

de nuestros apuntes, el pueblo que actualmente se llama San Martín Huaquechula y antiguamente Cuauhquechollan, estuvo antiguamente en otros dos lugares, ambos al norte. Su historia ha sido la de retiradas hacia el sur.

—R. H. Barlow

N73 IV: 3 — THE CODEX COLOMBINO: A DOCUMENT OF THE SOUTH COAST OF OAXACA \*

The biography of the hero whose day-name is "8-Deer" and whose nickname is "Tiger Claw" is depicted in six of the existing pre-Conquest historical codices from the Mixtec-speaking area of western Oaxaca, southern Puebla and eastern Guerrero. Owing to Dr. Alfonso Caso's astute analysis of the post-Conquest Map of Teozacoalco,<sup>1</sup> we now

\* The material presented in this article will form part of a doctoral dissertation for the Department of the History of Art at Yale University. I am extremely grateful to the Doherty Foundation for a fellowship that enabled me to do research in Mexico in 1962-1963.

<sup>1</sup> "El mapa de Teozacoalco," *Cuadernos Americanos*, VIII, 5, (1949), 145-181. Dr. Caso has written the commentary on several of the major Mixtec historical codices: "Explicación del reverso del Codex Vindobonensis," *Memorias del Colegio Nacional*, V, 5 (1950), 9-46; *Interpretación del Códice Bodley 2858* (Mexico, 1960); and an interpretation of Codex Selden II, now in press. The edition of Codex Nuttall referred to in this article is that published by the Peabody Museum of Harvard University (Cambridge, 1902). The only published version of Codex Colombino is a drawing in the Junta Colombina's *Antigüedades mexicanas* (Mexico, 1892).

SKETCH MAP OF SOUTH COAST OF OAXACA



know that 8-Deer was the ruler of Tilantongo in the Mixteca Alta and that he lived from 1011 to 1063 A.D. Dr. Caso has identified the place glyph of Tilantongo as a frieze with a black-and-white stepped-fret decoration, and 8-Deer appears in connection with this glyph in codices Bodley, Nuttall, Selden II, and the reverse of Codex Vienna.

One of the principal activities of 8-Deer's reign in the 11th century was conquest: virtually the entirety of the Nuttall reverse and the Codex Colombino, as well as most of Codex Becker I, are devoted to a pictorial description of this ruler's war expeditions, with roughly a hundred glyphs of places shown as conquered by him. James Cooper Clark has pointed out the similarities between the content of Codex Colombino and the Nuttall reverse, both of which appear to tell much the same story of 8-Deer's conquests.<sup>2</sup>

However, the differences between the versions of the 8-Deer story in the Colombino and the Nuttall reverse are undoubtedly as significant as their similarities. Perhaps the most important difference is that the place glyph of Tilantongo, of which 8-Deer is shown as ruler in Codex Nuttall, does not appear at all in Codex Colombino.

Instead, at the upper-left corner of page V of Codex Colombino, 8-Deer is seated in front of a temple and place-glyph complex whose principal element is an eagle (Fig. 1). On the roof of the temple is the following gloss in Mixtec and Spanish:

yucu  
 dzaa aniñe  
 Don pō alvara  
 do

According to Fray Antonio de los Reyes' list of place names in Mixtec,<sup>3</sup> *yucudzaa* is Tututepec, the pre-Conquest Mixtec capital of the south coast of Oaxaca. The Mixtec name, like its present-day Nahuatl name, means "bird hill" (*yucu* = "hill"; *dzaa* = "bird"). According to Fray Francisco de Alvarado's 16th-century Mixtec dictionary,<sup>4</sup> *aniñe* means "palacio." Pedro de Alvarado is the name adopted after baptism by

<sup>2</sup> *The Story of "Eight Deer" in the Codex Colombino* (London, 1912).

