

THE CODEX COLOMBINO-BECKER

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PHD

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1974



## ABSTRACT

This study is an interpretation of the historical events recorded in the Codex Colombino-Becker. Beginning with the earliest known appearances of the parts of this document, its owners are traced and a survey made of scholarly thought concerning its text. The physical dimensions and internal structure of the manuscript are described, and these form the basis for re-grouping the present seven fragments into three larger sections.

All the scenes of the codex are described and discussed in detail. The events are found to be occurring within a broader context that is not expressed in the pictorial content of the manuscript, but which must be understood in order for the individual scenes to become meaningful. The discovery and analysis of this larger context has enabled much of the material in the codex to be integrated into a more coherent history in this study than has been possible heretofore.

The text of the Colombino-Becker is basically an account of the major political events in 8 Deer's rise to prominence in the Mixteca, showing only his public and official activities that directly relate to his obtaining power. Ultimately he succeeded in gaining control of a wide area and founded a nascent empire, but his murder by 4 Wind before he could establish an hereditary empire caused his political achievements to be destroyed.

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Total number of pages: 503 (499 and iv), plus Appendix.

CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

Long before the arrival of the Spanish in the New World, the Mixtec Indians of Mexico evolved a pictorial system for recording the events they wished to remember. This system reached a high degree of interrelated artistic, linguistic, and representational complexity, and enabled them to paint lengthy documents on folded strips of animal hide. Most of these manuscripts are now lost, destroyed by time, accidents, and the zeal of the conquering Spanish, but a few have survived.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries scholars held conflicting opinions regarding the nature of these Mixtec texts, but by the beginning of the present century a body of reliable information began to be built up. The manuscripts were found to contain two different types of data: the lines of genealogical descent of the ruling families in various areas of the Mixteca, and the outstanding activities of a few of the most important individuals of that ruling class. Both types of information often occur in the same text.

Interpretations of these manuscripts may therefore contribute significantly to the reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic history and culture of the Mixtecs. The detailed analysis of a single document can be of particular value, for each separate text presents a coherent view of a segment of that total history. The present

study is to be an interpretation of the pictorial contents of one such Mixtec manuscript, the Codex Colombino-Becker.

Since a codex will reflect the knowledge -- that is, the traditions -- of its painters at the time and place in which it is created, the history recorded in one manuscript may differ either slightly or significantly from that given in another. Such differences between texts are not necessarily errors in need of correction but rather may be evidence of divergent traditions, and as such are potentially sources of important information. These variations may not only supply complementary or additional data that clarify the events concerned, but more importantly, they may reveal social and political factors affecting the different areas of the Mixteca by showing changes in the emphasis accorded to different persons or occurrences.

It is therefore very undesirable to attempt to force the data of one manuscript into the framework of another text, since this would mask the very differences that might be the most informative. Rather, each codex needs to be studied separately to determine its individual statement of Mixtec history. Not only is this the best way to comprehend the full amount of information an artist may put into his work, but also it is the only way in which all the particular individual nuances of each artist's style and usage may be discovered. Not until this has been done for all the surviving Mixtec documents will there actually be a secure basis upon which to

distinguish differing traditions, those individual selections that are a matter of personal artistic choice, and information that may simply be erroneous.

If there is no single uniform history of the Mixtecs that may be imposed upon all these manuscripts, there are still a series of localised histories which may be in general accord although varying individually in both information and emphases. For persons or events to be depicted in a codex is clearly an indication of their importance in at least the tradition recorded in that particular text, and the appearance of these same data in several manuscripts should signify that this importance was wide-spread and not merely local. Direct conflicts in facts, and the omission from one text of information found in another, may both reflect different local tradition. In addition, however, omissions may also reveal the existence of other social and political factors, for Mixtec painters did not normally depict unfavourable information concerning the area or persons whose history they were recording. It is the data upon which all the texts agree that should ultimately become the basis of a general history of the Mixteca, while the remaining information may apply only to a particular region or even to a single town.

The text of the Codex Colombino-Becker is entirely historical, and primarily concerns the political events of the rise to power of the great Mixtec ruler named 8 Deer, ending with scenes from the life of his young murderer, 4 Wind. The manuscript is now scattered

in seven fragments, four of these being in Mexico where they are called the Codex Colombino,<sup>1</sup> while the other three are in Vienna and are named the Codex Becker I.<sup>2</sup> The extant text is incomplete, parts of the original still being lost.

Since the manuscript is badly fragmented, its pieces must first be restored to their correct sequence before a meaningful study of the text can be undertaken. This restoration is essential, for an improper order of the surviving parts would alter the sequence of the historical events in the manuscript. As already noted, it is not possible to determine the arrangement of the text of one codex by comparing it with another similar document, for each may derive from a somewhat different tradition and consequently have different emphases or variations in the sequences of events. It is therefore necessary to examine the original fragments themselves for clues, and for this purpose I made several trips to Mexico and Vienna to study the Colombino and the Becker. I was able at those times to take numerous measurements of them, and to study them under ultra-violet light or through a microscope. All descriptions and physical data cited in this study and not specifically credited to another

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<sup>1</sup>Inventory number 35-30, Museo Nacional de Antropología, México, D. F.

<sup>2</sup>Inventory number 60306, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna. The Roman numeral designation of this codex, necessary only to distinguish it from the Codex Becker II, will normally be omitted in this study.



source, are drawn from my examinations of these original manuscripts.

The present study will be concerned with interpreting the pictorial text of the Codex Colombino-Becker to determine its version of the lives of 8 Deer and 4 Wind. As a consequence of the problems outlined above, no attempt will be made to resolve the differences among the extant Mixtec texts concerning these two men or to create a single 'correct' account of their histories, although some of the variations found in other manuscripts will be utilised in interpreting the Colombino-Becker.

Foremost among those scholars whose research established the nature of the Mixtec codices was Alfonso Caso. Working over a period of years and with almost no previous studies to guide him, he was eventually able to decipher many of the conventions and complexities in these manuscripts and so enable their texts to be understood for the first time in several centuries. He is thus the true founder of the field of Mixtec historical-genealogical studies, and it is upon his work that all subsequent studies are based. During these years he was necessarily principally engaged in basic research work to define this area of specialisation and to determine the native system of iconography, rather than in the detailed exploration of specific problems. It is a measure of his success in clarifying many of these complex data, that specialists are now free to concentrate upon refining and expanding the concepts he has outlined,

and it should certainly be no reflection upon the quality of his work if these later students are able to propose interpretations that go beyond those he suggested.

The present Colombino-Becker study is of course based upon this foundation created by Caso. Both Caso (1966) and Karl A. Nowotny (1961) have made studies of all or part of the Colombino-Becker, but these have been primarily descriptive rather than interpretive. While descriptions are also basic to the work that follows here, they are intended only as the foundation for interpretations concerning the meaning of the individual scenes and the significance of the overall context within which those events occur. By concentrating my analysis upon only the Colombino-Becker, I hope to achieve a more fully integrated interpretation of its text than is found in these earlier studies. Successive scenes in this codex are organised into lengthy, continuous narratives, and the determination of their larger context should not only yield a better insight into the events themselves, but also reveal more clearly the Mixtecs' view of their own history.

All the Mixtec historical-genealogical codices share a common body of pictorial conventions concerning the representation of dates, place signs, names of persons, important crises in the human life cycle, and many other activities. The meanings and uses of these conventions, which have been determined by different workers over a period of years, have been summarised and discussed in

detail by Mary Elizabeth Smith (1973: 20-54). The terminology employed in the present study normally agrees closely with that used by Smith (1963; 1966; 1973) in her works on the Colombino-Becker and other Mixtec manuscripts, and in her translation of Caso's (1966) notes on the Colombino-Becker. Such variations as may occur here are usually the result of my interpretation differing from that of Caso; because the identity of some of the objects drawn in the codices is not now known, I have preferred to use a descriptive phrase rather than to inject a name or function from a non-Mixtec culture.

Each individual shown in these historical-genealogical codices normally bears two different names: a calendar name indicating the day of birth, and a more individualistic personal name. This latter name is essential for distinguishing between persons who were born on the same day and hence have the same calendar name. In the Colombino-Becker, however, there are few duplications of calendar names and hence few occasions for confusion between individuals on this basis. As a consequence, the use of personal names becomes redundant and will be omitted in this study except when ambiguity might result. When used, these names are given within quotation marks, with diagonal (/) lines separating the various elements that comprise the name.

Since both men and women share the same limited universe of calendar names, the writing of these names is customarily preceded

by the appropriate male or female biological symbol as a further aid in distinguishing between individuals. All but a very few of the figures in the Colombino-Becker are male, however, and therefore only the female biological symbol (♀) has been retained in this study; it will be used preceding the calendar names of all women. All other calendar names are those of males.

Many objects and numbers in day and year dates, and calendar and personal names, have been damaged or obliterated in the original fragments of the Colombino-Becker. A short dash (--) will be used here in place of those elements that have been totally erased, and a question mark will follow numbers or identifications that now seem doubtful. The locations of scenes in all the Mixtec codices will be specified by the page and band number where the event is painted, this system having been evolved by Caso in his many studies. Different methods of numbering are found in the various available reproductions of these manuscripts, but in the interest of clarity and consistency, Arabic numbers will be used here only for pages, and Roman numerals only for bands, for all texts.

Other Mixtec historical-genealogical codices contain information that may verify, expand, explain, or occasionally contradict the evidence of the Colombino-Becker, and in addition these also furnish the only clues to the data that might have been contained within its lost pages. Of such texts, those most relevant to the events depicted in the Colombino-Becker are: the Zouche-Nuttall

'Reverse' and 'Obverse', Bodley, Selden, and Vindobonensis Reverse.<sup>1</sup> The main contributions of the Vindobonensis Reverse and Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' are genealogical background relating to 8 Deer's family. The Selden supplies extensive information on the life of q 6 Monkey, mother of 4 Wind. The Bodley is the prime source for 4 Wind himself, and also contains detailed genealogies for 8 Deer's family and marriages as well as other details of his life.

The Colombino-Becker has its closest connexions, however, with the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse',<sup>2</sup> which also pictures the political

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<sup>1</sup>The Zouche-Nuttall, also called the Codex Zouche or Codex Nuttall, is catalogued as Add. MS. 39671 at the British Museum, London. The manuscript is painted on both faces, each of which is actually a separate and distinct text. The Bodley bears inventory number 2858, and the Selden, number 3135, both at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The Vindobonensis is inventoried as Bibl. Pal. Vind. Cod. Mexic. 1 at the Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. Its two faces are painted with separate and unrelated texts, only that on its Reverse side being an integral member of the Mixtec historical-genealogical group.

<sup>2</sup>I have previously demonstrated (1969b) that the 'Reverse' face of the Zouche-Nuttall was painted before the 'Obverse' side and so is actually the original manuscript. To avoid confusion, however, I have retained the names by which the two sides have long been known, but placed them within quotation marks to indicate that the terms are no longer directly applicable.

The only available reproduction of the Zouche-Nuttall is a lithograph issued in 1902, with notes by Zelia Nuttall. Unfortunately, this publication deviates considerably from the form of the original codex, most importantly in that the first two pages of the 'Reverse' text have been transposed to the 'Obverse' face following the final scene of that side. Neither the reproduction nor Nuttall's notes indicates this change, but her study shows plainly that she was aware of an intimate connexion between the 'Reverse'

events of 8 Deer's life but breaks off, incomplete, before reaching his death. While the texts of the two codices are often in agreement, there are also important differences between them, and their emphases vary considerably. Smith (1966: 166-170) has pointed out the differing importance accorded in each manuscript to specific towns in different areas of Oaxaca, and concluded from this that the account of 8 Deer's life presented in the Colombino-Becker reflects the tradition of Tututepec and the coastal area of Oaxaca, while that in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' represents the tradition of Tilantongo in the Mixteca Alta.

Some attempts have been made to divide the extant Mixtec codices on the basis of their supposed pre- or post-Hispanic origin, or upon their composition before or after an approximate date, but inherent difficulties make all such schemes speculative and unsatis-

text and the two pages printed at the end of the 'Obverse' side of the facsimile. Some of the errors in this 1902 edition have also been noted briefly by Cottie Burland (1957) and Caso (1966: 15-16).

Because of the transfer of the two 'Reverse' pages and the omission of all the blank pages of the original manuscript, the page numbers of the 1902 reproduction do not correspond to the numbers assigned the original codex about 1919 after it became the permanent property of the British Museum (Troike n.d.b). Although the Museum's numbering system will doubtless be used in future facsimile editions, the pagination of the lithograph must be referred to in the present study since no other reproduction is available. However, in order to clarify that such references are to the pagination of the reproduction and not that of the original codex, all citations of material in the Zouche-Nuttall will be preceded by the 1902 publication date of this lithograph.

factory. Smith (1973: 19), after giving a concise summary of such efforts, concluded:

In the case of strictly genealogical manuscripts...it is likely that the native ruler who commissioned the manuscript would be seeking a pictorial record that culminated in his generation or that of his children. However, in the case of Colombino-Becker I, which is devoted to the biography of an...[earlier] hero, it is always possible that this manuscript was a much later copy of an earlier manuscript or was merely telling a story that was centuries old at the time the manuscript was painted.

Thus even if the internal dates given in the Colombino-Becker could be satisfactorily correlated with the modern calendar, these would not necessarily indicate the time at which the codex was actually painted. Until a reliable method is discovered for the accurate dating of ancient manuscripts, it will not be possible to make any valid estimation of the age of this codex.

Even though it is not yet possible to determine the times at which most of the surviving Mixtec codices were painted, a very useful distinction may still be made between those texts whose composition shows some European characteristics, and those that do not reveal any such influence (Robertson 1959). Although the lack of Spanish traits in a document cannot be taken as an infallible indication of its pre-Hispanic origin, since manuscripts without such elements are known to have been painted in the early Colonial period, the appearance of European elements in a text clearly demonstrates a post-Contact origin. The Colombino-Becker is painted entirely in the native style, without any discernible Spanish influences.

In my previous research concerning the overall chronology of the dates found in the surviving historical-genealogical codices, I have reached conclusions that differ from those of Caso regarding the equation of the Mixtec dates with the Christian era. Some potential discrepancies have also been pointed out by H. B. Nicholson (1967a: 258), who considered that Caso's temporal sequence should be taken as 'a stimulating working hypothesis, with full cognizance of some fragile links', and subject to modification by new information or more convincing arguments. Until these problems are resolved and a single unified chronology proposed that will adequately cover all the individuals in these manuscripts, it seems best to refrain from equating the Mixtec cycle with the modern calendar.

An internal chronology for the Colombino-Becker is necessary, however, even though the time span of the text is not great. Because these larger chronological problems have no bearing upon the relative sequence of the Mixtec years but refer only to their equations with the modern calendar, in the present study all events will be dated by reference to the age of an important individual, such as 8 Deer. To facilitate these references, Figure 1 depicts two consecutive Mixtec cycles of 52 years, and shows the relative life-spans of 8 Deer, 12 Movement, and 4 Wind. In addition, Figure 2 lists the proper sequence of the 260 named days of the calendar round.



FIGURE 1.  
 Mixtec cycles of years, showing the relative life-spans of 8 Deer,  
 12 Movement, and 4 Wind.

|    | 12<br>Move-<br>ment | 8<br>Deer |  | 12<br>Move-<br>ment | 8<br>Deer | 4<br>Wind |  | 4<br>Wind |        |
|----|---------------------|-----------|--|---------------------|-----------|-----------|--|-----------|--------|
| 1  | Reed                |           |  | 1                   | Rabbit    |           |  | 1         | House  |
| 2  | Flint               |           |  | 2                   | Reed      |           |  | 2         | Rabbit |
| 3  | House               |           |  | 3                   | Flint     |           |  | 3         | Reed   |
| 4  | Rabbit              |           |  | 4                   | House     |           |  | 4         | Flint  |
| 5  | Reed                |           |  | 5                   | Rabbit    |           |  | 5         | House  |
| 6  | Flint               |           |  | 6                   | Reed      |           |  | 6         | Rabbit |
| 7  | House               |           |  | 7                   | Flint     |           |  | 7         | Reed   |
| 8  | Rabbit              |           |  | 8                   | House     |           |  | 8         | Flint  |
| 9  | Reed                |           |  | 9                   | Rabbit    |           |  | 9         | House  |
| 10 | Flint               |           |  | 10                  | Reed      |           |  | 10        | Rabbit |
| 11 | House               |           |  | 11                  | Flint     |           |  | 11        | Reed   |
| 12 | Rabbit              |           |  | 12                  | House     |           |  | 12        | Flint  |
| 13 | Reed                |           |  | 13                  | Rabbit    |           |  | 13        | House  |
| 1  | Flint               |           |  | 1                   | Reed      |           |  | 1         | Rabbit |
| 2  | House               |           |  | 2                   | Flint     |           |  | 2         | Reed   |
| 3  | Rabbit              |           |  | 3                   | House     |           |  | 3         | Flint  |
| 4  | Reed                |           |  | 4                   | Rabbit    |           |  | 4         | House  |
| 5  | Flint               |           |  | 5                   | Reed      |           |  | 5         | Rabbit |
| 6  | House               |           |  | 6                   | Flint     |           |  | 6         | Reed   |
| 7  | Rabbit              |           |  | 7                   | House     |           |  | 7         | Flint  |
| 8  | Reed                |           |  | 8                   | Rabbit    |           |  | 8         | House  |
| 9  | Flint               |           |  | 9                   | Reed      |           |  | 9         | Rabbit |
| 10 | House               |           |  | 10                  | Flint     |           |  | 10        | Reed   |
| 11 | Rabbit              |           |  | 11                  | House     |           |  | 11        | Flint  |
| 12 | Reed                |           |  | 12                  | Rabbit    |           |  | 12        | House  |
| 13 | Flint               |           |  | 13                  | Reed      |           |  | 13        | Rabbit |
| 1  | House               |           |  | 1                   | Flint     |           |  | 1         | Reed   |
| 2  | Rabbit              |           |  | 2                   | House     |           |  | 2         | Flint  |
| 3  | Reed                |           |  | 3                   | Rabbit    |           |  | 3         | House  |
| 4  | Flint               |           |  | 4                   | Reed      |           |  | 4         | Rabbit |
| 5  | House               |           |  | 5                   | Flint     |           |  | 5         | Reed   |
| 6  | Rabbit              |           |  | 6                   | House     |           |  | 6         | Flint  |
| 7  | Reed                |           |  | 7                   | Rabbit    |           |  | 7         | House  |
| 8  | Flint               |           |  | 8                   | Reed      |           |  | 8         | Rabbit |
| 9  | House               |           |  | 9                   | Flint     |           |  | 9         | Reed   |
| 10 | Rabbit              |           |  | 10                  | House     |           |  | 10        | Flint  |
| 11 | Reed                |           |  | 11                  | Rabbit    |           |  | 11        | House  |
| 12 | Flint               |           |  | 12                  | Reed      |           |  | 12        | Rabbit |
| 13 | House               |           |  | 13                  | Flint     |           |  | 13        | Reed   |

FIGURE 2.

The 260 named days of the Mixtec calendar cycle.

|           |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|-----------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| Alligator | 1  | 8  | 2  | 9  | 3  | 10 | 4  | 11 | 5  | 12 | 6  | 13 | 7  |
| Wind      | 2  | 9  | 3  | 10 | 4  | 11 | 5  | 12 | 6  | 13 | 7  | 1  | 8  |
| House     | 3  | 10 | 4  | 11 | 5  | 12 | 6  | 13 | 7  | 1  | 8  | 2  | 9  |
| Lizard    | 4  | 11 | 5  | 12 | 6  | 13 | 7  | 1  | 8  | 2  | 9  | 3  | 10 |
| Snake     | 5  | 12 | 6  | 13 | 7  | 1  | 8  | 2  | 9  | 3  | 10 | 4  | 11 |
| Death     | 6  | 13 | 7  | 1  | 8  | 2  | 9  | 3  | 10 | 4  | 11 | 5  | 12 |
| Deer      | 7  | 1  | 8  | 2  | 9  | 3  | 10 | 4  | 11 | 5  | 12 | 6  | 13 |
| Rabbit    | 8  | 2  | 9  | 3  | 10 | 4  | 11 | 5  | 12 | 6  | 13 | 7  | 1  |
| Water     | 9  | 3  | 10 | 4  | 11 | 5  | 12 | 6  | 13 | 7  | 1  | 8  | 2  |
| Dog       | 10 | 4  | 11 | 5  | 12 | 6  | 13 | 7  | 1  | 8  | 2  | 9  | 3  |
| Monkey    | 11 | 5  | 12 | 6  | 13 | 7  | 1  | 8  | 2  | 9  | 3  | 10 | 4  |
| Grass     | 12 | 6  | 13 | 7  | 1  | 8  | 2  | 9  | 3  | 10 | 4  | 11 | 5  |
| Reed      | 13 | 7  | 1  | 8  | 2  | 9  | 3  | 10 | 4  | 11 | 5  | 12 | 6  |
| Jaguar    | 1  | 8  | 2  | 9  | 3  | 10 | 4  | 11 | 5  | 12 | 6  | 13 | 7  |
| Eagle     | 2  | 9  | 3  | 10 | 4  | 11 | 5  | 12 | 6  | 13 | 7  | 1  | 8  |
| Buzzard   | 3  | 10 | 4  | 11 | 5  | 12 | 6  | 13 | 7  | 1  | 8  | 2  | 9  |
| Movement  | 4  | 11 | 5  | 12 | 6  | 13 | 7  | 1  | 8  | 2  | 9  | 3  | 10 |
| Flint     | 5  | 12 | 6  | 13 | 7  | 1  | 8  | 2  | 9  | 3  | 10 | 4  | 11 |
| Rain      | 6  | 13 | 7  | 1  | 8  | 2  | 9  | 3  | 10 | 4  | 11 | 5  | 12 |
| Flower    | 7  | 1  | 8  | 2  | 9  | 3  | 10 | 4  | 11 | 5  | 12 | 6  | 13 |

The study of the Codex Colombino-Becker which follows here has been organised into eight chapters. All that is known concerning the early owners of the two documents is summarised in Chapter II, and a general survey made of scholarly comment on the pictorial contents. A wide range of physical information about the surviving fragments is discussed in Chapter III, and these data, combined with evidence from the internal structure of the manuscript, enable the seven fragments to be combined into three sections. The pictorial text of these three sections is then discussed in Chapters IV through VIII: Section I, in Chapters IV and V; Section II, in Chapter VI; and Section III, in Chapters VII and VIII. Each scene of the codex is presented fully in order to obtain a valid interpretation of its meaning. In Chapter IX, which concludes this study, all the events of the manuscript are summarised within the most complete context now possible. These conclusions reflect my interpretation of Mixtec history as it is uniquely expressed in the Codex Colombino-Becker.

## CHAPTER II

## THE HISTORY OF THE CODEX COLOMBINO-BECKER

The times and circumstances in which the original Codex Colombino-Becker became divided are not known, nor how the seven surviving fragments became grouped into two separate documents. Prior to the time each manuscript reached its respective museum late in the nineteenth century, information concerning the ownership or even the whereabouts of the texts is usually sketchy and often oblique. This is unfortunate because the identification of the early owners might contribute to determining the locality in which the codex was painted. Since the data are so scanty, I have thought it appropriate to quote all statements in full and as originally written, particularly because some printed accounts appear to be deliberately imprecise.

## THE CODEX COLOMBINO

Of the two manuscripts, much more is known of the whereabouts of the Colombino than of the Becker during the centuries following the arrival of the Spanish in Mexico. The introduction of the Spanish alphabet for writing the native languages enabled literate Indians to leave records in their own tongue, and on all the pages of the Colombino there are now a long series of glosses in Mixtec that end with an apparent date of the year 1541. These glosses, which have been carefully studied and analysed by Smith (1963;

1966), record the names and boundaries of a number of localities on the coast of Oaxaca that had once been subservient to the important town of Tututepec. Through archival documents Smith (1963: 277-278; 1966: 156, 159, 171) and Caso (1966: chart following page 85) have traced the history of the cacicazgo of Tututepec, and have identified the name of Don Pedro de Alvarado that appears in several of these glosses as that of the cacique of Tututepec from 1522 to 1547.

Smith (1966: 171) has also suggested that the Colombino could have been among the papers later acquired by Francisco Pimentel de Guzmán y Alvarado when he became cacique of Tututepec about the middle of the seventeenth century, and then subsequently inherited by his son and successor Agustín Carlos Pimentel de Guzmán y Alvarado. In 1717 the latter was involved in a land dispute with a neighbouring town and as evidence in support of his claims presented a document described by the court interpreter as a 'mapa de pintura', which Smith (1963: 283-288; 1966: 152, 165) has identified as the Codex Colombino. The earliest surviving description of the manuscript is made by this interpreter:<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico: Vínculos, vol. 272, exp. 10, fols. 42 rev.-43 rev. Printed versions and English translations may be found in Heinrich Berlin (1947: 43) and Smith (1963: 284; 1966: 77-78, 173-174).

...abiendo registrado un mapa de pintura yal pie deellas las letras decurso antiguo en cuartetas de poco mas de cuarta de largo cadauna y un gema de ancho ysiendo todos de beinte cuatro que medidas por baras tubieron siete y media con poca difirensia...y laultima cuarteta de dicha mapa y pintura consta aberse figurado el año de mil quinientos y quarenta yuno --

The Mexican vara of this period is some 83.8 centimetres long (Haggard 1941: 84). On this basis the approximately seven and one-half varas specified for the length of the 'mapa' would be about 628.5 centimetres; and the slightly more than one-quarter of a vara given for the length of each page would equal somewhat more than 20.95 centimetres. These figures compare favourably with modern measurements of the Colombino, its total length being a little more than 611 centimetres and its average page length being slightly over 25 centimetres (Troike 1970a: 249). The Colombino was therefore already in its present form by the time the boundary glosses of the coastal sites were written on it, perhaps as early as 1541 and certainly before the 1717 lawsuit.

Following this 1717 utilisation of the Codex Colombino there is no subsequent concrete knowledge of the manuscript for some 146 years, until about 1863. After this latter date, however, a number of its owners can be traced, until ultimately in 1892 it became the property of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía of Mexico, now the Museo Nacional de Antropología. Some of the most important evidence for this period is found in a letter from Alfredo Chavero to Francisco Paso y Troncoso, dated 10 June

1901, and published by the former. In it Chavero responded to criticisms that several manuscripts he had recently published were not authentic documents, and defended one of these, the 'codex in the tin box', by relating how it had been in the possession of persons who also owned the Colombino and the Codex Dehesa. Although this account has been noted by Jesús Galindo y Villa (1923: 274) and briefly summarised by Caso (1966: 13), these Chavero remarks concerning the Colombino have never been reprinted, despite their importance. The part referring to the Colombino is as follows (Chavero 1901: 4-5):

Empecemos por el códice ['in the tin box']. Ud. piensa que lo compré á cierta persona, á quien Ud. supone el falsificador. En esto va Ud. equivocado. Allá por el año de 1863 lo vi en poder del Lic. D. Manuel Cardoso, ya con su caja de hojalata: así como los otros dos publicados con los nombres de Colombino y Dehesa. El primero decía haberlo heredado de sus padres, y ser prenda anti-  
 quisima de familia. En el último fundaba su opinión de que los mexicanos tenían la tradición del paraíso, del manzano y la serpiente. Más tarde, por 1869, ya muerto el Lic. Cardoso, el corredor D. Primitivo Sobrino, persona muy conocida en México, me dijo que estaba encargado de vender algunos objetos de la testamentaría de aquel, y me mostró los tres códices. Compré á la viuda los códices y unas cajas de rapé: y como la venta se hizo por medio de corredor, debo tener el recibo entre mis papeles. Entonces los conoció D. Manuel Orozco y Berra, y no les puso reparo. Más tarde hube de vender mis manuscritos y pinturas jereglíficas al Sr. D. Francisco Iturbe; y ahí iban los códices, otros que conservo y el lienzo de las fundaciones de los franciscanos. Algún tiempo después mi buen amigo el Sr. Iturbe consintió en que rescatara yo mis cosas, con solo la devolución de la cantidad recibida. En esto intervinieron el Sr. Dr. Lucio y el corredor D. José M. Pérez. Los don han muerto; pero vive todavía en París el Sr. Iturbe, quien puede testificar la verdad de estos hechos.

El Sr. Pérez me pidió como corretaja "el código de la caja de hoja de lata", como lo llamaba él. Los otros dos pasaron á poder del Sr. Lucio, en uno de tantos cambios de antigüedades y objetos de arte, que continuamente hacíamos: lo cual pueden también testificar sus hijos que aún viven. Más tarde los adquirió el mismo Sr. Pérez. Su hijo Daniel debe recordar todo esto. Según me refirió dicho Sr. Pérez, vendió los códigos, dos en Puebla y uno en Veracruz. Así se explica como uno fué á dar á poder del Sr. Dehesa, y otro pertenecía al Sr. Doremberg.

Mucho tiempo después vinieron de Puebla á venderme el de la caja de hojalata, pues aún la conservaba. ... Para cerciorarme más de la identidad del código, lo he mostrado al Sr. Lic. D. Miguel Serrano, sobrino del Sr. Cardoso con quien vivía como hijo, y lo ha reconocido.

Chavero's letter is characterised by the names of a number of persons, most of them already dead, and by a scarcity of fixed dates. The two years of 1863 and 1869 are given only as approximations, and the times of subsequent events are very vaguely specified, even that of the sale and repurchase of his own collection, which he should certainly remember clearly. While it is necessary to keep in mind that in 1901 Chavero was writing at the age of 60 years about incidents that had happened considerably earlier -- nearly 40 years before, for his first recollections of the manuscripts -- it also seems obvious that he was attempting to conceal the identity of some of the persons with whom he had dealings. However, inasmuch as Chavero's letter contains the first concrete information on the Colombino since 1717, and also traces its movements for approximately the next 20 years, the data are worth exploring.

Manuel Cardoso was a lawyer who lived in the city of Puebla. He owned at least three codices: the Dehesa, which he had found in



an old judicial file (Chavero 1892: xxii); the 'codex in the tin box', on whose acquisition there is no information; and the Colombino. This would seem to indicate his sustained interest in such manuscripts, as does the fact that he did not dispose of any of these during his lifetime. Of Cardoso's ownership of the Colombino, Chavero's letter reports only that he had inherited it from his parents as a very old family heirloom, a statement which does at least make clear that it was not Cardoso himself who first acquired the codex. Cardoso's nephew Miguel Serrano Daza, mentioned as having resided with him, was a lawyer and teacher who was born in 1842 and died in 1916.

Chavero bought all three manuscripts from Cardoso's estate about 1869, sold them with his own collection of documents to Iturbe, then bought the whole collection back with the assistance of Dr. Lucio and the broker José M. Pérez. Pérez requested the 'codex in the tin box' as his commission for assisting in this latter transaction, while the Dehesa and Colombino went to Rafael Lucio Nájera, a well-known medical doctor of the period who survived until 1886. In 1864 Lucio had published a small book on Mexican paintings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in which he denigrated the artistic value of the pre-Hispanic native paintings. It is therefore not surprising that he did not retain the Colombino and Dehesa, both being acquired later by Pérez.

Chavero then implies that Pérez sold the Colombino to Dorenberg<sup>1</sup> in Puebla, the 'codex in the tin box' to an unnamed party also in Puebla, and the Dehesa to Teodoro A. Dehesa in Veracruz, but this was not precisely the case for the Dehesa. Nine years earlier Chavero (1892: xxii) had written that after the death of Cardoso this codex 'pasó á poco al Sr. Melgar de Veracruz', and only after the latter's death had it become Dehesa's; Chavero made no mention at that time of his or Lucio's ownership, nor of either dealer. Since Chavero was not concerned in his 1901 letter with the fortunes of the Dehesa codex, it is possible that Sr. Dehesa was mentioned only as the ultimate owner and not as the person to whom Pérez sold the codex directly. However, these variations in the Dehesa data indicate the possibility that the Colombino might also have been involved in still other changes of hand which are not specified in Chavero's letter.

All these transactions involving José María Pérez Hernández, the liberal fighter and military writer who acted as dealer for the several sales, can be dated as occurring no later than 1879, the year of his death. By that date, therefore, the Colombino must have been in Dorenberg's hands if it passed directly to him from Pérez. However, the earliest information definitely connecting

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<sup>1</sup>The spelling of Dorenberg's name with an m rather than an n, as seen in Chavero's letter cited above, occurs sporadically throughout the literature.

Dorenberg with the codex dates only from 1888. In 1887-1888 Eduard Seler, the great German student of Mesoamerican manuscripts, was making a trip through North America and about the middle of July, 1888, reached Puebla. His mention of the Colombino is brief but informative (Seler 1889: 263):

Dazu fanden wir im Besitz eines Deutschen, Herrn Consul Dorenberg, der auch eine schöne Sammlung mexikanischer Alterthümer sein eigen nennt, einen Codex, schöne alte mexikanische Bildermalerei mit Inschriften, wie es scheint in mixtekischer Sprache. Diesen copirten wir, wozu uns Herr Dorenberg freundlichst die Erlaubniss gab -- das heisst, ich zeichnete ihn durch, und C. [Caecilie Seler-Sachs, his wife] colorirte ihn, und so wurden es, -- statt der zwei Tage, die wir in Puebla zu bleiben gedachten, vierzehn Tage.

The first publication of any part of the Colombino occurred the following year, 1889, when a colour lithograph of page 3 of the 'Códice Dorenberg' was printed by Leopoldo Batres (1889: Lám. XX).<sup>1</sup> He gives a quite accurate figure for the total length of the manuscript and a very precise statement concerning the language of the glosses (Batres 1889: 327):

Esta lámina representa una pintura ideográfica tomada del precioso códice mixteco, de la propiedad del Sr. Dorenberg, comerciante alemán radicado en la ciudad de Puebla, quien bondadosamente me facilitó el original para sacar una copia. El original de este precioso document, consta de 24 hojas como la que motiva esta explicación: las

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<sup>1</sup>Another edition of this work was published with a date of 1888 on the title leaf but contains as its first page a letter dated 25 December 1890, showing that in all probability it was actually published after the 1889 report rather than before it.

figuras están pintadas en una tira de cuero de 6 metros de largo, y doblada, formando hojas, como la que describo. Al pie de las figuras está escrita la interpretación en idioma mixteco de Tepoxcolula.

Batres gives no clue as to why he considered the language of the glosses to be that of Teposcolula, although the precision of the attribution might indicate that the information came from Dorenberg. It may be significant that when the cacicazgo of Tututepec passed to Francisco Pimentel de Guzmán y Alvarado about 1654, he was also heir to the cacicazgo of Teposcolula (Caso 1966: chart following page 85; Smith 1966: 171).

With the fourth centennial of the discovery of America approaching, Mexico was one of the countries invited by Spain to contribute to an *Exposición Histórico-Americana* to be held in Madrid in the autumn of 1892. President Porfirio Diaz of Mexico appointed a group of eminent Mexicans to determine an appropriate method of participation, and this group, constituting itself as the *Junta Colombina de México*, decided to form a collection of archaeological and ethnographic objects and antiquities for display in Madrid (Paso y Troncoso 1892: 5; Chavero 1892: iii; Galindo y Villa 1923: 158). Paso y Troncoso (1892: 7-9) describes how this goal led to the acquisition and publication of the *Codex Colombino*:

Como todo ello no era todavía suficiente para dar exacta idea de nuestra civilización antigua, quedó acordado que, á medias con el Museo Nacional, se comprase la colección arqueológica reunida en Puebla durante varios años por el comerciante alemán D. José Dorenberg. Habían-

la reconocido por encargo del Gobierno, un año antes, el Sr. Chavero y el que suscribe, y por su mediación se adquirió, dando valioso contingente de más de tres mil objetos, ...y dábanle grande importancia también cuatro ejemplares valiosos: los tres instrumentos de madera...y un precioso códice mixteco, exquisito por el tono delicado de sus colores y por la elegancia de las figuras decorativas que contiene.

Dueña la Junta del manuscrito, propusimos el Sr. Chavero y yo que se le llamara Códice Colombino y que se publicara, en unión de otros códices y objetos que fueran adquiriéndose, para formar con ellos todos una obra monumental en homenaje al descubridor del Nuevo Mundo....

Aunque tuvo la obra en sus principios ruda oposición, que pudo acabar con la empresa en su cuna, hemos logrado verla terminada, y hoy la reciben con aplauso en Europa las personal entendidas. ... Con todos ellos se reunieron más de ciento cincuenta láminas cromolithográficas, acompañadas de un texto explicativo que debimos escribir el Sr. Chavero y yo; pero que, por mi separación para venir á Madrid, quedó exclusivamente á cargo del aquel reputado arqueólogo mexicano.

This massive publication, issued in 1892 with the title Anti-güedades mexicanas publicadas por la Junta Colombina de México en el cuarto centenario del descubrimiento de América, consisted of a large Atlas of lithographs of a number of codices, and a smaller volume of text by Chavero. In the Atlas all the pictorial scenes of the Colombino were reproduced in full colours that are a serviceable approximation of those in the original. However, many damaged drawings were at least partially restored without indication, and all the written glosses were omitted, their positions merely being marked by dashed lines flanked with asterisks. The overall impression created by this lithograph is therefore considerably different from that of the original manuscript.

In the text volume Chavero's (1892: iii) introductory remarks add little, although he does comment that Dorenberg's collection had been made 'con especial cuidado y sin omitir gasto en el transcurso de varios años'. In his very brief notes on the Colombino Chavero (1892: x) gives no hint of the fuller data concerning its earlier history that he already knew and was to reveal later in his 1901 letter. Instead, he merely stated: 'Solamente sabemos de este códice, que pertenecía al Sr. Dorenberg, comerciante de la ciudad de Puebla, quien lo compró á uno de tantos mercaderes de antigüedades, sin que supiera su origen.' In describing the manuscript itself, Chavero (1892: x) wrote:

Es evidentemente un códice anterior á la Conquista. Está pintado en una tira de piel de venado bien curtida, ó más bien en dos, cosidas con una correa de la misma piel. Tiene la tira 6 metros 80 centímetros de largo por 20 centímetros de ancho. Según la costumbre de los indios está doblada á manera de biombo, y así forma un libro de 24 páginas. Está pintada solamente por un lado, y preparada con una especie de barniz blanquecino, probablemente de tizatl, el cual se ha oscurecido y ensuciado con el tiempo. Las figuras están bien conservadas, y los colores son vivos....

Agreguemos que el códice tiene varias leyendas en lengua mixteca, las cuales no están reproducidas en esta copia, sino señalado solamente su lugar con asteriscos; pero más tarde se hará su publicación con la traducción respectiva. Esto, sin duda, nos dará la explicación de esta pintura jeroglífica. Entretanto, solamente podemos comprender que es un calendario ritual. Se observa en él, las fechas de las festividades y varias ceremonias religiosas.

After arriving in Spain, Paso y Troncoso single-handedly wrote a three-volume work explaining the Mexican exhibit. In his com-

mentary,<sup>1</sup> he not only described the Colombino but also (in fuller detail than is quoted below) explained the functioning of the red guide lines relative to the reading of the pictorial text, and noted that this text was interrupted in two places (Paso y Troncoso 1892: 57-59):

Está dispuesto en forma de tira que tiene 6,80 metros de longitud por 0,20 de altura.... El que suscribe dirigió la parte arqueológica, determinó cómo se había de leer el código, y dejó señalado el orden y dirección de la lectura por medio de números y flechas....

El original, que perteneció al Sr. D. José Dorenberg, y hoy al Museo Nacional, donde se conserva, está pintado con hermosísimos colores sobre una piel gruesa, perfectamente adoblada y revestida de barniz blanco para facilitar el dibujo: doblado en forma de biombo, consta de veinticuatro rectángulos ó páginas y tiene figuras en una sola de sus caras. Cada rectángulo está dividido por dos líneas rojas horizontales en tres fajas de igual anchura

....  
Siguiendo este orden he llegado á descubrir que nuestro código se halla mutilado en dos distintos lugares de su parte media, sin hacer mérito ya de lo que pueda faltar al principio ó al fin. Una de las mutilaciones está después de la página XV, y no es más que aparente, habiendo dado lugar á la intercalación de otra página, que es la número XVI, entre los números XV and XVII que deben sucederse de un modo inmediato.... La segunda mutilación se observe entre las páginas XIX and XX, habiendo privado al código de algunas de sus páginas en número que no será posible precisar. ...

El código que vamos estudiando es ritual: varias de sus páginas son interesantes en el punto de vista de las instituciones y hábitos del pueblo á que perteneció el individuo que formó ese código.

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<sup>1</sup>Unfortunately, only the first two volumes were ever published, and even these did not appear until after the exposition had already closed (Galindo y Villa 1923: 516). A replica of the Colombino, painted on skin, was shown at the exposition (Galindo y Villa 1923: 522).

One of the most curious omissions in the descriptions of both Paso y Troncoso and Chavero is their failure to remark upon the damaged condition of the original manuscript. Chavero (1892: x) even goes so far as to say the figures are well preserved, while Paso y Troncoso (1892: 8) avoids the issue by commenting upon the quality of the figures. Paso y Troncoso does not mention the glosses; Chavero (1892: x) hoped for their translation and, like Batres (1889: 327) before him, thought they would explain the pictorial text. This latter idea was not to be totally dispelled until Smith's (1963; 1966) translations some 70 years later showed the glosses to be place names.

By the end of 1892 a colour lithograph of the Colombino, although unfortunately without its glosses, was available to scholars interested in the ancient history of Mexico. No serious studies had yet been made of the pictorial content of the manuscript, but it was generally considered a ritual text and ascribed to the Mixtecs.

#### THE CODEX BECKER

Unlike the Colombino, nothing is yet known of the Becker during the colonial period. It was separated from the Colombino by the time the boundary glosses were written on the latter, which was perhaps by 1541 and certainly by 1717. But for some 330 years of the written post-Contact history of Mexico -- from the arrival of the Spaniards until about 1852 -- no documentary trace of the Becker has yet been found.



In 1891 Henri de Saussure published a colour lithograph of a codex which he had copied in Mexico many years before, giving it the title of 'Le Manuscrit du Cacique'. Although more than 80 years have passed since then, his brief notes (1891: 5-7) still remain the sole source of everything that is known of the earlier history of the Codex Becker:

Ce ne fut, paraît-il, qu'en 1852 qu'on en eut connaissance par la première fois. Un Indien de la Mysteca, se disant descendant d'une famille de Caciques, eut à plaider à Puebla en revendication de ses biens héréditaires. Comme pièce pouvant servir à la reconnaissance de ses droits, il produisit, conjointement à des documents espagnols, ce manuscrit qui sans doute s'était transmis de père en fils dans sa famille. Il avait choisi comme avocat le licenciado Don Pascal [sic] Almazan, homme d'un esprit fort élevé et distingué dans les sciences, avec lequel je fus lié d'amitié. Le procès gagné, l'Indien consentit à céder le manuscrit à son défenseur.

Ce fut chez ce dernier que j'en eus connaissance peu après cette époque, et avec la plus grande obligeance Don P. Almazan me permit d'en prendre copie. J'y consacrai mes veilles avec assiduité. ...

A en croire la tradition, ce document d'une origine inconnue nous donne l'histoire d'un riche Cacique de la Mysteca, nommé Sar-Ho, qui passait pour le plus puissant seigneur de la contrée et dont la femme s'appelait Con-Huyo. Ils avaient pour résidence le lieu nommé Tindu, c'est-à-dire "la boule".

Le manuscrit était peint sur une bande de parchemin composée de plusieurs morceaux collés ou cousus bout à bout et formant seize plis; il est par conséquent divisé en seize tableaux qui semblent se faire suite les uns aux autres.... Le manuscrit replié était renfermé dans une boîte en bois évidemment construite pour le recevoir. Il serait impossible de dire si le document est complet, et s'il n'en manque pas le commencement, la fin, -- ou même le milieu dans le cas où les coutures seraient postérieures. A en juger par la dimension de la boîte, il ne devait pas toutefois être beaucoup plus volumineux. Je dois dire cependant que le dernier feuillet a été coupé à son bord droit, ce qui le rend plus court que les

autres, mais il n'est pas possible de dire si c'est la marge seulement qui a été enlevée ou si l'ambutation a emporté des feuillets à sa suite. ...

L'état de conservation de ces peintures laissait fort à désirer. Dans beaucoup d'endroits, l'enduit du parchemin s'était écaillé, emportant la couleur qui le recouvrait, d'où il résulte que presque toutes les figures sont incomplètes, et qu'un bon nombre étant entièrement effacées, il se trouve dans la plupart des tableaux, surtout des derniers, des lacunes considérables. J'ajouterai que le manuscrit a évidemment été retouché à plusieurs reprises par des artistes indiens ou autres, dans le but de rétablir les parties effacées de certaines figures. On peut distinguer deux sortes de retouches: d'abord certaines portions de la peinture paraissent avoir été effacées au pinceau et refaites différemment; puis un second genre de retouche, probablement postérieur, est venu compléter à la plume les ornements effacés, et cela d'une manière évidemment fautive; aussi n'avons-nous pas reproduit toutes ces retouches.

La pièce, avec ses défauts, constitue dans son ensemble un spécimen extrêmement intéressant des anciennes peintures mexicaines.... Peut-être constitue-t-elle plutôt un document d'ordre religieux qu'un document historique.

Saussure (1891: 8) mentioned only one gloss, that on page 15 of the codex, which he thought to be in Nahuatl ('mexicain'), but throughout his notes he commented on the erasures and subsequent retouchings from which the manuscript had suffered. The data which he recorded concerning the Mixtec Indian who was its former owner are extremely scanty, but somewhat more is known about both Almazán and Saussure.

Pascual Almazán was a member of the judiciary and a judge at several towns in the state of Puebla until 1851, when he moved to the city of Puebla and opened his law office. He was involved on the conservative side in the political factions of the period and

later served under Maximilian, although the latter part of his life was devoted to various railroad enterprises until his death in Puebla in 1885. His brief biography does not mention an interest in Mexican antiquities (Pérez Salazar 1923).

Saussure was a Swiss naturalist, a descendent of a family already well known for scientific interests. After completing his academic work in 1854 when he was 25 years old, he made his only trip to Mexico, travelling through that country and the Antilles with a friend until 1856. Since in his notes (1891: 5) to the lithograph of the codex it was said to have been used in court in 1852, he therefore reached Puebla within a few years of the time Almazán acquired the manuscript. The tradition he reported of the text representing the history of a powerful cacique must have been explained to Almazán by the Indian who formerly owned it.

After 1854 the Codex Becker disappeared from sight for the next 34 years, and when it finally reappeared it is no longer even in Mexico. At the meeting of the International Congress of Americanists in Berlin in October, 1888, it was one of several Mexican documents that Philipp J. Becker showed to interested scholars, including Seler and E. T. Hamy. Saussure was also a member of this congress (International Congress of Americanists 1890: 18), but there is no evidence that he actually attended the meeting, and no record of his being acquainted with Becker or seeing his manuscripts.

Becker had lived in Mexico for years, residing at least part of the time in Puebla. He amassed a large collection of Mexican antiquities during his stay, and even after his retirement to his home in Darmstadt continued to enlarge it through his contacts in Mexico. Until his death in 1896 he exhibited the collection at his home, Heinrich-Strasse 106, Darmstadt (Heger 1908: 40; Nowotny 1961: 1).

Seler (1902: 155) was to report that Becker had acquired the codex through an acquaintance in the city of Mexico, but Hamy (1897: 172) recorded a different impression:

Tout ce que m'avait dit le possesseur de ce codex, c'est qu'il se l'était procuré à Puebla même, chez un collectionneur du pays. Il n'en savait pas l'origine précise; seulement des spécialistes auxquels il avait pu soumettre sa trouvaille s'étaient accordés à lui dire qu'elle devait venir de l'État d'Oaxaca.

How and when during these 34 years the codex actually reached Becker's hands is not known. Becker himself, in a very brief list of only ten pieces of his huge collection (Nowotny 1961: 1), described the codex merely as: 'Bilderschrift, wahrscheinlich ritualen inhaltes. Länge, 3,99 m, Breite 0,18 $\frac{1}{2}$ . In Mexiko erworben.' His total lack of the most basic information about the document, such as the area from which it came, indicates a complete loss of the knowledge that Almazán had about the text. This might indicate that Becker did not acquire the manuscript directly from Almazán or even from the latter's estate after his death in 1885, but rather through a broker or dealer. Such an intermediary could account for

the conflicting comments given by Seler and Hamy concerning the way in which Becker acquired it, the former stating that it was through a friend in the city of Mexico, and the latter saying that it was bought from a collector in Puebla. Both could be correct if a broker from the city of Mexico was involved.

Although Saussure had copied Almazán's codex about 1854, he did not publish it until some 37 years later, in 1891. There is no record whether Becker saw this publication before his death in 1896. In 1897 Becker's collection of Mexican antiquities, amounting to more than 1,200 items and including the Codex Becker I, passed from his estate to the K. K. Naturhistorischen Hofmuseum in Vienna, now the Museum für Völkerkunde, as the gift of Georg v. Haas (Heger 1908: 40-42).

#### THE CODEX COLOMBINO-BECKER

With the successive publication in 1891 and 1892 of lithographs of both the Becker and the Colombino, the two manuscripts almost simultaneously became available for study and comparison. But several years before either of these reproductions had been issued -- by late 1888, in fact -- Seler was already aware of the answers to many of the problems posed by the two codices. In a talk before the Geographical Society in Berlin in December, 1893, occasioned in part by the receipt of the atlas of codices published by the Junta Colombina, he summed up the histories of the Colombino and Becker and clarified their relationship to one another (Seler 1902: 155):

Fast jeder derselben hat seine Geschichte. Ich beginne mit dem ersten, der von der Kommission dem Entdecker Amerikas zu Ehren Códice Colombino getauft worden ist. Das Original stammt aus dem Bergland der Mixteca im Nordwesten des heutigen Staates Oaxaca und zwar aus alter heidnischer Zeit. Das Original ist mit zahlreichen Legenden in mixtekischer Sprache versehen, die aber, scheint es, nur zur Irreführung etwa inquirender Mönche eingetragen worden sind. Denn der Codex ist unzweifelhaft mythologischen, kalendarischen, astrologischen Inhalts. Die Legenden sind aber im wesentlichen Ortsnamen, wollen also augenscheinlich den Anschein erwecken, als ob es sich nur um eine unschuldige Flurkarte oder dergleichen handle. Das Original wurde vor einigen Jahrzehnten einem deutschen Kaufmann, Herrn Konsul Dorenberg in Puebla, zum Kauf angeboten. Ueber seine Herkunft weiss man nichts weiter. Ich habe seiner Zeit, auf meiner Reise in Mexico, in dem Hause des Herrn Dorenberg diese Handschrift kopiren dürfen. Und als ich zurückkam, zu dem Amerikanisten-Kongress, der damals in Berlin stattfand, da hatte dort Herr Philipp Becker aus Darmstadt, der ebenfalls als Kaufmann lange Jahre in Mexico gelebt hat, eine Handschrift ausgestellt, die er durch einen Bekannten in der Hauptstadt Mexico erworben hatte, und die sich mir als das genaue Gegenstück, ja ich möchte sagen, nur als anderer Abschnitt des Dorenberg'schen Codex, d. h. des Códice Colombino, erwies. Ueber diesen Becker'schen Codex weiss man aber etwas. Es ist das nämlich der Codex, von dem ein Genfer Gelehrter, Dr. Henri de Saussure im Jahr 1852 in Puebla eine Kopie angefertigt hat, die er jetzt, ohne zu wissen, dass das Original noch existirt, unter dem Namen "Le Manuscrit du Cacique" veröffentlicht hat. Das Original, von dem De Saussure seine Kopie nahm, wurde im Jahre 1852 von einem Indianer der Mixteca dem Advokaten Lic. D. Pascal [sic] Almazan überbracht und sollte als Belegstück dienen für die Ansprüche, die der Indianer auf gewisse Grundstücke machte.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Originally published as 'Die Columbus-Festschriften der Kgl. Bibl. in Berlin und der Mexikanischen Regierung', in Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, Berlin (1893), pp. 511-521; cited here from Seler's Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde, Vol. I (1902).

There is little new information in Seler's comments concerning the histories of the manuscripts. His attribution of the Colombino to the northwestern part of the Mixteca Alta in Oaxaca corresponds well in area with that made earlier by Batres (1889: 327) to the town of Teposcolula, and the two similar references may indicate that Dorenberg himself was the source of this information.

Seler described Dorenberg as having obtained the Colombino a few decades previously, but even two decades would take that acquisition back to 1873, which seems somewhat too early in the light of Chavero's (1901: 4-5) listing of the several hands through which the codex passed following Cardoso's death in 1869. Seler's reference is at any rate too indefinite to be of much use in fixing the date at which Dorenberg acquired the codex. It may also be possible that Dorenberg was indicating the period in which he began to collect Mexican antiquities, rather than the time when he actually obtained the Colombino.

Since the only information Seler reports for the earlier history of the Becker is that already printed by Saussure (1891: 5), it seems safe to assume that he had not obtained any additional data from Becker himself concerning this codex.

By the time of Seler's address in 1893, three of the four factors basic to an understanding of the Codex Colombino-Becker were already known to him: the Colombino and the Becker were fragments of the same manuscript; the glosses on the Colombino were in

Mixtec and were mostly place names; and the Becker and the Manuscrit du Cacique were the same codex. Except for the connexion of the Becker with the Manuscrit du Cacique, which could not be made until Saussure's publication of the latter in 1891, the other clues were in Seler's hands by late in 1888. The only important point which he failed to grasp was that the text of the manuscripts was not ritual but historical, and this fact would not be established definitively for another score of years. But because Seler's principal field of specialisation lay elsewhere, his early understanding of the Colombino-Becker was often to be overlooked during the following years, and most of the points which he had already clarified were to remain at issue for nearly another three-quarters of a century before finally being resolved by the publications of Caso and Smith in 1966.

Even prior to his 1893 report, however, Seler had communicated his findings about the Colombino and Becker to other scholars. For example, late in 1892 Paso y Troncoso (1892: 58) wrote: 'El Dr. Seler opina que el manuscrito publicado por Mr. Saussure recientemente, con el título de "Manuscrit du cacique", es continuación del códice "Colombino".' But some scholars seem not to have been aware of Seler's work concerning the relation of the Colombino and Becker, or of his connexion of the Becker with the Manuscrit du Cacique.

In 1897 Hamy independently discovered that the codex which Becker had shown him in Berlin in 1888, and the codex which Saussure had published in 1891, were the same manuscript. (In some studies,



such as that of Lehmann [1905: 260, fn. 2], Hamy is erroneously credited with being the first to make this discovery, rather than Seler.) Becker having also told Hamy that the experts who had seen his document thought it to be from Oaxaca, Hamy (1897: 172) seems to have leaped to a cultural attribution for it -- 'Les manuscrits de cette provenance, qualifiés habituellement de zapotèques' -- even though he also repeated (1897: 173-174) the data Saussure had given concerning the Mixtec provenance of the codex and its purportedly being the story of a famous Mixtec cacique. It should be noted that this attribution of the codex to the Zapotecs came only from Hamy himself and not from Becker, who is shown clearly in Hamy's paper as knowing nothing of the earlier history of the manuscript.

Four years later, in 1901, with the appearance of Chavero's letter describing the prior ownership of the Colombino, the nineteenth century history of the Colombino and Becker were then fully published.

There was some confusion concerning the proper name to use for the Codex Becker, which had been published by Saussure as the *Manuscrit du Cacique* but was referred to by most scholars as the Codex Becker No. 1, and this was further complicated when the manuscript was acquired by the Vienna museum, for another Mexican codex was already called by the name of that city. In 1898 Paso y Troncoso (1898: 11-12, fn. 1) suggested that the name be changed to 'Códice Franz Iosefino' to honour the ruler of Austria, but this change was

never accepted.<sup>1</sup> Zelia Nuttall (1902: 6, fn. 1) was then moved to propose that all Mexican codices be referred to by Roman numerals rather than by names, her list including the Becker as part (a) and the Colombino as part (b) of number VIII, a suggestion which was likewise never adopted. Scholarly usage eventually stabilised on the name Codex Becker I. There were no similar problems for the Colombino, although before its acquisition by the museum it was occasionally referred to as the Codex Dorenberg.

By the beginning of the twentieth century there were a considerable number of Mexican manuscripts known to Americanists, and in 1905 Walter Lehmann proposed a classification system for those reputed to have originated in Oaxaca and neighbouring areas. Unfortunately, he attributed the majority of these to the Zapotecs (1905: 266-277) and only four to the Mixtecs (1905: 259-261), of which the Colombino and Becker were two. Concerning this latter manuscript he was the first to note that it was glossed in Mixtec, but of its pictorial text he stated (1905: 260): 'Le contenu est religieux ou mythologique. On ne doit pas y chercher l'histoire d'un cacique fabuleux, Sar-Ho', and went on (1905: 260, fn. 3) to specify that the tradition of the cacique reported by Saussure did not deserve belief and that Hamy had always had great reservations about it.

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<sup>1</sup>Paso y Troncoso used it himself, however; its occurrence may be noted in the inventories of his papers published by Závala (1938: 275, 312).

Despite the unanimity with which the foremost scholars of Mexican manuscripts had reported that the Colombino and Becker were ritual texts, a great change in thought was soon underway. In 1902 Nuttall (1902: 33, fn. 1), in her notes to the first edition of the Codex Zouche-Nuttall, demonstrated that its contents were historical: 'Although beings of celestial descent are sometimes figured, it is obvious that the text deals with real persons and is mainly historical.' It remained, however, for James Cooper Clark (1912: 7) to establish firmly the historical nature of an entire group of codices in his pioneering study The Story of "Eight Deer" in Codex Colombino, published in 1912 for the London meeting of the International Congress of Americanists:<sup>1</sup>

After having made a special study of the contents of the Codex Colombino, I am now able to demonstrate that it tells us the history of an individual called Eight Deer or Ocelot's Claw, also that many incidents in his life are to be found in the following Codices:-- The Bodleian No. 2858, the Vienna, the Selden No. 3135, the Becker, and of course, the most important of all, the Zouche.

Clark (1912: 5-6) was not convinced that the Becker was actually a continuation of the Colombino, but reserved final judgment on the matter. He reported (1912: 6) that he had been told both manuscripts bore written annotations in Zapotec. It seems remarkable that the language of the glosses could now be so attributed, and all the more

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<sup>1</sup>An abstract of Clark's book appeared in the Proceedings of the Congress (1913: Part 1, 135-136, Plate G); the book itself was presented to the Congress (1913: Part 1, xlii) by Alfred P. Maudslay.

so because Seler (1913: 206), who had known Clark in Mexico and was the one who suggested he should also study the Becker (Clark 1912: 7), certainly knew they were in Mixtec.

From his studies of the Colombino and its allied codices Clark (1912: 32) concluded:

To what people did Eight Deer belong?

It has been shown in the foregoing pages that his life-history forms part of at least six of the pre-Columbian Codices, and presumably these Codices must have been the work of the same people. It has already been pointed out that a glyph, which is most probably "Eight Deer," is attached to the figure of a man carved on the inscribed slab taken from Monte Alban, and if this adscription is correct, Eight Deer would presumably be a Zapotec king (Zaachila III?) and the six codices would be the work of Zapotecs.

Clark's work established that the pictorial content of the Colombino and similar codices was to be interpreted as a sequential history and not as a series of rituals. While many of his particular interpretations of the actual occurrences in these manuscripts later needed to be corrected, much of the outline of 8 Deer's life as he originally set it forth was accurate. But the confusion caused by attributing all these codices to the Zapotecs -- arising from the works of Hamy, Lehmann, and Clark -- was not to be dispelled for many years.

A survey of all the foregoing data on the Colombino-Becker reveals two curious aspects: the complete absence from the literature on each codex of any reference to the existence of the other, prior to 1893; and, with the passage of time, a steady decrease in the accuracy of references to the place of origin of each.

Both chains of ownership began in the city of Puebla with two advocates, and ended with two German-speakers resident in that same city and each holding large collections of Mexican antiquities. Due to these coincidences it seems remarkable that no owner of either codex is ever known to have referred scholars to the other manuscript. When Saussure copied Almazán's codex about 1854, if he received any information concerning the three manuscripts owned by Cardoso, it is not reflected in his printed notes. Similarly, Dorenberg allowed Seler in 1888 and Batres the following year, to make copies of the Colombino, and apparently told them of its reputed origin in Teposcolula, but neither scholar alludes to being told of similar documents in the hands of other collectors in the area. In 1888 Becker showed his manuscripts in Berlin but apparently did not indicate to Hamy or Seler that he knew of another codex in Puebla.

Seler had been able in 1888 to connect Becker's codex, about which nothing was then known, with the Colombino, which was known to be Mixtec, and he must have considered Saussure's 1891 publication revealing a Mixtec origin for the Becker as a complete vindication of his prior conclusions regarding the two manuscripts. By the time Clark presented his brilliant synthesis of 8 Deer's life history in 1912, attributing the Colombino, Becker, and other historical manuscripts to the Zapotecs, all the basic literature concerning the Mixtec origin of the Colombino-Becker had been in print for at least ten years, and much of it for 20 years or more.

The introduction of the extraneous Zapotec references had the effect of needlessly confusing research and study of the Colombino-Becker for a number of years. It seems quite probable that the omission of the glosses from the lithographs of both codices was a contributory factor in this, for had these inscriptions been available, their translations as Mixtec place names would have been a deterrent to ascribing the manuscripts to a non-Mixtec people.

This entire situation would probably have been corrected promptly in the normal course of scholarship, but such peaceful pursuits were shattered by the Mexican Revolution and two world wars, and more than 50 years were to elapse before the Caso-Smith volume of 1966 brought together interpretations of both the pictorial text and the glosses under a single cover.

The problem of the attribution of the Mixtec historical codices to the Zapotecs was finally resolved by Caso (1928: 9, 12) in 1928 by logic as simple as it was irrefutable:

Todo el que ha visto las estelas de Monte Albán, las urnas funerarias y los códices de Oaxaca, habrá notado seguramenta una semejanza entre las urnas y las estelas, y una diferencia profunda con los códices de esa región. ... En cambio, en el excelente estudio del Dr. W. Lehmann [1905], en que se hace una enumeración complete de los códices oaxaqueños que conocemos, no hay una solo que tenga el sistema gráfico usado en las estelas, o en el que aparezcan representaciones de dioses como las de las urnas. ... [E]ntre los manuscritos indígenas que han llegado hasta nosotros, no hay ninguno que tenga semejanza con las piedras y vasos que se conocen como zapotecas; por lo que no podemos llamar zapoteca a ninguno de estos códices, pues es imposible que un pueblo haya empleado un estilo artístico y una escritura, cuando trabajaba en piedra o

barro, y otro estilo totalmente diferente y una escritura distinta, si confiaba al pincel las representaciones.

In 1935 Herbert J. Spinden studied the pictorial content of the Mixtec codices, utilising the same six manuscripts that Clark had grouped together. He discovered new evidence in support of their historical nature, and was able to trace the lives of several different individuals.

About this same time Caso expanded his archaeological field work at Monte Albán to include detailed studies of these codices. By 1949 his basic research on the manuscripts had been completed and he was able to announce his conclusions regarding them (Caso 1949: 8):

Queda demostrado, como vamos a verlo, que este grupo de códices fué elaborado por los mixtecos. No se trata de aztecas como creyera la señora Nuttall, ni de zapotecas como creyera Cooper Clark, ni se refiere exclusivamente a dioses o a hombres; la verdad es que, como vamos a verlo, se trata de genealogías de reyes que vivieron efectivamente en la Mixteca, pero que fundaron sus orígenes en genealogías divinas.

Following this fundamental paper, Caso subsequently published numerous other studies on codices. Some of these interpreted the pictorial content of whole manuscripts, others elaborated on one or more aspects of a single codex, and still other explored allied problems. The cumulative effect of Caso's works has been to make these Mixtec histories intelligible again for the first time since the cultural continuity of native Oaxaca was shattered by the Spanish invasion.

During the first two-thirds of the twentieth century the Colombino and Becker received only minor consideration from most scholars, consisting principally of their inclusion in several catalogues of codices and the publication of photographs of a few of their pages, with notes of varying quality.<sup>1</sup> In 1958 Ernst Mengin (1958a; 1958b) suggested that copies of some of the lost parts of the Colombino might be found in the 'Codex Moguntiacus', but Caso (1966: 17-18) showed that it and two other similar manuscripts were fraudulent. The first analysis of paint was made in 1959 by Nowotny and Robert Strebinger, based on samples from the Becker. In 1962 Manuel Carrera Stampa published a paper on native sources of the Oaxacan region<sup>2</sup> which is the best printed account dealing briefly with the background and literature of both the Colombino and the Becker. John Glass (1964:

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<sup>1</sup>Caso (1939: unnumbered plate following text) published a photograph of bands II and III of Colombino 10. Salvador Toscano (1944: 366-368) gave a very brief but often erroneous summary of the histories of the Colombino and Becker, and reproduced a photograph of parts of bands I and II of Colombino 5. Daniel F. Rubín de la Borbolla (1953: lám. 223) included a photograph of Colombino 6. José Alcina Franch (1956: 69-72) compiled a catalogue of codices that included both manuscripts, but is incorrect on some points. Miguel León-Portilla and Salvador Mateos Higuera issued another brief catalogue in 1957. The Colombino was also the 'inspiration' in 1910 for a literary flight of fancy by Abraham Castellanos that included the first published versions of some of the glosses, but his transcriptions and translations of these were unfortunately as imaginative as his interpretations of the pictorial text.

<sup>2</sup>Greatly amplified from its original brief presentation in 1959 in Vol. II of El Esplendor del México Antiguo, pp. 1174-1184.



73-74) has given a very concise but comprehensive survey of the history and bibliography pertaining only to the Colombino.

In 1961 an excellent colour photographic facsimile of the Codex Becker I was issued by the Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, accompanied by notes by Nowotny.<sup>1</sup> The scale of the reproduction is exactly that of the original codex, the quality of the colours is excellent, and the fine printing reveals almost all the details. This facsimile has of course supplanted Saussure's 1891 lithograph, to say nothing of the edition of G. M. Echaniz (1944),<sup>2</sup> for all serious work. Nowotny's notes are brief, and more descriptive than explanatory.

In 1963, as previously mentioned, Smith published the first decipherment of some of the glosses on the Colombino, showing that they referred to sites in the vicinity of Tututepec, and with these she was able to identify the Colombino as the 'map' presented in a Mexican land case in 1717.

The most comprehensive work published on the Codex Colombino-Becker was issued in Mexico late in 1966 by the Sociedad Mexicana

<sup>1</sup>This publication also includes the Codex Becker II. A Spanish translation of Nowotny's notes was published by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia in Mexico in 1964; its pagination does not correspond to that of the original German text.

<sup>2</sup>A hand-coloured tracing, without notes and limited to 25 copies, issued by Echaniz in Mexico under the title of Código Becker ó Manuscrito del Cacique, which was copied without credit from Saussure's edition.

de Antropología, and consisted of the first colour photographic reproduction of the Colombino and a volume of notes by Caso and Smith. Caso's (1966: 9-47) study of the pictorial contents included not only the Colombino but also the Becker and parts of other Mixtec codices, notably the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'. Smith (1966: 147-176, 179-189) presented a detailed investigation of the glosses on the Colombino, identifying a number of towns in the coastal region and giving additional archival data for the area. The book also includes analyses of the paints, the skins comprising the manuscript, and one piece of cord.

The photographic reproduction of the Colombino is unfortunately not equal in quality to that of the Becker, being scaled some four percent larger than the actual size of the original manuscript;<sup>1</sup> colours often deviate considerably from the original. The reproduction also fails to indicate that the codex is now divided into two separate strips, and omits entirely the fragmentary pages 16A and 17a. The omission of page 16A is particularly regrettable since it is crucial to the positioning of page 16 among the extant fragments. Nevertheless, despite these shortcomings the reproduction is clearly superior to the Junta Colombina lithograph of 1892. Caso's notes on the pic-

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<sup>1</sup>Although this size discrepancy may seem small, being only some four millimetres in ten centimetres, the pages of the Colombino reproduction are significantly higher and longer than those of the Becker, and the Colombino band lines are consequently so displaced that they will not match those of the Becker facsimile.

torial contents of the Colombino-Becker will often be referred to in the pages of the present study.

In 1973 Smith published an extensive work on the identification of place signs in Mixtec manuscripts that is the most significant study made of these important elements of the native pictorial system. She explains the functioning of the various components of the signs and correlates a number of signs with modern Mixtec localities, including the identification of additional sites depicted in the Codex Colombino-Becker.

Other publications on the Colombino-Becker have been my own: on the physical forms of the Colombino (1970a) and the Becker (1969a), the structure of the original Colombino-Becker manuscript (1971), art styles in the Colombino-Becker (1970b), the problems of identifying individuals in the Colombino-Becker (n.d.a), and the relationship of the Colombino-Becker to the Zouche-Nuttall (1969b). Copies of these papers (except 1969b) will be found in the Appendix; the contents of these studies are summarised as appropriate in the body of this work.

## CHAPTER III

## THE STRUCTURE OF THE CODEX COLOMBINO-BECKER

For publication of the first edition of the Colombino by the Junta Colombina in 1892, Paso y Troncoso (1892: 57) devised a numbering system for the pictorial text. He used Roman numerals to indicate the pages, while the bands were numbered from 1 to 65 in Arabic figures in the order in which they were to be read. Both page and band numbers were printed on the lithograph, making the system relatively simple to use in this edition. This same numbering plan was retained by Caso in his notes to the 1966 edition, but the band numbers are not printed on the new reproduction, and as a result the system can be used only by frequent references to a chart that specifies the numbers and locations of the various bands.

For the Becker, the original pagination was established by Saussure in his 1891 edition and retained by Nowotny (1961). In the latter edition the pages of the codex are designated by Arabic numbers, but no system was introduced to distinguish the bands. Caso, in his 1966 notes, applied the same type of sequential band numbering system to the Becker as used in the Colombino, but established the Becker series as a separate sequence beginning with 1 and continuing through 42.

As a result, the manner in which the bands of pictorial text are specified in the Colombino-Becker is both cumbersome and confus-

ing. I have previously suggested (1970a: 240-242) that the difficult sequential band numbering system be replaced by the much simpler method of Roman numerals used by Caso in annotating other Mixtec codices. The pages of the Colombino-Becker normally contain three bands, which would then be numbered from top to bottom as bands I, II, and III. In order to avoid any possible confusion, the pages are specified with Arabic numbers. Figure 3 gives a concordance of the page and band numbers of this unified system, which will be used in this study, and the two sets of numbers found in Caso's (1966) Colombino and Becker notes.

#### THE FRAGMENTED COLOMBINO-BECKER

The surviving Colombino and Becker fragments still reflect the structure of the original undivided Codex Colombino-Becker. Therefore, from the study of the design and function of these seven extant parts, it should be possible to recover this original structure and hence the form of the original manuscript. Physical data and measurements are crucial in this, for no attempted re-creation of the original form can be valid if it is in conflict with the physical evidence. For this reason I have made several minute examinations of both the Colombino and Becker originals, observing and measuring their physical characteristics. The data for page size and skin length are summarised in Figure 4.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The data in Figure 4 are drawn from Troike (1970a; 1969a). Figures for incomplete pages are given within parentheses; a skin

FIGURE 3.  
 Concordance of page and band numbers used in this study, with those used by Caso (1966).

