

THE HISTORY OF LORD EIGHT WIND OF SUCHIXTLAN:
A CHRONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AND COMMENTARY ON CODEX ZOUCHE-
NUTTALL PAGES ONE THROUGH EIGHT

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by

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Problem Explored in this Thesis.

Codex Zouche-Nuttall obverse (museum numbered pages 1-41) is known as the most mysterious and resistant to interpretation of all codices in the recognized canon of Mixtec manuscripts, including its "sister" manuscript, Codex Vienna (Pohl, undated electronic document, www.famsi.org/research/pohl/jpcodices/pohlmixtecl.html). Codex Zouche-Nuttall obverse consists of three narrative sagas connected by various events and genealogies. Each saga is discrete from preceding and succeeding texts. Because this array of narrative is not only mysterious but extremely diverse, this thesis undertakes analysis and interpretation of the first of them, the History of Lord Eight Wind of Suchixtlan, codex pages 1-8. This thesis explores a complex problem which exists in several parts, all of which are necessary for a successful interpretation.

To do this I will establish first Lord Eight Wind Eagle Flints as an historical personage throughout both

parts of his life (pages 1-2, 5-6a). In the literature only one historical date assignment has been made relative to the second part of Eight Wind's biography (Byland and Pohl, 1994:238). I will show that the first 52 years of his life was spent as a supernatural "santo" and the last forty years of it as a patriarch and lineage founder.

Second, to do this I will employ and interpret native chronology as written in the narrative itself. The chronology consists of 26 dates, including the one established by Byland and Pohl. I will propose a reasonable chronological sequence which places the biography of Lord Eight Wind into the context of a possible human lifespan. I will demonstrate that his biography also records founding events of the Epiclassic Period culture of his people, the Mixtecs.

Third, I will establish 165 years of prehispanic history of the Mixtec people which their royal scribes wrote as beginning in 935 A.D. and ending in this particular narrative in 1100 A.D. The recovered history will be seen to be ceremonial, military, and lineage.

Fourth, since both codices Zouche-Nuttall and Vienna have been known as related documents from the time of Zelia Nuttall's 1902 commentary to the Peabody Museum edition of the manuscript bearing her name, I will draw comparisons

between them not previously explored in the extant literature. I will demonstrate that they are linked by at least one historical date, one specific ceremony, and one shared chronological sequence. The shared date is especially important because Codex Vienna, and to some extent, Codex Nuttall obverse, have been considered documents without historical dates and recording only allegorical or non-durational time (Pohl, 2004:390). It is established in the literature that these two native manuscripts are linked not only by persons and places they both record, but were also linked together at the time of the arrival of Hernan Cortes in Mexico in 1519. Therefore at least one common date between them is both reasonable and expected.

This thesis is also an exercise in an unusual type of ethnography. I use the word "unusual" because the native informants have been deceased for almost five hundred years and they wrote about historical events which occurred more than a thousand years ago, events which in some cases were almost four hundred years before their time. This is of vital interest because, since the Spanish Entrada into Oaxaca in 1521, the Mixtec Indians (and indeed all Native Americans no matter their location and source of contact with Europeans) have been rendered people without history.

Therefore, as original ethnographies, these manuscripts are artifacts that speak and inform, and are in effect the voices of ancient scribes resonating down through the ages. They are not a living human being functioning as informer so as to have his words translated and written in an alien language. In a real sense they are vocalizations of deceased humans who function as timeless informers of culture. These manuscripts are written in icons, symbols (like language) but sans phonemes and grammar. They are provocateurs of image, polyphonies of pictures and narratives imbued with trans-cultural parcels of meaning. I, now, or recently so, can have the phenomena represented affect me, but I as native informer's subject must be affected by them in the ancient, original sense, somehow discovering the original meaning and appreciating its transformation and translation across time within myself.

The observer is, in a sense, written by them because the observer's meaning is empowered with a new consciousness transmitted from antiquity. Words spoken or written are deleted in one genre (codices), impelled by a different genre (communication to an observer), but experiences of original songs and narratives are conveyed

and performed by an unusual evocation in yet another (interpretation by an observer).

In this regard Stephen Tyler's correlation of ethnography and poetry is insightful: "...ethnography is a cooperatively evolved text consisting of fragments of discourse intended to evoke in the minds of both reader and writer an emergent fantasy..." (1986:125). Mixtec manuscripts are performance discourse and contra Tyler I must keep fantasy at bay. Perhaps these manuscripts and their evocative content are a culture's poetry, for true representations of human experience and to some extent cross-cultural translation are shared a-linguistically by all who encounter them, even those who do not recognize the word "Mixtec" as signifying both a people and an Otomangean language. The non-Mixtec observer is empowered to share the native cultural system of meaning and integrate it with her own. This transaction is effective ethnography because original native narrative experience becomes contemporary in context and understanding without losing originality.

Significance of the Problem: Discussion.

This thesis explores certain problems about the chronological and ideological interpretations of Codex Zouche-Nuttall pages one through eight as a document of Native American history written by Native Americans. The

central figure of this history is Lord Eight Wind Eagle Flints who has been interpreted as both a historical figure (Byland and Pohl, 1994:238) and as supernatural figure whose life is told in terms of ceremonies with no clear distinction between history and myth itself (Furst, 1978:4b). Therefore, in the literature, he seems both fish and fowl: sometimes one, sometimes the other—which reflects a certain truth explored in this thesis. The native chronology associated with him—especially for the first part of his life—has been interpreted as metaphorical, thus he is seen in Homeric or Vergillian fashion as floating free from time itself.

Mixtec use of dates as historical markers is established, however. In the majority of their surviving manuscripts (Zouche-Nuttall reverse, Vienna reverse, Bodley, Selden, and what can be deciphered of the Colombino-Becker I fragments), the Mixtecs record chronologies fixing events securely in time. The difficulty in other texts lies in determining when chronology is literal, when it is allegorical, and when it is used as an admixture of both (Troike, 1978:555).

Codex Zouche-Nuttall obverse consists of three sagas connected by genealogies. Lord Eight Wind's pages are first, the Ladies three Flint pages second, and Four Lords

from Apoala third. In Lord Eight Wind's saga/biography, 26 dates are used in the course of eight pages (3.25 dates per page). In the Ladies Three flint saga, only 15 dates are used for the nine pages (14 to 22) and at least two of those are allegorical (1.4. dates per page). The third saga writes five dates on four pages or 1.25 dates per page.

Because the first saga relies more on temporal markers I ask if Lord Eight Wind's story fits within the framework of a possible human lifetime. In the course of this investigation I also ask two more questions: what is the order of the historical events recorded, and what is the purpose of the first eight pages of Codex Zouche-Nuttall? A necessary but ancillary question asked concerns the relationship of and interaction of events in both manuscripts, Zouche-Nuttall and Vienna.

The three sagas of Codex Zouche-Nuttall obverse are dramatic performance narratives (Byland and Pohl, 1994:9) and sometimes little-understood statements by an indigenous people about the foundation of their advanced culture centuries prior to contact with Europeans. This thesis will provide recovery, definition, and insight into a portion of Mixtec history as they wrote it.

Stated in brief, the Mayans wrote their elite histories from approximately A.D. 100 to A.D. 1000. The Mixtecs wrote theirs about events which occurred from A.D. 935, and before, until and after the arrival of the Spanish in Oaxaca in A.D. 1521. Interpretation of the Mixtec manuscripts provides historical sequences of events for a transitional period of Mesoamerican History beginning in the Epiclassic era.

Genesis of the Thesis.

In 1985 I studied Mayan hieroglyphic writing with Professor Linda Schele at her annual spring Break Maya Hieroglyphic Workshops, University of Texas, Austin. I taught introductory classes for her in 1987 and 1988 at that workshop. In 1989 Professor Schele asked me to found a Mixtec Pictogram Writing Workshop as an adjunct to the larger seminar because she wanted to increase the scope of the workshop to include as many Mesoamerican cultures as possible.

To prepare, I taught subsequently two master's classes on Mixtec Codices under Professor Schele's aegis at the University of Texas, Austin, and published a series of beginner's articles about side one of Codex Zouche-Nuttall for the periodical, *Texas Notes on Precolumbian Art, Writing, and Culture*, Numbers 20-24, September, 1991, as

well as a collaboration in Volume 1, No. 50, March 1993, with Timothy Albright and Rex Koontz titled "Eight Deer Plays Ball Again: Notes on a New Codiactal Cognate." These are now archived in the University of Texas Department of Fine Arts online files, CHAAAC. Mr. Albright and I also presented the five-hundred year genealogy of Lord Eight Wind Eagle Flints at the 1993 SAA meetings held at Disneyland Hotel in Anaheim, California. We demonstrated Lord Eight Wind's descendants as recorded in several of the Mixtec codex genealogies from 935 A.D. until the Spanish Colonial Era.