<sup>3</sup> "Arte en Lengua Mixteca," *Actes de la Société Philologique XVIII* 1888, I-VII (Paris, 1890). The place-name list is on pp. 88-89. It contains Mixtec names for only 10 south-coast towns. The majority of my information on Mixtec town names for the south-coast area was gathered from discussions with informants on the south coast.

<sup>4</sup> *Vocabulario en Lengua Mixteca* (reproducción facsimilar con un estudio por Wigberto Jiménez Moreno; Mexico, 1962).

*Ixtac Quiautzin*, who was cacique of Tututepec from 1522 (shortly after the town's initial subjugation by Spanish conquistador Pedro de Alvarado, for whom the cacique was named) until the mid 16th century.<sup>5</sup> The gloss on the temple roof of page V of Colombino may thus be translated: "Tututepec, the palace of (cacique) Don Pedro de Alvarado."

Since 8-Deer is enthroned directly in front of the Tututepec glyph in Codex Colombino, it appears that, at least during part of the 11th century, he was ruler of Tututepec on the south coast as well as ruler of Tilantongo in the Mixteca Alta. This hypothesis is confirmed by page 9-III of Codex Bodley, where 8-Deer is shown seated on a place glyph which I believe also represents Tututepec (Fig. 2<sup>a</sup>). In addition, on page 45d and 50b of the Nuttall reverse there appears a similar place glyph which is probably that of Tututepec (Fig. 2b, c). In the Nuttall representations of Tututepec, 8-Deer is not shown as seated on or in front of the place glyph. On page 50c he is making an offering at the temple of Tututepec; on page 45c he is participating in a ballgame next to the Tututepec glyph. In this latter glyph the added element of a ball court behind the eagle's head probably indicates that the ballgame took place at Tututepec.

In both the Bodley glyph and the Nuttall glyph on page 50b, still another pictorial element occurs: a human face or chin enclosed by the beak of the eagle. This element confirms the hypothesis that this glyph represents Tututepec, or *yucudzaa*. In Fray Alvarado's dictionary, *dzaa* means not only "ave" or "pájaro," but also "barba sin pelo" (i.e., "chin without beard"). In Fray de los Reyes' list of Mixtec names for parts of the body, *dzaa* means "barba el lugar" (i.e., "chin" as opposed to "beard"). In Codex Colombino the space enclosed by the beak of the eagle in the Tututepec on page V has been completely rubbed out; originally it too may have contained a human face or chin.

<sup>5</sup> The Archivo General de la Nación contains two important groups of documents on the casicazgo of Tututepec: one in Ramo de Tierras, vol. 29, the other in Ramo de Vínculos, vol. 272, expedientes 9 a 10. I am extremely appreciative of the assistance given me in the AGN during the past year by Sres. Ignacio Rubio Mañé and Miguel Saldaña.

Sections of both the Tierras and Vínculos documents have been published in Heinrich Berlin, *Fragmentos desconocidos del código de Yanhuítlán* (Mexico, 1947). A portion of the Vínculos document is included in Guillermo S. Fernández de Recas, *Casicazgos y nobiliario indígena de la Nueva España* (Mexico, 1961), 193-200.

According to the Alvarado dictionary, *dzaa* also means "maleza de caminos" and "punta de cosa aguda," which may account for the representation, in all three codices, of the body of the Tututepec as a rock or stone with a rough outline.

The absence of the Tilantongo glyph and the prominent position of the Tututepec glyph in Codex Colombino are not the only reasons for designating this manuscript as a document of the south coast of Oaxaca. All 24 pages of Colombino are heavily annotated with glosses

