

THE IDENTIFICATION OF INDIVIDUALS IN THE CODEX COLOMBINO-BECKER*

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Among the few surviving Mixtec codices of Mexico generally considered to be pre-Hispanic, the Codex Colombino-Becker is uniquely fragmented. At present it is divided into seven pieces, four of which are found in Mexico and make up the Codex Colombino,¹ while the remaining three fragments are in Vienna and are called the Codex Becker I.² The probable relationship between the two manuscripts was discussed by scholars for a number of years until Alfonso Caso (1966: 14) ultimately concluded that all the seven extant fragments were from the same single original codex. Most of the earlier history of both manuscripts remains obscure prior to the mid-nineteenth century,³ including the time, place, and occasion for the fragmentation into the present seven parts, the separation of the four Colombino fragments from the three Becker pieces, and the loss of some of the intervening portions of the codex.

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¹ Inventory number 35-30, Museo Nacional de Antropología, México, D.F. Two color reproductions of the manuscript have been published: the first, a lithograph published by the Junta Colombina in 1892; the second, a photographic version issued by the Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología in 1966 with detailed notes by Alfonso Caso. A description of the physical condition of the codex is found in Troike 1970a; the page and band numbering system suggested there (1970a: 240-241) will also be used in this paper.

² Inventory number 60306, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna. In the remainder of this paper the Roman numeral designation of this codex will be omitted. The pagination used will be that established by Saussure (1891), and the band numbering sequence will be the same as that suggested for the Colombino (Troike 1970a: 240-241). The Becker has been reproduced twice in color: the first, in 1891, was a lithograph issued by Henri de Saussure; the second, in 1961, was a photographic facsimile with notes by Karl A. Nowotny. A description of the present physical condition of the codex is found in Troike 1969.

³ The known history of the Colombino is summarized by Caso (1966: 13-14), and that of the Becker by Nowotny (1961: 1-2).

The pictorial contents of the Colombino-Becker principally concern the life of the great Mixtec warrior and ruler ♂ 8 Deer "Jaguar Claw",⁴ but all the extant pieces have suffered from extensive and deliberate damage to the painted scenes. One of the prime targets of these destructive activities was recognizable animal heads which, in a Mixtec historical-genealogical codex such as the Colombino-Becker, might typically be expected to appear in year and day dates, calendar and personal names, place signs, and the headdresses of individual figures. An examination of the Colombino-Becker, however, reveals destructive erasures in almost all places where such heads would normally be found. Because these animal heads form a major element in the names of many persons, it is often quite difficult to identify individual figures in the codex except by a heavy reliance on cognate scenes in other Mixtec codices which also picture the history of ♂ 8 Deer, notably the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse".⁵ Those persons appearing in events which are unique to the Colombino-Becker and for which the assistance of such cognate data is consequently unavailable, are often impossible to identify with any degree of security. However, in a few scattered instances some fragments of the animal heads have survived, and these survivals, small and infrequent as they are, occur most often in headdresses. Since it is well known that the headdress of an individual often provides a direct clue to his name, it seems desirable to investigate the possible evidence for identifications that might be offered by these surviving fragments of the animal-head headdresses.⁶

⁴ Each individual in the Mixtec historical-genealogical codices normally bore both a calendar and a personal name, the latter being necessary to avoid ambiguity among persons sharing the same birth date name. However, since there is no problem of ambiguity among the calendar names of the figures to be discussed in this paper, the use of the personal names will be omitted as redundant.

⁵ A color lithograph of the Zouche-Nuttall was published in 1902 under the title of *Codex Nuttall*, with notes by Zelia Nuttall. The pagination of this reproduction, which will be cited in this paper, does not correspond exactly to the page numbers that are now marked on the codex itself.

⁶ Caso (1966) and Nowotny (1961) have of course already proposed identifications for most of the figures in the Colombino-Becker. In this paper the problem of identifying these figures is approached from a somewhat different point of view, the purpose here being to determine whether it is possible to secure identifications of the individuals through the manuscript's own internal data rather than relying on external cognate sources. Some of the identifications to be suggested in this paper will coincide with those previously made by these two scholars while others will not, but it is beyond the scope of this present paper to note or comment upon such conflicts.

I

The animal-head headdresses worn by human figures in the Mixtec codices usually consist of only the upper part of the animal's head—that is, the part above its upper jaw—which is drawn so as to cover the person's hair from above his forehead down to his neck. In the Colombino-Becker, however, all the animal-head headdresses are composed of the entire head of the animal and are drawn so that the face of the wearer looks out from between the animal's open jaws. The animal's jaws articulate just below the wearer's ear, its lower jaw appearing below his chin and the remainder of its head covering his head from forehead to neck. It is the upper parts of such headdresses, constituting practically the entirety of the animal's head, which have been deliberately and so completely obliterated in the Colombino-Becker as to make direct visual identification of these headdress animals virtually impossible. However, this intentional destruction has in most cases carefully stopped short of damage to the face of the individual figures, and for this reason many of the drawings of the lower jaws of these headdresses have survived.