## COLOMBINO

| PAGES  |       | BANDS                    |          |         |
|--------|-------|--------------------------|----------|---------|
| Troike |       | I                        | II       | III     |
|        | Caso  | (Upper)                  | (Middle) | (Lower) |
| 1      | I     | 5                        | 4        | 1       |
| 2      | II    | 6                        | 3        | 2       |
| 3      | III   | 7                        | 10       | 11      |
| 4      | IV    | 8                        | 9        | 12      |
| 5      | V     | 17                       | 16       | 13      |
| 6      | VI    | 18                       | 15       | 14      |
| 7      | VII   | 19                       | 22       | 23      |
| 8      | VIII  | 20                       | 21       | 24      |
| 9      | IX    | 29                       | 28       | 25      |
| 10     | X     | 30                       | 27       | 26      |
| 11     | XI    | 31                       | 34       | 35      |
| 12     | XII   | 32                       | 33       | 36      |
| 13     | XIII  | 41                       | 40       | 37      |
| 14     | XIV   | 42                       | 39       | 38      |
| 15     | XV    | 43                       | 46       | 47      |
| 16     | XVI   | No band numbers assigned |          |         |
| 17     | XVII  | 44                       | 45       | 48      |
| 18     | XVIII | 53                       | 52       | 49      |

## FIGURE 3 (Continued)

|    |       |                  |    |    |
|----|-------|------------------|----|----|
| 19 | XIX   | 54               | 51 | 50 |
| 20 | XX    | 59               | 58 | 55 |
| 21 | XXI   | 60               | 57 | 56 |
| 22 | XXII  | 61 (Entire page) |    |    |
| 23 | XXIII | 62 (Entire page) |    |    |
| 24 | XXIV  | 63               | 64 | 65 |

## BECKER

|    |    |                  |    |      |
|----|----|------------------|----|------|
| 1  | 1  | 3                | 2  | 1    |
| 2  | 2  | 4                | 5  | 6    |
| 3  | 3  | 9                | 8  | 7    |
| 4  | 4  | 10 (Entire page) |    |      |
| 5  | 5  | 12               | 11 | None |
| 6  | 6  | 13               | 14 | 15   |
| 7  | 7  | 18               | 17 | 16   |
| 8  | 8  | 19               | 22 | 23   |
| 9  | 9  | 20               | 21 | 24   |
| 10 | 10 | 28               | 25 | None |
| 11 | 11 | 29               | 27 | 26   |
| 12 | 12 | 30 (Entire page) |    |      |
| 13 | 13 | 31               | 32 | 33   |
| 14 | 14 | 36               | 35 | 34   |
| 15 | 15 | 37               | 40 | 41   |
| 16 | 16 | 38               | 39 | 42   |

FIGURE 4.  
Page size and skin lengths in the Colombino and Becker.

| PAGE                    | LENGTH | HEIGHT  | SKIN NO. | LENGTH  | JOINT    |
|-------------------------|--------|---------|----------|---------|----------|
| Colombino Fragment I:   |        |         |          |         |          |
| 1                       | (24.4) | 18.8    | 1        | (100.8) |          |
| 2                       | 25.4   | 18.8    |          |         | Original |
| 3                       | 25.75  | 18.9    |          |         |          |
| 4                       | 25.4   | 18.75   | 2        | 101.6   |          |
| 5                       | 25.6   | 18.65   |          |         | Original |
| 6                       | 25.7   | 18.7    |          |         |          |
| 7                       | 25.8   | 18.9    |          |         |          |
| 8                       | 25.7   | 18.8    | 3        | 101.5   |          |
| 9                       | 25.7   | 18.65   |          |         | Original |
| 10                      | 25.65  | 18.75   |          |         |          |
| 11                      | 25.75  | 18.65   |          |         |          |
| 12                      | 25.7   | 18.8    | 4        | (85.3)  |          |
| 13                      | 25.3   | 18.4    |          |         |          |
| 14                      | 25.35  | 18.4    |          |         |          |
| 15                      | 25.1   | 18.35   |          |         |          |
| Colombino Fragment II:  |        |         |          |         |          |
| 16                      | (25.1) | 18.3    | 5        | (7.3)   | Original |
|                         |        |         | 6        | (21.3)  |          |
| 16A                     | (1.9)  | (17.85) |          |         |          |
| Colombino Fragment III: |        |         |          |         |          |
| 17                      | 25.3   | 18.4    | 7        | (4.5)   | Original |
| 17a                     | (2.0)  | ----    | 8        | (77.7)  |          |



FIGURE 4 (Continued)

|                               |         |         |    |        |          |
|-------------------------------|---------|---------|----|--------|----------|
| 18                            | 25.3    | 18.4    |    |        |          |
| 19                            | (25.1)  | 18.45   |    |        |          |
| <b>Colombino Fragment IV:</b> |         |         |    |        |          |
| 20                            | (25.25) | 18.5    | 9  | (72.8) | Original |
| 21                            | 24.75   | 18.45   |    |        |          |
| 22                            | 24.8    | 18.35   | 10 | (54.2) |          |
| 23                            | 24.65   | 18.25   |    |        |          |
| 24                            | 24.9    | 18.25   |    |        |          |
| <b>Becker Fragment 1:</b>     |         |         |    |        |          |
| 1                             | 24.8    | 18.25   | 1  | (30.4) | Original |
| 2                             | 24.8    | 18.5    | 2  | (70.8) |          |
| 3                             | 25.0    | 18.6    |    |        |          |
| 4                             | 24.8    | 18.8    |    |        |          |
| 4A                            | (0.8)   | (18.15) |    |        |          |
| <b>Becker Fragment 2:</b>     |         |         |    |        |          |
| 5a                            | (1.3)   | (18.3)  | 3  | (38.4) |          |
| 5                             | 24.7    | 18.4    |    |        | Original |
| 6                             | 25.0    | 18.4    | 4  | 73.08  |          |
| 7                             | 25.1    | 18.5    |    |        | Original |
| 8                             | 25.35   | 18.45   |    |        |          |
| 9                             | 25.2    | 18.35   | 5  | 76.3   |          |
| 10                            | 25.3    | 18.25   |    |        | Original |
| 11                            | 24.85   | 18.4    |    |        |          |

## FIGURE 4 (Continued)

|                           |        |       |   |        |
|---------------------------|--------|-------|---|--------|
| 12                        | 25.15  | 18.3  | 6 | (68.0) |
| 13                        | 25.25  | 18.65 |   |        |
| 14                        | (24.5) | 18.4  |   |        |
| <b>Becker Fragment 3:</b> |        |       |   |        |
| 15                        | (23.3) | 18.4  | 7 | (45.2) |
| 16                        | (21.9) | 18.3  |   |        |

The length of each of the skins in the Colombino and Becker is important because any consistencies or patterns in skin length might give some clue to the amounts missing between the fragments. A skin must be considered at least potentially incomplete if it has lost either of its original joints, as has happened with most of the skins making up the Colombino-Becker. Only four skins still retain their original joints at both ends and can now be considered complete: Colombino Skins 2 and 3, and Becker Skins 4 and 5. Six original joints between individual skins have survived in the Colombino and four in the Becker, and nine of these ten have been reinforced by sewing at some later time (Troike 1970a: 240-247; 1969a: 178-179). This would seem to indicate a weakness in the attaching medium that could allow the manuscript to separate easily at its joints. Several folds are also torn and now partly sewn, so that the creased area of the folds is another potential place at which the original codex might have split.

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which does not now retain its original attachments at both ends is considered potentially incomplete and its length figure enclosed within parentheses. Each skin number is given beside the page in which it begins. The figure used here for total skin length was obtained by adding the amount of each skin visible on the obverse face of the manuscript, and the average of the two figures found for the lapping at each joint. Colombino page 17a is the irregular left end of Skin 8 and actually precedes page 17 (Troike 1970a: 245), but in order to avoid confusion in the numbering of their associated skins, they are given here in reverse order. If the original joint between skins is still intact, this is indicated half-way between the two connected skins.

The Extant Fragments. The basic unit used in attempting to reconstruct the original Colombino-Becker manuscript is that of the surviving individual fragments. A fragment may be defined as a consecutive section of pictorial text which now lacks an original joint at both ends. If a fragment is painted on more than one skin, these skins must show clearly that they were consecutive in the original manuscript by having pictorial scenes painted directly across their joints without interruptions or modifications.

Since these fragments are the basic 'building blocks' for codex reconstruction, it is crucial to determine the precise physical form of each piece. I have previously defined the Colombino (1970a) and Becker (1969a) as containing the following fragments:

Colombino:

- Fragment I: pages 1-15, Colombino Skins 1-4
- Fragment II: pages 16-16A, Colombino Skins 5-6
- Fragment III: pages 17a-19, Colombino Skins 7-8
- Fragment IV: pages 20-24, Colombino Skins 9-10

Becker:

- Fragment 1: pages 1-4A, Becker Skins 1-2
- Fragment 2: pages 5a-14, Becker Skins 3-6
- Fragment 3: pages 15-16, Becker Skin 7.

This fragmentation and numbering for the Becker is in accord with the divisions utilised by Nowotny (1961), although he did not assign formal numbers to the parts of this codex. That for the Colombino agrees with Glass (1964: 73) but differs considerably from Caso, although again no formal fragment numbers were used by either man.

Caso's (1966: 16) principal reference to the fragments of the Colombino occurs in a list summarising his interpretation of the original sequence of the Colombino and Becker fragments. He placed Colombino 1-19 in the first fragment, pages 20-21 in the second, pages 22-24 in the third, and did not assign a fragment number to pages 16-16A. However, the data given in Figure 4 show clearly that some of these sequences are not physically possible. Nicholson (1968: 284) has also questioned some of Caso's reconstructions.

Caso apparently put pages 1-19 into one fragment because scholars of the Colombino have always considered the pictorial text of pages 1-15 and 17-19 to be continuous.<sup>1</sup> However, pages 1-15 are found in one of the two separate parts into which the Colombino is now divided, while pages 17-19 are in the other strip, and between them the interpolated pages 16-16A have been attached to the end of page 15. Pages 1-15 and 17-19 are thus physically two separate fragments and will be treated as such in this study.

Caso's interpretation of Colombino pages 20-21 and 22-24 as two separate fragments is a more difficult problem. As shown in Figure 4, and as is also visible in the 1966 reproduction of the Colombino, pages 20-24 are composed of only two skins. The first of these, Colombino Skin 9, extends from the left edge of page 20 to the right quarter of page 22, where it is overlapped by Skin 10; this latter

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<sup>1</sup>Note, for example, Paso y Troncoso's (1892: 58) comments cited in Chapter II.

skin continues to the end of the Colombino at the right side of page 24. Page 22, where the two skins are joined, is occupied by a single uninterrupted scene painted directly across the full height of the joint. There is consequently no possible way in which pages 20-24 could ever have been other than one single continuous series in the original manuscript, and as such they can form but one fragment.

The Codex Becker contains three fragments that are now combined into two strips. One part consists of only Fragment 1; the other contains Fragments 2 and 3, which have been sewn together. Sewing holes in the end of Fragment 1 and beginning of Fragment 2 indicate that the two strips had once been sewn together, but it is possible this connexion was already broken by the time Becker acquired the manuscript (Troike 1969a: 181-182).

The Colombino is also in two strips. One of these consists of Fragments I and II, which have been attached together by having a patching leather glued on the reverse side of the manuscript. The other strip contains Fragments III and IV, which are sewn directly together (Troike 1970a: 243, 246). Chavero (1892: x) was the first to mention that the Colombino was in two parts, 'cosidas con una correa de la misma piel.' It is unfortunate that he does not mention more precisely where the two parts were attached, because only twenty years later Clark (1912: 4, 22) made three separate comments regarding the form of the codex at the time he studied it:

[P]age XVI, at one time a "loose sheet," has been sewn on to page XVII but does not belong to that section.... The page marked XVI has been inserted here [following page XV] by mistake and sewn on to page XVII, but it obviously does not belong to this portion of the Codex.... The original Codex, in the National Museum of Mexico, has been framed in two separate sections, consisting of pages I to XV and XVI to XXIV.

One of the two strips described by Clark would have contained only Colombino Fragment I, while Fragments II, III, and IV would all have been in the other. Now, however, Fragments I and II are together in one strip, and Fragments III and IV are in the second. This means that at some time after 1912 Fragment II was detached from Fragment III -- a few threads of the former sewing can still be found on the reverse side of page 16A (Troike 1970a: 244) -- and attached to the end of Fragment I by means of a patching skin across the reverse side. There is no apparent reason for this change, for even if the sewing between Fragments II and III was no longer effective, resewing through the extant holes would have been much simpler than creating a new attachment with a leather patch.

Another change in the physical relationship of the extant parts of the Colombino has also occurred between Fragments III and IV. At the present time the end of Fragment III overlaps the beginning of Fragment IV and the two pieces are sewn together with a series of vertical stitches (Troike 1970a: 246). However, an earlier but undated photograph shows this lapping reversed, with the beginning of Fragment IV sewn over the end of Fragment III by a close series of

slanting stitches. This change seems quite unfortunate since the photograph shows what appears to be faint traces of designs in the beginning part of Fragment IV that is now covered.

The two fragmentary Colombino pages 16A and 17a have suffered serious mutilation in the removal from each of a piece of skin approximately 1 by 2 centimetres. As these two pages are entirely omitted from the 1966 reproduction, they are shown here in Figure 5. The portion of skin removed from page 16A was taken vertically from its upper right corner, while that from page 17a was cut horizontally at its bottom edge.

The glosses in Colombino Fragments II, III, and IV have been daubed with what appears to be clear varnish or lacquer, perhaps in an attempt to make the writing more legible. This varnish has darkened with the passage of time and now not only contributes to obscuring the glosses but also makes very difficult any effective use of ultra-violet light to help recover the faded or damaged portions of the writing. Since the varnish is not found on Fragment I, this may indicate that it was used on the codex when the fragments were still in the form described by Clark: that is, when Fragments II, III, and IV were united in a single strip.

A number of different figures have been published for the complete length of the Codex Colombino. It would be of small use to repeat these here were it not that incorrect figures have continued to be cited even in the modern literature, resulting in confusion as



FIGURE 5.  
Codex Colombino original manuscript. At the left, page 16 and the fragmentary page 16A; at the right, the fragmentary page 17a and page 17. Pieces 1 by 2 centimetres have been cut from the upper right corner of page 16A and the bottom edge of 17a.



to whether the manuscript has lost additional pages since 1892. It has not, in fact, suffered any such losses despite wide variations in the figures cited for it.

The earliest length figure, given by Batres (1889: 327) as 6 metres, was reasonably correct. The major source of error lies in the three 1892 publications of Paso y Troncoso (1892: 57), Chavero (1892: x), and the lithograph of the codex in the Atlas issued by the Junta Colombina (1892), all of which gave its dimensions as 6.80 metres by 20 centimetres. The appearance of the same figure in three separate publications rules out any possibility of typographical error. Both figures are some ten percent too large, which suggests that either the measuring instrument used was itself defective, or else the codex was measured in some other system and later converted to the metric through a faulty formula.

Lehmann (1905: 260) later added that the individual pages of the Colombino were 20 by 25 centimetres. Even the briefest check on these figures in relation to those of 1892 would show the two sets to be in serious conflict. A 24-page codex whose pages were each 25 centimetres long would have a total length of only 6 metres; and if the length of the manuscript were 6.80 metres, then each page would have to be more than 28 centimetres long.

In 1933 Eduardo Noguera (1933: table following page 602) gave the first accurate measurement of the Colombino, as being 6.11 metres in length by 19 centimetres in height. Nowotny (1961: 1, fn. 4),

working only with a microfilm of the Colombino, questioned the nineteenth century figure of its length and noted that if it was 20 centimetres in height, then its total length could be only 6.425 metres.

Glass (1964: 73) found its dimensions to be '18.5 x 605.5 cms., en conjunto, aproximadamente', while Caso (1966: 12) listed its total length as 6.06 metres and its page size as ranging between 25-26 centimetres long and 18-19 centimetres high. These almost identical figures probably indicate that pages 16A and 17a of the codex were not included in the length measurement. My own measurements of the Colombino (1970a: 249) include all fragmentary pages and yield an average length figure of 611.55 centimetres, and an average page size of 25.38 by 18.57 centimetres, which may be considered the present dimensions of the codex.

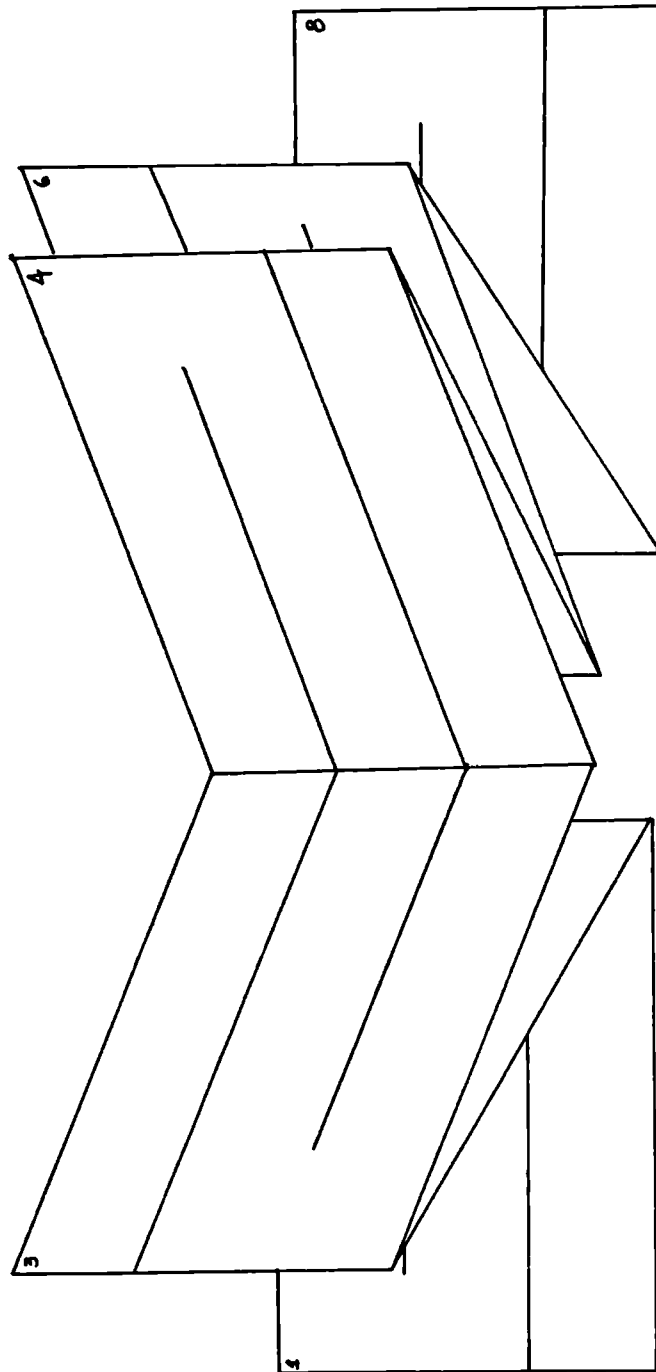
There has been no such controversy concerning the size of the Becker. Saussure (1891) gave no data but Becker himself put its dimensions at 3.99 metres by 18.5 centimetres (Nowotny 1961: 1). Lehmann (1905: 259) reported its total length as 'environ 4 mètres' and its page size as 18.5 by 25 centimetres. Nowotny (1961: 5) found its length to be 396.4 centimetres and its page size 18.3 by 24.8 centimetres. My figures on the Becker (1969a: 180-181) show its average length as 397.0 centimetres and its average page size as 25.02 by 18.43 centimetres.

The Structure of the Fragments. Before any attempt can be made to reconstruct the original Colombino-Becker from its surviving fragments, it is necessary to understand the structural and functional principles that are operative in a screenfold codex containing banded pages. Such an understanding is essential because certain physical regularities in the manuscript are inviolable and therefore form the foundation for all reconstruction work. I have previously explored (1971) in considerable detail the operation of these various factors in the Colombino-Becker, and will summarise only the relevant conclusions here.

The physical form of a screenfold codex is created by equidistant folds in alternate directions made at right angles to the long axis of the manuscript. These folds divide the document into a linear sequence of pages, and when the codex is folded, each page faces towards one of its adjoining pages and away from the other adjoining page, as illustrated in Figure 6. The two pages that face each other are visible together when the codex is opened for reading and share between them what I have named an inside fold, while the pages facing away from each other share an outside fold (Troike 1971: 183).

The alternation in the direction of successive folds I have called the fold sequence, and because it is regular and sequential, merely establishing the direction of a single fold in a screenfold manuscript will automatically establish the correct fold sequence for the entire unbroken piece (Troike 1971: 182-183). Folds in

FIGURE 6.  
Screenfold form of the Codex Colombino-Becker. (After Troike 1971:  
Figure 1.)



opposite directions will delimit each individual page and will also be found at the beginning and end of any odd number of consecutive pages, while folds in the same direction frame the beginning and end of each two consecutive pages and of any even number of such successive pages. These physical data allow for the determination of whether an odd or an even number of pages is missing between the parts of a fragmented screenfold manuscript, and consequently for the establishment of the minimum possible loss as respectively either one or two pages (Troike 1971: 183-184).

The scenes of the Colombino-Becker are painted on its pages within sets of red lines that guide and direct the reading of the pictorial text in a single continuous boustrophedon stream. The designs of these guide lines, which I have called page patterns, occur in only seven basic forms in this codex. The pictorial content of four of these patterns cannot be completely read through except when each pattern is joined directly to another specific pattern; such inter-dependent patterns I have named dual-page sets.<sup>1</sup> The remaining three patterns are drawn so that all the pictorial material on each page is completed before passing to the next page, and these designs I have termed single-page patterns (Troike 1971: 186-187). For convenience of reference I have assigned each of these seven

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<sup>1</sup>Paso y Troncoso (1892: 96), who was the first to explain the operation of the guide lines in the Colombino, clearly understood the function of dual-page sets as taking place across pairs of pages. Caso (1966: 17) considered that these patterns occurred in sets of

patterns a letter designation, connecting the letters for dual-page sets with a hyphen to indicate that they are individually incomplete. All seven page patterns are sketched in Figure 7, with arrows marking the path in which the contents of each pattern must be read. The sequence in which these patterns may follow one another is restricted to only those forms between which a continuous reading is possible (Troike 1971: 189-190).

Because the two pages of a dual-page set must be read together, they must also be seen together in the opened manuscript, and consequently share an inside fold between them. The predictable occurrence of an inside fold between the pages of such sets creates the structural grounds for establishing the fold sequence of all fragments containing even one page of such a set (Troike 1971: 188).

For the Colombino-Becker, the presence of such dual-page sets in Colombino Fragments I, III, and IV, and in Becker Fragments 2 and 3, allows their fold sequences to be established on these structural grounds. The fold sequence for Becker Fragment 1 cannot be structurally determined because it contains only single-page patterns (Troike 1971: 188-189). The problems associated with Colombino Fragment II are complex, and I have discussed them elsewhere in detail (1970a: 250-252; 1971: 189, 191-192).

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four pages, but these are actually only two successive dual-page sets; the reading may be changed between these pairs if the artist desires, as occurs in Becker Fragment 2.

An outline of all the Colombino-Becker fragments is given in Figure 8, showing the guide lines, page pattern letters, and types of folds.<sup>1</sup> These complex data may then be reduced to the much simpler form shown in Figure 9 by representing each page with its page pattern letter and adding the further conventions of a diagonal line (/) to indicate outside folds, a plus sign (+) for page remnants of undetermined pattern, and enclosing incomplete pages within parentheses.<sup>2</sup> Figure 9 thus summarises in succinct fashion the structural framework within which all correlations of the extant Colombino-Becker fragments must be made.

#### THE CORRELATION OF THE COLOMBINO-BECKER FRAGMENTS

Only one sequence of fragments can exactly duplicate the original codex and so present all the surviving scenes in precisely the same order they were originally painted. An incorrect sequence of fragments not only fails to re-create the form of the original manuscript but has the much more damaging effect of changing the sequence in which the historical events appear to have occurred. When attempting to correlate the fragments of the Colombino-Becker, the concurrent operations of the fold sequence and page patterns must of course

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<sup>1</sup>Incomplete pages are indicated by a broken line at the appropriate side. Inside and outside folds are marked as I and O respectively. The three fold sequences possible for Colombino Fragment II, and the two possible for Becker Fragment 1, are all given, since there is no structural basis for selecting among them (Troike 1971: 189, 191-192).

<sup>2</sup>An analysis and interpretation of aberrant page forms and usage is given in Troike (1971: 187-188, 193).



FIGURE 7.  
 Dual-page sets A-B and C-D, and single-page patterns X, E, and F.  
 (After Troike 1971: Figures 4 and 5.)

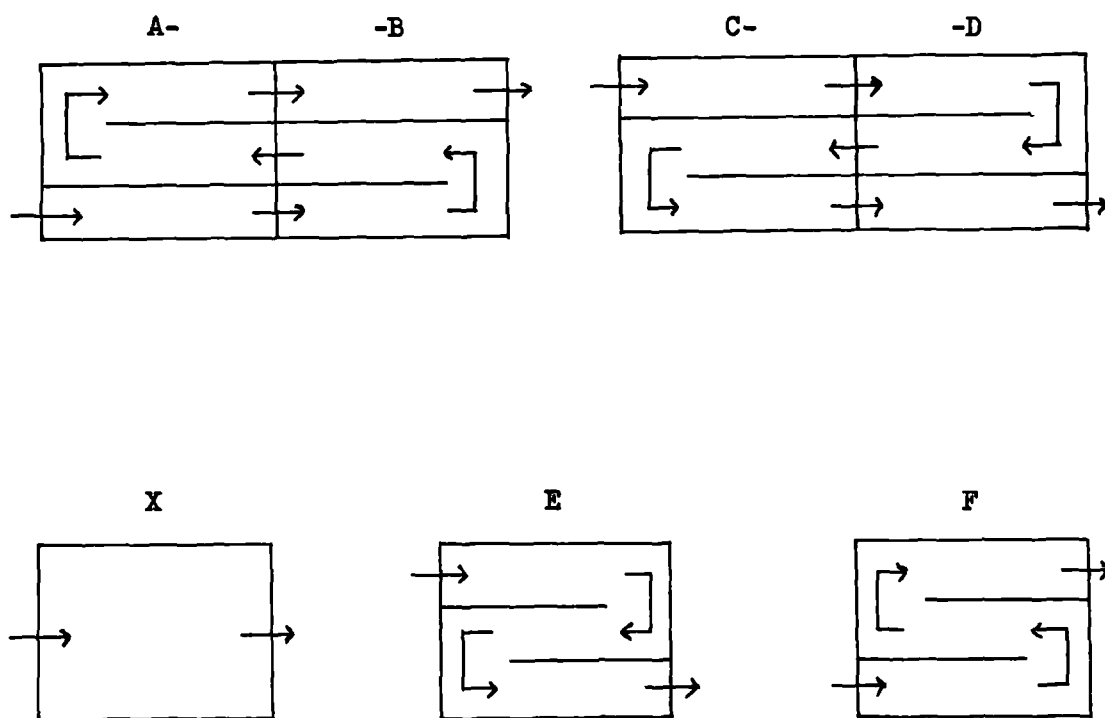


FIGURE 8.  
Extant fragments of the Colombino-Becker. (After Troike 1971:  
Figure 2.)

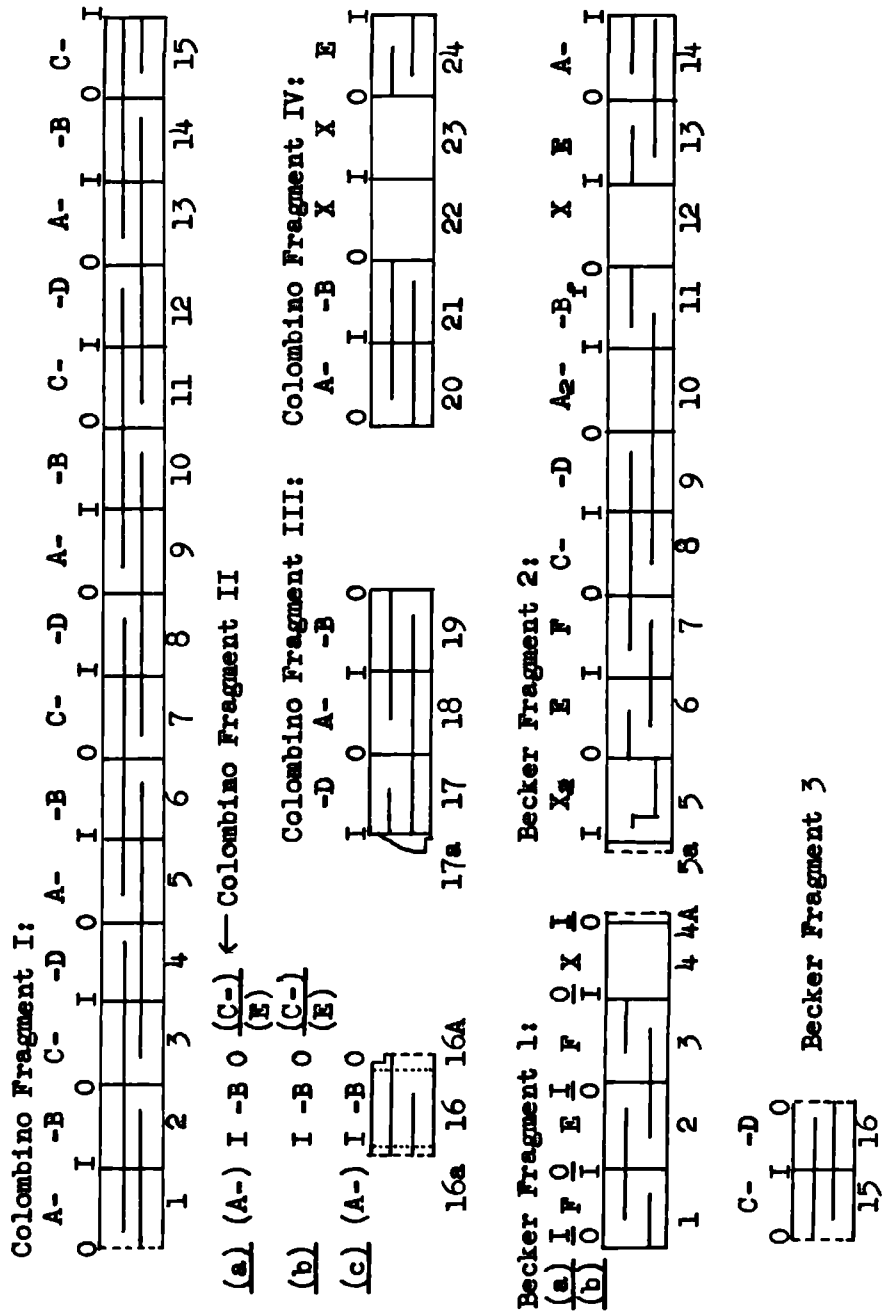


FIGURE 9.

Page patterns and fold sequences of the extant Colombino and Becker fragments. (After Troike 1971: Figure 9.)

## COLOMBINO:

|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| Fragment I      | $/(A)-B/C-D/A-B/C-D/A-B/C-D/A-B/C-$           |
| Fragment II (a) | $(/A-)-B/(\overline{C-})$<br>$(\overline{E})$ |
| (b)             | $-B/(\overline{C-})$<br>$(\overline{E})$      |
| (c)             | $(/A-)-B/$                                    |
| Fragment III    | $-D/A-B/$                                     |
| Fragment IV     | $/A-B/X X/E$                                  |

## BECKER

|                |                                  |
|----------------|----------------------------------|
| Fragment 1 (a) | $F/E F/X (+)$                    |
| (b)            | $/F E/F X/(+)$                   |
| Fragment 2     | $(+) X_2/E F/C-D/A_2-B_f/X E/A-$ |
| Fragment 3     | $/C-(D)/$                        |

receive full consideration, but it is also crucial to consider the evidence of the physical condition of the manuscript itself, such as irregular edges and scratches that might provide clues to the prior relationship of its parts. The only firm bases for correlating the fragments are those supplied by the physical and structural evidence, taken together, of the fragments themselves. Sequences based upon interpretations of the pictorial data, no matter how ingenious or plausible they may seem, cannot be supported if they violate the structural or physical integrity of the manuscript.

Because the extant pieces form the basic units to be manipulated in attempting to re-create the form of the original Colombino-Becker, correlation efforts are focused almost entirely upon the terminal pages of each fragment: in structural terms, determining the relationships possible between their page patterns and fold sequences; in physical terms, searching for material clues in the present condition of the skins and paintings. There will always be a necessity for making some interpretative judgments, as I have previously indicated (1971: 195), because such interpretations are fundamental to the process of restoring a fragmented original. It is essential, however, that all interpretations be clearly labelled as such and treated as hypotheses which, in the opinion of the interpreter, best meet the contingencies of a particular situation.

Only two types of correlations are possible between any two fragments of a screenfold manuscript: either the fragments may be

joined directly together, or they may not be so joined (Troike 1971: 194). In order for a direct connexion to be structurally possible, the fold sequences and page patterns of the two fragments must first be in accord. If a direct union of the fragments is not structurally possible, then a study of the co-ordination of their fold sequences and page patterns will reveal the minimum number of pages lost between them. If the structural features of the two pieces are compatible for a direct connexion, the next step is to examine the originals for physical data such as matching lines or irregularities at the edges that might indicate the pieces had once been together.

There has never been any disagreement concerning the relative order of the fragments within the Colombino and Becker when each manuscript is considered separately. Since both manuscripts were published separately and almost simultaneously, these sequences were established independently of one another, that of the Colombino by Paso y Troncoso (1892: 57) and that of the Becker by Saussure (1891). The entire Colombino-Becker question revolves around the possible interrelationships among these seven fragments. Of particular difficulty is the placement of Colombino Fragment II, which has never been securely positioned in any sequence (Caso 1966: 12, 16, 17, 19, 45), although there has always been complete agreement among scholars that it does not belong where it is now found, between Colombino Fragments I and III (Paso y Troncoso 1892: 58; Clark 1912: 4, 22).

I have previously made detailed examinations of the original Colombino and Becker fragments in order to determine the physical evidence still present in them, and have also explored in detail (1971) the structural bases for correlating the fragments under different circumstances. With all these data in hand I can now establish the original positions held by the seven extant fragments in the undivided Codex Colombino-Becker: Colombino Fragment I was directly connected to Colombino Fragment III, following which a minimum of two pages is lost; Colombino Fragment IV was directly connected to Becker Fragment 1, after which at least another two pages is missing; Becker Fragment 2 was directly connected to Colombino Fragment II which was directly connected to Becker Fragment 3. The evidence for each of these correlations follows.

Colombino Fragments I and III. Paso y Troncoso (1892: 58), Clark (1912: 22), and Caso (1966: 16, 32) all concur that the pictorial text of page 15, the final page of Fragment I, and that of page 17, the first page of Fragment III, are continuous. For this reason the question of the structural and physical evidence for the continuity of the manuscript at this point seems never to have been raised.

Previously I have shown (1971: 196) that there are no structural impediments to the direct connexion of the terminal pages of the two fragments, Fragment I ending with the /C- part of a dual-page set and Fragment III opening with the -D/ part of such a set. The physical data, however, are quite complex.

Page 15 is painted at the end of Skin 4, which terminates vertically at the right fold of this page. Fragment III begins with the partial page 17a which, as can be seen in Figure 5, tapers gradually until it is covered on the obverse face of the manuscript by the small Skin 7. On the reverse side this taper continues into the body of page 17, as is visible in the 1966 reproduction of the Colombino, and the purpose of Skin 7 was to cover this open area. When pages 15 and 17 are connected directly together, Skin 7 then becomes merely the upper right end of Skin 4. The problem thus arises of determining how Skins 4 and 7 were parted without likewise detaching page 17a from page 17, since page 17a would have been fastened on the reverse of page 15 to complete the joint.

The answer seems to be that the glue failed at the joining of the skins between pages 15 and 17. As already mentioned, there is considerable evidence elsewhere in the Colombino-Becker of the weakness of this gluing medium. Skin 7 is now glued firmly in place, but slight discontinuities in the designs along its right edge reveal that it is not in precisely the same position it occupied when the codex was originally painted, indicating that it must have been re-fastened after its glue had loosened. The right side of Skin 7 is also sewn to page 17; and after the glue had ceased to hold Skin 7 to the obverse of page 17, or page 17a to the reverse of page 15, this stitching would have been all that kept the two pages together. In addition, the top of the fold between the pages may have been torn,

since the upper 3 centimetres along the left edge of Skin 7 show a slightly irregular edge. With the two fragments of the manuscript being held together by only a few stitches, it would not be surprising that the leather at the fold eventually tore through or was cut.

Colombino Fragments III and IV. Structurally, Fragment III ends with a -B/ page and Fragment IV begins with an /A- page. No direct connexion is possible when the -B pattern precedes the A-pattern, and consequently a part of the original manuscript is missing at this point. In my previous structural analysis (1971: 184, 197) of the Colombino-Becker, I have shown that an even number of pages must be lost here, so that the least number now missing from the codex is two pages.

Colombino Fragment IV and Becker Fragment 1. Colombino Fragment IV ends with an /E page having an inside fold at its right side, while Becker Fragment 1 opens with a F page, but the single-page patterns of the Becker do not allow its fold sequence to be structurally determined. There are therefore two ways in which the Becker piece could be folded, one of which -- the (a) sequence listed in Figure 9 -- allows the fragment to be directly connected to Colombino Fragment IV, while the (b) sequence does not (Troike 1971: 189, 197). The resolution of the problem of their relationship thus depends entirely upon the data obtained by examining the physical evidence of these terminal pages in the original manuscripts.



Colombino 24, the final page of Fragment IV, and Becker 1, the first of Fragment 1, have both been deliberately damaged by rasping marks in band III. These scratches have destroyed all the paintings near their respective ends, except for a few thin white streaks. In the Colombino this erased area measures 4.05 centimetres in height at its left end and 3.975 centimetres near the right edge of page 24, while in the Becker the height of the destroyed zone is 4.0 centimetres at its left side (measured some 1.5 centimetres from the left edge of the page), and 3.8 centimetres at its right end.

When the facsimile of Becker 1 is placed following the original of Colombino 24, as in Figure 10,<sup>1</sup> it can be seen that not only do the destroyed zones in both pages match, but also some of the rasping lines and surviving paint streaks likewise fit together. Other matching areas of destruction can also be seen in the photograph, such as along the red guide line between bands II and III; and there is, as well, a slight bulge in the right edge of page 24, centred some 4.8 centimetres from the top of the page, that corresponds to a slight indentation in the left side of the Becker page.

In addition, there are also 'extra' folds in the left parts of all the pages of Colombino Fragment IV (pages 20-24) and in the first page of Becker Fragment 1. In Fragment IV the distance between these

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<sup>1</sup>The correspondences between the fragments are difficult to see when the 1966 reproduction of the Colombino is used, due to its incorrect scale and lack of fine detail.

FIGURE 10.  
Colombino Fragment IV and Becker Fragment 1. The original of Colombino 24, at the left, is shown adjacent to the 1961 facsimile of Becker 1, at the right.



'extra' folds and the actual left fold increases in each successive page, the change being from some 4.9 centimetres for page 20 to 6.8 centimetres for page 24 (Troike 1970a: 250). This pattern is continued in Becker 1, where the 'extra' fold lies 7.1 centimetres from the left fold (Troike 1969a: 181).

These physical data indicate that Colombino 24 and Becker 1 were originally continuous and should be rejoined, combining Colombino Fragment IV and Becker Fragment 1 into a single strip. This establishes the correct fold sequence of the Becker piece as its (a) form. Colombino Skin 10 and Becker Skin 1 would then also become a single skin, and the 'extra' folds show that it was already fastened to Colombino Skin 9 when the 'extra' folds were made.

Becker Fragments 1 and 2. Becker Fragments 1 and 2 end and begin, respectively, with a small remnant of another page, so no direct connexion is possible between them. The attachment of Fragment 1 to Colombino Fragment IV having determined the proper fold sequence for the former, I have previously shown (1971: 184, 197-198) that between its (a) form and Fragment 2 a minimum of two pages must be lost. The first and final of these missing pages must be partially incomplete, the remainder of each still being attached to Fragments 1 and 2.

Becker Fragment 2 and Colombino Fragment II. Becker Fragment 2 ends with the /A- half of a dual-page set that can only be followed by a -B/ page. I have previously investigated in some detail (1970a: 250-252; 1971: 189, 191-192, 198-200) the problems associated with

the structural form of the basically -B/ pattern of Colombino Fragment II, including the number of pages it might contain and the proper fold sequence to be utilised for it. Fragment II is 27 centimetres long and so must consist of more than a single page, but two folds cross it only 23.8 centimetres apart and make any decision concerning its original form very difficult. It may be interpreted in three different ways, but because it is not possible to choose among these on structural grounds, its correlation with Becker Fragment 2 must depend upon the physical evidence now found in their terminal pages.

Figure 11 shows the 1961 facsimile of Becker 14, the final page of Fragment 2, placed some 0.4 centimetres to the left of Colombino Fragment II. This separation is necessary because approximately the latter amount of page 14 is now turned under and sewn to the patching skin that immediately follows it in the Becker (Troike 1969a: 179). It is therefore not possible to make direct comparisons between the right edge of Becker 14 and the left side of Fragment II, although Figure 11 shows that the band lines on the two pages match exactly.

However, the scraping to which the hides were subjected in the course of preparing the leather for use in the original manuscript has left sets of marks which are still visible, and several of such sets cross between page 14 and Fragment II, particularly in bands I

FIGURE 11.  
Becker Fragment 2 and Colombino Fragment II. The 1961 facsimile  
of Becker 14 placed some 0.4 centimetres to the left of the  
original of Colombino 16.



and III.<sup>1</sup> One such line begins on Becker 14-III at the butt of the right arrow in the year sign and extends to the hole in the Colombino (shown in the 1966 reproduction as a black oval) above the head of the first man. The upper part of band I in both pages is characterised by a number of matching scraping lines approximately parallel to the top edge of the manuscript. Another set of these lines crosses through the lower part of the year sign in Becker 14-I and ends in the top band of Fragment II some 2 centimetres to the left of the stitching between Colombino Skins 5 and 6.

The physical evidence of these matching scraping lines indicates that the two fragments were originally a single strip and should be rejoined. Attaching Colombino Fragment II directly to Becker Fragment 2 allows the proper form of the Colombino piece to be established as its (b) sequence and hence as a -B/ page followed by a partial page having either a /C- or an E pattern.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Most of these lines can be seen clearly in the 1961 Becker facsimile but only faintly or not at all in the 1966 Colombino reproduction.

<sup>2</sup>In the (a) and (c) interpretations of Fragment II, the left 1.3 centimetres of the piece is considered to represent the remnant of an /A- pattern called page 16a (Troike 1971: 191-192). Becker Fragment 2 ends with an /A- page which is 24.5 centimetres long plus an additional 0.4 centimetres which is now turned under, making its total extant length at least 24.9 centimetres and indicating that at most only a few additional millimetres could be missing from its right side. The 1.3 centimetres width of the potentially /A- patterned part of Fragment II is much too great to form the right part of Becker 14, since it would thereby create a page 26.2 centimetres long, about 1 centimetre longer than the average page length in the Colombino-Becker and almost half a centimetre longer than the longest

Colombino Fragment II and Becker Fragment 3. Colombino Fragment II has been defined by its attachment to Becker Fragment 2 as ending with the page remnant 16A. This partial page is only 1.9 centimetres long and has a pattern that must be either /C- or E because traces of an upper band line still remain (Troike 1971: 191-192). Becker Fragment 3 begins with page 15, a /C- pattern only 23.3 centimetres long, which is incomplete at its left side. If Colombino 16A were interpreted as a /C- pattern and combined with Becker 15, the result would be a single page of 25.2 centimetres, very close to the average size of pages in the Colombino-Becker. Since their lengths are thus compatible, a detailed examination of the physical evidence in the originals is needed to determine whether the two pages were originally actually so related.

Figure 12 shows the original Colombino 16A placed beside the 1961 facsimile of Becker 15. A slight projection at the right side of page 16A, located 1.0 centimetre below its upper red guide line, matches a small notch in the left edge of page 15, likewise found 1.0

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complete page presently extant. With the two fragments connected directly together, the possible existence of a page 16a entity with an /A- pattern is therefore disproved, and the (a) and (c) interpretations of the form of Fragment II, which utilised an initial /A- pattern, must be discarded. The fold that formerly distinguished page 16a as a separate area can now be considered an accidental crease, made perhaps while Fragment II was sewn to Colombino Fragment III; since the total length of the former is 1.7 centimetres greater than the length of Colombino 17 to which it was once sewn, the discrepancy might have led some past owner of the codex to fold the excess portion of Fragment II.

FIGURE 12.

Colombino Fragment II and Becker Fragment 3. At the left, the original of Colombino 16 and 16A; at the right, the 1961 facsimile of Becker 15, a page which is incomplete at its left side.





centimetre below its upper band line; when the two are fitted together, these upper band lines exactly coincide.

All the painted scenes on Colombino 16A have been destroyed, the only textual evidence now remaining being stains from the red paint used in those scenes and in its upper guide line. Below the traces of this band line there are three blurred red areas which are across from the temple on Becker 15-II-III, each of the three being exactly opposite a place where red paint is used in the temple.

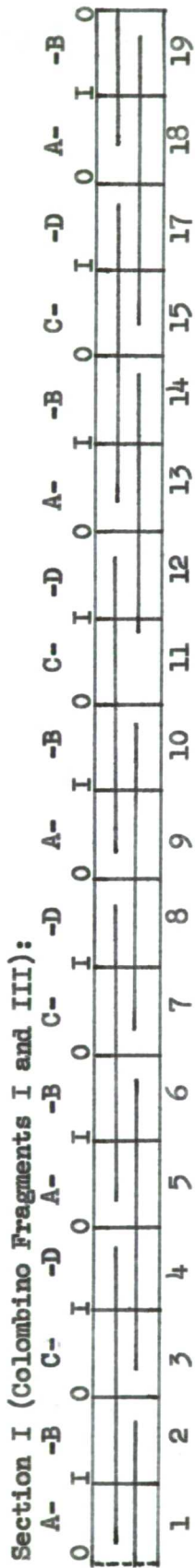
The uppermost of these red spots is about 0.4 centimetres in diameter and is precisely in line with the topmost horizontal element in the Becker temple roof, in which a red background is decorated with circular objects. The second spot is some 0.55 centimetres in diameter and is directly in line with the row of alternately red and blue L-shaped designs above the lintel of the Becker building doorway. The third is a vertical stain some 1.2 centimetres high by 0.2 centimetres wide, exactly across from the lintel of the temple, which is painted as a red background containing large circular decorations. There are also other faint traces of red in the lower part of Colombino 16A opposite the base of the Becker building, but the latter has itself been mostly destroyed by water damage in this area so that only a few red streaks of its design can now be seen.

These physical data show that Colombino 16A is the missing left portion of Becker 15. Rejoining these two partial pages establishes the pattern of page 16A as its /C- form and creates a single page 25.2 centimetres long.

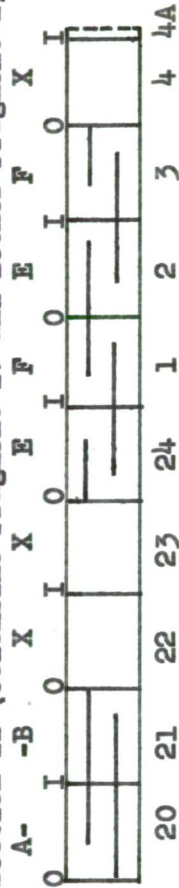
The Sections of the Codex. The seven individual fragments of the Codex Colombino-Becker have now been combined into three longer strips: Section I consists of Colombino Fragments I and III; Section II, of Colombino Fragment IV and Becker Fragment 1; and Section III, of Becker Fragment 2, Colombino Fragment II, and Becker Fragment 3.

Figure 13 shows the schematic appearance of the codex with its fragments regrouped into these three sections. Structural changes in the forms of several pages are obvious if this figure is compared with the earlier Figure 8. Among these, Colombino 17a has disappeared, since it now falls on the reverse side of the manuscript behind Colombino 15 as support for the joint between pages 15 and 17. The existence of Colombino 16a as a possible page remnant has been disproved and it is not marked on Figure 13. Colombino Fragment II is no longer incomplete at either end, nor is Becker 15 incomplete at its left side; the connexion between Colombino 16A and Becker 15 is marked on Figure 13 with a dotted line, however. The proper fold sequences for Becker Fragment 1 and Colombino Fragment II have been resolved by their attachment to fragments whose fold sequences were already structurally determined.

All these data concerning the manuscript are summarised succinctly in Figure 14, utilising the same conventions as earlier in Figure 9. A comparison of Figures 9 and 14 will show that the latter has been considerably simplified by the removal of the ambiguities present in the former.



Section II (Colombino Fragment IV and Becker Fragment 1):



Section III (Becker Fragment 2, Colombino Fragment II, and Becker Fragment 3):

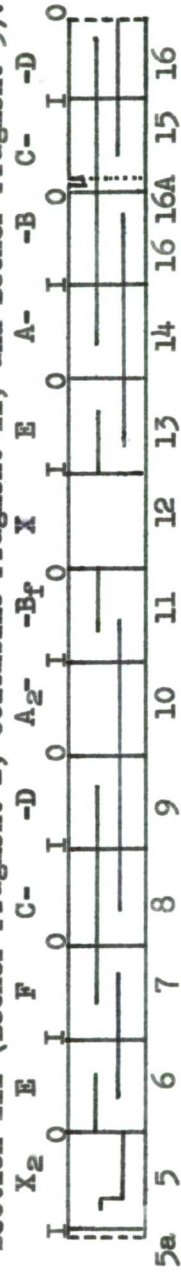


FIGURE 13.  
Rejoined fragments of the Colombino-Becker.

## FIGURE 14.

Page patterns and fold sequences of the three Colombino-Becker sections.

SECTION I (Colombino Fragments I and III):

/ (A) - B / C - D / A - B / C - D / A - B / C - D / A - B / C - D / A - B /

SECTION II (Colombino Fragment IV and Becker Fragment 1):

/ A - B / X X / E F / E F / X (+)

SECTION III (Becker Fragment 2, Colombino Fragment II, and Becker Fragment 3):

(+) X<sub>2</sub> / E F / C - D / A<sub>2</sub> - B<sub>1</sub> / X E / A - B / C - (D /)

Additional Lost Pages. Between the three sections of the restored Codex Colombino-Becker, however, additional pages of the original manuscript are still missing: at least two pages are gone between Sections I and II, and another two pages between Sections II and III. Taken together with the surviving 40 pages shown in Figure 14, this structural minimum of four missing pages means that the original length of the three extant sections of the Colombino-Becker could not have been less than 44 pages.

However, while it is not structurally possible for fewer than two pages to be lost between each of the present sections, it is quite feasible in both instances for a greater number than two to be missing. As already mentioned, any even number of consecutive pages fulfills all the same physical requirements as the minimum number of two pages. The lengths of the skins on which the manuscript is painted might potentially furnish clues concerning whether more than two pages are lost between each of the sections. If there should be any patterns or regularities in these skin lengths, such information could be projected across the broken areas of the codex as hypotheses concerning the actual number of pages now missing between its parts.

The direct connexions given above for the various fragments have reduced the number of separate skins present in the extant manuscript. The joining of Colombino Fragments I and III results in Colombino Skins 4 and 7 being combined into a single piece 89.8 centimetres long. Connecting Colombino Fragment IV to Becker Frag-

ment 1 unites Colombino Skin 10 with Becker Skin 1 to form a strip 84.6 centimetres in length. When Becker Fragment 2 is joined to Colombino Fragment II, Becker Skin 6 and Colombino Skin 5 are combined into a skin 75.3 centimetres long. The connexion of Colombino Fragment II to Becker Fragment 3 brings Colombino Skin 6 and Becker Skin 7 together in a single strip of 66.5 centimetres. By these means the 17 skins listed previously in Figure 4 are now reduced to only 13. Figure 15 shows these new relationships; as in Figure 4, potentially incomplete skins are enclosed within parentheses.

There are now seven complete skins instead of only four, and a study of Figure 15 reveals a definite trend within the codex for their lengths to become progressively shorter. This does not seem to be accidental, but rather appears to reflect the preference of the artists for the use of the longer skins first. There may be a simple and quite practical reason for this -- the longer the skin, the more pictorial events the artist could record before having to stop to attach another hide.

The decrease in skin length within the manuscript is not entirely absolute because Becker Skin 4 is several centimetres shorter than the two skins that follow it. Instead, there seem to be three clusters of lengths as the codex continues, each marking a significant decrease from the preceding group. The first of these clusters occurs at about 101 centimetres in length; the second group averages around 87 centimetres long; and the third, circa 75 centimetres. In

FIGURE 15.

Length of individual skins with Colombino and Becker fragments rejoined into three sections.

## SECTION I (Colombino Fragments I and III):

|                         |         |
|-------------------------|---------|
| Colombino Skin 1        | (100.8) |
| Colombino Skin 2        | 101.6   |
| Colombino Skin 3        | 101.5   |
| Colombino Skins 4 and 7 | 89.8    |
| Colombino Skin 8        | (77.7)  |

## SECTION II (Colombino Fragment IV and Becker Fragment 1):

|                                     |        |
|-------------------------------------|--------|
| Colombino Skin 9                    | (72.8) |
| Colombino Skin 10 and Becker Skin 1 | 84.6   |
| Becker Skin 2                       | (70.8) |

## SECTION III (Becker Fragment 2, Colombino Fragment II, and Becker Fragment 3):

|                                    |        |
|------------------------------------|--------|
| Becker Skin 3                      | (38.4) |
| Becker Skin 4                      | 73.08  |
| Becker Skin 5                      | 76.3   |
| Becker Skin 6 and Colombino Skin 5 | 75.3   |
| Colombino Skin 6 and Becker Skin 7 | (66.5) |

terms of decreasing length, the second group is some 14 centimetres shorter than the first, and the third is about 12 centimetres less than the second.

In addition, there are six skins whose lengths cluster within the narrow range of 70.8 to 77.7 centimetres. Three of these are complete and three are potentially incomplete, with the three complete ones all being found in Section III and the three others in Sections I and II. These data simultaneously suggest the use of a number of skins averaging some 75 centimetres in length without clarifying the question of whether those in Sections I and II might originally have been longer.

It therefore seems desirable to make two different sets of projections concerning skin lengths: one based on a general decrease in length throughout the manuscript; and the other, on a consideration that all skins in the 70-78 centimetre range are complete. It is necessary to stress, however, that these projections are merely hypotheses. Only recovery of the missing parts of the Colombino-Becker can determine the actual lengths of the skins lost from the original manuscript.

The lengths of the first three skins of the extant manuscript (Colombino Skins 1, 2, and 3) are closely clustered around 101 centimetres. With the fourth skin (Colombino Skins 4/7), however, the length abruptly drops some 11 centimetres to 89.8 centimetres. The next complete skin (Colombino Skin 10/Becker Skin 1) is 84.6 centi-



metres long, suggesting that possibly these latter two might represent a group of skins averaging about 87 centimetres in length. Between them lie Colombino Skins 8 and 9, each a terminal skin of a section of the manuscript and therefore potentially incomplete.

Colombino Skin 8, at 77.7 centimetres, is some ten centimetres shorter than this postulated average of 87 centimetres, while the 72.8 centimetres of Skin 9 is about 15 centimetres less than the proposed figure. Although together the areas missing from these two skins would total to 25 centimetres, which is the average length of a page in the Colombino-Becker, an even number of pages are what must be missing here between Sections I and II. One additional page therefore entails a further addition of 25 centimetres of skin, but there is no skin in the extant manuscript so short as this. If the loss between the sections was four pages, then to the 25 centimetres missing from these two extant skins, another skin some 75 centimetres long would need to be added. Similarly, if six pages, then at least an additional 125 centimetres of new skin is needed; if eight, then 175 centimetres. If each new skin added was approximately 87 centimetres long, the length postulated as being used in this area of the codex, two such skins would total to some 174 centimetres, the amount needed if eight pages were missing.

If Colombino Skins 8 and 9 are each considered to be complete, however, then all pages added between them would occur on new skins. If all such additional skins were postulated as being about 75

centimetres long, each would equal three pages of the codex, and in order to achieve the necessary even number, at least two such skins would be needed, representing six pages.

Between Sections II and III of the manuscript two pages are the minimum possible loss, and any larger total must therefore be an even number. Becker Skin 2 at the end of Section II is 70.8 centimetres long, which Section III begins with Becker Skin 3, now only 38.4 centimetres in length and therefore almost certainly severely truncated. The complete skin (Colombino Skin 10/Becker Skin 1) immediately preceding Becker Skin 2 is 84.6 centimetres long, while the three complete skins following Becker Skin 3 are each approximately 75 centimetres in length. Thus one of the reductions in skin length appears to occur between Sections II and III, and the skins lost between them may perhaps show some variance in lengths.

At the end of Becker Skin 2 and the beginning of Skin 3, respectively, are the two tiny page remnants Becker 4A and 5a, which together total about 2 centimetres. The minimum needed to bridge between the extant skins in two pages would therefore be only about 48 centimetres, rather than the usual 50 centimetres. If Skin 2 had originally been 87 centimetres long, then some 17 centimetres would now be missing from it, while Skin 3 falls short of 75 centimetres by about 37 centimetres. These two projections together total 54 centimetres, some 6 centimetres longer than needed for the minimum possible two-page loss, which might indicate that the missing

portions of the two skins were shorter than the average figure used here. Were Skin 2 considered to have been only 83, and Skin 3 only 73, centimetres in length originally, then their missing parts would total to 48 centimetres and would span the gap in two pages without further loss.

If Becker Skins 2 and 3 were both raised to a length of 87 centimetres, a total of 64 centimetres would be lost from the two of them together, and the addition of one skin of some 86 centimetres would suffice to form six pages. If Skin 2 was considered to be complete and Skin 3 was thought to have been about 75 centimetres long, then the only missing portion would be 37 centimetres lost from the latter. One skin of 75 centimetres and one of 87 centimetres would bridge between the fragments almost exactly, and eight pages would be lost.

It is also quite probable that additional pages are lost from both the beginning and end of the present manuscript, since the first page of Section I and the last page of Section III are each incomplete at their unattached side. Paso y Troncoso (1892: 58) noted the possibility of pages being lost at the start of the Colombino, and Clark (1912: 4) suggested that 'At least two pages, if not many more, are missing from the beginning'. Caso (1966: 16-17, 21), considering that the pages of the Colombino should be read in sets of four, thought that two pages were lost preceding the extant text. Since the codex now begins with an outside fold, additional pages must be

postulated in multiples of two if the unused reverse face of the first page is to be maintained as the outside front cover.

The second and third skins of Section I are slightly over 101 centimetres in length, while the first skin is only a few millimetres less; the latter, although classed as potentially incomplete because it is unattached at one end, would therefore seem quite probably also to be complete. Any pages preceding Section I would consequently have to be on a separate skin, and to maintain the pattern established by the other three skins this new skin should also be some 101 centimetres in length. About one centimetre of the added skin would be needed to complete the missing left portion of page 1, with the remainder forming four new pages. Each additional skin of 101 centimetres that might be added would also contain another four pages.

Concerning any pages that might have followed the present end of the Colombino-Becker, Caso (1966: 17) concluded that 'no sabemos cuántos más habría, aunque si relataban únicamente la historia de 4 Viento "Xihcoatl" no deben faltar muchas.' As was true for the beginning of the codex, any pages postulated as occurring after the present end of Section III would need to be added in multiples of two to maintain the unpainted reverse face of the last page as the back cover.

The final extant page of Section III, Becker 16, lacks part of its right side and is now only 21.9 centimetres long, and the skin on

which it is painted (Colombino Skin 6/Becker Skin 7) is only 66.5 centimetres in length. This latter skin is some 9 centimetres shorter than the average of the three complete skins preceding it and therefore might possibly represent another step of decreasing skin length. Indeed, three skins each about 67 centimetres in length, would almost exactly equal the 3 centimetres missing from the right side of page 16 plus eight additional pages. However, if it were postulated that this final skin had originally been 75 centimetres long and should have an additional 9 centimetres restored to it, this extension and two other skins each about 72 centimetres in length would equal six additional pages.

The hypothetical reconstructions suggested above demonstrate that the lengths of the skins in the extant manuscript may eventually help achieve an estimation of the number of pages now missing from the original text, for the regularities in the surviving sections would probably have been continued in the parts of the codex that are now lost. From the evidence discussed above, it seems most likely that more pages are missing between Sections I and II than only the two that are the minimum loss structurally. Between Sections II and III, however, the analysis indicates a much higher degree of probability that the minimum of two pages might be all that is lost. Preceding the beginning of Section I, a loss of at least four pages seems indicated, and following after the end of Section III several additional pages are now probably missing. While

it must be emphasised again that these projections are only hypotheses based upon observable regularities, they do indicate that skin length is another physical feature that must be fully considered when reconstructing a fragmented manuscript.

#### THE COMBINED COLOMBINO-BECKER

While the codex was still in its original form -- that is, before it was fragmented -- certain classes of objects in its pictorial text were deliberately and systematically destroyed, animal heads constituting the prime target. These heads are crucial components in day and year dates, in place names, and in the personal and calendar names of individuals as well as their distinguishing helmets. The reasons for this intentional destruction are not yet completely clear, but it does seem that the person erasing the heads probably did not understand how to read the pictorial text of the codex. If, for example, his main intent was to remove the town names, then there was no need to destroy the animal heads functioning in dates and in the names and helmets of persons. If the purpose was to conceal the identity of certain individuals, then there was no need to erase the animals in place signs and dates.

The failure of this person to understand the contents of the codex is further emphasised by his destroying principally only recognisable objects. Other representations whose function is identical to the obliterated objects, but whose form might not be so patently obvious, such as the signs for Flint or Movement, normally

escaped damage. Some year dates have therefore survived while others were destroyed, showing that he had no comprehension of the significance of the year sign. It seems quite probable, in fact, that the actual knowledge of the person carrying out this systematic destruction extended no further than a realisation that an animal representation might occur for a particular type of circumstance which he wished to remove from the codex, and in order to make certain of his goal in a text whose meaning he could not understand except on the most obvious level, he simply destroyed all animal heads wherever he found them.

The few surviving animal representations are therefore left in an ambiguous position -- were they merely overlooked accidentally, or were they left for a specific purpose? Although in certain areas of the manuscript the animal heads are less thoroughly erased than in other parts, there are at least four examples whose survival does not seem accidental. All four are in the Colombino, and all are of birds; they are found on Colombino 5-II, 8-I, 14-II, and 20-I.

The latter three are all place signs composed of a hill whose peak forms part of the body of the bird, with the head, wings, tail, and claws of the bird shown as separate elements. In all these cases other place signs on the same page have been destroyed, so there seems little likelihood these three might have been missed accidentally.

The fourth occurrence is that of the very large bird head in the place sign identified by Smith (1963: 277-279; 1966: 156-157)

as representing Tututepec. The bird head itself is intact but an area within its opened beak has been erased. Smith (1963: 277-278) has pointed out that Tututepec's name means 'Bird Hill' in both Mixtec and Nahuatl, and noted that in other codices its representation may contain a human face or chin inside the bird's beak, to emphasise by homophony the sound of the Mixtec word for 'bird'. In this Colombino representation the destruction of what was probably the human face within the bird's beak again indicates that the person who damaged the manuscript had no understanding of how to read it. His intention seems to have been to leave the Tututepec place sign intact, and inasmuch as the name 'Bird Hill' does not contain any overt reference to the human face, he erased this additional object from the bird's beak.

The three other undestroyed Colombino place signs with birds are each composed of a bird and a hill, and might therefore also have been interpreted as referring to Tututepec. Furthermore, with the exception of these four examples, all other occurrences of bird heads have been so carefully and thoroughly expunged from the Colombino-Becker that only a few traces now remain even of the bird helmets worn by individuals (Troike n.d.a: part I). These destructive activities would seem intended to emphasise the presence of place signs in the pictorial text that seem related to the name of Tututepec, and thus to increase the apparent importance of Tututepec in the manuscript. This, in turn, could indicate that the person responsible for the damage was closely connected with Tututepec.



If so, he was not the same person who added the Tututepec boundary glosses to the Colombino. The patterned destruction of animal heads is present in both the Colombino and the Becker, whereas Smith (1966: 165) has pointed out that the Colombino was already separated from the Becker and in its present form at the time the Tututepec boundary glosses were added. Since the glosser of these boundaries could not be responsible for the damage in the Becker, by extension he is probably not responsible for the same type of erasure found in the Colombino. In addition, the glosser was also apparently unable to read most of the pictorial text of the Colombino, since the place names written on the manuscript usually have no relation to the historical events depicted in its scenes. Both the glosses and the destruction of the pictorial text point to Tututepec, however, and could well indicate a lengthy association of the manuscript with that town during the post-Hispanic era.

Regardless of the purposes of the erasure of the animal heads in the Colombino-Becker, the destruction has made the identification of many individuals extremely difficult because it has removed vital elements of their calendar and personal names. Fortunately, many of the figures in the codex are drawn wearing a form of animal-head helmet that included the animal's lower jaw, which was not normally erased. From regularities in the designs of these lower jaws I have been able to determine the nature of the animal originally depicted in the helmet. Patterns of association between specific

forms of animal-head helmets and certain individuals then became apparent, and on the bases of these correlations I was able to propose identifications for many figures in the pictorial text (Troike n.d.a: part IV). These identifications are based entirely upon the internal evidence of the depictions in the manuscript itself. This is a crucial matter, for the only alternative in attempting to identify figures with destroyed names is to rely upon cognate scenes in other Mixtec codices, and in so doing, there is always the danger that these latter texts may vary significantly from the tradition recorded in the Colombino-Becker.

In addition to the difficulties created by the fragmentation of the original codex and the erasure of parts of its pictorial contents, there is still another problem in studying the Colombino-Becker: the fact that its text was painted by several different artists (Troike 1970b). Variations in the drawings have been noted by earlier scholars, Paso y Troncoso (1892: 58) having described the intercalated Colombino 16 as differing in figures, colours, and style from its neighbouring pages. Caso (1966: 12) mentioned styles in the Colombino only briefly:

A partir de la pág. XIII se nota cierto cambio de estilo en las págs. XIV, XV, XVII, y XIX, y un segundo cambio en las págs. XX a XXIV y en la pág. XVI, que va probablemente al final, creemos que vuelve a aparecer el estilo del primer tlacuilo.

Las diferencias de estilo que hemos señalado, son sin embargo mínimas. Evidentemente todos los pintores pertenecían a la misma escuela....

Nowotny (1961: 7) apparently did not recognise any different styles within the Colombino-Becker, and of the Becker itself spoke only in general terms, such as: 'Der Stil des Codex Becker I ist sehr konventionell; er ist das Ergebnis einer langen Tradition. Die Figuren sind aus ihren Einzelementen zusammengesetzt.'

I have previously analysed (1970b) the styles used for human figures in the Colombino-Becker and described briefly how the three most extensive styles differ in the portrayal of the body and of some elements of clothing. In general terms, I have defined Style I as occurring in Colombino 3-10 of Section I; Style II, in Colombino 11-15 and 17-19 of Section I; and Style III, in Becker 1-4A of Section II and 5a-16 of Section III (Troike 1970b: 167). These locations are intended only to indicate the general span of each type, however, for within the pages cited for a particular style there may also be some few figures in a different style. Several pages of the Colombino, including 7, 8, and 20, do not contain any human representations and hence are omitted from stylistic considerations.

Colombino Fragment II, which can now be placed in Section III, is also painted in Style III. In addition, two other styles can be distinguished within the Colombino. These two were omitted from my earlier stylistic study (1970b) because each is found in only a small number of figures, most of which are badly damaged. These two new styles are: Style IV, found only in Colombino 15-III and 17-III of Section I, and consisting of a few small and partly destroyed figures;

and Style V, found in Colombino 22-24 in Section II, and also used in only a few figures.

A difficult problem arises from the occurrence of several styles within a single manuscript, for the nature of certain types of painted information appears to change from one artist to another. This becomes a significant factor in attempting to distinguish between those data which the individual painter might freely vary, according to his abilities and inclinations, without endangering the comprehensibility of his pictorial text, and those that were culturally essential in order for the intended Mixtec readers to understand fully the meaning of the scenes (Troike 1970b: 167). My earlier stylistic analysis (1970b) showed that different artists had somewhat different ideas concerning which items were ethnographically necessary and which ones might be subjected to greater variation. However, since we have no real knowledge of Mixtec expectations or requirements in these areas, most of the painted information of the text must be treated as potentially ethnographic.

Another problem, also stemming from the several styles found in the Colombino-Becker, is that of the preferred uses of space by each of the different painters. Some artists draw smaller and more compact figures. Some depict events in a concise fashion, while others extend similar scenes over a greater amount of space. As a result of these variations in style, equal amounts of space in the codex do not necessarily contain equal quantities of pictorial information.

For example, the artist of Style V utilises two complete pages (Colombino 22-23) to depict only a single scene -- albeit an important one -- and devotes most of another page (Colombino 24) to showing one place sign and a procession of five men. He thus expends almost one-third of the total space in Section II of the codex on depictions of only two events. The painter of Style III is more concise, averaging about one scene per band, while in Styles I and II the artists usually show some two scenes in each band.

As a result, there is approximately twice as much historical information on each of the pages drawn in Styles I and II, as there is on the pages painted in Style III; and of course a much greater amount than in those done in Style V. These spatial variations must be taken into consideration when attempting to estimate the data that might have been depicted on the pages now lost from the manuscript.

The remainder of this study is devoted to an analysis of the pictorial text of the Codex Colombino-Becker. It will be divided into five chapters, each containing an interpretation of the contents of all or a part of a section of the surviving manuscript.

## CHAPTER IV

## SECTION I OF THE CODEX COLOMBINO-BECKER:

## COLOMBINO FRAGMENTS I AND III: PART I

The Codex Colombino-Becker essentially depicts the political history of 8 Deer's rise to power in the Mixteca. Its contents are thus in part obviously biographical, but all references to his several marriages and subsequent children are totally omitted, so that it does not contain the genealogical information that is usually shown for him in other Mixtec manuscripts. The focus of the Colombino-Becker is not upon 8 Deer as a biological link in the chain of rulership in Oaxaca, but rather upon him as an individual engaged in activities of a political nature.

Section I contains 18 pages, almost half the entire number still remaining in the extant codex. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, the internal structure of the manuscript, and the lengths of the skins in use at its start, suggest to me that four pages are probably missing from the codex preceding this section. If these lost pages utilised the same sequence of /A-B/C-D/ page patterns that characterise all the surviving pages of Section I, this would amount to 12 bands of pictorial data that are now gone.

Kinship is fundamental to many of the personal relationships shown in the manuscript, and the artists of the codex might have found it expedient to identify at least some of these individuals

by showing their genealogical background, particularly the members of 8 Deer's family. No such data are found in the present text, and if they appeared, they would probably have been given at the beginning of the document. The text of the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', which most nearly parallels that of the Colombino-Becker, and which might therefore help to indicate what was in the missing first pages of the latter manuscript, begins by depicting the two marriages of 8 Deer's father and the resulting children of each.

An understanding of 8 Deer's family background is basic to any interpretation of the contents of the Colombino-Becker. In addition to the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 42-43), this information is also pictured in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' (1902: 26), Vindobonensis Reverse (6-7), and Bodley (7-8), each account differing somewhat from all the others.<sup>1</sup> 5 Alligator was first married to ♀ 9 Eagle in either the Years 5 Reed or 6 Flint. Their first child, a son 12 Movement, was born in the Year 7 House, and two years later in the Year 9 Reed there was a daughter ♀ 6 Lizard; one or two additional sons followed.

In the Year 10 House, some 17 or 18 years after this first marriage, 5 Alligator married for the second time, to ♀ 11 Water. She had been previously married to 3 Wind, by whom she had a son 8 Flower.

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<sup>1</sup>For example, the Bodley has exchanged the names of 5 Alligator's two wives, while the Vindobonensis Reverse and Bodley date his first marriage as occurring one year earlier than do the two Zouche-Nuttall accounts. Children of lesser importance, or those who died before marriage, are included in some texts and omitted from others.

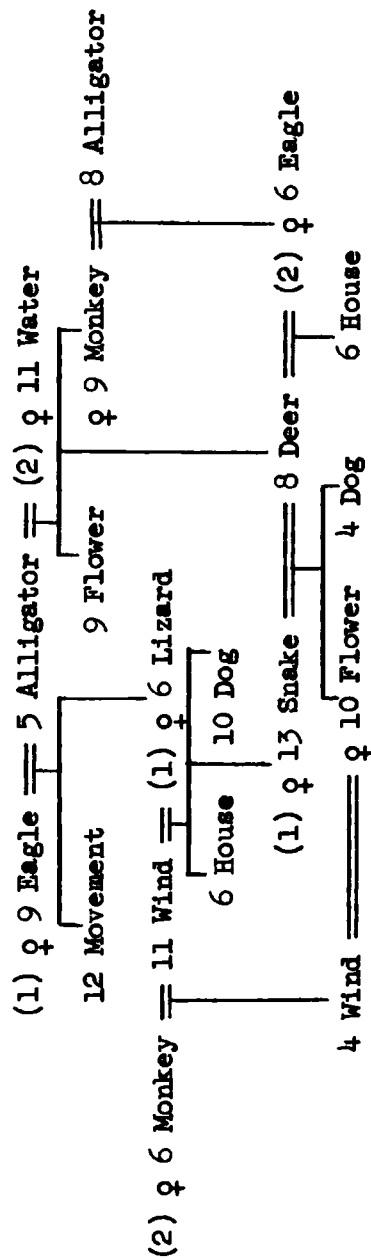
8 Deer was born two years later, on the Day 8 Deer of the Year 12 Reed, the first child of this second marriage. At the time of his birth, his half-brother 12 Movement was already 18 years old. In the following Year 13 Flint a daughter ♀ 9 Monkey arrived, and three years afterwards, in the Year 3 Reed, another son, 9 Flower; later there was a second daughter. The data concerning 5 Alligator's marriages and most important children, and in turn their subsequent marriages and children, are summed up in the kinship diagram shown in Figure 16.