I taught the first Mixtec Seminar on Codex Selden in 1992, but on the proviso that an established scholar had to be engaged to direct subsequent annual sessions. Dr. John M.D. Pohl was to be that scholar and in the next twelve years we established, co-directed the curricula, and taught the seminar. This enabled me to evolve my thinking regarding the largely un-explicated sections of Codex Zouche-Nuttall which had been the subject of my previous essays. This thesis, which for limitations of space concerns the first eight pages of Codex Zouche-Nuttall obverse, is the direct result of my many years of study, research, and original thought about the topic.

Insight came not only from study but from the classes themselves. An especial highlight among these annual seminars occurred in 1998 when a Mixtec bard, Senor Ruben Luengas, participated with us so as to learn to read his people's ancient books. Mr. Luengas provided valuable ethnological insights into Mixtec folklore, including material about caves, which are prominent geological features in the Mixteca Alta. According to him, the old folks in the Mixteca remembered that caves were used in "the old days" as underground highways or routes for traveling from place to place. However the elders cautioned that caverns were dangerous because it was easy to be lost under the earth and die there.

It was a pleasure to show Senor Luengas Codex Zouche-Nuttall page 36 which displays four Mixtec Lords entering Serpent's Mouth Cave at Apoala (called in Hispanic times The Archbishop's Cave) and, then, journeying to a different valley pictured on page 37 of the manuscript. We also noted that the subject of this thesis, Lord Eight Wind Eagle Flints, was born from Toto Cuee cave, and in all of his Zouche-Nuttall tableaux except two, is shown emerging from caves, even in temple floors.

Definition of Terms.

Technical terms will be defined in text as they occur. However, for general purposes, Mesoamerican cultural eras are defined within a specific timeline (Figure 1), which can vary somewhat from source to source. We date the Epicclassic era as being the final years of the Classic Period and the first decades of the Postclassic Period, approximately 850 A.D. to 1100 A.D (Table 1). Since individuals are named for the days of their births, such as Eight Wind, birth names will have the numbers spelled out in text, while actual dates such as Year 1 Reed Day 4 Flint will employ Arabic numbers.

The phrase "Middle America" refers to all territory south of the United States, including Panama. However,

Table 1.
Mesoamerican Cultural Eras

Early Formative	B.C. 1600-1200
Middle Formative	B.C. 1200-900
Late Formative	B.C. 900-250
Preclassic Period	B.C. 250-100 A.D.
Classic Period	100 A.D.-800
-Epicclassic-	
Early Postclassic Period	800 A.D.-1200
Middle Postclassic Period	1200 A.D.-1400
Late Post Classic Period	1400 A.D.-1521

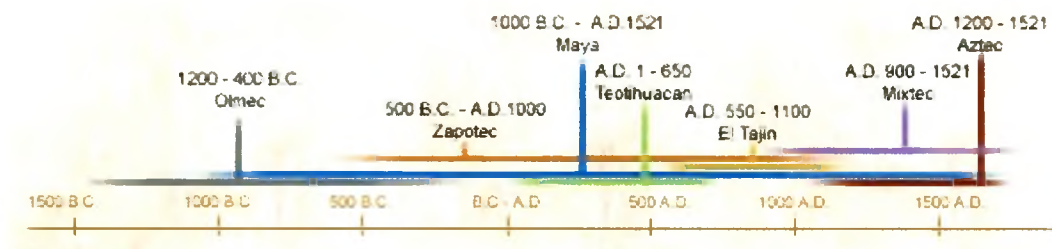


Figure 1. Mesoamerican Cultural Timeline.
(John M.D. Pohl, www.famsi.org.)

the word "Mesoamerica" refers to a culture area which begins slightly south of the U.S. Border and ends north of the Isthmus of Panama (Evans, 2004:19). For purposes of this study, we focus on that territory located in the modern Mexican State of Oaxaca. A laudable tendency among recent commentators has been to use original Mixtec Language names for various towns mentioned in the codices (Troike, 1978; Jansen and Jimenez, 2004). "Anute" is Mixtec for the town of Santa Magdalena Jaltepec; "Yuta Tnoho" is Santiago Apoala; "Nuu Tnoo" is Santiago Tilantongo; and the Mixtec themselves are "Nuu Dzau", or, Rain People. Non-Mixtec terminology is a combination of later Nahuatl and Spanish Colonial nomenclature and is retained in this thesis because it is commonly used on official maps and in previous scholarly work.

Sources of Data.

Primary data sources are drawn from photographic facsimiles of the Mixtec codices themselves and these manuscripts are described and illustrated in text and listed in the bibliography. Secondary data sources are from various authors and their publications, cited in text and listed in the bibliography.

Geographical data about Oaxaca is taken from electronic documents available on the internet and are cited in the bibliography as "undated electronic documents". Some illustrations by Dr. John M.D. Pohl from the undated FAMSI website section titled "Pohl's Mesoamerica", are used with permission and identified in text.

Interpretation of Mixtec codices must be to some extent inferential since they are mnemonic pictogram texts written in sequential tableaux and intended to supplement oral tradition as memorized and recited by royal bards. In reference to this thesis, some interpretation is original and based on the author's research not only in codex pictorial tableaux but also according to the physical structure of the artifacts themselves. I assert that the application of cautious inference based on intrinsic evidence is valid because, were we to restrict this investigation only to scientifically verifiable data, many

interesting areas of valid research would be negated and such evidence as is presented rendered vague or inaccessible (Paddock, 1985:358).

Method: Calendars, Chronology, and Scribal Errors.

My method must involve an important native technology; namely, the Mixtec use of the Mesoamerican calendar. Methodology used in this thesis employs that calendar corresponded with the European calendar to establish events recorded on pages 1-8 of Codex Zouche-Nuttall as historical events in the lifetime of the protagonist, Lord Eight Wind Eagle Flints. In doing so Lord Eight Wind's position in Epicclassic and early Postclassic Mixtec culture will be explicated chronologically, his family detailed, and the foundational culture of the Mixtec Indians of Oaxaca demonstrated as a progression of historical events.

Comment has been made about debate on the allegorical contra absolute nature of Mixtec temporal markers and this discussion appears in the literature (Furst, dissertation, 1978:69-72; Pohl, 2004:390). Because of a sense of chronological liminality, the protagonist of Codex Zouche-Nuttall's first saga, Lord Eight Wind Eagle Flints, seems to begin in myth, live for nearly 150 years and end in myth despite the fact that he is otherwise regarded as an historical figure. One writer has asserted (Furst,

dissertation, 1978:69, citing Caso, 1954:12-13) that the date, Year 13 Rabbit Day 2 Deer, has no European calendar equivalent at all. Therefore, much has been said about non-temporal, non-durational time (Jansen, 1988:156-192). I have mentioned previously that the majority of Mixtec manuscripts have no difficulty recording chronology. However, agreement between manuscripts and even events in one manuscript can be problematical.

Codex Vienna, by virtue of its nature as both a book of ritual and of extensive maps (Figure 3, a map page of Zouche-Nuttall) of the Mixtec world, does contain dates which seem disassociated from specific chronology and record only symbolic meaning. They are associated with persons, man-made and natural places in the landscape, and ceremonies. Zouche-Nuttall obverse is often compared to the Codex Vienna obverse as a sister document and the metaphorical content of the latter is attached to the former (Furst, 1978:4b). However, as will be demonstrated, both manuscripts share a recorded historical date for one critical event -a lineage founding ceremony.

Calendars. A detailed study of Codex Zouche-Nuttall obverse pages 1-8 was written by Jill Leslie Furst and titled "The Life and Times of ♂ Eight Wind Flinted Eagle" (1978). Two elements of her discussion are immediately

relevant to this thesis. First, she details the relationship between codices Vienna and Zouche-Nuttall; and, second, she observes that the Mixtec concept of time was "cyclical". This latter is critical to our discussion because she qualifies it by saying of the Mixtec calendar that "...it may not have been a calendar in the Western sense of the word" (1978:12a). I concur with her statement but not precisely in the sense she intended. Our culture finds historical events by dates; apparently the Mixtecs found dates by historical events. The difference is subtle, but critical.

Cyclical time-counting is standard in prehispanic Mesoamerica. The precedent Mayan long count calendar round system expires and resets itself every 5126 years, and, so, is cyclical in an expansive chronological framework. John Pohl (2004:368-418) notes that the Maya employed two basic calendars: a 365-day solar Haab which measured time relevant to the annual agricultural cycle, divided into 18 months of 20 days each. The second concurrent calendar to the Haab was the 260-day Tzolkin, or ritual calendar. These two were mathematically coordinated and reset every 52 years (Miller and Schele, 1986:16-17).