Since these lower jaws originally formed part of a complete animal head, their forms and colors might be expected to vary according to the animal being represented, and a close investigation of such variations might yield sufficient information to identify the animals. Accordingly, an examination of the seven fragments of the Colombino-Becker was undertaken to locate all figures in which at least the lower jaw of an animal-head headdress had survived. Some 250 human figures can still be counted in the codex, and of these, 62 instances were found which contained at least a recognizable part of the lower jaw of such a headdress. This number constitutes almost 25 percent of the total number of human figures in the extant codex and indicates that the use of animal-head headdresses was not an inconsequential part of the clothing of the figures in this manuscript. Of these 62, the lower jaws of the headdresses of nine figures were too badly damaged for further analysis,⁷

⁷ These nine figures are found at: Colombino 2-I, 3-III, 4-I, 12-III, 14-I, 15-III, 21-I, 24-I; Becker 2-II.

leaving a total of 53 figures for the present study.⁸ An additional four examples were found in which the upper part of an animal headdress appeared without the use of the lower jaw,⁹ but these formed less than two percent of the total figures, emphasizing that the normal representation was with the full head of the animal; this group is excluded from further consideration here.

These 53 surviving lower jaws were carefully investigated in order to determine the design and color in use in each separate example. This survey revealed that only three different forms of the lower jaw appeared in the Colombino-Becker, and that each was characterized by its own distinctive configuration in shape and color. The upper parts of the headdresses were also checked for any clues that might be correlated with the three patterns of the lower jaws, but in most cases the only upper fragments to survive were the inner edge close to the wearer's face and the area immediately around the wearer's ear.¹⁰ After the patterns for both the upper and lower parts of the headdress had been established as fully as possible from the pictorial evidence still remaining in the Colombino-Becker, these were then compared with the animal-head headdresses found in the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse" in an attempt to locate animals corresponding exactly in shape and color to those defined in the Colombino-Becker. The Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse" was utilized not only because it tells the story of ♂ 8 Deer's life but also because some of its figures are pictured wearing animal-head headdresses composed of the full head of the animal, including the lower jaw, and in this undamaged codex these animals can easily be identified. When an apparent correlation was found between a pattern in the

⁸ The locations of these 53 figures are as follows (a number in parentheses indicates that more than one figure from that band is included): Colombino 2-I (2), 3-II, 3-III, 4-I, 4-II (2), 5-I, 9-III, 10-I, 12-I, 13-I, 13-II, 14-I, 14-III, 15-I (2), 16-II, 16-III (2), 17-III, 18-II, 19-I, 24-II, 24-III; Becker 1-I, 2-II, 3-I (2), 3-II, 3-III, 4 (3), 5-II, 6-I, 6-II, 6-III (2), 7-I-II, 7-II, 7-III, 8-I, 9-III, 11-II, 13-I, 13-III, 14-II, 15-II, 15-III, 16-II (2), 16-III.

⁹ These four figures are found at: Colombino 4-II, 13-I-II; Becker 3-II, 11-III.

¹⁰ In the Becker the study of even these remaining traces was considerably hampered by retouching lines drawn by an unskilled hand on the heads of many figures. These spurious lines, which Saussure (1891: 7) and Nowotny (1961: 5) have commented upon, often made it difficult to determine the original form of those few parts of the headdresses that had escaped destruction.

Colombino-Becker and an animal headdress in the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse", it was then necessary to test the proposed identification further to see if it was also valid in the Colombino-Becker; this process, which will be described later in more detail, involved a re-examination of all relevant Colombino-Becker figures for any other clues that might indicate whether or not the identification of the animal was appropriate.

The type of lower jaw that occurs most frequently in the Colombino-Becker accounts for 30 of the 53 headdresses, or about 57 percent of all extant examples¹¹ The animal's lower jaw is depicted as two bands parallel to and immediately under the chin of the wearer and projecting forward beyond his mouth. The top band of these two is blue, to represent the lip of the animal, while the bottom band is a yellow representation of its skin and is occasionally spotted with black circles. From near the tip of the blue band one or two teeth project upward at right angles to the lip; the larger of these, which is sometimes the only one depicted, is a pointed canine tooth, while the smaller tooth is flat-topped and is located immediately in front of the pointed tooth. This lower jaw pattern has associated with it a number of examples of surviving fragments in the upper part of the animal's head. The part of the upper headdress that most often still remains is a blue band representing the animal's lip; it begins at the wearer's ear and curves forward along his hair-line to near his forehead, where it turns upward into an area in which the remainder of the design has been totally destroyed. Behind this blue band there often still remains a small area of yellow paint, sometimes with black circles, near the wearer's eye. In a few rare instances a fragment of an eye or of a pair of pointed yellow ears might also still be seen. The only teeth to have survived in this part of the headdress are a few examples of a group of molars found projecting down at right angles from the upper lip band near the wearer's eye or forehead.