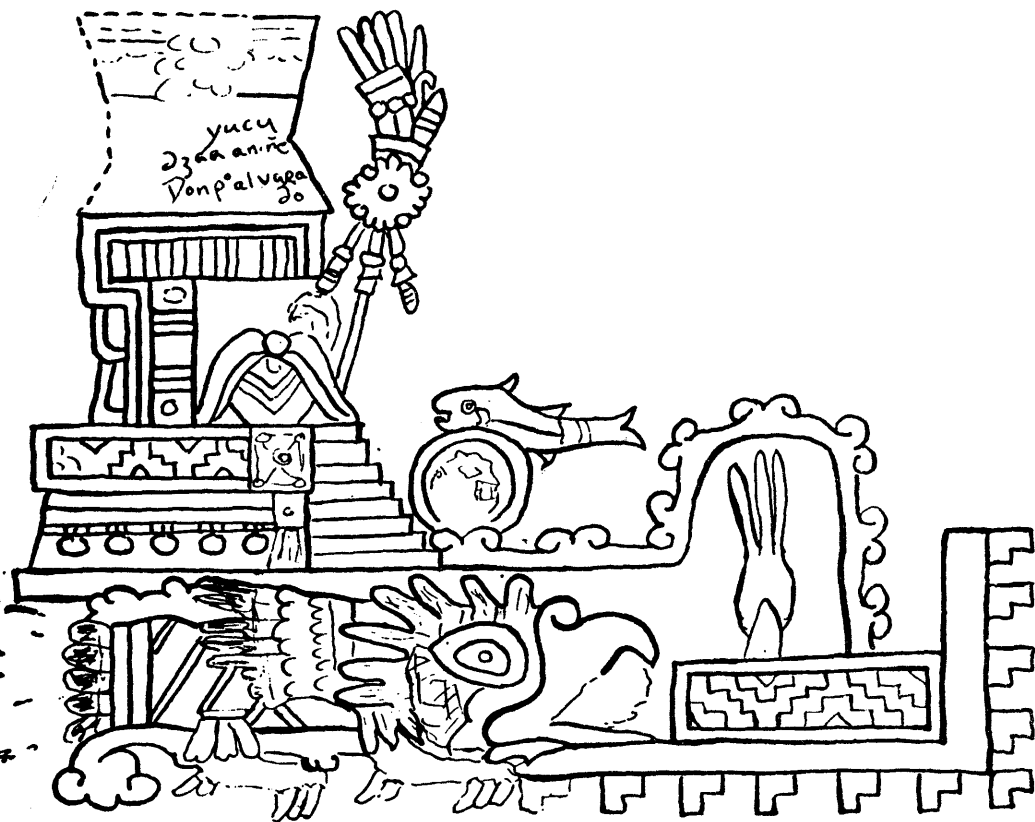
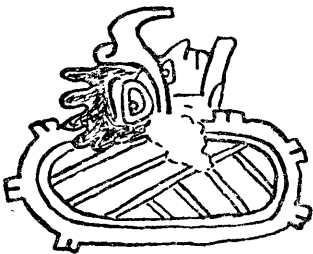


Figure 1. Colombino V, 16-17

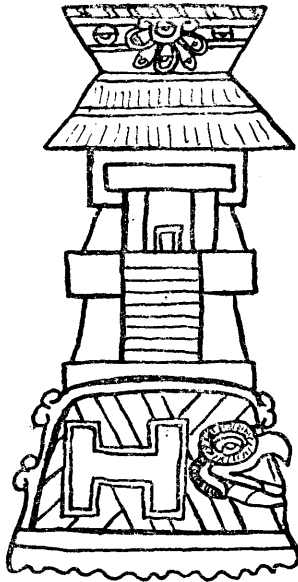
in Mixtec.<sup>6</sup> It is not the purpose of this article to present a complete transcription or translation of these glosses, but I hope to demonstrate by a few examples that the written material added to Codex Colombino after the Conquest deals almost exclusively with the listing of *linderos* or boundaries of towns on the south coast of Oaxaca—or more specifically,

<sup>6</sup> The Junta Colombina edition of Codex Colomino does not contain the Mixtec glosses, merely indicating where they are located by dotted lines flanked by asterisks. In transcribing and studying the Colombino glosses I have been able to consult only the first six pages of the original manuscript in the Bodega de Códices of the Museo Nacional in Mexico City. For the remaining 18 pages I have consulted sepia-toned photographs and 35 mm. color transparencies.