The Mixtec calendar had both these solar and ritual components, there being seventy-three 260-day ritual cycles

per every 52-year solar cycle of 365 days per year. The Mixtecs counted days in the 260-day ritual calendar and years in the solar one. Unlike the Mayan system, however, the Mixtec repeating cycles are not distinguished by a long count added to tell them in progression or regression one from another. Also, there is no evidence that the Mixtecs measured 20-day months. Codex Borgia, a manuscript in the Mixteca-Puebla style but of unknown provenance, does indicate the observance of a 13-day trecena, or week. Each day beginning with the number "one" began a 13-day trecena. Otherwise there is no evidence that the Mixtecs were interested in recording vast cycles of time as were the Classic Period Maya.¹

Integration of solar and ritual calendars indicates that Mesoamerican calendars were temporal recording technologies imbued with both historical and allegorical content. I would be hard-pressed to name any modern calendar without these same qualities. Therefore I argue that one does not necessarily exclude the other and propose to demonstrate that the majority of dates recorded in Codex Zouche-Nuttall pages 1-8 are in most instances historical

¹ Ethnographic evidence indicates, however, that 16th century Mixtecs believed in previous creations (Hammond, 2002:5)

temporal indicators even if loaded with allegory to enrich data. They are chiefly markers for ceremonies and rituals.

Chronology. The 26 year-dates on Codex Zouche-Nuttall pages 1-8 are usually sequential in occurrence, with one exception noted in text. Our criterion for interpreting dates is this: when a year-date occurs within a progressive sequence of dates but has no relevance to that sequence it is either ritual-allegorical in nature, or a scribal error. The technology implied by an accurate calendar does not exempt it from recording historical events no matter the allegorical content embedded within it. Allegory is, after all, a means of enriching data in mnemonic texts.

Building upon work by Emily Rabin (1974, 1976, 1979, 1980, 1982) Byland and Pohl (1994:231-264) produced a chronological sequence of historical events applicable to all Mixtec manuscripts, specifically, codices Zouche-Nuttall, Bodley, Selden, and Alfonso Caso (Colombino-Becker I fragments). This sequence covers fourteen 52-year cycles from 883 A.D. to 1610 A.D., inclusively. Their seminal work has become standard and much of it is used for this present analysis and interpretation. Using their chronological technique, the events related in the codex pages scrutinized in this thesis occur in the historic

(A.D.) Mixtec cycles as follows: Cycle 2, 935 to 986; Cycle 3, 987 to 1038; Cycle 4, 1039 to 1090; Cycle 5, 1091 to 1142. It is important to note that these codices are not strict chronicles, that is, they do not record events in each successive year, and often gaps of several years occur between events.

Scribal Errors. Mixtec scribes appear to have made mistakes in enumeration of dates and day-names of individuals (who are named for the days of their birth, for example, Eight Wind, Six Monkey, etc.) These errors are usually uncorrected because, as is assumed, doing so was difficult. For errors consisting of too many number-circles, existing images and foundational gesso had to be scraped and repainted (Jansen and Jimenez, 2005:30b). Because codex scenes were mnemonic memory devices for oral recitation, it was probably easier for scribes and bards to simply correct erroneous dates from memory.

One obvious example of scribal date correction occurs on Zouche-Nuttall reverse page 50d (Figure 2): the six units for a House Year have been scratched out and replaced with seven units, although it is unclear why another unit simply was not added to the existing six. In the example cited the entire date has been shifted up in position on the page.

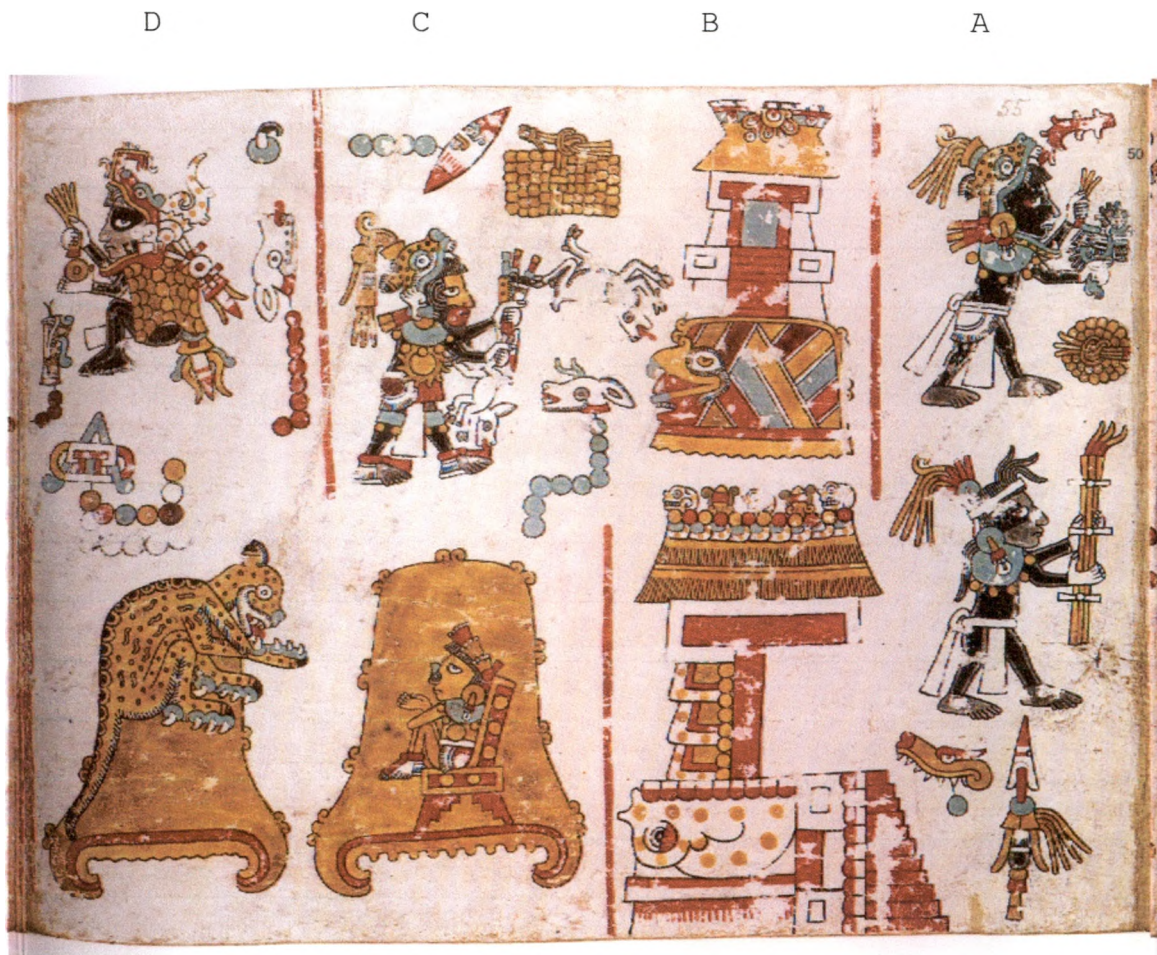


Figure 2. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, page 50. A corrected date appears in column D.

An apparent error in recording a personal day name occurs in Codex Selden (6-IV). Lord Eleven Wind (the future husband of Lady Six Monkey of Jaltepec) is named Ten Wind; then, in subsequent narrative his name is corrected. I do not know why another unit was not simply added to correct the error. This same scene begins in Selden register 6-III with yet what seems to be another scribal

error. The correct year (6 Reed) is drawn as 5 Reed. So, two scribal errors occur with the same event but are not repeated. This seems suspicious and perhaps in context of this particular narrative the numbers 10 and 5 had allegorical significance which eludes us now.

Therefore the possibility exists that the scribal errors mentioned above are not errors at all, but, rather, a kind of pun understood to be read into text. So I will do in fact what the Mixtec bards very likely did from memory and make one-digit corrections if necessary, though sparingly. It is not necessary to do this often.

Scribal errors are usually identified by comparing and contrasting with cognate scenes in other codices or with subsequent scenes in the same manuscript; however, for unique scenes this technique is unavailable. Therefore, when examining dates in chronological sequences, the investigator must be alert and when a single date occurs remarkably out of context in a sequence, the existence of one too many or one too few units in year numeration can be inferred. This procedure is followed here cautiously (Oudijk, 1998:19). For Zouche-Nuttall pages 1-8 there are two scribal errors involving one numeral and perhaps a third example, too. These are mentioned in text. Even if they are not errors they do not invalidate the historical

sequences through some 26 dates recorded therein. When these errors are noted, the recorded number is stated and the correction follows it in parenthesis, as, for example, Year 5(6) Reed.