This Colombino-Becker pattern occurs in the

¹¹ These 30 figures include: Colombino 2-I, 3-III, 4-I, 4-II, 5-I, 9-III, 12-I, 13-I, 13-II, 14-III, 15-I, 16-III, 17-III, 18-II, 19-I; Becker 2-II, 3-I, 3-II, 3-III, 4 (2), 6-I, 6-II, 6-III (2), 7-I-II, 7-III, 9-III, 11-II, 13-I.

Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse" in the identical form and color. In the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse" the lower jaw of the headdress projects forward beyond the wearer's chin and is composed of an upper blue lip band and a lower yellow skin band, the latter often spotted with several small black circles; one or two pointed teeth project upward from the tip of the lip. The upper part of the headdress contains a blue lip band which passes beside the wearer's face and then turns upward. Projecting down from the lip there is a large pointed canine tooth with a group of smaller teeth in front of it, and often further back along the lip there is a separate cluster of molars approximately above the eye of the wearer. The animal's yellow skin is usually spotted with black circles. Since the drawings in the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse" are complete and undamaged, the animal is easily identified as a jaguar. The Colombino-Becker animal-head headdress having a lower jaw composed of blue and yellow bands and a pointed tooth may therefore be provisionally identified as also representing a jaguar.

The second most numerous type of lower jaw found in the Colombino-Becker occurs much less often than the jaguar form, only 15 examples being found.¹² It consists of two parallel bands lying under the chin of the wearer and extending forward beyond his mouth as did those of the jaguar. The upper band, representing the lip of the animal, is yellow, while the lower band, representing its skin, is the golden-brown color that is usually considered to result from the fading of a "vegetable" green paint. Near the end of this yellow lip there is a long, hooked tooth shaped much like the letter J, but instead of projecting up from the lip at right angles as did the teeth in the jaguar's lower jaw, this J-shaped tooth lies horizontal and parallel to the length of the lip, with its tip curling back towards the face of the wearer. This lower jaw pattern is associated with an upper headdress consisting of a yellow lip band that curves around the face of the wearer and then passes upward above his forehead into an area in which all traces of the headdress animal have been obliterated.

¹² These 15 are found at: Colombino 10-I, 16-II, 16-III, 24-III; Becker 1-I, 3-I, 4, 5-II, 13-III, 14-II, 15-II, 15-III, 16-II (2), 16-III.

Traces of the golden-brown (originally green) paint of the animal's skin may still be found behind this lip band and above the wearer's ear. In a very few of the figures enough of the upper lip band has been preserved to show a long, J-shaped tooth nestled in a curve in the band above the wearer's forehead; as was true for the lower jaw, this upper tooth also lies parallel to the lip, and its tip curls downward towards the wearer's face. In addition, above the eye of an occasional figure there are traces of a cluster of several molars projecting down at right angles from the lip band. There are one or two examples in the upper headdress of the survival of a fragment of a large yellow brow-ridge.

No examples were found in the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse" of the use of a lower jaw such as this pattern, but there were a number of instances of an upper headdress identical to the one just described, although always without a companion lower jaw. The skin of the animal in the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse" is the same golden-brown color that indicates a faded green paint. The curving upper lip band is also yellow, and at its end there is a J-shaped tooth lying parallel to the lip with its tip curving downward towards the wearer's face; in some examples a cluster of small molars is also found above the wearer's eye. The animal in the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse" is clearly recognizable as a snake, and this identification will consequently be considered for the corresponding Colombino-Becker headdress.

The least common type of lower jaw found in the Colombino-Becker headdresses is quite different in form from the preceding two types, and also relatively rare, only eight examples being found.¹³ This lower jaw has roughly the shape of a thin yellow right triangle whose length lies under and parallel to the wearer's chin, with the tip of the triangle projecting forward beyond his mouth and the base lying close against his body. A narrow prolongation extends from this base of the triangle to the wearer's ear, and below it a small, jagged red area is sometimes visible. There is no band which

¹³ These eight occur at: Colombino 2-I, 3-II, 4-II, 14-I, 15-I, 24-II; Becker 7-II, 8-I.

might represent the skin of the animal nor is there any trace of any kind of teeth. The upper part of the headdress that should be associated with this very distinctive lower jaw has been almost entirely destroyed in all the Colombino-Becker examples. All that now remains of the upper parts is a yellow band curving gently upward from the area of the wearer's ear to near his forehead, beyond which the design is totally obliterated; a few irregular fragments of red paint are sometimes visible behind and parallel to the lower part of the band, approximately from the wearer's ear to his temple. No teeth are visible along this upper band.