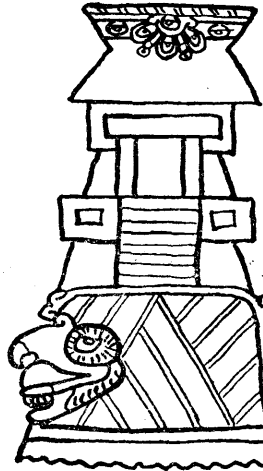
The principal difference between the dialect of Fray Alvarado's Mixtec dictionary and that of the glosses on Codex Colombino is that the *dz* phoneme of Alvarado becomes *s* in the Colombino annotations. The exception to this change is the gloss on the rooftop of the Tututepec temple on page V-17 (discussed above). This gloss, however, appears to be in a hand that is different from the remainder of the writing on the codex.



(a) Bodley 9-III



(b) Nuttall 45d



(c) Nuttall 50b

Figure 2.

the boundaries of towns within the sphere of influence of Tututepec.

This does not imply that the pictorial content of Colombino, or the place glyphs shown as conquered by 8-Deer, are boundary markers rather than actual towns. The *towns* whose boundaries are listed in the script undoubtedly do appear in the painted narrative, but the place glyphs of the boundaries themselves do not.

In fact, the later addition of writing in script has a rather independent existence of its own. The glosses do not "read" in the same manner as the pictorial story; for example, a sequence of glosses always begins toward the top of a page, whereas the "beginning" of this page in the painting may be at the bottom. The writing was added not to describe the conquests of an 11th-century ruler such as 8-Deer, but to enable a 16th-century ruler, such as cacique Pedro de Alvarado, to hold on to the land he already had. As we shall see later, the Codex Colombino was used for such a purpose in the 18th century, when it was presented as evidence in a land dispute between Tututepec and its neighbor, Sola. But first, a look at a few of the Colombino glosses.

On pages XIII and XIV of Codex Colombino, the Mixtec glosses list the boundaries of San Pedro Jicayán, the cabecera of the south coast during the colonial period. This sequence of writing begins on page XIII under the short groundline separating lines 40 and 41, continues on page XIV underneath the groundline separating lines 39 and 42; from there to the bottom of line 39, page XIV; then back to page XIII, at the top of line 37, just underneath the groundline; and finally onto page XIV, along the top of line 38.

The sequence starts on page XIII, line 40, with the words: *sañu ñuusiquaha* . . . or, "the boundaries of Jicayán . . ." (*sañu* = "lindero"; Fray Antonio de los Reyes gives *ñuusijquaha* as the Mixtec name for the town of "Xicayan de P. nieto" or San Pedro Jicayán). Then follow the Mixtec names of the boundaries of this town.

Since parts of pages XIII and XIV have been completely rubbed out, we are fortunate in having a corroborating document for the boundaries of Jicayán—the Lienzo of Jicayán.<sup>7</sup> This Lienzo depicts

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<sup>7</sup> The Lienzo of Jicayán is in the municipio of San Pedro Jicayán. My thanks to the town officials—presidente José Nicolás, representante Cosme Merino, and secretario Manuel López—for allowing me to photograph the Lienzo and to make a transcription of its glosses.

the town of Jicayan surrounded by a circular arrangement of place glyphs of the town's boundaries in the early colonial period. The boundary place-glyphs are annotated in Mixtec, and the correlation between the glosses on pages XIII and XIV of Colombino and those of the Lienzo of Jicayán is as follows:

### BOUNDARIES OF JICAYÁN

	<i>Codex Colombino</i>	<i>Lienzo of Jicayán</i>
XIII-40: (top)	yuhui maa	yuhui maa
XIV-39: (top)	... usaña  [siqui?] ... tiyuqh tnu yta yata not in Colombino cahua tiño sicuhui ... in erased section of page XIV-39?	yuu xaña  cuiti tiyuqñ yutnu yta yata yutnu yachi diqui cava yy tiñoo yusu xicuvi <u>auva</u> (yuvi tnu yñu yta (chiti cuiñe
XIV-39: (bottom)	yuhu coo  yu... cha not in Colombino yuhua cahuiyo yuhui ñucu ... in erased section of page XIV-39?	yuu coo  yuu chaã yuta uhi yubua caaviyo yuui <u>ñucuta</u> yucu yño
XIII-37: (top)	yucu yso  missing or erased? yucu yoso quihuj tnu ndica ... tnu yeye ...	yucu yço  (yuvi yño cuiy (yoço ñoñami yucu yoço quivi tnu ndica chãa hua (a) tnu yeye

	<i>Codex Colombino</i>	<i>Lienzo of Jicayán</i>
XIV-38:	... cu tnu yaya [?]	yucu tnu yaa
(top)	yucu chichi ñu. . . missing or erased? yucu ñuni erased or missing?	yucu chichi ñuhu cahua yachani yucu ñuni (yucu guaco [te?]) (yucu tnu ndacu chāha (yucu ndaye
XIV-38:	yutnu nuc . . .	yutnu nucuiachi
(middle)	erased or missing?	tnu yachi añee

Of the 30 Mixtec names of boundaries in the Lienzo of Jicayán, 18 are at least partially visible in the list of Jicayán's boundaries on pages XIII and XIV and Codex Colombino. A majority of the remaining 12 names undoubtedly were written in the sections of pages XIII and XIV that have been erased.

In Codex Colombino, the annotation *sinititi* appears on page X, at the top of line 26, to the left and above the partially erased place-glyph where 8-Deer is performing a ceremonial piercing of the ear. *Sinititi* is the Mixtec name for the south-coast town of San Andrés Huaspaltepec, located between Jamiltepec and Pinotepa Nacional. The Mixtec name for Huaspaltepec means "head of the iguana" (*sini* = "head"; *titi* = "iguana").

On page VII of Colombino are listed the boundaries of Santa Catarina Mechoacán, a town north and slightly west of Jamiltepec. This sequence begins at the left of the page, below the groundline separating lines 19 and 22, with the words: *sañu Sta. Catalina. . .* ("the boundaries of Santa Catalina. . ."). It ends on line 23 just beneath the groundline, with the words: *santa catalina ñuutiyaca. Ñuutiyaca* is the Mixtec name for Mechoacán and means "fish town" or "place where there are fish" (*ñuu* = "town" or "place where something exists"; *tiyaca* = "fish").

It is my opinion that the Codex Colombino is without doubt the document described in a 1717 land suit between Tututepec and the town of Sola.<sup>8</sup> Don Agustín Carlos Pimentel de Guzmán y Alvarado,

<sup>8</sup> AGN-Vínculos 272, exp. 10, ff. 41ff. Part of this section of the Vínculos document is published in Berlin, pp. 43-44, 54-55.



the early-18th-century cacique of Tututepec and Teposcolula, asserts that Cristóbal García of Sola has usurped lands of the town of San Pedro Juchiatenco, which belongs to the cacicazgo of Tututepec. As supporting evidence for his case, Don Agustín Carlos sends to the court of Jamiltepec what he calls "pinturas" and what the officials at Jamiltepec call a "mapa." Domingo Sánchez, the court interpreter at Jamiltepec for the Mixtec language, goes into more detail as he describes the document presented as:

... un mapa de pinturas y al pie de ellas las letras de curso antiguo en cuartetas de poco más de cuarta [ $1\frac{1}{4}$  vara] de largo cada una y un jeme de ancho [a jeme is the distance from the end of the thumb to the end of the forefinger (both extended)] y siendo todas de veinticuatro, que medidas por varas tuvieron siete y media con poca diferencia, y contiene dicho mapa los pueblos siguientes:

[There follows a list of 21 towns on the south coast of Oaxaca, headed by "La cabecera principal de Tututepeque"]  
y sus limites y linderos con separacion en cada una de ellas pertenecientes al cacicazgo de don Agustin Carlos Pimentel...