If the Colombino-Becker originally began with a statement of the family background of 8 Deer, a depiction of the marriage and children of his older half-sister ♀ 6 Lizard would have been helpful in clarifying certain relationships that were later to become very important. ♀ 6 Lizard was married to 11 Wind in the Year 10 House when she was 14 years old, and they had three children, 10 Dog, 6 House, and ♀ 13 Snake (Bodley 34-IV-III). She apparently either died or was later supplanted in 11 Wind's affection by the redoubtable ♀ 6 Monkey, who married him in the Year 13 Rabbit (when 8 Deer was already 27 years of age) and bore him two sons. The first of these, 4 Wind, was born in the Year 2 Flint and would later be responsible for the murder of 8 Deer; the second was born a few years later (Bodley 36-34; Selden 7-8). However, these data concerning ♀ 6 Lizard are not shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', and it is therefore quite possible that they may not have been pictured in the Colombino-Becker.



FIGURE 16.

Descendants of 5 Alligator. Double lines join marriage pairs; vertical lines connect parents with their children. All the marriages of an individual may not be shown, nor all the children of each marriage. Numbers in parentheses indicate the sequence in which the wives were married by the male.



Both the Vindobonensis Reverse (7-II) and the Bodley (7-V) show special symbols following the depiction of 8 Deer's birth, and the Colombino-Becker might also have contained similar information. In the Vindobonensis Reverse these consist of a large head of the Rain God with six additional masks of that god attached, and an eagle drinking blood from a vertical tower. The Bodley shows a wavy object somewhat resembling a reed, a head of the Rain God with at least 15 circles attached, and an eagle flying upwards.

Caso (1951: 30; 1960: 37) has interpreted these as further names of 8 Deer. It also seems possible, however, that they might have been titles or positions conferred upon him by his father as the first son of the new marriage, or perhaps even honours claimed later in retrospect. In the Vindobonensis Reverse (7-II) the drawings of the symbols are followed by a date of the Year 13 Flint and a representation of 8 Deer without his calendar name; since this is the year following his birth, it may be the time at which these names or titles were bestowed.

Even if the Colombino-Becker originally contained a complete depiction of 8 Deer's family background -- and it often presents events in considerably fuller detail than either the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' or the Bodley -- these data hardly seem sufficient to fill the 12 bands on the four pages posited as missing from the beginning of the present manuscript. Indeed, a study of the Colombino paintings in the first few extant pages of Section I indicates that this

information would probably not have taken up much more than two pages. The remaining two pages would therefore probably have been occupied by scenes concerning 8 Deer's youthful activities, particularly the conquests depicted in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 43-44).

This latter codex indicates that in the Year 7 Reed, when he was only eight years old, 8 Deer conquered five localities (1902: 43-III-44-I); and that in the Year 2 Reed, when he was 16 years of age, he conquered another (1902: 44-I). Caso (1960: 37-38) has suggested that since these conquests occurred while 5 Alligator was still alive, 8 Deer may merely have accompanied his father on the expeditions. However, it would seem more probable that the leader of these attacks would have been 12 Movement. Although the date of 5 Alligator's birth is not recorded, the Year 7 Reed of these conquests occurs some 27 or 28 years after his first marriage, so he would no longer be a young man. 12 Movement, on the other hand, would be 26 years old, and as his father's first son and heir, the logical active leader of such expeditions.

The single conquest listed in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 44-I) for 8 Deer in the Year 2 Reed, takes place when he is already 16 years old and thus certainly of age to have participated in battle and perhaps even to have been a leader. 12 Movement is 34 years old at this time. The first marriage of their father 5 Alligator now lies 35 or 36 years in the past, and although he still has three

years to live, he must be an old man. It seems possible that this single conquest, coming as it does eight years after the other victories, could be related to the events that will follow for 8 Deer during the next several years, and may in fact mark the beginning of the drive to power that is to occupy him for most of his life.

On the Day 4 Rain of the following Year 3 Flint, when 8 Deer is 17 years old, the Bodley (9-V) shows him coming from a locality whose place sign is drawn as the mouth of a monster, and going to another site represented as a smoking hill containing a cave with a tied rectangular object. The name or date 3 Reed appears following this latter sign but not attached to it, and has been interpreted by Caso (1960: 37) as the name of a deity.

These conquests of the Years 7 Reed and 5 Reed, and the event taking place on the Day 4 Rain of the Year 3 Flint, would probably have been depicted in the final two missing pages before the present beginning of the Colombino. They may well have been shown in more detail than in the corresponding Bodley and Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' scenes, and of course the Colombino-Becker may also have contained additional unique information concerning 8 Deer's youth which is not found in any surviving text.

The extant part of the Colombino-Becker now begins.

Colombino 1-2-III. The first surviving scene of Section I of the codex shows a mostly destroyed person whose calendar name contains

eight circles, facing a woman having the personal name of 'Neck-lace/Bird?' and a man named -- Flower. Behind these latter two individuals there is another man, for whom no traces of a name now remain. He is pictured as seated on the side of a complex place sign composed of a hill from which project small red and white spikes and large 'bound bundles', with a cradle-board and a partly erased bird appearing in the lower part of the sign.

The surviving name fragments allow the first three people of this scene to be identified as 8 Deer, ♀ 4 Rabbit, and her husband 10 Flower. The internal form of the scene shows 8 Deer is the visitor, and the other three are the ones he is calling upon. A similar meeting is depicted in the Bodley (9-10-V), and in both cases ♀ 4 Rabbit is placed ahead of her husband, showing that on this occasion she is more important than he. This is because she is the paternal aunt of ♀ 6 Monkey, being the sister (Bodley 6-5-IV) of ♀ 6 Monkey's father 10 Eagle (Bodley 6-V). In the Bodley, the meeting of 8 Deer with ♀ 4 Rabbit is dated as occurring in the Year 3 Flint on the Day 5 Flower. This day immediately follows the Day 4 Rain of the preceding Bodley (9-V) scene, which had shown 8 Deer going to the cave in the smoking hill.

10 Flower, the husband of ♀ 4 Rabbit, is ruler of a locality drawn as 'Black-Top Hill with Mouth', which is shown behind him in the Bodley (9-10-V) scene. Attached to this sign is an enclosed area which Caso (1960: 38) has interpreted as a cave, and within it

8 Deer is depicted facing an apparent snake-head on a cradle-board and a small building containing a large round bag. A separate scene then follows in the Bodley (10-V) showing 8 Deer at a building situated on a base from which rise two large 'bound bundles', with the name 1 Death -- the calendar name of the Sun God -- attached to the building roof.

The place sign shown in the Colombino is characterised by 'bound bundles', and it is possible that the unidentified man depicted as seated on this sign is the deity 1 Death himself. If so, the implication would be that this god was instrumental in bringing about 8 Deer's meeting with ♀ 4 Rabbit and her husband.

Colombino 2-III. In the next scene, two men are depicted approaching a building. In the original manuscript, the thin red base upon which this building rests can be seen to be attached to the preceding place sign of 'Red and White Spikes/Bound Bundles/Cradle-Board/Bird'. The artist has thus positioned the place sign so that it functions simultaneously in two different scenes, thereby eliminating the necessity of making a separate drawing of it for the present event. However, in doing so he has had to make the direction of movement of the two men run counter to that normally used in this band of a -B patterned page (see Figure 7). In turn, this positioning of the figures creates an ambiguous internal structure that now makes it difficult to determine where the scene ends.

In front of the building there is a large erased area within which all traces of the original drawings have been obliterated. The first of the two persons facing this building is a man whose personal name is a banner; an ultra-violet photograph reveals faint traces in front of him of the head of an animal, perhaps a dog, deer, or jaguar. He therefore may be 9 Dog 'Smoking Banner', who appears in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 62-III) as a member of a group meeting years later with 8 Deer and 12 Movement. Three circles can be seen in the original manuscript behind the second man, while near the top of the band there are another five circles.

This scene would appear to correlate with the Bodley (10-V) depiction of 8 Deer visiting the building at 'Bound Bundle'. The second man in this Colombino scene should therefore be 8 Deer, and it would appear that 9 Dog is taking or leading him to the building. Both men hold an offering of vegetation in one hand, and 9 Dog additionally held an object which has been erased.

Colombino 2-III-II. Because of the ambiguous structure of the preceding scene, it is now difficult to determine whether the place sign at the end of Colombino 2-III should have been included in that foregoing event, or if it forms a part of the present scene. In the former case, it would function as the place from which the two men had come. In the latter event, it would serve as the locality at which a man is seated. The second interpretation seems to be somewhat more probable and will be utilised here.

This place sign consists of a hill from whose base the original manuscript shows a flow of blood zigzagging upwards. Above the hill, but not touching it, a rectangular base supports an oval design which is marked with the paired lobes and the lines of different colours that indicate 'stone'. A man whose names have been totally erased is pictured sitting on the 'stone' sign, and from it a yellow path extends to the ball court of the next scene. Above the path is a date, of which only the Year -- House has survived.

The Year 4 House follows the Year 3 Flint, and 8 Deer would then become 18 years of age. In this year, the seated man appears to be ordering or sanctioning the ball game of the next scene. Although his names have been destroyed, there seems some possibility that he might be a deity, perhaps even 1 Death.

Colombino 2-II. The yellow path of the previous scene is attached to the side of an I-shaped ball court. This court is quartered in four different colours, and its two side panels are coloured red. Across its middle flows a stream of water; in the centre of this flow a round object has been almost totally obliterated, only a red zone and two yellow areas now being visible in the original codex. At the right end of the court stands 8 --, the rubber ball used in the game being shown at his hip. At the left end stands a man whose name consists of a single circle and a partly obliterated object that can be determined in the original manuscript to be a skull; he is thus 1 Death.



The cognate scene in the Bodley (10-V-IV) is dated as the Day 6 Snake of the Year 4 House. The place sign 'Black-Top Hill with Mouth' is given, but with a flow of moving water attached to its side. The floor of the ball court is painted red and its centre is marked with a circle and cross; the two side panels are filled with a fretted design. At the right end of the court is 8 Deer, and at the left end is the deity 1 Movement, characterised by his typical unfleshed lower jaw and red facial spots.

Caso (1959) has discussed the deity 1 Death, showing that for the Mixtecs he was the Sun God, and has also pointed out the close relation existing between him and the deity 1 Movement, equating the latter with the planet Venus. 1 Death as the Sun God is normally characterised by one or two curved lines on his face, whereas 1 Movement's face has a bony lower jaw and several red spots. Both deities may be shown together, as in the beginning of the Codex Selden (1-I).

In the present Colombino scene, the figure represented as playing ball against 8 Deer is clearly named 1 Death; the Bodley drawing equally clearly shows the deity 1 Movement. If the Colombino personage is supposed to be the Sun God, he lacks the usual facial traits of this deity, and in fact resembles a normal human. Caso (1959: 43) has discussed other men named 1 Death whom he interprets as humans rather than divine, and while it is possible that 8 Deer is playing with one of these individuals, the appearance of a deity in the Bodley cognate scene would favour the occurrence of a god in the Colombino event also.

Both the Colombino and the Bodley paintings show a flow of water in connexion with this ball court, although in the Bodley this water is attached to the place sign for 'Black-Top Hill with Mouth', while in the Colombino it is in the court itself. Both codices also appear to associate the colour red with the court: the two side panels in the Colombino are red, and in the Bodley the court floor is this colour. Considering the appearance of these traits in both manuscripts, it may not be coincidence that the place sign which has been interpreted here as occurring with the seated man of the immediately preceding Colombino (2-III-II) scene, involves the flow of a red liquid, presumably blood.

The Day 6 Snake, given in the Bodley (10-V) as the time of this ball game, may have been a particularly meaningful date in the 260-day calendar cycle for 8 Deer, for several other very important activities during his later life also take place on this same date (see Figure 2). The Day 6 Snake occurs two days prior to the Day 8 Deer, his name-day, with the Day 7 Death intervening between them. Some of the events recorded elsewhere in the Bodley indicate a possible tendency for the day immediately preceding a person's name-day to be of especial importance. With 8 Deer, this would have been the Day 7 Death, but should this latter day have been considered unlucky or unpropitious, the Day 6 Snake would be the next preceding day and might perhaps have been utilised instead.

Colombino 1-II. In this scene, two men are shown facing two place signs that contain conquest arrows. The man at the right, who can be seen in the original manuscript to be holding an empty spear-thrower, wears the same head decoration as did 1 Death in the preceding scene. The second man holds his weapon at the ready, prepared to hurl his spear. A single circle has survived between the men, and a spear is drawn above the first conquered place; neither object is now visibly connected to the other elements of the scene.

The first conquered locality is drawn as an L-shaped base with water spilling over its end; in the water, a circular area characterised by paired lobes surrounds a necklace. To the left of this sign is the rubric of a former owner of the codex. At the top of the base is a cluster of dots that does not appear to be well integrated with the general design of the sign. In the original manuscript these dots can be seen to be somewhat irregular in size and shape, and much darker in colour than the ink of either the rubric or a nearby boundary gloss. They are on the primed white surface of the manuscript, however, and would consequently appear to have been added by one of the native painters, probably after the sign had already been completed.

Part of the sign for the second conquered place has been lost with the missing left side of page 1, and much of what remains has been badly damaged. The bottom of a hill can still be seen, and there is a band of star-eyes near where its summit should have been, but

all designs between these two elements have been totally erased. On and adjacent to the right slope of the hill are a number of objects, including two conch-like shells, a semi-circular mat with a group of knotted green feathers or reeds, a cluster of large red and green feathers, a rectangular object that may have been fringed at its right side, and other fragments that cannot now be identified.

Cognate conquests appear in the Bodley (10-9-IV). This codex shows that on the same Day 6 Snake on which they played the ball game, 8 Deer and the deity 1 Movement conquer a place whose sign is depicted as an L-shaped base with water flowing out, a circular object resembling a necklace with a centre design that may indicate 'stone', and a small cluster of dots. As in the preceding ball game, the Bodley again indicates that 8 Deer is assisting the god 1 Movement in this conquest, while the Colombino apparently pictures 8 Deer with 1 Death.

Concerning the second locality to be conquered, however, a serious discrepancy in dates arises between the tradition recorded in the Colombino and that of the Bodley. This latter codex shows (9-IV) that on the Day 13 Flower of the Year 6 Reed, 8 Deer, alone, conquers a place whose sign is drawn as a hill topped by a band of star-eyes and a dark quadruped animal; beside the hill is a separate building containing a looped and knotted object. This Bodley date falls two years after the Year 4 House of the ball game and the first conquest that followed it. Although no deity is present at

this second conquest, the Bodley artist does depict 8 Deer as wearing certain types of clothing similar to those worn by 1 Movement in the scene of the first conquest.

The Colombino clearly indicates that both 8 Deer and 1 Death are the conquerers of the second site. There is not sufficient space in the text for a year sign to have been painted preceding this conquest, and there is no surviving evidence that a new day date was given. Consequently, the Colombino tradition places this event as occurring in the same Year 4 House, and probably on the same Day 6 Snake, as the preceding ball game and first conquest. In addition, if the ball game and the two conquests did occur on the same day, the Colombino text would imply that the localities where these three events took place could not have been very far apart. These attacks, therefore, may have been only rituals, rather than actual acts of war.

Colombino 1-I. This scene has been totally obliterated except for the single figure of a man who may have been presenting an offering. Behind him are two groups of numbers, one consisting of eight circles and the other of nine or more, but neither ultra-violet photographs nor an examination of the original manuscript reveals any lines connecting these circles to this figure. The ultra-violet photographs do show traces, to the left of the eight circles, of what may be the base of an animal's neck. This suggests 8 Deer's name, but no direct evidence now remains to confirm this, or to determine the activity in which the man is engaged.

Colombino 1-2-I. All that now remains of the painting of this event, is three men grouped around an erased area in front of a heavily damaged place sign. In the central destroyed area, ultra-violet photographs show only a few faint lines that are not sufficient for any identification. Of the two groups of numbers mentioned above as occurring beside the figure of the man in the preceding scene, one set may identify him while the other might be either the day date of the present event or the name of one of the men in it.

Behind the three men, the bottom and one side of a green hill still remain; a heart, two claws, and several red spikes can also be seen there. The face of a man wearing a bird helmet hovers over the left side of the hill, and three wavy lines extend between his mouth and a group of objects lying together at the edge of the hill: a semi-circular mat, a cluster of knotted green feathers or reeds, and a set of volutes bound together. Near the man's face is a name or date that in the original manuscript can be seen to consist of Reed and at least eight circles.

The red and white spikes of this place sign recall those of the sign in the first extant Colombino (1-2-III) scene. In the present instance, however, there is no surviving evidence of 'bound bundles' or of the other items appearing in that earlier sign, nor did the latter contain the heart and claws included here. While some possibility of a relationship between the two signs cannot be excluded, it seems quite clear that they cannot refer to the same precise locality.

For the four individuals in this scene -- the three men around the erased area, and the head fragment beside the hill -- four names would be needed, and additionally there may also have been a day date. At present there are traces of only two names or dates; or three, if both sets of circles preceding this scene are considered to apply here. There does not seem to be sufficient space within the body of the scene for several additional names to be depicted, and therefore possibly the artist did not identify some of these persons.

Caso (1966: 23) correlated this event with a scene in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 44-IV) in which 8 Deer and his older half-brother 12 Movement sacrifice two animals. Above them, a personage named 13 Reed projects down from a sky band, and from his mouth come wavy lines and a speech scroll. The two place signs with which this scene is associated, are a ball court within a U-shaped base of water, and a hill around which water is curving. However, the date for this event in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' is the Year 5 Reed, which falls 14 years later than the Year 4 House of the Colombino scene.

If the contents of the two scenes are cognate, then the three men in the Colombino would probably be grouped around an animal being sacrificed. Two of these men would be 8 Deer and 12 Movement, while the man beside the hill, whose figure has survived only as a head fragment, would be 13 Reed, identified by Caso (1966: 23) as a

solar deity. The place sign in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' of a ball court in the water recalls the earlier Colombino (2-II) site of 8 Deer's game with 1 Death, but does not appear to have any relation to the present Colombino sign of a hill with spikes, claws, and a heart. The differences in the year dates ascribed to this event in the respective traditions of the Colombino-Becker and Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' serve to indicate the difficulties that would arise should any attempt be made to fix these historical events into a single 'correct' sequence.

Colombino 2-3-I. The design of this scene is of structural interest, it being one of the few examples in the codex of a single scene extending across an outside fold. In addition, the direction of movement within the scene is reversed from normal, in order that the place sign of the previous scene may also function here.

The depiction of the event begins with a standing man whose name has been destroyed, although traces of it can still be seen in the original manuscript. In one hand he holds up a damaged object that appears to be composed of several branches and a small fringed cloth or paper; a very similar object appears in the Vindobonensis Obverse 12, but neither its purpose nor function are known. Facing him are four seated men, the first two completely clad in animal suits and seated on a long yellow base, while the second two wear the usual man's red cape and sit on separate seats.



The first of these seated men is 8 Deer, wearing a jaguar suit and helmet. His personal name 'Jaguar Claw' appears prominently in front of him, while behind him are eight circles and traces of a deer head. His forward hand has been erased, but the offering of green vegetation held in it is still extant. The second seated man is 12 Movement, 8 Deer's older half-brother, whose personal name is indicated by the bleeding jaguar head painted in front of him. His figure has been so badly damaged that the nature of the animal in whose skin he is clad, cannot now be determined.

The third man is 9 Flower, 8 Deer's younger brother; his personal name and a part of his calendar name are still visible. He is only 14 years old at this time. The final figure is 8 Flower, 8 Deer's older maternal half-brother, the son of their mother q 11 Water by her earlier marriage to 3 Wind. He holds out an offering of green vegetation as 8 Deer had done, indicating that all four of the men would have been presenting such offerings before the standing man.

The depiction here is of 8 Deer and his close male relatives, but the scene is almost impossible to interpret without knowing the identity of the standing man with whom they are meeting. That 8 Deer is the principal person among the group of seated men is indicated not only by his being shown first, but also by the presence of his half-brother 8 Flower. The fact that the four are presenting offerings before the standing man probably indicates that the latter is not a human but a deity. This meeting takes place at the same 'Hill with

Red and White Spikes/Claws/Heart' as the previous Colombino event, and consequently this man may be the god 13 Reed who was depicted in that scene.

Summary: Colombino 1-2-III/2-3-I. Over a period of at least two and perhaps three years, the young 8 Deer is shown engaged in a series of activities that may represent his preparations for his first important political role. It is not yet clear whether this sequence should include the conquest which the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 44-I) shows him making in the Year 2 Reed when he is 16 years old. However, it can be dated with security as beginning with the event given in the Bodley (9-V) for the Day 4 Rain of the Year 3 Flint, when he is 17 years of age, and as continuing in the Colombino with the other events of that year and of the following Year 4 House.

The Years 3 Flint and 4 House immediately precede the Year 5 Rabbit in which 8 Deer's father 5 Alligator will die, and in the next following Year 6 Reed 8 Deer will become ruler of Tututepec, as is discussed below. As a son of his father's second marriage, 8 Deer did not stand to inherit control of the important site of Tilantongo which his father ruled; that would instead pass to 12 Movement, the first son of 5 Alligator's first marriage. Consequently, an ambitious young man such as 8 Deer would have realised at an early age that the principal method by which he might improve his status was to acquire by political means what his unfortunate birth position did not entitle him to receive by inheritance -- an important locality to rule.

In these scenes, therefore, 8 Deer may be establishing his claim to become the ruler of a separate site. Because of the loss of the first few pages of the Colombino, and the erasure of many names and figures on the first two surviving pages, it is now very difficult to determine the persons to whom he addressed his request, and how he organised his activities relative to his claim. However, the ball game he plays, apparently successfully, against 1 Death is crucial to the achievement of his final goal. It is probably a mark of his personal boldness that he is willing to undertake a game against an opponent who may be a deity, and the necessity of his doing so in order to gain his ends may indicate that his pretensions had been met with scepticism or even rejected.

The extent to which 8 Deer's position may have been supported or opposed by a personage who could be the Sun God, is not clear. Because of the destruction of the names and the lack of the facial marks characteristic of this deity, particularly on the one figure whose name of 1 Death can still be read, there is no certainty the Sun God is involved. However, the presence in cognate events in the Bodley of the deity 1 Movement, who is closely connected with the Sun God, and also the possible presence of a solar deity 13 Reed in the Colombino, make it probable that it is indeed the Sun God who is shown with 8 Deer in these Colombino events.

There seems some possibility that the personage seated behind ♀ 4 Rabbit and her husband 10 Flower at their meeting with 8 Deer,

in the first surviving scene in the Colombino, might be the Sun God. In the Bodley (10-V) cognate events, the name 1 Death is associated with a building whose location is characterised by 'bound bundles', as is the site of the Colombino event. If so, he may have ordered or arranged the meeting, perhaps in order to bring about peace or an alliance between 8 Deer and a faction represented by ♀ 4 Rabbit. She is the sister of 10 Eagle (Bodley 6-V-IV), whose wife ♀ 9 Eagle ruled the site 'Mountain That Spits' (Selden 5-III-IV). The three sons of 10 Eagle and ♀ 9 Wind had been sacrificed in the Year 9 House, seven years before this meeting, but their daughter ♀ 6 Monkey had escaped (Selden 5-IV-6-I). There is no evidence that 8 Deer's family was directly involved in this conflict, but our knowledge of Mixtec history is severely limited by the scant number of surviving documents. It may have been a matter of political necessity, or at least expediency, for 8 Deer to be on good terms with the family line of 10 Eagle, and the Sun God may have arranged to bring this about.

8 Deer appears to have achieved his purpose in the final scene of this series, in which he is supported by his close male relatives in a meeting with an individual who is perhaps a solar deity. In this meeting, and perhaps also in the preceding scene that may have involved the sacrifice of animals, 8 Deer's older half-brother 12 Movement appears with him. The Colombino-Becker tradition would thus be that, nearly from the beginning, 8 Deer's efforts to create his own political base had the support of 12 Movement.

Colombino 3-4-I. The Colombino now goes directly to the Year 6 Reed, when 8 Deer is 20 years old, entirely skipping the Year 5 Rabbit. However, the Vindobonensis Reverse (7-I) and the Bodley (8-V) both record this latter year as the time of 5 Alligator's death. His precise age is not known, the date of his birth not being given in any extant codex, but his first marriage had occurred 38 or 39 years earlier. 8 Deer would be 19 years old at the time of his father's death, and the fact that he began his political activities only shortly before his father actually died might indicate that 5 Alligator declined gradually during his last few years. The omission of any recognisable reference in the text of the Colombino-Becker to 5 Alligator's death is consistent with the manuscript's total exclusion of genealogical information.

On the Day 6 -- of the Year 6 Reed, a building decorated with human skulls is depicted, in front of which is a chair whose back appears to be almost detached from the seat. The area in front of this chair has been completely erased except for the name 5+? Grass. A standing figure, now mostly destroyed but shown considerably more clearly in the ultra-violet photographs, is marked as male by the presence of a short cover over the buttocks, a garment never used by women. Above his head is the name 1+? Grass.

There then follows the damaged depictions of a series of objects originally connected in sequence by a line so as to yield a precise order of reading: a spear placed point downwards and decorated with

an almost obliterated owl head; a shield depicting a human skull; a fish; a conch-type shell; a fragment resembling a necklace; a wheel-shaped object with cogged edges; a bowl containing a bleeding heart; and several damaged or totally erased areas that cannot now be identified.

Facing this display and the standing man are two seated figures. The first is 8 Deer, dressed in a full jaguar suit and helmet, his calendar name appearing in front of him and a part of his personal name behind him. The second man is also dressed in an animal suit, but his figure has been so damaged that the nature of the animal cannot now be determined. He has the personal name of 'Smoking Mountain' and a calendar name containing at least four circles; from his later appearance in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 56-III) he can be identified as 5 Rain.

In the cognate scene in the Bodley (9-IV) 8 Deer presents a bleeding heart and a heart in a bowl to the goddess ♀ 9 Grass, on the Day 6 Snake of the Year 6 Reed.

This Colombino scene takes place at the 'Skull Temple' of the goddess ♀ 9 Grass, although the figure of the deity herself has been totally erased. 8 Deer, aided by his friend and companion 5 Rain, is presenting the series of connected symbols before the goddess and a man named 1+? Grass. This is the first event of a longer sequence, during which these objects will eventually be carried to the new locality he is to rule, Tututepec, in the coastal area of Oaxaca.

The objects themselves appear to be symbolic of his new power or status, although it is notable that he never appears holding them or even surrounded by them. This event occurs on the Day 6 Snake, a date which, as mentioned earlier, is ritually significant for 8 Deer.

Colombino 4-3-II. The following scene begins with depictions of three dead men, each accompanied by a year sign. First is the Year 11 Reed, and the man is 10 --. Beside his calendar name there are traces of a destroyed personal name, and in addition the name 'Row of Flint Knives' can be determined in the original manuscript to be connected to the feathers of the bird suit which he wears. The Year 9 -- is second, and the dead man, for whom all traces of names have been completely erased, is shown wearing a jaguar suit, with a turtle-shell covering his back. The third man is 4 Grass, also dressed in a bird suit, with the sign for the Year 13 -- occurring behind him.

Facing these three bodies are a man and a woman. The man is 8 --. He wears a bird suit and headdress, and is seated, holding out an offering of green vegetation in one hand. Behind him is a partly destroyed curved drawing characterised by paired lobes typical of place signs, and containing the band of chevrons that refers to war (Smith 1973: 32-33). The woman, whose name is legible in the original codex as ♀ 6 Monkey, is also seated and holding an offering of vegetation.

All five figures -- both the dead and the living -- face structurally towards the 'Skull Temple' of the preceding scene, implying that this scene also occurs at that place. It also is held on the same Day 6 Snake, since no new date is visible.

Cognate data for this event are found in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 44-II-III). The Day 6 Snake of the Year 6 Reed is given, and a building is depicted which is composed in part of a human skull and decorated with other skulls. Inside this building sits a woman whose head is a skull, and for whom no name is given. Facing the building is the dead 3 Lizard 'Necklace of Flint Knives', who is pictured with a turtle-shell around his body and wearing a 'fire-serpent' helmet. Behind him 6 Monkey hold out a pipe-like object, and 8 Deer is depicted in a bird helmet.

This dead 3 Lizard of the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' may be the same as the dead man in the middle of the Colombino three, since both wear a turtle-shell; but if so, in the latter manuscript his personal name has apparently erroneously been attached to the preceding figure of 10 --. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' (1902: 13), 3 Lizard's birth date is given as the Year 2 Flint, so the Year 9 -- shown with him in the Colombino scene is probably the year of his death. By extension, the year dates of the other two men pictured with him would then also reflect the times of their deaths.

While it is not known that these three deaths were due to related causes, if the two partially erased dates in the Colombino were both



clustered near that of the Year 11 Reed, they might be the Years 9 and 13 House, occurring respectively two years before, and two years after, the Year 11 Reed. It is impossible to determine if the dates are merely a coincidence, but in the Year 9 House that occurred only ten years before the present meeting of ♀ 6 Monkey and 8 Deer, her three brothers had been sacrificed at 'Skull Temple' (Selden 5-IV-6-I), and she became the sole surviving member of her family. Unfortunately, since it is not clear who killed her brothers nor why they were sacrificed at 'Skull Temple', there is no way to determine whether the deity ♀ 9 Grass was herself directly involved. These various deaths may indicate a period of conflict in the Mixteca.

Spinden (1935: 436) thought the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' cognate scene indicated that ♀ 6 Monkey was refusing to marry 8 Deer, but this seems erroneous, although it is true that at this time she is still unmarried, since she will not become the second wife of 11 Wind for another seven years. Caso (1966: 25) interpreted the Colombino scene as 8 Deer and ♀ 6 Monkey competing for an appointment from ♀ 9 Grass, with 8 Deer ultimately being the one chosen. However, this interpretation does not explain the presence of the three dead men, and also fails to relate the event adequately to the larger context within which it occurs.

The present Colombino scene is the first in a series of events that depict 8 Deer assuming control of Tututepec. Neither ♀ 6 Monkey nor her family is known to have had any connexion with this locality,

and consequently it does not seem that her appearance here with 8 Deer is related to that town. Rather, 8 Deer appears to have found it useful or necessary to clarify his relations with ♀ 6 Monkey and, through her, with her family line, perhaps to ensure that these would remain peaceful. In doing so, 8 Deer can only be acting on his own behalf, not on that of his own family. With the death the preceding year of his father 5 Alligator, his half-brother 12 Movement would have succeeded to the control of Tilantongo, and it would now be 12 Movement who is the proper representative of the family and descendants of 5 Alligator.

♀ 6 Monkey is placed first in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' cognate scene; and even in the Colombino, where she is shown behind 8 Deer, she occupies a larger and more ornate seat than he does. Thus at their meeting with the deity ♀ 9 Grass, she is probably more important than he. Since her three brothers had been sacrificed at 'Skull Temple' (Selden 5-IV-6-I), there may be some possibility that in the present scene 8 Deer is helping primarily to bring about a reconciliation between ♀ 6 Monkey and the goddess ♀ 9 Grass, and perhaps secondarily between himself and ♀ 6 Monkey's family.

The three dead men shown in this scene could have been involved in this conflict in support of ♀ 6 Monkey's brothers and family, although no relation can be traced between this family and any of these men. 4 Grass apparently died as a sacrificed warrior, for he is shown later in the Becker (2-III) with his chest cut open, defending the

approach to the Sun God. One of the main duties of sacrificed warriors after death was to protect the sun. Probably the other two dead men, 3 Lizard and 10 --, were also sacrificed.

Colombino 3-II-III. The next scene in this series begins with a date of the Year 6 Reed, Day 6 --. A low hill is shown, with a blue tree growing from its summit. On top of the tree stands a man who leans sharply forward; most of his body is covered by a large solar disc. At least one circle and a few faint traces of his name can still be seen, but these are not now legible. Two men face him, each seated upon a separate representation of the sign 'Split Stone'. The first, for whom all names are now destroyed, is dressed in a jaguar suit and helmet, while the second is 5 Rain, who is dressed in a different type of animal suit and helmet.

The cognate scene in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 44-III) shows the Day 6 Snake of the Year 6 Reed. 8 Deer is depicted kneeling at a hill whose interior is marked with 12 large ovals and the head of an alligator spitting fire. From the hill grows a tree in whose branches is a sun disc.

8 Deer, supported by his companion 5 Rain, is meeting a solar deity. Since this meeting occurs on the same day as the two preceding Colombino events at 'Skull Temple', the site must be located near that temple. This meeting on the Day 6 Snake is the first in a series of visits 8 Deer will make during his peregrination to Tututepec.

Colombino 3-6-III. 8 Deer now begins his peregrination to Tututepec.

On the Day 7 -- that is the following Day 7 Death, he presents an offering of green vegetation at the first site to be visited. Accompanying him are two men. One is 5 Rain, who carries the Owl Spear in its usual position with the point downwards. The other man appears not to have been given a name by the artist; he carries a large conch-like shell in one hand, and in the other, the Skull Shield and a decorated baton which Caso (1966: 25) has called the 'Staff of Venus'. With the exception of this latter staff, the other objects were among those 8 Deer had displayed earlier before the goddess q 9 Grass (Colombino 3-4-I). The place sign for the locality he is now visiting is a low hill supporting a building containing a square red altar; a panel design below the building has been erased. Within the building by the altar there is a small green mound or heap, a pictorial element of unknown significance that occurs in several of the signs for the places visited during this peregrination.

The signs for the remaining sites have all been damaged in varying degrees, but from their depictions during a subsequent peregrination (Colombino 17-II, 15-II), it is sometimes possible to recover some of these destroyed details.

On the next Day 8 [Deer], his name-day, 8 Deer visits a place whose sign consists of a hill with a V-shaped opening from which a

green tree grows. Within this opening is an 'Earth'<sup>1</sup> figure that can be determined in the original codex to be facing directly upwards. A small green mound is drawn by the summit of the hill.

For the following Day 9 [Rabbit], the place sign consists of two joined hills, one with a narrow opening extending down from its top, the other with a summit of black and white squares. Representations very similar to this are found in the Vindobonensis Obverse (45-I, 21), and a different form that might also be this same locality is given in the Bodley (4-III).

On the succeeding Day [10] Water, the sign for the place being visited has been badly damaged. This drawing has also been partially retouched, the black lines at its lower right and around the nearby date circles being easily seen in the original as retouching lines made directly on the leather where the white background paint had already been lost. Of the sign, fragments of a red tree can still be seen, and the example of this same site depicted in 8 Deer's later peregrination (Colombino 17-II) shows the tree to be growing within a U-shaped base of water.

The next place is visited on the following Day 11 [Dog], and the sign is composed of a building in the shape of a human skull, with a

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<sup>1</sup>These figures have sometimes been called 'Xolotl' by Caso, although without explaining the reason for such a name. However, Smith (1974) has suggested that they may represent the first Mixtec ancestors who were born from the earth, and hence they may more appropriately be termed 'Earth' figures.

bending tree growing from its interior. This temple is similar in some respects to that shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 44-I) with the deity ♀ 9 Grass, but it does not resemble the building shown in the Colombino (3-I) with this goddess, and is therefore probably not the same site.

For the next Day [12 Monkey], the place sign consists of a hill with a blue tree growing from its side and a building on its summit. A green mound projects from within the building.

The sign for the site visited on the Day [13] Grass has been almost totally destroyed, all that is now visible being fragments of a blue tree and a green hill. The depiction of this same site in the later peregrination (Colombino 17-II) has also suffered considerable damage, although it appears to show a tree growing from an opening in the top of a hill.

The next two localities are visited on the following Day 1 Reed. A man for whom no names are now visible is shown carrying the Owl Spear in one hand and the 'Venus Staff' and Skull Shield in the other. Below him a yellow path is connected to the back of the place sign 'Red and White Spikes/Bound Bundles', the hill here additionally containing a design like a cut caracol. On the middle plateau of this hill is a building with a square red altar. On the plateau below this temple a person was once depicted, but the figure has now been totally erased except for the bottom of one foot and a small red area, suggesting that the individual was seated.

In front of this sign is a ball court; both its side panels are coloured red, and a stream of water crosses it. In the middle of the court 8 [Deer] is shown making offerings above a semi-circular mat and a cluster of knotted green feathers or reeds. The date of the Day 1 Reed is painted within the court.

These two localities have both appeared earlier in the codex, the first as the place where 8 Deer met ♀ 4 Rabbit and her husband (Colombino 1-2-III), and the second as the court in which he played ball against 1 Death (Colombino 2-II). It seems possible that the erased figure in front of the building in the present scene may be the same individual who was shown seated on the place sign at that earlier meeting, perhaps the deity 1 Death. Just as he may have commanded or allowed 8 Deer's prior meeting with ♀ 4 Rabbit, so he may here be ordering 8 Deer to present offerings in the ball court.

Colombino 6-II-5-I. A yellow path extends from the ball court of the prior scene, and along it seven men are shown travelling. No traces of calendar or personal names are visible for any of them, and the ultra-violet photographs indicate few areas where erasures might have been made; it seems clear that the artist did not supply these men with names.

The two men at the head of the line each hold a decorated spear, while the remaining five persons carry one or more objects symbolic of 8 Deer's power. The first bearer carries a large round bag by a tump line; the second holds a fire-log in his right hand, and in his

left has the Skull Shield and a conch-like shell; the third bears only the 'Staff of Venus'; the fourth holds the Owl Spear in its usual position, pointing downwards; and the fifth carries by a tump line the cogged wheel-like object, here painted black instead of its usual blue.

The procession advances towards a complex place sign whose large size signals its importance. Its main elements are a hill, a fretted base from which projects a knotted cluster of feathers or reeds, an L-shaped base with projecting L-shaped decorations, a large bird-head with its beak area partly erased, and a 'stone' area that seems in part to serve as the body of the bird. Above these rises a large building, within and in front of which are some of the symbols presented before the goddess  $\varphi$  9 Grass and pictured during the preceding peregrination: the Skull Shield, fish, 'Venus Staff', and the large round bag with an erased area above it where the head of an 'Earth' figure might have been depicted. Smith (1963: 277-279; 1966: 156-157) has identified this place as Tututepec.

Above the building four circles can still be seen, while attached to its back a single circle and a small painted area are visible. The four circles are probably a part of the day date, but because of the destruction in this area it is not now possible to determine what the date might have been. The circle connected to the rear of the building may have served to identify it further by specifying the name of the deity associated with it.



Colombino 5-I. The final event of this series also utilises the Tututepec place sign of the foregoing scene. Seated in front of it as its ruler is 8 Deer, wearing a jaguar helmet and with one hand encased in a jaguar paw. Facing him is a man with an extant calendar name of ten circles and the sign for Movement, and a personal name involving a bleeding animal, surely his older half-brother 12 Movement. The two men seem to be seated farther apart than necessary, which may indicate that objects or symbols had originally been painted between them but are now erased.

Summary: Colombino 3-4-I/5-I. This series of events has represented the Colombino-Becker tradition of how 8 Deer assumed control of Tututepec in the Year 6 Reed when he was 20 years of age. In all probability, all the events shown to this point in the extant Colombino are intended to be read as a single narrative leading to 8 Deer's achieving his Tututepec goal, but for convenience of discussion they have been divided here.

These earlier events have shown how, in the two years immediately preceding the death of his father, 8 Deer succeeded in preparing himself to become the ruler of an independent site after his father died. The Colombino omits the Year 5 Rabbit of 5 Alligator's death but continues with the important series of events that begin on the Day 6 Snake of the Year 6 Reed. On this day 8 Deer, assisted by 5 Rain, presents a series of symbols before the goddess ♀ 9 Grass and a man named 1+? Grass, at the place 'Skull Temple'. The precise

meaning of these symbols is not clear, although they appear to represent 8 Deer's personal power or prestige, since they remain essentially unchanged for his entire life. The transfer of these symbols from 'Skull Temple' to Tututepec is obviously a matter of great importance in the tradition pictured in the Colombino-Becker, and supports Smith's (1963: 288) suggestion that this codex originated in the coastal area of Oaxaca.

8 Deer's choice of 5 Rain to assist him in this very important series of events, rather than one of his own kinsmen, is doubtless highly significant. 5 Rain's family background is totally unknown, and he himself appears only three times with 8 Deer: as his principal supporter during the present events leading to 8 Deer's taking control of Tututepec; as one of a large group of men meeting with 8 Deer and 12 Movement 14 years later (Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' 1902: 56-II); and at the funeral ceremonies for 12 Movement three years after that (Becker 6-7-III, 9-I). 5 Rain's life span would thus appear to be approximately contemporaneous with that of 8 Deer, and since the latter at this present time is only 20 years old, there seems some possibility that 5 Rain might be a close childhood friend.

On this same Day 6 Snake, and also at 'Skull Temple', 8 Deer and ♀ 6 Monkey present offerings before three dead men who apparently had been sacrificed at different times. Two of these men can be identified as 4 Grass and 3 Lizard, but neither can be connected in any way with either ♀ 6 Monkey or 8 Deer. 3 Lizard is the only one

of the three shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' cognate scene, whereas in the Colombino he is placed second, which might indicate differing degrees of importance attached to him in the traditions recorded in the two manuscripts. 4 Grass will appear again many years later, defending the Sun God from the approach of 8 Deer, and in this second appearance he is shown as having been sacrificed, with his chest cut open.

There is a strong emphasis upon birds in this scene of the three dead men, 8 Deer and two of the three being depicted wearing bird suits, but the reason for this is not known. It is true that the name of Tututepec means 'Bird Hill', but this may be only a coincidence since, in other contexts concerning this town, 8 Deer does not appear in bird clothing.

♀ 6 Monkey's brothers had been sacrificed ten years earlier at 'Skull Temple', a site associated with the deity ♀ 9 Grass. When she and 8 Deer present offering to the three dead men, a damaged drawing containing the chevrons of war appears in front of her, and might be a reference to the deaths of her brothers and perhaps even to the possible involvement of ♀ 9 Grass in those sacrifices. As suggested above, 8 Deer may be attempting to bring about peaceful relations between ♀ 6 Monkey and the goddess, as well as to insure his own good relations with both of them.

On this same Day 6 Snake, 8 Deer and 5 Rain meet a solar deity at a site that must consequently be near 'Skull Temple'. This visit

will be followed by a peregrination, but the clothing they wear here differs from that used during the peregrination and indicates that this meeting with the solar deity is not a direct part of the later series.

On the next Day 7 Death, and for the seven consecutive days which follow, through the Day 1 Reed, 8 Deer travels to a series of localities to present an offering of vegetation, while his entourage transports his symbols of power. This peregrination is not depicted in any other extant codex. Although these sites are visited on successive days, this merely indicates that they are not more than one day's journey apart; they may well have been closer, or could even be a number of stations within a single town or vicinity.

The localities which 8 Deer now visits may be connected with the origin and ancestry of the Mixtec people. Antonio de los Reyes (1593: 6 rev.-7 obv.) has recorded the myths concerning the emergence from the centre of the earth of the original inhabitants of the area, and their later conquest by another group who were born from trees growing near the river in the town of Apoala.

In the present peregrination these ancestral sites appear to be shown in their appropriate chronological order. The first to be pictured is a locality containing an 'Earth' figure; as noted above, Smith (1974) has suggested that these figures represent the original inhabitants who were born from the earth. The second site of the peregrination, shown as a dual sign for a split hill and a hill with

a chequered top, is also found in the Vindobonensis Obverse and Bodley, again in contexts concerning the beginnings and early history of the Mixtecs.

Each of the other four signs in the Colombino contains a tree, and these may represent the trees near Apoala from which the Mixtec rulers were born. Reyes (1593: 6 rev.) reported that these latter were said to have divided into four groups later in order to take possession of the Mixteca. It might be possible that each of these groups originated from a separate tree, so that these four trees might therefore represent the four ancestral sources.

The final scene of this peregrination finds 8 Deer returning to the place 'Red and White Spikes/Bound Bundles' which he had visited three years earlier (Colombino 1-2-III). The ruler of this locality, although his figure is now totally erased, was again present in front of the sign. 8 Deer does not face him, however, so the offering he is making in the ball court is not to the ruler of this site.

The procession of seven men which goes from this ball court towards Tututepec has been left without names in the original manuscript. This is a marked departure from the norm, and seems even more unusual in that 8 Deer himself must be one of these figures, probably one of the two men leading the group. The anonymity of the individuals is further indicated in that not a single one is drawn with any distinctive clothing or ornaments that could serve as a part of his name. The artist might have considered that the nature

of the objects being carried by the various men was sufficient to establish their identities, although under very similar circumstances 5 Rain's name had been specified earlier (Colombino 4-III). It seems more probable, however, that the figures remain unnamed because they were not considered to be functioning here as actual individuals, but merely in a representational capacity as the retinue that transported 8 Deer's symbols to Tututepec.

Caso (1966: 25) has suggested that the man carrying the Owl Spear in this group is 5 Rain, because he is shown wearing the same type of red and white cape that 5 Rain had worn earlier while carrying this same object (Colombino 4-III). However, in view of the deliberate omission of all names by the artist, it seems best not to attempt to identify the individual figures of the procession, since there is no way to confirm or disprove any suggested identifications. It would seem, however, that 5 Rain should certainly have been included in this group accompanying 8 Deer to Tututepec.

The Fire-Log and the large round bag are seen among 8 Deer's symbols for the first time in this procession. The latter is a particularly important symbol, but the only prior surviving example of it in the Colombino is in the building attached to the place 'Red and White Spikes/Bound Bundles/Cradle-Board/Bird' that 8 Deer had visited three years before (Colombino 2-III). It is not extant among the symbols 8 Deer presented before the goddess ♀ 9 Grass, although it might have been totally erased, nor is it among those

seen during his peregrination. Its appearance in this procession immediately following his second visit to the place 'Red and White Spikes/Bound Bundle' may mean that the ruler of this locality -- perhaps the deity 1 Death -- has just awarded it to him.

The artist has terminated the yellow path from the ball court before it reached the sign for Tututepec, thereby arranging his text so that the place sign could function in two consecutive scenes. It first serves as the goal of the travelling men, and then as the site of 8 Deer's later meeting with 12 Movement. The red guide line between bands I and II has then been drawn so as to emphasise further the separation of the procession from the following meeting, while not cutting off the latter from the place sign. Structurally, this has then caused the positions of 8 Deer as host and 12 Movement as visitor to be reversed from that normally present in the upper band of A- patterned pages.

Not until after 8 Deer has already become ruler of Tututepec does he meet 12 Movement. By so waiting, the reunion of the two half-brothers takes place on a more nearly equal political footing, each then being in control of one of the more important towns of the Mixteca: respectively, Tututepec and Tilantongo. Tilantongo is the more important of the two, however, at least in terms of prestige, and for 12 Movement to be shown as going to Tututepec to meet 8 Deer may be an attempt by the Colombino-Becker artists to increase the status of the latter.

12 Movement is pictured at this meeting wearing a crown-like headdress which Caso (1966: 26-27) has attempted to characterise as identifying him exclusively. However, elsewhere in the Colombino-Becker it is shown being worn by other named individuals, such as in the meeting of Colombino 17-18-III, where all three of 8 Deer's siblings -- 12 Movement, 9 Flower, and 8 Flower -- wear it. Consequently, it cannot serve as the indicator of solely 12 Movement.

No other codex shows either 8 Deer's presentation of his symbols before the deity ♀ 9 Grass, or the peregrination by which he reaches Tututepec. The Bodley (9-III) does indicate that he becomes ruler of the latter site, showing him seated on a base attached to a sign that Smith (1963: 278) has identified as representing Tututepec. No day date is given, however, and the scene itself also forms a portion of a later event.

The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' depicts only the two events of 8 Deer and ♀ 6 Monkey at the temple of the goddess ♀ 9 Grass, and 8 Deer at the tree with the solar disc; both occur on the Day 6 Snake. Although other depictions of Tututepec occur later in the text (Smith 1963: 278), the codex apparently does not even report that 8 Deer becomes ruler of this important town. Such an omission supports Smith's (1963: 288) contention that this manuscript represents the view of his life as seen from the Mixteca Alta.

8 Deer is the only known ruler of Tututepec. Despite this town being the most important of the coastal region by the time the Spanish



arrived, no surviving Mixtec codex records the genealogies of its ruling lines. It is therefore not now possible to determine the circumstances which must have left the town without a proper ruler and so made it possible for 8 Deer to gain control of it, apparently without opposition; nor is it clear who becomes its ruler after his death.

Colombino 5-6-I. The Colombino then records that for two years after gaining control of Tututepec, 8 Deer is occupied with the conquest of 26 localities. Many of these sites can be correlated with similar conquests pictured in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', but the sequence is not always the same in the two manuscripts, and in particular the text of the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' dates these events as occurring considerably later in 8 Deer's life than does the Colombino-Becker tradition, as will be discussed later.

A chevron base indicating warfare is shown. It is curved to separate it from the prior scene, and above it is the sign for the Year 7 Flint, when 8 Deer is 21 years of age. One circle is all that remains of the accompanying day date, although the ultra-violet photographs show what may be traces of a second circle.

A standing man brandishes his spear and faces a place sign which has been almost totally erased and then retouched. He wears the short jaguar-skin jacket that in the Colombino-Becker is used only for war (Troike n.d.a: part II), and a yellow crown-like head-dress. No traces now remain of either his calendar or personal names.

The place sign in front of him now consists of a sketched flow of water coming from a small coloured area, but in the original manuscript it is possible to see numerous tiny spots of coloured paint all around this latter area. Comparisons with the place signs in the middle of Colombino 8-II and 9-II reveal that the extant coloured fragments here represent the vertical right side of an L-shaped base of water that opened on the left towards the attacking man.

The water which is now depicted as pouring from the place sign, has been sketched in black, but this is not the colour used by the original Colombino-Becker artists for sketching their paintings. The black water lines have the same tone, and are composed of strokes the same width, as the written gloss under the coloured area. Two of the lines of this gloss have been transcribed by Smith (1966: 183) as beginning with the Mixtec word for 'hill', and two with the word for 'river' or 'arroyo'.

I have already pointed out that the patterned destruction found in both the Colombino and Becker, and the detailed boundary glosses found only in the Colombino, appear to be the work of different persons, although in both cases perhaps connected with Tututepec. The original place sign here may have been at least partially destroyed by the same person who erased the other areas throughout the entire Colombino-Becker, but in addition it seems that the person adding the gloss may have also erased additional portions of the sign -- ironi-

cally enough, apparently so that he could sketch in a flow of water that had been present in the original painting. This would indicate that the presence of water in this particular place sign was considered important by the boundary glosser. Smith (1966: 156-157) has noted that most of the glosses on Colombino 5 and 6 refer to localities within the boundaries of Tututepec, and it is perhaps possible that the restoration of a flow of water to this present place sign was necessary because some of the glossed localities were rivers or sites near rivers.

The possible cognate sign in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 45-I) is composed of a U-shaped base containing water, a hill marked by three circles and three animal hooves, and a building with a smoking roof. The conquest date is the Day 2 Flower.

The second conquered Colombino site is preceded by a warrior also wearing the jaguar-skin battle-jacket and crown-like headdress. In front of him seven circles are still extant, while the ultra-violet photographs show traces of erased areas near him. The place he is attacking is represented by a hill topped by a cradle-board and a smoking black circular object. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 45-I) cognate sign is almost exactly identical, and its conquest is dated as the Day 13 Movement. There is now no way to determine whether the circles surviving in the Colombino scene refer to the warrior or to the date, although it seems slightly more probable that they are a part of the date and that the man's name was depicted behind him.

Colombino 7-I. The third conquest is of a hill containing a cut caracol and circular openings, with a smoking incensario on top. Only a single date circle has survived, although there are traces of the day name and perhaps additional circles. There is now no Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' cognate drawing, but in the original manuscript (1902: 48-IV) traces can be seen of a design much like a smoking incensario, but it was later covered by a different sign.

Fourth to be conquered, on the Day 7 --, is a hill with a large fret in its base and a top area which has been so damaged that the objects there cannot be identified. No Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' sign can be correlated with this.

The fifth conquest occurs on the Day 13 Rain, but all distinguishing traits in the upper part of the hill have been destroyed. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 46-I), on this same date the conquered place is represented as a hill and a red feline with yellow jaguar paws.

On the Day 4 Reed, the sixth conquest is of a hill with a tree that is marked with holes and has a bent or folded lower trunk. The same sign and date occur in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 46-II).

Colombino 8-I. The seventh conquered site has again been almost completely destroyed; there now remains only the lower part of a hill whose right side is dark coloured. A damaged date of at least four circles and the sign for Wind can still be seen. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 46-II), the next site is depicted as a hill and a jaguar, and dated as the Day 5 Wind.

The eighth conquest of the series consists of a partly destroyed 'fire-serpent' and a flow of water. No date is now visible, although the ultra-violet photographs show fragments of lines near the top of the page. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 46-III) next depicts a hill with water and a 'fire-serpent', and the date of the Day 1 Alligator.

The ninth conquest is an undamaged sign consisting of a hill and a bird, dated as the Day 7 Flower. I have mentioned earlier that this place sign may have been intentionally left undamaged because it was thought to refer to Tututepec. The next conquest in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 46-III) is of a blue hill forming the body of a bird, and has the date of the Day 7 Flower.

The tenth conquest in the Colombino is also the final one of the Year 7 Flint. The sign has been largely erased, but it had an unusual circular shape with projecting frets, and above and along its right side there are irregular dark areas. Its conquest is dated as the Day 10 Rain. It is not possible to relate this place to the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' with any security, but the two next following conquests in this latter manuscript (1902: 46-IV) occurred on the Day 12 Rain. The sign for the first site is a hill crossed by wavy bands that may be human bones, and the second is shown as a smoking feather mat.

Colombino 8-II. The Year -- House is given next. In the original manuscript at least four circles can be seen below it, while of the

almost destroyed day date the sign for House is visible, with at least three circles beside it. In the next Year 8 House, 8 Deer becomes 22 years of age.

This damaged date of the Day 3+? House would apply to the eleventh conquest, shown as a fretted base supporting a building in front of which is the 'Staff of Venus'. The corresponding site in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 47-IV) was conquered on the Day 13 House.

The twelfth Colombino conquest took place on the Day -- Flower. It is depicted as a U-shaped base containing water and a round object, with a design like a portion of an earring tassel beside the conquest arrow. The next sign in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 47-IV) is very similar, a Z-shaped base of moving water within which are a number of earring tassels; the Day 7 Flower is the date. This Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' site can be seen in the original manuscript as having first been drawn at the bottom of 1902: 47-I, then replaced there with a different scene.

The thirteenth place to be conquered is complete and undamaged, consisting of a 'stone' hill with a building built into its centre, and the date of the Day 7 Movement. The same place and date are shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 48-I); as with the preceding sign of this manuscript, the representation of this site had first been sketched at the bottom of 1902: 47-II, then painted out and another scene drawn there instead.

Colombino 7-II. The fourteenth site consists of a hill crossed by a panel whose design has been completely obliterated. On top of this panel are a number of coloured areas, but even a close study of the original manuscript has failed to reveal what they were intended to represent. The day date is named Grass, and below it four circles are visible, with another three further down the page. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 48-I), the next sign is a hill with a lizard head, and the date is the Day 10 Grass.

The place sign for the fifteenth conquest has been completely destroyed, only the outline of its base panel now remaining, although the Day 10 -- is still extant. Since there are no clues, it is impossible to suggest any correlations with localities in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'. However, the next sign in this later codex (1902: 48-II) is composed of a hill which forms the body of a black bird with a long beak, and has the date of the Day 11 Death.

The sixteenth place sign is shown as a hill containing two cut caracol designs and the bases of two red stick-like objects whose tops have been erased; its conquest date contained at least ten circles. None of the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' signs correlates well with this drawing. The one which most nearly resembles it (1902: 48-III) is a hill with an inverted omega design in its interior and the stalks of two plants growing from its top. However, the two Colombino sticks are red, and there would not seem sufficient room in the band for plants to have been depicted. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' date is the Day 12 Dog.

Seventeenth in the sequence is a hill divided into four separate parts by an X-shaped space, while at its peak a tied vertical bundle is flaming. Of the date, three circles and a heavily damaged animal are visible. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 48-IV), on the Day 3 Jaguar, the conquered place is a hill divided into sections by wavy black lines and containing two spindles and a central leaf-shaped object.

Colombino 7-III. The eighteenth conquest is depicted as a round area within which there is a partially destroyed humanoid head having a blue lobed object approximately in front of the nose. To the right, the Day 7 Flint appears; it may serve to date both this and the following conquest. It is not now possible to determine whether the name of this locality made it necessary to use a circular design, or whether the artist did so solely as a matter of aesthetics, to balance a similarly shaped sign in the upper right corner of Colombino 8. The form of the head is similar to a Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 45-II) sign in which the head of the Rain God has a lobed blue object at its nose, but this latter conquest is dated as the Day 7 Lizard. The Day 7 Flint is found in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 49-III) between two place signs, but neither of these has any resemblance to the present Colombino representation.

The nineteenth conquered locality consists of a hill in the middle of which is now an erased area. The Day 7 Flint, appearing to the left, apparently serves both for this and the preceding round



sign. With the distinctive part of this sign having been destroyed, it is not possible to suggest a Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' cognate. The two places in the latter codex associated with the Day 7 Flint are drawn as a hill with a tree, and as a fretted base with black objects that might be beans; neither one correlates with this Colombino design.

The sign for the twentieth site to be conquered consists of a hill containing a building whose upper roof area has been erased, as has the day date. The corresponding hill sign in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 49-I) contains a building with a thatched roof, but is without a date.

As the twenty-first conquest, a base is depicted whose interior design has been destroyed; above it are several curved objects, perhaps representing human ribs, and from their top extend two wavy yellow areas. The date is the Day -- Flower. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 48-IV) contains a sign with a similar wavy element, but without the possible bone design, for the Day 4 Flower.

Colombino 8-9-III. Twenty-second in the series is a relatively well preserved depiction of a hill topped by a thick green tendril. At the left is a date consisting of at least six circles and the sign for Flower. This place is found in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 49-II) as a hill with an unpainted tendril, and the Day 9 Flower date.

The twenty-third Colombino conquest is depicted as a hill which probably had two peaks with a plant growing between them. The upper

parts of the peaks and plant are now erased, although four circles of the day date remain. The only plant with roots shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 49-III) sequence is a tree growing on the slope of a hill. Below it is the Day 7 Flint, mentioned previously, and above is the Day 10 Snake. It is not clear which date should be associated with this sign, however.

The twenty-fourth conquered locality is shown as a hill crossed by a fretted panel; the design within the upper part of the hill has been totally obliterated. A date that appears to be the Day 6 Flint is found at the right. Since the key elements for recognising this sign have been destroyed, it is not possible to suggest any correlation with the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' sites.

The twenty-fifth place to be conquered is depicted as a hill crossed by a fretted base that supports another fret. In the original manuscript the date can be seen to consist of at least one circle and the Wind sign. There does not seem to be any clear Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' cognate for this locality.

The twenty-sixth and final conquest of this series is shown as a partially damaged L-shaped base of moving water within which there is a bird and a building. Behind the building are a few paint fragments that may be the remnants of the day date. Facing the sign is a man dressed in a jaguar suit and helmet and named 8 --, undoubtedly 8 Deer. He stands on a base decorated with war chevrons. The rear of this base is turned up both to indicate the end of this series of

conquests and to help separate this event from the following scene. The final conquest shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 49-III-IV) series also shows an L-shaped base of water, but within the water there are only aquatic animals and 'Earth' figures, so no direct correlation is possible with the Colombino sign. The date is the Day 11 Wind.

Summary: Colombino 5-I/9-III. The Colombino has recorded that 8 Deer, after becoming ruler of Tututepec, carries out a series of conquests during the next two years. The most probable purpose of this would be to solidify his hold over the Tututepec region, and it seems likely that most of these sites should be found in the coastal area of Oaxaca. That he found it necessary to impose his control in this region by force, however, could indicate two different situations: that his right to rule over the area was not considered valid by some of the localities within it; or that he was expanding the zone under his command well beyond that normally held by the Tututepec ruler.

The Colombino-Becker tradition places these numerous conquests in the Years 7 Flint and 8 House, the two years immediately following his becoming ruler of Tilantongo, when he is respectively 21 and 22 years old. The Colombino text then entirely omits the next 11 years of his life, instead skipping directly from these conquests to the Year 7 House when he has already reached the age of 34 years. The Bodley, and in particular the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', record quite different traditions, however.

In the Bodley, all these conquests are simply omitted, as are others which both the Colombino-Becker and the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' show 8 Deer making later in his life. This might be construed as indicating the manuscript originated in an area which he conquered, so that its artist did not wish to perpetuate the memory of such humiliation, but even if this were true it would not seem necessary to omit all the places conquered by 8 Deer during his entire life. The converse seems therefore somewhat more probable: that the Codex Bodley originated in an area sufficiently removed from these attacks that 8 Deer's victories were not considered of great importance.

The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' does not recognisably refer to 8 Deer becoming ruler of Tututepec, although it does show his appearance before the goddess ♀ 9 Grass and his subsequent meeting with a solar deity, both events of the Year 6 Reed that occurred as he was becoming ruler of Tututepec. The manuscript then records two conquests made in the Year 1 Reed when he was 28 years old, and assigns the present long series of conquests to the Years 5 Reed and 6 Flint, when he has become 32 and 33 years old. After this its text continues with the events of the Year 7 House when he is 34 years of age. With the exception of the conquests of the Year 1 Reed, the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' thus omits the 11 years of 8 Deer's life that lie between the Years 6 and 5 Reed.

Therefore the texts of both the Colombino-Becker and Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' reveal the existence of a lengthy gap in the record

of 8 Deer's life, a gap that lies between his becoming ruler of Tututepec in the Year 6 Reed when he was 20 years of age, and the events of his nose perforation (to be discussed below) in the Year 7 House when he was already 34 years old. During the 13 years between these two events, both manuscripts record that he made a series of conquests over a period of two consecutive years, but the Colombino-Becker tradition places these immediately following his accession to control of Tututepec, while the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' puts them immediately preceding his nose piercing.

Some 11 years of 8 Deer's life are thus left for which there are virtually no data. It might be that no political events of importance to him occurred during this time. However, it also seems possible to me that the series of victories which these two codices record as having taken place within only two years, actually might not have occurred within such a short time but rather have been distributed across a greater number of years, including those for which there is now no information. In a society that placed a premium on war-related success, 8 Deer would have wished to appear as the epitome of a successful warrior -- note that the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' showed him conquering localities when he was still only a small child.

After he had attained his goal of power in the Mixteca, 8 Deer may have propagated an 'official' version of his life that stressed his culturally-approved roles and minimised or omitted the less

favourable aspects of his rise to prominence. By depicting his expansion from his Tututepec base as an explosive series of military conquests made within a short time, he would thereby emphasise his strength, leadership, and ability to rule.

## CHAPTER V

## SECTION I OF THE CODEX COLOMBINO-BECKER:

## COLOMBINO FRAGMENTS I AND III: PART II

Following 8 Deer's numerous conquests of the Years 7 Flint and 8 House, when he is respectively only 21 and 22 years of age, the text of the Colombino then skips forward to the Year 7 House, when he is 34 years old. No data are recorded for the intervening years, and I have suggested that perhaps he was actually occupied in making these conquests over a longer period of time than merely the two years cited in the codex.

Colombino 9-10-III. In the Year 7 House a series of events occur that lead eventually to 8 Deer's nose being perforated. He is 34 years of age at this time, but more importantly, his older half-brother 12 Movement has reached the symbolic age of 52 years.

The Colombino begins with the sign for the Year 7 House, but no associated day date is shown. Above a Z-shaped path on which several footprints are visible, indicating travel, stands a man for whom the artist gives neither a calendar nor a personal name. His face is painted with a black 'mask' around his eye and nose, and his hair style, although now partly destroyed, can be seen in the original manuscript to consist of two forelocks projecting forward at his forehead. Because of severe damage to the pictures, it is not now possible to determine whether the path on which he stands is connected to the following place sign, or terminates before reaching it.

A man named 10 -- is shown drawing blood from his ear in front of a partly erased place sign. Red steps, above which are cut branches, indicate that the site contained a building. The only distinctive element still remaining of the representation is a horizontal band, visible in the original codex as having its upper half coloured black and the lower half yellow, and decorated with a blue circle, that appears to be tied around the top of the hill.

The facial paint and hair style of the travelling man indicate that he is an associate or representative of a very important personage known as 4 Jaguar. Since no causative data precede his appearance, the implication is that the initiative for his journey lies with his master 4 Jaguar. The man drawing blood from his ear can be identified from a later scene as 10 Wind. A broad red and yellow path connects this event with the two following events.

Colombino 10-III. A bearded man, his hair wound into two projecting forelocks, stands on the red and yellow path. The artist has not depicted his names. In front of him is a curved L-shaped base with water spilling out its right side, and vomiting into this water is a humpbacked figure, 10 Wind, whose name can be seen more clearly in the original manuscript. No day date is now visible, although the ultra-violet photographs show traces of erasures above the place sign, and it might have been recorded there.

The clear depiction here and in subsequent scenes of 10 Wind as a humpback is among the very rare examples of an individual's actual



bodily characteristics being portrayed in his manuscript representation. The drawings of figures in the Mixtec codices are usually considered as entirely impersonal, but the present evidence concerning 10 Wind indicates that even this 'rule' may be broken.

10 Wind, having drawn blood from his ear in the previous scene, here continues his purification ritual, purging himself internally by vomiting. The standing man, who appears to be ordering or supervising the ritual, is marked by his hair style as being an associate of 4 Jaguar, and is probably the same individual who was shown travelling at the beginning of this series of events.

Colombino 10-II. In the next scene a 'stone' hill with three peaks and several openings is shown. At the right side of this place sign is 10 Wind, his hump partly visible, entering head-first into one of these openings. A man for whom no name can be seen, is kneeling on the centre peak; he grasps an object that has now been obliterated, although the small black tip of it that still remains somewhat resembles a lock of human hair. Around this man and above the hill are several erased areas.

The broad red and yellow path that began at the scene of 10 Wind sacrificing blood from his ear, ends here at his entry into the 'stone' hill. The purpose of this path is to indicate the close relationship of the three scenes involving 10 Wind. Since the first two events -- drawing blood, and vomiting -- involve self-sacrifice and ceremonial cleansing, it seems probable that this third event of his entry into a mountain is of a similar nature.

The kneeling man is shown with the characteristics typical of 4 Jaguar's associates: a red cloak, a mask of black paint around his eye and nose, and twisted hair with two forelocks projecting at the front. He might be seizing 10 Wind's hair as symbolic of capturing or conquering him, although the distance from the remainder of 10 Wind's body would not make this seem too probable.

Colombino 10-II. Two seated men face each other. At the left is 10 Wind, and in front of him are a looped red and white rope, and an axe. For the man at the right, two circles of his calendar name are all that remain. His face is painted with a black mask, he has two forelocks of hair, and his red cloak -- which is decorated with the round objects usually identified as balls of down -- is turned backwards so that it covers his body from his chin to below his knees, but is open in the back. This is 4 Jaguar. He has been drawn with his back to the 'stone' hill of the preceding scene, indicating that this same site is also functioning as the place of the present meeting.

The position of the axe between the two men reveals that 10 Wind is the visitor and that his mission is peaceful. I have noted that in the Mixtec historical texts, the peaceful intent of a visitor is signalled by his placing his weapon with the handle towards his host and the cutting edge towards himself. A weapon so positioned could easily be picked up by the host, but the visitor could do so only with difficulty, thus affirming the latter's non-hostile attitude.

10 Wind has been shown performing several rituals to prepare himself to meet 4 Jaguar. But after he finally achieves such a meeting, subsequent events indicate that it is not a success and that he has failed in his mission, which is to gain 4 Jaguar's support for 8 Deer's nose perforation.

Colombino 9-II. In the next scene, three men are depicted in front of a place sign representing moving water. No names are visible for any of them, nor is there a day date. The middle figure is humpbacked and in one hand holds a round blue object that hangs from a red strap; this must surely be 10 Wind. At the right, with a spear-staff and a 'fan', stands a man whose jagged hair is used by the painter of Style II in the Colombino-Becker to indicate 4 Jaguar and his associates. The third man is almost engulfed by the flow of water into which he is vomiting.

10 Wind and the representative of 4 Jaguar stand on a yellow base. Behind them the end of this base is turned up, a structural device used by the artist to insure the separation of this event from the foregoing scene. Such a clarification had become necessary because in that prior meeting, the normal positions of host and guest were reversed in order that 4 Jaguar could be depicted beside the place sign of an earlier scene.

The present scene shows that, under the guidance of 10 Wind and an associate of 4 Jaguar, another man is repeating the purging rite which the former had already performed, presumably for the same purpose.

Colombino 9-II. A man wearing a mask of black facial paint and probably having his front hair divided into two forelocks, is pictured facing a severely damaged place sign. The basic form of this design is that of a bending 'stone' hill within which there is a yellow-rimmed opening. Inside this opening is a large area of red paint and a vertical yellow design resembling a human ear, which suggests the possibility that an 'Earth' figure was depicted. The remainder of the sign has been erased beyond recognition. A single large circle appears between the hill and the standing man, but is not connected to either.

The event at this hill recapitulates the earlier scene of 10 Wind entering the 'stone' hill with three peaks. No person other than 4 Jaguar's representative can now be seen, however.

Colombino 9-I. As might be expected from a repetition of the events that first occurred with 10 Wind, the next scene depicts a meeting. At the left is the badly damaged figure of a seated man who can still be seen to wear a backwards red cloak. The figures of the two men who face him are also partly erased, but behind the first man can be seen a single circle and a few fragments of his day name, while behind the second there are at least five circles and a design that in the original manuscript can be recognised as the sign for Wind.

The man with the backwards cloak would be 4 Jaguar. The first man facing him is 1 --; his name may also have appeared in the immediately preceding scene. The second man is 10 Wind. In front of 4

Jaguar are traces of an object resembling the looped red and white rope shown at his prior meeting with 10 Wind, but no other object such as a weapon is now visible.

Of the two men meeting 4 Jaguar, the seating arrangement indicates that 1 -- is probably a more important person than 10 Wind, since he is seated ahead of the latter. 4 Jaguar is again shown with his back to the 'stone' hill of the prior scene, indicating that the meeting occurs at this place and that he is the host. As before, this positioning violates the normal rules for the placement of figures in this type of page pattern.

Thus 1 -- has performed the same cleansing and rituals as 10 Wind had earlier done, the two of them then meeting 4 Jaguar. But as later events demonstrate, their combined embassy seems also to have failed, and 4 Jaguar rejects their request.

Colombino 9-10-I. Three men are depicted travelling on a red path towards a destination marked by two separate place signs. The man at the left end of the path wears a red cloak and probably has a mask of black facial paint. The man in the middle is 1 --, and a part of either his calendar or personal name consists of a twisted object resembling an alligator, coloured green in the original manuscript. A circular blue object hangs from his arm by a red strap. For the man at the right, there remain a few scattered circles and traces of the Wind sign, showing him to be 10 Wind. Both he and 1 -- are looking back over their shoulders towards the representative of 4 Jaguar, as though urging him on.

The first of the two places towards which the men are travelling is shown as a rectangular U-shaped base of moving water. On the bottom of the base lies a woman who has a large decoration under her nose, and above the base there is a horizontal man. The upper part of the second site is destroyed, but in the lower part a woman can be seen seated on the bottom of a 'stone' hill, with a vertical fretted panel beside her. Some eight circles and the sign for Reed are still extant between these two depictions.

The locality towards which the men are journeying is that controlled by the goddess ♀ 9 Reed. The use of two place signs, both of which include depictions of the deity herself, probably indicates that their destination was a very specific locale among those controlled by this goddess. It is not clear why 4 Jaguar's representative appears to need to be urged forward by the other two men. However, if he was reluctant to go to the area associated with this deity, this might indicate that good relations did not exist between 4 Jaguar and ♀ 9 Reed.

Colombino 10-I. In the next scene, a woman and a man face each other across a group of diverse objects. Her mouth area has been damaged, and it is not now clear if she is shown with only a single tooth or if there is a horizontal object under her nose. Above the man there are traces of a number of circles and an animal head. He wears a turtle-shell around his body and has on his head a form of the snake helmet (Troike n.d.a: parts II and III).

Between the two individuals are a shield decorated with circles, a spear whose butt is towards the woman, bowls containing blood and a heart, and two semi-circular mats attached to a set of bound volutes. From one of these latter mats rise two groups of wavy lines, while from the other there project two panels of war chevrons. No new place sign is given but the position of the woman, with her back to the sites shown in the previous scene, and the weapon pointing towards the man, both indicate that she is the host and he the visitor.

A cognate scene for this event occurs in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 50-IV-51-I), the first to be given in this manuscript for the series of events being shown in the Colombino. On the Day 9 Snake of the Year 7 House, 8 Deer is shown meeting the goddess ♀ 9 Reed. He is dressed in a 'fire-serpent' helmet and has a turtle-shell around his body, while she wears her characteristic headdress of two intertwined snakes and has a large nose ornament that completely covers her mouth. She is pictured sitting on top of a hill down which three streams of blood are flowing, while 8 Deer is presenting her with a handful of grass or feathers and a round 'jewel'.