A comparison of this unusually-shaped, triangular lower jaw form in the Colombino-Becker with the figures of the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse" yields one identical example. In this single Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse" occurrence (1902: 42-III) the lower jaw is yellow and is shaped like a narrow right triangle under the wearer's chin; there is no band representing the skin of the animal, nor are there any teeth. The upper part of the headdress contains a yellow band curving from the wearer's ear to his temple, then broadening into the base of another thin right triangle which projects up into the air well above his head. From the wearer's ear to above his temple there is a narrow red strip beside the yellow band. The headdress in the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse" is that of a white bird with a long, straight bill. This identification explains the lack of any representation of the animal's skin in the pattern of the lower jaw, and also accounts for the absence of all teeth. The Colombino-Becker form of this lower jaw will therefore be classified tentatively as representing a bird with a long, straight bill.¹⁴

II

It is now necessary to test the validity of these observations concerning the types of headdresses found in the Colombino-Becker and their identification by correlation with

¹⁴ No attempt will be made in this paper to identify the actual type of bird intended by this headdress form in either the Colombino-Becker or the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse".

the complete and undamaged forms pictured in the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse". One of the simplest ways of doing this is by determining whether the proposed identifications complement or contradict the remainder of the clothing each person in the Colombino-Becker is shown wearing with his animal-head headdress, because some figures are depicted with a suit or cape of skin or feathers that might be expected to correlate with the nature of the animal represented by the headdress. However, it is necessary to exclude from these comparisons a short-sleeved or sleeveless hip-length jacket of jaguar skin that is pictured a number of times in the codex, because its use seems to be closely linked to scenes of active warfare, an association which might override all other contextual considerations.

Of the 30 occurrences of figures wearing what has been proposed here as a jaguar headdress, ten were found to be wearing the full skin of the jaguar as a suit. Three figures appear in the jaguar-skin war jacket mentioned above which cannot be considered to be related to the use of the jaguar headdress, while the clothing of 14 figures is not composed of any kind of animal skin. For three figures no determination concerning clothing could be made with security because most of the body was either concealed behind other objects or destroyed. No evidence was found that any of these 30 figures wore clothes composed in whole or in part of the skin of any animal other than the jaguar, nor were any other data noted that would contradict the identification of this headdress animal as the jaguar.

Of the eight figures wearing the proposed bird headdress, three are shown wearing long black-and-white feathers that form a short cape across the front of the body or a long train that hangs free down the back. One figure is dressed in the sleeveless jaguar-skin battle jacket that is not related to the headdress being worn. The clothing of two figures does not contain any feathers, while for another two the clothing is too badly destroyed for its original form to be determined. Thus the only animal clothing associated with this headdress is that composed of feathers, which does not contradict the suggested bird identification.

The examination of the 15 figures wearing the postulated snake headdress reveals contradictory evidence regarding animal associations. There is one example of a figure wearing a turtle-shell, and six cases of figures wearing either a cape decorated along its lower edges with feathers or a train of feathers hanging down the back. In addition, two figures wore the jaguar-skin battle jacket previously described, while three wore clothing without any animal-skin or feather components. The clothing of two figures was too completely destroyed to determine the original form. These inconclusive data indicate the necessity for a further exploration of this headdress form, expanding the area of investigation to include the head as well as the body of the figures.

A close examination of the head area of all 15 figures revealed nine instances in which a row of golden-brown feathers (originally green) is found along the lower back of the head of the headdress animal. Comparing this form with the headdresses in the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse", the only similar design found in the latter codex was five occurrences of a snake headdress having a row of stylized feathers running along the animal's head down to the wearer's neck (1902: 54-iv, 64-iii, 79-iv, 80-i, 82-i). The partly-destroyed Colombino-Becker forms are very similar to these Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse" examples; particularly notable is the typical abrupt end to the front of the row of feathers in the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse" headdresses, which still survives in one Colombino-Becker figure (Colombino 24-iii). Thus at least some of the Colombino-Becker headdresses under study here do not represent a simple snake head but rather a feathered serpent head.