The Codex Colombino is a painting annotated in a 16th-century hand, and these annotations set forth the boundaries of towns within the jurisdiction of Tututepec. The Colombino is a screenfold consisting of 24 sections. Each section measures 20 x 25 centimeters, and the length of the entire manuscript is 6.8 meters.

But Interpreter Sánchez gives us even more specific information about the contents of the writing on the "mapa." For the purposes of the Tututepec-Sola land dispute, he translates the Mixtec names found on the mapa for the boundaries of two towns: San Pedro Juchiatengo and Santa María Ixtapa. The land-dispute document contains only the Spanish translation of these names, but if we re-translate the Spanish names into Mixtec, we find that the Mixtec names of the boundaries of San Pedro Juchiatengo appear on page I of Codex Colombino and those of the boundaries of Santa María Ixtapa on page II of Colombino.<sup>9</sup>

The annotations on pages I and II of Colombino are now very faint and difficult to read. On page I the sequence of writing begins at the top of line 4, below and to the left of the groundline separating lines 4 and 5; here, it is just possible to make out the word *yta*, the Mixtec

<sup>9</sup> In my re-translation from Spanish to Mixtec, I have relied heavily on Fray Alvarado's dictionary, although I have, where possible, made a translation into the dialect used by the annotator of Colombino.

word for "flower," which is probably part of the Mixtec name for Juchiatengo. The writing runs across the top of line 4, then from left to right along the bottom of line 4, and finally from left to right across the top of line 1.

Domingo Sánchez lists 17 Spanish names of boundaries for San Pedro Juchiatengo. As a sample we shall take names 9 through 16 from his list and compare them with the sequence of writing on page I of Colombino that begins to the right of the river place-glyph on the bottom of the line 4.

<i>Sánchez translation</i>	<i>Re-translation into Mixtec</i>	<i>Colombino gloss</i>	
9. cumbre de nopal	<i>sini huinda</i> <i>sini</i> · cumbre, cabeza <i>huinda</i> · nopal	... huinda	(I-4)
10. donde está el mercado de ollas	<i>ñuu yosai quese</i> <i>ñuu</i> · lugar donde está algo (tai)yosai · marchante <i>tai</i> · hombre <i>quese</i> · olla	ñuuyos....q...ese	
11. ciénega de culebra	<i>ndoyo coo</i> <i>ndoꝑyo</i> · ciénega <i>coo</i> · culebra	ndo...coo	(I-1)
12. piedra de garza	<i>yuu sami</i> or <i>toto sami</i> <i>yuu</i> · piedra <i>toto</i> · peña <i>sami</i> · garza	...sami	
13. el río del árbol grande	<i>yuta yutnu canu</i> or <i>yuta tnu canu</i> <i>yuta</i> · río <i>yutnu</i> or short form <i>tnu</i> · árbol <i>caꝑnu</i> · grande	<i>yuta iño coo</i> ... [canu?] (iño coo · zarza)	

<i>Sánchez translation</i>	<i>Re-translation into Mixtec</i>	<i>Colombino gloss</i>
14. la hondura de toro	<i>mini isu ndiqui or ñuu cono isi ndiqui</i>  <i>mini - hondura, lago ñuu cono - lugar hondo cono - hondo isu ndiqui - toro (lit., "venado con cuernos") isu - venado ndiqui - cuernos</i>	nuu qhunu ysu ndiquy
15. el monte de paloma	<i>yucu sata</i>  <i>yucu - monte sata - paloma</i>	yu . . . sata
16. el monte del zapote	<i>yucu tindoco</i>  <i>yucu - monte tindoco - zapote</i>	yucu tindoco

Thus we see that when Domingo Sánchez translated the Mixtec names of the boundaries of San Pedro Juchiatengo, he was translating the glosses on page I of Codex Colombino.