8 Deer has not figured in any of the foregoing Colombino events of this Year 7 House, and this scene marks his first appearance in this sequence. Both this and the fact that a cognate scene is given in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', would indicate that the event is an important one.

8 Deer appears to be presenting offerings to the deity ♀ 9 Reed. The two symbols of mats with bound volutes and either wavy lines or war chevrons, might possibly indicate the purpose of their meeting or the topic of their discussion. Since these symbols are alike except for the upper object, one of which refers to war, it might be that the other, with wavy lines, refers to peace in some way or at least is in contrast to war.

♀ 9 Reed is shown sitting on a larger seat than 8 Deer, and he is placed slightly below her, both indicating that she is more important than he. This is the first time in the extant Colombino that he has been indicated as the person of lesser importance in a face-to-face meeting. His deference here does not appear to be a simple demonstration of respect for the goddess, for he has been shown earlier in his life associating with other deities on a more nearly equal footing. Consequently, it may indicate that ♀ 9 Reed is a person of great importance, or else that 8 Deer is asking her for a serious or even urgent favour.

The place signs with which ♀ 9 Reed is associated in the Colombino-Becker and Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', respectively, do not correspond visually. At present it is not possible to determine whether they represent different ways of indicating the same Mixtec locality, or if the traditions recorded in the two manuscripts place it as happening at entirely different sites.



Colombino 11-I. A large sign for the Year -- House is given, a repetition of the Year 7 House that occurred at the start of this sequence of events (Colombino 9-I). A series of circles is visible to the left, and another set of at least seven circles to the right; this latter is probably a part of the day date.

Three figures are shown on a yellow path. The name of the man at the end of this procession consists of a single circle, a flint knife which in the original manuscript is shown with perhaps a face drawn on one side, and an area with a few traces of another drawing. He is probably the same 1 -- who has appeared in the prior events of this series. Here he is shown carrying on his back a bag from which protrudes the head of a woman. In front of him is a man wearing the cloak and black face paint that indicate he is 4 Jaguar's representative; he has not been given a name. Leading the group is the hump-back 10 Wind, whose calendar name is quite clear.

The feet of each of these three men are placed progressively ascending from 1 -- to 10 Wind. This might be simply accidental, or it could have been done for artistic reasons, or as an indication of travel, or even perhaps as a subtle reference to an increase in height such as climbing a mountain.

The woman whose head is shown being carried in the bag is the goddess ♀ 9 Reed. For her to be conveyed in this fashion, rather than being shown walking as the three men are, would seem to indicate that special measures were necessary in order for her to make this

trip. If she were very old, for example, it might be necessary for her to be physically carried on a journey. There might also be some implication in this type of depiction that she is under the guidance or protection of the men of this group; or that she is making the journey on their behalf, rather than at her own initiative, so that they are responsible for her transportation.

Colombino 11-12-I. In the next scene, the yellow path of the previous event continues without interruption under two seated figures. A man is seated at the left and wears a backwards cloak, a beard, a mask of black facial paint, and a red spiral wrapping around his long hair. His name is not visible, although there is an erased area in front of him where it or some other object might have been depicted. In front of him, on a seat which has been totally destroyed, a woman is shown. She is the same person who was represented by the disembodied head being carried in the preceding scene:  
 ♀ 9 Reed.

Facing these two, a man is depicted seated on a place sign. His face is painted red except for a yellow mask around his eye and nose, and he wears a jaguar helmet in which the animal's ears appear to be twisted and possibly cropped. His backwards red cloak is decorated with a large black design that is now unintelligible. Four circles of his name survive, and in the ultra-violet photographs the day name can be seen to be an animal. This is 4 Jaguar. The place sign on which he sits should represent the locality over which

he rules, but it has been so badly damaged that its component elements can no longer be identified.

Between 4 Jaguar and ♀ 9 Reed are the same two symbols that had appeared earlier between this goddess and 8 Deer: two mats with bound volutes, one having war chevrons and the other with wavy lines. Just as these symbols may have represented the matter discussed by this deity and 8 Deer at their previous meeting, so they now may indicate the crux of the discussion between the goddess and 4 Jaguar. As suggested above, they might in some way represent the two alternatives of war and peace.

Colombino 12-I. The next two scenes are separate events, but both have been so badly damaged that it is now impossible to recover much information from either depiction.

The first meeting shows a woman above whose head is a Reed sign; she is probably ♀ 9 Reed. Facing her is a man shown seated on a fretted base that may once have supported a building. If so, all traces of it have been obliterated, as have all his personal distinguishing characteristics.

At the second meeting, the figure of the visitor has been erased except for his face and backwards cloak. The man whom he is meeting is seated upon a badly damaged place sign that cannot now be identified from the few surviving traces.

The two visitors would appear to be, respectively, the goddess ♀ 9 Reed, and perhaps a representative of 4 Jaguar. Since both had

appeared with 4 Jaguar in the preceding scene, each may here be reporting to or consulting another person concerning the outcome of that meeting. One of the men shown with a place sign should probably be 8 Deer, since 9 Reed had earlier met with him. There is no indication of the identity of the other man. It is also possible that the same individual appears as the host in both instances, and is visited by the other two in sequence.

Colombino 12-II. A procession of four men is pictured, standing above a yellow path whose left end passes under a damaged place sign. Leading the men is an individual dressed in the full garb of the Wind God. Behind him only five circles of his calendar name still survive. The second man has a red beard, and behind him are seven circles and a painted fragment whose unusual shape allows it to be identified as the ear of a buzzard. He is thus 7 Buzzard. The third person is 1 --. A part of his name was probably placed behind his head, where the ultra-violet photographs show traces of a drawing. The man at the end of the procession has a calendar name consisting of three circles and a design that in the original manuscript can be seen as probably an animal; his personal name appears to be 'Snake Spitting Blood'. All four carry a staff in one hand and a 'fan' in the other. The procession is travelling towards a 'stone' hill that is curved, perhaps to indicate a cave, but the entire area within the cave has been totally obliterated.

No day date is visible for this event, nor is the place of origin indicated for the men, unless the unidentified building of the immediately preceding scene is intended to fulfil this function. The yellow path is not attached to the 'stone' hill, as it probably would be if that place were the goal of the four men, but rather passes below it. This would seem to imply that the procession is travelling to the area represented by the sign, but not to the particular site indicated by the cave.

The 'stone' hill with its cave as depicted here, resembles a similar curved 'stone' hill shown earlier in this series of events in relation to the purification rites of 1 -- (Colombino 9-I). Since 4 Jaguar is also connected with the present event, possibly they may both represent the same locality.

Except for the Wind God, the other three men in this procession all wear red headbands with a circular decoration at the temple. The man shown seated on the place sign of the scene immediately preceding this present event likewise wears such a band. It is also possible that in the next preceding scene, the man whom ♀ 9 Reed is meeting also wore this headband, although it is now erased.

There are two possible cognate scenes for this event, one in the Bodley (10-9-III) and the other in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 45-III-46-I). Neither has the same year date as the Colombino, however, and both appear in different contexts.

The Bodley (10-III) scene shows 8 Deer holding an offering bird while a procession of four men approaches him. Each of these men holds a staff in one hand and a 'fan' in the other, and the leader of the group wears the buccal mask of the Wind God. Behind the procession is a fretted base with a cattail plant, above which the calendar name of 4 Jaguar is shown, with speech scrolls coming from the animal's mouth. Footprints lead back from 8 Deer to the previous Bodley (9-III) scene depicting him seated on a base by the sign for Tututepec, and a rodent appears to be nibbling at this base. Above is a damaged date, partially completed by a different artist, of the Year 2 Flint, which is five years prior to the date of the Colombino procession, at a time when 8 Deer was only 29 years old.

In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 45-II-46-I), the events take place in the Year 5 Reed, when 8 Deer was 32 years of age, two years earlier than the Colombino procession. 8 Deer is first shown seated inside a bent hill, meeting 7 Buzzard, from whose mouth come speech scrolls. Along a line leading to the hill are a pair of bird claws, a rodent, and a pair of split hooves. 8 Deer then appears beside a ball court with a man named 7 Snake, whose face is painted with a black mask. The Tututepec place sign follows, and although a ball court is included within the sign, Smith (1963: 278) has suggested that this may merely indicate that the adjacent court was located in that town. A procession of three men is then pictured. The first is 7 Snake, depicted with his facial mask of black paint; and the

second is 1 Deer. The third personage is shown in the full regalia of the Wind God and is named 9 Wind, the calendar name of that deity.

It seems clear that the traditions recorded in the three codices diverge considerably regarding this procession, although all three agree that the Wind God plays a prominent role. The dating discrepancies are particularly notable, the manuscripts each placing it in a different year. The fact that the procession is pictured in all three texts, however, would indicate that it is considered a matter of importance. The appearance of the sign for Tututepec in both the Bodley and Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' accounts may indicate that this locality was also originally shown in the Colombino, perhaps as one or both of the destroyed place signs that immediately precede the procession.

Colombino 11-II-III. A large ball court is depicted, its size indicating that the scene is an important one. Within the court stand six men, grouped into two opposing teams of three men each, while outside each end of the court stands an additional pair of men. The three men in the right side of the court have shaggy hair which is wrapped with a red spiral in the back. Two of these men wear a facial mask of black paint, while the mask of the third man is of yellow paint. The men standing out of the court behind them wear cloaks and hold staffs and 'fans'. The three men in the left end of the court wear red kilts and a red headband with a circular decoration at the temple. The men behind this end of the court each hold a spear-staff and a 'fan'.

None of the ten men in this ball court scene is named by the artist, nor is there a visible day date; this latter seems surprising in view of the unusual prominence given the event. The two men in the centre of the court were each holding an object which has now been erased, and might have been presenting gifts to one another, but the presence of the other men indicates that a game is also to be played. The location of the court was probably specified by the designs in its two side panels, but both of these have been completely obliterated. Even a careful study of the original codex has not enabled me to determine what might have been drawn in them.

The men at the right side of the court are associated with 4 Jaguar, and the centre figure may be this important leader himself. The men at the left are 8 Deer's supporters, and he is perhaps the other central figure. If so, this marks the first face-to-face encounter of these two important leaders. The actual outcome of their game is not indicated, but subsequent events show it to have been favourable to 8 Deer.

Colombino 12-III. 8 --, wearing a red headband with a circular decoration, is shown facing a man who wears a backwards cloak and has his long hair wrapped in a spiral of red cord. This latter individual is depicted sitting in front of a place sign composed of a fretted base supporting a damaged building, behind which there now remains only the lower part of a hill containing a stepped fret.



The visitor appears to be 8 Deer, and the host must be either 4 Jaguar or one of his representatives. The fact that this person is shown as the ruler of a locality could indicate that 4 Jaguar himself is intended, despite the lack of most of his characteristic traits. Since the meeting follows the ball game, the two men are probably discussing future arrangements for 8 Deer's nose piercing rite.

Colombino 12-III. A Z-shaped path is preceded by an erased name or date that contained at least seven circles. Pictured as seated on this path is the damaged figure of a man dressed in a jaguar suit and helmet, the latter now erased. He faces an area where the drawing has been so thoroughly obliterated that in the original manuscript only a few flakes of paint have survived. Beyond this is a partly destroyed building whose interior and lower parts are also totally erased, but on the roof there still survive traces of skulls.

These skulls indicate that this site is the 'Skull Temple' of the goddess ꝑ 9 Grass, and the scene probably represents 8 Deer meeting this deity, although her figure has been destroyed. The path would indicate that he has travelled from another area to this meeting. Since the upper part of the preceding place sign has been destroyed, it is not now possible to determine whether the path was attached to it, although this does not appear probable. 8 Deer's last meeting with ꝑ 9 Grass had been 14 years earlier at the beginning of the events that lead to his becoming ruler of Tututepec.

Colombino 13-III. The next Colombino scene begins with a panel of war chevrons. 8 -- is depicted, wearing a jaguar battle-jacket and a golden crown-like headdress; with one hand he grasps the hair of a captured foe named 1 Movement. Behind 1 Movement is the sign for the site he rules, which 8 Deer has conquered: a hill with a large cut caracol design near its bottom, and a blue olla-shaped drawing on a plateau near its top. The first surviving day date of this sequence of events is also found, and consists of two circles and a damaged sign that in the original manuscript resembles Wind.

A cognate scene for this conquest is found in the Bodley (10-II), although there the name of the captured man is given as 3 Alligator. The year sign has been painted but left incomplete, and no day date is shown. The place sign is similar to that of the Colombino except that the olla design is set into a solar disc, and flames come from one side of the hill. Smith (1966: 159-160, 169; 1973: 68) has identified this Colombino site and its Bodley counterpart as representing the town of Santa María Acatepec, which lies northeast of Tututepec.

Colombino 13-III. The remainder of band III has been entirely erased, the lines of abrasion biting down below the smooth surface of the leather to the fibres underneath. Only a few paint fragments now remain, and these show at the left the door-frame of a building, a positioning that probably indicates the interior was open on the right. It may thereby have served as the place of origin of the

procession pictured in the following scene. Near the lower right corner of the page there are two large circles that might represent a part of the day date.

Colombino 14-III-II. A procession of at least four men is shown. The figure of the man at the rear of the group has been erased except for the outlines of his face, crown-shaped headdress, and shield. In front of him is the captured 1 Movement, carrying a vertical flag. Next is a man in a jaguar-skin battle-jacket and helmet, carrying the Skull Shield and Owl Spear, and at the front of the procession another man carries the large round bag on his back. Under these men are traces of a red and yellow path that continues below the first two of the place signs towards which they are travelling.

The symbols being carried are familiar from their earlier appearance at 'Skull Temple' and during the following peregrination that ended with 8 Deer becoming ruler of Tututepec (Colombino 3-I-5-I). As was also true for that earlier occasion, the men carrying these objects in the present scene do not seem to have been named in the original manuscript, with the clear exception of the prisoner 1 Movement.

Five place signs follow, representing the sites to which this procession is carrying 8 Deer's symbols of power. Several of these symbols are shown with each locality; these always include the large round bag, here depicted as supporting the head of an 'Earth' figure.

The first place sign consists of a large yellow circle whose interior design has been almost completely destroyed. In its upper part the round bag with an 'Earth figure' head, and the Owl Spear, are still visible. Preceding it is a date that can be read in the original manuscript as the Day 5 Reed. The second sign is also almost totally destroyed, although it too appears to consist of a yellow circle, with a dark object in its interior. A few traces of the round bag and 'Earth figure' head still remain, and the Owl Spear is clear. At the left is the date, the Day 9 Movement. On the Day 11 Rain, the third place visited by the procession is depicted as a hill with a 'Split Stone' on which rests the round bag and 'Earth figure' head.

The Day 12 Flower is given for both the fourth and fifth localities. The fourth is drawn as a white peak, perhaps representing snow, from which comes a red stream that forms a design very similar to a cut caracol. On a plateau are the round bag and 'Earth figure' head, and the Owl Spear without the bird's face. The final site of this series is depicted as a low hill on top of which is seated a person whose face area has been totally destroyed, although numerous traces of red and white clothing have survived. The round bag and the base of the 'Earth figure' head can still be seen.

The four extant day dates of this peregrination all fall within a single trecena. If the two circles of the preceding destroyed scene are a date in this same trecena, it would be the Day 2 Dog.

8 Deer's placing of his symbols at these sites would seem to represent his claiming jurisdiction over them. No warfare is involved in this, however. Indeed, no weapons are now visible in this scene, although it is possible that the almost totally erased figure at the end of the procession might have carried a spear, perhaps to help in guarding the prisoner in front of him, since he also carries a shield.

The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 51-52) presents what may be a cognate peregrination, although it differs considerably from the Colombino data. 12 Movement and 8 Deer are shown armed, on a date that can be determined in the original codex to be the Day 12 Deer. There follow three place signs without dates: a U-shaped base with flowing water, a hill with a fish, and a hill with an alligator and tree. None of these can be correlated with any of the Colombino sites. The fourth place, shown as a hill containing a circular design, is dated on the Day 11 Rain, but does not resemble any Colombino locality. Nor does the fifth, a hill with a fretted panel and a series of black and white lines, on which 8 Deer is seated. The sixth is a hill with the 'Split Stone' between its two peaks, and has the date of the Day 10 Flower. The final site is without a date and depicts 8 Deer seated on a 'Split Stone' placed above the head of the Rain God.

The Day 12 Deer on which 12 Movement and 8 Deer are shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', occurs near the end of the trecena immedi-

ately preceding the one in which all the surviving Colombino dates are found (see Figure 2). The Day 11 Rain occurs in both manuscripts, but the Day 10 Flower in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' may be an error for the following Day 12 Flower, which is given in the Colombino. Only one of the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' signs, that of the 'Split Stone', can be equated easily with a Colombino site, and even in this instance the day dates do not coincide. The final Colombino site, which includes the depiction of a human figure, might perhaps correlate with the final site in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' sequence showing 8 Deer seated on a 'split stone' above the head of the Rain god. However, not only are there some internal discrepancies, but also the lack of corresponding day dates still remains a problem.

Colombino 14-13-II. The Year 7 House is repeated. The erased day date contains at least seven circles and can be determined from other evidence to be the Day 13 Alligator, which immediately follows the final date of the preceding peregrination.

On a path composed of alternating red and yellow rectangles, a procession of three men advances towards two other men. The leading man of the group wears a jaguar helmet and carries weapons. The second man holds a vertical object which has been almost totally destroyed, while at his back there is another vertical object which is also partly damaged. The final man of the three wears a crown-like headdress and also carries weapons.

Greeting them are two men whose hair is tousled in front, and bound in the back with several turns of a red cord. The objects in the hands of the front man have been erased; the man behind him holds a slightly curved red rectangle.

The path under these five men has been terminated shortly before reaching the large place sign of the next scene. In this way the artist has been able to utilise this sign in two consecutive scenes, both as the goal of the procession and as the site of the next event to be recorded in the manuscript.

None of the men in the present scene has a visible name now, and it seems apparent that they were omitted by the original artist. The man leading the procession should be 8 Deer, and the man behind him is probably his prisoner 1 Movement. The two men greeting them are representatives of 4 Jaguar.

The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 52-II-III), for this same Day 13 Alligator, depicts 8 Deer's younger brother 9 Flower carrying the 'Staff of Venus' and a vertical red and white object, while 8 carries weapons. Facing them is 4 Jaguar, who is shown kneeling and holding a bird and an incensario. Between 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar a large round bag is placed on top of a curved yellow form decorated with balls of down.

The Bodley (10-9-II) shows 8 Deer with his captive, called 3 Alligator in this codex, who carries a vertical flag and has very tousled hair. This prisoner is brought before 4 Jaguar by one of

the latter's own associates, not by 8 Deer; speech scrolls issue from the mouth of this associate. The date is given as the Day 1 Wind, the day immediately following the Day 13 Alligator.

Both the Colombino and Bodley indicate that 8 Deer is taking a prisoner to 4 Jaguar. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', however, does not mention either the prisoner or the conquest by which 8 Deer captured him.

Colombino 13-II-I. The climax of this long series of events of the Year 7 House is now reached.

A large and complex place sign is shown. Its base consists of a feather mat from which, at the right, grow several cattail plants; behind these is a fretted base, and at the left, a panel with scrolls. The latter supports a temple whose interior contents and roof decorations have been completely obliterated. In front of the building steps is a long strip of jaguar skin, and near its centre there is a hump, also covered with jaguar skin, across which lies a man. Standing behind this prone man perforating his nose is an individual who has a circle of black paint around his eye; his destroyed helmet was originally in the form of a bird. Beside them a third man holds out a triangular object. Above these men there is a large sign for the Day 1 Wind, and nearby an additional single circle and an erased zone. In front of the building roof a clump of feathers still survives at the top of an erased staff.



This is the very important ceremony of 8 Deer's nose being pierced, and cognate reports are found in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' and Bodley.

For that in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 52-III-IV), no place sign is specified. 8 Deer is shown leaning back across a hump covered with jaguar skin, while behind him 8 Death stands on a yellow panel decorated with balls of down, holding the pointed instrument with which the nose perforation is accomplished. The sign for the Day 1 Wind is given.

In the Bodley (9-II), 8 Deer is shown seated on what appears to be a live jaguar that has been thrown over a hump. Standing in front of him is a man with a pointed bone in one hand; he lacks a name, but his face is painted with a black mask. No separate day date is given, but the base upon which this scene is painted, is attached to the drawing of the preceding event and so presumably also occurs on the Day 1 Wind. Likewise no new place sign is given, so presumably the site indicated by the cattail plant in the prior event is also applicable here.

The large place sign shown in the Colombino scene has been identified by Smith (1966: 160-162; 1973: 70-71) as representing both San Pedro Jicayán and its former dependency, the nearby town of Tulixtlahuaca. She has also pointed out (1973: 71-75) the possibility that the signs given in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' and Bodley accounts may represent other traditions and might not refer to the same locality as that in the Colombino-Becker history.

In this Colombino scene, 8 Deer does not appear to have been designated by either his calendar or personal names, and consequently it is not clear whether the other two men with him would have been identified. The helmet of the man holding the nose-plug is now partly erased, but the feathers that remain of its original depiction indicate it may have been a feathered snake -- a form that in the Colombino-Becker is only known to be worn by 4 Jaguar (Troike n.d.a: parts II-IV).

Colombino 13-I. Following this nose piercing ritual, two men wearing nose-bars are pictured facing each other and holding out identical offerings. The man at the left, with his back to the foreground place sign of Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán, wears a jaguar helmet, while the face of the other man is painted with a black mask. Between them, a burning black ball rests on bound volutes above a panel fringed at one end. Numerous traces of name or date circles can still be seen.

The cognate scene in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 52-IV-53-I) is dated on the Day 4 Snake, which occurs just a few days after the Day 1 Wind of the nose piercing. 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar are shown presenting offerings to one another. Behind 8 Deer, and thus presumably his supporters, are two men named 1 Snake and 8 Snake. No place sign is given for the event.

Since 8 Deer has already completed the rite of having his nose pierced, he is able to benefit from that added status in this present

meeting with 4 Jaguar. In the Colombino, 8 Deer is drawn with his back to the place sign for Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán, indicating that he now has a connexion with that site and is the host for this meeting.

Summary: Colombino 9-10-III/13-I. Although the scenes for the Year 7 House continue on without interruption following the ceremonial perforation of 8 Deer's nose, it is appropriate to take stock here of the long series of events shown in the Colombino which have eventually led to the performance of this rite. These scenes have already covered more than five pages of the codex -- an appreciable portion of the extant manuscript -- and clearly demonstrate the importance with which the events were regarded by the native artists.

A brief summary of the sequence of their occurrence may be useful. They began on an unspecified day of the Year 7 House when a representative of 4 Jaguar travelled to meet the humpback 10 Wind and to supervise several rites which the latter had to perform before being allowed to meet 4 Jaguar. After that meeting 10 Wind found it necessary to secure the assistance of 1 --, who had to perform the same rituals as 10 Wind in order that the two of them could confer with 4 Jaguar. The result of this meeting caused 10 Wind, 1 --, and a representative of 4 Jaguar, to set out for the area ruled by the deity ♀ 9 Reed. There 8 Deer met with this goddess and two symbols were displayed, after which she was conveyed by 10 Wind and his companions to a meeting with 4 Jaguar, where the same two symbols were again shown.

♀ 9 Reed then went to meet a man, and a representative of 4 Jaguar met this or another man. A procession of four personages travelled to the area controlled by 4 Jaguar. 4 Jaguar and 8 Deer played a ball game, and after it 3 Deer met a man who might be 4 Jaguar. Later 8 Deer went to the 'Skull Temple' of the goddess ♀ 9 Grass, then made war on Acatepec and there captured 1 Movement. 8 Deer's symbols of power and his prisoner were taken on a peregrination to several places, ending at Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán, where 4 Jaguar may have witnessed 8 Deer's nose being perforated, following which the two leaders met together.

The Year 7 House, in which all these events take place, finds 8 Deer having attained the age of 34 years, and having been the ruler of Tututepec for 14 years. Yet the reason for all these activities does not lie with 8 Deer at all, but rather stems from the fact that this is the time at which his older half-brother 12 Movement reaches the important and symbolic age of 52 years.

12 Movement was born in a Year 7 House, the first son of 5 Alligator's first marriage to ♀ 9 Eagle. He was already 16 years old when 5 Alligator took ♀ 11 Water as his second wife, and 18 years of age when 8 Deer was born two years later. When 5 Alligator died in the Year 5 Rabbit, 12 Movement was 37 years old and 8 Deer only 19 years of age. As the first son, 12 Movement inherited control of Tilantongo from his father, and for the ensuing 15 years has ruled it. Now in the cycle of years the Year 7 House has again come around, and

this momentous occasion for him must be properly and appropriately marked.

It will be celebrated in part by his allowing 8 Deer to become co-ruler of Tilantongo with him. The necessity of arranging for a new ruler for this important town has arisen because 12 Movement has never married and so has no child to inherit the site from him, and there are no other surviving sons of 5 Alligator's first marriage who might become his heir. He was thus faced with the necessity of selecting a successor from among the other descendants of 5 Alligator, and there are only two choices available.

His younger sister ♀ 6 Lizard had married 11 Wind in the Year 10 House when she was 14 years old, and had borne him three children, two sons 10 Dog and 6 House, and a daughter ♀ 13 Snake. These boys are 12 Movement's nephews and 5 Alligator's grandsons, and are the only surviving male descendants of 5 Alligator's first marriage. The other choice is 8 Deer, who is 5 Alligator's son but the issue of a second marriage, and so 12 Movement's half-brother.

It is 8 Deer whom 12 Movement selects as his heir, and it is apparently in order to qualify for this position that 8 Deer finds it desirable or necessary to have his nose perforated. The events which occurred as he attempted to secure approval from 4 Jaguar for this mark of distinction are those which have been chronicled so extensively in the Colombino for this present Year 7 House. They are referred to only sketchily in the other Mixtec manuscripts, again revealing the different emphases of these surviving texts.

The impetus for all these occurrences is implied in the Colombino as originating with 4 Jaguar, whose representative is first pictured travelling to meet 10 Wind, but a study of the events themselves does not support this presentation. Had 4 Jaguar sent for 10 Wind, it does not seem that he would have forced the humpback to go through a series of rites before their meeting could be held, nor does it seem likely that 10 Wind's associate 1 -- would have had to perform the same set of ceremonies before being allowed a meeting. That it was necessary for them to undergo these rituals would indicate they were the ones desiring the meetings, and since they appear as representatives of 8 Deer, it follows that the actual origin of these activities lay with him and not with 4 Jaguar. The tradition recorded in the Colombino-Becker appears to be an attempt to increase 8 Deer's status by making it appear that 4 Jaguar took the initiative in opening contact between the two men.

The events surrounding 10 Wind's meeting with 4 Jaguar indicate that the latter apparently refused to accede to the request that 8 Deer's nose be perforated. Following 10 Wind's rebuff, a person of apparently greater standing, 1 --, was sent to contact 4 Jaguar, but the latter seems to have maintained his refusal. With both his representatives having received negative replies, it then became necessary for 8 Deer to appeal to the goddess q 9 Reed for supernatural support. The urgency of this request accounts for his being shown making it himself, and also for the way he is depicted in the Colombino as the person of lesser importance, as would be appropriate

for a petitioner. He appears to have been successful in securing this deity's aid, for she is shown being taken to meet 4 Jaguar.

At this confrontation between what must be two powerful personages, ♀ 9 Reed apparently intercedes for 8 Deer. It seems likely that, as a direct result of her intervention, the ball game is held, perhaps a compromise which she forced on 4 Jaguar. At stake in this game seems to have been nothing less than 4 Jaguar's agreement for 8 Deer's nose to be pierced, which would account for the large size in which the ball scene is depicted in the Colombino.

A procession of the Wind God and three other individuals travelled towards the site of this game, the latter three all wearing a red headband with a circular decoration. The purpose of this procession remains obscure, although it might be possible that some of them are members of 8 Deer's ball team, since the men shown on his side of the court also wear such headbands. It is this procession, entirely divorced from its raison d'être, the ball game, that is depicted in the Codex Bodley, and also shown, although apparently in another context, in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', indicating its importance. While its purpose is not clear, it is obvious that this event is another example of a deity -- in this case, the Wind God -- playing a direct role in 8 Deer's life.

The actual outcome of the ball game is not recorded in the Colombino, although it was apparently favourable to 8 Deer. Following it, he meets a man who is either 4 Jaguar or one of his lieutenants, and

it is possible that at this time 4 Jaguar further specified that 8 Deer should present a prisoner, perhaps even indicating Acatepec as the locality to be attacked.

8 Deer is then pictured in several events that recapitulate those he had engaged in 14 years earlier as he was becoming ruler of Tututepec. First he travels to meet the goddess ♀ 9 Grass. He then conquers the town of Acatepec and captures its ruler, who is named 1 Movement in the Colombino-Becker but called 3 Alligator in the tradition recorded in the Bodley. A destroyed scene may have showed the place of origin, perhaps Tututepec, of a peregrination during which 8 Deer's symbols of power and his prisoner are taken to several different sites. These are the same symbols which had previously been carried to Tututepec, but in the present instance some of these objects are depicted resting on the signs for the places visited, perhaps indicating that he is making a claim of sovereignty over these localities. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' shows 12 Movement accompanying 8 Deer during this journey, and he may also have been depicted in the Colombino, but in the latter manuscript all names except that of the prisoner appear to have been omitted, so his presence cannot be confirmed.

In the Colombino this journey ends at Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán, where the arriving group is met by two representatives of 4 Jaguar. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' shows no place sign, although some of 8 Deer's symbols of power are depicted; and additionally 4 Jaguar is



shown greeting 8 Deer from a subservient kneeling position. All the data in the Colombino, however, indicate that the relative status of the two men should be the reverse of this, with 8 Deer the person of lesser importance. The Bodley shows that 8 Deer travels with his prisoner to the place 'Cattail Frieze', but it is an unnamed associate of 4 Jaguar who presents this captive before the latter. This might indicate that 8 Deer was not yet considered qualified to appear in the presence of 4 Jaguar, and may be a more accurate reflection of his actual status than the accounts of either the Colombino-Becker or the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'.

Concerning the actual perforation of 8 Deer's nose, it seems quite clear that it was not done by 4 Jaguar himself, and the Colombino is the only text that may show him to have been present at the event. The humped support, draped in a jaguar skin, over which all three codices depict 8 Deer reclining for the actual ceremony, bears a striking resemblance to the stone across which sacrificial victims are thrown for the cutting out of the heart.

The pattern shown in the Colombino for 8 Deer's activities preceding his nose perforation at Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán, at least partially duplicates that which preceded his becoming ruler of Tututepec. In both cases winning a ball game seems to have been the crucial factor upon which his entire political future depended. Following the Tututepec game there were symbolic attacks on two sites, and after the present game 8 Deer later attacks Acatepec and captures

a prisoner. The final sequence of Tututepec events begins at the 'Skull Temple' of the goddess q 9 Grass, and in the present case 8 Deer also visited her, although prior to capturing his prisoner.

In the Tututepec events 8 Deer then displayed his symbols during a peregrination to sites probably connected with the ancestry of the Mixtecs. In the present instance he also makes a peregrination with these same symbols, and although he does not visit those same sites before going to Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán, he does so later. His symbols were shown in and around the building associated with the Tututepec place sign, and in the present events, despite the damaged condition of the building associated with the Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán sign, there still survives a cluster of feathers similar to those at the top of the 'Venus Staff' and in virtually the identical position that such a staff occupied in the Tututepec scene.

Following both the Tututepec and the nose perforation scenes, 8 Deer is shown meeting an important individual: 12 Movement in the case of the Tututepec events, and 4 Jaguar in the present instance. Both times it is 8 Deer who is pictured with his back to the preceding place sign, indicating that he is the host for the meeting. At both these meetings 8 Deer is shown in almost the identical garb and jewellery, with the exception that in the Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán meeting he wears his new nose-bar and has his face painted in two colours rather than only one. Following these meetings in both cases 8 Deer makes a series of conquests, although those after the Tututepec

meeting were much more extensive than those following his meeting with 4 Jaguar (discussed below).

These comparisons show such a similar pattern that they seem too remarkable to be merely coincidence, and suggest to me the probability that, in the tradition recorded in the Colombino-Becker, 8 Deer became the ruler of Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán following his nose piercing ceremony there.

The only previous detailed study of this long series of events in the Colombino for 8 Deer in the Year 7 House, is that by Caso (1966: 28-31). Unfortunately, he did not understand the larger context and so failed to realise that all these scenes formed a single continuous narrative. Clark (1912: 19-21) described some of the events but likewise did not recognise their continuity. Nowotny (1961: 16), whose Becker notes do not usually contain references to Colombino scenes, remarked only upon the procession led by the Wind God, interpreting it as representing an invitation to 8 Deer by temple priests to be consecrated as a 'king'.

Although both 8 Deer's older half-brother 12 Movement and his younger brother 9 Flower are depicted in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' assisting him during these events, their assistance is accorded only minimal notice, and the emphasis is almost entirely upon 8 Deer, particularly in the Colombino. During all the events leading to his nose perforation ceremony, the Colombino text shows him overcoming successive obstacles and receiving supernatural aid in securing

his aim, implying thereby that he is a person of merit, valour, and courage, destined for greatness.

But the events of this momentous Year 7 House are not by any means yet completed.

Colombino 14-I. Immediately after 8 Deer's nose piercing rite and his subsequent meeting with 4 Jaguar, a series of conquests is shown. The place signs in the Colombino are now badly damaged, but fortunately these battles are also recorded in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'.

The Colombino first shows a warrior, wearing a bird helmet and a long train of feathers, standing with poised spear in front of a place sign consisting of a building whose identifying characteristics have been totally erased. Neither the date nor his names are now visible, but in the Colombino-Becker the bird helmet is normally used to indicate 9 Flower, 8 Deer's younger brother (Troike n.d.a.: part III).

The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 53-I) cognate scene shows a conquered place whose sign is a bird on a fretted base. The date is the Day 7 Rabbit, the third day following the meeting between 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar. No individual is shown making this conquest.

At the second site, a man dressed in a jaguar helmet and suit and probably wearing a nose-bar, is shown brandishing his spear; at least five circles and a part of an animal head remain of his name. The sign for the locality which he is conquering is drawn as a bird

and a hill, and is one of the depictions mentioned previously as perhaps having escaped erasure because it was thought to represent Tututepec, 'Bird Hill'.

The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 53-II) cognate conquest is of a hill and a bird, and the date is the next following Day 8 Water.

Colombino 15-I. The conquest of the third site occupies an entire band and so may have been of greater importance than the preceding two. At the left stands 9 Flower, wearing a bird helmet and a feather train, holding his weapons. At the right, in a jaguar suit and helmet, and standing on a base of war chevrons, is another man with weapons. This chevron panel marks the end of the conquest activities that began with 8 Deer's attack on Acatepec (Colombino 13-III).

The place sign between the two men has been partially destroyed, as have other drawings on each side of it; even a careful study of the original manuscript reveals few details of these designs. The major sign consists of a hill whose top edges turn up, forming a basin containing moving water and traces of a destroyed object. The lower part of the hill forms the face of a monster who has an open mouth within which another object has been erased. Above each eye of the monster small red and white teeth or knives hang down from a stepped fret. On both sides of this hill only traces now remain of additional adjacent objects which have been obliterated. The day date can be determined in the original codex to consist of the sign

for Flower, accompanied by at least five circles. The next day with this name, following the Days 7 Rabbit and 8 Water, would be the Day 6 Flower, which occurs in the next trecena.

There are no place signs among the conquests shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' that resemble this Colombino monster-hill.

Colombino 17-I. The dual-page set formed by Colombino 15 and 17 is interrupted now by the interpolated page 16, which actually belongs much later in Section III of the codex. The text of the Colombino continues directly between pages 15 and 17, now respectively the final page of Colombino Fragment I and the first page of Fragment III.

A 'stone' hill containing a 'Venus' symbol is depicted, with traces of other erased designs along its summit and sides. It serves as the place of origin of a yellow Z-shaped path on which stands an armed warrior. This path is attached to a base that supports a building; the steps and doorway of this building are on the side opposite the man, indicating that the site is serving here only as the goal of his journey.

The identifying characteristics of the place sign have been erased, although within the building the large round bag can still be seen, and the drawings in front of the building have been totally destroyed. Extending from the front of the building is a red and yellow L-shaped base decorated along its outer face with L-shaped projections; above its vertical end a man is shown seated on a

feather mat, kindling flames in a fire-log. There is a single large circle in front of him and near the building are at least seven or eight additional circles and a design that seems to be the sign for Flower.

This site is the first locality to be visited in a peregrination which in part will recapitulate that made by 8 Deer 14 years earlier as he travelled from 'Skull Temple' to become ruler of Tututepec. During that earlier journey he took his symbols of power to the various sites of the peregrination, but in the present instance these symbols have already been displayed when he went to Tulixtla-huaca of Jicayán. This scene is the first time fire has been depicted being made with a drill in a fire-log, although such a log appeared among the symbols 8 Deer took to Tututepec.

The two sets of date circles appearing with this event can be determined, from subsequent scenes, to be the Days 13 Flower and 1 Alligator, which occur shortly after the dates given in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' for the preceding conquests.

Colombino 17-II. A man is shown with outstretched but apparently empty hands. Behind him is one circle and probably an animal head, while above him is the Wind sign and one or more circles. These would appear to be the consecutive Days 1 Alligator and 2 Wind; the former date also occurred in the immediately foregoing scene.

Five place signs follow. The sign for the first consists of a hill with an opening containing a tree and an 'Earth figure'; it would

be visited on one of the two Days 1 Alligator or 2 Wind that appear with the man, probably the latter. On the Day 3 House, the second site to be visited is represented as a tree growing in a U-shaped base of water. The third place is visited on the Day 5 [Snake] and is depicted as a building composed of a human skull, with a tree growing from inside it. The fourth is a hill containing a cut caracol design and a tree growing from its slope, while an object on its summit has been destroyed; it is visited on the Day 6 [Death]. The drawing of the fifth site is badly destroyed, and the part that now remains appears to show a hill with an opening from which a tree grows; no date is visible.

These five localities are an obvious repetition of the ancestral sites previously visited by 8 Deer as he was travelling to Tututepec to become its ruler (Colombino 4-5-III). Omitted from the present peregrination, however, is the site whose sign is composed of two peaks, one having a split top and the other a chequered top, that had also been visited on that earlier occasion. This might indicate that the position which 8 Deer presently occupies makes it inappropriate for him to visit this place; or, conversely, that perhaps it might be the least important of these sites and so is now omitted from the peregrination.

Colombino 15-II. The scenes in this band have all been very severely damaged, and at least one has been retouched.



A building is shown, its back totally destroyed except for a few faint traces; within it, a square red altar is still visible. In front of the building, apparently resting on a panel attached directly to its steps, is drawn a pile of several badly damaged objects, among which can be recognised a set of bound volutes and a bowl with a sacrificial knife on top. The Day 4 Movement is given, which occurs in the trecena following after the one begun by the Day 1 Alligator.

In the next scene a man is depicted standing on a large red and yellow base. With one hand he holds an offering of vegetation, while his other hand is extended but now erased. Behind him is the date of the Day 7 Flower, three days after the date given with the preceding building. On the base in front of him are two groups of objects, some of which have been obliterated. Of the first group there now remains only a set of bound volutes topped by a burning black ball. The second group contains a pair of curved objects, a shield, a tied bundle of sticks, and two large white flowers, while beside them stands a spear.

The third scene has been almost completely destroyed. There remain fragments of the figure of a man with his right arm extended, and behind him are traces of at least four circles. At some considerable distance in front of him there is a base with war chevrons above which rise several red and white rectangles of varying sizes. At the top of these, the large round bag can be identified beside a vertical red and white panel.

Between these two fragments of the scene there is a large area in which the drawings have been totally obliterated. Below it another section of the base of war chevrons is shown, but an examination of the original manuscript reveals that this portion has been executed directly upon the leather surface of the page, where the white background paint had already been scraped off. Consequently, it is a later addition to the text, as is the short section of red guide line below it. The colours used in these retouchings match those of the original paintings, and the new work is very well done, but there is now no way to determine whether it follows traces of the original drawing or if it is merely an imaginative restoration.

Structurally, the internal organisation of the three scenes of this sequence is the opposite of that which is normal for this type of page pattern (see Figure 7). There is now no obvious reason for this arrangement, unless the building in the first scene can be postulated as having been connected by a path with the final locality of the preceding peregrination to the ancestral sites. Unfortunately, all designs in this area have been totally obliterated by the severe damage these pages of the codex have sustained, and it is not possible to confirm such a suggestion, although it would explain the arrangement of these three scenes. The meaning of the sequence would be that, after the completion of the peregrination, several rites were then carried out in front of the building shown in the first scene. Eleven days elapse between the last visible date associated with that

peregrination, and the first day given for the present series of events.

In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 54-IV), the only reference to the present scenes or to the prior peregrination occurs in a depiction of the armed figure of 8 Deer, accompanied by the dates of the Days 1 Alligator and 9 Wind. These dates occur in two sequential trecenas, with the first being given in the Colombino for the start of the peregrination. The later date is not now visible in the Colombino, but the Day 7 Flower, which falls only two days before the Day 9 Wind, is found with the middle of the three present scenes.

The probable Bodley (9-I) cognate depiction shows 8 Deer carrying the 'Venus Staff'. In front of him, on a separate base represented as the sign for Tilantongo, are shown a spear decorated with the head of an 'Earth' figure, a round object resembling a feathered shield, the large round bag, and another 'Venus Staff'. No date is given.

The Colombino scenes represent 8 Deer carrying out the ceremonies that are necessary when the next ruler of a locality is not the first son of the previous ruler. In normal Mixtec practice, inheritance passed from father to first son, and any deviation from this pattern apparently necessitated special rituals in order to legitimise the position of the new ruler. These rites can be seen most clearly in the Codex Selden (4-IV, 5-III, 9-I, 14-III), in which new rulers are

depicted offering vegetation and a smoking incensario before a building containing the large round bag. Other examples of the ceremonies are also found in the Bodley (8-II) and perhaps in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' (1902: 25-III).

8 Deer is performing these rituals because he is to become co-ruler of Tilantongo with his half-brother 12 Movement. The latter is now 52 years old and is making 8 Deer his heir, to inherit control of this important town from him.

Colombino 15-III, 17-III. This scene extends across pages 15 and 17. That part on page 17 is only slightly damaged, but the drawings on page 15 have been virtually destroyed and then partially retouched. On this latter page, the base underlying the scene is drawn directly upon the surface of the leather where the white background paint had already been totally removed, and so is not a part of the original painting. In the original manuscript this retouched base has a quite different appearance from that of the undamaged form on page 17. However, the retouched design not only shows the L-shaped projections that are found on page 17, but also contains several stepped frets at its left end which have no counterpart in the remainder of the scene. It might be possible, therefore, that traces of the original design formed the pattern for this retouching.

At the left can be seen the mostly destroyed figure of a man with one hand thrust forward. He appears to be seated, and a blue and yellow design under his chin reveals that he is wearing a jaguar

helmet (Troike n.d.a: part I). Above his head are at least four circles. The area in front of him is totally abraded.

Facing him is a group of probably some eight or nine men; the precise number is impossible to determine because of the extensive erasures on this page. Other members of this group might have been depicted within the abraded area, or instead, symbols or other objects might have been shown to indicate the purpose for which the meeting was held.

The surviving names of these men are now very fragmentary, but some of them can be identified from their appearance in the cognate scene in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 53-68), which shows 8 Deer and 12 Movement meeting at Tilantongo with a group of 112 men. In front of the sign for Tilantongo<sup>1</sup> there is drawn a feather mat supporting a 'Staff of Venus' and a spear placed point downwards. 12 Movement is shown wearing a jaguar helmet and kneeling, whereas 8 Deer is dressed in a full jaguar-skin suit and helmet and seated upon a form of the 'Split Stone'. Of the group of men whom they are meeting, Nuttall (1902: 23) has written:

In the whole range of the native pictography which has escaped destruction, there are no more interesting and instructive pages than those which now follow. They bring vividly before us a council of Ancient Mexican chieftains, each designated by name and displaying a bewildering variety

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<sup>1</sup>A summary of the data concerning this sign, which was first identified by Caso (1949), can be found in Smith (1973: 55-58).

of tribal or individual costume, coiffure, body painting, and insignia, each detail of which has been most carefully executed by the artist.

In the Colombino, of the first surviving figure there now remains only his face, with at least nine circles of his calendar name, and a circular object resembling a necklace. This may be 12 Buzzard, shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 54-II) as the first of the men at the meeting; his personal name is represented by an elaborately decorated round object.

The second man in the Colombino is clearly named 7 Movement, and has as his personal name a smaller figure of a man wearing a buccal mask with a curling blue design near it. Although a man named 7 Movement is found much later in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 64-I), his personal name does not resemble the one shown here. However, the fourth man of the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 54-III) sequence has a personal name whose sign is composed of a small man wearing the mask of the Rain God, with speech scrolls coming from the mouth, although this individual is named 7 Grass.

The figure of the third Colombino man has been obliterated except for some six or seven circles of his calendar name. Traces of the body of the fourth man can still be seen, and above him are the remnants of an animal head. This might be 9 Monkey, who appears eighth in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 55-I) sequence. The fifth man had a calendar name with at least six circles and a personal name depicted as simply a small man. Although there are small

human figures in the names of several individuals in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' group, none corresponds to this drawing.

The remaining three figures in the Colombino are much better preserved than the foregoing. The calendar name of the sixth man contains nine circles and the head of a bird, and is probably 9 Buzzard, found third in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 54-III) sequence. Seventh is 4 Movement, shown as the eleventh man in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 55-III). The eighth visible man of the Colombino series is 1 -- 'Large Round Bag with Tree'. He probably corresponds in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 55-III) to 1 Death 'Large Round Bag'.

Since all the clearly identifiable figures of the Colombino are found among the first dozen individuals shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' cognate scene, it seems possible that the remaining unidentified Colombino men are also included within this latter group.

In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' this meeting apparently takes place on the Day 9 Wind. This date occurs in conjunction with the Day 1 Alligator, the two dates spanning events that in the Colombino are shown as 8 Deer's peregrination and rituals. Although the Colombino day date of this meeting has been destroyed, one of its preceding rituals occurred on the Day 7 Flower, only two days before the Day 9 Wind.

Colombino 17-18-III. The last event depicted for the Year 7 House is also one of the rare scenes that extends across an outside fold. 8 Deer, recognisable by his surviving personal name of 'Jaguar Claw' and the nose-plug he wears, is seated with three other men facing him. In front of him are a shield and an axe with its handle towards him, indicating that the weapons have been placed there as a gesture of peace by the first man facing him. Below these weapons are at least five circles, and above them several red lines like flowing blood come from a source that has been erased. The second man is 9 Flower, in front of whose figure an object has been erased. The third man is 8 Deer's maternal half-brother 8 Flower, with a shield and spear depicted in front of him, the handle of the spear turned towards 8 Deer.

The first man facing 8 Deer would be 12 Movement, whose personal name is usually shown as a bleeding jaguar head. 8 Deer's three major siblings would thus be shown in this scene, ranked in their order of importance. Since all three men are 8 Deer's relatives and supporters, the appearance of the weapons seems strange, even though positioned to indicate peaceful intent.

The internal structure of this scene is reversed from normal in order for 8 Deer to be depicted beside the Tilantongo place sign of the preceding event. This would indicate both that he is the host for this meeting with his siblings, and that it also occurs at Tilantongo. No day date is now visible, nor does there seem to be



sufficient space for the artist to have included one, so this meeting presumably took place on the same Day 9 Wind as the immediately foregoing meeting with the large group of men.

Summary: Colombino 14-I/18-III. These events show 8 Deer becoming co-ruler of Tilantongo with 12 Movement.

Following his nose perforation ceremony at Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán, at which time I have suggested he also assumed control of that town, 8 Deer makes several conquests, assisted by his younger brother 9 Flower. This follows the same pattern that had occurred many years earlier after he became ruler of Tututepec, when he also made a series of conquests.

He then undertakes the final ceremonies necessary before he can become co-ruler of Tilantongo; these begin on the Day 1 Alligator and continue until the Day 9 Wind of the following trecena. He first kindled fire in a fire-log, in front of a building within which is the large round bag. A fire-log was also included among the symbols he took to Tututepec, although it was not shown being used; and the round bag has appeared prominently among both the Tututepec symbols and during the peregrination to Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán that he has only recently completed.

8 Deer then makes a peregrination to the sites that may be connected with the origins of the various peoples of the Mixteca. He had also visited these same localities, and in the same sequence, when he was travelling to Tututepec, with the exception that at the present

time he omits the site whose sign consists of a split peak and a chequered peak. His symbols of power are not now displayed, unless they were depicted in an area that has been erased. However, they were shown when he went to Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán, and it is possible they may not have been pictured here because he is not becoming the ruler of Tilantongo but only its co-ruler, since he will share the position with 12 Movement for the latter's remaining lifetime.

After this peregrination 8 Deer then performs the ceremonies that are necessary for him to become accepted as co-ruler. As shown in other codices, a major element of this is the presentation of offerings of vegetation and a smoking incensario before the symbol that is depicted as a large round bag. After this, he meets a group of men, an event which could serve as a public demonstration of his new status. The scene of this meeting is reduced in the Colombino to only a very small number of persons in comparison with the 112 shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'. It is unfortunate that most of these Colombino depictions are drawn by the artist of Style IV, the least talented of all the Colombino-Becker painters, for he portrays them as only very simple figures unadorned by the identifying attire that stimulated Nuttall's comments on the cognate scene in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'.

Only one figure can now be seen in the Colombino facing this group of men, and it is apparently 8 Deer. In a separate scene after-

wards he is shown facing his three male kinsmen 12 Movement, 9 Flower, and 8 Flower, in a scene that appears to recapitulate, on a family basis, his prior meeting with the larger group of men. Here 8 Deer may be seeking to confirm that they will support him, and perhaps if necessary they will do so by arms. Considering 12 Movement's inclusion in this latter scene, it does not seem probable that he would have appeared with 8 Deer at the preceding meeting.

In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', the meeting with the 112 men is shown as being held on the Day 9 Wind. This is the name-day of the Wind God, and this deity has been pictured earlier in the Colombino leading a procession immediately before 8 Deer's crucial ball game with 4 Jaguar. The part that might have been played by this god in the conflict between the two men still remains obscure, but the holding of this important Tilantongo meeting on his name-day can hardly be accidental. The Day 9 Wind is also the sixtieth day since 8 Deer's nose was perforated on the Day 1 Wind.

Although the text of the Colombino-Becker has concentrated almost exclusively upon the activities in which 8 Deer has been engaged in this Year 7 House -- his efforts to have his nose pierced, his perhaps gaining hegemony over Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán, and his becoming co-ruler of Tilantongo -- the actual reason for all these events does not lie with 8 Deer at all but, as already mentioned, with his older half-brother 12 Movement. 12 Movement has reached the symbolic age of 52 years, and having no child of his own, it

would be an appropriate time to appoint an heir, to insure that the control of this important town did not pass from the descendants of 5 Alligator.

12 Movement has chosen 8 Deer to be his heir, but the events of the Year 7 House seem to indicate that there may have been some question concerning the latter's suitability for this important position. It may therefore have been imperative for 8 Deer to have his nose perforated, in order to have the benefits of the additional status that accrued from such a ceremony. Also, there may possibly have been some reservations about allowing one person to extend his political influence over so extensive an area as 8 Deer might be able to do were he to gain control of Tilantongo. He had ruled Tututepec for the past 14 years and was probably an important figure in the coastal region, and as well he may now also have become ruler of Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán. With the addition of Tilantongo to his zone of influence, he would then control a wide area from the coast to the highlands, and might become one of the most powerful forces in the Mixteca.

However, 12 Movement is not relinquishing control of Tilantongo at this time, but only appointing 8 Deer as his co-ruler. The two would rule together for the remaining years of the older's man life, and only after his death would 8 Deer become the sole ruler. Thus while 12 Movement's acknowledgement of 8 Deer as his heir is a noteworthy event, it would not signal an immediate change at Tilantongo.

The principal purpose for which the large group of men gathered in Tilantongo would probably have been to celebrate 12 Movement's attainment of the age of 52 years, rather than his appointment of 8 Deer as his co-ruler and future heir. For the ruler of such an important town as Tilantongo to reach this age and so complete a full calendar round of years, would seem a sufficient reason for holding such a meeting as is depicted in the Colombino-Becker and Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'. It may be a measure of the importance of this town that men from perhaps as far away as Tlaxcala (Nicholson 1967b) came for the occasion.

In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', 12 Movement and 8 Deer are depicted together, meeting the group of 112 men, although 12 Movement is pictured wearing less elaborate clothing than 8 Deer. In the cognate event in the Colombino-Becker, however, apparently only 8 Deer meets the group of men, then in a subsequent scene is shown meeting his male siblings, including 12 Movement. This exclusion of 12 Movement from the scene of the large meeting, and his inclusion only within a group of 8 Deer's kinsmen, appears to be a deliberate attempt by the Colombino-Becker artists to minimise his importance and to ascribe to 8 Deer a prominence which he probably did not yet merit.

There is a definite tendency throughout the Codex Colombino-Becker for 8 Deer to be presented in the most favourable manner possible and with the highest status that can be ascribed to him. This might

indicate that he later propagated an 'official' version of his life, in which he always presented himself in the best light; or it could be due to the importance he later achieved also being attributed to the earlier parts of his life. There is even a possibility that some of the attributions are due to the enthusiasm of the painters of the manuscript for a leader who had spent many years in the coastal region, for this is the area in which Smith (1963: 288) has concluded the manuscript originated.

In the Colombino, the original sign has been destroyed that represented the place at which 8 Deer met the large group of men, and what appears to be traces of it are only a later addition. However, the person who did this retouching has drawn several stepped frets at the left end of the base, a feature not found in that part of the scene still remaining undamaged. A panel of black and white frets forms the most characteristic trait of the sign for Tilantongo, and consequently it might be possible that this retouching followed traces of the original design that were still evident at an earlier time. If not, then these frets could only have been added by a person who could read the pictorial contents of the codex and also knew that this meeting should have been held at Tilantongo.

The text of the Colombino-Becker now reaches the end of the very eventful Year 7 House. The artists of the manuscript have devoted eight pages to this one year -- a total that constitutes some twenty per cent of the entire surviving document -- and this must be taken

as a measure of its importance in their tradition. The differences in emphasis between this codex and the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' for this year are striking, supporting Smith's (1963: 288) distinction that they reflect respectively the coastal and highland traditions. The long series of events leading to 8 Deer's nose perforation took place after he had ruled Tututepec for 14 years and while it was still his principal centre of power, and these activities are treated in extensive detail in the Colombino-Becker. In contrast, the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' records only a few of the events surrounding 8 Deer's nose piercing, but gives is almost overwhelming detail the full list of persons who met later in Tilantongo -- a roster that in the Colombino-Becker is reduced to a mere handful.

Colombino 18-19-III. The Day -- Wind of the Year 8 -- is shown. According to the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 68-II) and Bodley (9-I), this is the Day 4 Wind of the next Year 8 Rabbit, during which 8 Deer will become 35 years of age. This date is also the sixtieth day following the large meeting at Tilantongo, and the one-hundred-and-twentieth day since his nose was pierced.

The place sign in the Colombino consists of a hill with a cut caracol design in its lower part and a destroyed panel across its centre; from its red summit a tree is growing. The right side of this hill is attached directly to the back of a building whose depiction is now partly erased. Within the building there are faint traces of an object that might be the large round bag, but if so, it

is resting upon another object and not directly upon the floor of the building.

In front of this building is a band of war chevrons, and although its precise relationship to the building cannot now be determined because of an erased area, there seems some possibility that it might have been in a Z-shape, extending into the building to form a base under the round bag. The top of the 'Staff of Venus' can still be seen in front of the building, and below it are traces of destroyed objects. To the right, pictured as resting on the chevron base, are clear depictions of the Skull Shield with a set of bound volutes, and a large lance or arrow that probably represents the Owl Spear, since it is shown in a point downwards position although without the owl head. A warrior holding his weapons stands at the end of the chevron base; he wears a jaguar-skin battle-jacket and a crown-like headdress, but there are no visible traces of either his calendar or personal names.

This place sign of a red-top hill with a tree has not survived elsewhere in the Colombino-Becker. The chevron base in front of the building would normally indicate warfare, but in the present case 8 Deer's symbols of power are shown upon it, and a peregrination, rather than battles, will follow.

The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 68-II) shows the Day 4 Wind of the Year 8 Rabbit, and as the place sign for Tilantongo, a hill on whose top a black and white fretted base supports a large building.



In front of this building, on a feather mat, are the 'Venus Staff' and a spear placed point downwards. 8 Deer is depicted standing on another place sign (discussed below), wearing a jaguar suit and helmet and holding his weapons. Between two other members of his group there appear a set of bound volutes and a small war chevron panel from which rise curls of smoke and an arrow.

This same year and day date are also found in the Codex Bodley (9-I). 8 Deer, armed with a spear, is shown standing on a Z-shaped path of war chevrons which terminates in a set of short wavy lines not directly attached to anything. The name or date of 4? Alligator is given near the end of the chevron band, and below this there is a panel with star-eyes and a 'Venus' symbol to which a large sign for the name or date of 1 Death is connected. (The other parts of this complex of signs are associated with the following year and will be described later.)

In all three of these codices 8 Deer is depicted armed for battle, and the chevrons of war are also shown. However, as will be discussed below, conquests do not follow, but rather an apparently peaceful peregrination. Smith (1973: 33) has pointed out that this type of chevron panel may represent the Mixtec word for 'enemy'; therefore it might be possible that in the present instance, 8 Deer's peregrination will take him through hostile territory, so that he is pictured armed for protection from these enemies rather than for their conquest. His symbols of power are also depicted, and will be displayed during the peregrination.

Colombino 19-III-II. A number of place signs are given for the sites of 8 Deer's peregrination. Some of these drawings in the Colombino have suffered extensive damage, but fortunately the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' cognate peregrination also pictures some of these localities. But whereas the Colombino had shown only 8 Deer making this journey, the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' sequence depicts him as being accompanied by his half-brother 12 Movement, 2 Monkey, an unnamed man with the fleshless lower jaw characteristic of the god 1 Movement, and another man also without a name. The various members of this group carry weapons of war, 8 Deer's symbols of power, and implements of sacrifice. Further, the tradition recorded in the two manuscripts differ by one day in the times given for the first several places visited during this journey.

On the Day 5 House, which follows immediately after the Day 4 Wind, the locality shown as visited first in the Colombino is represented by a 'Split Stone' and a vertical bundle; on top of the former is the large round bag and what appears to be a sacrificial knife. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 68-III), for this same Day 5 House, shows 8 Deer wearing a jaguar suit and helmet and holding his weapons. He is depicted as standing on a sign composed of a hill containing a square mat on which rest two horizontal objects. However, for the following Day 6 Lizard, this codex pictures 12 Movement on a hill within which there is shown a red and white bundle that might be the cognate of the Colombino depiction. Neither of these two Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' signs contains the 'Split Stone'.

On the next Day 6 [Lizard], the Colombino artist represents the second locality by a flight of steps and a seat without a back. The round bag rests upon the seat. The remainder of the sign has been destroyed. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 68-III-IV), for this day, depicts the vertical red and white bundle described immediately above, but for the following Day 7 Snake shows a sign containing a seat and a small man. 2 Monkey is pictured standing on this sign, holding a decorated spear-staff and a vertical red and white tied object, while under his arm can be seen the round bag.

The third Colombino site has been mostly destroyed, little more now remaining than the outline of a curling object at the right end of a dark base panel. On the left side of this panel the round bag is shown, with a damaged object that may be a fire-log on top of it. The date is the following Day 7 [Snake]. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 68-IV) sign for this same date pictures the seat and small man mentioned above; there does not appear to be a drawing which is cognate with this Colombino sign.

For the next Day 8 Death, the Colombino sign is badly damaged, although a base can be seen, with flowing water spilling over its end. Above the water and not now visibly connected to it is a more richly decorated seat. The round bag is not visible, but the area on top of the seat contains traces of destroyed objects. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 68-IV), for this same day, the sign is given as a U-shaped base containing water, within which is a head that ap-

pears to be partially human and partly animal; beside the base is a small man with the head of a canine animal. Shown as standing on this sign is a man whose fleshless lower jaw is normally a characteristic of the god 1 Movement. He wears numerous death symbols, and carries the 'Staff of Venus', a weapon, and a human skull similar to that shown as the head of the goddess ♀ 9 Grass.

On the Day 9 [Deer], the Colombino shows the sign for the fifth site of the peregrination to be a hill surmounted by a building. The round bag is not visible, but the area above the lintel of the doorway has been totally obliterated. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 69-I), the Day 9 Deer is associated with a hill and a foundation substructure such as temples are built upon, although no building is pictured. The man shown standing on this hill has no name; he carries the 'Venus Staff' and holds a foaming bowl topped by a sacrificial knife and several small vertical objects. On his back he carries an upside-down head on which is a headdress of twisted snakes and a large mouth ornament, both traits displayed by the goddess ♀ 9 Reed in her previous appearance in this codex.

The next four successive sites in the Colombino all appear to be associated with the single Day 10 [Rabbit]. The sixth place shown as visited is represented by a hill containing what may be a band of fringe. The seventh, by two peaks with perhaps a burning heart in the valley between them; above the right peak there are still a few very faint traces of an erased object. The eighth is a small

hill whose interior contains a damaged drawing. The ninth locality is drawn somewhat larger than the preceding three, and may have consisted of two peaks with a valley between them. It is now badly damaged and partly obliterated. Beside the right peak there can still be seen a foaming olla topped by a sacrificial knife, while beside the peak there remain a few fragments of the design originally depicted above the centre area of the hill. Facing this hill is a standing man whose position signals the end of this phase of the peregrination.

The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 69-I-II), for this Day 10 Rabbit, shows a scene involving human sacrifice. The place sign is depicted as two peaks separated by a level valley. At the right side of this valley a jaguar and an eagle are fighting above a 'split stone'; and at the left, over another 'split stone', is a sacrificed dog, above which a plunging deity figure holds a heart in his hand. The human sacrifice is of an unnamed man whose chest is being cut open by 9 Flower. This complex scene thus shows several important rituals taking place, culminating in a human sacrifice.

Since these Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' events are given in considerably more detail than those in the Colombino, this may perhaps indicate that the activities are of greater concern to the people of the highlands than to those of the coastal region.

There are considerable differences between the Colombino and the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' accounts of this peregrination. The

Colombino depicts only 8 Deer, and shows that his symbols are displayed at some of the sites visited. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' also pictures his symbols, but indicates that he is accompanied by four other individuals. One of these is 12 Movement, and his omission from the Colombino may be another example of that codex attempting to increase 8 Deer's importance beyond what he had probably achieved, at the expense of 12 Movement. Of the three other persons shown, one may be the deity 1 Movement. The two others each wear a white headband with vertical tabs; in the Codex Bodley (10-IV) this type of headdress is worn by 1 Movement, but in the Selden (5-IV-6-I, 8-I-II) it appears on sacrificial victims. One of these two may therefore be the man sacrificed on the Day 10 Rabbit.

The head of the goddess ♀ 9 Reed is shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', as is a skull that might represent the head of the goddess ♀ 9 Grass. Both these deities have already played important roles in 8 Deer's life. In my interpretation, ♀ 9 Reed was instrumental in enabling him to obtain the nose-piercing ceremony; and ♀ 9 Grass was not only involved in his activities at that time, but also had played a vital role many years earlier in the events preceding his becoming ruler of Tututepec. Both had therefore contributed to his eventually becoming co-ruler of Tilantongo, and it seems possible that the present peregrination might be intended to express his appreciation for this assistance.

1 Movement does not appear elsewhere in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', nor can he now be identified in the Colombino. However, in the Bodley (10-IV) he is shown with 8 Deer in activities prior to the latter's gaining control of Tututepec, although in the Colombino cognate scenes the man is named 1 Death. The close relationship between the two deities 1 Movement and 1 Death, has been discussed by Caso (1959). If the figure in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' is intended to represent this god 1 Movement, it is another instance of 8 Deer receiving support from a deity.

The representation of this peregrination in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' led Caso (1966: 40-42) to consider that 12 Movement was the ruler of the place 'Red and White Bundle' on whose sign he is shown. In my interpretation, however, the artist is merely conserving space in his drawings by depicting both the procession and the place signs simultaneously, without implying that each individual is necessarily associated with the locality with which he happens to be pictured.

Colombino 18-II-I-19-I. 8 --, wearing a nose-bar, is shown seated. The area in front of him has been very thoroughly erased, no traces now remaining of the designs originally painted there. There then follows a long series of place signs connected together by black lines in a boustrophedon sequence, and interspersed with day dates. This appears to represent another peregrination, although no travelling persons can now be seen in connexion with it. Some

of these sites are also pictured in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', although, as has been true before, the tradition recorded in this manuscript differs from that of the Colombino in the sequence or date of some events.

Shown below the Colombino place signs, and not visibly connected to any of them, is a panel of war chevrons. The series of place signs which follows is not shown as being conquered, however, so it seems probable that this chevron panel has the same meaning as did its depiction with 8 Deer at the beginning of the prior peregrination (Colombino 19-III). Thus if he has been travelling through an enemy area in order to perform a sacrifice at a specific locality, the present panel may mark his departure from this hostile region.

The first surviving place sign of the peregrination is a bent 'stone' hill. No day date now remains, and the site does not appear in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'.

Second in the sequence is a badly damaged representation consisting of a multi-coloured mat above which feathers and traces of an erased object can be seen. This site may have been visited on a date whose day name is Water and whose number is at least four or more. Following the last event of the Day 10 Rabbit, the Day 11 Water occurs next. This would indicate that the previous peregrination continued on without interruption. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' does not have a cognate depiction.



The third Colombino place sign contains a flow of moving water within which are several triads of red circles. Connected to this sign is the date of the succeeding Day 12 [Dog]. None of the sites shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' peregrination contains water.

Fourth is another damaged sign whose extant right area shows a sloping hill on which the lower part of several stick-like objects are visible. The date of the Day 12 [Dog] is also connected to this place. There is no similar depiction in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'.

The fifth place in the Colombino series, and the third to be visited on the same Day 12 [Dog], is shown as a hill containing an arrow. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 69-III), the cognate site is shown as a hill pierced by three arrows; no date is given.

The sixth Colombino place is indicated by a mat of varied colours topped by several feathers and a knotted loop. No day date is now visible, but very faint traces of a line lead upwards from the feathers into an erased area where it was probably painted. Because of the framework of extant dates, the time associated with this locality must be either the Days 13 Monkey or 1 Grass. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 69-IV), the cognate sign shows a mat with feathers and two growing plants. The date is given as the Day 2 Reed, which does not occur in the Colombino until the next sign.

The locality depicted seventh in the Colombino sequence is badly damaged, and the few fragments that still remain cannot now be identified. The Day 2 Reed is connected to this sign, although in the

Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 69-IV), as just mentioned, this date is associated with an earlier site.

Of the eighth sign, all that now remains is a hill and a large horizontal ear decoration, associated with the next Day 3 [Jaguar]. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 69-IV) shows the horizontal head of a man with an ear decoration, atop a red and white area in the interior of a hill. No date is given, however, and because of the damaged condition of the Colombino drawing, it is not possible to confirm that these are cognate depictions.

The ninth place of the peregrination is represented as a damaged U-shaped base containing water and perhaps a form of the 'Split Stone'. Stepped frets decorate the upper ends of the base, and above the water there is a knotted loop. This place sign is also connected to the Day 3 [Jaguar]. As already mentioned, there are no Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' sites in its series which depict water.

Tenth is a base with a disembodied arm holding a staff. At the right is the date of the next Day 4 [Eagle]. This locality is not found in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' sequence.

The eleventh Colombino place, which is also connected to the Day 4 [Eagle], is shown as a partly erased circle containing what appears to be a flower, with a few traces of other elements still visible. There is also a circular place sign in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 69-III) sequence, but it is quartered in four colours and depicts a bird; there is no date.

The sign for the twelfth place is completely destroyed except for the base of a hill.

The thirteenth is a damaged sign which consists now of only the wing and tail of a bird on a 'stone' hill. A later site in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 70-II) shows a hill composed mostly of 'stone', and a bird; there is no associated date.

The fourteenth locality shown in the Colombino peregrination is pictured as a base over which moving water flows; within the water there is a rectangular object spotted with small circles. To the left of this sign, on page 18 across the fold, are a few fragments of paint that might have been a part of this sign, or have been the area where a date was painted. There is no Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' cognate.

These fourteen sites represent a second phase of the peregrination which 8 Deer had begun on the Day 4 Wind. They extend from the Day 11 Water through at least the Day 4 Eagle, the last visible date in the Colombino, but since other signs occur following this date, it seems probable that at least one more day was included in the original sequence. 8 Deer is pictured at the beginning of this phase, and the large erased area in front of him is sufficient to have contained another person, place sign, or group of symbols, but the design there has been thoroughly effaced.

Colombino 19-I. The next Colombino place sign appears to be slightly larger in size than those foregoing, perhaps indicating its

greater importance. It is depicted as a hill with a partially destroyed dark bird on its summit. A number of circles from the day date still survive. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 70-II) this would correspond to the place represented by an eagle atop a hill.

The relationship of this Colombino sign to the one which follows it is ambiguous. The present site may be interpreted as only one more place visited during the peregrination, with the subsequent drawing representing yet another locality in that journey. However, if the next scene depicts an actual meeting, rather than merely being a place sign, then the present site would function to show where the meeting is held.

A cradle-board is pictured next, and seated within it are the badly damaged figures of a man and a woman. Above the man are at least four circles and the head of an animal, while over the woman are traces of at least six circles and the sign for Reed; no parts of any personal names have survived. This woman may be the goddess ♀ 9 Reed. Although her head is shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 69-I), no recognisable allusion to her can now be found in the Colombino text. It may perhaps be relevant that this deity's only other appearance in the Colombino (10-I) was preceded by a place sign in which she and a man were pictured, although the sign involved water and did not contain a cradle-board.

The Codex Bodley (9-I), in a complex collection of signs that begin with the Day 4 Wind of the Year 8 Rabbit -- the same date shown at the beginning of the first phase of the Colombino peregrinations -- depicts a cradle-board containing a person who appears to be male. Under it, however, is the sign for the next Year 9 Reed, so there is no certainty it is a cognate for this Colombino locality.

Colombino 19-I. The final scene still extant in Section I of the Colombino-Becker is severely damaged. At the left is a man holding weapons and wearing a jaguar helmet. A band of flames reaches from his body to an object in front of him that has been mostly erased, although within the damaged area a turtle-shell and its attendant sacrificial knife tail-complex can still be seen. Facing the first man across this destroyed design is another man with a spear, of whose figure only fragments now remain.

The man at the left is probably 8 Deer, and the object which he is setting fire to may be a human body. It could be possible that this scene shows the dead body of the man whose sacrifice is depicted in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 69-I-II) on the Day 10 Rabbit, since the Colombino does not appear to contain an equivalent sacrifice for that day. However, since this event comes considerably later in the Colombino peregrination, it might also represent another sacrifice or offering not pictured in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'.

The text of the Colombino-Becker is interrupted at this point by the loss of a portion of the original manuscript. Section I of the surviving codex thus comes to an end.

Summary: Colombino 18-19-III/19-I. These scenes show 8 Deer engaged in a peregrination that may have included a human sacrifice.

Sixty days after the holding of the large meeting at Tilantongo in the Year 7 House, he begins a journey on the Day 4 Wind of the following Year 8 Rabbit. This peregrination is divided into two parts, the events of the first phase culminating on the Day 10 Rabbit. The second phase begins immediately afterwards, on the next day, and is still continuing when this section of the manuscript is terminated.

At the start of the peregrination his symbols of power are displayed prominently on a panel of war chevrons in front of a building. The place sign in the Colombino has not yet been identified, although in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' Tilantongo is depicted. Rather than these chevrons indicating warfare, they may indicate that the peregrination will take place in hostile territory. Another chevron base at the start of the second phase of the journey may serve to mark the end of the events occurring within the enemy area.

In the Colombino only 8 Deer is depicted, whereas the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' shows him accompanied by 12 Movement, an individual who may be the deity 1 Movement, and two other men, one of whom may

be sacrificed later. This latter codex also pictures the head of the goddess ♀ 9 Reed, and a skull that may indicate the goddess ♀ 9 Grass. In the Colombino, however, there is now no surviving reference to ♀ 9 Reed except for her possible inclusion within a place sign or meeting; and there is no evidence of any reference to ♀ 9 Grass.