This examination of the proposed snake form of the Colombino-Becker headdresses also revealed four instances in which a flint knife complex projected from the nose of the headdress animal. A survey of the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse" yielded a single similar example, a flint knife projecting from the nose of a snake headdress in a scene involving human sacrifice (1902: 69-i-ii). In the Codex Bodley,¹⁵ however,

¹⁵ The most accessible edition of the Bodley is a color photographic version published by the Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología in 1960, with notes by Alfonso Caso.

this form occurs a number of times in headdresses as a part of personal names, and a close study shows that it is drawn in a slightly different way from the ordinary representation of a snake in that codex. The ordinary Bodleian snake is depicted with its lip and nose as separate and discrete elements; but in the form with the flint knife in its nose, the upper lip of the animal does not terminate at the end of the mouth but instead is curled upward into a spiral that forms the nose area from which the flint knife projects. Two of the Colombino-Becker representations of this form (Colombino 16-II, Becker 15-III) are sufficiently well preserved to reveal that the upper lip of the headdress animal is prolonged into such a spiral from which the flint knife projects. These comparisons clearly show that the animal being represented in the Colombino-Becker by this form of headdress is the "fire-serpent". One of these Colombino-Becker examples (Colombino 16-III) is also shown wearing the row of feathers discussed above, which could mean that a feathered fire-serpent was the intended form. Concerning the one figure mentioned earlier as wearing a turtle-shell, Caso (1964: 27, fn. 40, and Figure 4) considers the turtle-shell and flint knife to be associated with sacrifice as components of the "turtle/fire-serpent"; on this basis, this figure can probably also be considered to be wearing a fire-serpent headdress.

These data not only support the previous identification of the headdress form as representing a snake, but indicate clearly that two different forms of snake headdress are in use: a feathered serpent which is associated with a row of golden-brown (green) feathers along the back of its head, and a fire-serpent that may also be depicted as feathered and is characterized by a special lip form in the upper headdress and the presence of the flint knife complex at the nose.

III

A study of the occurrences of these four types of headdresses with specific individuals in the Colombino-Becker should show whether any consistent patterns of association are present in the codex. Should such patterns exist for identified

individuals, they could be of considerable assistance in determining the identity of figures that now cannot be definitely identified. However, in order that the nature of the headdresses themselves not influence the identification of the individual figures and thereby distort the results being sought, it is desirable that each figure first be independently identified without reference to the headdress, and only after such identifications have been completed that the headdress animal be noted. The task of attempting to identify the 53 figures under consideration here is not a simple one; nevertheless, by using such fragments of names as yet remain, combined with the study of cognate scenes in other Mixtec codices, an identification for many figures can be suggested.¹⁶ It should be noted that the data on which each individual Colombino-Becker identification is based will fall into one of the following five categories, listed here in decreasing order of reliability: direct identification based upon the survival of the calendar or personal name in the Colombino-Becker itself; the survival of only the numbers of the calendar name but with a cognate scene in another Mixtec codex to support the identification; the survival of only the numbers of the calendar name but without any cognate scene in other manuscripts to support the identification; the loss of all the name but with the existence of a cognate scene in another manuscript that suggests a possible identification; and the loss of all the name without any cognate scene being found in other codices to assist in identification.

Of the 30 occurrences of the jaguar-head headdress, four can be directly identified as being worn by ♂ 8 Deer through the survival of his calendar or personal name. Two additional cases can be identified as ♂ 8 Deer by the preservation of the numbers associated with his calendar name and his presence in the cognate scenes in the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse". He can be less firmly identified in nine instances in which the

¹⁶ Identifications in this paper will be confined to those obtainable from *only* the two sources just mentioned: fragments of names still surviving in the Colombino-Becker, and cognate scenes in other manuscripts. While many of the figures that cannot be identified by either of these two means might be at least tentatively identified on a more speculative basis, such interpretations would depart from the purposes of the present paper.

numbers of his calendar name have survived but for which there are no corresponding cognate scenes, and in an additional three examples in which no part of his name is now extant but for which there are cognate scenes in the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse" in which he is shown. Together, these appearances of ♂ 8 Deer account for 18 of the jaguar headdresses, 60 percent of its total occurrences. Two other men ♂ 12 Movement and ♂ 5 Rain, are each found wearing this jaguar headdress once and may be identified directly by their surviving names. ♂ 4 Jaguar appears once with it and can be identified by the numbers of his calendar name and his distinctive facial paint, a "mask" that covers his nose and the area around his eye. There remain nine examples of the jaguar headdress being worn by figures for which no traces of a name have survived and for which there is no cognate information.

Of the eight figures wearing the bird headdress, all but two can be firmly identified. ♂ 9 Flower, younger brother of ♂ 8 Deer, is directly identifiable three times from the survival of his name in the codex, which is over 37 percent of all occurrences of this type of headdress. ♀ 9 Movement (the only woman shown wearing an animal-head headdress in the entire Colombino-Becker) and ♂ 3 Lizard each wear this headdress once and can be directly identified through the survival of a sufficient part of their names. ♂ 8 Deer can be recognized once by the survival of the numbers of his calendar name and his appearance in the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse" cognate scene. Two men are left for whom there are neither sufficient name clues nor cognate scenes.