For the town of Santa María Ixtapa, Sánchez gives 14 names of boundaries in Spanish, omitting three because the writing has been so erased that he cannot make out the letters.<sup>10</sup> The first boundary name he gives for Ixtapa is "la cumbre del monte de nopal," which in Mixtec would be: *sini yucu huinda*. On page II of Colombino the sequence of writing begins at the bottom of line 6 with: *sini yucu huinda*. Six more names of Ixtapa's boundaries are written in the two lines of script within the oblong, rectangular platform on the right side of line 6. The sequence concludes with three lines of script on the bottom of line 3, at the right of the ball-court scene.

<sup>10</sup> At the conclusion of his list of Ixtapa's linderos, Sánchez comments: "... aunque dio tres puestos de linderos por estar borradas las letras de las figuras que lo manifiestan no he podido venir en conocimiento de su significación..." (AGN-Vínculos 272, exp. 10, f. 43/v).

For the purposes of comparison we shall take the section of writing that begins at the bottom of line 3 of Colombino and boundaries 7 through 11 of Sánchez' list in Spanish.

<i>Sánchez translation</i>	<i>Re-translation into Mixtec</i>	<i>Colombino gloss</i>
7. el monte del mante- coso	yucu saha yucu - monte saha - manteca	yucu...aha (II-3; 1st line of script)
8. barranca amarga	yuhui uhua or yuhui atu or yuhui aya yuhui - barranca uhua, atu, aya - amargo	yuuhu...a
9. cerro del trompo	yucu tnu chindu yucu - cerro tnu chindu - trompo (lit., "vellota de madera") tnu - madera chindu - vellota	yucu tnu...indu
10. cerro de la piedra	yucu yuu yucu - cerro yuu - piedra	yucu yuu (II-3; 2nd line of script)
11. el río salado	yuta uhua yuta - río uhua - salado, amargo	yuta huhua

Thus we see that page II of Colombino contains the Mixtec names for the boundaries of Santa María Ixtapa.

At the end of his list of the Spanish names for the boundaries of Juchiatengo and Ixtapa, Domingo Sánchez says: "... y la ultima cuarteta de dicho mapa consta haberse figurado el año de mil quinientos y quarenta y uno." 1541 was undoubtedly the year in which the glosses were added to Codex Colombino. This is plausible on the basis of the

content of the annotations, for Pedro de Alvarado, whose name is written on pages V and XI of Colombino, was cacique of Tututepec in 1541. Furthermore, on the last page (XXIV) of Colombino, two lines of script appear at the right of line 64, just above the ground-line separating lines 64 and 65. The first of these two lines is partially erased and difficult to read. The second line consists of the word *cuiya* (the Mixtec word for "year") plus the numerals: 1541. Although the annotations were written in 1541, the Codex Colombino was painted before the arrival of the Spaniards, for its pictorial style is definitely that of pre-Conquist Mixtec manuscript painting.

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The content of the Mixtec glosses that were added to the Codex Colombino places the manuscript as a document of the south coast of Oaxaca, at least as early as 1541. I believe that the Colombino's depiction of the Mixtec hero 8-Deer as ruler of Tututepec indicates that the pre-Conquest painted narrative is also oriented to the south coast. If, as now seems likely, 8-Deer were ruler of Tilantongo (one of the principal cities in the Mixteca Alta) and also of Tututepec (the major city of the south coast), it is very possible that this ruler effected a temporary consolidation of the Mixtec-speaking peoples in the 11th century. The reverse of Codex Nuttall tells the story of this consolidation from the viewpoint of the Mixteca Alta; Codex Colombino is the south-coast version of the same story.

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