The first phase of this peregrination reaches a climax in both the Colombino and Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' on the Day 10 Rabbit, with what is shown in the second codex as a human sacrifice. If this sacrifice was originally included in the Colombino (18-II), it was probably in an area in front of 8 Deer that is now totally erased, there being no clear evidence of it elsewhere in the surviving pages. Since this sacrifice comes at the end of the first phase of the peregrination, which the Colombino may indicate occurs entirely in an unfriendly area, 8 Deer would probably have penetrated into this hostile region in order to carry out the sacrifice at a specific locality only if it were important to him to do so.

The activities in which he is engaged are indeed very important, however, for they probably represent his formal return to Tilantongo with his symbols of power. Just as he had previously had his symbols carried during a peregrination that led to his becoming ruler of Tututepec (Colombino 3-III-5-II), and later had them taken in another peregrination preceding his taking control of Tulixtla huaca of Jicayán (Colombino 14-III-13-II), so he now must have them brought in a peregrination to Tilantongo in order to assume his new position as its co-ruler.

The starting date of the present peregrination bears a definite relationship to two other key events that pertain closely to 8 Deer's achieving his goal of becoming co-ruler of Tilantongo. The peregrination begins on the Day 4 Wind, which falls 60 days after he met the large group of men at Tilantongo on the Day 9 Wind, and that meeting in turn took place 60 days following his nose perforation on the Day 1 Wind. Since, in my interpretation, the deity ♀ 9 Reed was instrumental in assisting him to obtain the nose piercing ceremony, which it was essential for him to secure in order to qualify as 12 Movement's heir, he may also utilise a part of this peregrination to express his appreciation to this goddess for her aid. Although very little evidence has survived in the Colombino, the human sacrifice shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 69-I-II) might be dedicated to her.



## CHAPTER VI

SECTION II OF THE CODEX COLOMBINO-BECKER:  
COLOMBINO FRAGMENT IV AND BECKER FRAGMENT 1

Section I of the Colombino-Becker ends with Colombino 19, a -B patterned page at the end of Colombino Fragment III, while Section II opens with Colombino 20, an A- patterned page at the beginning of Colombino Fragment IV. Structurally, as already discussed in Chapter III, at least two pages must be lost between these fragments, but the lengths of the skins in use in this part of the manuscript suggest that a greater number than this minimum figure is probably actually gone. A repeated sequence of /A-B/C-D/ patterns characterises all the pages of Section I and the first two pages of Section II, and consequently it seems probable that the pages missing between the sections also shared this sequence of patterns. Between -B and A- pages that respectively end and begin the sections, only the addition of two, six, ten, and similar numbers of pages, will maintain such a series of page patterns.

The only extant source upon which to draw in considering what might have been recorded in these lost pages, is the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'. The data given in this codex are tantalisingly brief, however, consisting essentially of only four scenes and a number of conquered sites.

The first Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 70-I) scene shows 8 Deer being greeted by two men. In the second scene (1902: 70-II-III), 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar are shown facing each other above the black and white fretted base that represents Tilantongo; both hold their weapons at the ready, as though engaging one another in combat. The Day 9 Snake is given for this event.

The third Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 70-III-IV) scene also shows 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar, this time on the Day 2 Movement, kneeling above an apparent place sign that is drawn as a long mat and a small building. Neither man is armed, nor are any weapons visible. Both have offerings in one hand, and in addition 8 Deer holds up the first two fingers of his right hand. In the fourth event (1902: 70-IV-71-I) a man carries two foaming bowls, each topped by a sacrificial knife, towards two place signs that are characterised by a plant and an opening in a hill. The date or name of 12 Buzzard is associated with this scene. There then follows, in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', a long series of conquered places, some of which appear in the beginning pages of Section II of the Colombino-Becker.

The first Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' scene appears to show 8 Deer being greeted with offerings. Behind the men meeting him is a small place sign of a hill in the form of a human head with a white band above the eye, and a black and white fretted base, which might represent a site near Tilantongo, or under its control. Behind it are two hills with birds which have already been tentatively equated

with two signs shown in the Colombino (19-I) during 8 Deer's peregrination.

The second scene is by far the most important of this group, and also the most difficult to interpret. On a Day 9 Snake, 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar are depicted in an apparently hostile encounter at Tilantongo. No preliminary events are shown to account for their attitudes or even to illustrate the basis of their conflict. However, the painter of the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' has earlier treated in a very concise manner the events leading to 8 Deer's nose perforation, which in the Colombino-Becker were shown as intimately connected with 4 Jaguar, and therefore it is perhaps not surprising that the present situation should also be depicted in a succinct fashion.

Although there is no evidence in either the Colombino-Becker or Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' that 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar were friends, neither is there any that they were enemies. However, it does seem that 4 Jaguar might have harboured a considerable resentment against 8 Deer, since, in my interpretation, he had twice rejected the latter's request for a nose perforation before eventually being forced by the goddess 9 Reed to play a ball game against him on the matter. In that game 8 Deer was challenging 4 Jaguar, and the court in which they played was apparently located in an area under the latter's control. If that same pattern should hold true for the present event, which takes place at Tilantongo where 8 Deer is at least now co-ruler, 4 Jaguar may be challenging 8 Deer. 4 Jaguar

might have found such a course either necessary or expedient, if his own position or prestige had suffered from his being forced to play the ball game, as well as from his loss of that game.

The depicted scene in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' shows the two men with weapons, although it is possible they may only have engaged in a ritual battle rather than actual combat. The event occurs, probably significantly, on the same day date -- the Day 9 Snake -- as that given in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 50-IV-51-I) for the meeting in which 8 Deer first requested the assistance of the deity ♀ 9 Reed. On the Day 2 Movement, 32 days after this apparent combat, 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar present offerings at a small building. The actual outcome of their fight is not depicted in the codex, but this meeting is without weapons and apparently peaceful, and since 4 Jaguar subsequently co-operates with 8 Deer, the results of the battle must have been favourable to the latter. Clark (1912: 24) has suggested that the two fingers held up by 8 Deer 'might be explained by the fact that this is the second time they have made a treaty.' The earlier meeting, to which Clark refers, is that which followed 8 Deer's nose piercing rite.

The scene then follows of a man, either named 1 Buzzard or acting on the Day 1 Buzzard, apparently presenting offerings at two hills. Conquest arrows are not shown in these sites, and the scene appears to represent a peregrination.

In the long list of conquests which then follows in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', no individual or group is shown carrying out the attacks, although they can be attributed to 8 Deer. In four pages this text depicts an unbroken series of more than 40 place signs, almost all of them shown with a conquest arrow.

The extant part of Section II of the Colombino-Becker opens with a listing of only 16 conquered localities, so obviously the depictions of a number of conquests are missing from the surviving manuscript. Even allowing that some of the sites pictured in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' might not have appeared in the Colombino-Becker, it seems a modest estimate that at least another 15 signs are probably now lost. Those conquests shown in the existing text are very regularly spaced, three in each band; 15 such signs would occupy five bands, and 18 would fill two complete pages of the codex.

In addition, preceding these conquests the lost pages of the Colombino-Becker need to contain scenes corresponding to the completion of the peregrination in which 8 Deer is engaging at the end of Section I of the manuscript, as well as the events leading to his hostile encounter with 4 Jaguar at Tilantongo, their subsequent peaceful meeting, and the preparations for the many conquests. An additional four pages does not seem an excessive allowance for these data, and indeed may err on the conservative side, considering that only the events leading to 8 Deer's nose perforation ceremony occupied some five full pages in the Colombino.

There is, of course, no way to know the amount of unique additional information that might have been given in the Colombino-Becker for any of the events depicted in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', or for other occurrences that are not included in the text of that latter manuscript. The Colombino had given the events of 8 Deer's first meeting with 4 Jaguar in far greater detail than the corresponding Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' text, and for their second encounter it might well have done so again. Clearly, many of the details necessary for an understanding of this conflict between 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar are absent from the only extant account in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'.

If six pages were considered as the possible loss between Sections I and II, the banding patterns in use on them might well be /C-D/A-B/C-D/. Two skins, each about 75 centimetres long, would be sufficient for these pages, as discussed previously in Chapter III. Clark (1912: 25), considering the patterns of the red guide lines, has also suggested that six pages may be missing from the manuscript at this point.

If more than six pages are thought to be lost, but the same /A-B/C-D/ banding pattern is retained, then the missing number would need to be raised to ten, and the page patterns would be /C-D/A-B/C-D/A-B/C-D/. The necessary skin lengths might be achieved if Colombino Skin 8 were extended by 10 centimetres to about 87 centimetres long, and followed by another skin of slightly more than 87 centimetres in length, then by two skins each about 75 centimetres long.

For the 16 conquests with which the surviving Section II of the Colombino-Becker now begins, there are some cognate representations in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', but both the sequence and the associated day dates are often different in the two manuscripts.

Colombino 20-III. The sign of the first surviving conquest consists of a hill crossed by a fretted base from which rise two plants. The day date at the left has been destroyed. The nearest resemblance in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 73-IV) is a hill with a fretted base and two tall plants, which was conquered on the Day 3 Buzzard.

The second Colombino site is shown as a hill with a plateau on which grows a tree with a thick trunk. The drawing still retains its conquest date of the Day 4 Movement, which follows immediately after the Day 3 Buzzard. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 71-II) has a place sign of a hill, fretted base, and tree with a thick trunk, but it occurs earlier in this series and has no associated date.

The site pictured third in the Colombino consists of a fretted base joined to a panel of jaguar skin. On the base a low bowl forms the body of a bird whose partially destroyed head and wing can still be seen; a tree also grows from the bowl. A date formed by at least two circles and the sign for Flower still remains. The Day 7 Flower follows in the same trecena after the Days 3 Buzzard and 4 Movement of the two prior conquests. The cognate sign in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 73-IV) consists of a fretted base on which rests a

low bowl having the head, wing, and tail of a bird, with two trees growing from the bowl. The associated date, however, is the Day 4 Movement, given already in the Colombino with the preceding conquest. The Day 7 Flower does occur as a subsequent date in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', but with a different sign.

Colombino 21-III. The fourth Colombino conquest is shown as a curved 'stone' hill on whose right slope an object has been totally obliterated except for a few irregular vertical areas. No traces of a date are visible. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 74-I) there are no curved 'stone' hills, but the most probable correlation would be a 'stone' hill with the head, wing, leg, and tail of a long-billed bird. Its conquest date is given as the Day 7 Flower, discussed immediately above as the probable date of the foregoing Colombino conquest.

The fifth site in the Colombino sequence is a representation of the wheel-like object which has appeared among 8 Deer's symbols of power. Here it rests on top of a base whose interior design has been completely erased, as has the day date. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 74-I) the same object is shown on a fretted base. It has apparently been left without a day date, although several dates in this vicinity are ambiguously placed.

The sixth conquered place is shown as a building within a U-shaped base of water, with streams splashing over both ends of the base. No day date can now be seen, and there seems scant space



available where one might have been drawn; this site may perhaps therefore have been conquered on the same date as the foregoing locality. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 74-I), the cognate scene shows a building within which water flows from an L-shaped base. The Day 2 Dog appears to be associated with this site.

Colombino 21-II. The seventh place is a curved 'stone' hill whose peak is clad in the red cape typically worn by men. The damaged date appears to be named Grass and to have at least ten circles. The closest resemblance in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 74-II) is its next sign, a hill crossed by a fretted panel upon which rests a trapezium having horizontal stripes and decorations. It is dated as being conquered on the Day 12 Grass.

Of the eighth conquered place nothing now remains in the Colombino except its base panel, and even the interior of this has been totally erased. All traces of a date are likewise also gone. The next locality in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 74-II) shows a looped snake lying on a fretted base; the date is the Day 11 Monkey.

The ninth Colombino sign is badly damaged, although it still retains a date of the Day -- Rain. Still visible is a hill whose summit is partly occupied by the remains of a large conquest arrow, while along the top and to the left are additional areas of colour. From the interior of the hill a destroyed object seems also to have projected out through the left side. No Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' site actually resembles these fragments. There is some slight

similarity between the destroyed interior of the hill and the sign of a plant whose roots are growing within a 'stone' circle (1902: 72-III), but it is conquered on the Day 2 Water. Based on the date, a perhaps more probable correlation might be with a place (1902: 71-III) represented as a hill with a bird on its summit and a vertically rising bird across a fretted panel in its interior; the Day 13 Rain is associated with this site.

Colombino 20-II. The tenth conquest is of a hill with a spiral flow of blood forming a caracol design at its bottom, above which a fretted base holds three separate stacks of unknown objects. To the right are faint traces of a date or conquest arrow. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 71-III) the probable cognate consists of a base from which project four spear-like objects. The date for the Day 7 Grass is ambiguously placed between this and the succeeding sign.

The eleventh locality is shown as a hill divided vertically, each half being painted a different colour; within it are three circles and a large damaged area. The sign for a day named Grass and at least four circles are still extant. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 71-IV) cognate place is depicted as a hill within which is the date or name 3 Alligator. The Day 7 Grass appears to the right of this sign and, as just mentioned, is apparently shared with the preceding conquest.

The twelfth conquest is represented as a fretted base and a building whose roof has been mostly destroyed. In front of and partly within the building lies a rather large representation of a turtle-shell, supported by red and yellow fragments of a design which is now mostly destroyed. The date is the Day -- Grass. No similar site is depicted in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'.

Colombino 20-21-I. The thirteenth site is another of the Colombino place signs which may have escaped intentional destruction because its components, a hill and a bird, appeared to refer to Tututepec. The ultra-violet photographs show the conquest date to be the Day 6 Rain. The next locality in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 71-IV) is of a hill beside which a man is grasping a bird by its long tail feathers. The associated date is curiously drawn, resembling Monkey more than Rain, but the final representation seems intended as the Day 5 Rain.

The fourteenth place sign is badly damaged, its visible part consisting of a large fretted base on which appear the head, upper chest, and at least one arm of a person, along with the surviving fragments of a complex headdress. Behind this person are areas of colour, and to the left is a date consisting of at least 11 circles. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' there are several signs containing human figures, but none resembles the Colombino design.

Most of the identifying characteristics of the fifteenth locality have been destroyed. At the left are the remnants of a

large vertical flint knife representing the Day -- Flint. The bottom of the sign consists of a large base which may have contained a fretted pattern, but its interior is now almost totally obliterated. An earring with a tassel is still visible, its position suggesting a face looking upwards. In the area behind this head appear paint fragments, and from near the top of these a large curled volute projects. The size of the base and the presence of the coloured areas behind the head seem to indicate that the drawing may have been similar to that of the immediately preceding Colombino sign. A possible Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 73-II) cognate shows a fretted base upon which a kneeling man is holding or pushing a 'split stone', but there is no conquest arrow. The associated date is the Day 11 Flint.

The sixteenth and final conquest shown in this Colombino series is again partly damaged. The bottom part of a hill supports a base whose practically obliterated interior design was apparently fretted. From this base project two curved objects, each with a row of circles along the outside of the curve. The date is the Day -- Rain. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 72-II) there is a locality depicted as a fretted base resting upon the bottom of a hill, with two L-shaped objects whose outer edges have rounded projections; they might perhaps be weapons. The date, however, is the Day 12 Grass.

Summary: Colombino 20-III/20-21-I. Only a few of the conquests shown in the Colombino have correlated well with those of the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', and usually even these have not been in the same

sequence nor necessarily attributed to the same date. This suggests that if the missing pages that preceded this Colombino-Becker conquest series were available, the history they record might be considerably different from that given in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'.

This is the third series of conquests in which 8 Deer has engaged. The first occurred the year following his becoming ruler of Tututepec. After his nose-perforation rite, which I have suggested involved his acquiring control of Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán, he also made several conquests. This same pattern is now repeated the year after he has become co-ruler of Tilantongo.

Colombino 21-I. There now begins a long series of events which will occupy 8 Deer for the remainder of the extant pages of Section II of the Colombino-Becker -- an arduous journey that will eventually take him and his companions into the presence of the Sun God 1 Death. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' also records these occurrences, but in a quite different sequence and with different emphases.

These events begin with a badly damaged scene showing two men seated within a ball court. An examination of the original manuscript reveals that all the interior of the court is painted blue and that its bottom panel contains only a fretted base. The upper panel is almost entirely erased, but the few fragments of paint still remaining of it do not resemble a fretted pattern. Between the two men, and behind the man on the right, are scattered traces

of designs that have been destroyed; one of these, in the upper right corner of the court, is similar to a flower.

The man at the left wears a jaguar suit and helmet, and in his one visible hand holds darts and a shield. The man at the right is characterised by a facial mask of black paint and also appears to be holding spears and a shield. They are, respectively, 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar. Both are sitting, although the seat used by 8 Deer is slightly lower than that of 4 Jaguar. Three circles can still be seen behind 4 Jaguar, probably from his calendar name. Preceding the depiction of the ball court, near the prior place sign, are another four circles that may be a remnant of the day date or of 8 Deer's name.

In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 80-I) cognate scene, 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar are shown seated in a ball court, facing each other. The upper panel of the court is omitted and the space used for the placement of the date, the Day 6 Jaguar. Inset into the lower side of the court are two panels; the top one is of frets, while the lower one contains three horizontal objects and is decorated along its bottom edge. Within the court the two men sit on equal jaguar-skin seats, each holding out a gift towards the other. Each has also placed his shield and spears in the position denoting peaceful intent: with the points towards himself and the butts towards the other man. Although both codices depict 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar with weapons, implying warfare or battle, this repre-

sentation shows clearly that their animosity is not directed against each other.

This meeting is the final event shown in the Colombino-Becker for the Year 8 Rabbit. In this codex, the depiction of the events of this year began with 8 Deer carrying out a long peregrination which had not yet been completed at the point where the manuscript is now interrupted by the loss of a number of its pages. On these missing pages there should be pictured the conclusion of this peregrination, a set of events involving an encounter between 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar at Tilantongo, and the beginning of a lengthy series of conquests. The surviving opening pages of Colombino Fragment IV show the remainder of this conquest series, and the year ends with the meeting of 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar in a ball court.

Less than four pages of the surviving Colombino-Becker are now occupied with the events of this Year 8 Rabbit, but I have suggested that an additional six or ten pages may possibly be missing between the two sections of the manuscript. Since the very important events of the preceding Year 7 House occupied only eight pages, the addition here of even six lost pages would probably make the data given for this Year 8 Rabbit the most extensive in the entire codex for a single year. Its importance in 8 Deer's life, and in the tradition being recorded by the painters of the Colombino-Becker, may be gauged by this.

In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', the meeting between 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar in the ball court is placed as the final scene of the entire journey to the Sun God, exactly the opposite of its position in the Colombino-Becker at the beginning of that trip. Caso (1966: 35-36), noticing this difference between the two manuscripts, unfortunately attempted to bring them more nearly into phase by placing Becker Fragment 1 immediately after Colombino 21. As I have already previously pointed out, such an insertion is physically impossible; the proper placement of this Becker fragment is as a continuation of Colombino 24. As a consequence of Caso's incorrect rearrangement of the text, his data for much of Section II of the Colombino-Becker follow a different sequence from that to be presented in this study, and the resulting interpretations are also correspondingly different.

Colombino 21-I-22-23. To the right of the ball court of the previous scene there is a badly damaged year sign which in the original manuscript can be seen to retain traces of at least seven circles and an arrow. The associated day date cannot now be read. The foregoing events have taken place in the Year 8 Rabbit, and the succeeding date would be the Year 9 Reed. In this year 8 Deer will become 36 years old and his half-brother 12 Movement will reach the age of 54 years.

The placing of this new year date following the drawing of the meeting in the ball court emphasises the inseparability of Colombino 21 and 22, since it dates the single scene occupying Colombino



22 and 23. The size of this scene is unprecedented in the Colombino-Becker -- and indeed has few peers among the extant Mixtec codices -- but although the event shown is doubtless a very important one, the great size of the scene may be at least partially due to the artist of Style V wishing to make a spectacular beginning of his part of the codex.

The event pictured on Colombino 22-23 is of five men attempting to cross a turbulent body of water which is drawn in a very unusual manner. The scene rests upon the open jaws of a monster whose mouth extends across both pages. Above it is shown a band of moving water that forms a loop in the middle of each page, with the centre of each loop being pierced by an extremely large arrow. Above this stream of water are three tiers of rectangles of different colours, and from each of those in the topmost row there springs a great vertical cresting wave the same colour as the rectangle. Directly above these rectangles, but behind the waves, a long fretted base topped by pink spume stretches across the full width of the scene.

One of the five men in the scene is shown in the upper left corner of the pair of pages, holding a bow and arrow, the first time this weapon has been pictured in the extant Colombino-Becker. He appears to be standing on solid ground since both his feet are shown clad in sandals, even though large waves apparently originate from the rectangles of colour upon which he stands. Below him a second man is drawn horizontally across four rectangles, apparently swimming

with the aid of two round objects tied to his body; Clark (1912: 26) has suggested these are gourds. A third figure, in the upper right corner of page 22, is now almost totally destroyed. The outline of the boat in which he stands is still visible, and part of his large shield also remains, but of most of the rest of his body there are only scattered fragments of paint. He may be looking over his shoulder to these other two men, who are behind him.

The fourth man, found in the upper left corner of page 23, wears a facial mask of black paint, a nose-bar, and a beard. In one hand he holds a vertical spear, and in the other, several darts and a large jaguar-skin shield that conceals his body. The boat in which he stands is the same height and approximately twice the length of the coloured rectangles on which it presumably floats. The fifth man appears near the upper right corner of page 23, swimming with the aid of what may be another pair of gourds; he spits out a mouthful of water.

Neither calendar nor personal names are visible for any of these men, and seem to have been entirely omitted from the original painting. The only figure that can actually be recognised now is 4 Jaguar, whose face is painted with his usual black mask design. However, the next scene in the Colombino shows 4 Jaguar, 8 Deer, 12 Movement, 9 Flower, and another man, and it would seem likely that these are the five persons shown in the present event.

Since 4 Jaguar is depicted standing in one boat, the person in the other canoe may well be 8 Deer. The two swimmers both wear crown-like headdresses and could be 12 Movement and 9 Flower, who have been shown earlier in the Colombino (18-19-III) wearing this type of head decoration. The fifth man is the first individual to be depicted in the surviving codex with a bow, and also is the only one in this scene to be shown standing or walking on the coloured rectangles rather than swimming or boating on them. It might be possible that he is a guide, and his position at the rear of the group could reflect an inferior status. In addition, however, his depiction with a bow may be intended to indicate that he is a member of a different culture from that of the Mixtec men, whose most habitual weapons are the spear and the dart thrown with the atlatl.

The cognate event in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 80-I) is also drawn larger in size than is normal in that codex, occupying more than one-third of a page. A U-shaped base is shown, holding water on whose surface there are two cresting waves. Three men without names are depicted in the water, each standing in a separate small boat. The date is given as the Day 9 Movement, which falls only a few days after the Day 6 Jaguar of the meeting in the ball court. Of these three men, the one in the leading boat can be identified as 4 Jaguar by his dress and ornaments. The man in the middle boat also wears a nose-bar and so would be 8 Deer. The third man, in the rear boat, wears clothing and ornaments similar to those of

a man named 9 Water, who is shown in another scene in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 74-IV, 75) participating with 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar in an event that also involves boats and water.

This Colombino scene is a very complex depiction. Water is obviously a vital element in the event: not only it is present in its normal flowing state, but the coloured rectangles must also be understood as representing a fluid since they form waves and support swimmers and canoes. Although two large arrows are shown in this scene, they seem to symbolise the conquest of the water itself, not the place where the water is located. None of the men appears to be attacking, and the two swimmers do not even have weapons. The five men are therefore only attempting to cross a body of turbulent water, the hazards of which are such that the successful completion of the crossing was considered the equivalent of a military victory. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' merely depicts the group in the act of traversing the water, and does not appear to include any data identifying the location of the crossing.

This single scene, occupying as it does two full pages of the manuscript, is the first interruption in the repeated sequence of /A-B/C-D/ dual-page banding patterns that has characterised all the preceding extant pages of the Colombino-Becker. The remainder of Section II will utilise only the single-page patterns E, F, and X.

Colombino 24-I-III. The next scene opens with the figure of a man wearing a jaguar-skin battle-jacket and brandishing a spear.

His calendar name contains eight circles and the day name resembles an animal. Beside him another man, who appears to have a beard, is similarly armed, but no traces remain of his names.

Both men face a place sign consisting of a curved 'stone' hill that has been drawn the height of two bands to indicate that it is an important site. A tree is shown growing from its back slope, and two arrows on a curved white panel are found in front. A plume of dark smoke rises from the peak of the hill, and is partially crossed by the later rubric of an owner of the codex.

The remainder of the group are shown going away from this locality. 9 Flower, his calendar and personal names both visible, is depicted with a long nose-bar, the only time in the Codex Colombino-Becker he is shown with it. He wears a jaguar-skin battle-jacket and brandishes an axe. In front of him is a man whose calendar name of 11 circles and the sign for Movement can still be seen, but surely this must be 12 Movement. He likewise carries an axe and may wear a jaguar-skin battle-jacket. For the final man no traces of a name now remain, but he wears a mask of black facial paint and a partly erased feathered-serpent helmet, both characteristics of 4 Jaguar (Troike n.d.a: part III). He too brandishes a spear and wears a jaguar-skin battle-jacket.

Despite the weapons and clothing for warfare that are depicted in this scene, no conquest arrow is shown in the place sign, and the locality does not appear to have been attacked by the group. Rather,

the implication seems to be, since some of the men are shown going towards the site and others away from it, that they merely passed by it on their journey. They are all obviously prepared to do battle if necessary, however, implying an expectation of being attacked or of attacking.

The second man of the group, for whom no evidence of names now remains, might possibly be 9 Water, mentioned above as perhaps participating in the preceding water scene in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'. This latter codex does not appear to show a cognate event for the present scene.

Colombino 24-III-Becker 1-III. This scene begins on Colombino 24, the final page of Colombino Fragment IV, and is completed on Becker 1, the first page of Becker Fragment 1. Caso (1966: 37), having mistakenly interpolated Becker Fragment 1 into the middle of Colombino Fragment IV, then found it necessary to postulate a lost page following Colombino 24 when attempting to relate it to the beginning of Becker Fragment 2.

The scene begins with the drawing of a small hill down which flows a stream of blood. The sign is not shown as being conquered, and the site may serve both as the place towards which the five men were travelling in the previous scene as well as the location of the present event. No battle is pictured, but a warrior is shown holding his weapons in one hand and with the other capturing a prisoner by grasping his hair. This prisoner's face is painted so near the

bottom of the page that, if his body was originally complete, he must be almost prone. Behind him, in an area now very badly damaged, are traces of lines and a red cone that might represent a part of his body or an object carried on his back. Above his head is a single circle, and behind the victorious warrior are another five circles that could represent either his name or the day date.

The depiction of a second warrior is now completely erased except for a part of his head and his upraised arm grasping an axe. He may be attacking or capturing a man named 7 Flower, since that name appears following a totally obliterated zone in the Becker. Above this destroyed area is a damaged circular object with a flower-like projection.

The closest analogy in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 76a-IV-76b-77-I) is the scene of 8 Deer capturing 14 individuals. Most of these prisoners are shown wearing a nose-bar, indicating that they were personages of considerable importance. Two of them are named 7 Flower (1902: 76b-II) and it might be one of these who is pictured in the Becker, although the circular object shown in that codex more closely resembles the decorations appearing on the backs of the second and third of 8 Deer's Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' captives. The date given for the capture of these prisoners is the Day 9 Grass.

Becker 1-III-II. Beginning with this scene, the remainder of Section II and all of Section III of the extant Codex Colombino-Becker are the work of the artist of Style III, with the exception of only an occasional scene or individual figure.

The sign for the Year 5+ Reed is given, and the Day 4 --. This would be a repetition of the Year 9 Reed.

A man wearing a nose-bar, and having his face painted with the black mask that characterises 4 Jaguar, is shown brandishing his spear before a building whose large size indicates it is a place of importance. The entire upper part of the building, from its lintel through its conical roof, is depicted in the act of toppling due to a fire. The lintel of the building is decorated with a design associated with the Sun God: a circular element with two short projecting knobs, joined by a vertical bar to a horizontal panel which has a rounded notch in the middle of its outer edge. Within the building there appears to be a representation in dark colours of the large round bag, resting upon another object that is now too destroyed for identification.

The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 77-III) cognate shows a building on a low hill. The front part of the roof is shown at right angles to the rest, as though it were falling, and from the building project an arrow and a small plume of smoke. The Day 11 Rabbit is given with this scene.

In the Colombino-Becker tradition, 4 Jaguar is apparently not attacking this locality because no conquest arrow is shown in the sign. He -- and by implication all the other members of the group -- appears to pass by this site, armed and ready for combat, in the same manner that the men had been shown passing by the locality indicated by the previous large place sign (Colombino 24-I-II).



Becker 1-II-I. Two separate battles are depicted in the next scene. In the first, an individual is shown whose head and body are now totally obliterated, but who appears to wear an extremely large headdress with solar elements and feather decorations; he may be dressed in a jaguar suit. He apparently holds a shield, but no weapons are now visible. Facing him are two persons, each holding weapons and wearing a small human skull hanging by a strap around his neck. The head of the first man is itself a human skull, while the face of the other has been destroyed.

In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 77-III-IV-78-I) this event appears to correlate with a scene of 8 Deer, 12 Movement, and 4 Jaguar attacking two fantastic beings. One of these is depicted as a skeleton with a skull head, while the other has the head of a canine animal and a normal human body decorated with small black hand-prints.

The second battle shows two men capturing a third person. At the left stands 4 --, recognisable as 4 Jaguar from the partly erased feathered-serpent helmet he wears. The figure of the man at the right is now badly damaged, but he appears to wear a feather mantle and so is probably 9 Flower (Troike n.d.a: part III). The man between them has no visible traces of either a calendar or personal name. He stands looking directly upwards, with both arms upraised; 4 Jaguar grasps one of his arms, while the other is held by 9 Flower.

This event seems to have no direct counterpart in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'. The captured man in the Becker has no distinguishing personal characteristics, however, and he might possibly be included among the 14 prisoners attributed to 8 Deer (1902: 76a-IV-76b-77-I).

These two battles take place after the group has reached or passed the site indicated by the burning building. This repeats the pattern that occurred earlier, in which the men were depicted passing beyond a locality and then capturing prisoners, implying some type of conflict. In the present instance, since 4 Jaguar and 9 Flower participate in the second of the two battles, the wearer of the great solar headdress, who is involved in the first battle, may be 8 Deer.

Becker 2-I. The mostly destroyed figure of an armed man is pictured, facing two place signs. Behind him are at least eight circles of his calendar name or the day date, and above his spear there are a few additional unintelligible traces.

The first site is a damaged circular sign whose entire visible perimeter is ringed with alternating trees and sun ray symbols; its centre is now completely obliterated. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 76a-I) the cognate locality is shown as a solar disc ringed by trees and containing an 'Earth' figure in its centre. The dates of the Days 8 Death and 12 Water are given. In the Becker a date containing at least 12 circles, which might be equated with the Day 12 Water, is found.

The second sign is composed of an L-shaped base with water spilling over the open end. On top of the water is a hill whose interior contains a looped red and white object, while flanking the hill are two red and black pillars that support a partially destroyed horizontal band of star-eyes. The Day 4 -- appears to be attached to this sign.

This locality is also depicted in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 75), but its treatment is very different from that of the Becker, again illustrating the divergent traditions of the two texts. Preceding this event a man named 9 Water is shown standing on top of a hill whose interior is crossed by a fretted panel with a bird (1902: 74-IV). The actual cognate event occupies a full page and is the largest single scene in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'. In a U-shaped base of water there is a hill containing a looped red and white object on a panel of frets. A tall red and black pillar holds up a band of star-eyes and 'Venus' symbols over the hill. Approaching the hill in a small boat is 9 Water; behind him, in a larger boat, are 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar, neither actually named but both easily recognisable from their clothing and ornaments. All three men are armed, and a conquest arrow projects from the hill. The dates given are the consecutive Days 10 Snake, 11 Death, and 12 Deer.

The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' thus records that 8 Deer and his group, led or aided by 9 Water, spent three days conquering this

place, which in the highland tradition must have been an occurrence of great importance. Caso (1966: 36) has suggested that 9 Water may have been a local ruler who assisted 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar during this expedition. The artist who depicted the Colombino-Becker tradition, however, gives much less space to this locality than to the first two sites the group visited after crossing the water, and does not show it to have been conquered. In this tradition, therefore, it would appear that 8 Deer and his companions are continuing their journey and merely pass by or through two additional localities without conquering them.

Becker 2-II-III. A warrior named 8 --, dressed in a jaguar suit and helmet, is shown confronting three armed men. The face of the first of these three, as well as all traces of his names, are now erased, although a projection in front of his mouth could indicate that he wore an animal head or protruding mask. Behind the second man is his name of 5 Flower. Of the calendar name of the third man only a single circle and faint traces of the day name now remain. Both these latter two figures appear to be humpbacks.

No similar event is included in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'; nor is there, among the 14 prisoners attributed to 8 Deer in that codex (1902: 76a-IV-77-I), a man named 5 Flower.

The Colombino-Becker tradition continues to show a consistent pattern: after the group has passed a locality, there is then another battle.

Becker 2-3-III. A standing warrior holds his weapons at rest and has his left arm outflung. Near him at least eight circles can still be seen of his calendar name. Shown facing him are two men wearing the white headdress that may indicate sacrificial victims; although their chests are cut open and bleeding, both brandish axes and hold additional weapons. Only traces remain of the name of the first man, but the second still retains his calendar name of 4 Grass. The place sign behind them has been totally erased except for a fretted base and a wrinkled vertical opening from which projects a small tassel-like object.

The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' has no cognate scene, but there is a place sign (1902: 79-I) that might correspond to the one given in the Becker. It is shown as a hill with a 'fire-serpent' along its side and a wrinkled opening from which projects an object decorated with tassels. The associated date is the Day 9 Grass.

In the Becker this scene appears to represent two sacrificed warriors prepared to oppose a member of the group of humans, probably 8 Deer. The latter is not shown attacking them or even attempting to defend himself, but rather with one arm raised as though requesting them to halt. Men who had been killed in battle or sacrificed, became in their afterlife the guardians and defenders of the sun. Such warriors should be very effective fighters because, being already dead, they could not be killed. The two men here, who had died by sacrifice, appear to be fulfilling their proper role of protecting the Sun God against the intrusion of the group of mortals.

The second of these sacrificed men, 4 Grass, has been depicted before in the Colombino (4-II). Sixteen years earlier, in an event preceding 8 Deer's taking control of Tututepec, his dead body and those of two other men were pictured before 8 Deer and ♀ 6 Monkey at the 'Skull Temple' of the goddess ♀ 9 Grass. Unfortunately, neither the genealogical line of 4 Grass nor the circumstances of his death are given in any surviving Mixtec document, so his relations with 8 Deer, ♀ 6 Monkey, or their families, remain unknown.

Becker 3-III-II. Several decorated panels are shown, one depicting the symbol previously described as being associated with the Sun God. Beside these panels sits a bearded man named 8 --, who wears a jaguar suit; his helmet has been erased and partially retouched. Facing him is a seated man whose body is painted red except for his hands and feet; he wears a nose-bar, and his face is marked by an arc line above his eye and a vertical line on his cheek. Behind him a large temple, the size again indicating that it is an important place, is decorated on the door jamb and upper roof panel with the symbol associated with the Sun God. Its interior and most of its roof area have been completely erased, and its front steps appear to be retouched.

The cognate scene in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 78-II-III) depicts two kneeling men presenting gifts to a third individual who is seated in front of a building. The date is the Day 7 Movement. None of the three figures was given a name by the artist, but

the two kneeling men can be recognised as 4 Jaguar and 8 Deer from their clothing and ornaments. Each has laid aside his weapons. The person to whom they offer their gifts is identified in later scenes as 1 Death, the Sun God. Within the building there is a tied bundle of sticks on top of which rests a round object with a long plume.

The Becker scene represents 8 Deer meeting the Sun God. Since 8 Deer is not depicted here as offering gifts directly to the deity, perhaps the decorated panels behind him are intended to exemplify such gifts. The artist of the Becker scene has not pictured him in the subordinate posture in which he is shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', but rather paints him seated before the god on apparently more nearly equal terms. This is probably another instance in which his status is shown in the Colombino-Becker as greater than it was in actuality.

Becker 3-II-I. The next Becker event shows that on the Day 7 --, two bearded men kindle fire in a fire-log in front of a large building. One of the men wears a nose-plug and jaguar helmet which has been partially destroyed and then retouched. He kneels at one end of the log and twirls the fire-drill. Kneeling at the other end of the log to hold it steady is another man. He is shown with a nose-bar, and his face is painted with the black mask typical of 4 Jaguar; he also wears a feathered-serpent helmet that has been partly erased and later retouched. This fire ceremony is being performed

in front of a large and richly decorated building whose ornaments include several examples of the symbol associated with the Sun God. Inside the building there is a bundle of sticks, and on them, a decorated black ball with a plume.

The corresponding Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 78-III) scene is very similar. 8 Deer is shown twirling the fire-drill while 4 Jaguar -- easily recognisable, although his name is not supplied by the artist -- holds the other end of the log. The date is the Day 7 Dog.

The kindling of this fire is obviously an important rite, being performed in front of the temple of the Sun God, although not in the presence of the deity himself.

Becker 3-I. 1 -- is pictured, his face painted red and marked with two lines. He holds out a gift towards 8 [Deer], whose personal name of 'Jaguar Claw' can still be seen, and 4 [Jaguar], who is depicted with his usual mask of black facial paint and wearing a partly destroyed feathered-serpent helmet that has been retouched.

Although 1 Death is clearly the host in this scene and the two men are his guests, their relative positions are reversed from those ordinarily used in this type of page pattern, in order that the deity may be pictured with his back to the building shown in the preceding scene. This arrangement simultaneously indicates the location at which the meeting occurs and frees the artist from the necessity of depicting this building for the third time on the same page.



In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 79-III-IV), on the Day 3 Monkey, 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar are shown being presented a gift by 1 Death. The deity's name is not given, but he can be identified by his typical facial markings.

The Colombino-Becker thus continues to present 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar as associating with the god on much greater terms of equality than does the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'. Although 8 Deer had not been shown earlier in the Becker offering a gift directly to 1 Death, he is here pictured receiving one from him. Taking the text of the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' into account, it would appear that the Sun God is merely bestowing gifts upon his visitors in return for those which they presented to him upon their arrival.

Becker 4. The final complete page of Section II of the Colombino-Becker is filled by a single scene. Extending across the middle of the page are two identical bases, each composed of a band of chevrons, a large band of sacrificial knives, blood, and 'Venus' symbols, and a bottom fringe of star-eyes. These two bases are joined together by a wrinkled yellow band that forms a sunken area between them.

Atop the left base the deity 1 Death is shown seated in front of a small building which has been partly obliterated. In front of him is a man wearing a mostly erased jaguar helmet, whose calendar name contains at least six circles. This man is kneeling, and has one hand raised palm upwards while with the other hand he points

down into the sunken area between the bases. Facing him from the other side of this hole is 4 --, his face painted with a black mask, who is also kneeling and has one hand raised while he too points down into the hole with the other. Behind him is 12 Movement, his calendar name still extant, who brandishes a spear in one hand and holds his shield and darts in the other.

Below the two central bases are three buildings. The one at the left contains within its interior a cattail plant, and appears to rest upon an almost totally destroyed U-shaped object terminating at its upper left end in a group of green feathers or leaves. The central building has a curtain hanging in its interior and a row of sacrificial knives decorating its base, below which another base is now completely erased. The building at the right is somewhat larger than the other two and therefore presumably more important. The object hanging within its interior appears to be a cloak. Projecting behind this building is a large 'bound bundle', while visible at its front steps is approximately half of a circular object resembling a necklace. A date of the Day 10 -- appears between the centre and right temples.

In contrast to the large size of the Colombino-Becker depiction, the cognate scene in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 79-I-III) is no larger than normal for this part of the manuscript. 1 Death is shown seated and looking up; one hand is held out, palm forward, and with the other he points up. Above him is a large decorated

platform flanked at each side by a smaller base. Steps extend up the middle of the platform, and at their top a wrinkled yellow band forms a U-shaped opening. The area within this opening is coloured red, and extending from it down the length of the steps there is a broad red stripe. 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar kneel on top of the platform, one on each side of the opening; each holds one hand raised palm upwards, and with the other hand points down towards the opening. The date given is the Day 11 Grass.

In both manuscripts 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar are pictured in almost identical attitudes, kneeling on opposite sides of an opening and pointing towards it with one hand while holding the other raised palm upwards. Neither is shown with any offerings, nor are ceremonial paraphernalia in evidence in either scene. The area within the opening is coloured red in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', suggesting a sacrificial basin filled with blood, as does the red stripe down the steps below it. In the Becker rendition, however, nothing is drawn in the area of the opening, and an examination of the original manuscript under ultra-violet light indicates the area has suffered no erasures.

Although the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' scene perhaps more directly indicates blood and thus sacrifice, the sacrificial knives and their associated blood flows appearing on the bases in the Becker suggest the same thing in a more symbolic manner. These Becker bases in addition also contain depictions of the chevron pattern indicating

warfare, as well as 'Venus' and star symbols. Since warriors captured in battle went to be with the sun after they were killed or sacrificed, it is not unusual that such symbols might be associated with the Sun God.

The larger Becker scene contains two very significant additions not found in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse': the figure of 12 Movement, and the three buildings. 12 Movement's armed appearance in this scene marks the first time in the Colombino-Becker that weapons have been depicted in the presence of the Sun God. The manner in which 12 Movement is shown conveys the impression that he is opposed to the activity of 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar that centres about the opening. However, he has accompanied the two leaders since at least the dangerous water crossing and so should have been fully aware of their aims in making the journey, as well as their ultimate purpose for doing so.

None of the three buildings in this scene has appeared before in the Colombino-Becker in an unmistakable association with an identifiable person. The building at the left, although it has not previously been pictured, will occur later in the Becker (14-I), where it appears to be ruled by 4 Jaguar. Smith (1973: 72, 74) has suggested that this sign may represent the town of San Miguel Tulancingo, which lies west of Coixtlahuaca and was once under the control of the latter town. The middle building has not appeared before in the extant Colombino-Becker. It is a representation of the place

'Flint', shown later in the Becker (13-II) as the site where 4 Wind plans the murder of 8 Deer. In the Bodley (15-16-III) and other manuscripts 4 Wind is later shown as its ruler.

The building on the right is characterised by a large 'bound bundle', an element that has appeared twice before in the Colombino (1-2-III, 6-III), but always in association with red and white spikes. This 'bound bundle' symbol will appear later in the sign for the locality where 8 Deer sacrifices his half-sister's sons (Becker 11-II), and still later, in that of the place where 4 Wind performs a ceremony after he has killed 8 Deer (Colombino 16-II-Becker 14-II). In the surviving parts of the Colombino-Becker no individual is shown as the ruler of this site of 'Bound Bundle'. In the Bodley (9-10-I), however, following a complex sequence of signs beginning in the Year 8 Rabbit and continuing in the Year 9 Reed, a path leads to a depiction of 8 Deer seated beside a sign containing two large 'bound bundles' with an eagle perched upon them, which may refer to his becoming the ruler of this site.

Therefore of the three place signs with buildings depicted in this scene, one is known to be associated only with 4 Jaguar and another only with 4 Wind. The third locality is not directly connected with any individual in the extant fragments of the Colombino-Becker, although the Bodley may indicate an association with 8 Deer.

The large size of the present scene indicates the importance attached to this event in the coastal tradition of Mixtec history

recorded in the Colombino-Becker. In contrast, the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' version is drawn as only an average size scene in that manuscript, showing that it was not considered an unusually important occurrence in the highland tradition. However, it does seem notable that 12 Movement, ruler of Tilantongo for the past 17 years, should be omitted from the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' scene, particularly since his appearance in the Becker seems to imply that he is prepared to take up arms because of something arising from this visit to the Sun God. It is probably significant that none of the three buildings shown in the Becker scene can be related in any way to him.

Becker 4A. A tiny fragment is all that now remains of the page that follows Becker 4. Parts of designs and areas of paint can be seen along most of this page remnant, but even under magnification the original manuscript does not show any traces of band lines.

Summary: Colombino 21-I/Becker 4A. The long series of events that began with the meeting of 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar in a ball court, reaches its climax with the full-page scene of the two men viewing the opening between the bases in front of the Sun God. In order to reach this final goal they have crossed a body of turbulent water, travelled to a number of sites, fought several battles in which they were sometimes opposed by beings of a fantastic aspect, and finally succeeded in being admitted into the presence of the god himself. Once it is understood that all these events are directed towards the single goal of reaching the solar deity, the pattern of their

activities becomes clear and meaningful: they are overcoming successive obstacles as they make their way towards the site of the god.

While these physical activities may thus be chronicled and explained, the larger intellectual framework from which they derive their meaning is unfortunately now totally unknown. We have, for example, no idea what advantages might accrue to 8 Deer and his companions for undertaking and succeeding in this hazardous adventure, nor what fate might have befallen them had they failed or turned back at any point during the journey. It might be possible that the dangers being confronted by the group were a specified set of obstacles clearly defined in their religious literature, by which it was understood that any person having the courage, strength, and wisdom to overcome, could be admitted into the presence of the god. At the other extreme, it is also possible that these are merely the unique adventures that befell the men during a journey that was without precedent in Mixtec history and culture. The greatest barrier to an understanding of these scenes is therefore the almost complete lack of knowledge concerning the formal Mixtec religion and its attendant mythology.

However, there are other recorded instances of persons reaching the Sun God without having to overcome any of the difficulties shown in the Colombino-Becker. For example, when 4 Wind is only 13 years old he is depicted in the Bodley (33-IV) meeting 1 Death; and

later, when he is 26 years of age and being pursued by 4 Jaguar, both men appear in the presence of this deity (Bodley 33-II). In neither case are any prior obstacles or battles shown as being necessary before reaching the god.

The route chosen by 8 Deer and his companions therefore may have served not only to take them to the Sun God physically, but perhaps additionally or even principally may have been intended to qualify them to take part in the final rite of viewing the opening between the bases. I should like to propose, as an hypothesis to be considered in the interpretation of these scenes, that these events possibly might not even have been occurring in the real world, but instead in a supernatural world that was reached by the crossing of the turbulent water.

This series of events begins with 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar meeting in a ball court. Though no other persons are shown, the scene represents the joining together of a group that contains not only these two leaders but also 8 Deer's kinsmen 12 Movement and 9 Flower, and perhaps another individual as a guide or assistant who might be named 9 Water. All the remaining events of the journey occur during the Year 9 Reed, when 8 Deer reaches the age of 36 years, and his half-brother and co-ruler 12 Movement becomes 54 years of age.

The first obstacle of the group's journey is the necessity of crossing, by boat or swimming, a body of violently moving water. This crossing seems to have been of such difficulty that the water



was considered to have been conquered, and not simply traversed. It is this episode that I suggest may mark the transition to a supernatural world in which all the subsequent events of this journey occurred.

There then begins a repeated pattern of the group travelling to a series of sites, and upon penetrating beyond each, having to engage in battle. From the first meeting in the ball court, the members of the group are depicted fully armed, which would indicate that they anticipated the hostile reception they received. They are not undertaking battles of conquest, however, for in no case in the Colombino-Becker is the conquest arrow shown in any of these place signs, after the water crossing has been completed. Instead, after the group has passed each important locality, their further progress is blocked by opponents whom they must fight and defeat in order to be able to continue their trip.

The physical appearance of these opponents varies considerably. Of those at the first engagement, the face of the man being captured appears human. However, the enemies encountered after reaching the second site consist of a personage with a skull for a head and another whose erased face is shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' as that of a canine animal. Another personage also captured here appears to be human, but is depicted with characteristics such as red body paint that are more commonly associated with deities or supernatural beings, than humans.

After passing the third and fourth localities, there is another battle. Of the three figures depicted fighting 8 Deer, the erased face and possible protruding mouth area of the first could indicate that he was wearing a mask or an animal head, while the other two appear to be humpbacks. At a second encounter at this same site, the two adversaries are pictured as sacrificed warriors, their cut-open chests demonstrating clearly how they had been killed.

This series of battles thus progresses from opponents who appear human, to those with non-human heads and physical deformities, to the ultimate impossibility of dead men as active fighters. If successive legions of warriors were to be defending the approaches to the Sun God, they might be ranked as increasingly more difficult to combat, and one manner of achieving this would be if each group was of an increasing degree of supernaturalness, as these events in the Colombino-Becker seem to reflect. In such a view, the sacrificed warriors who are the last to appear would also be the most difficult and dangerous opponents, because they could presumably kill others but could not themselves be killed, being already dead. It would seem possible that they might be captured, but it is notable that the members of 8 Deer's party do not even attempt to fight them.

Having finally succeeded in reaching the Sun God, the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' depicts 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar presenting him with gifts. The Becker, however, shows only 8 Deer; and in an apparent

attempt to increase his status, he is not pictured presenting gifts directly to the deity but rather meeting him on what seem to be terms of near equality. 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar then perform the ceremony of kindling fire, with 8 Deer carrying out the more important role of actually raising the spark, while 4 Jaguar merely holds the log. At a second meeting with 1 Death, the god presents gifts to both men.

The climax, and probable reason for the whole journey, is then reached in the scene of 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar viewing the opening before 1 Death. While it is not now possible to know the purpose and meaning of this event, some aspects of it may perhaps be deduced from the scene itself. The panels of war chevrons and the sacrificial knives with associated blood flows all seem to point towards those aspects of the Sun God connected with war and the sacrifice of captured warriors. The 'Venus' symbols and star-eyes may be intended as simple references to the heavens, or a more complex association may be indicated, for the sun dominates the sky by day but it is the stars, and notably the planet Venus, that are outstanding in the night sky. However, as Caso (1959: 40) has pointed out, the companion god to 1 Death is 1 Movement, who represents Venus, and these 'Venus' symbols may be a direct reference to him.

The three place signs with buildings shown below the bases of solar and sacrificial symbols must have some relation to the ceremony which 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar are performing. Of the localities repre-

sented by these signs, one will later pass under 4 Jaguar's control, and another will be ruled by 4 Wind. The remaining site does not appear in the extant Colombino-Becker in a context that allows its ruler to be determined, but the Bodley (10-I) appears to show that 8 Deer gains control of it. Since in all cases these individuals do not obtain their respective sites until later, it seems possible that this present scene might in some way be a foreshadowing of these future relationships, and that perhaps the purpose of the entire ceremony of viewing the opening between the bases was that of an oracular prediction.

None of the three localities given in this scene can be connected with 12 Movement, who stands fully armed and brandishing a spear. It is not clear whether his apparent wrath is directed at 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar, or at the god 1 Death himself. Nor is it obvious what he might have hoped to gain by his tactics. If indeed this scene does represent a foretelling of future events, it seems clear that the prediction for 12 Movement cannot have been good. It may even have concerned his imminent death, for this is the final event in the extant Colombino-Becker in which he is shown alive: following the pages lost after Section II of the manuscript, his death will be depicted at the start of Section III. Whether that death is in any way connected with his hostile attitude in this present scene remains an open question.

8 Deer, 4 Jaguar, 12 Movement, 9 Flower, and a man who may be named 9 Water, have thus been shown undertaking an arduous journey that involved physical dangers and military engagements. This trip was probably intended not only to take the two leaders to the Sun God, but also and perhaps more importantly, to qualify them for a final scene which gives meaning and purpose to the entire trip, and which may perhaps be a type of oracle.

## CHAPTER VII

## SECTION III OF THE CODEX COLOMBINO-BECKER:

BECKER FRAGMENT 2, COLOMBINO FRAGMENT II, AND BECKER FRAGMENT 3:

## PART I

Section II of the Colombino-Becker ends with the tiny page fragment Becker 4A, while Section III opens with the small remnant Becker 5a. The structural minimum missing between the sections is two pages, as previously described in Chapter III.

No band lines are now visible on Becker 4A. Preceding it is Becker 4, an unbanded page classed as an X pattern. In the Colombino-Becker, X pages are known to be followed only by X and E patterns, although A-, C-, and F are also structurally possible (Troike 1971: 189-191). Page 4A cannot have either an A- or C- pattern because at its left side it shares an inside fold with page 4, eliminating all but the three single-page patterns, E, F, and X as its possible form. The lack of any visible band lines indicates that the pattern is probably an X.

Becker 5a now contains no traces of banding lines, again suggesting an X page pattern. Becker 5, which follows, has an unusual  $X_2$  form in which the lower band -- termed a 'Sackgasse' by Nowotny (1961: 11) -- ends at the right side of the page, while the upper band alone maintains the continuity of the pictorial text. Thus although no band lines are now visible on the fragmentary page 5a,

the pictorial data there must have been arranged internally so that at least a portion of those in the lower part of the page were connected with the scene shown in the lower band of page 5, while the remainder were related to the events depicted in the upper part of page 5.

The line that separates the two bands of page 5 begins more than 2 centimetres from its left fold, and this suggests that if an aberrant banding design also appeared on pages 4A or 5a, the parts of each that are still extant might be too small to reveal this. Consequently, neither of these two page remnants can be considered as definitely being in the form of the unbanded X pattern, even though both are now without visible banding lines.

The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' is the only source for the information that might have been recorded in the pages now lost between Sections II and III of the Colombino-Becker. However, in the former manuscript only two place signs are shown before the depiction of an event for which a cognate scene is still extant in the Becker. Thus the sparsity of material in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' suggests that perhaps very little might now be missing from the Becker; or else the information originally recorded there was unique to the Colombino-Becker and cannot be recovered from any other source.

The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 80-I-II) depictions begin with the sign for the Year 10 Flint and the Day 8 Eagle, and show a hill crossed by a fretted base and decorated with thin vertical

objects. For the Day 8 Rabbit, which occurs 13 days later, the sign of a smoking hill is given. No conquest arrow is present in either locality, suggesting that they might represent the sites of a peregrination.

Because of this small amount of information in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', it is possible that no more than the structurally minimum loss of two pages actually occurred between the extant sections of the Colombino-Becker. In such a case, all that is missing would be merely the remainders of Becker 4A and 5a. The lengths of the skins in use in the latter part of Section II and beginning of Section III have already been examined in Chapter III, and such a loss is compatible with the surviving skins.

Both pages 4A and 5a may perhaps be irregularly banded. Pictured on one of them would be the date of the next Year 10 Flint, when 8 Deer becomes 37 years old and 12 Movement enters his fifty-fifth and final year of life. A peregrination might have been shown, perhaps forming the first part of the events which are depicted at the beginning of Section III.

Becker 5a-5-II. A single scene occupies the lower part of the fragmentary page 5a and the entire bottom band of page 5. This event appears to be a clarification or explanation, apparently for some act or occurrence depicted in the missing pages.

Drawn across the inside fold shared between pages 5a and 5 is the figure of a man holding a staff in one hand and a shield in the



other; he does not carry any offensive weapons, however. His face is painted with a black mask design and he wears a nose-bar. His snake helmet, although damaged, is one of the more complete examples of this animal to have survived in the codex, even though now absurdly retouched. His names are not visible in the extant portion of the manuscript, and while it is possible these might have been recorded in the lost part of page 5a, an examination of the original manuscript under ultra-violet light reveals that none of the other men in this scene is given a name by the artist.

From behind this standing man a vertical red and yellow path extends to the bottom edge of the page, then is prolonged horizontally, passing under two figures and a building to terminate at a place sign. Seated at the left on the horizontal part of this path is a man wearing a nose-bar and a mask of black facial paint. Facing him is another man also with a nose-bar and painted mask, who wears a backwards cloak. He is seated in front of a building within which hangs a striped blanket. Behind this building is the place sign at which the red and yellow path terminates. It is shown as an L-shaped base containing a wide band of red within which are snail shells. This band is topped by a fretted panel, above which a stream of flowing water with aquatic snails spills down at the left.

This event is now unique to the Colombino-Becker among the surviving Mixtec documents, and there is no way to determine the nature of the events that may have preceded it. The standing man

wearing the snake helmet may be 4 Jaguar. The staff and shield he carries would serve him for defensive purposes, and it is probably significant that he is not depicted with any offensive weapons.

In the absence of all names it is not clear whether this standing man is the same person as the individual shown seated below him, with the two representations merely picturing him at two different stages in his journey, or if the two figures represent two different persons. The seated man is plainly visiting the person in front of the building, the latter presumably being the ruler of the site depicted behind him. All three men are shown with the mask of black facial paint that is utilised by 4 Jaguar and his associates, and wear nose-bars, indicating that they are persons of importance.

There have been prior occasions in the Colombino-Becker in which representatives of 4 Jaguar were left without names, notably in the events leading to 8 Deer's nose perforation. This may reveal that the painters of the codex actually knew very little about 4 Jaguar's associates as individual personalities. This in turn could indicate that the area controlled by this leader did not normally have a close association with the coastal zone. In the present instance, the artist seems to have known the name of the site where this meeting took place, but not the name of its ruler or the man meeting him.

Becker 5a. The continuous narrative of Section III of the Colombino-Becker begins in the upper part of page 5a. There the back of a seat and the tips of body and headdress ornaments are still visible, indicating a seated person. He would be facing towards the events shown in the lost remainder of this page.

Becker 5-I. Two damaged dates are given, the Days 6 -- and 7 --. Some distance away, and not now visibly connected to either date, is a place sign which has suffered both erasures and crude retouchings, making its original design difficult to determine. A fretted base supports a building from whose lintel hangs a curved cape; a large conquest arrow projects from the front. The base itself may have been drawn somewhat irregularly, but at least a part of its present outer frame line appears to be a later addition. The area at the back of the building has been thoroughly erased, the stepped fret now drawn there being a later retouching.

The Day 8 Movement precedes the sign of another conquered place, represented as a corn stalk growing from a feather mat. The Day 13 -- is also drawn beside this site, although the line that unites this date with the feather mat may be a later addition.

These two conquests are not recorded in any other codex. If the three erased dates occurred in the same trecena with the undamaged Day 8 Movement, they would be the Days 6 Eagle, 7 Buzzard, and 13 Wind.

The pictorial data that end with the two conquests of page 5-I are separated from the Becker text that follows by a vertical pale red line. These conquests, and necessarily at least some of the events preceding them in the missing pages, are thus clearly set off from the main body of the text. There is no obvious reason for this to be done, unless perhaps the scenes are in the nature of a digression or an explanation of a situation depicted in the lost pages, or unless the artist wanted to make perfectly clear that these events are not related to those that follow next in the manuscript.

Summary: Becker 5a-5-II/5-I. The scene shown on Becker 5a-5-II, and the sequence which ends on page 5-I, both appear to be explanations or continuations of events that were pictured in the pages now missing between Sections II and II of the codex. As such, any interpretation is extremely difficult and must be considered as only a tentative hypothesis.

The scene of Becker 5a-5-II may represent 4 Jaguar either meeting a man himself, or escorting another man who holds such a meeting. Identifications are uncertain because no names are given for the three individuals, and the site where the meeting occurs does not appear again in this form in any other Mixtec manuscript.

The conquests shown on Becker 5-I appear to be immediately preceded on page 5a by the drawing of a seated person whose back is to these place signs. This sequence may fit the pattern demonstrated earlier in the Colombino-Becker as occurring after 8 Deer has success-

fully achieved a new position of responsibility. Following his becoming ruler of Tututepec (Colombino 5-6-I), and again after his nose perforation ceremony at Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán (Colombino 13-14-I), when he probably also gains control of that site, he is shown meeting an important person and then carrying out a series of conquests. The same pattern is also probably present when he becomes co-ruler of Tilantongo, although the precise data are lost from the Colombino-Becker because of the pages missing between Sections I and II.

Should this pattern be applicable to these conquests, the new locality over which 8 Deer would probably have extended his control would be 'Bound Bundle'. The Bodley (10-I) appears to indicate that he becomes ruler of this site, and later in the Becker (11-II-10-II-I) he will be depicted carrying out a major ceremony there. The present conquests would therefore be those which he made after assuming hegemony over this place. The vertical red line separating these sites from the subsequent event in the Becker text would have been used by the artist to indicate clearly and concisely that these battles were not directly related to the next scene.

A white cape decorated with two red stripes hangs from the lintel of the building shown in the uppermost of these place signs. This cloak is identical in form and colour to that worn by the ruler of the site towards which 4 Jaguar is travelling in the lower band of this page. A cloak of this same type is also shown hanging from the

lintel of the site of 'Bound Bundle' in the scene of 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar viewing the opening before the Sun God (Becker 4). This might possibly indicate that both these sites were formerly under the control of this associate of 4 Jaguar.

Becker 5-I. Beginning with this scene, the events of 12 Movement's death, and the funeral ceremonies held for him by 8 Deer, are depicted in considerable detail.

The scene of his death has been badly damaged and is in part now also retouched. A building is depicted whose entire interior has been erased, although above the top of the lintel there appear to be flames or a flow of blood. Shown lying on his back on the floor of this building is the partially obliterated figure of a man. His yellow ear and traces of his face and hair can still be seen, as can his back, which is painted red; his legs project up into the air beyond the right side of the building. The surviving areas of both the interior of the building and the man's body have been outlined with retouching lines that obscure the remaining parts of the original design.

To the left of the building, in the shape of an inverted V, is a drawing of the coals that indicates a sweatbath; under ultra-violet light the original manuscript shows traces of a few lines around the peak of these coals. The coals and building are both enclosed in a rectangular area coloured red, from the top of which rise additional volutes of smoke.

Above the building is a large drawing of half a sun disc. To one side of it appears the date of the Day 11 Death, and on the other side is another date consisting of at least eight circles and an animal head. Arranged vertically behind the building is the sign for Movement, with at least six circles still visible in the original manuscript. As already mentioned, a pale red line has been drawn vertically to the left of the scene, to separate it from the preceding conquests.

In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 81-I), the cognate scene is similar. A building is shown, with the inverted-V of the smoking steambath coals depicted beside it. Inside the building a man is pictured kneeling on top of another man, in the act of cutting out the latter's heart with a knife whose haft appears to be a flower. The only date given is the Day 11 Death. No names are shown for either the killer or the victim.

In the Year 10 Flint, 12 Movement would reach the age of 55 years, and 8 Deer would become 37 years of age. Neither codex indicates any extenuating circumstances prior to 12 Movement's death. The artist of the Becker scene has in fact carefully placed a red line separating this event from the preceding conquests, to make clear to the reader that his death did not stem from those battles. 12 Movement is therefore apparently not killed as the result of having been captured in war.

The Day 11 Death is shown in both texts, but in addition the Becker shows another date that is probably the Day 12 Deer, which immediately follows the Day 11 Death. The use of two dates in the Becker may mean that other ceremonies were carried out either before or after 12 Movement's death. The Day 12 Deer falls exactly half-way between the occurrences of his name-day, and if this is not fortuitous, then it might indicate that his sacrifice was planned in advance.

The large sun shown above the Becker building has no counterpart in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'. Since 12 Movement is apparently not sacrificed as a captured warrior, this solar symbol would not refer to the after-life with the Sun God that is guaranteed by such a death. It may, however, be an allusion to the earlier scene of 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar at the opening before the Sun God (Becker 4), in which 12 Movement was shown armed as if in opposition to something. If this latter scene was at least partly a prediction concerning 12 Movement's death, the present large solar disc might refer to the fulfilling of that prediction.

In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' a man is pictured cutting out 12 Movement's heart, but in the Becker scene there does not appear to be sufficient space for the body of the killer to be included. If the irregular red area along the top of the lintel in the Becker building should represent blood, then some animal might have been shown seizing 12 Movement's bleeding heart.



In a previous analysis of this event, Nowotny (1961: 13) apparently failed to notice the traces of 12 Movement's name and was consequently unable to identify the person being killed. However, he spoke of the death as an 'Ermordung', an interpretation with which Caso (1966: 38) apparently differed, considering it merely a sacrifice. Although the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' reveals quite clearly that 12 Movement is killed by the method normally used in sacrifice, both it and the Becker show an almost total lack of the accoutrements normally associated with such sacrifices. From all the evidence it appears reasonably obvious that 12 Movement's death was not simply a normal sacrifice, but quite possibly a murder.

Becker 6-I-III. Following 12 Movement's death, the text of the Becker then depicts the events that comprise his funeral ceremonies. Whatever the circumstances of his dying may have been, it is clear from his rites that he did not die in disgrace.

The first ceremony to be pictured is the burning of 12 Movement's body, which has been placed within a wooden framework. At one side, above a long feather mat, stands a man with offerings; on the other side, a man wearing a jaguar helmet sets fire to the pyre. Further to the right are some eight circles that are probably a part of the calendar name of this latter man, who would be 8 Deer. An apparent place sign is depicted as a U-shaped base decorated with L-shaped projections and containing a fretted base and a feather mat from which extend additional plumes. A design shaped like a hill is

also given, although it lacks the paired lobes and other features that normally characterise place signs; within the hill there has been drawn a small kneeling man with a bulging stomach.

8 -- is then shown, wearing a jaguar helmet and a nose-bar. This is clearly 8 Deer, and he appears to be commanding the next step of the funeral ceremony to be carried out.

The dates of the Year 10 Flint and the Day 7 -- are given. A man for whom no name is now visible, is shown presenting an offering of vegetation in one hand, while with a partly destroyed torch in the other hand he sets fire to a bundle of very large bones. These bones are arranged on a circle, below which is a blue mat containing a set of bound volutes. Another object near this mat is now so badly damaged that even a close examination of the original manuscript under ultra-violet light does not reveal its proper form. It may be possible, however, that it is 12 Movement's skull, shown separately from the remainder of his bones. The mostly obliterated figure of another man, probably standing, is then pictured. His body is painted black except for a red area around his mouth, and he leans forward, with at least one and perhaps both of his arms extended. Although his figure is now badly destroyed, he appears to be a counterpart to the man shown setting fire to the bone bundle.

Three seated men look on at this ceremony. First is 8 --, for whose day name the bottom of an animal's neck is still extant. He wears a jaguar helmet and a nose-bar, and is of course 8 Deer. Second

is a man whose calendar name consists of at least eight circles and the sign for Flower; his personal name behind him indicates that he is 9 Flower, 8 Deer's younger brother. The third man of the group still retains both his calendar and personal names, and is 5 Rain. He had been 8 Deer's companion 17 years earlier during the events preceding the latter's becoming ruler of Tututepec, but since that time has not been shown in the extant Colombino-Becker.

These Becker scenes thus show that 12 Movement's body is burned by 8 Deer and another man. In a later rite, the bones that survived the first cremation are burned again in a ceremony to which 8 Deer, 9 Flower, and 5 Rain are witnesses.

Cognate funeral scenes are also pictured in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 81-82), although in somewhat different and greater detail. 12 Movement's body is first depicted within a wooden framework. Beside it two men are shown, one of whom sets fire to the pyre while the other holds an offering; names are not given for either man. The dates associated with this phase of the funeral proceedings are the Days 1 Water and 9 Movement, which fall in the next trecena after the Day 11 Death on which 12 Movement was killed.

Beside the pyre is another date, the Day 7 Flower, and a feather mat on which are two red and white bundles and a cluster of knotted reeds or feathers, all decorated with 'butterflies'. Five men, none of whom has been given a name in the original manuscript, are shown moving in a procession towards the pyre, each holding out a gift

or offering. Their headdresses are decorated with 'butterflies' or white flowers. A place sign of a fretted base and a snake may represent the locality where 12 Movement's body is burned.

8 Deer is then shown watching while two men without names present gifts before the mummy bundle of 12 Movement. Two place signs are pictured, one of a hill in the form of a headless human body with a bulging stomach, and a long spear; and the other of a jaguar on a fretted base. The funeral rites in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' conclude with two men -- again without calendar or personal names -- who are shown setting fire to 12 Movement's skull and bones.

In the Becker, the funeral events are given in a more concise form than in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'. The processions of men with offerings for 12 Movement's body on the funeral pyre, and his mummy bundle, both shown in some detail in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', are omitted from the Becker. Likewise 12 Movement's mummy bundle is not pictured in the Becker, and some of the symbols associated with it in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' are instead included in the rite of the burning of his bones. These differences probably reflect the regional traditions recorded in each codex. 12 Movement had become ruler of Tilantongo 18 years earlier, when he was 37 years old, and after governing it for such a lengthy time it should not be unexpected that his funeral rites are shown in more detail in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' than in the Colombino-Becker.

The foregoing scenes in the Becker can all definitely be related to the funeral ceremonies for 12 Movement. The events which follow next, however, are much more difficult to interpret, both in terms of their contents and because the internal structural organisation of the scenes is now often ambiguous, particularly where several key portions of the pictorial text have been completely erased.

Becker 6-III-7-II. The scene begins without a day date or place sign. This indicates that it is held on the same day and at the same locality as the preceding scene, which depicted the burning of 12 Movement's bones on the Day 7 [Flower].

A standing man is shown, who appears to have the fingers of one hand in his mouth; he may be whistling, although no scrolls are pictured issuing from his mouth. Facing him is another man who plays a drum from which such scrolls do arise, probably indicating its sound. He also apparently sings or chants, since several additional scrolls come from his mouth area. Neither of these men is supplied with a name.

Pictured moving towards these two men is a procession of four other men. The first of these, who is also without a name, holds weapons in both hands and carries a sack on his back from which projects a bundle with feathers and bones. The second man is 8 --, shown wearing a nose-bar and a damaged jaguar helmet which has been absurdly retouched. He carries weapons and wears a red flayed human head on his shoulder. Third is 5 Rain, also armed and with a red

played head on his shoulder. At the end of the procession is 9 Flower, holding weapons and with a design that appears to be a large bone on his shoulder.

The figures in this procession are depicted moving from right to left, which is the opposite of the normal direction of reading for the bottom bands of pages with such E and F patterns (see Figure 7). This artistic structure appears to have been utilised in order that the two stationary musicians could be depicted first, apparently implying that they are performing at the same locality where 12 Movement's bones were burned. The procession then of necessity is pictured moving towards the musicians, creating a visual impression for the reader that the group is going towards the scene of the burning of the bones. However, in all probability 8 Deer and the other men who accompany him in the procession are actually leaving the place where this rite had been conducted. The bundle of feathers and bones carried by the first man of the group might be composed of the ashes and bone fragments that remained after the final cremation had been completed. There is no cognate event in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'.

Becker 7-II-I. Another depiction of the sign for the Year 10 Flint is shown. Since this year date is also repeated within the body of the place sign that immediately follows, its first appearance is probably only for the purpose of clearly separating this present scene from the final man of the preceding procession.

The base of a large hill is pictured. Within it is another occurrence of the sign for the Year 10 Flint, while upon its top two separate buildings face one another. The area between the buildings has been so completely obliterated that even under ultra-violet light the original manuscript reveals no traces of the designs that had been painted there. Above the left building is the damaged date of the Day 7 Flower, and within the building is a red and white bundle adorned with white flowers and a 'butterfly'. Seated within the right building is 8 --, dressed in a jaguar suit. The uppermost roof panel of this latter building is unusual in that its outer border is divided horizontally; the lower half of the border is painted blue, and the upper part is now the golden-brown colour that indicates the use of a 'vegetable' green paint that has subsequently faded.

Because of the total destruction of the area between the two buildings, it is not possible to determine the original relationship that existed between 8 Deer, shown seated within one building, and the bundle pictured in the other building. If the bundle represents the remains of 12 Movement, 8 Deer might merely be presenting additional offerings to it, or witnessing the performance of yet another phase of the funeral ceremonies. However, the possibility exists that the bundle does not represent 12 Movement's body but rather is a reference to the locality 'Red and White Bundle'. As will be discussed below, 8 Deer appears to blame the death of 12 Movement upon the ruling family of this place, and subsequently attacks and conquers

it. The problems posed by these two quite different interpretations of the present scene cannot be resolved because the drawings between the buildings, which would have clarified the meaning of the scene, are now completely erased, and no cognate event is shown in any other Mixtec codex.

Becker 7-8-9-I. This scene is one of the few in the Colombino-Becker that extends across an outside fold.

A man, who has not been given a name by the artist, is shown setting fire to a large circle decorated with the chevrons that usually indicate warfare. Below this is another object composed of wavy lines terminating in tassels, and a necklace. No new place sign or date is given, implying that this event occurs on the same Day 7 Flower, and at the same locality with the two buildings, as had the previous scene.

Facing this man and the round burning object is the group of figures that is probably the best known of the entire Codex Colombino-Becker: an orchestra composed of five men and one woman. All the figures face towards the left, which is contrary to the normal practice in the top band of such a C-D set of pages, but it is necessary here because of the placement of the man burning the round object. Both calendar and personal names were apparently originally given for all the members of the orchestra, but most of these have been subsequently damaged or destroyed.



The first man of the orchestra plays the teponaztli. His calendar name contains at least four circles, and his personal name is composed of a ball court and a wrinkled yellow object. The second man plays a large tom-tom type of drum; no traces of his names have survived.

The only woman in the orchestra is pictured third. She plays a long horn which rests on a frame covered by a red cape; scrolls representing the sound of the horn come from its end. Of her calendar name at least seven circles and the day name Movement are still extant, which an object resembling a necklace forms a part of her personal name. These clues allow her to be identified as ♀ 9 Movement, daughter of 1 Death and ♀ 11 Snake, who will later marry 8 Deer's son 6 House (Bodley 14-13-IV).