Damage to the heads of the 15 figures that wear the snake headdress has in most cases destroyed the key nose area of the animal which is necessary for distinguishing between the feathered serpent and the fire-serpent forms, thereby considerably complicating the problems of dividing the figures into their appropriate groups. In addition, the names associated with these figures seem to have been more thoroughly obliterated than is true for the foregoing headdresses, and no figure with a snake headdress can now be identified directly in the codex by a surviving name fragment.

Consequently it will be more practical first to identify the individuals that wear a snake headdress and then to attempt to distinguish between the two types of headdress. ♂ 4 Jaguar can be identified twice by the survival of the numbers of his calendar name, his facial paint, and his appearance in the cognate scenes in the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse". He can also possibly be identified in two other figures for which neither a name nor a cognate scene are available but which wear his typical face paint. A figure for which only a few calendar numbers are still visible can probably be identified as ♂ 8 Deer through his appearance in the cognate scene of the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse". One figure has been almost totally obliterated but the cognate scene in the Bodley shows it to be ♂ 4 Wind. Three figures are found with only the number 4 of the calendar name surviving, and for none of them is there a cognate scene; since this number occurs in the calendar names of both ♂ 4 Jaguar and ♂ 4 Wind, it is not possible to identify any of the three as either man without further information. In addition, there still remain six figures for which there is neither any trace of a name in the Colombino-Becker nor any corresponding scenes in other Mixtec codices.

These data allow identifications for only six of the 15 figures wearing a snake headdress: there are four representations of ♂ 4 Jaguar and one each of ♂ 4 Wind and ♂ 8 Deer. The identification of ♂ 8 Deer confirms the suggestion made above in section II that the person wearing the turtle-shell and flint knife complex was probably also wearing a fire-serpent headdress, since in his appearance in the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse" cognate scene he wears a headdress in the fire-serpent form that is typical for that codex. The single identification of ♂ 4 Wind (Becker 16-III) is important because it is one of the four figures previously described in section II as having the flint knife complex in the nose of the snake, indicating the fire-serpent form. The four appearances of ♂ 4 Jaguar all show him wearing a feathered serpent headdress. In the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse" he is shown several times wearing a headdress composed of a row of stylized feathers, but in one instance (1902: 79-IV) he appears wearing a snake headdress which has these stylized

feathers running along the top and back of its head, representing the feathered serpent. The consistent use of feathers in conjunction with the snake headdress in his appearances in the Colombino-Becker may mean that the artists of this codex considered his personal name to be "Feathered Serpent". Nine figures remain unidentified. Three wear the fire-serpent headdress, and one of these also has a row of feathers across the back of the head, perhaps indicating a feathered fire-serpent. Of the remaining six figures, four have the row of feathers at the back of the head, but one of these also wears a form of the flint knife complex at his neck (Becker 14-II), perhaps indicating that his headdress was that of a feathered fire-serpent. The head area of two figures is too badly damaged for an accurate assessment of the original form.

IV

When these four forms of the animal-head headdresses—jaguar, bird, feathered serpent, and fire-serpent—are studied in relation to the identified individuals in the Colombino-Becker, the pattern that immediately emerges is that each headdress form is worn more than once by only a single individual. That is, while several different persons may wear a headdress form once, only a single individual wears each particular headdress two or more times. Although ♂ 8 Deer is one of four identified persons found wearing the jaguar headdress, each of the three others is shown wearing it only once, whereas there are 18 suggested identifications of ♂ 8 Deer with this headdress. Five different individuals have been identified as wearing the bird headdress, but four of these are pictured in it only once, while ♂ 9 Flower is shown with it in three of the total of eight times that it occurs. ♂ 4 Jaguar has been identified four times in the feathered serpent headdress, and is the only person known to wear it. Two individuals have been identified in the fire-serpent headdress, ♂ 4 Wind and ♂ 8 Deer, each appearing only once. Since not all the figures that wear each of these four types of headdress have been identified here, it is of course possible that among those unidentified persons there might be another

occurrence of an individual thought at present to appear only once in a particular headdress, but even if this should be so, it is obvious that the basic pattern will not be altered and that the majority of occurrences of each type of headdress will continue to remain with a single specific individual.