Figure 3. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, page 22. A map-page showing people, places, and dates.

CHAPTER 2

DISCUSSION

Mixtec Indians.

In antiquity, prior to the arrival of the Toltec people in approximately 700 A.D., the Mixtec were culturally advanced, possibly influenced in Middle Formative times (B.C. 1200-B.C. 900) by the Olmec who imported stone from what is now present day Oaxaca (Tate, 1995:49c). The Mixtecs were culturally dominated by the Zapotecs previously, then, as Zapotec control waned, Mixtecs overshadowed them, formed marriage alliances with them, and then were conquered by the Aztecs in the late fifteenth century. Resisting Aztec and Zapotec alliances with ardor, the later Mixtec also resisted Spanish incursions until conquered by Pedro de Alvarado in 1521 A.D. (<http://www.encyclopedia.com/html/M/Mixtec.asp>).

Mixtec polities were small village states and diversified throughout the landscape (Jansen and Jimenez, 2005:42b). They were closely situated to one another, politically connected, and economically stabilized by a complex system of marriage alliances (Spores, 1974:298).

Kingdoms were socially stratified into castes. The highest caste were kings and queens whose positions were determined by heredity, second were lesser nobles, third were plebeians, and fourth were bonded serfs. Rulership was absolute and continued until death or abdication (Spores, 1971:301). Kings and queens were expected to provide for community protection, adjudicating disputes involving nobility, serving as appellate courts for strife among commoners. They provided accoutrements and instruments for religious ceremonies and provided sustenance and accommodation for nobles summoned to ceremonial and political occasions.

In most cases, considering that royal families were focused on local causes and not on extensive extra-territorial politics—there was no conflict between means and goals as would be expected in larger, unified states. Spores (1974:301) writes that stresses and destabilizing influences typical of unified royal state systems did not develop in the later Mixtec polities. As will be seen in our reading of Codex Zouche-Nuttall's first saga stability was earned by the exercise of great energy.

Byland and Pohl (1994:198-199) also note the presence of significant numbers of religious oracles in the Mixteca; numbers higher than in any other part of prehispanic

Mesoamerica. These oracles, as socio-political functionaries, were held in extreme regard (Dahlgren, 1966 in Byland and Pohl) and played significant roles in maintaining social order among the Mixtec royalty. Burgoa wrote about three of the most important of these oracles (1934a[1674] in Byland and Pohl, 1994). First of these is the goddess of the dead, Lady Nine Grass of Chalcatongo who is a prominent figure in the codices. The Mixtecs also gave significant importance to the god of the sun, Lord One Death, and his temple at Achiutla. Lord One Death also figures prominently in the codices. The third oracle of prominence was referred to as "the great seer at Mitla" who was the high priest there (Byland and Pohl, 1994:194) and was of Zapotec origin.

Currently, the indigenous American people known as Mixtecs still reside in the modern Mexican State of Oaxaca (Figure 4). Communities of Mixtecs have been established in recent times in the United States, notably in California where they have their own Mixtec-language radio station (The Sacramento Bee, 10/20/2002). "Mixtec" qualifies both the people and their language.

Oaxaca.

The modern State of Oaxaca is located on the southwest portion of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec at the southern

extremity of Mexico. It borders the states of Guerrero to the west, Puebla to the northwest, Veracruz to the north, and Chiapas to the east. Oaxaca is an area of 95,364 square kilometers and, at the beginning of the twenty-first century had a population estimated at 3,597,700; approximately 300,000 of these are Mixtecs. Geographically Oaxaca is located in the mountains and valleys of the Sierra Madre del Sur.



Figure 4. Oaxaca.

(The Mexico Network, Oaxaca State Profile,
<http://www.mexconnect.com/amex/tmn/oaxacaprofile.htm>).

The Mixteca itself is geographically the western third of Oaxaca State. It has three geographically distinct parts. The Mixteca Alta is mountainous, high, and cool, with moderate rainfall and deep valleys. The Baja is lower in elevation, hot, and semiarid. The Mixteca Costa is hot, humid coastal lowlands bordering the Gulf of Tehuantepec (Spoors, 1969:557a). From Cholula and its

Tolteca/Chichimeca culture to Oaxaca with its dominant Mixtec and Zapotec cultures, marriage alliances functioned as trade networks (corridors) and political interaction spheres in precolumbian times (Figure five).



Figure 5. Precolumbian cultures and marriage alliances of Oaxaca.

(John M.D. Pohl, www.famsi.org)

The area of cultural focus related in Codex Zouche-Nuttall saga one is the Nochixtlan Valley of Oaxaca, specifically the northern part of it (Figures 6 and 7). In present day, this valley is situated about 450 kilometers southeast of Mexico City on the pan American Highway.

Spores writes (1969:558c) that it is the largest stretch of mostly open and level land between the Valley of Oaxaca 100 kilometers to the south and the Nexapa Valley at Izucar and the Tehuacan Valley nearly 200 kilometers to the north.

The valley is composed of four major cultural areas: Yanhuitlan situated in the northwestern portion, Yucuita in the north (near Yucunudahui), Nochixtlan in the east, and Jaltepec in the southeast. All follow river confluences. From north/northwest to southeast the Nochixtlan Valley is about twenty-five kilometers long, varying from five to ten kilometers wide. Topographically the area consists of numerous narrow valleys interrupted by high mountain ranges and lesser promontories, including buttes and piedmont spurs (Spores, 1969:558c). Level areas are located only in the central portions of these smaller valleys and some have been created by man-made terracing. Spores (1969:558c) notes the Nochixtlan Valley to be the single most important area in the Mixteca during its extensive history of occupation.

Ronald Spores' detailed archaeological work in the Nochixtlan Valley in the 1960's provides significant insight into settlement patterns there and length of occupation --an observation integral to kinship/marriage

patterns dealt with in this thesis. These data will be summarized in Chapter X.



Figure 6. Map of Oaxaca, Section 6/16. Nochixtlan Valley is the left-hand part of this section.
(Maps of Mexico, www.mapsofmexico.com)



Figure 7. Nochixtlan Valley, enlargement of Section 6/16 of Maps of Mexico displaying modern but prehispanic sites: Santiago Apoala, Ascuncion Nochixtlan, Santo Domingo Yanhuitlan, San Juan Yucuita, Magdalena Jaltepec, and Santiago Tilantongo.
(Maps of Mexico, www.mapsofmexico.com)

Today Oaxaca is known as the area wherein the two great cultures of Zapotec and Mixtec peoples developed and founded enduring communities which persist into modern times. Prehispanic Mixtec culture influenced other cultures outside Oaxaca and one instrument for this

diffusion was the body of manuscript literature called Mixtec Codices written not in alphabetic script, but in pictogram text.

Writing Traditions and Mixtec Codices.

Pictogram writing is indigenous to Mesoamerica but specifically to cultures in central and southern Mexico. Although Jansen and Perez Jimenez (2005:11) associate its development with Teotihuacan, the origins of it probably began much earlier in Middle Formative times with the Olmec on the Gulf Coast of the northern and north/central parts of the Isthmus of Tehauntepec, as did hieroglyphic writing (Reilly, personal communication, 2004).

Subsequently, in Zapotec and Mayan cultures, hieroglyphic writing was employed to record elite histories but those texts were often accompanied by elaborate iconography, i.e. pictograms which augmented hieroglyphic texts and provided information not contained in the hieroglyphs. Figure 8 is an example of this. It is the display on a carved wooden lintel from Tikal, Temple IV (Lintel 3), dated June 26, 741 A.D. (9.15.10.00 3 Ahau 3 Mol). The small hieroglyphic texts at the upper right and left-hand portions of this lintel imply (among other things not well deciphered) a ceremony which is detailed in the large, elaborate pictogram, including the carrying poles

which bore the king of Tikal on a kind of float or palanquin.

