—was almost unknown (Sellen 2005b, 2006; Urcid and Sellen 2009). Studying this collection has been challenging because the documentary sources for it are in three different countries and at least eight different archives (figure 15.10), a situation that is similar for other Oaxacan collectors. These data, in the form of physical collections, photographs, notes, and inventory lists, are fundamental for understanding the breadth of their work. Furthermore, we can argue that their legacy has a direct bearing on archaeological studies. Caso



FIGURE 15.8. Mixtec man praying and sacrificing a turkey to the stone image of the rain god inside the “House of Rain” at Cahuatachi, January 1930 (Schultze-Jena 1938: table XVI).

and Bernal (1952) illustrated a total of 527 artifacts in their seminal work *Urnas de Oaxaca*: two-thirds of the material came from their excavations while one-third was from the older collections in the National Museum of Anthropology. Over 100 objects came from Sologuren’s collection, representing 25 percent of all the artifacts illustrated and, after excavated materials, the primary source of data. Thus one can conclude that a careful consideration of the background information about this holding is warranted.

We cannot fully understand the foreign collectors (such as the Germans discussed above) without delving into the story of the Mexicans who generated many of the collections they purchased. The relationship between the two has not been well studied and, ironically, if we wish to learn more about the local collectors we must examine the travelers because they were the ones who most extensively documented these collections. For example, Eduard and Cecilie Seler made copious notes on Sologuren’s collection and were keenly interested in purchasing it. Eduard made watercolor sketches of many of the objects and interviewed the doctor on where he had made his discoveries; together they visited Monte Albán, Mitla, and Xoxocotlán. At this last site, Seler made a revealing map of the area, with notes regarding the excavations carried out by Sologuren in 1886 and those



FIGURE 15.9. Images of old Mixtec idols found buried on tops of hills or hanging from roof beams (Schultze-Jena 1938: table XVII).

by Saville in 1899. He also makes references to objects that were found in each location (figure 15.11).

The foreign buyers were particularly interested in purchasing collections that were well organized and classified. The positivist Mexican collectors, many of whom were doctors, took their inspiration from the natural sciences, so their approach to organizing archaeological material was similar to that of botanical or medical collections. They meticulously organized and labeled objects, classifying them by type and cultural affiliation. Now yellowed and peeling, many of these nineteenth-century tags still miraculously adhere to the artifacts, confirming photographic evidence—where we can see the labels but not read their content—that everything in these collections had been classified. The printed labels show that each piece was assigned a cultural affiliation, such as Zapotec, Mixtec, or Cuicatec, and in the collectors' mind these were considered "civilizations"; other lines were added for a description of the object, the district in the state where it was located, and a more specific provenience such as "found in a tomb"; and in many cases the find was also dated. Unfortunately, much of this information has been lost. For the Belmar, Sologuren, and Castellanos collections purchased by Mexico's National Museum of Anthropology, many of the objects subsequently had their labels removed, undoing decades of careful classification. Curiously, the objects from Martínez Gracida's collection that made it to Europe or to the United States still have many of their labels intact (figure 15.12).

The object labels had an important function because when the collections were transferred into public hands, inventory lists were required to document the masses of material, and the collectors would prepare these by copying the information directly off the artifact tags. In some cases it is evident—and quite logical—that an inventory's order followed the same arrangement of the objects as they appeared on the shelves, where the objects were classified by size and type. Furthermore, we have discovered that many of the Oaxacan collectors used the *same* printed labels, so we can deduce that they were trying to create a standard for classification. Thus an important conclusion from analyzing these sources is that the collectors were not solely interested in acquiring objects for possession's sake but were active in compiling and processing information about them. Systematic classification being a major tenet of archaeology, we can venture to say that these collectors participated in initiating modern archaeological practice.