Because a person is associated with a particular type of animal-head headdress does not necessarily mean that all his depictions must be confined solely to that type, however. ♂ 8 Deer, in addition to his multiple appearances in the jaguar headdress, is also shown once in the bird headdress and once with the fire-serpent headdress. ♂ 4 Jaguar appears once with a jaguar headdress, his only known representation with an animal headdress form other than that of the feathered serpent. ♂ 9 Flower and ♂ 4 Wind have not been identified in an animal headdress other than their respective bird and fire-serpent forms. It is notable that even in these cases no individual appears more than once in a headdress form which is different from the one normally associated with him. Although the exact causes underlying these deviations from the wearing of the customary headdress are not yet completely clear, it seems most probable that in certain circumstances the ethnographic demands of the scene being portrayed took precedence over the use of the usual headdress that assisted in identifying the individual.¹⁷

These data suggest that a re-consideration of the fire-serpent headdress is in order. Only ♂ 8 Deer and ♂ 4 Wind have been identified wearing this headdress, but the above patterns would indicate that this should be ♂ 8 Deer's only appearance in this headdress form, leaving ♂ 4 Wind as the person with whom the headdress should be associated. If so, then the other three appearances of this fire-serpent headdress (Colombino 16-II, 16-III; Becker 15-III) may now also be identified as ♂ 4 Wind. Although ♂ 4 Wind appears only once in the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse", and then without

¹⁷ Distinguishing between the pictorial data which were necessary for the original Mixtec readers to understand a scene properly, and those which might be freely varied by the artist without danger of confusing his readers, is very difficult and complex in the Mixtec codices. See Troike 1970b for a brief examination of this problem of ethnographic necessity versus artistic license in several aspects of the human figures in the Colombino-Becker.

a headdress (1902: 83-I-II), confirmation of this identification is found in the Bodley (34-28), where his life is treated in extensive detail; his characteristic headdress there is the special Bodleian form of the fire-serpent described in section II above.

The appearance of other figures who are pictured only once wearing a type of headdress which is otherwise associated with one of the four important individuals mentioned above — ♂ 8 Deer, ♂ 9 Flower, ♂ 4 Jaguar, or ♂ 4 Wind— can probably be attributed to the very small inventory of animal headdress forms at the disposal of the Colombino-Becker artists. When the need arose for the use of an animal-head headdress for a person other than these four, the artists seem to have had no recourse except to make use of a form already “assigned” to one of the four. That the painters were possibly aware such duplication in headdress form might create problems of identification is perhaps shown by their only occasional use of these four characteristic headdresses for other individuals.

There was apparently at least one other animal headdress form in the Colombino-Becker in addition to the four already described, but the two examples found were both too badly damaged for the nature of the headdress to be defined with any certainty, and the form necessarily had to be omitted from the types presented above. In Colombino Fragment I (3-III, 4-I) ♂ 8 Deer's friend ♂ 5 Rain is shown twice wearing an animal-skin suit characterized by black stripes, perhaps on a white hide, with an animal-head headdress whose surviving parts appear to have a form similar to that of the jaguar but differ from it at least in the skin of the animal being represented. Much later, in Becker Fragment 2 (6-III), ♂ 5 Rain appears again in an animal-head headdress, but this time in that of a jaguar rather than the earlier Colombino form. The two Colombino examples apparently represent an attempt by the artist of Style I¹⁸ to “assign” a distinguishing animal-head headdress to ♂ 5 Rain, but in this case the association failed when the artist of Style III either did not

¹⁸ The three major artistic styles for human figures in the Colombino-Becker are defined in Troike 1970b.

notice it or did not choose to continue it. The animal being used may have been a dog or coyote or even a pig; all three appear in the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse" with striped bodies. In ♂ 5 Rain's single appearance in this latter codex (1902: 56-II) he does not wear an animal-head headdress.

The patterns of usage which have been demonstrated above show that the Colombino-Becker is characterized by a very close and consistent association between certain important individuals and the type of animal-head headdress each normally wears. These data can clearly be of great assistance in the identification of some of the figures that wear animal-head headdresses but for whom no vestiges of a name now remain.

V

Having analyzed some of the internal characteristics that serve to identify the individual figures in the Colombino-Becker, these data may now be applied to the unidentified figures found in scenes for which all cognate information is lacking and for which an interpretation has heretofore been difficult to suggest. A single example will suffice to illustrate the possibilities of this approach. Colombino Fragment II consists of slightly more than one page and has been glued into the manuscript at an incorrect position.¹⁹ The contents of this fragment are in part patently obvious, but the unresolved problem of its proper placement among the other extant Colombino-Becker fragments, coupled with the loss of almost all the names on the page, have made it impossible to achieve any meaningful interpretation of the pictorial data. The most important event depicted in the fragment is the sacrifice of an unnamed man while two other men look on (Colombino 16-II). Clark (1912: 26-27), in his pioneering study of the Colombino, thought this sacrifice

¹⁹ All authorities have recognized that Fragment II does not belong in the place where it is now found, but none has been able to place it properly (Caso 1966: 45). A detailed description of the present form of this fragment is found in Troike 1970a. A discussion of the physical problems of correlating the fragment with the other six Colombino-Becker pieces, and a brief summary of the suggestions made by scholars for its placement in the manuscript sequence, can be found in Troike 1971: 198-201.

indicated ♂ 8 Deer had been victorious in a battle. Caso (1966: 45), in his detailed notes to the 1966 publication of the Colombino, was not able to suggest identifications for either the victim or the witnesses, although he did eliminate ♂ 8 Deer's younger brother ♂ 9 Flower and his older half-brother ♂ 12 Movement from among the possible victims because the sacrifice of each is shown elsewhere in the Colombino-Becker, and he also mentioned ♂ 8 Deer's appearance in the Bodley (14-v) with a bow and arrow just before the scene of his sacrifice in that codex.