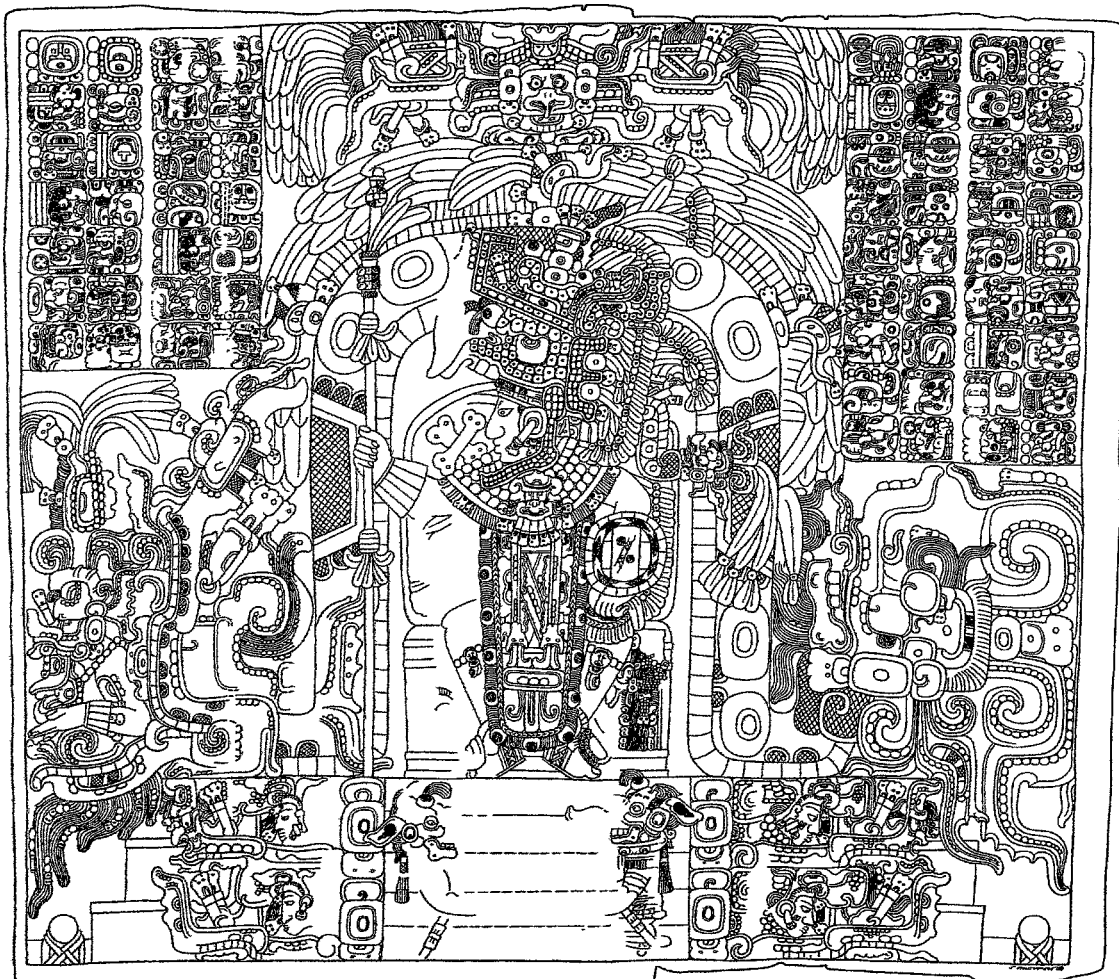


Figure 8. Tikal, Temple IV Lintel 3. From a pen and ink drawing by John Montgomery in the author's collection.

The Highland Guatemala Maya, specifically the Quiche, never used a hieroglyphic writing system. As Pohl states (2004, 369-370, citing Andrews 1993, Kepecs, Feinman, and Boucher, 1994): "Rather, it appears that the highland Guatemala Maya used a pictographic communication system

exclusively and that this system was largely derived from that developed by the Eastern Nahuas, Mixtecs, and Zapotecs of southern Mexico" (Figure 9). Evidence is now emerging from the northern Peten in Guatemala which shows

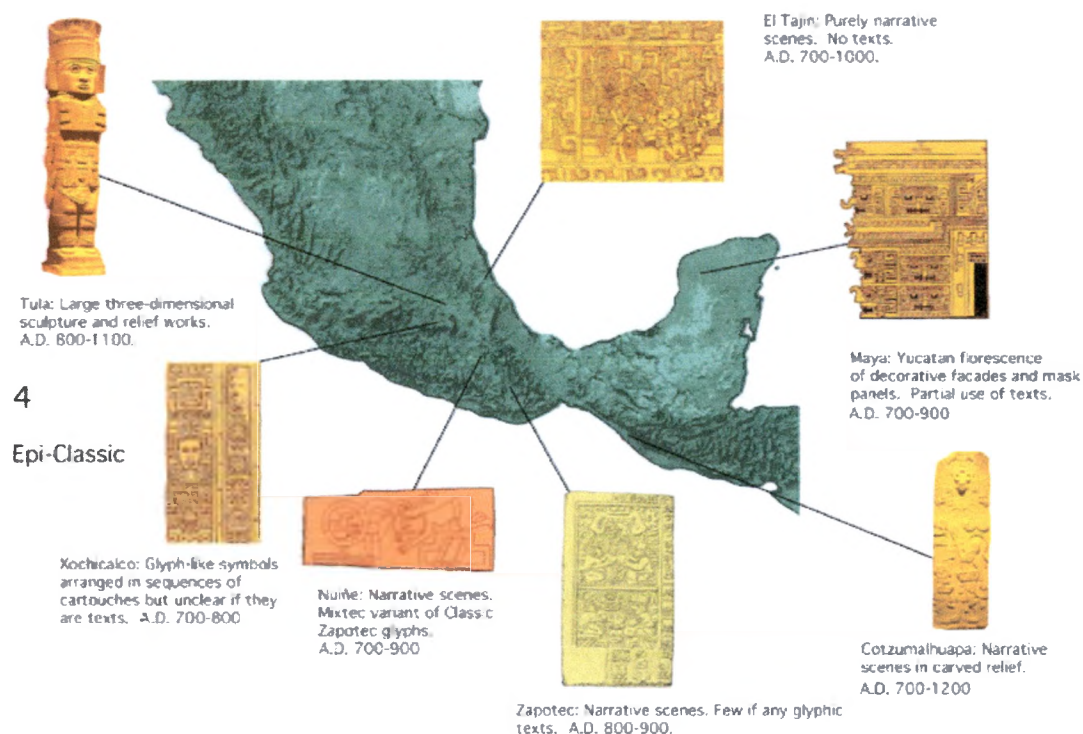


Figure 9. Map of Epiclassic cultures, their art and writing.

(John M.D. Pohl, www.famsi.org)

an interesting combination of pictogram and hieroglyphic Mayan writing (Earliest Mayan writing found beneath pyramid, CNN.com, January 2006). Artifacts at San Bartolo were painted on stucco and associated with an "...incredible complex of early paintings..." noted Mary Miller in the

article cited. Other archaeologists noted that "...some of the glyphs are pictorial." David Stuart (University of Texas) is cited in the news article and says that this text (dated at 300 B.C.) was exemplary of writing and public art as "...part of a package."

After the Classic Period collapse even those Maya who employed hieroglyphics relied upon them less and less and employed pictograms more frequently. Therefore, hieroglyphic writing for Mayan cultures appears to have been a Classic period expression which diminished over time for public monuments. Pictogram writing became the lingua franca, so to speak, for many different cultures in Mesoamerica. Pictogram writing is trans-lingual and so had utility among diverse peoples -an important quality for societies with economies based on trade and marketing systems scattered over territories with sometimes mutually unintelligible languages (Figure 10). Jansen and Perez Jimenez note (2005:11-12) that areas where pictogram writing developed had tonal languages wherein words pronounced in different tones have different meanings, as is the case with Chinese.

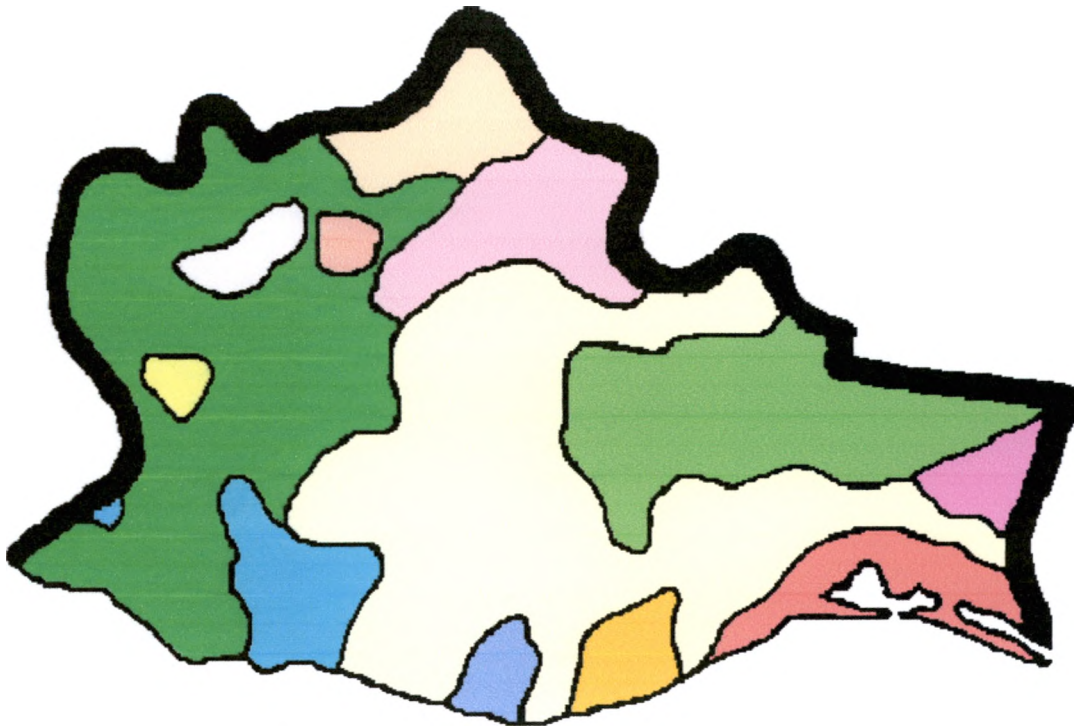


Figure 10. Language diversity in prehispanic Oaxaca.
Green is Mixtec, ecru is Zapotec.
(<http://tomzap.com/lang.html>)

Mixtec Codices and Pictographic Literature.