THE TRANSMISSION OF KNOWLEDGE

When large amounts of artifacts and associated documentation are moved from one place to another, there is inevitably the possibility that data will be lost. As we have already discussed, four Oaxacan collectors had carefully recorded the



FIGURE 15.12. Zapotec urn with label written by Manuel Martínez Gracida. Museum of World Cultures, Göteborg, Sweden, Ca 29011. Photo by Adam Sellen.

objects in their collections using a variety of strategies but, with the onslaught of the Mexican Revolution in 1910, their scientific legacy was expunged in the wake of the chaos and social upheaval that ensued. Knowledge that was produced by those who were close to the Porfirian regime was disparaged because these scientists belonged to a different political time. Classifications were undone and much material was divorced from its associated records—labels were even stripped off the objects by careless museum workers—and over time the debates and conversations about the material they had collected were also forgotten. There are many examples, but one of the clearest is what happened to the legacy of the Inspector of Archaeological Monuments, Leopoldo Batres. Not only did the new stewards of culture take away his power, but they also had his classifications and displays in the National Museum of Anthropology dismantled. One of his exhibits was banished to the servants' bathroom in the museum. As a result, a large portion of Oaxaca's archaeological record, meticulously documented (by nineteenth-century standards), was dispersed, muddled, and lost. The disruption in the transmission of knowledge caused by the new museum administrators, in their efforts to bring a "pre-Revolutionary" institution into conformity with the new ideology, affords a dramatic example of the potentially devastating (and long-lived) effects of politically motivated management of academic and cultural institutions.

FINAL THOUGHTS ON OAXACAN COLLECTIONS

Comprised of a myriad of cultures, Oaxaca is a large state with an extensive border. If we want to make an integrated use of sources and collections, we need to keep in

mind that this information might be found in areas that are in the periphery and not necessarily within the confines of the state's borders.

When researching a collection we should also be mindful of other types of media—not just the ceramic objects—because these can complement and add value to our study. For example, a photograph showing a cave, a collection comprising idols from that place, a text describing a ceremony in that cave, a transcript of the ritual prayer recited, and a tape providing the sounds of performance are seemingly unconnected fragments, but when taken together give more sense to the whole.

Local networks of collectors in Oaxaca need to be reconstructed in order to examine their relationship to contemporary collectors, dealers, and researchers. In addition, external connections may also be of significance, such as when collections and files end up in foreign institutions or as private family property.

Although new excavations in Oaxacan soil are always welcome, we think it is imperative to fully understand what has already been accomplished. Stitching together the legacy of the collectors to date has taken many years of careful historical work—visiting archives and combing museums shelves—and the results for contemporary studies are tangible. We are just beginning to weave the story of the Mexican collectors into the wider narrative of Mexico's archaeological history, filling in a gap that for years has gone ignored, and we are just beginning to understand the complex relationships they forged with their foreign counterparts. Our hope is that the sum of these data will give a boost to current archaeological studies and prompt us to reflect more on the development of our own discipline. As a note of caution, omitting the type of historical inquiry we have outlined here can lead to a distorted picture of the archaeological record we wish to understand. Finally, before we begin using this material we have to seriously update the catalogs and museum information compiled to date, because a great deal of these data are erroneous and lack verification. We conclude, then, that the reconstruction of the many multimedia collections spread across Mexico, the United States, and Europe, involving a diversity of materials and including the rigorous documentation of collectors' biographies, is a vital step in integrating Oaxaca's archaeology with its history.

NOTES

1. This article is the combination of two conference papers, Viola König's "Oaxacan Studies in German Museums: Artifacts, Images and Written Documents" and Adam Sellen's "Expeditionary Fragments: Using Nineteenth Century Archaeological Data in Contemporary Oaxacan Studies," which were presented at the SAA's 72nd Annual Meeting in the

session “Integrating Archaeology and History in Oaxaca.” After we heard each other’s paper, we decided that it would be more interesting to present our work as a joint effort.

2. “*Essay on the accurate description of the Republic of Mexico with a special reference to its geography, ethnography, and statistics*” (our translation).

3. “*Mexican vignettes, travel adventures, landscapes, human beings, and customs 1827–1835*” (our translation).

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