The man shown fourth, 8 --, plays a shell horn like that of ♀ 9 Movement, although it is not supported by a frame. His personal name consists of a fretted base, a mask of the Rain God, and an erased object of which only a retouched tassel now remains. Fifth in the orchestra is 10 --, who shakes a rattle with a curved handle; his personal name is totally erased. The sixth and last person is named 5 Rain, but in the absence of his personal name it is not possible to confirm that he is the same man as 8 Deer's companion. He holds a blue turtle-shell in the crook of his left arm, and in his right hand has the stick with which to beat it.

As was true for the two foregoing events, this scene of the orchestra and the burning of the round object with war chevrons has no counterpart in the text of the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'. Only one member of the orchestra, ♀ 9 Movement, can be firmly identified. Although she is 8 Deer's future daughter-in-law, the son whom she will marry has not yet been born. She is therefore probably only a small child, and this may explain the use of a frame to support the horn she is shown playing. The final man in the orchestra may be 5 Rain, who has been depicted with 8 Deer in two preceding scenes, but this cannot be confirmed because of the loss of his personal name.

The interpretation of this Becker event is difficult, primarily because erasures in both the preceding and following scenes have eliminated crucial segments of the text. Just as the prior scene might have either depicted further funeral rites for 12 Movement or been an anticipation of the coming attack on 'Red and White Bundle', so too the present event is open to the same interpretations. The war chevrons in the round object could refer to 12 Movement's life as a warrior, or the burning of this object might be a preparation for the war against 'Red and White Bundle'.

Becker 9-I-8-III. A large and well-preserved building is pictured, its size indicating that it is an important place. The border of its upper roof panel is divided horizontally, the lower half being blue and the upper part now being the golden-brown colour that indicates a faded green. A roof panel of identical design and

colours has been shown in an earlier scene of this series, 8 Deer being pictured seated within that building (Becker 7-II-I). Since these two occurrences are the only examples of this type of roof panel in the extant Colombino-Becker, it seems probable that both depictions refer to the same building.

Inside this building in the present scene there is a very large representation of the round bag. The building itself rests upon an L-shaped base decorated with L-shaped projections. Within the angle of this base there is a large feather mat, above which the remainder of the scene has been totally obliterated. The area in front of the building still retains numerous flakes of paint from this destroyed design, and under ultra-violet light additional traces and stains can be seen, but these are not sufficient to determine the nature of the original drawing.

It seems probable, however, that a human figure -- probably 8 Deer -- was shown in front of this building, but the complete erasure of the area causes unprecedented difficulties in interpretation. Three different relationships are now possible between this scene and the surrounding pictorial text: it may be a separate, independent event; it may form a part of the preceding scene; or it may be a part of the following scene. Each of these relationships results in a different interpretation, affecting not only this scene but also those adjacent to it. Although no choice is now possible among the three alternatives, the consequences of each will be briefly outlined.

If the present building is a part of the preceding scene of the orchestra and the burning of the round object, then it would serve as the locality where that ceremony takes place. 8 Deer would probably have been shown seated in front of the building watching the ritual, or commanding it to be held.

If the building is a part of the succeeding scene, in which a series of place signs, symbols, and two men are depicted, then probably 8 Deer would have been shown facing these drawings and the two men. The building could be separated from the orchestra scene simply by the use of a day date, with the year being repeated if desired.

If the building is an independent event, rather than merely a component element in one of the adjacent scenes, then the artist would have needed to make this clear to the reader. While the use of a date would effectively separate this scene from the preceding orchestra, no date is given before the place signs that follow next in the text, so such a method could not have been used to determine where the scene ends. The most effective manner of emphasising the independence of this event from its neighbouring scenes would be by the placing of a human figure facing the building. A person in such a position would have his back to both the preceding and following scenes, a structural indication that his activities are not related to those other events.

In the first of these three alternatives, the ceremony of the burning of the round object with chevrons would be occurring in front

of the orchestra and probably 8 Deer, at the site indicated by this building and the place sign. As already mentioned, this may be the same locality at which 8 Deer has already been shown (Becker 7-II-I).

In the second alternative, 8 Deer would probably face a group of place signs and symbols, beyond which two men would be approaching him; the possible meanings of these objects and persons will be discussed below. The implication of the scene would be that the two men are visiting 8 Deer, who would be pictured awaiting their arrival.

In the third alternative, the figure that might be shown facing the building would probably be 8 Deer. The exceptionally large size of the round bag within the building would in this case probably indicate that he was performing an important ceremony in which this object played a vital role. One major ceremony in which the round bag is always prominently displayed is that which becomes necessary when the new ruler of a locality is not the first son of the prior ruler. 8 Deer has already been pictured in the Colombino (15-II) carrying out such rituals in order to become co-ruler of Tilantongo with 12 Movement. Now, however, following 12 Movement's death, he would become the sole ruler of that town, and it might therefore be necessary for him to perform the ceremony again, to legitimise his control. This place sign has not yet been identified, and it is also possible that it represents a new locality that is passing under his rule.

Concerning these three diverse interpretations, each of which arises from one of the three possible relationships this scene might have with the surrounding pictorial text, it is obvious why the destruction of the key part of these event is particularly unfortunate. By the first alternative -- that this building is merely an element in the preceding event -- this scene then becomes a part of the two possible interpretations which may occur for that event: it is the site for what may be a funeral ceremony for 12 Movement, or a ritual in preparation for the war against 'Red and White Bundle'. In the second alternative, it would serve as the locality towards which the two men were travelling, while not clarifying the meaning of the signs and symbols that make up the bulk of the scene. In the third interpretation, 8 Deer might be formalising his rule of Tilantongo. In regard to this latter possibility, I have already suggested, from an analysis of the patterns present in the text of the Colombino-Becker, that 8 Deer's obtaining control of a locality is normally followed by his making conquests. The attack on 'Red and White Bundle' will follow, which would fit into such a pattern, but in this particular instance there are also special circumstances, for 8 Deer apparently blames the death of 12 Movement upon the ruling family of that site.

Becker 9-II-8-III. The final scene of this sequence, and also the last event shown in the Colombino-Becker for the Year 10 Flint, is a series of damaged place signs and symbols, followed by two

travelling men. Some of these drawings are linked together by a connecting red line that guides the order of reading.

The first place sign consists of a hill containing a red circle in its interior; at its summit flames project from under an omega-shaped design. Although some of the same elements are present in this sign as in that for Acatepec, which 8 Deer had conquered several years earlier (Colombino 13-III), Smith (1973: 68-70) does not consider this sign to represent Acatepec. The second place sign shows an opening from which an 'Earth' figure emerges. Most of his face and headdress have been erased and later closed off by a retouching line. Pictured as the third locality is a hill containing a red circle; a 'fire-serpent' is shown upon the hill, with flames apparently rising from a circular red area on its back.

These three place signs are joined together in sequence by a red line, but the drawing that followed next in the text has been totally obliterated. It seems probable that one additional place sign was given. At least four symbols then follow, although one of these is now completely erased. These symbols are linked by a red line into a single series, and were originally connected with the sequence of place signs.

The first symbol is pictured as a horizontal decorated panel from which rise conical and vertical elements, including a cluster of feathers. The second symbol has been erased. The third consists of an apparent necklace set upon a series of wavy lines. The final

object in this connected group is depicted as a necklace superimposed upon a panel decorated with war chevrons. These latter two are similar to the objects shown earlier in front of the orchestra (Becker 7-I).

Six 'butterflies' then follow, arranged in a boustrophedon reading sequence by vertical red guide lines projecting out from the normal band lines so as to create three small vertical meanders. Such 'butterflies' have already appeared as small elements in two recent scenes: in the bundle shown inside a building (Becker 7-II-I), and in the headdress of the first man of the orchestra (Becker 8-I). In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 81-II-III), 'butterflies' appear at the scene of the burning of 12 Movement's body in the three bundles and in the headdresses of several of the men with offerings.

The final object in the Becker series is now partially destroyed. A yellow area remains, as do several red and white panels around it, but it is not now possible to determine the form of the original design. Facing this object -- and by implication, all the other designs in this series of depictions -- are two men for whom no names or individual identifying characteristics are given. Each carries a small baton in one hand and in the other holds up an irregularly shaped red object. Both wear headdresses of flowers, and the red cape of the second man is decorated with two 'fanciful heads'.

These two men cannot be identified, but their garb and the objects each carries were apparently sufficient to indicate their



mission to the native reader. Two men of virtually identical aspect will be shown two years later when 8 Deer celebrates his final confirmation as ruler of Tilantongo (Becker 12). The presence here of the two men thus tends to support the interpretation of the preceding scene (Becker 9-I-II) as perhaps having originally shown 8 Deer performing a rite upon becoming the sole ruler of Tilantongo.

Even if these two men should be connected with 8 Deer's becoming ruler of Tilantongo, however, the series of place signs and symbols that comprise most of this scene still remains enigmatic. None of the three surviving place signs can be identified or associated with any individual or event. Of the symbols that were originally connected in sequence with these signs, the final two symbols appear to be repetitions, in somewhat different forms, of the two objects shown earlier in front of the orchestra (Becker 7-8-I). The placement of the 'butterflies' within a separate meander pattern appears to be a variation on the linking of the signs and symbols, but it is not known whether this is merely a stylistic variation or a meaningful differentiation.

Summary: Becker 5-I/9-II-8-III. This series of events began with the death of 12 Movement at the site of 'Sweatbath' on the Days 11 Death and 12 Deer of the Year 10 Flint, when he was 55 years of age. The circumstances leading to his death are not depicted in any extant codex, nor is the name of the person killing him now known. However, the appearance of a solar disc above the building in which

he is killed, suggests that his death might possibly be related to his previous belligerent attitude at an important ceremony in the presence of the Sun God (Becker 4), which I have suggested may have involved prophecies for the future.

At least two of the ceremonies of 12 Movement's funeral rites are depicted in the Becker: the burning of his body, which is done by 8 Deer and another man; and the later burning of his bones, which is carried out at 8 Deer's direction while he, 9 Flower, and 5 Rain watch. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 81-82), however, not only shows the burning of 12 Movement's body and bones, but also depicts his mummy bundle and two processions of men carrying gifts or offerings for his funeral. The greater importance given to his funeral in this latter manuscript is not surprising, for he had ruled Tilantongo for 18 years, even though for the final three of these years he had been sharing his position with 8 Deer.

9 Flower is 8 Deer's younger brother and thus also a half-brother to 12 Movement. 5 Rain's family background is not known, which would seem to indicate that he is not related to 8 Deer's family. He is pictured in the present events for the first time in 17 years, his earlier appearances having been in the Year 6 Reed during the events preceding 8 Deer's taking control of Tututepec.

8 Flower, 8 Deer's older maternal half-brother, is not shown during this funeral, having last been pictured three years earlier at a meeting with 8 Deer (Colombino 18-III). His omission here and from

the remainder of the Colombino-Becker would indicate that he has probably died during the intervening period. Since he had been born before his mother's second marriage to 8 Deer's father, which now lies 39 years in the past, he would have been older than 8 Deer, perhaps even considerably older. He seems always to have been peripheral to 8 Deer's interests, never being shown aiding him in battles or accompanying him on peregrinations, but only appearing as the final, and presumably therefore the least important, of 8 Deer's male kinsmen.

While the scenes of the burning of 12 Movement's body and bones can be easily related to his death and funeral rites, the events which follow are much more difficult to interpret. The destruction of vital portions of some scenes not only causes severe problems in interpreting the surviving parts of those events, but in addition also creates ambiguities in determining the boundaries of some scenes. As a result, the next several events may be interpreted either as further funeral ceremonies for 12 Movement, or as preparations for the attack on 'Red and White Bundle'.

A procession in which 8 Deer, 9 Flower, and 5 Rain follow a man carrying a bone and feather bundle, may represent the removal of the remaining fragments of 12 Movement's bones and ashes. 8 Deer is then pictured seated within a building, facing another building that contains a large red and white bundle. Since this event occurs on the same Day 7 Flower as the burning of the bones and the proces-

sion, it seems possible that the latter group was travelling to this locality. However, none of the surviving parts of this scene of the two buildings can be directly correlated with 12 Movement or the funeral rites, although such designs might have been given in the erased area between the buildings. Instead, the red and white bundle in the second building is virtually identical to the sign used for the site 'Red and White Bundle', which 8 Deer will soon conquer. Since he apparently blames 12 Movement's death upon the ruling family of this place, the scene might have served simultaneously for the funeral and as a preparation for the attack.

Still apparently on the Day 7 Flower, a round object decorated with the chevrons that usually indicate warfare, is burned in front of an orchestra composed of six persons. Again the reference might be to the war against 'Red and White Bundle', or the event could be simply another funeral rite. The erasure that prevented any clear determination of the meaning of the preceding scene likewise inhibits the interpretation of this event. There is the added complication in that the destruction of a part of the following scene creates a further ambiguity, the large building of the next event possibly representing the site where the orchestra is performing. This large building could also be considered a separate event, or an element in the scene that follows it, which consists of two men and a series of signs and symbols. As a component of either the scene of the orchestra or of that of the two men, the building would serve as the

locality where the event occurs. As an independent event, however, it might have showed 8 Deer performing another of the ceremonies necessary to confirm his control over Tilantongo, or perhaps making himself the ruler of an additional site.

None of the surviving place signs in the final scene can now be identified, nor can they be connected with any individual in the codex. Two of the symbols, however, were displayed in front of the orchestra, although in somewhat different form, indicating a relationship between these two events. The two men shown at the end of this scene have no names, nor is a place of origin given for them; the purpose of their journey must therefore be expressed by their ornaments and the objects they carry. Two similar men will be shown later in the manuscript (Becker 12) at the ceremony by which 8 Deer celebrates his final confirmation of control of Tilantongo, after he has disposed of all potential claimants to that position. The appearance of these men in the present instance suggests that the prior scene at the large building might have showed 8 Deer performing a ceremony to take sole control over Tilantongo.

The events of this part of the Codex Colombino-Becker thus range from 12 Movement's death and funeral, through scenes that may be either funeral rites or preparations for war, to one that might represent 8 Deer becoming sole ruler of Tilantongo. In all instances, however, 8 Deer is shown taking a leading role. Only twice are his younger brother 9 Flower -- who is also 12 Movement's half brother --

and 5 Rain depicted, and in both cases the scenes are related to 12 Movement's funeral. Other than 8 Deer and these two men, none of the participants in the funeral rites nor the other ceremonies are named, except the members of the orchestra. Even for the orchestra, however, the only individual who can now be firmly identified is ♀ 9 Movement, who is 8 Deer's future daughter-in-law although probably only a small child at this time. A man named 5 Rain is also shown in the orchestra, but in the absence of his personal name it is not possible to confirm that he is the same individual appearing with 8 Deer in the two other ceremonies. This emphasis upon 8 Deer suggests that the other persons in the orchestra may also be connected with him.

12 Movement's own kin are conspicuously absent during his funeral ceremonies. He is the last survivor of his own immediate family, all his siblings have predeceased him. His sister ♀ 6 Lizard, the only member of the family to have descendants, has apparently been dead for some time, for the marriage of her husband 11 Wind to his second wife ♀ 6 Monkey had occurred ten years earlier. However, by ♀ 6 Lizard's marriage there had been born two sons and a daughter, these nephews and niece being 12 Movement's only surviving blood relatives. 11 Wind is the ruler of the site 'Red and White Bundle'.

It seems strange that a man of 12 Movement's prominence could be killed without the names of the persons responsible for his death eventually becoming known, particularly since the Colombino-Becker indicates that his death involved two consecutive days. The second of

these days, the Day 12 Deer, falls precisely mid-way between occurrences of his name-day, and although this could be merely fortuitous, it also suggests the possibility that his death was planned in advance for this particular time. The presence of the large sun disc at the depiction of his death is also difficult to explain, unless the Sun God is in some way responsible for ordering or causing him to die. If this were true, however, it would seem that a more explicit accounting would have been given of the role played by this very important deity.

The person who stands to profit the most directly from 12 Movement's death is 8 Deer. 12 Movement was 55 years old when he died, while 8 Deer is only 37 years of age. They had been co-rulers of Tilantongo for the past three years, but as long as 12 Movement was alive he would probably have been considered by most people as the 'real' ruler. With his death, however, 8 Deer would then come into control of that important site. Furthermore, if 12 Movement died under such mysterious circumstances that it could in some way be attributed to or blamed upon his two nephews and their family at 'Red and White Bundle', it would simultaneously give 8 Deer a valid excuse for attacking that place and killing the nephews. As will be discussed later, 8 Deer feared that these two kinsmen of 12 Movement's might attempt to claim to be their uncle's heirs, and thus challenge his control of Tilantongo.

Under these circumstances it would not seem unusual if 8 Deer acted as rapidly as possible to reinforce his claim to Tilantongo, including the performance of any additional ceremonies that might have been necessary. The final scene of this series, showing two men carrying irregular red objects, may represent part of such a ritual. As with most of the previous events, it too may occur on the Day 7 Flower. Since men holding similar jagged red objects will be depicted in a subsequent scene (Becker 12) which includes an exchange of gifts, this suggests that perhaps some of the symbols pictured in the present instance might also represent gifts, although this would not seem to apply to the place signs. These might perhaps indicate a peregrination, but they are connected in a single sequence with other drawings that do not appear to represent localities.

Having completed the funeral rites for 12 Movement and established his own claim to rule Tilantongo, 8 Deer is now ready to undertake the final steps needed to consolidate his political position: the conquest of 'Red and White Bundle' and the sacrifice of its ruling family.

Becker 8-9-III. 8 Deer's activities during the next two years will bring him, in the third year, to the pinnacle of his success as recorded in the Codex Colombino-Becker. In order to understand these events, however, it is necessary to understand the family background of the persons involved.



As mentioned earlier (see Figure 16), 12 Movement's sister ♀ 6 Lizard had married 11 Wind, ruler of the place 'Red and White Bundle', and from this marriage had come three children: 10 Dog, 6 House, and ♀ 13 Snake. 11 Wind later married a second time, to ♀ 6 Monkey, and they had two sons, 4 Wind and 1 Alligator. ♀ 6 Lizard's three children are the nephews and niece of her brother 12 Movement, and since the latter never married or sired children, after his death these three are the only surviving descendants of 5 Alligator's first marriage. 8 Deer, on the other hand, is the first child of 5 Alligator's second marriage. Although it is he whom 12 Movement selected to be his co-ruler and eventual heir, either of ♀ 6 Lizard's two sons might still be able to make a claim to Tilantongo after 12 Movement's death, on the grounds that they represented the legitimate line of descent from 5 Alligator's first marriage.

The Becker text begins with a large, intact sign for the Year 11 House, accompanied by a damaged date of the Day 12 --. This is the year immediately following that in which 12 Movement was killed, and during it 8 Deer will become 38 years old.

A standing man brandishing a spear is shown; he wears a short, spotted battle-jacket and a jaguar helmet that has been retouched on top. There is now no evidence of his name, and the artist appears to have left him without one. He faces a place sign from which a conquest arrow projects. On a fretted base stands a building within which can be seen the back of a chair -- neither its seat nor legs are

shown -- and a red and white bundle. Attached to the rear of the building is a badly damaged 'stone' hill that originally contained a qualifying element, but the area has been so badly effaced and retouched that even under ultra-violet light the nature of the drawing cannot be determined.

Following this, another place sign is shown in which no conquest arrow is visible. It may represent a second conquered place from which the arrow has been erased, or its appearance may be intended to clarify the location of the preceding site. The sign is composed of a U-shaped base holding an area of water within which there is an opening. From this opening projects an upside-down representation of the feet and skirt of a woman who appears to be seated upon the winding body of a feathered serpent.

Cognate scenes for this event appear in both the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 83-I) and Bodley (34-V). Both record it as occurring on the Day 12 Monkey of the Year 11 House. The former manuscript depicts a hill crossed by a fretted base on which rests a red and white bundle; the upper part of the hill contains two white flowers and two small coloured panels. The latter codex shows 8 Deer brandishing his spear before a vertical fretted base that has a large fret projecting from its right side and a red and white bundle resting on its upper end.

The three codices thus agree that on the Day 12 Monkey of the Year 11 House, 8 Deer conquers the site 'Red and White Bundle'.

Becker 10-11-III. A procession of figures is shown. At the end, guarding the group, stands a warrior holding his weapons; no trace of his name is extant, and there would not appear to be sufficient space for it to have been given. In front of him five persons are depicted, four standing and one seated, all carrying the vertical white flag of victims who are to be sacrificed.

At the end of this group of captives is 10 --, whose personal name is represented at least in part by a burning object. In front of him is 6 House 'Row of Flint Knives'. Next is 4 --. The only woman of the group is ♀ 6 -- 'Quechquemiti with Chevrons'. Seated at the head of this procession is a man whose calendar name is composed of at least five circles and the day name Wind, and whose personal name contains a flow of blood.

Facing these victims and their guarding warrior are two seated men. The first, 10 -- 'Sun Helmet', has a small bowl in one hand and with the other holds out a looped rope to which is attached another vertical white flag. Behind him is 10 --, who may originally have been depicted wearing a jaguar helmet, but the upper part of his head is now erased and retouched. The objects in his hands may also have suffered retouching; one of these is looped and the other now consists of two small rectangles. He is shown seated on the edge of a place sign that consists of a hill within which are a red and white bundle and two red and blue oval objects.

No new date is given for this scene, indicating that it also occurs on the same Day 12 Monkey as the preceding conquest of 'Red and White Bundle'. This group of five persons consists of 11 Wind, his second wife q 6 Monkey, their elder son 4 Wind, and 11 Wind's two sons 6 House and 10 Dog from his first marriage to q 6 Lizard. The two men who receive this group cannot now be identified. The place sign appears to indicate that the presentation of the five as future sacrificial victims occurred at or near 'Red and White Bundle'.

Corresponding scenes of capture are shown in both the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 83-I-II) and Bodley (34-33-V). The text of the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' shows 8 Deer capturing 4 Wind, seizing his hair. The Bodley depicts 10 Dog and 6 House with their arms bound behind them. 4 Wind has escaped, however, and is pictured within a curved hill.

Becker 11-III-II. This scene occurs within an enclosed rectangular area coloured blue inside. Across the bottom of the rectangle is a feather mat, now mostly erased; above it lie q 6 -- and 11 --, both dead, their chests cut open and bleeding. No date is now visible. The locality at which these deaths occur is represented by a sign that is mostly destroyed, all that remains being the lower body of a seated person who is wearing a backwards cloak. This person's body is characterised by paired lobes to indicate that the drawing represents a locality and not another individual.

This sacrifice of 11 Wind and ♀ 6 Monkey is not recorded in any other codex. Although no traces of a date can now be seen, it seems possible that they may have been killed on the same day they were captured, the Day 12 Monkey. There is no surviving evidence of a temple or altar in the scene.

Backer 11-10-II-I. The next Year 12 Rabbit, Day 6 --, is shown. This year date can be identified by the ear of the rabbit, which escaped destruction. 8 Deer will become 39 years old during this year.

A warrior, 8 --, is pictured; he is armed and wears a jaguar helmet that has been mostly erased and then crudely retouched. The principal purpose of this depiction of 8 Deer is to indicate that he travels to the site at which the next sacrifices are to take place.

A large scene follows, painted so that it occupies two full bands in height and slightly more than one page in width. The place sign pictured is composed of a hill crossed by a fretted base under which are shown weapons, a bowl with a bleeding heart, and a bleeding red object, perhaps a heart; a 'bound bundle' projects from the side of the hill, while on the summit there are indications of erasures and retouching. This hill is attached to the back of a building within which the round bag is depicted.

Immediately in front of the building is a tall scaffolding composed of two vertical poles and six cross-pieces, the whole forming a ladder-like framework. Tied to the top of this frame is a man

whose figure is now mostly obliterated. Four darts project from his body, and a wide stream of blood pours down upon a design resembling a cogged wheel at the bottom of the framework. Standing beside this frame and looking up at the victim is a man holding a spear-thrower and additional darts. Above him is the name or date of 7 --. The calendar name of the victim can be seen to consist of at least eight circles.

On a nearby base, a standing man is shown holding sticks in his hands, while a rope around his waist is tied to the centre of a round design. His name is damaged but still visible above his head: 6 House 'Row of Flint Knives'. He faces a person whose almost totally obliterated and perhaps retouched yellow body may indicate that he is wearing a jaguar suit, since in addition there appears to be a long tail hanging down behind him. The name or date of 8 -- appears in front of this individual.

These events show the deaths by sacrifice of the two brothers 10 Dog and 6 House, the sons of 11 Wind and ♀ 6 Lizard. Since she was 8 Deer's half-sister, her sons would also be his own kinsmen. However, 8 Deer has not only chosen to sacrifice both of them, but to do so by methods that are dramatically different from the usual cutting out of the heart.

In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 83-II-84-I), the first of the two scenes cognate with these sacrifices is dated as the Day 6 Snake of the Year 12 Rabbit. The place sign consists of a

hill crossed by a ball court and topped by the head, wings, and tail of a red-crested bird. Within the ball court are several star-eyes; its top panel is fretted, while the lower panel also contains representations of stars. On a plateau of the hill is a large drawing of the round bag, with a fire-log and drill-stick on top of it.

10 Dog, holding short sticks, is named as the gladiator victim. His two opponents are pictured as humans with jaguar heads and paws, but although they both carry shields, neither is armed. One of these persons is named 8 Deer, while the other is not given a name. The arrow sacrifice victim is 6 House, and the date of his death is the Day 1 Reed. The blood from his body falls upon a round cogged wheel at the foot of the frame. Facing him with weapons is a man with a skull head and a number of star-eye decorations.

The two dates given in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' of the Days 6 Snake and 1 Reed occur in consecutive trecenas only eight days apart. Between them there falls not only 8 Deer's name-day, but also the Day 12 Monkey on which he had conquered 'Red and White Bundle' the previous year. Since this latter date was the time at which he captured the two brothers, the present sacrifices could not have been carried out until almost a full calendar cycle of 260 days had again elapsed.

In the Becker, the date associated with the sign for the Year 12 Rabbit would be the Day 6 Snake. I have already indicated that this day represents an important ceremonial date in 8 Deer's life.

It is possible that the other two names or dates given in the Becker as 7 -- and 8 -- may be the subsequent Days 7 Death and 8 Deer. The Day 1 Reed of the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' does not appear in the Becker scene.

The most obvious difference between the accounts of these sacrifices in the Becker and Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' is that the names of the two victims have been reversed from one manuscript to the other: the former shows that 6 House is killed in the gladiator battle, while the latter gives his name to the arrow-sacrifice victim. It is also notable that while the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' does not accord these sacrifices any special prominence, the larger size in which they are depicted in the Colombino-Becker indicates that the event is more important to the painters of this codex. These variations in emphasis are probably due to the different regional orientations already noted for the two manuscripts, and this may also account for the confusion concerning the method of sacrifice for each man.

The Becker indicates that these sacrifices occur at 'Bound Bundle', a site which I have suggested may already have come under 8 Deer's control. The place sign in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' does not correspond to that in the Becker, however, and this apparent discrepancy may again reflect differences in the traditions recorded in the two documents.



Although the Becker gives no further information concerning this sacrifice ceremony, the final two scenes of the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 84) depict the funerary rites carried out for the two dead men. This latter text thus ends, unfinished, the three events pictured on its final page having been only partially coloured by the artist.

Becker 11-I-12. A large depiction of the Year 13 Reed is given, in association with a day date having at least five circles and the name of Flower. During this year 8 Deer will reach the age of 40 years. The drawings for the depicted event occupy the top band of page 11 and continue across an outside fold into a scene that occupies the entirety of page 12, testifying to its great importance.

A Z-shaped yellow path, ornamented with balls of down, extends to the steps of a large building. Five men are shown on or near this path, four of them standing and the other seated; none has been supplied with a name by the artist. At the back of this group are two men, each carrying a foaming olla. In front of them two other men each hold a baton in one hand and in the other an irregular, jagged red object. The head of one man has been mostly erased, but the other is shown wearing a flower headdress. The fifth man, who also wears a flower headdress, is seated. In front of him are a red cape, a flower headdress, and a baton with feathers; below these, on a white panel laid on the yellow path, are a set of bound volutes and a semi-circular feather mat with a knotted cluster of reeds or feathers on it.

Facing these five individuals is a large building within which a man is seated. He wears a flower headdress and a red cape decorated with a 'fanciful head', and in one hand holds out a small foaming bowl. In the original manuscript he can be seen to wear a nose-bar, and in addition he is also shown with what is probably a round nose-plug. His name, 8 --, appears above the building.

The elaborately decorated building within which he is seated, rests upon a long feather mat, below which there is a fretted base whose bottom edge is decorated with L-shaped projections. Pictured in front of the building are several bowls, including one containing a hummingbird sipping from a flower; under ultra-violet light the three tail feathers of the bird can still be seen in the original manuscript. The inner surface of a large open pot is rimmed with teeth, while additional fragments of paint show a pointed yellow ear, indicating that the vessel was in the form of an animal head and mouth.

The size of this scene indicates its importance in the coastal tradition. For the first time in the extant Colombino-Becker, 8 Deer is shown with the tripartite facial paint of red mouth and chin, yellow nose and forehead, and parallel black arcs behind his eye. This is also his first depiction in the codex wearing both a nose-bar and a round nose-plug, simultaneously. 8 Deer's elaborate attire, including a cape decorated with a 'fanciful head', is another indication of the importance of this event.

The two men carrying the jagged red objects appeared earlier in the Becker (8-III), following 12 Movement's funeral rites. During the intervening two years since their appearance, the only activities pictured in the Colombino-Becker for 8 Deer have been his capture of 'Red and White Bundle' and the sacrifice of the members of its ruling family. Following 12 Movement's death, 8 Deer would have become the sole ruler of Tilantongo; with his sacrifice of his half-sister's sons, he has now ensured that there will be no other claimants to his power. The two men carrying the irregular red objects thus apparently fulfil a crucial role in legitimising his status as ruler of Tilantongo, for they appear both upon his first assumption of sole control of that site, and again after he has eliminated all other possible contenders for the position.

The present Becker scene represents the celebration of 8 Deer's final confirmation as ruler of Tilantongo. As such, it is the culminating event of his political life. The ceremony consists of an exchange of gifts between 8 Deer and the group with which he meets, including the two men carrying the jagged red objects. No place of origin is given for this group -- as was likewise true for the earlier appearance of these two men -- and it seems necessary to assume that the native reader of the codex was able to determine the character and purpose of the meeting from the clothing and gifts of the participants, and perhaps particularly by the presence of the irregular red objects.

This meeting occurs on the Day 7 Flower. In all probability, it was on this same day date that the two men carrying the uneven red objects were first shown in the Colombino-Becker, following the completion of the funeral rites for 12 Movement held on that same day. This date is the name-day of the deity 7 Flower, but there do not appear to be any overt references to him during any of these events.

An apparent cognate scene for the present meeting occurs in the Bodley (10-I), but is dated as the Day 7 Flower of the preceding Year 12 Rabbit, rather than the Year 13 Reed of the Becker. 8 Deer is shown seated and holding out a small foaming bowl; he wears a jaguar helmet, with the front of a flower headdress projecting from the animal's mouth. Facing him is 13 Jaguar.<sup>1</sup> Both men are seated on a fretted base from which projects the sign for 'Bound Bundle'.

Although the extant Colombino-Becker fragments do not depict 8 Deer gaining control of 'Bound Bundle', I have suggested that such might have occurred in the pages missing between Sections II and III of the manuscript. The Bodley (9-10-I) shows him seated beside a

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<sup>1</sup>This man's personal name is represented in the Bodley by a curved chevron panel on his back. Caso (1960: 39) mis-identifies him as 13 Rabbit and gives his personal name as 'Eagle of War'; he also comments that he had not been able to locate him in other codices, but since no eagle occurs in the Bodley drawing, he must surely have noticed this same individual in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 55-IV), where his personal name consists of an eagle and two crossed chevron panels.

place sign containing both 'bound bundles' and an eagle, apparently in the Year 9 Reed. Unless 8 Deer had already become ruler of 'Bound Bundle', it does not seem too probable that he would have been able to utilise this site for the sacrifice of his half-sister's sons, nor as the place where he confirms his final control of Tilantongo.

The Bodley (10-I) pictures 8 Deer meeting only one man, 13 Jaguar, in the present event. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 55-IV) this individual appears as a member of the large group meeting at Tilantongo in the Year 7 House, and is shown as being from the same locality as 8 Deer's friend 5 Rain. In the Becker scene, 13 Jaguar is probably the seated man who faces 8 Deer.

The Day 7 Flower of this meeting occurs in the second trecena prior to that in which the Day 6 Snake falls. Since the sacrifice of 12 Movement's two nephews had begun on this latter day, 8 Deer has again been forced to wait for almost a full calendar round before the desired date for this present meeting recurred. During this interval, a new year has also begun.

Summary: Becker 8-9-III/12. In my hypothesis, the conquest of 'Red and White Bundle' and the sacrifice of four members of its ruling family are actually a continuation of the events which were set into motion by the earlier death of 12 Movement. The cause of the conflict lies with 8 Deer, and is ultimately the result of his position by birth within his father's family.

As has already been described (see Figure 16), 5 Alligator married twice, first to ♀ 9 Eagle, and then some years later to ♀ 11 Water. 12 Movement was the first child of this first marriage, and his birth was followed by that of a daughter ♀ 6 Lizard, then two other sons who were sacrificed. 5 Alligator's second marriage had as its first child 8 Deer, the other children being another son 9 Flower, and two daughters.

In the normal pattern of primogeniture inheritance which was practiced by the Mixtecs, 5 Alligator's main holding, Tilantongo, would pass upon his death to the first son of his first marriage, 12 Movement, who would rule it until his own death, when it would descend to his eldest son. 5 Alligator died in the Year 5 Rabbit, and 12 Movement became the ruler of Tilantongo at the age of 37 years. However, 12 Movement failed to marry and have children. There being no son to inherit from him, it became necessary for him to appoint an heir from among the other male descendants of 5 Alligator. Basically, there were only two alternatives: he could choose one of his two nephews, the sons of his sister ♀ 6 Lizard and her husband 11 Wind, and the only known male grandchildren descended from 5 Alligator's first marriage; or he could select his younger half-brother 8 Deer, the first son of 5 Alligator's second marriage.

Upon reaching the symbolic age of 52 years in the Year 7 House, 12 Movement chose 8 Deer as his heir. 8 Deer was 34 years of age when he had his nose perforated and became co-ruler of Tilantongo

with his half-brother. This arrangement may possibly have been contrived in order to minimise any possible opposition concerning 8 Deer's right to this important post. By becoming 12 Movement's co-ruler while the older man was still alive and still recognised as the principal ruler of Tilantongo, it would be made clear that he was 12 Movement's choice, and a transition period would be created which would doubtlessly make 8 Deer's assumption of full control much easier after 12 Movement had actually died.

The question of the final succession to 12 Movement could not actually be settled until after his death, however, and the mere existence of his two nephews continued to present a potential threat to 8 Deer's future position, because they were the only other male descendants of 5 Alligator's first marriage. 12 Movement's presence would protect his nephews as long as he was living, but with his death this situation would be completely altered. Not only would his restraining influence upon 8 Deer be removed, but in addition if his death appeared to be due to these two nephews, 8 Deer would then have an excellent reason for killing them.

12 Movement's death occurred under mysterious circumstances in the Year 10 Flint when he was 55 years old, after he and 8 Deer had been co-rulers of Tilantongo for three years. The place at which he died was 'Sweatbath', but it is notable that 8 Deer never takes any punitive action against the rulers of this site. Instead, he celebrates 12 Movement's funeral rites and immediately performs the ceremonies necessary to reinforce his own claim as 12 Movement's heir.

It is the following Year 11 House when 8 Deer mounts his attack against 'Red and White Bundle'. Its ruler is 11 Wind, formerly married to ♀ 6 Lizard, by whom he had the two sons 10 Dog and 6 House, neither of whom has yet married, and a daughter ♀ 13 Snake, who is married and has a son. 11 Wind has subsequently married a second time, to ♀ 6 Monkey, and they have two sons named 4 Wind and 1 Alligator. At the conquest of 'Red and White Bundle', most of the members of these families fall into 8 Deer's hands: 11 Wind, ♀ 6 Monkey, 4 Wind, 6 House, and 10 Dog. The only two of 11 Wind's children not shown in the Becker as being captured are 1 Alligator and ♀ 13 Snake. 1 Alligator is only a small child at this time, but the Codex Selden (9-I) shows that in the following Year 12 Rabbit he performs the ritual necessary to become ruler of the site that had been controlled by his mother ♀ 6 Monkey. ♀ 13 Snake, being already married (Bodley 11-I), was presumably living with her husband at the town he ruled.

Of the five who were captured by 8 Deer, only 4 Wind manages to escape; he is nine years old at this time. The Bodley (34-33-IV) depicts him under a curved hill, apparently on the same Day 12 Monkey that his home was conquered. Four days later, on the Day 3 Eagle, he meets the goddess ♀ 9 Grass; and another two days afterwards, on the Day 5 Movement, he meets the deity 7 Flower. 4 Wind's primary aim in these meetings is probably to save his own life by enlisting the support of these deities. He apparently receives succour



from one or both of them, for the Bodley text relates nothing more concerning him for four years.

8 Deer has 11 Wind and q 6 Monkey killed, probably on the same Day 12 Monkey of their capture. He is in no such haste to sacrifice 10 Dog and 6 House, however, for it was either necessary or desirable for him to begin the rites of their deaths on the Day 6 Snake, a date whose ceremonial importance to him has already been mentioned. But the Days 6 Snake and 12 Monkey occur in the same trecena, and since 'Red and White Bundle' had not been captured until the latter date, it is necessary for him to wait through almost a complete cycle of 260 days before the Day 6 Snake recurs. During this time the succeeding Year 12 Rabbit also begins.

The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 83-III, 84-I) dates 8 Deer's sacrifices of 10 Dog and 6 House as occurring eight days apart, on the Days 6 Snake and 1 Reed. This same sequence of days had also been utilised by 8 Deer 19 years earlier, in the Year 6 Reed when he was only 20 years old, for the events that preceded his becoming ruler of Tututepec (Colombino 3-I-6-III). It may be possible that in the present case these dates are intended as a symbolic recapitulation of those earlier events, for just as these latter were essential in order for him to assume his first important political position at Tututepec, so now the sacrifice of his half-sister's sons must be carried out as a requisite final step in reaching his ultimate goal, the control of Tilantongo and a dominant position in the Mixteca.

That 8 Deer's attack on 'Red and White Bundle' was aimed primarily at ♀ 6 Lizard's two sons, and not at 11 Wind, ♀ 6 Monkey, or the children of their marriage, seems clear from his sacrificing only the two brothers by special rites, rather than also including their father and step-mother. Although only one of the brothers could have claimed to succeed 12 Movement as ruler of Tilantongo -- the other would become the ruler of 'Red and White Bundle' upon their father's death -- 8 Deer needed to kill both of them. From the standpoint of the latter's claim to be 12 Movement's heir, both were equally dangerous because they shared exactly the same descent, and it would have been of little avail to eliminate only one and not the other.

11 Wind and ♀ 6 Monkey may have been killed merely because they sought to defend 'Red and White Bundle' from 8 Deer's attack. 8 Deer apparently never attempts to hunt down either of their two sons 4 Wind and 1 Alligator, again emphasising that he was principally interested in the sons of ♀ 6 Lizard. His failure to kill the young 4 Wind, however, is a mistake which will later cost him his life.

Caso (1955; 1960: 72; 1966: 39-42) has also proposed an hypothesis concerning the origin and resolution of some of these events, based in part upon his interpretations of scenes occurring in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' and Bodley. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 68-III), for the Year 8 Rabbit, shows 12 Movement standing on a place sign that contains the symbol for 'Red and White Bundle';

while the Bodley (34-IV) pictures 11 Wind's death bundle and a damaged sign for a Year -- Reed. Caso considered this latter date to be the Year 9 Reed, which follows after the Year 8 Rabbit and precedes the Year 10 Flint in which 12 Movement is killed.

Caso's hypothesis was that 11 Wind's first marriage to ♀ 6 Lizard created an opportunity for her brother 12 Movement to attempt to claim sovereignty over 'Red and White Bundle' after 11 Wind's death. 12 Movement's endeavour to assert this claim brought him into conflict with the two sons of 11 Wind and ♀ 6 Lizard, and in the ensuing struggle 12 Movement was killed. ♂ Deer then revenged his half-brother's death by conquering 'Red and White Bundle' and sacrificing 11 Wind's two sons.

The crucial point in an analysis of Caso's hypothesis, and the one upon which all else depends, is whether Mixtec custom and law would have allowed 12 Movement to make a legitimate claim to 'Red and White Bundle'. The answer seems quite plainly to be that it did not. Mixtec custom, as demonstrated in the genealogical codices, followed the rule of primogeniture: a man's first son became his heir. Should there be more than one wife, the heir is normally the first son of the first wife.

Following this custom, the heir to control of 'Red and White Bundle' after 11 Wind's death would be his first son by his first wife ♀ 6 Lizard: 10 Dog. Should 10 Dog be unable or unwilling to rule 'Red and White Bundle', a second son of this same marriage, 6

House, could be named. Failing both these sons, 11 Wind and ♀ 6 Lizard also had a daughter ♀ 13 Snake who was married and the mother of a son (Bodley 11-I). Although this child would normally inherit from his own father, he was also 11 Wind's grandson and so perhaps a potential heir in case of necessity. In addition to these direct descendants by his first wife, 11 Wind also had two more sons by his second wife ♀ 6 Monkey: 4 Wind and 1 Alligator. Thus had the line of descent from 11 Wind's first marriage failed completely, there were still two sons from his second marriage who could have become his heirs.

There was, as a consequence, no lack of proper heirs to inherit control of 'Red and White Bundle' upon 11 Wind's death, regardless of when he died. If he were still alive at the time 8 Deer conquered this site in the Year 11 House, as recorded in the Colombino-Becker, then he would still be its ruler. If he had died in the Year 9 Reed, as Caso interprets the Bodley date, control of the place would have passed to his eldest son 10 Dog, who would still have been its ruler when 8 Deer conquered it two years later.

In neither case is there any possible opportunity for 12 Movement to sustain a claim to the site. He is not even a blood kinsman to 11 Wind but merely an affinal relation, the brother of 11 Wind's presumably deceased first wife. If 12 Movement could not make any legitimate claim to 'Red and White Bundle', he could not then have been involved in any 'dynastic struggle' with his nephews concerning

the inheritance of this site, such as Caso has hypothesised. No such conflict could have arisen under the Mixtec custom of primogeniture. In the presence of so many valid claimants to succeed 11 Wind as ruler of 'Red and White Bundle', 12 Movement's position can now be seen in its proper perspective.

This is not to say that there is no conflict during this period, but rather that it did not stem from the cause which Caso postulated. As I have suggested above, the basic source of the contention lies in 8 Deer's desire to gain full control of Tilantongo. Because his birth position as the son of his father's second marriage was not sufficient to make him the undisputed heir to 12 Movement, it was necessary for him to do everything possible to guard and advance his own interests. Although the extant pictorial accounts yield little evidence concerning the circumstances of 12 Movement's death, it may be possible that 8 Deer had his half-brother killed. Even if he was not directly involved in the death, he was able to utilise it to further his own ambition by blaming it upon 12 Movement's two nephews. In killing them he would have enhanced his own prestige by revenging the death of Tilantongo's legitimate ruler, while simultaneously gaining complete control of that site by eliminating the only other possible rivals to his claim.

On the Day 7 Flower of the Year 13 Reed, when he is 40 years old, 8 Deer then celebrates his acquisition of final control of Tilantongo and his position of political dominance in the Mixteca. He

holds hegemony over Tututepec, Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán, probably 'Bound Bundle', and now is also the undisputed ruler of Tilantongo. His political control would extend over a wide area, and he could probably influence an even larger region. He has reached the pinnacle of his political power, and created a nascent 'empire'.

The depiction of this ceremony marks the end, in the Codex Colombino-Becker, of the detailed recording of 8 Deer's political history. After this event of the Year 13 Reed, the following ten years of his life will be completely omitted from the manuscript. The next event pictured for him does not take place until he is already 50 years of age, and even the small amount of information shown then for him is given solely to explain the circumstances of his murder. The principal purpose of the text of the Colombino-Becker would seem that of illustrating his rise to power, not his utilisation of his position after he had achieved his goals.

## CHAPTER VIII

## SECTION III OF THE CODEX COLOMBINO-BECKER:

BECKER FRAGMENT 2, COLOMBINO FRAGMENT II, AND BECKER FRAGMENT 3:

## PART II

8 Deer is 40 years old when he finally takes control of Tilantongo. He has 12 more years to live, but the first ten of these are completely skipped over in the pictorial text of the Colombino-Becker, although it is during this period that his marriages occur and his children are born. The circumstances of his murder cannot be appreciated without a knowledge of these relationships, however, and they are summarised here (see also Figure 16).

In addition to celebrating his final confirmation as ruler of Tilantongo in the Year 13 Reed, 8 Deer also takes the one other step necessary to consolidate his position as 12 Movement's heir: he marries ♀ 13 Snake. She is now the only surviving grandchild descended from 5 Alligator's first marriage. Her parents were 11 Wind and his first wife ♀ 6 Lizard; she is thus not only 12 Movement's niece, but also a close blood relative to 8 Deer, since her mother was his half-sister. At the fall of 'Red and White Bundle' 8 Deer had captured, and later killed, her father, step-mother, and two brothers. ♀ 13 Snake herself was already married and had a son, but this does not prevent 8 Deer from marrying her (Bodley 10-11-I; Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' 1902: 26-I; Vindobonensis Reverse 7-8-I).

By marrying ♀ 13 Snake, 8 Deer unites his own line of descent from 5 Alligator's second marriage, with the main legitimate line descended from 5 Alligator's first marriage. This would enable their children to claim a right to rule the area once held by 5 Alligator, as well as the larger region over which 8 Deer had gained control, a matter of importance if 8 Deer hopes to create an 'empire' and to found a dynasty to rule it.

Although 8 Deer is 40 years of age when he marries ♀ 13 Snake, their first child -- a son named 4 Dog -- is not born until 8 Deer is 47 years old. A daughter ♀ 10 Flower is born the following year; she will later become the wife of 4 Wind after he has killed 8 Deer. A second son, born the next year when 8 Deer is 49 years of age, will marry the daughter of 4 Wind by another of the latter's wives. The births of two additional daughters are not dated; one of these will marry 1 Alligator, younger brother of 4 Wind. (Bodley 11-12-III; Vindobonensis Reverse 7-8-I-II; Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' 1902: 26-III-27-I; Selden 8-IV-9-II.)

8 Deer's first marriage having been to his half-sister's daughter, two years later in the Year 2 House, when he is 42 years old and his first wife has not yet borne him a son, he takes as his second wife ♀ 6 Eagle, the daughter of his younger sister ♀ 9 Monkey and her husband 8 Alligator (Bodley 12-I; Vindobonensis Reverse 8-II; Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' 1902: 27-I). The Bodley (12-I-II) indicates that ♀ 6 Eagle had been married previously and had a son named 9 Flower.



Caso (1960: 39) has suggested that a man named 9 Flower who is shown dead in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 76a-IV), perhaps killed by 8 Deer, may be her son.

8 Deer has only one child by ♀ 6 Eagle, a son 6 House. According to the Vindobonensis Reverse (8-II-III) and Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' (1902: 27-I-II), this boy is born in the Year 9 Flint when 8 Deer is 49 years old. The Bodley (12-II), however, places his birth in the Year 6 House when 8 Deer is only 46 years of age, which would mean he was 8 Deer's first son. Additionally, the Bodley (12-11-II) also records two scenes concerning this child: one in which 6 House is shown at birth being met by ♀ 1 Grass, 9 Rabbit, and 4 Water; and a second in which ♀ 1 Grass faces 6 House, who is sheltered within a bent hill. 9 Rabbit is shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 67-I) as being from a locality whose sign contains part of a human skull. ♀ 6 Eagle's parents are rulers of the place 'Skull' (Bodley 7-8-V, 12-I), and if this is also 9 Rabbit's home, it may be possible that he is a relative of her father.

8 Deer's third wife is ♀ 10 Buzzard (Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' 1902: 27-I; Vindobonensis Reverse 9-III), whom he also marries in the Year 2 House when he is 42 years of age (Bodley 12-III-IV). A son and a daughter are born of this marriage; the latter will become one of 4 Wind's wives.

In addition, the Bodley (12-IV) shows a scene of ♀ 10 Buzzard feeding an object, perhaps a heart, to a snake. The calendar and personal

names of 9 Flower, 8 Deer's younger brother, are attached to this reptile. 9 Flower is not depicted in any of the extant codices as having married, nor is ♀ 10 Buzzard pictured in this Bodley scene as his wife, but some such relationship, either actual or perhaps postulated for the future, would seem implied. The scene would also indicate that 9 Flower has now died, although he would have been only 38 years old in this Year 2 House.

Another of 8 Deer's wives, ♀ 11 Snake, for whom no marriage date is given, is shown in the Bodley (11-12-IV-V) and Vindobonensis Reverse (8-III) as the mother of two of his children. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' (1902: 27-I-II), however, these appear to be ♀ 6 Eagle's children.

8 Deer's final wife is ♀ 6 Wind (Bodley 13-14-V; Vindobonensis Reverse 9-III; Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' 1902: 27-I). The marriage is not dated, and no children are shown for it.

With the apparent death of 9 Flower, 8 Deer has been left with almost no immediate kin other than his own descendants. All the family of his father's first marriage is now dead; his older maternal half-brother 8 Flower has also died. After 9 Flower's death, of 8 Deer's own family there would remain only his sister ♀ 9 Monkey, now the wife of 8 Alligator of 'Skull', and another sister. The pictorial sources cited above indicate that 8 Deer married at least five women, and had children by four of these marriages.

Becker 13-I-III. A damaged sign for the Year -- House is shown, accompanied by the date of the Day 4 Flint. This is the Year 10 House, and 8 Deer is now 50 years old.

A man whose calendar name contains at least eight circles, is shown wearing a jaguar-skin battle-jacket and brandishing a spear. His jaguar helmet has been retouched at its front, as have his up-raised foot and an apparent ornament below his back arm; the colour of many of the feathers on his spear and shield can be seen in the original manuscript also to have been retouched. He faces a series of eight place signs, in some of which a conquest arrow is visible.

The first site, which would have been conquered on the Day 4 Flint that accompanies the year sign, is depicted as a hill with a blue top, crossed by a fretted base from which a plant is growing.

The second place is conquered on the Day 6 Rain, and consists of a fretted base across a hill whose top is deeply scalloped. Above the summit there are now rows of dots, but even an examination of the original codex under ultra-violet does not reveal whether these were a part of the original design or are a later retouching.

The third sign does not now show any conquest arrow; it may merely have been visited, or the arrow might have been erased. The site is depicted as a thin hill whose top is slightly curled over; beside a fretted base across it are three round curled balls, perhaps representing down. A damaged day date appears to be the Day 9 Wind, which falls in the same trecena with the date of the second conquest.

The fourth locality lacks any visible day date or conquest arrow, but there are erasures and evidence of retouching on both sides of the drawing. The sign is a hill from the top of which project a number of red and white spikes, while within the hill there is a spiral of red. Red and white spikes have occurred before in place signs in the Colombino-Becker, most notably in conjunction with 'bound bundles', although also with other elements, but none of these can be equated with the present sign.

For the fifth site there is now no evidence of either a day or a conquest arrow, but both sides of the drawing have been retouched, and all around it the white background paint has been abraded by erasures. The hill itself is divided into halves of different colours, with the summit area now being white with a black design.

The sixth sign shows a fretted base and a frontal view of a stairway with decorated balustrades. An erased area at the top of the steps probably indicates that additional elements of the sign have been destroyed. There are no visible traces of either a date or a conquest arrow.

The drawing of the seventh locality is now almost entirely obliterated, and the few traces still extant have been retouched with lines that further obscure the original form. All that is now visible is the lower part of a hill across which there is a narrow, angular red band having paired lobes at its lower side. Neither a day sign nor a conquest arrow remains.

The eighth site, and the final one of the series, is shown as a hill containing a fretted panel and two projecting arrows. These probably form a part of the name of this locality, rather than indicating its conquest. No day date is visible, but there are erased zones on both sides of the hill.

8 Deer conquers at least the first two places in this sequence, but the other six may perhaps be only visited. Since the text of the Colombino-Becker is no longer focused primarily upon his exploits, it is possible that these place signs represent only the most important parts of a longer series of events in which he engaged.

Becker 13-14-III. The next scene extends across an outside fold. It begins with the depiction of a building containing two red and white flint knives, the sign for the place 'Flint'. In the original manuscript it is possible to see that the black lines in the doorway and along the bottom of the building are a later addition, being drawn in an area where water damage has completely washed off the original paint.

In front of this building a man is shown; the lower part of his body has been destroyed, but he appears to be seated. His helmet is a relatively well preserved example of a snake with feathers, although retouched across its top. He holds up one hand, palm outward, to the three men who face him. Traces of lines and red stains indicate that names or objects may have been shown in front of him.

The first man facing him is 10 --. A close examination of the original manuscript shows that at least the top of the object below the circles of his name is yellow. All that now remains of his figure are his head, which seems to have an unusual amount of dark hair, and one hand, with which he points back to the man behind him.

The second man is 5 Flint, whose personal name is depicted as an arm grasping a flint knife. He has not previously appeared in the Colombino-Becker. The third man is 5 --; the remainder of his name, painted behind him, is now erased.

The helmet worn by the man seated in front of the place sign is the principal clue to his identity. Elsewhere I have demonstrated (Troike n.d.a: parts II-IV) that there are two forms of feathered snake helmet in the Colombino-Becker, a simple form with an ordinary snake head, and a more intricate form with the head of a 'fire-serpent'. The two designs are alike except in the nose area of the snake, where the 'fire-serpent' is characterised by a spiral from which a flint knife complex projects. The simple feathered snake helmet is worn in the codex by 4 Jaguar, while the feathered 'fire-serpent' form is associated with 4 Wind.

The destruction of the nose area of the snake helmet has in many instances made it impossible to distinguish between the two designs, as is true in the present scene. However, the man wearing this headdress shows none of the traits of clothing or facial paint

that are typical of 4 Jaguar's other appearances in the Colombino-Becker, which would indicate that he is not the person depicted here. The probability is therefore that the man shown in front of 'Flint' is 4 Wind.

This is the first time that the place 'Flint' has appeared in the extant Colombino-Becker since its original depiction in the scene of 8 Deer, 4 Jaguar, and 12 Movement before the Sun God (Becker 4). In the Codex Bodley (11-III, 11-IV, 12-III, 29-III, 30-III, 31-III), however, this site is consistently connected with 4 Wind and his later descendants. This association strengthens the probability that the person shown here is 4 Wind.

In this Year 10 House, 4 Wind is now 21 years old. Twelve years have elapsed since the Year 11 House when 8 Deer conquered his home, 'Red and White Bundle', and killed his parents. The young 4 Wind escaped at that time and apparently secured aid from the deities of 9 Grass and 7 Flower (Bodley 34-33-IV). Four years later, in the Year 2 House when he had become 13 years of age, the Bodley (33-34-IV) shows that he met the Sun God 1 Death on the latter's name-day. On the following Day 2 Deer, 4 Wind is depicted seated upon a long base containing a 'fire-serpent', apparently meeting 5 Flower and 5 Buzzard, who wear the black facial paint of 4 Jaguar's associates.

These latter two Bodley scenes seem to indicate that the Sun God aided 4 Wind to become ruler of the place 'Fire-Serpent' while

he was still only 13 years old. However, this same codex (Bodley 31-III), which records 4 Wind's life in extensive detail, does not depict him as ruler of 'Flint' until the Year 4 Flint when he is 28 years of age. Thus in the Year 10 House of the present Becker scene, the 21-year-old 4 Wind is probably not yet in control of the site of 'Flint' at which his meeting with the other three men takes place.

Of the three men pictured meeting with 4 Wind, the first can be identified from later events as 10 Jaguar. 5 Flint, the second man, would seem to be the most important person of the three, for it is to him that 10 Jaguar is pointing.

Becker 14-III-Colombino 16-III. This scene is now divided between two fragments of the Colombino-Becker, being found in the lower bands of the final page of Becker Fragment 2, and Colombino Fragment II. It begins, on Becker 14-III, with the sign for the Year -- Reed, and an associated day date consisting of at least five circles and the name House.

On Colombino 16-III, a procession of three men is shown, each of them carrying a bow and arrow. For the man at the left, who wears a jaguar helmet, no traces remain of his names, which were probably behind him in a zone now totally erased. The middle man wears a damaged feathered 'fire-serpent' helmet, the flint knife complex at the animal's nose still remaining. Behind him there are fragments of red paint from his name; immediately above these, two



yellow circles can be seen in the original manuscript (not visible in the 1966 Colombino reproduction), with two more circles below the red paint. Leading the group is 5 Flint, who can be seen in the original manuscript probably to be holding the dart which projects behind him.

In front of these three men is a place sign of which only a few elements now remain. Still visible are a cluster of knotted reeds or feathers, and a set of bound volutes, all resting on a few fragments of what may be a feather mat. Of the place sign itself there remain only two leaves and a few short, disarticulated lower lines, suggesting that the sign may have contained the drawing of a tree or plant.

The date of this event would be the Year 12 Reed, in which 8 Deer reaches the symbolic age of 52 years. The three men appear to be going to the site represented by the destroyed place sign. 5 Flint, who leads the group, had been depicted in the immediately preceding scene meeting 4 Wind. 4 Wind is himself the middle man of the group, wearing his typical feathered 'fire-serpent' helmet. The last man wears a jaguar helmet, suggesting that he might be 8 Deer, but his figure is now so badly damaged that it is not possible to see the other accoutrements that would enable a more positive identification to be made.

Colombino 16-II. For a proper understanding of the history of the Mixteca, this scene is the most crucial in the entire Codex

Colombino-Becker, and one of the most important in any of the surviving Mixtec manuscripts.

A large L-shaped base is shown, divided into halves coloured yellow and red. In the yellow part of this base there is a semi-circular opening from which climbs a man whose body is painted blue. In his right hand he holds a sacrificial knife with which he has cut open the chest of a man above him, and in his left hand he holds the heart taken from that victim.

The man who is being killed lies face down, his arms and legs bent above him. Most of his animal helmet has been erased, although a vertical tooth at the end of the lower jaw still survives, and in the original manuscript traces of yellow paint can be seen in the upper part of the helmet. Above him is an arched design painted with sets of parallel red lines placed in the same pattern that is usually used for 'stone'.

In the vertical end of the red and yellow base, an examination of the original manuscript reveals the drawing of a semi-circular opening framed by a wrinkled red band above which are a pair of angular lines somewhat suggestive of a human arm or leg; within this opening there are a few fragments of blue paint. Not enough now remains to allow any identification of the object depicted, nor has it been possible to determine if the parallel lines are a part of the original design or a later addition. The date of a day named House, with a number consisting of at least ten circles, is also shown.

Two men stand to the left of this death scene, looking on. The first of these wears a well-preserved example of the 'fire-serpent' headdress. In his right hand he holds two darts, and in his upraised left hand he grasps the curved blue handle of a round object whose centre design has been entirely obliterated.

The second man is 10 --; in the original manuscript it can be seen that the ten circles behind him are connected to his back foot. In his right hand he has a bow and arrow, and in his upraised left hand he holds a curved weapon. Although his head area has been partially erased, he appears to be shown with an unusual hair arrangement.

No temple or altar is shown in this scene, nor is the victim thrown over the sacrificial stone normally used in cutting out hearts. His death therefore cannot accurately be described as a sacrifice.

Of the four men in the scene, only 10 -- still retains any part of his calendar name. It and his unusual hair form allow him to be recognised as 10 Jaguar. The name of the man wielding the knife may have originally been given in the text and subsequently erased, since a large destroyed area extends to the right from the heart he holds.

But for the other two men -- the victim and the first man looking on -- there are now no traces of names. Moreover, a close study of the original manuscript shows there are no suitable erased zones near

either man in which his name might have been recorded. The area near the face of the victim was occupied by his destroyed helmet, and the remainder of his body is completely enclosed by the design elements of the scene. There are no erased areas near the first watching man except for a small zone behind his forward leg and another where the snake of his helmet has been obliterated.

The painter of this part of the Colombino-Becker has therefore chosen to leave these two men without names. Both, however are characterised by animal-head helmets. For the watching man, a large part of the original form of his 'fire-serpent' helmet has survived. For the victim, the vertical tooth and the traces of yellow paint indicate that he was wearing a jaguar helmet. On the basis of these helmet forms I have already suggested (Troike n.d.a.: part V) that the watching man is 4 Wind and the victim is 8 Deer.

This event would thus depict 8 Deer being killed while 4 Wind and 10 Jaguar watch.

Summary: Becker 13-I-III/Colombino 16-II. In order to understand how this murder has come about, it is necessary to consider the death of 8 Deer within the context of several scenes which have preceded it in the Colombino-Becker, and then to examine the only other cognate account of this event.

Only two events are shown for the Year 10 House in the Becker, when 8 Deer is already 50 years old and 4 Wind is 21 years of age. The first is a series of apparent conquests and visits carried out

by 8 Deer. Immediately following this sequence, 4 Wind is shown meeting 10 Jaguar, 5 Flint, and 5 -- at 'Flint', the implication being that this meeting in some way results from 8 Deer's activities. It is at this meeting that 10 Jaguar points to 5 Flint as though indicating him for a particular task. In the next scene, which occurs two years later, in the Year 12 Reed, 5 Flint is shown carrying out his role: leading 4 Wind and another man towards a site whose sign is now almost totally obliterated. This second man might be 8 Deer, but his figure is too badly damaged for a secure identification. 4 Wind and 10 Jaguar then watch while 8 Deer is killed.

The context of these scenes in the Colombino-Becker leaves no doubt that it is 4 Wind who is responsible for planning, organising, and having the murder of 8 Deer carried out. The Vindabonensis Reverse (9-II) merely records the date of 8 Deer's death as the Day 1 Grass of the Year 12 Reed, without showing any of the circumstances surrounding it. The Bodley (14-V-IV), however, depicts not only 8 Deer's death, but also certain events preceding and following it, and this information is considerably different from that given in the Colombino-Becker.

The first of these Bodley (14-V) scenes shows the signs for the Year 12 Reed and the Day 1 Grass. 8 Deer is pictured with a bow and arrow, standing on a path leading to a place sign composed of a U-shaped base of water and a tree on which a parrot is perched; the calendar and personal names of q 6 Eagle, his second wife, are attached to this bird.

8 Deer is then shown (Bodley 14-V-IV) lying across a sacrificial stone while a man named 9 Wind cuts open his chest. Standing by and watching is 10 Jaguar, whose personal name is indicated by his twisted hair and a small tree on his back. The complex sign for the place at which this occurs is composed of a fretted base, a long feather mat with two plants and several sets of wavy vertical lines, and a hill with an arm sustaining a short vertical fretted panel and a frame to which sticks are tied.

The final Bodley (14-IV) event of this series repeats the Year 12 Reed, and shows the Day 12 House. 8 Deer's death bundle is depicted within a rectangular enclosure framed along its lower part by L-shaped projections. 8 Alligator faces this enclosure, seated on the sign for the place 'Skull' which he rules. He is simultaneously 8 Deer's brother-in-law, as the husband of his sister ♀ 9 Monkey, and his father-in-law, as the father of his second wife ♀ 6 Eagle.

The Bodley text thus connects ♀ 6 Eagle in an ambiguous manner with the event preceding 8 Deer's death, but makes no mention of 4 Wind. Caso (1960: 41) has suggested that 8 Deer was captured and sacrificed while attacking the locality from which ♀ 6 Eagle had come. This cannot be true, however, because her home would have been 'Skull', the site ruled by her father 8 Alligator. Nor does the place controlled by her first husband resemble this Bodley sign, since the former is characterised by 'stone eyes'.

The hypothesis I would propose is that this first Bodley scene may not mean that ♀ 6 Eagle is connected with the place to which 8 Deer is going, but rather that she is responsible for informing his enemies of his plans to go there. Such an interpretation does not contradict the data given in the Becker, where 4 Wind is clearly shown planning 8 Deer's murder. To do this, he would have needed information concerning 8 Deer's plans, and this might have been furnished to him by ♀ 6 Eagle.

♀ 6 Eagle and 4 Wind would each have had very different reasons for desiring 8 Deer's death, and the advantages each would hope to secure from it would also be quite different. Matters are brought to a crisis at this particular time, however, because in this Year 12 Reed, 8 Deer is reaching the symbolic age of 52 years. It has been 18 years since he became co-ruler of Tilantongo with 12 Movement, 14 years since he conquered 'Red and White Bundle' and killed 4 Wind's parents, and 12 years since he was confirmed as the undisputed ruler of Tilantongo, his most important and final major political accomplishment. In the interval since that latter ceremony, 8 Deer has married several women and sired a number of children.

Among these wives, ♀ 6 Eagle's position is only that of the second wife. The Bodley shows that she bears his first son, a boy named 6 House born when 8 Deer was 46 years of age. This is contradicted by the Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' and Vindobonensis Reverse, which both concur that this child was not born until 8 Deer was 49

years old, and both indicate that his first son is 4 Dog, who is born of the first wife ♀ 13 Snake when 8 Deer is 47 years of age. However, the Bodley (12-11-II) additionally depicts two ceremonies involving 6 House, one of which includes a man named 9 Rabbit who may be from 'Skull', the home of ♀ 6 Wind's parents. No such rites are shown in any manuscript for 8 Deer's other children.

As long as 8 Deer was alive, ♀ 6 Eagle would be merely one of his wives and the mother of one of his sons. If he were dead, however, she might find herself in a quite different and much more important position, with her baby son inheriting part of the area ruled by 8 Deer and she herself perhaps acting as regent for the child. She may also have had another reason for desiring 8 Deer's death, for Caso (1960: 39) has suggested that he may have been responsible for the death of the son which she had by her first husband. If so, then ♀ 6 Eagle might have been motivated by the dual purposes of seeking revenge for her dead son as well as the hope of creating a power base for her young son 6 House, in conspiring with 4 Wind to bring about 8 Deer's death.

Many years earlier, when 8 Deer's older half-brother 12 Movement had attained the age of 52 years, the latter had in part celebrated the occasion by allowing 8 Deer to become his co-ruler, as a step in the ultimate transfer of power from one man to the other. Now that 8 Deer is himself reaching that symbolic age, however, he seems to have had no intention of stepping aside or sharing his



power. Indeed, there is now no adult male in his family who might become his associate or assistant. Not having made his first marriage until he was already 40 years old, and the children of it and his subsequent marriages not being born until some time later, all his own sons are still quite small.

8 Deer has apparently not yet formally acknowledged one of these sons as his heir, but the celebration of his fifty-second anniversary might be an appropriate time for this to be done. The son selected would doubtless have been 4 Dog, the first child of his first wife ♀ 13 Snake. In marrying ♀ 13 Snake, 8 Deer had joined his own line to that descended from 5 Alligator's first marriage, which would thus legitimise the position of their children as rulers. 4 Dog's outstanding family background, in which he could claim descent through both of 5 Alligator's two marriages, would make him the logical heir to the potential 'empire' 8 Deer had created. By acknowledging him as his heir, 8 Deer would not only clarify the problem of inheritance among his sons, but also make clear that he was founding a dynasty to rule over the area now under his control.

However, under the normal rules of primogeniture, a man's first son was his heir, and according to the Codex Bodley 6 House was 8 Deer's first son, not 4 Dog. But 6 House could not claim descent from 5 Alligator's first marriage, for his mother ♀ 6 Eagle was the child of 8 Deer's sister and so shared with 8 Deer a common descent from 5 Alligator's second marriage. Such a child therefore would

not have been a suitable heir for 8 Deer's 'empire', since his descent lacked the legitimising and unifying connexion with 5 Alligator's first marriage that could only be attained by the son of ♀ 13 Snake.

The two ceremonies held for 6 House soon after his birth may have been an attempt by ♀ 6 Eagle to ensure her son's rights as the first-born. However, it seems possible that 8 Deer resolved the problem of his unwanted first son by having 6 House's birth date changed from the Year 6 House to the Year 9 Flint. 4 Dog's birth in the Year 7 Rabbit would then allow him to be considered the first son and proper heir, while 6 House would probably be relegated to a minor position. It may have been in order to forestall this situation that ♀ 6 Eagle was willing to join with 4 Wind in plotting to murder 8 Deer.

By killing 8 Deer at this time, while all his children were still small and perhaps before any formal or public decisions had been made regarding the inheritances of the individual sons, 4 Wind may have intended to bring about the political fragmentation of the sizeable region over which 8 Deer ruled. Without a strong adult male to take control of the zone, and with ♀ 6 Eagle claiming part of the territory for 6 House, 4 Wind might have foreseen that the area would be partitioned among several of 8 Deer's sons. Such a division, and the contentions it would arouse among the claimants, would effectively put an end to any possibility that power might

become centralised in one man's hands, and ensure that the region reverted from a potential 'empire' to a number of discrete political units.

In murdering 8 Deer, 4 Wind would therefore not only have retaliated for the deaths of his mother and father and two half-brothers, but would also have compounded his revenge by destroying the hopes 8 Deer might have had of founding a dynasty that would control a large portion of the Mixteca. It is notable, however, that 4 Wind does not attempt to kill 8 Deer's sons and so cut off all succession from his enemy. In part this may be because his own position would not allow this, one of those sons being that of his ally ♀ 6 Eagle, and his half-sister ♀ 13 Snake being the mother of another. In addition, 4 Wind intended to legitimise his actions by marrying into 8 Deer's line, much as 8 Deer had done in regard to the line descended from 5 Alligator's first marriage.

4 Wind has been physically capable of taking action against 8 Deer for many years before he actually does so. Since he was only nine years of age at the time 8 Deer conquered 'Red and White Bundle', it is understandable that no immediate retaliation could have been possible for him. However, when he is 13 years old, he becomes ruler of the place 'Fire-Serpent', which would seem to indicate that he had reached political maturity. But not until he is 21 years old and 8 Deer already reaching the age of 50 years, does 4 Wind begin planning 8 Deer's death. The symbolism of killing 8 Deer when

he had reached his fifty-second year seems for 4 Wind to have outweighed all other considerations. 8 Deer himself may well have planned to celebrate his achievement of this important age with appropriate ceremonies, but whatever his plans might have been, they surely would not have encompassed his own death.

10 Jaguar must be a trusted friend or lieutenant of 4 Wind's, for he is depicted in both the Colombino-Becker and Bodley during the events surrounding 8 Deer's death. 5 Flint is pictured only in the Colombino-Becker, but he is a key person in 4 Wind's plans, and 10 Jaguar seems to have been instrumental in bringing the two men together. Since 5 Flint is later shown leading 4 Wind and another man, his services may have been needed as a guide. This could imply that the place where 8 Deer was killed was not well known nor of easy access.

Additionally, the appearance of the bow and arrow during these events may provide another clue to the persons or place involved. The bow is not the normal weapon shown for the Mixtecs in the codices, and in the extant Colombino-Becker it has appeared only once before: when 8 Deer and his companions were crossing the turbulent water at the beginning of their journey to the Sun God (Colombino 22). This infrequent depiction of the weapon could mean that it was usually associated with a certain area or a particular group of people, and that its appearance in a pictorial manuscript was considered sufficient to identify that region or group. Since the bow is not the

characteristic Mixtec weapon, the area or people indicated by such use might not be Mixtec. If so, the appearance of this weapon during the circumstances of 8 Deer's death, suggests that perhaps 4 Wind had secured the assistance or co-operation of at least some non-Mixtec individuals in his plans to kill 8 Deer.

In the Bodley, a complex place sign indicates the locality at which 8 Deer's murder occurs. This site may be represented by two separate signs in the Colombino, for the place towards which 5 Flint leads his companions (Colombino 16-III) appears to contain the element of a plant with leaves, while possibly a human arm element may be given with the scene of 8 Deer's actual death (Colombino 16-II). The first Colombino site might represent the general location of the event, while the second served as a more precise indication of where the murder was committed.

Both the Colombino-Becker and Bodley texts omit any report of how 4 Wind managed to capture 8 Deer. The entire Bodley account of this murder is clearly intended to protect 4 Wind from any complicity in the event, for no hint is given that he was in any way involved. The Bodley artist may therefore of necessity had to restrict his scenes in order to avoid implicating 4 Wind. It might be possible that 4 Wind never revealed the circumstances surrounding the capture, but since the names of the men who aided him are known, as well as the site where the murder took place, additional information should have been available. He might also have made use of a ruse or trick

which would not have reflected well on him if it became known, and which he therefore attempted to keep secret.