The Mixtecs became masters of pictogram writing and although eight fan-fold manuscripts survive, five are considered major codices, although this designation varies between scholars. They are, from latest to earliest and without dispute as to importance: Codex Selden, a post-conquest palimpsest painted over an older prehispanic manuscript; Codex Bodley is late Postclassic period; Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus I (called in this thesis

Codex Vienna); Codex Zouche-Nuttall, and the partly destroyed fragments previously called Codex Colombino-Becker I, now called Codex Alfonso Caso. These latter four manuscripts are all prehispanic and Caso thought that Codex Zouche-Nuttall (Figure 11) was painted about 1438 A.D. (1977:18). The content of the codices is mythological, historical, and genealogical. The codices were composed by royal princes and were used not merely for personal reading, but as performance narratives during ceremonial occasions. They were also opened and hung as displays on walls (see Figure 12) and their various scenes and characters used to decorate pottery (Figure 13) and clothing.

Except for Codex Vienna, which was investigated by Lauren Touriens in two articles published in 1983 and 1984 (Graz, Austria), the European history of these artifacts is largely unknown or speculative. Hernan Cortes wrote that he sent native books as curiosities to Europe (Prescott, 1934[1843]:65) and Touriens established that Codex Vienna was one of these (Williams, 1995:1). Another has been long suspected to be Codex Zouche-Nuttall which surfaced at the Library of San Marco in Florence, Italy, in 1854 (Nuttall, 1902:1-5; Troike, 1987:17). In her introduction to the Peabody Museum edition of the codex named after her, Zelia

Nuttall (1902:9-11) provides the clearest rationale accounting for its presence in Italy and its discovery at the Florentine library.

Nuttall remarks on the similarity of the manuscript discussed here with its "sister codex", Vienna. She maintains that shortly after the Conquest both manuscripts were in Florence. Thinking the codices Aztec, she asserts that Codex Zouche-Nuttall is (1) one of two books mentioned in the inventory of 1519 as among presents given to Cortes by Montezuma's envoys, (2) these two manuscripts were received in the spring of 1520 by Charles V of Spain and subsequently distributed to various sovereigns along with other New World curiosities, and (3) finally, Codex Zouche-Nuttall and Vienna were separated as gifts with the former remaining in Florence (1902:10).

The similarity of personnel and content between codices Zouche-Nuttall and Vienna has been well-noted subsequently to Nuttall's introduction (Furst, 1978:2). Comparing and contrasting data from both these manuscripts will be of frequent employ in this thesis.

Codex Zouche-Nuttall Obverse, pages 1-8.

As previously stated, the subject of this thesis is the first eight pages of Codex Zouche-Nuttall obverse. It is more recent than the reverse (museum numbered pages 42-

84) which tells the political history of the great warlord and usurper of Tilantongo, Lord Eight Deer Jaguar Claw.



Figure 11. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, opened to the reverse.
(John M.D. Pohl, www.famsi.org)

The entire manuscript is painted on both sides of sixteen gesso-coated fan-folded leather strips glued together and totaling 1296.95 centimeters in length (12.97 meters). Page width varies from 18.3 centimeters to 25.2 centimeters (Troike, 1987:38-39). The codex obverse (museum numbered pages 1-41) displays pictogram text which relates historical and mythological events told in three sagas interspersed with genealogies.

The obverse is complete, but the older reverse is unfinished, the text becoming incomplete on page 84 leaving two unwritten columns. The relative ages of the two sides are assured because microscopic examination reveals that paint from the obverse seeped through small cracks and holes and overlay small portions of the painted figures on the reverse (Furst, 1978:5a; Troike, personal communication, 1987). The first saga is introduced on pages one and two, the second on page fourteen, and the

third on page thirty-six. Although the texts of both sides of Codex Zouche-Nuttall are universally agreed to be preconquest documents, they may be newer versions of still older codices which do not survive (Winters, 1998:78).

The Spanish noticed the presence of Mixtec codices and their use. Friar Francisco de Burgoa, 1674 A.D., wrote that they:

"...had many books...that the historians inscribed with characters so abbreviated, that a single page expressed the place, the site, province, year, month, and day with all the names of the gods, ceremonies, and sacrifices, or victories that they celebrated, and recorded in this way by the sons of the lords...their priests had instructed them since infancy to illustrate the characters and memorized the histories...I heard some elders explain that they were accustomed to fasten these manuscripts along the length of the room of the lords for their aggrandizement and vanity, they took pride in displaying them in their councils"

(cited by John M.D. Pohl, www.famsi.org). This "portable mural" display is utilized in the painting, "The Senate of Tlaxcala" by Rodrigo Gutierrez (Figure 12).



Figure 12. *The Senate of Tlaxcala*, painting by Rodrigo Gutierrez, 1875. Though barely visible in this photograph, a codex is painted as a right-to-left fresco at the upper border and above the oval intaglios.
 (<http://www.humanities-interactive.org/splendors/ex048.html>)



Figure 13. A footed Mixtec prehispanic goblet painted with codex scenes.
 (John M.D. Pohl, www.famsi.org)

The Protagonist of Codex Zouche-Nuttall, pages 1-8.

The codex narratives I will scrutinize in this thesis illustrate a dramatic fact: individual human beings alive in Epiclassic Oaxaca's Nochixtlan Valley (Figure 15) played a vital, formative role as agents effecting social change. The protagonist central to this sometimes cataclysmic social drama was a patriarch, politician, and religious leader named Lord Eight Wind Eagle Flints. Zelia Nuttall mentions him in her 1902 introduction to the Peabody Museum reproduction on pages 27-28 but her commentary is descriptive rather than interpretative.

He was first born from the earth in 935 A.D., lived as a supernatural "santo" for fifty-two years during which time he participated influentially in altering the existing social paradigm which had obtained and exercised power from the era of Classic Period Zapotec civilization (Pohl, 1991:22b). The change in social paradigm involved, in effect, lineage franchise, whereby a new order of lineage nobles said to be born from the trees at Apoala (Figure 14) constituted the sine qua non of rulership in the Mixteca. After his assumption of twice-born status as Tree Born noble and Earth Born, Lord Eight Wind lived the remaining forty years of his life exercising himself as the founder

of an enduring lineage which passed through his daughters and persisted until the arrival of the Spanish in 1521 A.D.

The system against which Eight Wind reacted included not only Classic Period rulers at a place called Wasp Hill, but also involved subjugating the original peoples of the Mixteca who are referred to as "Stone Men". The war against them is detailed on Codex Zouche-Nuttall page three and the resulting truce between the new Tree Born rulers and Stone Men recorded on the last half of page four. The second part of this sixteen-year war conducted against the nobility of Wasp Hill is narrated on Zouche-Nuttall pages four, twenty and twenty-two. It is also related in Codex Bodley, pages three and four, thirty-four through thirty-six for the southern Nochixtlan Valley (Figure 15). The Stone Men and their involvement with the Epiclassic Mixtecs will be detailed in this thesis.

Lord Eight Wind's foundational contribution to the new Mixtec cultural and social dynamics extended beyond participation in the institution of a new ruling lineage order. This thesis will propose and demonstrate that Lord Eight Wind was instrumental in giving the Mixtecs their very name as a people (People of the Rain) by virtue of his participation in the institution of a new ideological system.



Figure 14. Codex Vienna, page 37. The tree birth at Apoala and the new lineage system.