On the basis of the data presented in this paper, however, it is now possible to suggest identifications for several of the figures in this fragment that wear animal-head headdresses. The nearest witness to the sacrifice wears a well-preserved example of the fire-serpent headdress and can be identified as ♂ 4 Wind (Colombino 16-II). He can also be identified in the preceding band (Colombino 16-III) in the same type of headdress, where he seems to be en route to witness or to participate in this sacrifice. The man being sacrificed wore an animal headdress which has been mostly destroyed, but at the end of the lower jaw there still remains a vertical pointed tooth, indicating that he was wearing a jaguar-head headdress. This would very strongly suggest that the victim was actually ♂ 8 Deer himself.

If this scene in Colombino Fragment II does represent the sacrifice of ♂ 8 Deer it should be at least partly cognate with the scenes of his death and burial shown in the Bodley (14-v-IV). In the Bodley, however, ♂ 8 Deer's death is connected in some not as yet satisfactorily explained way with ♀ 6 Eagle, his second wife, and there is no allusion to ♂ 4 Wind playing any role in it. While these differences could mean that the sacrifice shown in this Colombino fragment is not that of ♂ 8 Deer, they could also indicate that different versions of his death existed in the areas of the Mixteca where the Colombino-Becker and the Bodley each originated. It is also possible that the data are not contradictory at all but that for political or personal reasons the roles played by certain individuals in this sacrifice were emphasized or minimized in the traditions of each area in order to take the credit for it or

to avoid the blame. A similar example of differing emphasis is found in the almost complete omission from the Bodley of references to the many years of warfare in ♂ 8 Deer's life, while it is precisely these conquests and their allied events that constitute the major portion of both the Colombino-Becker and the Zouche-Nuttall "Reverse". Since the sacrifice of ♂ 8 Deer should have been of great political importance, with widespread repercussions over the whole Mixteca and perhaps beyond, it is possible that it took place under mysterious circumstances that were never wholly or satisfactorily explained. Certainly the pictorial data recorded in the Bodley do little to clarify the actual situation surrounding his death, since even this fullest account of his sacrifice totally, and probably deliberately, fails to identify either the persons instigating his death or their reasons for doing so. If this scene in Fragment II of the Colombino does indeed represent the sacrifice of ♂ 8 Deer, the one point that emerges most clearly from it is that ♂ 4 Wind is deeply implicated in that death, although the exact nature of his involvement remains at present a tantalizing mystery.

This paper has indicated how the study of only a single small element in the pictorial composition of the Codex Colombino-Becker can lead to the recognition of internally consistent patterns and ultimately to an increased understanding of the amount of information available in this codex. The basic premise was that the surviving lower jaws of destroyed animal-head headdresses furnished a means by which the form of the complete headdress could be determined, and that these forms could in turn be used to assist in the identification of some of the figures in the codex. The discovery of the definite association of a certain type of animal-head headdress with a specific individual as a pictorial clue to his identity became the basis for suggesting identifications for several figures in Colombino Fragment II. The existence of these patterns indicates that in all probability there are other similar, as well as even more subtle, consistent relationships within the Colombino-Becker which have not as yet been noticed, but which, when properly understood, will contribute still further towards the identification of the figures in this important fragmented Mixtec codex.

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Resumen

Se destaca en este trabajo que en el códice mixteco prehispánico, del que constituyen dos partes los que se conocen como *Códice Colombino* y *Códice Becker*, hay una serie de elementos que, según parece, fueron dañados de intento como para volverlos irreconocibles. Ello se muestra en las cabezas de animales que, en un códice mixteco histórico-genealógico como éste, aparecen en los glifos de las fechas de años y días, en nombres calendáricos y de persona y también en locativos.

Un examen de este códice deja ver que el afán de ocultar logró suprimir en muchos casos la parte superior de esas cabezas, de modo especial sus tocados y otros ornamentos. El objetivo del presente estudio es buscar la significación de los jeroglíficos a los que dan forma los tocados en cabezas de animal, atendiendo a la parte inferior de esas cabezas, las mandíbulas, que en muchos casos no fueron borradas. En opinión de la autora, fijarse en este último elemento le ha permitido la identificación de varios individuos en los dos fragmentos que integran este códice mixteco.