In the Colombino-Becker there is no reticence to show 4 Wind as the instigator and perpetrator of 8 Deer's murder, but even so, only such scenes are depicted as are essential to convey the facts of the death. This is because the primary purpose of this codex is to illustrate 8 Deer's rise to power, which was completed when he was 40 years of age (Becker 12). After he had achieved his goals, the remainder of the manuscript is given over to indicating, in only summary form, the political history of 4 Wind as it developed from his murder of 8 Deer. As a result, the Colombino-Becker does not depict the funeral rites for 8 Deer, since these are not relevant to the story of 4 Wind.

8 Deer's mummy bundle is shown in the Bodley inside an enclosure, although no specific place sign appears to be given for it. 8 Alligator is pictured beside this enclosure, seated on the sign for the locality he rules, 'Skull'. While this might imply that 8 Deer's remains were buried at 'Skull', it seems more probable that 8 Alligator is merely carrying out the necessary funeral rites. At this time he is 8 Deer's closest living adult male relative, since 8 Deer's own sons are all small children and perhaps too young to perform the appropriate ceremonies. Although 8 Alligator is not a blood kinsman to 8 Deer, he is both his brother-in-law and father-in-law. In this latter aspect he is the father of q 6 Eagle, and

it is possible he knew of his daughter's involvement in the plot to kill 8 Deer, or even assisted her. His grandson 6 House would be one of the major beneficiaries of 8 Deer's death, while his daughter might have become her son's regent, thereby furnishing 8 Alligator with close family ties to the controlling government of a portion of 8 Deer's former 'empire' which he would otherwise lack.

At the scene of 8 Deer's death in the Colombino, 4 Wind is shown holding a round object with a curved blue handle. Its centre design is now destroyed, which makes its identification uncertain, but it resembles a circular object depicted in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 76a-IV) with the dead body of a man who may have been ♀ 6 Eagle's son by her first marriage (Caso 1960: 39). The interior of this latter object is divided to suggest 'stone', and has a central star-eye.

In the Bodley scenes of the events surrounding 8 Deer's death, he and all the other individuals involved are identified by at least their calendar names. This also appears to be true in the Colombino-Becker except for the depiction of his actual murder. In that one scene, both he and 4 Wind lack names, although each is shown wearing his typical helmet. This follows a pattern which has been apparent in prior Colombino-Becker events, of omitting the names of the more important persons when they are pictured in very significant events.

There appears to be a serious discrepancy between the Colombino-Becker and the Bodley concerning the date of 8 Deer's death. The

latter manuscript clearly shows that the event preceding his death, as well as his actual killing, both occurred on the Day 1 Grass. The Colombino-Becker depicts, for each of these two events, a damaged date whose day name is House. For the Day 12 House, the Bodley pictures 8 Deer's mummy bundle probably within a tomb. The Vindobonensis Reverse (9-II) gives the Day 1 Grass as the date of the death. The Days 1 Grass and 12 House fall in the same trecena, but 11 days apart. The Colombino-Becker thus records that 8 Deer's murder is taking place at a time when the Bodley shows he is already in his tomb. These differences in such an important matter seem to indicate considerable confusion regarding the actual date of his death. This might be partially explained, however, if the murder was planned and carried out with great secrecy, as it quite probably was. It is also possible that 8 Deer's body was hidden and not recovered until some time after his murder, thus further obscuring the actual time of his death.

It should not be surprising that many of the circumstances surrounding 8 Deer's murder remained obscure even at the time of their original occurrence. 4 Wind's reasons for desiring revenge, and his symbolism of killing 8 Deer when the latter was 52 years old, should have been well understood, however. The account given in the Bodley deliberately attempts to conceal 4 Wind's role in the murder, but his involvement is made abundantly clear in the Colombino-Becker. Were it not for the history recorded in this latter codex,



the full meaning of such an event as the later appearance of 10 Jaguar in a procession honouring 4 Wind (Bodley 32-II-III), could not be properly appreciated.

Colombino 16-II-Becker 14-II. The events of the Colombino-Becker continue without interruption following the murder of 8 Deer. The next scene is painted across the inside fold shared between Becker 14 and Colombino 16.

Visible in the original Colombino manuscript is the body of a barefooted man who is facing left and leaning forward. His name, 4 Wind, is drawn above him as two pairs of circles and a red Wind sign with a yellow eye (not visible in the 1966 Colombino reproduction). No day date can now be seen, and it seems possible that none was given.

The building which 4 Wind faces is drawn on Becker 14-II. Within it can be seen the large round bag, and behind it is the sign for 'Bound Bundle', representing the name of this site. Some 0.4 centimetres of the right side of this building is now concealed in the artificial joint that unites Becker Skin No. 6 with Skin A (Troike 1969a: 179), and all that is visible on this hidden portion of the original manuscript is a blurred red area, probably representing a fret in the base supporting the building.

Because much of 4 Wind's figure is almost entirely destroyed, it is very difficult to determine what he is doing in front of the 'Bound Bundle' building. His arm is shown in a position similar to

that assumed by 10 Wind much earlier in the Colombino (10-III) when drawing blood from his ear. If this is what 4 Wind is doing in the present scene, he might simply be performing a ceremony of ritual purification to cleanse himself from his association with a human death. However, there are two elements in this scene which may indicate that it is not a simple expiation of guilt: the appearance of the round bag, and the fact that the event occurs at 'Bound Bundle'.

The site of 'Bound Bundle' apparently passed under 8 Deer's control, and it was there that he sacrificed 4 Wind's two half-brothers and perhaps later held the final culminating political ceremony shown for him in the Colombino-Becker. This locality seems to have been an important site in its own right, and in addition for 4 Wind it would probably also have great personal symbolism.

The round bag forms a crucial element in the ceremony that is held when the new ruler of a place is not the first son of the previous ruler. As discussed earlier, the essential factors in the ritual are normally shown as the offering of vegetation and a smoking incensario in front of a building containing the round bag. However, an example of a ceremony is found in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' (1902: 25-III) which involves the drawing of blood from the ear while standing in front of a building containing this round bag. This latter may be a variation on the incensario rite, or it may be an alternate or additional ceremony connected with that ritual, or it could be a completely different but important symbolic activity.

It is therefore possible that in the present Colombino-Becker scene, 4 Wind is attempting to establish a claim to 'Bound Bundle' after killing its presumed ruler, 8 Deer. If so, he does not succeed in this assertion, for he is not depicted in any known Mixtec manuscript as the ruler of this site. It might also be possible that the ceremony is intended only as a symbolic gesture, performed without the intention of actually attempting to gain control of this locality.

The event appears to have been left without a day date. If so, the normal implication would be that it occurred on the same Day 12 House as the preceding event, the murder of 8 Deer. However, 4 Wind would have been able to accomplish this only if the place where 8 Deer was killed was near 'Bound Bundle'. Alternatively, this scene might lack a day date merely because the artists of the Colombino-Becker did not know when it took place.

Becker 14-II. The place sign shown consists of a hill, of which half is coloured blue and the other half is the golden-brown that indicates a faded green. The blue part of the hill rises to a peak, on top of which there remains part of an object with feathers; its front side has been totally obliterated, and later retouching lines have closed off the remaining design so as to obscure its original appearance. Above the other half of the hill a chair is depicted.

Beside this place sign, but not connected to it, is a building within which is shown only the back of a chair. Seated on the fretted base that supports this building is a man named 4 --, wearing tripartite face paint and an absurdly retouched helmet that originally represented a snake with feathers. Seated on a legless chair facing him is a woman; at least three circles of her calendar name are attached to the back of her chair. Her headdress consists of a container which has a cluster of feathers at the rear and a flow of blood at the front. No day date is now visible.

The man would be 4 Wind, who typically wears a feathered 'fire-serpent' helmet in the Colombino-Becker. This identification is supported by the flint knife complex shown at the base of the helmet, for such a knife usually also appears in the nose of the 'fire-serpent'. The locality at which the meeting takes place is represented by the sign behind the building on which he is seated. The object on top of the hill contains the elements of a snake with feathers, with long red and white streamers hanging down from its lower body. It represents the site 'Fire-Serpent'; 4 Wind had become ruler of this place ten years earlier, when he was 13 years old (Bodley 33-34-IV).

Caso (1966: 42) and Nowotny (1961: 14) consider that the woman in this scene is q 6 Wind 'Bleeding Feathers', pictured in the Bodley (13-14-V), Vindobonensis Reverse (9-III), and Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' (1902: 27-III-28-I) as one of 8 Deer's wives. The marriage of 8 Deer

and q 6 Wind did not result in any children and is not dated in any surviving text. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' (1902: 27-III-28-I) shows that q 6 Wind is also the wife of a man named 5 Dog, whom she marries in a Year 9 House, and that they are the parents of a daughter q 4 Death who will marry 4 Dog, 8 Deer's first son by his first wife. Caso (1966: 42) has interpreted this as indicating that q 6 Wind was already the widow of 5 Dog when she married 8 Deer. If so, the Year 9 House of her marriage to 5 Dog would have had to occur 42 years before her present meeting with 4 Wind, and 37 years before 8 Deer's son 4 Dog was even born. This would result in a severe age discrepancy between q 4 Death and 4 Dog.

Instead, I would suggest that q 6 Wind did not marry 5 Dog until after she had been widowed by 8 Deer's death. Her marriage to 8 Deer probably took place during the same time span as his other marriages -- that is, when he was between the ages of 40 and 52 years. The Bodley (11-12) records considerable background information for the other four of 8 Deer's wives, including their prior husbands and children, but for q 6 Wind it shows only the locality she is from. Had she already been married to 5 Dog and become the mother of q 4 Death, probably this would also have been depicted. Since she is the only one of 8 Deer's acknowledged wives by whom he has no children, it seems possible that their marriage might have occurred only a short time before he was killed. I would therefore suggest that q 6 Wind's marriage to 5 Dog will not take place until the Year 9 House that falls ten years after 8 Deer's death.

The present Becker meeting between 4 Wind and ♀ 6 Wind thus is held after she has become one of 8 Deer's widows, but before she has contracted her second marriage. None of the extant Mixtec manuscripts links her with 8 Deer's death, so the event apparently does not represent a meeting of co-conspirators. Since ♀ 6 Wind had not had children by 8 Deer, she would not have stood to profit by his death through the division of his holdings among his sons, as would his other wives. As a result, she would have had no reason to desire his death, which may have deprived her of the benefits she had hoped to attain by marrying him.

Becker 14-I. The next scene has been partially destroyed. At the left a seated man is shown; an examination of the original manuscript reveals that what appear to be his eye and headdress are only the result of retouching. He faces another seated man who wears a backwards red cape decorated with two circles, and a facial mask of black paint.

Behind this latter man a partly erased place sign depicts a building supported by a fretted base; in the doorway of the building a cape hangs by its two corners. The building and its base rest upon a U-shaped object which is coloured like a snake and decorated along its lower edge with the J-shaped teeth that characterise snakes in the Colombino-Becker (Troike m.d.a: part I). This snake design has been badly damaged, but at one end it still retains faint traces of what may be feathers, while at the other end there is a remnant of a cattail plant.

There are no surviving traces of the names of either man, nor of the day date. The backwards cloak and facial paint of the man in front of the place sign, however, show him to be 4 Jaguar. The sign for the locality he rules has appeared earlier (Becker 4) as one of the three buildings depicted in the final scene of the visit he made with 8 Deer to the Sun God. Smith (1973: 72, 74) has identified it as Tulancingo of Coixtlahuaca. The present scene is the first time this site has been directly associated with an individual. The man who is visiting 4 Jaguar at Tulancingo of Coixtlahuaca in this Year 12 Reed, cannot now be identified. He may perhaps be carrying the news of 8 Deer's death to 4 Jaguar.

Summary: Colombino 16-II-Becker 14-II/Becker 14-I. These three scenes are actually a direct continuation of the events leading to 8 Deer's murder. No day dates have survived for any of them, however, and it is therefore not possible to determine whether they followed soon after his death, or later in that same Year 12 Reed.

In the first scene, 4 Wind is shown performing a ceremony at the important site of 'Bound Bundle'. It may be possible that the rite he is carrying out is the one used to inaugurate a new line of rulers, but his figure has been so badly damaged that it is now impossible to confirm such an hypothesis. 4 Wind apparently never becomes ruler of 'Bound Bundle', and the ceremony could perhaps have only been a symbolic gesture on his part. Although there is no visible day date, it seems probable that he would have performed this rite soon after killing 8 Deer.

There must obviously be a lapse of time between this event and the second scene, however, for in the latter 4 Wind has returned to the site of 'Fire-Serpent', which he has ruled for the past ten years. He meets there with q 6 Wind, one of 8 Deer's wives, but the purpose of their meeting is not now known. As previously mentioned, q 6 Wind's second marriage, to 5 Dog, lies ten years in the future, so she is probably still a young woman at this time, and 4 Wind himself is only 23 years old. She might have been proposing a marriage alliance between them, perhaps pointing out that 8 Deer's daughters are now all very young and that consequently 4 Wind would not be able to marry one of them for some years, whereas her own position as 8 Deer's widow could provide him with an immediate, if indirect, connexion to 8 Deer's line. If so, 4 Wind apparently rejects her proposition.

The final scene in this sequence, showing an unidentified man meeting 4 Jaguar, might represent the news of 8 Deer's murder being reported to 4 Jaguar. This man does not wear the lower jaw of an animal-head helmet, but there are no other clues to his identity. 4 Jaguar's later attitude towards 4 Wind might depend to some extent upon the nature of the first news he obtains concerning 8 Deer's death: whether it comes from a friend or ally of the conspirators, or from a person connected with 8 Deer.

One of the notable aspects of this sequence of events in the Colombino-Becker is that it does not include any funeral rites for 8



Deer. The Bodley (14-IV) shows his body within its tomb, but the Colombino-Becker does not even depict this. Following the scene of his being killed, neither his body nor any other reference to him occurs again in the manuscript. This seems remarkable, in view of his political life having been of central importance throughout the foregoing pages of the text. It serves to emphasise that in the Colombino-Becker, the interests of the artists were focused entirely upon the growth of his political career, and ceased after his celebration of the attainment of his maximum power in the Year 13 Reed.

Following that important ceremony (Becker 12), only those events are shown in the Colombino-Becker that would make his death comprehensible, and even these scenes do not indicate how 4 Wind captured him. The text then continues directly with events involving 4 Wind, omitting all funeral rites for 8 Deer. However, apart from the inclusion of 4 Wind among the members of 11 Wind's family who had been captured earlier at the fall of 'Red and White Bundle' (Becker 10-11-III), no other information about him has been given in the Colombino-Becker until he begins to plan 8 Deer's murder (Becker 13-14-III). The omission of his activities during all the intervening years demonstrates clearly that 4 Wind's life is of no interest to the Colombino-Becker painters until he kills 8 Deer.

Following 8 Deer's murder and the ensuing events of the Year 12 Reed, nothing further is recorded in the Colombino-Becker for three years.

Becker 14-I-Colombino 16-I. An exceptionally large year sign is shown, extending the full height of the band, and beside it are two large circles, each containing decorative internal circles. Caso (1966: 44) has pointed out that the codex painters must have wanted to emphasise the importance of this year. No traces of a day date remain.

A procession of four men is depicted, all the figures having been damaged by erasures. At the end of this group can be seen the outline of the almost totally destroyed body of a man. Behind him is a dark area that might be a part of his name, but even an examination of the original manuscript does not clarify what it was intended to represent. Little can be seen of his body, although one arm may be extended straight before him.

In front of him is a man wearing a backwards red cloak decorated with one downy ball. His head is almost entirely erased, but the black paint covering his nose indicates that his face was probably painted with a black mask. His left arm is extended straight in front of him, and in that hand he grasps a vertical spear-staff. His right arm also appears to be extended straight behind him, but it has been almost entirely obliterated. A dark spot behind his back leg might be a remnant of his name.

In front of him there is a vertical flag with a large decorative element at the top of its supporting pole. The man in front of this flag also wears a backwards red cloak decorated with a ball of down.

His head area is now totally obliterated. His left arm is extended straight in front of his body holding a spear-staff, and his right arm is extended straight behind him holding a 'fan'.

At the head of this line of men there is pictured a man who is leaning forward sharply. Almost all his head and face are now erased, but the remainder of his body is relatively well preserved. Both his arms are extended in front of him, and he appears to be holding a partially destroyed circular object whose interior is marked in a 'stone' pattern. A few paint fragments behind his head might indicate his name.

This is the Year 2 Rabbit, when 4 Wind is 26 years of age, and this procession of four men marks the beginning of a clash between 4 Jaguar and 4 Wind. The Bodley (34-33-IV-III) also records a number of the circumstances of their conflict, but follows a different tradition from that pictured in the Colombino-Becker.

The man carrying the round 'stone' object seems to be leading the way, while the other three who follow him were probably each pictured with a spear-staff in their forward hand and a 'fan' in the hand held behind them. This circular 'stone' object is very similar to that which 4 Wind held while witnessing the murder of 8 Deer (Colombino 16-II), although the present object appears to lack a handle. None of the four men retains any part of a calendar name, and the only possible personal name is a vertical flag. However, the third man of the group is dressed in the accoutrements typical

of 4 Jaguar. No place of origin is given for the procession, nor is any site shown as their goal.

A scene in the Codex Bodley (34-IV-III), although considerably different, may be cognate with this event. The date is the Day 6 Monkey of the Year 2 Rabbit. A U-shaped base containing water is depicted; a cornstalk and a flow of blood project from the top of the water. A man named 3 Snake stands in this water, wearing a jaguar head in place of his own head, and with a smaller jaguar head hanging on his chest. Both his hands are thrust out in front of him, holding a vertical object composed of circles and striped animal tails. While there is no certainty this scene should be correlated with that in the Colombino-Becker, it does seem possible that the object being held by 3 Snake might correspond, at least in function, to the round 'stone' object carried by the man leading the Becker procession.

Colombino 16A-Becker 15-I. The next scene begins on Colombino 16A, the small fragmentary page that actually forms the left side of Becker 15. In the 1966 Colombino reproduction this partial page is omitted, but in the present study it is shown in Figure 12. As mentioned earlier, there are now no painted data remaining on Colombino 16A, merely a few red stains.

The surviving part of the present scene therefore begins on Becker 15-I, where a part of a man's arm and leg can still be seen. This man is grasping the hair -- symbolising capture -- of a crouching man clad in a jaguar suit. No traces of a calendar name remain for

this captive, but a panel with chevron patterns projects under him to indicate his personal name.

A second standing man, wearing a backwards red cloak and with a black mask painted across his face, has also seized the hair of a prisoner. This captive has no distinguishing characteristics other than his long hair, although behind him there still remain a number of paint fragments that probably represented his calendar and personal names.

The sign for the site at which these two men are captured, is now severely damaged and partially retouched, although a building containing a seat can still be seen. Attached to the rear of this building is a hill coloured half blue and half the golden-brown that indicates a faded green; the designs above it are almost entirely destroyed, although along its slope there are red and white streamers.

The visible elements of this place sign are sufficient to identify it as 'Fire-Serpent', the locality ruled by 4 Wind. Of the two men who are attacking it, one is shown in the cloak and facial paint that characterise 4 Jaguar and his associates. The two captives, who are apparently defending 'Fire-Serpent', would therefore be friends or supporters of 4 Wind who are protecting his town from an attack by 4 Jaguar and his men. 4 Wind himself does not appear in this scene.

There is no cognate Bodley scene involving an attack on 'Fire-Serpent'.

Becker 16-I. The paintings in the top band of Becker 16 have been largely obliterated by the damage which this page has received, and the surviving parts at the right end of the band are further obscured by two large brown stains resulting from a liquid spilled on the reverse face of the manuscript. In addition, as was noted in the physical description of the codex (Figure 4), some 3 centimetres of the right side of this page have been cut off and are now missing.

The scene begins with the badly fragmented figure of a standing man who wears a red cape; irregular lines behind his head may indicate a headdress. Two circles of his calendar name have survived near his forward foot. He faces a very badly damaged place sign, its extant portion now consisting of only a U-shaped base containing water. An obliterated area within and above this water can be seen in the original manuscript to contain small flakes of yellow, red, and black paint. A second place sign shows a large 'split stone', but the object depicted on top of it has been almost entirely washed away by the liquid causing the brown stain, leaving only a black area containing a red arc, and scattered traces of yellow and blue paint.

The standing man shown at the beginning of this sequence is probably 4 Wind. If so, the place signs that follow may represent the localities to which he went in his attempt to escape from 4 Jaguar. Because of the damaged condition of the text, none of these localities can now be identified. It would seem probable, however,

that the sites to which he would flee would be those that he considered friendly, or at the very least, not hostile.

In the Bodley (34-33-III), 4 Jaguar is depicted in pursuit of 4 Wind. 4 Jaguar is shown armed; on his back is a vertical red and white flag, similar to the flag that appeared in his procession in the Colombino (16-I). 4 Wind is pictured taking refuge at 'Sweatbath', the site where 12 Movement had been killed many years earlier. None of the place signs in the present Becker scene resembles that of 'Sweatbath'.

Becker 16-I-II. A place sign drawing is now almost totally lost, a part of it having disappeared with the missing portion of Becker 16, and most of the remainder being obliterated by one of the large brown stains at the end of that page. Below this stain there can still be seen the flint knife complex, with red and white streamers beside it. The body of a man has also been lost at the edge of the page, except for his two outflung arms and a part of his face painted with a black mask. Above him there is half a solar disc from which a man's head and arms project down. This latter individual has one hand thrown up, and with the other points down towards a place sign.

The drawing representing this locality has been partially erased. Clearly visible is a hill having a black top and a spiral design in its interior. On the side of this hill a man is shown seated; paired lobes on his blue body indicate that his depiction is functioning as

a part of the place indicator and not as an actual person. He is pictured in a backwards red and white cloak, with numerous fragments of other red and white decorations still visible. In front of his cloak there remain traces of a flint knife complex, and attached to his body is his name, 4 Reed.

The Bodley (33-III-II) version of this is both different and more detailed. A dark hill is pictured. On it is a human head wearing the mask of the Rain God and a red and white pointed hat; and a lizard whose nose is formed into a spiral from which a flint knife projects. 4 Wind's name is attached to the lizard, while 4 Reed's name is attached to the hill. 4 Jaguar is then shown seizing 4 Wind. The latter apparently escapes, however, for on the Day 7 Grass his name is attached to a large lizard climbing a tree. 4 Wind then takes refuge at a site whose sign consists in part of the mouth mask of the Rain God, to which the name of 7 Reed is attached. As the final scene of 4 Jaguar's pursuit of 4 Wind, the Bodley depicts 4 Wind seated behind the Sun God 1 Death. In front of this deity stands 4 Jaguar, a 'fan' in one hand. The god grasps the arms of both 4 Wind and 4 Jaguar, and from his mouth speech scrolls issue towards 4 Jaguar.

The Becker and Bodley traditions are thus considerably different regarding 4 Jaguar's pursuit of 4 Wind and the manner in which the Sun God ultimately stops their conflict. The Becker indicates that the intervention of the deity took place at a locality associated with 4 Reed, while the Bodley shows this as only one of the sites to



which 4 Wind went. It is possible that this is the same locality at which 8 Deer had killed 4 Wind's parents (Becker 11-III-II), in which case it is probably located near 'Red and White Bundle'. In the Bodley, the dark hill associated with 4 Reed also contains a lizard with a flint knife complex in its nose. Since the nose of this animal is formed in precisely the same manner as that used for the Bodleian form of the 'fire-serpent', it may represent a 'fire-lizard'. In the Becker, the first place sign of the present scene, now almost completely obliterated by the brown stains, still shows a flint knife complex such as is often pictured at the tail of the 'fire-serpent',<sup>1</sup> and which might therefore also be used for a 'fire-lizard'. If so, the Becker text would then indicate that two separate localities were involved, rather than the single sign shown in the Bodley.

The confrontation between 4 Jaguar and the Sun God 1 Death is depicted in rather different terms in the two codices. In the Bodley, 1 Death is shown intervening physically between the two men to protect 4 Wind. In the Becker, however, when the deity addresses 4 Jaguar, 4 Wind is not even present. The Bodley thus indicates that the Sun God protects 4 Wind from 4 Jaguar in a much more direct manner than is revealed in the Becker. While it is doubtless true that the two manuscripts reflect divergent traditions, it is also quite possible

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<sup>1</sup>For example, see Becker 9-8-II.

that the painter of the Bodley may be attempting to inflate 4 Wind's status by picturing him as being personally protected by this very important god. The bias of the Bodley artist has already been demonstrated by his concealment of 4 Wind's role in the murder of 8 Deer, so that an attempt to increase 4 Wind's importance would not be totally unexpected.

The Bodley (34-33-III) lists only the two consecutive Days 6 Monkey and 7 Grass for 4 Jaguar's pursuit of 4 Wind and the intervention of the sun deity. This would indicate that all the sites must have been located relatively close together. No day dates have survived in the Becker.

Becker 16-15-II. A standing man is shown, brandishing a large red and white bone. He wears a backwards red cloak decorated with a ball of down, and a black mask painted across his face. The top of his helmet has been destroyed and later crudely retouched, but its feathers and the lower jaw of a snake are still extant.

Shown seated on the fretted base of a place sign is 4 Wind; the four circles of his name are found in front of him, and the Wind sign is drawn within the building behind him. The upper part of his face and helmet have been completely erased and are now partially retouched. However, the lower jaw of a snake helmet survives under his chin, and above the retouching lines can be seen the bottom part of the flint knife complex, all indicating that his helmet is a 'fire-serpent'. Behind the building on which he is seated is a

badly damaged place sign; still visible are the bottom of a hill, a set of red and white streamers, feathers, and a large J-shaped tooth.

The standing man is easily identified as 4 Jaguar, and the remnants of the place sign behind 4 Wind are sufficient to indicate that the locality where their meeting occurs is 'Fire-Serpent'. 4 Wind has therefore returned to the town which he rules, and from which he fled at the time of 4 Jaguar's earlier attack (Becker 15-I). 4 Jaguar carries no weapons, and their meeting is apparently peaceful. No day date is visible.

There is no corresponding scene in the Codex Bodley.

Between 4 Jaguar's helmet and the top of the hill in the previous scene, the original manuscript under ultra-violet light shows the presence of an apparent rubric which has been almost totally effaced. In the 1961 Becker facsimile some of its lines can be seen as short grey marks in this area.

Becker 15-II. Two seated men are depicted, facing each other. Shown with his back to the place sign of the preceding scene is a man whose helmet has been almost entirely erased except for its feathers and the lower jaw of a snake. His calendar name is not now visible. Facing him is 4 --, who wears a backwards red cloak decorated with two balls of down and has his face painted with a black mask. On his head is a smooth red helmet that extends to his shoulders, covering all his hair.

These two men can be identified as 4 Wind and 4 Jaguar. The internal structure of the scene is reversed from the normal reading order so that the place sign for 'Fire-Serpent', shown in the previous scene, can also function here as the location of this meeting. Behind 4 Jaguar, and between the two men, are large abraded areas in which the designs have been thoroughly destroyed. It might be possible that objects were pictured between them that would have clarified the purpose of their meeting. No day date is now visible.

The Bodley does not depict a cognate event.

Becker 15-II-I-Colombino 16A. The Year -- Reed is given, the point of the arrow having survived although its shaft and the circles of its number have been destroyed. A building is shown, its large size indicating its importance. In front of it a man lies across a small hump; his calendar name includes at least three circles. Another man bends over him, holding a short stick in one hand. He wears a smooth red helmet ornamented with balls of down, and his face is painted with a black mask and vertical red stripes.

The depiction of the building is now badly damaged. Its back was painted on Colombino 16A, and all that now remains there are the few red stains described earlier in this study (Chapter III), which indicate that the drawing had extended to the left side of the original undivided page. Water damage to Becker 15 has caused some of the designs in the lower part of the building to be lost. Still extant, however, are a dark cape hanging from the lintel, and

a balustrade beside the steps. The cape appears to be decorated with several different designs, although only a part of a small human skull now can be identified. The balustrade design, which may have been slightly retouched, resembles the sign for the day name Grass.

This scene represents the perforation of 4 Wind's nose, which is carried out in the Year 3 Reed when he is 27 years old. The Bodley (33-34-II-I) not only provides a cognate scene, but also shows other events that preceded the actual perforation ceremony. On the Day 10 Rain of the Year 3 Reed, a man whose name is not given but who wears the painted black facial mask characterising 4 Jaguar and his associates, is pictured accompanying 4 Wind on a journey. The sign for the site towards which they are travelling is represented by a singing bird perched on a hill that is supported by an L-shaped base containing flowing water. The name or date of 5 Alligator is attached to this bird; and another damaged name or date consists of the sign for Flower and at least ten circles. This latter may indicate the Day 11 Flower, which follows immediately after the Day 10 Rain.

The Year 3 Reed, Day 11 Reed, is then given, a date that falls 14 days after the Day 10 Rain. A path with footprints connects the place sign of the prior event to an L-shaped fretted base from which a cattail plant is growing. 4 Wind is depicted standing alone on the horizontal part of the base. Resting upon the vertical end of

this base is another scene in which 4 Wind is shown leaning back against a large hump over which a jaguar skin has been thrown. 4 Jaguar stands in front of him, holding a pointed bone and a large nose-plug, while another nose-plug is already in 4 Wind's nose. The Day 1 Buzzard is apparently the date of this nose-piercing rite.

The Bodley thus indicates that it is 4 Jaguar himself who perforates 4 Wind's nose, and that this ceremony was probably performed on the Day 1 Buzzard. The place at which the ritual occurs remains somewhat ambiguous, since the distinguishing cattail plant element is actually pictured only in the preceding scene, and even this is placed behind 4 Wind. This position does not make clear whether 4 Wind is arriving at, or departing from, this site.

In the present Becker scene there are no traces of a name for the man perforating 4 Wind's nose, but he wears a black mask of facial paint and a red helmet that is virtually identical to that worn by 4 Jaguar in the prior Becker scene. No cattail plant is now extant in the Becker place sign, nor in the Bodley are there any elements similar to the designs painted on the cape and balustrade of the Becker building.

This nose-piercing rite is the only scene given in the Becker for the Year 3 Reed, but the Bodley includes information on several additional events concerning 4 Wind which followed after this ceremony. An understanding of these events, and of the persons appearing in them, contributes significantly towards an assessment of 4 Wind's political position in the Mixteca.

On the same Day 1 Buzzard on which his nose was perforated, the Bodley (34-33-I) shows 4 Wind seated facing a large number of objects, apparently representing symbols of his new status and power. Three days later, on the Day 4 Rain, he is pictured (Bodley 33-I-31-III) in a long procession of men. With the exception of three figures for whom calendar names are given, the remaining members of this procession are identified only by their personal names; provisional identifications can be suggested for only a few of these men. This is due in part to the non-unique nature of many personal names, which occur with more than one individual; and also to the paucity of surviving manuscripts in which a further identification of these persons may be sought.

One of the men for whom both calendar and personal names are given is 10 Jaguar (Bodley 32-II-III). His connexion with 4 Wind is made quite clear in the Colombino-Becker account of 8 Deer's death, but in the Bodley all references to 4 Wind's involvement in that murder are omitted, and without this knowledge it is impossible to appreciate properly the significance of 10 Jaguar's appearance in this procession. Also named is 10 Flower 'Black Chin/Bow with Tail'. He is a relative of 4 Wind's, being the husband of ♀ 4 Rabbit, who is a paternal aunt to 4 Wind's mother ♀ 6 Monkey. He and his wife were last pictured in the Colombino (1-III) and Bodley (9-10-V) meeting 8 Deer 39 years before the present Year 3 Reed.

Among those individuals shown with only their personal names, a man with a canine head and a sun disc on his back (Bodley 31-II) can be identified as 7 Flower from his appearance in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 76b-II) among a group of prisoners captured by 8 Deer. Nothing else is known of him. Another man pictured in the Bodley (32-I) with a flow of blood from both hands might be 1 Buzzard, shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 59-IV) as a member of the large group that met 12 Movement and 8 Deer at Tilantongo. Again, nothing else is known concerning him.

The figure of another member of this Bodley (31-I) procession is now damaged, although his personal name is indicated by a panel decorated with chevrons and perhaps a helmet which has been almost totally obliterated. In the Becker (15-I), a warrior whose name contained such a panel of chevrons was pictured being captured during 4 Jaguar's attack on 'Fire-Serpent', the locality ruled by 4 Wind. Since this man would have been defending 4 Wind's town, his inclusion among the members of the present procession would be understandable. However, there are other men whose name also contain this element of chevrons, such as 13 Jaguar, shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 55-IV) participating in the large meeting in Tilantongo; and also in the Bodley (10-I) and probably in the Becker (12), in the ceremony that marked the culmination of 8 Deer's political career.



In addition to the men in this procession for whom some form of name is given, five individuals are also shown holding staffs and 'fans', their faces painted with the black mask that typifies 4 Jaguar's representatives. Each carries one or more objects, which might either represent his personal name or be pertinent to the procession.

On the Day 2 House of this Year 3 Reed, a date that falls 24 days following the procession, the next scene in the Bodley (32-31-III) shows 4 Wind seated as ruler of the place 'Fire-Serpent', facing a very large depiction of the round bag. After this, the Bodley artist gives three events that will occur in future years, then resumes the chronological order of his history with a final occurrence in the present Year 3 Reed. Omitting these future events, this latter scene takes place on the Day 9 Grass, and depicts 4 Wind presenting offerings to the goddess q 9 Grass on her name-day (Bodley 32-V). This is the first in a series of such presentations which 4 Wind will make, in succeeding years and on the appropriate name-days, to those deities who assisted or befriended him after 8 Deer had conquered his home.

Becker 15-III. The sign for the Year -- Flint is shown. It appears to be drawn directly on top of an almost completely destroyed yellow area that is attached to the steps of the building in the immediately preceding scene.

Two men are pictured, standing on a path of which only a few traces have survived; neither of them is supplied with a name. An examination of the original manuscript under ultra-violet light yields no evidence of such names, and indeed there is very little space where they might have been painted. One man has tousled hair bound with a red cord, a black mask painted across his face, and wears a backwards red cloak. He holds a 'fan' in one hand and a spear-staff in the other, and in front of him the other man likewise holds a staff and 'fan'. This second man wears the most complete drawing of the 'fire-serpent' headdress to have survived in the Colombino-Becker, and the only example in which the meandering of the animal's upper lip to form its nose area is still visible.

These two men can easily be identified as 4 Jaguar and 4 Wind. The path on which they stand terminates just before reaching the rear of a building which actually belongs in the succeeding scene, indicating that it is the goal of their journey. No day date is given, although the time would be the next Year 4 Flint, when 4 Wind would become 28 years of age.

No comparable event is shown in the Bodley for this year, but for the preceding Year 3 Reed, a somewhat similar depiction had been given of 4 Jaguar and 4 Wind travelling to the site where 4 Wind's nose was to be perforated (Bodley 33-34-II). 4 Jaguar was pictured carrying a staff and 'fan', and 4 Wind appeared in the subsequent scene with a staff.

Becker 15-16-III. The final extant scene of the Colombino-Becker has been very severely damaged: the designs along the lower part of the page have been almost totally washed away, and, as already described, the last several centimetres of the right end of the page are now missing.

The scene begins with the depiction of a building within which it is still possible to see the traces of two red and white flint knives. The figure of the man who is shown in front of this building has been obliterated except for the red stains of his cape and a few fragments of his head. These latter include a round nose-plug; and, in his helmet, a curved tooth and the end of a flint knife complex. His calendar name includes two circles that appear in front of his helmet.

Facing him are at least three men. The first is 12 --, whose personal name is represented by a bowl. In one hand he appears to have an offering of vegetation; the object in his other hand is now too fragmented to be recognised, but a stream of blood seems to come from it. Traces of another destroyed design also appear below this.

Most of the figure of the second man is now erased, except for the torch which he holds with both hands. His calendar name consists of at least two circles, while only fragments remain of his personal name. Of the third man, nothing can now be seen except his head and the shell horn he is playing. His calendar name has been destroyed, but his personal name is represented by a 'Venus' symbol drawn entirely in red paint.

There is some possibility that a fourth man was also pictured in this group. All that now remains, however, are a few fragmentary lines where his nose might have been, and above this, traces of paint that could be a part of his name.

For the man in front of the building, the surviving fragments of his nose-plug and 'fire-serpent' helmet show him to be 4 Wind. He is seated in front of the sign for the locality 'Flint', which he is to rule for the remainder of his long life. The men facing him are performing an important ceremony which is depicted only a few times in the extant Mixtec codices.

The cognate Bodley (31-III-IV) scene is dated as the Day 1 Snake of the Year 4 Flint. 4 Wind is depicted seated on a long fretted base from which project two very large flint knives and several other objects, while on an attached base there is a large representation of the round bag. Two men face him. The first has the calendar name of 12 -- and a personal name represented by a bowl; he holds an offering bird. The second man is 5 Rabbit, whose personal name is shown as a snake with bird characteristics; he holds a tall torch.

The ceremony depicted in both these codices is that by which 4 Wind formally becomes the ruler of 'Flint'. The ritual is pictured only a few times in the surviving Mixtec manuscripts and its precise meaning has not yet been established, although it appears to be necessary to legitimise the position of a new ruler when he is not related to the preceding ruler of the locality.

The Bodley shows only two men meeting 4 Wind, and these correspond to the first two of the Becker group. The third Becker man has no counterpart in the Bodley scene with 4 Wind, but an individual having his same personal name had also been showing playing a shell horn in a similar ceremony held nearly a hundred years earlier for 5 Alligator, 8 Deer's father. Because of the time differential, these two cannot be the same person if both are human, and the coincidence of name, instrument, and activity may only be fortuitous.

Summary: Becker 14-I-Colombino 16-I/Becker 15-16-III. This sequence of events has shown 4 Jaguar initiating a serious conflict with 4 Wind, and the Sun God intervening to quell their strife. The origin of their antagonism is not recorded in any surviving codex -- presumably the Mixtec reader already knew -- although it might possibly have stemmed from 8 Deer's death several years earlier. The extant manuscripts do not make clear whether 4 Wind's part in the murder of 8 Deer remained secret, or if it soon became widely known; and if his role was initially concealed, how it was eventually revealed. If 4 Jaguar's attack is related to 8 Deer's death, the three years that have elapsed would probably indicate that 4 Wind's involvement remained secret during this interval. Even after having determined to attack 4 Wind, 4 Jaguar may have had to wait until a particularly propitious day, which in the Bodley (34-III-IV) is recorded as the Day 6 Monkey.

However, there is no certainty that the clash between 4 Wind and 4 Jaguar has any connexion with 8 Deer's death. 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar were last depicted together in the Colombino-Becker during their journey to the Sun God (Colombino 21-I-Becker 4), which had occurred 19 years prior to the Year 2 Rabbit in which the conflict erupts between 4 Jaguar and 4 Wind. While it may have been possible that 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar were good friends, the evidence does not seem to support such an hypothesis: for example, the death of 12 Movement failed to elicit any overt sign of sympathy from 4 Jaguar. Even if the cause of the conflict between 4 Jaguar and 4 Wind should be 8 Deer's death, 4 Jaguar might not have been motivated in his actions so much by his acquaintance with 8 Deer as by the necessity of punishing the murderer of such an important individual.

The conflict may also have developed from some cause whose sources have not yet been recognised. 4 Wind may have offended 4 Jaguar in some manner, or opposed or threatened him, or been considered too ambitious. It is even possible that he requested 4 Jaguar to perforate his nose, in order to make himself more eligible for a new position. Just as the pictorial text of the Bodley (9-10-III-II) fails to make explicit the difficult struggle which 8 Deer had to secure his nose piercing ceremony, so too the artist might well have omitted such a request from 4 Wind if it was rejected by 4 Jaguar. Other important facts, such as 4 Wind's role in the killing of 8 Deer, have already been concealed by the Bodley painter, apparently to preserve 4 Wind's 'image'.

The Colombino-Becker shows only that in the Year 2 Rabbit, when 4 Wind is 26 years old, 4 Jaguar and his associates undertake a journey, led by a man holding a round 'stone' object similar to the device held by 4 Wind at 8 Deer's murder. Neither the place from which the group is coming, nor that to which they are going, is indicated. They then attack 'Fire-Serpent' and capture two men there, but 4 Wind himself eludes them. This conquest of the site which 4 Wind has ruled for ten years, is not shown in the Bodley text, an omission that is consistent with that artist's attempt to present only the most favourable aspects of 4 Wind's life.

4 Wind flees to several different localities, although the Bodley (33-III) depicts him being captured once by 4 Jaguar but apparently escaping again. Finally, at a site associated with a person or deity named 4 Reed, the Becker pictures the Sun God or his representative addressing 4 Jaguar and putting a stop to his pursuit. The Bodley (33-II) text, however, records that 4 Wind reaches the presence of the Sun God, and that this deity protects him from the wrath of 4 Jaguar. The Bodley version thus shows this important god intervening much more directly to defend 4 Wind than does the tradition given in the Becker.

Both manuscripts show that in the following Year 3 Reed, 4 Wind's nose is perforated; he is 27 years old at that time. The Bodley (34-33-I) then depicts him with a group of objects that probably function as his symbols of power. Among these is the 'Staff of Venus', which

he is pictured carrying in a long procession of men honouring him as he returns to 'Fire-Serpent' (Bodley 33-I-31-III). Few of the individuals in this group can now be identified because only their personal names are recorded, but among those for whom calendar names are given are 10 Jaguar, who assisted 4 Wind in the murder of 8 Deer, and 10 Flower, a relative of 4 Wind. The Bodley (32-V) also shows that 4 Wind meets the goddess ♀ 9 Grass during this year, inaugurating a series of visits to each of the deities who had assisted him when he was young.

The Becker and Bodley (31-III-IV) both show the special ceremony by which 4 Wind becomes ruler of 'Flint' in the Year 4 Flint when he is 28 years of age. I have suggested that this ritual may be necessary when the person becoming ruler of a site is not descended from the preceding ruler. No surviving codex gives a family line for 'Flint' prior to its coming under 4 Wind's control, but the site is known to be in existence before that time. In the Colombino-Becker, 'Flint' was one of three places pictured at the scene of the opening in the sky during the visit of 8 Deer and his companions to the Sun God (Becker 4), although it is not known to be connected with any of those individuals. Its first appearance with a specific person occurred in the Becker (13-14-III), when 4 Wind was pictured there planning the murder of 8 Deer. The locality does not appear in the Bodley (33-III) until 4 Wind formally becomes its ruler.



Although the reason for 4 Jaguar's initial attack on 4 Wind remains unknown, the reaction of the Sun God to their controversy indicates that it was considered a very serious matter. Not only did this important deity intervene to put an end to the hostilities by protecting 4 Wind, but he then went further and ordered that 4 Wind's nose be perforated. The orders of 1 Death should have been sufficient to establish and maintain peace between the two men, but if they were not, there seems little likelihood that this goal would be accomplished by the nose piercing ceremony. It seems possible, therefore, that this rite was carried out for 4 Wind for some other reason, perhaps to qualify him to take control of the site of 'Flint'.

The necessity for the Sun God's actions could reflect the political position in which 8 Deer's death had left the Mixteca. In the three years since his murder, the area which he controlled had been divided among some of his sons. All his children were still young and none is yet capable of wielding any personal power, so that the vacuum in leadership created by his death remains unfilled. As a result, some of the most important Mixtec towns and areas are probably without any strong control. Such a situation might easily degenerate into internecine warfare if individual leaders were to attempt to enlarge their separate holdings, and such strife could also leave the area defenceless against attacks from outside invaders. Had the clash between 4 Jaguar and 4 Wind been allowed to continue, rather than being brought to a rapid and definitive conclusion by an

important deity, it might eventually have embroiled other towns or groups and thus created serious political problems for the entire region.

The surviving text of the Codex Colombino-Becker ends at this point. However, the length of the final skin of the manuscript is now only 66.5 centimetres (Figure 15), which is shorter than any other skin that is known to be complete. In order to maintain the unused reverse side of the codex as an outer cover, any additional pages that followed Becker 16 must have been in pairs, although it is not necessary to postulate that all such pages be completely covered with pictorial scenes. Many of the surviving Mixtec codices end with one or more unpainted pages, the text having been completed before the end of the final skin was reached.

Since the concluding pages of the Colombino-Becker depict the political history of 4 Wind, an examination of the information recorded for him in the Codex Bodley may assist in estimating what has been lost following Becker 16. It is already obvious, however, that 4 Wind's life is treated much more succinctly in the Colombino-Becker than in the Bodley, and that the focus of interest is upon his murder of 8 Deer and the conflict with 4 Jaguar which may have developed from that death. In addition, it is also necessary to consider that the extant text of the Colombino-Becker does not contain any genealogical information for 8 Deer or his relatives, which indicates that no such data would have been given for 4 Wind.

The Bodley (34-31) text has recorded in some detail the events surrounding 4 Wind's nose perforation and his return to 'Fire-Serpent', in the Year 3 Reed when he was 27 years of age. Following these, the artist depicts three events from future years, then resumes the chronological history with a final event for the Year 3 Reed and continues on in a normal sequential manner for the remaining scenes shown for him. This interpolation of future incidents into the text suggests that they share a direct relationship with the sequence of events set in motion by his nose piercing.

The first of these interpolated events (Bodley 31-III-IV), occurring in the Year 4 Flint when 4 Wind is 28 years old, depicts the special ceremony by which he becomes ruler of 'Flint', and has already been discussed. The second occurs in the Year 7 Reed when 4 Wind is 31 years of age (Bodley 31-32-IV), and consists of his meeting 10 Rain and then sacrificing blood from his ear. The third event falls in the Year 11 Reed, by which time 4 Wind has already attained the age of 35 years (Bodley 32-IV-V). He is pictured capturing a man named 4 Snake and conquering a locality represented by a curved hill with a red top and a 'cobweb'. Four other place signs are shown following the conquered site, but none contains a conquest arrow, and consequently they may represent other sites that passed under 4 Wind's control following his defeat of 4 Snake.

The Bodley text then reverts to its normal chronological sequence and depicts offerings that 4 Wind presents in successive years to a

series of deities, each on his or her name-day, beginning in the Year 3 Reed. His first presentation, in that year, is to the goddess ♀ 9 Grass (Bodley 32-V). In the following Year 4 Flint, when he is 28 years old, the offering is to 7 Flower (Bodley 32-31-V). In the Year 5 House, when he becomes 29 years of age, he gives offerings to 13 Movement (Bodley 31-V). The numerical date of the next presentation has been destroyed, but it takes place in a year named Rabbit (Bodley 30-V), probably the Year 6 Rabbit when he is 30 years old; the deity visited is ♀ 9 Reed.

Also in this Year 6 Rabbit, on the Day 2 Flower, a small offering is shown before a building, but neither 4 Wind nor a deity is pictured (Bodley 30-V). On the succeeding Day 3 Alligator (Bodley 30-29-V), the date that immediately precedes 4 Wind's own name-day, he is shown visiting the site of 'Flint', which he presumably already rules. However, 10 Rain is depicted seated in the building attached to this place sign, receiving the offerings which 4 Wind is presenting to him and to two men named 6 Death. The implication of this scene seems to be that 4 Wind is now completing the series of presentations which he was required to make before he could finally be accepted as ruler of 'Flint'.

The latter two of the interpolated scenes already described both fall following this scene at 'Flint'. The first occurs in the next Year 7 Flint and also involves 10 Rain; the second, showing 4 Wind's only known conquest, takes place four years later. The

remainder of the data given in the Bodley concerning 4 Wind are genealogical. His death is recorded as occurring in the Year 7 Flint (Bodley 28-II), at which time he would have attained the advanced age of 72 years.

It is very difficult to estimate how much of the information recorded in the Bodley might also have been shown in the Colombino-Becker, for it is also possible that this latter manuscript might have contained additional events that are not included in any other codex. Since the Colombino-Becker text would probably depict only those events in 4 Wind's life that were of a more widespread political interest, not all the scenes pictured in the Bodley would necessarily be included. Whether his death would be shown seems questionable, although it would appear to be a useful manner of rounding off the text and bringing it to a conclusion. Even when an allowance is made for unique data that might appear only in the Colombino-Becker, the pertinent information relating to 4 Wind hardly seems sufficient to fill more than two additional pages.

Approximately three centimetres are now lost from the right end of Becker 16, and the skin of which it is a part is only 66.5 centimetres long (Figure 15). While this skin might perhaps be complete, it is about 9 centimetres shorter than the average length of the three complete skins that immediately precede it. For the remainder of page 16, and two additional pages, only some 53 centimetres of skin would be needed; any material in excess of this would form other

additional pages. For example, a skin about 78 centimetres long would complete page 16 and comprise three full pages, and although the obverse face of the third page would then form the back cover of the codex, this would be satisfactory if the page were left un-painted (Troike 1971: 203). However, a skin of greater or lesser length than 78 centimetres would result in the document ending with a fragmentary page. In preference to this, and also perhaps to avoid wasting an excessive amount of unused skin by leaving a number of blank pages, the manuscript might have been cut at a convenient outside fold following the conclusion of the pictorial text.

## CHAPTER IX

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this study I have attempted to interpret the history of the Mixteca as it is recorded in the pictorial text of the Codex Colombino-Becker. Because it is clear that the various surviving Mixtec documents each presents a different version of that history -- versions that are sometimes complimentary and other times contradictory -- I have confined my study almost exclusively to this one single manuscript. In this way I have hoped to recover, as accurately and in as much detail as possible, the particular tradition of Mixtec history recorded in the Colombino-Becker.

As a background for this history, I have traced the appearances of the codex as far back in time as is now possible, and have surveyed the interpretations of earlier scholars concerning the pictorial text. All the early references very explicitly connected both the Colombino and the Becker with the Mixteca, and this relationship was specified when the lithograph of each manuscript was issued in 1892 and 1891, respectively. Despite this, a spurious Zapotec origin was attributed to them late in the nineteenth century, and this erroneous ascription confused research until it was eventually corrected by Alfonso Caso in 1928.

During the nineteenth century scholars considered that most Mixtec codices depicted ritual events, but very early in the twentieth

century their true historical nature was discovered. By 1912 James Cooper Clark was able to interpret the Colombino as an historical document, and to trace 8 Deer's life through it and through several other Mixtec manuscripts, although he considered all these codices to be Zapotec. Caso soon clarified that these documents could not be Zapotec, but an additional 20 years elapsed before he was able to demonstrate conclusively that they were Mixtec. In firmly establishing, by his numerous studies, that these manuscripts represented the histories and genealogies of the Mixtecs, Caso essentially created and defined the field of Mixtec codex research. I have been able to draw upon his works, and upon those of other scholars concerned with Mixtec codices and Mesoamerican ethnohistory, as well as my own research, in writing the present study.

Because the Colombino-Becker is now fragmented into a number of parts, it has been necessary for me to give close attention to the physical dimensions of its extant pieces, since these contain the basic clues to the form of the unbroken codex. No interpretation of the text can be attempted until these extant portions have been restored to their correct sequence, for unless all the fragments are replaced in the one relationship which exactly duplicates that of the original undivided manuscript, the sequence of the events in the text will not be correct, and the interpretation of the paintings cannot help but suffer.



In order to obtain the most accurate possible information concerning the physical form of the surviving fragments, I made careful examinations of the original manuscripts in Mexico and Vienna (Troike 1969a; 1970a). I also analysed the operation of the internal structure within which the pictorial text was painted, for this structure demonstrates certain regularities that must not be violated by any reconstruction scheme proposed for the fragments (Troike 1971).

These physical and structural data have not previously received adequate recognition, yet they govern all interrelationships among the extant fragments. No direct connexion can be proposed for any two fragments unless both these crucial factors permit it; if such a postulated relationship violates either factor, the proposition is discredited. When direct connexions are not possible between any two pieces of the manuscript, the structural evidence will reveal the minimum number of pages that must be missing between them, while physical evidence derived from the lengths of the skins in use in each fragment may furnish a clue to the actual number of lost pages.

By the use of these approaches, I have demonstrated in this study that the seven extant fragments of the Colombino-Becker can be combined into three strips or sections. Colombino Fragments I and III, comprising Colombino 1-15 and 17-19, are rejoined to form Section I. Colombino Fragment IV and Becker Fragment 1, containing Colombino 20-24 and Becker 1-4A, are joined together in Section II. In Section

III, Becker Fragment 2, Colombino Fragment II, and Becker Fragment 3 are all united, including Becker 5a-14, Colombino 16-16A, and Becker 15-16. The rejoined forms of these three sections, showing the outline of each page, were given in Figure 13.

Additional parts of the original manuscript are still lost preceding Section I and following Section III, and between Sections I and II, and II and III. I have estimated that four pages originally preceded Section I. At least another six pages were probably found between Section I and II, while between Sections II and III perhaps only two pages are gone. Following Section III the original codex may have concluded with only two pages of pictorial text, although additional blank pages may also have followed.

In the surviving Colombino-Becker there are now 40 extant pages, while my estimates of the lost parts of the manuscript total some 14 pages. I would therefore postulate that the original undivided Colombino-Becker text contained not less than 54 pages.

It may well have contained more pages than this, of course, since the surviving text often shows events in considerably more detail than other manuscripts, and in addition contains a large amount of information not found in any other known codex. However, since the nature and quantity of the information lost from the original codex can only be estimated on the basis of scenes found in other texts, there is no way to allow for events that might have been treated more extensively in the Colombino-Becker, nor for those that

were unique to it. My estimates of the actual number of lost pages are based upon such factors as the operation of the internal structure of the codex, the lengths of the skins in use in the fragments concerned, the scenes shown in other codices, and the treatment accorded similar information in the surviving parts of the Colombino-Becker.

My reconstruction of the Colombino-Becker differs almost totally from that suggested by Caso (1966: 16, figure following 18), except in the joining together of Colombino Fragments I and III. Caso postulated an interruption in Colombino Fragment IV after page 21, followed by one or two lost pages and then Becker Fragment 1, with the end of this Becker piece being directly attached to the beginning of Colombino 22. He then proposed that after Colombino Fragment IV, one lost page intervened before Becker Fragment 2, and another such missing page before Becker Fragment 3. Colombino Fragment II was not placed, although he suggested several different possible locations for it (Caso 1966: 12, 16, 17, 45).

As I have shown in this study, most of Caso's proposed sequences are neither physically nor structurally possible. There is no break in the leather of Colombino Fragment IV between its pages 21 and 22, so page 21 cannot be followed by lost pages or by Becker Fragment 1. Nor can the end of this Becker fragment be attached to Colombino 22, not only because there is no interruption in the Colombino but also because the Becker piece ends with the fragmentary page 4A that must form the beginning of the page that follows it. Caso was correct,

however, in postulating the loss of only a single page between Becker Fragments 2 and 3; and although he apparently never fully realised that this page should be Colombino Fragment II, this position was one of the possible placements he suggested for that piece.

Caso's (1966: 16, 36) problems in determining the sequence of the Colombino-Becker fragments seem to have arisen in part from his desire that its scenes be read in a sequence similar to those of the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'. However, as I have pointed out in the course of this study, the texts of these two codices often deviate significantly, and their emphases are also frequently different. This is likewise true of the relevant information in other codices such as the Bodley and Selden. The correct form of the Colombino-Becker can only be re-created by utilising all its physical and structural data to determine the original sequence of its extant fragments. Only after this may the order of its scenes be compared with those of other manuscripts.

Variation in the contents of the Mixtec codices should be expected, because each document was painted by different persons, at different times and places, and for different reasons. The material presented in any one text is the appropriate tradition as it was understood by a certain artist or group of artists in a particular place at a specific time. The differences found among these manuscripts in the importance given to certain persons or localities, and even the variations in more explicit information

such as names, dates, or the sequence of events, can all contribute towards indicating the area in which the codex originated and the purposes for which it was painted.

Since each manuscript may be expected to reveal a different but internally consistent view of a segment of Mixtec history, each document needs to be studied separately to recover the particular tradition it represents. When this has been done for all the surviving texts, a series of histories of the Mixteca will then be available. These may be compared and contrasted in order to obtain the greatest amount of information while simultaneously compensating for the biases of the individual texts. The present work on the Codex Colombino-Becker was undertaken as one of the studies needed for the ultimate achievement of this goal.

The study of the Colombino-Becker presents certain unique difficulties because its surviving text is now fragmented into seven pieces, a problem that has no parallel among other Mesoamerican manuscripts, and one which has not been discussed previously in the literature. A document may become divided through weaknesses in its own physical construction, or by being deliberately cut. Both have apparently occurred in the Colombino-Becker. My examination of the original fragments shows that the folds between the pages, and the joints between the skins, are both potential places of separation. Sufficient use of the manuscript might result in a thin skin tearing through at a fold, while the sewn reinforcement

of all but one of the original joints between the skins would not have been necessary unless the glue was failing to hold the pieces together. The deterioration of this gluing medium might have allowed the text to separate independently of the amount of use the manuscript actually received.

All the fragments are fully painted across their entire obverse surface except for the partial page 17a (see Figures 5 and 8), which is unpainted as the underlying skin of a lapped joint would be. When the fragments are rejoined in their respective three sections, only this unpainted page 17a is covered by the end of another piece (Colombino Fragment I), while all other connected fragments abutt together directly and without any overlap. It is clear that Colombino Fragments I and III separated because of the failure of the joint between them. It seems probable that joint failure may have caused the loss of the skin that preceded the beginning of Colombino Fragment I; and possibly also of those skins that were between Colombino Fragments III and IV, and at the end of Becker Fragment 1. It is also possible that Colombino Fragment IV became separated from Becker Fragment 1, and Becker Fragment 2 from Colombino Fragment II, due to the manuscript breaking at a fold.

There are, however, two separations which apparently could not have resulted from any physical failure in the original manuscript: at the beginning of Becker Fragment 2, and between Colombino Fragment II and Becker Fragment 3. Both divisions occur within the body of a

page, so that no fold is involved. The skin at the start of Becker Fragment 2 appears to be too short to be complete, while between the directly continuous pages of Colombino Fragment II and Becker Fragment 3 there is no unpainted area at which the skins could have been lapped for joining. Both cases therefore apparently represent a deliberate cutting of the codex.

Colombino Fragment II, which originally occurred between Becker Fragments 2 and 3, contains the important scene of 4 Wind watching the murder of 8 Deer. If the right end of this fragment has been intentionally cut to separate it from Becker Fragment 3, it seems possible that the left end might also have been similarly cut; however, as just mentioned, in this latter case the break with Becker Fragment 2 occurs along a fold and so cannot now be differentiated from an accidental separation. It could therefore be possible that someone deliberately removed this murder scene from the codex. This might have been done because the individual could read the pictorial text and so understood the importance of this scene; or if he did not comprehend the painted text, he might merely have intended to eliminate from the manuscript the depiction of a human death. But although Fragment II was completely detached from its proper place in the original manuscript, it was not destroyed, and it was apparently even kept with the remainder of the codex. Despite having been taken from the Becker portion of the document, it ultimately survived with the Colombino fragments, indicating that the Colombino and Becker

pieces were still together at the time the fragment was removed from the text.

The approximately 14 pages which I have postulated are now lost from the codex, are similar in number to the 16 extant pages of the Becker, and when the 24 pages of the Colombino are also considered, these seems some possibility that the original text might have been divided into three large parts. Since the Colombino and Becker re-appeared independently of one another, they apparently survived in separate hands, and it might be possible that the remaining pieces of the original manuscript were in the possession of still another owner.

Fragmentation is not the only mutilation suffered by the Colombino-Becker fragments, however, for portions of their pictorial text have also been intentionally damaged and even in some cases totally obliterated. Almost all the recognisable animal and non-human heads shown in names, dates, clothing, and place signs have been affected, and there is also sporadic damage to non-representational designs such as fretted panels or the numbering circles associated with names and dates. Since this destruction is found equally in the Colombino and Becker, it must have been done before the original manuscript was divided. The person making these erasures does not seem to have been able to read the pictorial text, for no consistent effort is made to destroy any one particular type of information.



Despite the patterned erasure of animal heads in the manuscript, four place signs showing a bird and a hill were left almost intact; the largest of these is also glossed in Mixtec with the name of the important town of Tututepec, whose name means 'Bird Hill' (Smith 1963: 277). These acts appear to be an attempt to associate the pictorial text of the codex with Tututepec, and point towards a close relationship between this town and the person who destroyed the pictorial elements in the text. The erasure of the other animal heads found in the codex seems intended to ensure that the manuscript would not be connected with any other Mixtec towns, some of which are also named for animals. The less systematic erasures of non-representational objects may merely be intended to distract attention from the more purposeful destruction of the animal heads.

The glosses on the Colombino-Becker have been discussed by Mary Elizabeth Smith (1963; 1966; 1973: 13-14) in considerable detail. The earlier glosses appear on scattered place signs in both the Colombino and Becker, and must have been made before the original manuscript was fragmented. Some of these were written in areas where the painted design had already been obliterated, indicating that the destruction of the pictorial text preceded the first glossing. Despite these erasures, sufficient clues apparently still remained to enable a knowledgeable interpreter of the place signs to identify and name some of the localities shown in the manuscript. The more numerous glosses on the Colombino were added after it had

become separated from the other parts of the manuscript, and consist principally of the boundaries of towns that were formerly under the influence of Tututepec. These glosses were the crucial factor that enabled Smith (1963; 1966) to identify the Colombino as the document presented by Tututepec in a land litigation case in 1717.

Despite the damage done to the pictorial text of the Colombino-Becker by the many erasures, some of this painted information may still be recovered by a close attention to detail. This is possible because certain elements in the codex are characterised by a consistent form, so that the survival of only a small part of a design enables the original object to be identified. From the surviving lower jaws of destroyed animal-head helmets I have been able to determine what animal was originally depicted; and because each particular type of animal helmet is regularly associated with a specific individual, I have succeeded in identifying some figures that could not otherwise be identified (Troike n.d.a). This type of identification has been particularly useful in interpreting the text of the Colombino-Becker, for in addition to many of the names being destroyed, under certain conditions the artists also intentionally omitted the names of some figures but depicted them wearing their characteristic animal-head helmets.

The consistent use of certain design elements is maintained in the Colombino-Becker even though the extant manuscript was painted by at least five different artists. I have previously analysed

some of the characteristics of the three styles in which the majority of the human figures in the codex are depicted (Troike 1970b); two additional styles of lesser importance are noted in the present work. Certain items of apparel shown on the human figures may vary with each painter, while others remain consistent in the work of all the artists. These differences supply useful clues in determining which elements were essential for the native reader's comprehension of the pictorial text, but in all cases they must be established separately for each codex before useful comparisons may be made among the surviving manuscripts.

While the historical nature of the contents of the Colombino-Becker was firmly established by Clark's (1912) analysis of the Colombino, the present study has for the first time clearly revealed the continuous narrative quality of the entire text. Far from being concerned only with isolated activities or even with short successions of occurrences, the Colombino-Becker instead records long sequences of events all directed towards a single goal and composed of closely related scenes extending over a number of pages. Further, these lengthy series of events occur within a broader narrative context from which they derive their actual meaning but which is itself largely unexpressed in the pictorial content of the manuscript. This wider context must be inferred from the events depicted in the codex, and most of it is analysed and explained here for the first time.

The events leading to 8 Deer's nose perforation ceremony may be cited as an example of the continuity of the Colombino-Becker pictorial data and the importance of understanding its context. Some 20 scenes, occupying most of six consecutive pages, are devoted to explaining in great detail his difficulties and eventual success in achieving this very important rite. The broader context is nowhere depicted, however, but must be understood in order for his activities to become meaningful: 8 Deer's older half-brother 12 Movement, the ruler of Tilantongo, has reached the age of 52 years without having sired a child to be his heir, and 8 Deer must now have his nose pierced in order to acquire a status that will help to make him acceptable as 12 Movement's co-ruler and eventual successor.

The text of the Colombino-Becker is a narrative history, in the fullest sense of that phrase. The entire 40 extant pages are essentially concerned with only three different sets of related events, two of these centring on 8 Deer and the third on 4 Wind. The first of these sets includes the first eight surviving pages of the manuscript and shows, over a span of six years, the occurrences that led to 8 Deer becoming ruler of Tututepec. The second set, which is also concerned with 8 Deer, now comprises 27 of the extant pages of the text, but in the original unfragmented codex it would have included an even greater number, for this text is interrupted twice by pages now lost from the manuscript. The pictured events span 8 Deer's life from his thirty-fourth through his fortieth

years, and show his intense striving towards his goal of attaining power in the Mixteca, and his ultimate achievement of that objective. The third set of events includes the final five pages now found in the text and is focused upon 4 Wind, depicting his murder of 8 Deer and how this influenced his later attainments.

The knowledge that the text of the Colombino-Becker is a continuous narrative is of assistance in interpreting even those scenes which are not now individually comprehensible. Because these can be seen within the context of other events, there is a greater possibility of discovering a part of their function and of obtaining clues to their general meaning.

A clear example of the narrative quality of the Colombino-Becker is shown in the concentration of some 19 extant pages of scenes upon a short period of only three years in 8 Deer's life. Beginning in the Year 7 House when he is 34 years of age and continuing until the Year 9 Reed when he is 36 years old, virtually half the surviving codex is occupied with showing the difficulties he has to overcome to secure his nose perforation, his becoming co-ruler of Tilantongo with 12 Movement, the peregrinations and conquests he makes after becoming co-ruler, and the difficult journey he and his companions undertake in order to visit the Sun God. The number of pages devoted to these three years was even greater before the original manuscript was divided, for both places where the text is now interrupted occur during this short time span. All the activities of this period are

chronicled in a perfectly straightforward and sequential fashion, each scene forming a link between the previous event and the one which follows, and the whole comprising a linear historical account.

The text of the Colombino-Becker is basically an account of the major political events in 8 Deer's rise to power in the Mixteca. It records only his public activities that are directly connected with his achievement of that goal. The events which followed after his consolidation of authority, and all his private life including his marriages and children, are omitted from the manuscript, for they are not pertinent to his obtaining power. 8 Deer achieved his goal when he was 40 years old, and the first 35 pages of the extant Colombino-Becker are devoted to showing how he did so. After that, his life and activities are no longer relevant to the purposes for which the codex was painted, and the final five surviving pages depict how 4 Wind killed him and destroyed the centralised control 8 Deer had created.

Having determined that the text of the Colombino-Becker is a narrative history depicting the political events of 8 Deer's rise to power, and having discovered that these activities can be understood only within the larger context from which they originally derived their meaning, have enabled me to integrate much of the material in the codex into a more coherent form than has been achieved previously. Because of this, the interpretations which I have made in this study often differ from those of Caso (1966),

Karl A. Nowotny (1961), and other earlier scholars. In most cases these differences do not stem from the individual scenes themselves but rather from the added context within which I have now been able to place them, for this often gives an entirely different meaning to an event from that which it might have if analysed without that context. For these reasons I have not attempted to indicate in my text how my discussion of a particular scene corresponds to the views of other scholars, but instead have compared the total context of my interpretation with other interpretations of that context.

My conclusions concerning the pictorial text of the Colombino-Becker cannot be discussed apart from my interpretations of the events depicted in the manuscript. These factors may best be expressed by presenting here a summary of the history recorded in the codex, placing all its activities within the broader context I have been able to determine for them.

The events pictured for 8 Deer in the surviving fragments of the Colombino-Becker are all connected with his political history, but his rise to power took place within a context of genealogical relationships that are fundamental to any understanding of the text. His own position by birth in his father's families is of crucial importance, and it is quite possible that the lost first pages of the original manuscript opened by showing the two marriages of his father 5 Alligator and the children born of each union.

5 Alligator's first wife was ♀ 9 Eagle, and their first child was a son named 12 Movement. Two years after his birth there was a daughter ♀ 6 Lizard, and then one or two additional sons. Some 17 or 18 years later 5 Alligator married again, this time to ♀ 11 Water, who already had a son 8 Flower from a previous marriage. 8 Deer was born to the couple two years after their marriage. The following year a daughter ♀ 9 Monkey was born, three years later another son 9 Flower, and still later another daughter.

By the Mixtec custom of primogeniture, 5 Alligator's heir would be his first son 12 Movement, who would succeed his father as ruler of the very important town of Tilantongo. But 12 Movement himself was never to marry or sire a child to be his own heir, and his failure to do so created the situation that precipitated most of the events pictured in the Colombino-Becker for 8 Deer.

The beginning of the sequential activities shown in the missing first pages of the Colombino-Becker might have corresponded to some of those in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 43-44), where 8 Deer is depicted making several conquests when still a child only eight years in age. Since 12 Movement was then 26 years old, it seems more probable to me that these achievements should be credited to him. However, this situation illustrates a problem encountered to some degree in all the historical accounts preserved in the Mixtec codices: the enhancing of one individual's status by attributing to him the activities or successes that were probably accomplished by



another person, while simultaneously shielding him from blame for his own failures or mistakes. In this Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' instance, the change of emphasis from 12 Movement to 8 Deer results in the anomaly of a child-warrior, but in many other circumstances the shift is more subtle and much more difficult to detect.

There is a clearly observable tendency in the Colombino-Becker for 8 Deer's status to be inflated at the particular expense of 12 Movement. Although this also occurs in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', this latter codex more frequently shows 12 Movement and 8 Deer acting together in events for which the Colombino-Becker pictures only 8 Deer. Since 12 Movement was, during his lifetime, probably of considerably greater importance than 8 Deer, the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' account helps to maintain a more balanced perspective of the actual relationships between the two men.

The first pictorial data to have survived in the Colombino-Becker concern the events leading to 8 Deer's taking control of Tututepec. These begin in the Year 3 Flint when he is 17 years of age and end in the Year 8 House when he has reached the age of 22 years. Events are shown in the Colombino-Becker for all these six years except that of the Year 5 Rabbit, although the Bodley (8-V) dates the death of 5 Alligator as occurring at that time. His death is of great importance, for with it 12 Movement would have succeeded to the control of Tilantongo. The fact that 8 Deer's activities begin prior to his father's death could indicate that 5 Alligator's health gradually declined during the last few years of his life.

8 Deer's taking control of Tututepec appears to depend upon his first establishing good relations with ♀ 6 Monkey, or more probably with the line of descent which she represents, for through her father she is a direct descendant of 9 Wind, an early ruler of Tilantongo (Bodley 3-4-5-6-III). She is also now the sole survivor of her immediate family, her three brothers having been sacrificed (Selden 5-IV-6-I). The first extant scene in the Colombino (1-III) depicts 8 Deer meeting ♀ 4 Rabbit and her husband 10 Flower; ♀ 4 Rabbit is the sister of 10 Eagle, ♀ 6 Monkey's father (Bodley 6-V-IV).

In the following year, 8 Deer, now 18 years old, is depicted with a personage who is probably a deity. On the Day 6 Snake of the Year 4 House, he plays the ball game against an individual whose name in the Colombino (2-1-II) is 1 Death, and subsequently he assists this deity in two conquests that are probably symbolic rather than actual warfare. This sets a pattern that is to recur repeatedly during 8 Deer's life: he is portrayed as having both the confidence and the ability to succeed in overcoming the obstacles created by important persons and even gods, in order to achieve his own goals. By daring not only to oppose this deity in the ball game, but also apparently doing so successfully, and then assisting him in two attacks as though they were equals, 8 Deer is shown as capable of dealing with gods and therefore as a person of unusual abilities and powers.

The Day 6 Snake, on which 8 Deer plays this ball game, falls just two days before his name-day. There is some indication in the Codex Bodley that rites honouring deities are held on their name-days, while those for humans may occur on the day immediately prior to the name-day. The Day 7 Death directly precedes 8 Deer's name-day, but if it should be considered unpropitious, the next preceding date is the Day 6 Snake. It is clear in the Colombino-Becker that this Day 6 Snake has an important ritual significance to 8 Deer, for he utilises it several times for events which are very important in his political career.

8 Deer then participates in another ritual (Colombino 2-3-I) in which he is shown seated ahead of his other important male siblings: his paternal half-brother 12 Movement, his younger brother 9 Flower, and his maternal half-brother 8 Flower. 8 Deer's position at the front of this group, if it is not a matter of inflating his status, would indicate that the ceremony principally concerned him, while 12 Movement's presence would show that he was supporting 8 Deer's role.

After omitting the Year 5 Rabbit of 5 Alligator's death, the text of the Colombino-Becker then shows that on the important Day 6 Snake of the Year 6 Reed, when 8 Deer would be 20 years of age, the sequence of events begins which will lead directly to his taking control of Tututepec. It is doubtless significant that 8 Deer does not choose a member of his own family to be his major assistant in

these rites, but rather a man named 5 Rain 'Smoking Mountain', whose genealogical descent is not known. However, there may have been extenuating circumstances that prevented any of this three major siblings from aiding him. 12 Movement had become ruler of Tilantongo the previous year, and this position of eminence could well make it unsuitable for him to serve as an assistant to 8 Deer. 8 Deer's younger brother 9 Flower was only 16 years old and might be considered too young for these duties; while his maternal half-brother 8 Flower probably could not participate because he was not related to 8 Deer by paternal descent.