The Mixtec historical manuscripts detail actions of politically and personally motivated individuals against a pre-existing, over-riding social system. As Pohl has written, these "...stories were composed to break with the old social order through a miraculous act of renewal, without giving up claims to territory itself" (2003, Chapter 10:64). The Mixtec scribes who pictured Codex Zouche-Nuttall pages 1-8 as retrospective events were also careful to record unexpected consequences of Eight Wind's enduring deeds; namely, a dynastic conflict which arose in

the time of his great, great grandson, Lord Two Rain Twenty Jaguars of Tilantongo against Eight Wind's grand daughter, Lady Six Monkey of Jaltepec, and the resulting lineage war against the rival polity of Hua Chino (Red-and-White Bundle).

This dynastic, political drama is mentioned on Codex Zouche-Nuttall obverse page eight and finished on Codex Zouche-Nuttall reverse pages 80-84. It was to be resolved, as the scribes tell us, by the powerful and charismatic warlord, Eight Deer the Jaguar Claw of Tilantongo who usurped rule there after Two Rain Twenty Jaguar's death.



Figure 15. Archaeological sites in the southern Nochixtlan Valley, detailing Jaltepec, Tilantongo, Hill of the Wasp, and Hua Chinio (Red and White Bundle).
(John M.D. Pohl, www.famsi.org)

This great warlord, Eight Deer, attempted the most dramatic social changes since the time of Lord Eight Wind

himself (Williams, 2004, "Lord Eight Wind's Mummy", unpublished essay). This thesis will elaborate on material I first demonstrated in seminar at the University of Texas, Austin, in March, 2004, concerning the connection between Zouche-Nuttall's obverse and reverse as the scribes of a later time (obverse) connect earlier events to those told by scribes before them (reverse). This scribal technique produced a unified history of two great heroes, Lord Eight Wind (obverse) and Lord Eight Deer (reverse).

CHAPTER 3

THE NARRATIVE STRUCTURE OF CODEX ZOUCHE-NUTTALL OBVERSE

Each page of every Mixtec codex usually displays painted tableaux which can be interpreted individually as stating temporality in years and days, toponyms defining places, actors who are chiefly elite personnel, and actions such as marriage, conquest, peregrination, and diverse ceremonies. Taken collectively these tableaux demonstrate narrative sequences and reveal highlights of entire stories, histories, and related ceremonies. They are mnemonic devices, spotlights on ritual moments, and, like a movie story-board, reveal only certain points of narrative. The connecting data between them is lost. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, these memorized stories were passed on from generation to generation by those trained to do so.

The reader's progress through pictogram text is usually guided by red lines which determine the movement of narrative. This movement is generally boustrophedon, up-and-down or side-to-side, literally "as the bull plows". Different scribes used a variety of pictorial conventions to suit their needs, including abbreviation or conflation,

variation of reading order, omission of red guide lines, and full page-length red lines to separate one narrative sequence from another.

Events such as marriage can be variously represented according to local custom but marriage is usually pictured as husband and wife seated facing one another on a mat and perhaps enthroned with a vessel filled with pulche between them. Their children are usually pictured next, in order of birth, with or without temporal indicators. Figure 16 (below) from Zouche-Nuttall reverse indicates this.



Figure 16. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, pages 42-43a. Lord Five Crocodile's first marriage is with Lady Nine Eagle. Eighteen years later he marries Lady Eleven Water.
(John M.D. Pohl, www.famsi.org)

The following illustrations (figures 17, 18, 19) detail the temporal indicators of Year Bears, day signs, and toponyms.

Table 2 gives the sequence of years in numerical sequence through a 52-year cycle.

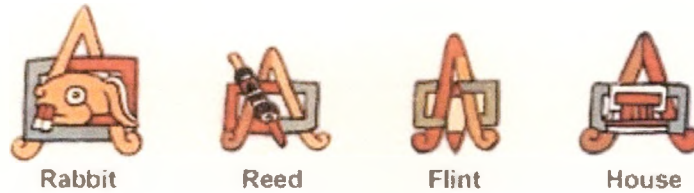


Figure 17. The four year bearers.
(John M.D. Pohl, www.famsi.org)

Table 2.

The 52 Years and their numbers in sequence.

No.	Year	No.	Year	No.	Year	No.	Year
1.	1 Reed	14.	1 Flint	27.	1 House	40.	1 Rabbit
2.	2 Flint	15.	2 House	28.	2 Rabbit	41.	2 Reed
3.	3 House	16.	3 Rabbit	29.	3 Reed	42.	3 Flint
4.	4 Rabbit	17.	4 Reed	30.	4 Flint	43.	4 House
5.	5 Reed	18.	5 Flint	31.	5 House	44.	5 Rabbit
6.	6 Flint	19.	6 House	32.	6 Rabbit	45.	6 Reed
7.	7 House	20.	7 Rabbit	33.	7 Reed	46.	7 Flint
8.	8 Rabbit	21.	8 Reed	34.	8 Flint	47.	8 House
9.	9 Reed	22.	9 Flint	35.	9 House	48.	9 Rabbit
10.	10 Flint	23.	10 House	36.	10 Rabbit	49.	10 Reed
11.	11 House	24.	11 Rabbit	37.	11 Reed	50.	11 Flint
12.	12 Rabbit	25.	12 Reed	38.	12 Flint	51.	12 House
13.	13 Reed	26.	13 Flint	39.	13 House	52.	13 Rabbit



Figure 18. The twenty days, in English and Mixtec.

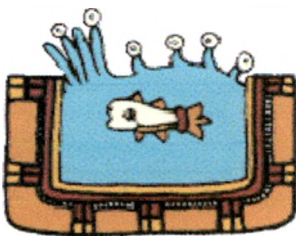
(<http://www.ancientscripts.com/mixtec.html>)



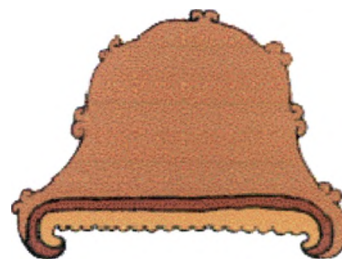
Town, or, Nu.



Plain, or, Yodzo.



River, or, Yuta.



Hill, or, Yucu.

Figure 19. The four basic toponyms.

(John M.D. Pohl, www.famsi.org)

Although complex in content and variable in reading order among its diverse sections, the narrative structure of the entire Codex Zouche-Nuttall obverse is simple in plan: three sagas each followed by events and genealogies. The content of this design is best demonstrated by schematic outline which details the subject of this thesis, pages 1-8, and briefly considers the remaining pages.

I. Saga of Lord Eight Wind Eagle Flints, pages 1-8.

A. Biographical introduction, pages 1-2.

B. The War from Heaven, pages 3-4.

1. War with the Stone Men, page 3.

2. War with the Stripped Men, page 4.

C. Lord Eight Wind and his family, pages 5-6a.

1. Lord Eight Wind at Monkey Hill, page 5a.

2. Lord Eight Wind Rain God Ceremonies, page 5ab.

3. Lord Eight Winds Three Wives, and children,
pages 5c-6a.

D. Two processions, pages 6b-7c.

E. Lord Eight Wind's mummy and Two Rain, pages 7d-8a.

F. Lord Two Rain's mummy, page 8b.

II. Saga of the Ladies Three Flint, mythological events and genealogies, pages 14-35. Not analyzed in this thesis.

III. Saga of the Four Lords from Apoala, genealogy, pages 36-41. Not analyzed in this thesis.

Discussion of structure.

Generally speaking, the Mixtec scribes exercised significant freedom to record their narratives within this structural framework. If reading order is established without using red lines placed on the page in various ways to guide the eye, either similarity of dates, chronological sequence of dates, or, perhaps mnemonic systems familiar to the original bards but unknown to present-day scholars are intended. The first two sagas end with a full-length red line separating them from the pages that follow. The narrative text is *res gestae* (Boone, 2000:70-77), or, event-driven and qualified by literal and allegorical temporal markers recording solar years and days within them.

The physical structure of the manuscript itself was utilized by the scribes in creative ways. The rigid in-fold, out-fold form which creates the pagination of this document is fixed; that is to say, one cannot fold pages contrary to their original directions without breaking them, therefore a rigid folding format is established.

This format is used advantageously in two instances to augment narrative sequences in Codex Zouche-Nuttall obverse by creating "parentheses" whereby two pages can be eclipsed or omitted from recitation. Both these parentheses are

histories of the War from Heaven sequences, first on pages three and four in Lord Eight Wind's story, and the second on pages 20 and 21 in the Ladies Three Flint narrative. In the first example the story is told from the perspective of the war in the northern Nochixtlan Valley settlements; in the second from the political point of view in the southern Nochixtlan Valley (Pohl, personal communication, 2004).