These events begin at the 'Skull Temple' of the goddess ♀ 9 Grass. 8 Deer displays a number of symbols before this goddess (Colombino 3-4-I), and these will be carried on his peregrination to Tututepec and exhibited at that site when he assumes control of it. Some of these symbols will appear again in the Colombino-Becker at other important occasions during his life. These symbols appear to represent his rights or powers, for they do not change as he becomes a more important person in the Mixteca, suggesting that they are connected with him personally and not with the position he is filling or the status he has achieved.

8 Deer and ♀ 6 Monkey are shown presenting offerings to three dead men (Colombino 4-3-II). One of these men will appear later in the Becker (2-III), defending the Sun God; in this latter depiction he can clearly be seen to have died by sacrifice, so presumably the

other two men shown with him in this Colombino scene were also sacrificial victims. In both the Colombino and the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 44-I-III) depictions of this event, ♀ 6 Monkey appears to be more important than 8 Deer.

8 Deer then begins a peregrination, accompanied by 5 Rain and the symbols he had displayed before the 'Skull Temple', that continues for the next eight consecutive days (Colombino 3-4-5-6-III). This peregrination starts on the Day 7 Death and includes his name-day, ending on the Day 1 Reed. Only one site is visited each day, and the signs for the first and last of these eight localities include a building with a square red altar, probably a temple.

I have suggested that the six sites pictured between these two temples may represent localities connected with the origin and ancestry of the Mixtec people. The first of these, visited on the Day 8 Deer, may be the site of the emergence from the earth of the original inhabitants of the area. The second site, drawn as two peaks, one split open and the other with a chequered summit, is a place pictured in the Vindobonensis Obverse and Bodley in scenes concerning the early history or mythology of the Mixtecs. The other four sites are each depicted with a tree, and since the Mixtec rulers claimed to have been born from trees near Apoala, these may be representations of such ancestral trees. Further, since the Mixtecs were also said to have divided into four parts to take control of the region from the prior inhabitants, I have suggested that each of these four groups might trace its origin back to a separate tree.

Since 8 Deer is about to take control of Tututepec, the first site he is known to have ruled, it would be appropriate for him to visit localities connected with the ancestry of the Mixtecs and their domination of the area. He will also visit these same places again some years later, just before he becomes co-ruler of Tilantongo with 12 Movement.

A procession composed of five bearers carrying 8 Deer's symbols, led by two unburdened figures at the head of the group, is shown in the Colombino (6-5-II) advancing towards Tututepec. None of these seven figures is designated with a name, although one of those leading the procession must be 8 Deer. This pattern of intentionally leaving figures without either a calendar or personal name, particularly at important occasions, is repeated a number of times in the Colombino-Becker. In some cases the persons are shown wearing their characteristic helmets, but in others they are not.

8 Deer's symbols are then pictured (Colombino 5-II-I) in front of and within a large building that stands on a complex place sign identified by Smith (1963) as representing the important coastal town of Tututepec. 8 Deer is shown seated in front of this site, and facing him is his half-brother 12 Movement, the ruler of Tilantongo. Since this scene shows 8 Deer as the ruler of Tututepec, the two men are meeting on much more equal political terms than would have been possible previously.

In the following two Years 7 Flint and 8 House, when 8 Deer is respectively 21 and 22 years old, he makes a long series of conquests (Colombino 5-I-9-III). No recognisable motive is expressed in the codex for these attacks, although presumably they would be intended to solidify his control over Tututepec or its neighbouring area. In other parts of Mesoamerica subservient towns often revolted while a major town was making the transition from one ruler to the next, so that one of the first acts of the new ruler was necessarily that of reconquering the area over which he was to rule. In the present case 8 Deer apparently represents an entirely new ruling line at Tututepec, and it is possible that some of the places normally subject to that town took the opportunity to revolt, prompted either by opportunism or because they rejected him as an appropriate ruler. It is also possible that 8 Deer is making new and independent conquests, thereby enlarging the area over which he held control as the ruler of Tututepec.

With these conquests, the first set of events for 8 Deer in the Colombino-Becker is concluded. Much of the overall context of these events is not yet clear. It is obvious that 8 Deer is striving towards the goal of being made ruler of Tututepec, and that he has to overcome obstacles and perform ceremonies to attain this end. At least a part of his effort is devoted to meetings with ♀ 6 Monkey and a representative of her family, ♀ 4 Rabbit, her father's sister.

8 Deer is only 17 years of age when he begins these activities, and probably the most crucial of the preparatory events is the ball game he plays when he is 18 years old against an individual who is probably a deity. It is possible that his whole future pivoted on the outcome of this game, as was to happen again many years later when he was becoming co-ruler of Tilantongo. But having successfully overcome the obstacles and performed the rituals, 8 Deer then received the support of his male siblings, including 12 Movement, in an important ceremony that might have recognised his future claim to Tututepec.

All these events took place in the two years preceding his father's death, and could indicate that he was not to obtain his new position until 5 Alligator had died. This occurs during 8 Deer's nineteenth year, and when he is 20 years old the final ceremonies are carried out for his taking control of Tututepec. With the completion of these rites, 8 Deer acquired an official status as the ruler of an important town. He would then no longer be simply a private individual of high rank, but rather one who occupied a position of authority that carried certain rights, privileges, and responsibilities. One such aspect of governmental power is the waging of war, and 8 Deer is not shown in the extant Colombino-Becker making long series of conquests until he has been confirmed as ruler of Tututepec, thereby acquiring an official basis for his attacks.



Following the end of this first set of events to be shown for 8 Deer's life in the Colombino-Becker, which concludes when he is 22 years old, the text of the manuscript immediately begins the depiction of the events of the second set. These start in the Year 7 House when he had already reached the age of 34 years, with no information being recorded in the codex for the intervening time interval.

The very important events that now take place in the Year 7 House do not occur, in my hypothesis, because of 8 Deer himself or any of his previous activities, but rather derive entirely from the life of his older half-brother 12 Movement. 12 Movement had been born in a Year 7 House and therefore is now completing a full cycle of years with the celebration of his fifty-second birthday. In an era when the life span was probably short, for an important ruler to complete a cycle of 52 years and mark the return of the year of his birth, must have been relatively unusual and a momentous occasion for those few individuals who achieved it, and an event to be celebrated with appropriate ceremonies.

Not only is this year important in 12 Movement's personal life, but it would also be a very symbolic occasion to specify who is to become the future ruler of Tilantongo, which 12 Movement has ruled since inheriting it upon 5 Alligator's death 15 years before. 12 Movement has never married and has no child to be his heir, so the problem of the succession to him needs to be clarified. The situa-

tion is complicated by there being two family groups directly descended from 5 Alligator, one by each of his two marriages. Of the first marriage there is no other surviving son than 12 Movement, but a daughter of 6 Lizard has married 11 Wind, ruler of 'Red and White Bundle', and had borne him two sons named 10 Dog and 6 House, and a daughter. Other than 12 Movement himself, of 6 Lizard's two sons are now the only male issue of 5 Alligator's first marriage. Of his second marriage there are two sons, 8 Deer and his younger brother 9 Flower, neither of whom has yet married.

It is 8 Deer whom 12 Movement chooses to be his heir. 8 Deer, having controlled Tututepec for 14 years, should already be an experienced administrator, and he had proved himself a warrior by the conquests he had made. His ability to cope effectively with deities was demonstrated before he became ruler of Tututepec. However, he is descended from 5 Alligator's second marriage, and there may well have been some question concerning the propriety of a son of a second marriage inheriting a locality of such great prestige as Tilantongo. It was thus apparently very desirable -- and perhaps essential -- for 8 Deer to have his nose perforated in order to increase his status and so become acceptable as 12 Movement's heir.

The performance of the nose piercing rite seems to have been totally under the control of 4 Jaguar, and consequently it is to him that 8 Deer must address his request. In the Colombino-Becker the impetus for this ceremony is shown as originating with 4 Jaguar, his

representative being pictured travelling to meet 8 Deer's embassy (Colombino 9-III), but my analysis of the events themselves indicates that it was actually 8 Deer who took the initiative. The presentation in the Colombino is doubtless intended to increase 8 Deer's status by making it appear as though 4 Jaguar had decided to honour 8 Deer.

8 Deer selected the humpback 10 Wind to be his representative in requesting the nose perforation ceremony from 4 Jaguar. I have suggested that men with this physical deformity may have been considered to have unusual powers, for such individuals appear in the penultimate group shown later in the Becker (2-II-III) defending the Sun God, where I have proposed they are ranged in an increasingly supernatural sequence. If so, 8 Deer would then have elected to send to 4 Jaguar a man whose very physical appearance suggested the supernatural.

10 Wind has to fulfil several purification rites before finally being allowed to meet 4 Jaguar (Colombino 10-III-II), but the latter rejects his request. 8 Deer then appoints a second man to accompany 10 Wind back to 4 Jaguar; this second man has to undergo the same cleansing rites that 10 Wind had done, before the two of them could meet 4 Jaguar (Colombino 9-II-I), only to have this second request also rejected. Such rituals preceding an audience are not depicted elsewhere in the Mixtec codices, and had 4 Jaguar actually sent for 8 Deer's representatives as the Colombino is painted to suggest, it

does not seem likely he would have required such rites of them. That he did so seems a clear indication their appearances were unsolicited, and that the impetus for the nose piercing ceremony consequently lay with 8 Deer.

Since it was crucial to 8 Deer to have his nose perforated, the urgency of the situation forced him to appeal for aid to the goddess ♀ 9 Reed (Colombino 10-I). He is thus shown again as capable of dealing directly with deities, this time influencing a goddess to assist him against such an important personage as 4 Jaguar. 4 Jaguar did not yield his position easily, however, even when confronted by ♀ 9 Reed (Colombino 11-12-I), although she is able to force him to agree to play a ball game against 8 Deer to settle the request. 8 Deer's entire future career probably depended upon this game, for if he lost, 4 Jaguar would never grant him the nose perforation rite he needed to qualify him to become 12 Movement's heir. The first face-to-face encounter between 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar occurs at this ball game (Colombino 11-II-III), and 8 Deer is apparently the victor in the game.

8 Deer then visits the goddess ♀ 9 Grass at her 'Skull Temple' (Colombino 12-III). Fourteen years earlier, it was from this same temple that he had begun his final peregrination to take control of Tututepec, and although he does not now make a peregrination directly from this site, he does begin one shortly after visiting the goddess. First, however, it is necessary for him to capture a prisoner (Colom-

bino 13-III), apparently to serve as an offering when he presents himself for the nose perforation ceremony.

This accomplished, 8 Deer then sets off on the peregrination, displaying his symbols and the prisoner (Colombino 13-14-III-II). These are the same symbols that were first shown many years earlier at the 'Skull Temple' and then during the peregrination to Tututepec. In the present instance, however, some of these symbols are drawn on top of the place signs for the localities being visited, which appears to indicate that 8 Deer is claiming control over these sites, although this might seem more appropriately done after, rather than before, the nose piercing rite.

In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 51-III), 12 Movement is shown accompanying 8 Deer on this peregrination. In the Colombino-Becker the calendar and personal names of all individuals except the prisoner have been intentionally omitted, making identifications difficult. It would seem likely, however, that 12 Movement not only participated in the events that followed 8 Deer's success in the ball game, but actually played a major role in them, for he was intimately concerned with the goal of securing a future ruler for Tilantongo towards which all these activities were directed.

In the Colombino (13-II-I), the site at which 8 Deer's nose is pierced has been identified by Smith (1966: 160-162; 1973: 70-71) as Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán. It is not 4 Jaguar himself who actually perforates 8 Deer's nose, however, but apparently one of his

assistants, although 4 Jaguar may be depicted in the Colombino holding the ornament that is to be inserted into the nose. This ceremony takes place on the Day 1 Wind. Several days later, 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar meet (Colombino 13-I), and since this meeting occurs after the piercing rite, 8 Deer is able to meet 4 Jaguar with all the advantages of his new status, as well as probably now being assured of becoming the heir to Tilantongo. Later, 8 Deer apparently makes several conquests, assisted by his younger brother 9 Flower (Colombino 14-15-I).

There are a number of parallels between 8 Deer's actions before he becomes ruler of Tututepec, and those that precede his nose perforation ritual at Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán. In both cases the crucial factor appears to have been his playing -- and apparently winning -- a ball game against a powerful opponent. After both games 8 Deer participates in conquests. In both instances he visits the goddess ♀ 9 Grass at her 'Skull Temple'. He makes a peregrination to reach both Tututepec and Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán, displaying his symbols during the journey; and although the drawing of the scene at Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán is partially destroyed, it appears that these symbols are probably shown within a building there, just as they are at Tututepec. Immediately following the depictions of both Tututepec and Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán, 8 Deer is shown wearing practically the identical garb and seated in front of the site as he meets an important individual, his position indicating that he is

the host for the meeting. After both these meetings he again makes conquests.

Based on the similar patterns of these two series of events, I have suggested that 8 Deer gained control of Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán at the time his nose was perforated there.

After the completion of the nose piercing ceremony and the meeting and conquests which followed, 8 Deer then begins another peregrination which will take him to Tilantongo. He is first shown (Colombino 17-I) kindling fire in a fire-log in front of a building within which is a large round bag, an object that appears frequently among displays of his symbols. A fire-log was also among the symbols he took to Tututepec, but it was not pictured being used there. The area in front of the present building has been totally erased in the Colombino, so that it is not now possible to determine whether additional symbols were shown there, although none appear during his ensuing peregrination.

8 Deer now makes a journey (Colombino 17-II) that almost exactly duplicates the one he had made 14 years earlier as he travelled to take control of Tututepec. Five of the same six places which I have suggested refer to the origin and ancestry of the Mixtecs, are again visited, the single locality now omitted being the site represented by the split and chequered peaks. This omission may imply that this place was of lesser importance than the other five, or that its connotations did not fit the purposes of the present journey.

8 Deer then performs the rites which are necessary when a new ruler is not the first son of the previous ruler. The scenes in the Colombino (15-II) are damaged and retouched, but forms of the ritual are also depicted in the Selden (4-IV, 5-II, 5-III, 9-I, 14-III) and Bodley (8-II), and perhaps in an aberrant fashion in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' (1902: 25-III). 8 Deer is actually becoming the co-ruler of Tilantongo with his half-brother 12 Movement. In the Colombino (15-III, 17-III), a very badly damaged scene probably shows only 8 Deer meeting a group of men. The corresponding event is one of the most famous in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 53-IV-68-I), however, occupying almost one-quarter of that codex. In it, 8 Deer and 12 Movement are depicted at Tilantongo facing a group of 112 men, some of whom appear to have come from as far away as Tlaxcala (Nicholson 1967b) to attend the meeting. This meeting occurs on the Day 9 Wind, the sixtieth day after 8 Deer's nose perforation, and the name-day of the Wind God. 8 Deer's more elaborate garb and more prominent position in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', and the possible exclusion of 12 Movement from the Colombino-Becker depiction of this event, may represent attempts to inflate his status at the expense of 12 Movement.

In the Colombino (17-18-III), the final scene of this Year 7 House shows 12 Movement, 9 Flower, and 8 Flower meeting 8 Deer. These three are 8 Deer's siblings and they have all laid their weapons in the position indicating peaceful intent; the meeting ap-



pears to be similar to that of 8 Deer's prior meeting with the large group of men. The depiction of 9 Flower and 8 Flower as essentially subordinate to 8 Deer is in all probability true, but this would definitely not seem to be the case for 12 Movement, and his inclusion in the group is probably another attempt by the artists of the Colombino-Becker to increase 8 Deer's status beyond that which he had actually achieved.

All the events shown in the Colombino-Becker for the Year 7 House have stressed 8 Deer's activities: his efforts to obtain the nose perforation from 4 Jaguar and his eventual success, his conquests and peregrinations, his meeting the large group of men and subsequently meeting his siblings. Yet these events are neither occurring because of 8 Deer, nor do they derive their importance from him; rather, they stem entirely from the life of his half-brother 12 Movement. The time chosen is the symbolic occasion of 12 Movement reaching the age of 52 years; the purpose is for him to clarify the inheritance of power at Tilantongo; and the necessity for doing so is due to his failure to marry and beget a child to be his heir. 12 Movement has selected 8 Deer as his heir in preference to one of his nephews, the sons of his sister, and he has probably carefully chosen the time at which he completes a cycle of 52 years as the symbolic moment to proclaim this heir publicly.

Because of subsequent events, it does not seem too probable that 12 Movement completely relinquished control over Tilantongo and

allowed 8 Deer to become its sole ruler. Instead, what seems intended is a period of co-rulership that will last for the remainder of 12 Movement's life, as an intermediate step in the transfer of power from the older man to the younger. This would seem a very useful procedure, particularly if there was some opposition to 8 Deer as being unsuitable to rule such an important site as Tilantongo, for it would emphasise 12 Movement's support of him. In the ensuing relationship of the half-brothers, 12 Movement would probably still consider 8 Deer to be his subordinate in most things pertaining to Tilantongo, while 8 Deer may have had much of the responsibility for the control of the area without necessarily having the concomitant privileges or actual power. As long as 12 Movement was alive, he probably would be generally regarded as the 'real' ruler of Tilantongo, with 8 Deer relegated to a secondary position.

8 Deer might have been opposed as the future ruler of Tilantongo for another reason than merely being the child of a second marriage. For the previous 14 years he has ruled Tututepec, and he could well have become an important force in the coastal area. He may now also have acquired hegemony over Tulixtla huaca of Jicayán, where his nose was perforated. Should he also obtain control of the prestigious site of Tilantongo, he would then hold influence over a wide area of the Mixteca, and there might be fears that he would use such power to create an 'empire'. This may well have been 8 Deer's intent, and the time at which he will be murdered may be chosen in part to prevent

his passing on to a single son the extensive area he had come to control.

Even though 8 Deer appears to have been acknowledged as 12 Movement's heir, he would have remained keenly aware of the older man's two nephews. As long as they were alive, they posed a potential threat to his future right to rule Tilantongo, for they were the only other males descended from 5 Alligator's first marriage. There are no data in the surviving codices that can be interpreted as indicating that 6 Lizard's sons ever intended to make a claim to being 12 Movement's heirs. Regardless of this, however, the potentiality for their doing so would always exist, because it was based upon their own ancestry. But although 8 Deer may have viewed these two brothers as a potential threat, he certainly could not have acted against them while 12 Movement was living.

The set of events that began with 8 Deer's attempts to have his nose pierced, do not end when he has assumed the position of co-ruler of Tilantongo but instead continue on in an unbroken sequence in the following Year 8 Rabbit, when he becomes 35 years old. On the Day 4 Wind, 60 days after the date on which he and probably 12 Movement met the large group of men, he is shown in the Colombino (18-19-III) beginning the peregrination by which his symbols will be taken to Tilantongo. Although the latter part of this journey is now missing from the Colombino-Becker with the loss of the pages following Colombino 19, this peregrination may represent his formal

return to Tilantongo as a person having power there. Just as these symbols had previously been taken to Tututepec and to Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán, so too they must now be brought to Tilantongo.

The peregrination by which this occurs is divided into two phases. The first phase is shown in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 69-I-II) as culminating in a human sacrifice, although this cannot be confirmed in the Colombino (19-18-II) because of the destruction of portions of the text. I have suggested that this part of the journey may occur in an area that is hostile to 8 Deer. The second phase is still continuing in the Colombino (18-II-19-I) at the point where a portion of the codex is now lost. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 70-I-II), this phase ends with 8 Deer's arrival at Tilantongo.

Since in my interpretation the goddess ♀ 9 Reed was of crucial importance to 8 Deer in securing his nose perforation, it would seem appropriate that he thank her in some way, and this peregrination may be in part intended to serve that purpose. However, the goddess herself does not actually appear during it; instead, in the Colombino (19-I) she may be included in a place sign, and in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 69-I) her head is shown being carried. 8 Deer may not only have wanted to thank her for her past assistance, but also perhaps to request her future support, for he is soon to have another conflict with 4 Jaguar.

Section I of the surviving text of the Colombino-Becker, comprising Colombino Fragments I and III, ends at this point, and the second meeting of 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar is known only from the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 70). The two men have not met since shortly after 8 Deer's nose was pierced, and since 4 Jaguar had been forced to grant 8 Deer that ceremony after having twice refused his requests for it, it seems possible that 4 Jaguar might well have desired to attempt some form of retaliation, either actual or symbolic. In their prior ball game, 8 Deer had been the challenger and the game had been held at a site apparently under 4 Jaguar's control; now 4 Jaguar may be the challenger and the conflict takes place at Tilantongo, which has come under 8 Deer's co-rulership. The Day 9 Snake of their combat is the same date as that on which 8 Deer had, the preceding year, requested the goddess ♀ 9 Reed to aid him against 4 Jaguar. The actual outcome of the battle between the two men is not depicted in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', but 32 days later they are both shown peacefully making offerings at a small temple. Since they subsequently undertake the trip to the Sun God together, they must have reached some mutually satisfactory accommodation.

There follows in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' a long series of place signs representing conquered localities, some of the latter of these being depicted in the first two extant pages of Section II of the Colombino-Becker, which is composed of Colombino Fragment IV and Becker Fragment 1. I have suggested that probably at least six pages

of pictorial text are now lost from the Colombino-Becker between its surviving Sections I and II.

This series of conquests (Colombino 20-21) by 8 Deer follows his becoming co-ruler of Tilantongo and the movement of his symbols to that site. It is similar to the earlier attacks he made after becoming ruler of Tututepec and again after his nose had been pierced at Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán. It is possible that some localities normally subject to Tilantongo rebelled against acknowledging him as their present co-ruler and future ruler, as also may have been true when he gained control of Tututepec. If so, the greater number of conquests he is now shown making in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', in comparison with those he made after becoming ruler of Tututepec, may reflect the relative importance of the two towns.

These conquests are shown in the Colombino-Becker as immediately preceding the journey to the Sun God in which 4 Jaguar and 12 Movement also participate. While it seems questionable whether 8 Deer would have received military assistance from 4 Jaguar for these conquests, the presence of 12 Movement in the subsequent events suggests that the attacks were actually a military operation jointly captained by the two half-brothers, rather than solely 8 Deer's responsibility.

The final scene for the year shows the meeting of 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar as they prepare to begin the trip to the Sun God. This Year 8 Rabbit may have been the year for which the greatest amount

of information about 8 Deer was originally given in the entire Colombino-Becker. Although the events of this year now occupy less than four complete pages in the surviving codex, the probable loss of some six or more pages between Sections I and II would mean that the original pictorial data had probably occupied at least some ten pages. The events of the prior Year 7 House have filled eight pages of text, and those of the following Year 9 Reed will occupy at least another seven extant pages. These figures indicate the great importance in 8 Deer's life of these three years.

The arduous journey to the Sun God, which 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar are preparing to begin, occurs entirely in the Year 9 Reed, when 8 Deer will become 36 years old and 12 Movement will reach the age of 54 years. The trip is undertaken by a group composed of 8 Deer, 4 Jaguar, 12 Movement, 9 Flower, and an individual who cannot now be identified; and it is shown in the Colombino-Becker as being both difficult and dangerous. During it there will be repeated battles and encounters with personages I have suggested become increasingly more supernatural as the humans draw closer to their goal, which is the Sun God himself.

The Codex Bodley (33-IV, 33-II), however, shows two other instances in which an individual reaches the Sun God without apparently encountering any prior difficulties. One of these will be accomplished by 4 Wind when he is only 13 years old, an age at which he would not have been capable of confronting the dangers that the

Colombino-Becker depicts for 8 Deer and his companions. Therefore there would seem to be two different methods of approaching this god, and the choice between them may be based on the purposes of the persons undertaking the trip. 4 Wind's experiences demonstrate that it is possible to meet this deity without any obstacles needing to be overcome, as is true for other Mixtec gods. However, 8 Deer and his companions risk their lives and contend in several battles before eventually securing an audience with the deity. These differences suggest that there would be small purpose in approaching the Sun God in this difficult fashion unless the overcoming of these barriers served to gain some special privilege or concession from him that could not be obtained in any other way.

As an hypothesis to be considered in attempting to interpret the events of the journey made by 8 Deer's group, I have proposed that they may have entered a supernatural environment rather than being in the normal material world. The pattern of activities shown for them in the Colombino-Becker is a series of battles with beings whose supernaturalness appears to increase as the group penetrates nearer to the deity. The goal of the humans is apparently to participate in a special ritual held before the Sun God, and although the purpose and meaning of this ceremony is not now clear, I have suggested that it might represent a type of oracular prediction made by the deity concerning the future of the men.



The journey is depicted in the Colombino (21-I) as beginning with a meeting of 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar in a ball court. Both are fully armed, indicating that they knew in advance they would encounter opposition during the trip. Since 12 Movement is shown later as also participating in the expedition, the prominence given to 8 Deer in this scene may be merely another example of the usual bias of the Colombino-Becker text.

Although the group of humans is armed, they are not intent upon conquest, for the only conquest arrows shown in the Colombino-Becker during their entire journey occur in their first adventure, when the group is pictured crossing a turbulent body of water (Colombino 22-23). I have suggested that it is the crossing of this water that gives the group access to a supernatural environment. The crossing itself seems to have been so difficult and dangerous that its successful completion was likened to a victory and so characterised by conquest arrows. This scene, which is among the largest in the surviving Mixtec screenfold manuscripts, occupies two complete pages in the Colombino-Becker and contains five figures, but the artist has omitted all personal and calendar names.

The subsequent scenes (Colombino 24-Becker 2) show a repeated pattern of the group reaching a particular site and then having to engage in battle in order to be able to continue their advance. Their opponents become increasingly more supernatural in appearance, the final group consisting of two men whose cut-open chests indicate

they had already been sacrificed (Becker 2-III). These sacrificed warriors are fulfilling the religious role specified for such victims, by defending and protecting the sun. The body of 4 Grass, one of these two warriors, had been shown in front of 8 Deer and ♀ 6 Monkey 16 years earlier during the events preceding 8 Deer's becoming ruler of Tututepec (Colombino 4-II).

After the humans have successfully fought their way past the various obstacles, they are finally admitted into the presence of 1 Death, the Sun God. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 78-II-III) pictures both 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar, in subservient positions, presenting gifts to the deity. The Becker (3-III), however, shows only 8 Deer, and depicts him seated with the deity in a position that implies near equality; this is doubtless another example of 8 Deer's status being inflated. Both the Becker (3-II-I) and the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 78-III) then show 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar kindling fire in a fire-log. The Sun God does not participate in this ceremony and it would therefore appear to be connected only with the mortals of the group. Both texts also show that the deity reciprocated the gifts of the two men (Becker 3-II-I; Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' 1902: 79-III-IV).

The Colombino-Becker then presents the climax of the entire journey in a large scene occupying a full page (Becker 4). In front of the Sun God, 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar point to a depression between two bases whose sides are decorated with sacrificial and

stellar symbols, while 12 Movement brandishes his weapons. Below these bases three place signs are depicted: one has been identified by Smith (1973: 72, 74) as Tulancingo of Coixtlahuaca; the other two are 'Flint' and 'Bound Bundle', the latter being drawn slightly larger in size than the others. All the energies and resources which the humans have spent during their journey to this deity have been aimed at securing participation in this event. Although this complex scene cannot be clearly interpreted, I have suggested that it might represent an oracular prediction. This is based principally upon the presence of the three place signs, none of which has previously appeared in the extant Colombino-Becker, but each of which will be shown later in association with specific individuals: Tulancingo of Coixtlahuaca with 4 Jaguar, 'Flint' with 4 Wind, and in the Codex Bodley (10-I) 8 Deer appears to be connected with 'Bound Bundle'.

4 Jaguar is the only person known to be associated with Tulancingo of Coixtlahuaca, appearing in front of it in its only other depiction in the extant Colombino-Becker (Becker 14-I). 'Flint' is clearly connected with 4 Wind, who will become its ruler 21 years in the future after he has murdered 8 Deer, although in the present Year 9 Reed he has not yet been depicted in the Colombino-Becker text and is still only a child seven years in age. The larger size in which the sign for 'Bound Bundle' is drawn might be a subtle reference to the importance of the locality and particularly to its later association with 8 Deer. The extant Colombino-Becker does not

show him becoming ruler of this site, but this may have been pictured in the pages lost between Sections II and III of the manuscript.

12 Movement appears in this scene fully armed as though prepared for battle, in contrast to the unarmed and peaceful postures of 8 Deer and 4 Jaguar. All three men have been together since the start of this journey, so 12 Movement would presumably have had the same motives and purposes as the others in making the trip; however, in the Colombino-Becker he is not shown in the presence of the Sun God except in this one scene, and even here none of the three place signs appears to be related to him. If indeed the present scene involves an oracular prediction concerning the future, 12 Movement's belligerent appearance might not be directed against his two companions or the solar deity, but rather against the nature of the prediction concerning him. His own death is imminent, for this is his last appearance in the extant Colombino-Becker before he is shown being killed.

Rather than this scene merely indicating the connexion between an individual and a particular site, the original context may have been a much more complex and integrated presentation of the inter-relationships that were to develop among the persons associated with each of these three localities. 'Bound Bundle' will be the place where 8 Deer sacrifices the two nephews of 12 Movement, and with their deaths and that of 12 Movement himself, the male descent

from 5 Alligator's first marriage will be extinguished. 4 Wind, who is a half-brother to the two men killed by 8 Deer, will later murder 8 Deer and eventually become ruler of 'Flint'. 4 Jaguar will gain control of Tulancingo of Coixtlahuaca and will apparently attempt to kill 4 Wind, only to be stopped by the Sun God and ordered to perforate 4 Wind's nose.

Section II of the extant Colombino-Becker ends with this scene before the Sun God, which is also the final event for the Year 9 Reed to have survived in the codex. During the three Years 7 House, 8 Rabbit, and 9 Reed, 8 Deer has sought and achieved his goal of being accepted as the heir to Tilantongo, reinforced his position by extensive conquests, and made a remarkable trip to the Sun God, perhaps to obtain a prediction of his future. Nevertheless, 12 Movement probably continues to be regarded by most persons as the 'real' ruler of Tilantongo. Not until the older man is dead will 8 Deer be able to assume full control of this town; and even then, in order to consolidate his position completely, he must remove the potential threat that will always be posed by 12 Movement's two nephews. By the time he has completed his visit to the Sun God, 8 Deer appears to have achieved all that he can accomplish while he is still merely co-ruler of Tilantongo with 12 Movement.

Between Sections II and III of the Colombino-Becker I have suggested that perhaps no more than two pages may be missing. A peregrination by 8 Deer might have been pictured on these lost pages,

and probably the sign for the Year 10 Flint would be given. 8 Deer becomes 37 years of age during this year, and it is the fifty-fifth and final year of life for 12 Movement. In addition, unique information concerning 4 Jaguar would have occurred in these missing pages, since events are depicted being concluded in the lower part of the first surviving page of Section III (Becker 5-II) that appear to show him meeting one of his associates. None of the men in this latter scene has been given a name by the artist, however, although the site of the meeting is fully delineated. Section III of the extant codex consists of Becker Fragment 2, Colombino Fragment II, and Becker Fragment 3.

The continuous text of Section III begins on the fragmentary page Becker 5a, where there still remains a small part of a drawing of a seated figure, followed by two conquests not depicted in any other Mixtec manuscript (Becker 5a-5-I). These data suggest the final portion of the pattern that has been demonstrated previously as occurring each time 8 Deer gains control of another major site: he meets an important person, then carries out a series of conquests. If this pattern is applicable to the present circumstances, 8 Deer has probably become the ruler of 'Bound Bundle', as the Bodley (10-I) appears to indicate. All the information relative to his obtaining control of this locality would have been pictured in the pages lost between Sections II and III.

The killing of 12 Movement is then depicted (Becker 5-I). The scene of his death has been separated from the preceding conquests by a pale red line to indicate that it did not result from those battles. He is killed at 'Sweatbath', and the two consecutive Days 11 Death and 12 Deer are given. No antecedent events are shown in either the Colombino-Becker or Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 81-I) to account for his death.

The man who has ruled Tilantongo for 18 years thus dies under mysterious circumstances. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 81-I) another man is shown cutting out his heart, but the Becker scene, although partially destroyed and retouched, is not sufficiently large enough to contain the depiction of another person. Nor is there any apparent reason for 12 Movement's death, since he is not pictured being captured in battle nor even offering himself voluntarily for sacrifice. Of the two days cited in the Becker, the Day 12 Deer falls exactly midway between occurrences of his name-day, and could imply that his death was planned in advance for this specific time.

12 Movement is 55 years old in the Year 10 Flint when he is killed. His death simultaneously elevates 8 Deer to sole control of Tilantongo and opens the way for him to contend directly with 12 Movement's two nephews. There is no extant evidence in any Mixtec manuscript implicating 8 Deer in 12 Movement's death, but the coincidence of his dying mysteriously just when he had essentially outlived any further usefulness to 8 Deer cannot help but raise the

question of 8 Deer's possible involvement. The evidence is entirely circumstantial, however. 8 Deer will not take action against the rulers of 'Sweatbath', where 12 Movement was killed, but instead will attack 'Red and White Bundle', the home of 12 Movement's two nephews, although there does not appear to be any indication that this latter family was responsible for 12 Movement's death. But blaming the two nephews for their uncle's death will justify his conquering them, and this is necessary if 8 Deer is to eliminate any possible future conflict over his right to control Tilantongo.

The celebration of 12 Movement's funeral services is then recorded in the Colombino-Becker, and the events that immediately follow it appear to be the rites by which 8 Deer takes full control of Tilantongo (Becker 6-I-8-III). 8 Deer plays a major role in all the funeral ceremonies, assisted by his younger brother 9 Flower, who is also 12 Movement's half-brother, and by 5 Rain, whose genealogical descent is unknown. Notably absent during these occasions are the only living descendants of 12 Movement's own family line, his niece and two nephews who live at 'Red and White Bundle', and their father 11 Wind, who is 12 Movement's former brother-in-law.

Because of the erasures of crucial parts of these scenes, it is now difficult to distinguish between the end of the funeral services and the beginning of those rites by which 8 Deer becomes the sole ruler of Tilantongo. In addition, the internal structural arrangement of some of these scenes is such that the boundaries



between them are not clear, which contributes further to the difficulties of interpretation. With the death of 12 Movement, however, 8 Deer would have inherited Tilantongo, and he probably wanted to make his position clear by performing the necessary rituals as soon as 12 Movement's funeral was completed.

5 Rain, who assists 8 Deer during the funeral rites, has not been depicted in the extant Colombino-Becker for 17 years. His only other prior appearance occurred in the Year 6 Reed, when he aided 8 Deer during the events directly preceding the latter's taking control of Tututepec. Since he performed these services when 8 Deer was gaining the first site he is known to have ruled, it is appropriate that 5 Rain also assist at the funeral rites for 12 Movement, for these immediately precede 8 Deer's finally obtaining complete control of Tilantongo, the last and most important site he is to rule.

The key scene in the Colombino-Becker depiction of the events following the funeral unfortunately has been partially destroyed, although there still remains a complex base supporting a decorated building within which is a very large depiction of the round bag (Becker 9-I-II). This round bag is a major component in the ceremony performed by a new ruler when he is not the first son of the previous ruler, and it is possible that 8 Deer was originally shown here carrying out such a rite. However, this ceremony normally takes place at the site which the new ruler is to control, while the present drawing contains none of the elements of the Tilantongo sign as these have

been identified by Caso (1966: 33). It is also possible that since 8 Deer has already performed this ceremony once (Colombino 15-II), when he became co-ruler of Tilantongo, it is now necessary that he carry out the rite at another locality.

A series of place signs and symbols are shown in front of this building, followed by two men, each carrying an irregular red object in one hand and a small baton in the other, and having neither personal nor calendar names (Becker 9-8-II-III). The nature of these two personages is not clear, but they will also appear again in a later scene (Becker 12) that confirms 8 Deer's control of Tilantongo. Since in the present events he is now becoming the sole ruler of that town following 12 Movement's funeral rites, it is possible that these two men function as an important part of the ceremony of becoming ruler of Tilantongo.

8 Deer is 37 years of age when he succeeds to the control of Tilantongo in the Year 10 Flint. It had been only a few years earlier, in the Year 7 House, that he had begun the chain of events that has now led to this position of power. But before he can consider that his position is completely secure, he must resolve the problem of 12 Movement's two nephews, who potentially might enter a claim to inherit Tilantongo from their uncle. The mysterious circumstances surrounding 12 Movement's death supply 8 Deer with the opportunity of blaming it upon these two nephews, and he mounts an attack upon their home, 'Red and White Bundle', in the following Year 11 House.

'Red and White Bundle' is ruled by 11 Wind, formerly the husband of 12 Movement's younger sister ♀ 6 Lizard, by whom he fathered the two sons 10 Dog and 6 House, and a daughter ♀ 13 Snake (Bodley 8-IV, 35-IV-III). Twenty-nine years later, after ♀ 6 Lizard has presumably died, 11 Wind married ♀ 6 Monkey, by whom he had two more sons, 4 Wind and 1 Alligator (Bodley 34-II-III; Selden 8-III-IV). In the Year 11 House when 8 Deer attacks, all the members of 11 Wind's two families are apparently still living at 'Red and White Bundle' except his daughter ♀ 13 Snake, who is married and would presumably be living at the site ruled by her husband (Bodley 11-I).

On the Day 12 Monkey of the Year 11 House, the Colombino-Becker shows that 8 Deer conquers the site of 'Red and White Bundle' (Becker 8-9-III) and captures 11 Wind, his second wife ♀ 6 Monkey, their son 4 Wind, and the two sons 10 Dog and 6 House of 11 Wind's first marriage (Becker 10-11-III). 11 Wind and ♀ 6 Monkey are killed by having their hearts cut out (Becker 11-III-II), perhaps soon after being captured. The Bodley (34-33-V-IV) shows that the young 4 Wind escapes, however, and first goes to the goddess ♀ 9 Grass, then to the deity 7 Flower, who apparently aid him. 4 Wind is only nine years old at the time his family is conquered.

10 Dog and 6 House, who are 12 Movement's nephews, are sacrificed by 8 Deer in special rites held the following Year 12 Rabbit at the site of 'Bound Bundle' (Becker 11-10-II-I). 8 Deer apparently found it desirable or necessary to begin their sacrifice ceremonies on the

Day 6 Snake, a date already noted as of great ritual importance to him. Since the Day 12 Monkey on which he conquered 'Red and White Bundle', occurs six days after this Day 6 Snake, it was therefore necessary for him to wait through almost an entire cycle of days for the preferred ritual date to recur, during which interval the next Year 12 Rabbit also began.

In the Colombino-Becker it is 10 Dog, the elder of the two brothers, who is killed by the arrow sacrifice ceremony, while 6 House dies in gladiator combat. In the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 83-III-84-I), the methods by which each man dies are the reverse of this, and the times of their deaths are given as the Days 6 Snake to 1 Reed. This same series of days had been utilised by 8 Deer many years earlier for the final sequence of events by which he became the ruler of Tututepec, and its recurrence here seems a deliberate reference back to those earlier events. Just as he was then obtaining his first important political position, so now the sacrifice of his half-sister's two sons removes the last barrier to his enjoyment of his ultimate political achievement, rule of Tilantongo.

That 8 Deer was concerned principally with killing these two brothers, and not the remainder of their family, seems evident from his sacrificing only the two men in a special manner. Although one of the brothers would have become the heir to 'Red and White Bundle', while the other might have attempted to claim Tilantongo, the fact

that they both shared the identical family descent made it necessary for 8 Deer to kill both of them to remove completely any future threats to his position. 11 Wind and q 6 Monkey may have been slain merely because they defended their home from 8 Deer's attack and tried to protect their children. Neither 11 Wind, q 6 Monkey, nor their sons 4 Wind and 1 Alligator, was related by blood to 12 Movement's family, and 8 Deer apparently never attempts to recapture 4 Wind nor to interfere with his younger brother, who becomes ruler of the site his mother had controlled (Selden 9-I).

In the following Year 13 Reed, 8 Deer will complete the consolidation of his position as 5 Alligator's heir by marrying q 13 Snake, the sister of the two men he has sacrificed and a descendant of 5 Alligator's first marriage. Although she had already been married to another man by whom she has a son, she will bear 8 Deer at least five children after their marriage. None of these genealogical data are recorded in the Colombino-Becker, but they are given in detail in the Bodley (11-12-I-III), and are also found in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' (1902: 26-I) and Vindobonensis Reverse (7-8-I).

There yet remains one very important ceremony for 8 Deer to hold. In the Year 13 Reed, when he is 40 years old, he celebrates his final confirmation as ruler of Tilantongo, the culmination of his achievements in the Mixteca. The scene in the Becker (11-I-12) occupies more than a full page, indicating its great importance, and it is also the final major political event shown in the manuscript for 8 Deer prior to his murder 12 years later.

The ceremony is pictured as an exchange of gifts or offerings between 8 Deer and a group of five men, none of the latter having calendar or personal names. 8 Deer is richly garbed and appears for the first time in the extant Colombino-Becker wearing tripartite face paint. Two of the men meeting him are holding an irregular red object in one hand and a small baton in the other; they are virtually identical to the two men who appeared earlier (Becker 8-III) during the ceremonies that probably marked 8 Deer's first assumption of the sole control of Tilantongo. In the cognate Bodley (10-I) scene, this present meeting occurs at 'Bound Bundle', and the man shown meeting 8 Deer is 13 Jaguar, who is known from the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 55-IV) to be from the same locality as 8 Deer's associate, 5 Rain. This 13 Jaguar would therefore be the leader of the group in the Becker scene, and is presenting and receiving the gifts on behalf of his companions.

For the past six years, beginning in the Year 7 House when he was 34 years old, 8 Deer has been engaged in a lengthy struggle which he has now completed. In the Year 13 Reed he is now 40 years old and has reached the apogee of his power. With the sacrifice of his half-sister's sons he has removed the only possible rivals to his claim to Tilantongo, and is now the undisputed heir to the holdings of his father as well as those lands he has acquired himself. These would include the important coastal town of Tututepec, probably Tulixtlahuaca of Jicayán and 'Bound Bundle', and the prestigious high-

land site of Tilantongo. He should therefore be able to exert his control over an extensive area of the Mixteca, and to influence an even larger zone. He may possibly have created a nascent 'empire' which he plans to pass on to his own son as an hereditary right.

This ceremony of confirmation marks the end of 8 Deer's rise to power, and it also concludes the detailed depiction of his political life in the Codex Colombino-Becker. Although he has an additional 12 years to live, all that will be shown in the remainder of the manuscript concerning him are a few of the events leading directly to his murder, and even in those scenes the emphasis will not be upon him but upon the man responsible for killing him: 4 Wind. The intent of the painters of the Colombino-Becker was to record only 8 Deer's achievement of power, not his utilisation of it.

8 Deer did not reach his position of dominance in the Mixteca without a considerable struggle, but the hypothesis which I have proposed in this study to account for the death of 12 Movement and 8 Deer's subsequent conquest of 'Red and White Bundle' is considerably different from that suggested by Caso (1955; 1966: 39-42) on this same subject. Caso noted that in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' (1902: 68-III), 12 Movement is depicted in the Year 8 Rabbit standing on top of a hill within which is the symbol for 'Red and White Bundle'; and in the Bodley (34-IV), the death bundle of 11 Wind, ruler of this site, is shown beside a damaged date of the Year -- Reed, which he (Caso 1960: 57-58) considered to be the Year 9 Reed. Caso

interpreted these two scenes as indicating that 12 Movement was making a claim to 'Red and White Bundle' because his sister ♀ 6 Lizard had been married to its ruler, who had now died. He considered that a fight for control of the site developed after 11 Wind's death, with one contending group being headed by 12 Movement and the other by the two sons of 11 Wind and ♀ 6 Lizard. 12 Movement was sacrificed in the Year 10 Flint because of this fight, and in the next Year 11 House 8 Deer revenged his half-brother's death by conquering 'Red and White Bundle' and sacrificing the two sons of 11 Wind.

The most crucial point in Caso's hypothesis is whether 12 Movement might legally have mounted a claim to 'Red and White Bundle' on the basis of his sister having been married to its ruler. The pattern of inheritance shown in all the Mixtec genealogical manuscripts reveals quite clearly that he could not possibly have done so. Upon the death of a ruler, the site which he controls passes to his first son. In the present instance, 11 Wind's heir would have been 10 Dog, his first son by his first wife ♀ 6 Lizard. In addition, other potential heirs of that same marriage would have been the second son 6 House, and perhaps a grandson who was the child of a married daughter. 11 Wind had also married a second time, to ♀ 6 Monkey, and had by her two more sons, 4 Wind and 1 Alligator, who might also have been his possible heirs.



Under these circumstances, it would not have been possible for 12 Movement to sustain any legal pretention to 'Red and White Bundle'. Only if the lines of descent from both 11 Wind's two marriages had failed completely, might 12 Movement perhaps have been able to enter a claim, for he did not share a blood relationship with 11 Wind but only with the latter's first wife. But neither of these lines had failed, and therefore the year in which 11 Wind's death occurred is actually irrelevant to the problem of whether 12 Movement could be considered his potential heir. If 11 Wind died in the Year 9 Reed, as Caso has interpreted the Bodley, control of 'Red and White Bundle' would simply have passed to his first son 10 Dog. If 11 Wind survived to be conquered and killed by 8 Deer in the Year 11 House, as the Colombino-Becker indicates, then the question of inheritance would not even have arisen during 12 Movement's lifetime.

Following the scene of 8 Deer's final confirmation of power in the Year 13 Reed when he was 40 years old (Becker 12), the next event recorded for him in the Colombino-Becker does not occur until the Year 10 House, when he has already reached the age of 50 years. His several marriages and the births of his children are not alluded to in the codex, although those for which dates are known all took place between his fortieth and fiftieth years. However, some knowledge of these marriages, and particularly the problems surrounding the births of his first two sons, is essential in order to understand the circumstances of his murder.

The most extensive account of 8 Deer's marriages is found in the Bodley (11-12, 13-14-V), although these are also shown in the Vindobonensis Reverse (8-I-9-III) and Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' (1902: 26-III-27-I). 8 Deer's first marriage takes place in the Year 13 Reed when he is 40 years old and is to ♀ 13 Snake of 'Red and White Bundle', the daughter of his half-sister ♀ 6 Lizard by her husband 11 Wind. 8 Deer makes his second and third marriages when he is 42 years of age. His second wife is ♀ 6 Eagle, daughter of his sister ♀ 9 Monkey and her husband 8 Alligator, ruler of the place 'Skull'. The third wife is ♀ 10 Buzzard, who may have been associated in some way with his younger brother 9 Flower. If so, this marriage probably indicates that 9 Flower has now died. 8 Deer's marriages to two other women, ♀ 11 Snake and ♀ 6 Wind, are not dated. He has children by all these women except ♀ 6 Wind, who is shown as his final wife.

The most important of 8 Deer's children are his first two sons. In the Bodley (12-11-II), his second wife ♀ 6 Eagle is shown bearing him a son in the Year 6 House, when 8 Deer is only 46 years of age. However, the Vindobonensis Reverse (8-III) and Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' (1902: 27-I-II) both date this birth as taking place in the Year 9 Flint, when 8 Deer is 49 years old. All three manuscripts concur in placing the birth of 8 Deer's first son by ♀ 13 Snake, his first wife, in the Year 7 Rabbit, when he is 47 years old (Bodley 11-III; Vindobonensis Reverse 8-I; Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' 1902: 26-III).

The Colombino-Becker omits all these genealogical data and only shows that in the Year 10 House, when he is 50 years old, 8 Deer makes what appears to be a series of conquests (Becker 13-I-III). These conquests apparently set in motion the activities that will culminate in his death, for immediately after them 4 Wind is pictured meeting at the site of 'Flint' with 10 Jaguar, 5 Flint, and another man (Becker 13-14-III). Subsequent depictions in the Colombino-Becker leave no doubt that this scene represents 4 Wind planning the murder of 8 Deer.

4 Wind is 21 years of age in this Year 10 House. He has been depicted in the Colombino-Becker only once before, 12 years earlier when 8 Deer had conquered 'Red and White Bundle' and captured his family. At that time he was only nine years old, but he managed to escape and secured aid from the deities ♀ 9 Grass and 7 Flower (Bodley 34-33-V-IV). Four years later, when he was 13 years of age, he met the Sun God, and subsequently became ruler of the place 'Fire-Serpent' (Bodley 33-34-IV). Therefore for some time he has been old enough to be physically capable of taking revenge upon 8 Deer, but has not yet chosen to do so.

The site at which 4 Wind is shown, 'Flint', is here depicted for the first time since the final scene of 8 Deer's meeting with the Sun God (Becker 4). In this present Year 10 House, however, 4 Wind is not yet the ruler of this locality; his taking control of it still lies seven years in the future. Following this meeting with

the three other men, another two years will elapse before he carries out his plan to kill 8 Deer. This delay occurs for only a single reason -- 4 Wind is waiting for 8 Deer to attain the symbolic age of 52 years.

It is the Year 12 Reed that 8 Deer reaches his fifty-second anniversary, and 4 Wind puts his plan into action. On the Day 12 House, the Colombino-Becker depicts 5 Flint leading 4 Wind and a man in a jaguar helmet who might be 8 Deer (Becker 14-III-Colombino 16-III). All three men carry bows and arrows. This weapon, which will also be shown at the scene of 8 Deer's death, is not otherwise pictured in the surviving Colombino-Becker except during the crossing of the turbulent water at the start of the trip to the Sun God (Colombino 22). Its appearance now is probably very important, and could have indicated to the native reader the area to which the group was going or the activity in which they were supposed to be engaging.

Then the crucial scene of 8 Deer's murder is shown (Colombino 16-II), although it is not accorded any special prominence in the pictorial text of the Colombino-Becker. On the Day 12 House he is pictured lying face downwards below an arched design, while a man steps from an opening below him and cuts out his heart. Standing by looking on are 4 Wind and 10 Jaguar. The name of the man actually wielding the flint knife was probably originally given in the Colombino but is now totally destroyed. 10 Jaguar is identified by his

calendar name, now partially erased, and his characteristic mass of hair. The calendar names of 8 Deer and 4 Wind, however, were omitted by the artist, but 4 Wind is shown in his normal 'fire-serpent' helmet, and 8 Deer wears his typical jaguar helmet, enabling each to be identified readily.

The Bodley (14-V-IV) records a quite different account of 8 Deer's death, 4 Wind's involvement being totally omitted. On the Day 1 Grass of the Year 12 Reed, 8 Deer is depicted holding a bow and arrow and travelling towards a site where the calendar and personal names of his second wife ♀ 6 Eagle have been attached to a bird perched in a tree. He is then shown across a sacrificial stone having his heart cut out by a man named 9 Wind, while 10 Jaguar watches. Eleven days later, on the Day 12 House, his death bundle is depicted within an enclosed area while 8 Alligator looks on.

Caso (1960: 41) interpreted these Bodley events as indicating that 8 Deer was captured while attacking the home of ♀ 6 Eagle, but this cannot be true because her parents 8 Alligator and ♀ 9 Monkey rule the place 'Skull' (Bodley 12-I), and neither it nor the sign for the locality controlled by her first husband (Bodley 12-I-II) contains any of the elements pictured in the Bodley site to which 8 Deer is going. I have suggested instead that the appearance of ♀ 6 Eagle's name might indicate that she was the person who informed 4 Wind of 8 Deer's plans to go to this particular locality and so enabled him to be captured.

8 Alligator is simultaneously 8 Deer's brother-in-law, as the husband of his sister ♀ 9 Monkey, and father-in-law, as the father of his wife ♀ 6 Eagle. He may also now be 8 Deer's closest living adult male relative, since 8 Deer's younger brother and maternal half-brother appear to have died, and all his sons are only small children. 10 Jaguar, who appears in both the Colombino-Becker and Bodley depictions of 8 Deer's murder, will be shown again in the latter codex in a procession honouring 4 Wind (Bodley 32-II-III). His presence in this later event probably indicates that the Bodley artist was well aware of 4 Wind's role in 8 Deer's death but deliberately suppressed it.

One of the reasons 4 Wind would have for wanting to kill 8 Deer would of course have been that of personal revenge: 8 Deer had conquered his home, killed his parents, sacrificed his two older half-brothers, and married his half-sister. In addition, however, 4 Wind may have also had a political motive for planning to kill 8 Deer. He might have been brought into contact with ♀ 6 Eagle by the need of having an ally who could inform him of 8 Deer's plans.

♀ 6 Eagle was only 8 Deer's second wife, but according to the Bodley (12-II) she bore him a son named 6 House one year before his first wife ♀ 13 Snake gave birth to her first son 4 Dog (Bodley 11-III). If so, this would have created an anomalous situation for 8 Deer, for his first son, who should be his principal heir, would then not be the child of his first wife. But 8 Deer had married ♀ 13

Snake, a granddaughter of 5 Alligator, in order to legitimise his own position as 5 Alligator's heir, and it seems quite clear that he would have expected the first son of this marriage to be the one to inherit his extensive holdings.

Since the Vindobonensis Reverse (8-II-III) and Zouche-Nuttall 'Obverse' (1902: 27-I-II) both show ♀ 6 Eagle's child being born two years after ♀ 13 Snake's first son, it may be possible that 8 Deer attempted to remedy the problem caused by the birth sequence of the two boys by deliberately relegating ♀ 6 Eagle's son to a later date in order to give preference to ♀ 13 Snake's child. If so, ♀ 6 Eagle would see herself being robbed of the rights and privileges she should receive as mother of the first-born, with her only son forced to occupy a minor position among 8 Deer's other children.

8 Deer might well have considered the celebration of his fifty-second year to be the appropriate time to clarify which of his sons was to be his heir -- just as, years before, 12 Movement had acknowledged 8 Deer as his heir upon reaching the age of 52 years. If ♀ 6 Eagle's son was to maintain a claim to being 8 Deer's heir, it would be necessary for 8 Deer to be killed before he could irrevocably indicate a preference for ♀ 13 Snake's son. In the absence of any public ceremony by 8 Deer, ♀ 6 Eagle might then be able to claim as her son's birthright the control of 8 Deer's most important town, Tilantongo. ♀ 6 Eagle might therefore have been willing to help with 4 Wind's plans to kill 8 Deer, in order to ensure her own son's future.

4 Wind may also have been motivated by political considerations in preparing to kill 8 Deer at this particular time. If 8 Deer died while all his children were still small, and particularly before he had made any clear decisions about the inheritances of the individual sons, the potential 'empire' he had created would be fragmented. Without a strong central figure to hold the area together, and with ♀ 6 Eagle asserting her son's rights to the important site of Tilantongo, 4 Wind might have foreseen a major division of 8 Deer's territory between the sons of ♀ 6 Eagle and ♀ 13 Snake, with perhaps other wives claiming lesser sites for their sons. Such a division would destroy any hopes 8 Deer might have had of founding a dynasty whose effective centralised authority would extend over a sizeable region of the Mixteca. In addition, 8 Deer's death and the lack of any single adult to replace him would also supply an opportunity for all disaffected rulers of subsidiary towns to revolt and assert their independence, thus further fragmenting the area which 8 Deer had united. 4 Wind would thus not only have killed his enemy, but would also have destroyed a major part of his political accomplishments.

Following the depiction of 8 Deer's murder in the Colombino-Becker, the next scene (Colombino 16-II-Becker 14-II) shows the badly damaged figure of 4 Wind at the site of 'Bound Bundle', facing a building containing the round bag. The scene has been partially destroyed, although it resembles the ceremony performed when the new



ruler of a site is not the son of the preceding ruler. 'Bound Bundle', according to the Bodley (10-I), had earlier passed under 8 Deer's control, and if 4 Wind is now attempting to become its ruler, he apparently fails, for no extant text shows him in control of this locality. It is also possible that 4 Wind is carrying out some other ceremony, perhaps of expiation for having killed 8 Deer, or even a ritual in memory of his own family, for 8 Deer had sacrificed his two half-brothers at this site.

No funeral rites are shown for 8 Deer in the Colombino-Becker, and after the depiction of his murder there is no further reference to him in the surviving manuscript. Nothing could reveal more clearly that it was only 8 Deer's rise to power that was of importance in the composition of this historical text.

Other than performing a ceremony at 'Bound Bundle', 4 Wind apparently makes no claim to any of the localities controlled by 8 Deer, but rather continues to rule only 'Fire-Serpent'. By maintaining his normal pattern of activities he may have hoped to keep secret his role in 8 Deer's death. ♀ 6 Wind is shown (Becker 14-II) meeting 4 Wind at 'Fire-Serpent'; she is pictured in the Bodley (13-14-V) as 8 Deer's final wife, and the only one by which he did not have children. I have suggested that 8 Deer was her first husband, and that she was probably still a young woman at the time of his death. 4 Wind is himself only 23 years old, and perhaps ♀ 6 Wind postulated their marriage, but nothing is known to result from their meeting.

The final event for the Year 12 Reed shows a man for whom all the distinguishing characteristics have now been erased, meeting 4 Jaguar at a place identified by Smith (1973: 72, 74) as Tulancingo of Coixtlahuaca (Becker 14-I). This marks the first appearance of this site in the extant Colombino-Becker since it was shown in the final scene of the journey to the Sun God (Becker 4). Since it does not appear to be the same locality as that at which 8 Deer's representatives had met 4 Jaguar many years before (Colombino 9-12), it is not clear whether 4 Jaguar has now additionally acquired control over it, or if the meeting is merely held there.

The text of the Colombino-Becker then skips to the Year 2 Rabbit, three years after 8 Deer's death. A group of 4 Jaguar's men begin a journey (Colombino 16-I), led by a man carrying an object similar to that which 4 Wind held as he witnessed 8 Deer's death (Colombino 16-II). This group subsequently attacks 'Fire-Serpent', which 4 Wind still rules, and captures two men (Becker 15-I), although neither of them is 4 Wind. 4 Wind flees to several other sites before the Sun God or his representative addresses 4 Jaguar (Becker 16-I-II) and causes him to break off his attack on 4 Wind. 4 Jaguar then confronts 4 Wind at the site of 'Fire-Serpent' (Becker 16-15-II). The Bodley (34-33-IV-II) shows somewhat different details for the conflict, and pictures the Sun God intervening more directly to protect 4 Wind from 4 Jaguar.

For the next Year 3 Reed the Colombino-Becker shows only that 4 Wind's nose is perforated, perhaps by 4 Jaguar himself (Becker 15-II-III). The Bodley (34-I) also shows this ceremony, but additionally pictures 4 Wind afterwards with a number of symbols, and then depicts a procession of men returning with him to 'Fire-Serpent' (Bodley 34-I-32-III). All the men of this procession are drawn with only their personal characteristics for identification, except three for whom calendar names are also given. One of these latter is 10 Jaguar, who has been shown in both the Colombino-Becker and Bodley witnessing 8 Deer's death, and it is impossible to appreciate fully the importance of his appearance in this procession without understanding 4 Wind's role in that murder.

The Bodley (32-31-III) then pictures 4 Wind at 'Fire-Serpent', where he is shown with a very large depiction of the round bag. Having gained control of this site when he was only 13 years of age, this is now the fourteenth year he has ruled it.

In the Year 4 Flint, when 4 Wind is 28 years old, he is shown in the Colombino-Becker travelling to the place 'Flint', accompanied by 4 Jaguar or his representative (Becker 15-III). In the final extant scene of the Codex Colombino-Becker, 4 Wind is pictured as the ruler of this site, receiving symbolic offerings in a ceremony that I have suggested is necessary to legitimise the position of a new ruler when he is not related to the previous ruler (Becker 16-III). The Bodley (31-III-IV) also records this event, then shows

(Bodley 32-IV-28-II) other events of importance in 4 Wind's later life, including offerings to deity figures and the only conquest he is known to have made, and indicates that his death did not occur until he had reached the age of 72 years.

Neither the Colombino-Becker nor the Bodley gives a recognisable clue as to why 4 Jaguar attacks 4 Wind. Although the conflict might perhaps relate to 8 Deer's murder, three years have elapsed since he was killed. Additionally, however, there is no apparent reason why 4 Jaguar should be concerned about 8 Deer's death or 4 Wind's part in it. 4 Jaguar and 8 Deer had last been together during their journey to the Sun God, which occurred 16 years prior to 8 Deer's murder and 19 years before 4 Jaguar's attack on 4 Wind. If 4 Jaguar's enmity did arise from 4 Wind's involvement in 8 Deer's death, the attack may have been due more to 4 Jaguar's desire to punish the killer of such an important person, rather than to a personal motive such as friendship for 8 Deer.

The direct intervention of the Sun God 1 Death in the fight between 4 Jaguar and 4 Wind indicates how serious their conflict was considered to be. 1 Death acted decisively to put an end to it by ordering 4 Jaguar to cease his attack, which should have been sufficient both to restore and to maintain peace between the two men. However, the deity went further and ordered that the nose piercing ceremony be held for 4 Wind. This rite would not seem necessary to perpetuate peace between the two, and therefore the ceremony may have

been performed for some other reason, perhaps in order to qualify 4 Wind to become ruler of the site of 'Flint'.

It is also possible that the Sun God was acting with expediency in this matter in order to ensure peace in the Mixteca. During the three years since 8 Deer's death, his holdings would have been divided among his small sons. A number of important Mixtec towns would thus have been left without strong adult leaders, in addition to the loss of all centralised control. It is possible that 1 Death feared the whole region might become embroiled in a series of battles for power if the conflict between 4 Jaguar and 4 Wind was allowed to continue unchecked. Not only might the various towns take sides for or against either of these protagonists, but the rulers of other areas outside the Mixteca might also attempt to enlarge their positions, resulting in a serious crisis for the whole region.

The perforation of 4 Wind's nose at the instigation of the Sun God would have emphasised the protection afforded him by this deity. This in turn might not only have helped to forestall 4 Jaguar's hostilities against 4 Wind, but would also have been instrumental in keeping other fights from erupting later, particularly when the children of 8 Deer were older and might have desired to avenge their father's murder. But it is clear that the nose piercing ceremony placed 4 Wind in a different position from that which 8 Deer had attained by the same rite. Because 8 Deer was the son of his father's second marriage, his nose perforation was probably essential in order

for him to become a suitable heir for a town as important as Tilantongo. 4 Wind, however, although also the son of his father's second marriage, does not inherit the site 'Red and White Bundle' ruled by his father, and therefore his nose perforation cannot have been intended to qualify him for such a succession. 'Flint', of which he does become ruler, is not shown in the surviving codices prior to the time it is associated with him, so that it seems quite possible his nose perforation was related to his future assumption of control of this locality.

4 Wind did not gain -- nor apparently even attempt to gain -- control over a large area such as 8 Deer had done, although this may have been in part because he could not do so. The sudden removal of 8 Deer's strong leadership would have resulted in political realignments in the area that had been under his direct control, as well as in the wider zone subject to his influence. Not only was this region divided among 8 Deer's sons, but also for the first time in the histories recorded in the Mixtec codices, sites are shown that are controlled by persons whose family backgrounds are unknown. Although in some cases this latter situation may be due to the destruction of the relevant texts, it could also possibly reflect that the period of confusion following 8 Deer's death enabled local leaders to take control of sites which they had not previously held, permitting towns that had been of lesser importance to achieve a greater prominence. If there were such a considerable fracturing

of the prior lines of power, 4 Wind might well have found it impossible to impose his control over the area even had he desired to do so.

4 Wind is known to have engaged in warfare only once in his life (Bodley 32-IV), which could indicate that he did not need to resort to force to exercise his influence. The precise nature of that influence, and the manner in which he exerted it, would already be well known to the native readers of the codices and did not need to be explicitly expressed. It also seems possible that the very length of his life-span might have contributed to his attaining a considerable influence, since he ruled the site of 'Flint' for 44 years, from the time he was 28 years old until his death at the age of 72 years.

4 Jaguar occupies a position of great importance in the lives of both 8 Deer and 4 Wind, and as portrayed in the Colombino-Becker he is a powerful individual independent of the control of either man. His importance in the codex is reflected by the amount of space devoted to the activities in which he took part, for nearly 40 per cent of the extant scenes are of events in which he is known to have participated. In the original undivided manuscript there would have been an even greater number of such scenes, since the lost pages between Sections I and II would have depicted his second meeting with 8 Deer, and in the missing part between Sections II and III some reference to him must have occurred that is completed at

the start of Section III. Even in the concluding portion of the text, the majority of the scenes shown for 4 Wind concern his clash with 4 Jaguar.

4 Jaguar's independence is clearly demonstrated by the manner in which 8 Deer had to solicit the nose perforation ceremony from him, and his power is shown when even the goddess ♀ 9 Reed was able to secure only his agreement to play a ball game against 8 Deer. However, 4 Jaguar was at least susceptible to the pressure brought to bear upon him by this goddess; and later, during his conflict with 4 Wind, he is clearly depicted as subordinate to the orders of the Sun God. His power would thus appear to be limited principally to the temporal realm. He is also the only person to be shown in the Colombino-Becker as having his own group of characteristically attired associates and representatives, yet despite his independence and power, he does not appear as an enemy. By the time he and 8 Deer undertake the journey to the Sun God, their relationship seems to have changed markedly, for the two of them are shown -- at least in the Colombino-Becker -- as equals. If so, it is 8 Deer's status that has risen, for he was originally the inferior.

The political history depicted in the Colombino-Becker ceases to concentrate upon 8 Deer after the ceremony that confirms his control of Tilantongo and his consequent domination of the Mixteca (Becker 12), and instead 4 Wind is the centre of interest in the remaining pages of the manuscript. Yet 8 Deer's presence in the



codex is so all-pervading that, of its 40 surviving pages, the first 35 are devoted exclusively to him, and only three of the concluding pages fail to depict his activities.

The story of 8 Deer presented in the Codex Colombino-Becker is essentially the political biography of his rise to power: a chronicle of the most important official and public acts he performed while striving for his ultimate goal of dominance in the Mixteca. His activities are always pictured in a very sympathetic fashion, and the artists of the codex have employed subtle means to increase his apparent status whenever this is possible. But after 8 Deer has reached the zenith of his power, the remainder of the text is concerned with 4 Wind's subsequent rise. This change is nowhere more in evidence than in the manner in which the final dozen years of 8 Deer's life are treated, for other than several of his conquests, the remainder of the events show 4 Wind planning and carrying out 8 Deer's murder. Immediately after this murder the text continues with scenes involving 4 Wind; no funeral rites are depicted for 8 Deer, nor is he again alluded to in the remainder of the extant text.

4 Wind's own life history, however, is omitted from the Colombino-Becker except as it intersects that of 8 Deer. Thus after being pictured when 8 Deer captures him as a child at the conquest of 'Red and White Bundle', 4 Wind is not shown again in the Colombino-Becker until he plots and carries out 8 Deer's murder. With 8 Deer dead, the remaining scenes for 4 Wind show only the key events of

his subsequent rise to prominence: his clash with 4 Jaguar, the intervention of the Sun God, his nose perforation, and his becoming ruler of 'Flint'. This would indicate that 4 Wind's history was included in the Colombino-Becker only because of his conflict with 8 Deer, and not for any reason inherent in his own birth or background.

Even the most detailed and favourable surviving source on 4 Wind, the Codex Bodley, shows no activities for him after his thirty-fifth year. Just as the interest which the painters of the Colombino-Becker had in 8 Deer's political life ceased with the confirmation of his control over Tilantongo, so also that of the artist of the Bodley seems to have stopped with 4 Wind's gaining the rule of 'Flint', and for the same reason: each man had reached the peak of political power attainable to him at that time in the Mixteca.

It seems probable that the information shown for 4 Wind in the final part of the Colombino-Becker may have been obtained from a source other than the one that served as the basis for the depiction of 8 Deer's life in the remainder of the codex. The source for 4 Wind's history was clearly not reticent in revealing his direct involvement in 8 Deer's death, nor were the painters of the Colombino-Becker hesitant to make use of this information; in contrast, the artist of the Codex Bodley carefully shields 4 Wind from any complicity in this event. The present Colombino-Becker text may thus be an amalgam from two different sources, one relating 8 Deer's

rise to power and the other detailing 4 Wind's life. The source concerning 4 Wind may have included his entire life and so have been much longer and more detailed than the few scenes now shown for him in the Colombino-Becker. The painters of the latter manuscript would have needed to draw upon only a small part of these data because their principal concern was to show how 4 Wind murdered 8 Deer and destroyed his political achievements.

While the artists of the Colombino-Becker clearly depict 4 Wind's role in 8 Deer's death, their treatment of 4 Wind's life nevertheless appears to be relatively free from bias, except as the revealing of the truth about this murder is itself an obvious matter of bias. The Bodley artist, on the other hand, always attempts to present 4 Wind in the most favourable manner, giving full details of his attaining power while carefully avoiding any indication that he was involved in 8 Deer's death. The Colombino-Becker text may therefore be used to balance the account presented in the Bodley, and from these two manuscripts, taken together, there can be recovered as accurate a portrayal of a part of 4 Wind's life as it is possible to obtain from purely pictorial sources.

For 8 Deer, however, there is now little alternative information to the laudatory version of his life presented in the Colombino-Becker. The Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' does depict his older half-brother 12 Movement participating with him in some activities, thereby revealing the bias of the Colombino-Becker in at least those

instances. But many of the events shown in the Colombino-Becker are omitted from the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse', and in other cases the scenes in the two manuscripts are not significantly different. The Bodley account of 8 Deer's activities adds little new material. It is therefore always necessary, when studying the Colombino-Becker text, to be aware that the artists of the codex are probably depicting 8 Deer in the most advantageous manner possible. Consequently, rather than the scenes being accepted as they are shown, the appropriateness and probable truthfulness of the paintings must be constantly evaluated as the manuscript is interpreted.

Caso (1966: 24) has suggested that the Colombino-Becker might have been painted in a small town ruled by the man named 5 Rain, who is pictured in both the Colombino-Becker and Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse'. The importance accorded to this individual in the texts of the two codices differs markedly, however. In the Colombino-Becker he appears assisting 8 Deer in the events leading to the latter becoming ruler of Tututepec, and then again during the funeral rites for 12 Movement. During the 17 years between these two occurrences he is not shown in the Colombino-Becker at all, although his only appearance in the Zouche-Nuttall 'Reverse' falls during this interval, when he is depicted as merely one of the large group of men meeting at Tiltan-tongo with 8 Deer and 12 Movement upon the occasion of the celebration of the latter's fifty-second year.

From these discrepancies Caso concluded that, while 5 Rain had aided 8 Deer, his presentation in the Colombino-Becker may have been an attempt to claim a greater importance than was actually justified. However, if 5 Rain's appearance in only two sets of events in the Colombino-Becker is already an exaggeration of his actual services to 8 Deer, it would seem that he might also have been shown participating with him in still other activities. The fact that he does not appear to be so depicted would indicate to me that his role is probably accurate as recorded in the Colombino-Becker.

There is perhaps some tendency to ascribe too great an importance to 5 Rain merely because his name is known, but he is certainly not the only person pictured in the Colombino-Becker assisting 8 Deer. His few depictions in the codex do not seem sufficient to warrant its having been painted for him, particularly in the light of the constant emphasis placed in the text upon 8 Deer's rise to power.

The purpose for which the Codex Colombino-Becker was painted may have been to illustrate how 8 Deer spent most of his life achieving his goal of exercising a substantial power in the Mixteca, and how 4 Wind then killed him and destroyed that concentration of power before an hereditary 'empire' could be established.

There are now a number of indications that the Colombino-Becker has had a lengthy association with the coastal Mixtec town of Tututepec. In the pictorial text of the manuscript itself, the events leading to 8 Deer's becoming the ruler of Tututepec are shown in

extensive detail. The later deliberate erasure of part of these drawings has been done in such a manner as to preserve those place signs that appear to refer to Tututepec. Both the Colombino and the Becker fragments have been glossed with the names of a number of coastal towns; and the Colombino pieces are additionally heavily glossed with the boundaries of localities that were under the influence of Tututepec (Smith 1963; 1966; 1973). In 1717 the Colombino fragments were presented by the cacique of Tututepec as evidence in support of his lands claim against a neighbouring town (Smith 1963).

The erasures and glosses appear to be attempts to make explicit a relationship between the codex and Tututepec after the ability to read the painted text had been lost. Such a close association would not have developed in a short time, nor is it probable that it would have persisted in the Colonial period unless it was founded upon a considerable prior native tradition connecting the manuscript with the town. These data all indicate that probably the association of the Colombino-Becker with Tututepec extends back into the pre-Hispanic era.

In this study I have concentrated upon interpreting the pictorial text of the Codex Colombino-Becker. I have confined my research primarily to this single document in an attempt to determine the specific version of Mixtec history recorded in its pages, for each of the surviving Mixtec codices reflects the different historical knowledge of its artists. This analysis has revealed the outstanding

narrative quality of the Colombino-Becker text, and has enabled me to determine the larger context from which the individual scenes derive their meaning. Because of this approach I have been able to achieve a much greater integration of the text than has been possible previously, and as a result I have suggested new interpretations for many of the events shown in this manuscript. It is my hope that the present study may contribute towards achieving a fuller and more adequate understanding of Mixtec history, by the recovery and explanation of more of the pictorial information contained in the Codex Colombino-Becker.

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