As I demonstrated during the Mixtec Pictogram Writing Workshop (University of Texas, March, 2004), in both cases the war pages can be deleted by taking advantage of the folding scheme, connecting in the first instance page two to page five and producing a continuous biography of Lord Eight Wind. In the second instance double-page 19 connects to page 22, omits pages 20 and 21 (the second telling of the war), in order to demonstrate that the founding of the first dynasty of Tilantongo (page 22) was a like-in-kind event to the founding of the earlier dynasty at Wasp Hill (page 19).

The reciting bards had the option of including the war narratives or omitting them, depending on necessities. For this reason I conclude that, although of extreme importance, the War from Heaven sequences were second-stream stories inserted into two main-stream stories for purposes of elaboration. A similar example in western

literature is the Ajax story inserted into Homer's Iliad. The importance of the War from Heaven as an event is further emphasized by the fact that it is twice-told in Codex Zouche-Nuttall from the point of view of two different participating political areas. It is also twice-told in Codex Bodley, first on pages 3-4, then on pages 34-36.

The first war narrative does not mention the Wasp Hill lineage exterminations at all, but emphasizes Lord Eight Wind's activities at Yucunudahui (Rain God Hill) and the subsequent conflict with the Stone Men. The first section which includes the war narrative also emphasizes Lord Eight Wind's participation in the founding of a new lineage franchise at Apoala, the Tree Born nobles who became rulers of Postclassic Oaxaca (figure nineteen).

For both areas of the Nochixtlan Valley the war had extreme dynastic implications as an old order of rule at Wasp Hill was swept away by a long, terrible war and replaced by a new one. We see a culture altered by violent change beginning in the Epiclassic era and entering the Postclassic transformed by new kinship ties.

CHAPTER 4

LORD EIGHT WIND'S INTRODUCTION

Pages 1 and 2: Synopsis of Tableaux.

Page one (figure 20) has three tableaux, and, page two (Figure 21) is a single large tableau, therefore it is the dominant scene and page one tableaux are subordinate to it. There are five dates among the four tableaux on these two pages covering a span of 52 years, from 935 A.D. (Year 1 Reed Day 1 Alligator) to 987 A.D. (Year 1 Reed Day 1 Alligator). The date itself is metaphorically associated with "beginnings", especially of dynasties (Furst, 1978: 90-92). Four sites or locations are illustrated: page one tableau one, Toto Cuee Cave; page two, Yucunudahui (Rain God Hill), page one tableau three, Apoala, page one tableau four, Monkey Hill/Suchixtlan/Cerro Jasmin.

The introduction has one primary actor, Lord Eight Wind; two secondary actors, Lords Twelve Alligator and Eleven Flower --all of whom face toward the reading order direction, i.e. to the readers left. There are fourteen tertiary actors in all except the first tableau. They

function as ceremonial attendants who face against the reading direction to the reader's right. The actions displayed are: page one tableau one, Lord Eight Wind's birth and Lord Twelve Alligator's birth; page one tableau three, Lord Eight Wind appears at Apoala; page one tableau four, Lord Eight Wind at Monkey Hill; page two, Lord Eight Wind, Lord Twelve Alligator and Lord Eleven Flower conduct the ordering ritual at Yucunudahui.

B



C

A

Figure 20. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, page 1. Tableaux 1 (A), four (B), and three (C).



Figure 21. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, page 2. Tableau 2.

Lord Eight Wind, Myth and History.

The recovery of Lord Eight Wind's biography is complicated by the fact that great Mixtec ancestors, heroes, and lineage founders have supernatural qualities. This is surely the case with Lord Eight Wind. Ancestors are often called "gods" in the literature when in point of fact they more resemble the concept of "santos", holy and extraordinary people whose lives are embellished by supernatural deeds (Troike, 1978:558).

The first two pages of Codex Zouche-Nuttall obverse are Lord Eight Wind's introduction and deal with the first fifty-two years of his life, a period when he undertook and accomplished extraordinary deeds. When his biography resumes after the War from Heaven pages three and four, he begins the second part of his life as a mortal lineage founder. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, a Postclassic manuscript retrospectively recording Epiclassic events, refers to him as "Eight Wind" for the day of his supernatural birth from the Toto Cuee cave in the Cavua Colorado (Byland and Pohl, 1994:88,120). Subsequent appearances in the various tableaux show him emerging from cave openings, even in temples or buildings. This persists until he reaches age 69, then two tableaux do not: page 5c (his marriage to Lady Ten Eagle) and page 7d where he is shown in post-mortem events as though alive and seated in the temple at Monkey Hill/Suchixtlan/Cerro Jasmin.

This particular site is identified in Codex Selden as a place with white flowers and this is a known location in modern Oaxaca: Cerro Jasmin. Eight Wind's site shown in Codex Selden (5-III) and Bodley, 5-6 (Jansen and Jimenez, 2005:37a) was known as Suchixtlan in Postclassic times and Monkey Hill is likely a place in this same area in the Epiclassic era. Therefore all three locations are

generally synonymous. The Codex Selden tableau names our protagonist "Lord Eight Wind Twenty" and this is also the case in Codex Vienna (35a) when he attends the Tree-Birth ceremony at Apoala.

There are two reading orders possible for this two-page introduction. The first of them is by similarity of dates and orders the tableau as page one tableau one dated Year 1 Reed 1 Alligator; then the tableau above it dated 1 Reed 1 Alligator. This scheme then takes the next tableau on page one dated Year 7 Flint Day 1 Motion and relates it to the topmost date on page two which is the same. The sequence then progresses to the central date on page two which is Year 3 Reed Day 4 Flint. The eye then logically proceeds to the first date on page three which is Year 3 Reed Day 6 Dog. These five dates among four tableaux can be expressed by number in reading order from right to left.

4. 7 Flint 1 Motion

2. 1 Reed 1 Alligator

5. 3 Reed 5 Motion

3. 7 Flint 1 Motion

1. 1 Reed 1 Alligator

However, there is a chronological sequence to the dates which propose a more sophisticated reading order less obvious to casual inspection and this system is preferred in this thesis. It follows a year-progression in the Mixtec Calendar, Cycle Two, and the European calendar dates are inserted to render this progression obvious (Table 3). Expressed by chronological progression of number, this reading order is:

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 3. 7 Flint 1 Motion | 5. 1 Reed 1 Alligator |
| 2. 3 Reed 4 Motion | 4. 7 Flint 1 Motion |
| | 1. 1 Reed 1 Alligator |

Table 3.

Chronology of Pages 1 and 2.

<u>Page/Tableau/Event</u>	<u>Mixtec Date</u>	<u>European Date</u>
1/1. ♂12 Alligator born	1 Reed 12 Alligator	935 A.D.
		+42 days
1/1. ♂8 Wind born	1 Reed 8 Wind	935 A.D.
		+28 years
2/2. At Yucunudahui	3 Reed 4 Motion	963 A.D.
		+17 years
2/2. At Yucunudahui	7 Flint 1 Motion	980 A.D.
1/3. At Apoala	7 Flint 1 Motion	980 A.D.
		+7 years
1/4. At Monkey Hill	1 Reed 1 Alligator	987 A.D.

This second (and preferred) reading sequence is roughly circular or oval, beginning at the lower right of page one and ending at the upper right of that same page. At first this seems unusual, but it is not because page 19 in the second saga does the same approximately, and final page of Zouche-Nuttall obverse follows the same pattern - beginning at the lower right and ending at the upper right. It is a way of setting a text sequence apart from what precedes and/or follows it. For this reason I determine that pages one and two constitute Lord Eight Wind's introduction and summarize the first 52 years of his life.

In summary, the day 12 Alligator occurs once (#200) in solar year 1 Reed, as does day 8 Wind (#242), so Lord Eight Wind was born on the 242nd day in that year. These two pages provide a glimpse of the first fifty-two years of his life. He was born supernaturally from Toto Cuee Cave in 935 A.D.; in his twenty-eighth year he was at Yucunudahui; seventeen years later at age forty-five he went to Apoala; and seven years after that at age fifty-two he began his rule at Suchixtlan.

Who Was Lord Eight Wind?

Lord Eight Wind's identity is a proper subject of this thesis and it will be enlarged as the scribes reveal him. The first two pages of Codex Zouche-Nuttall obverse do

state interesting and important things about Eight Wind during the first part of his life when he functioned as a "santo" with supernatural abilities.

Lord Eight Wind's association with the pivotal site of Apoala is prominently figured in two ways. First, we see his institution of the fire-drilling ordering ritual at Yucunudahui which is an Apoala-based ritual (Furst, 1978:17b) pictured in Codex Vienna, page 18, Year 3 Reed Day 2 Grass to Year 7 Flint Day 1 Flower. The years in both codices are the same, but not the days. Second, on page one in the Apoala tableau, Eight Wind is shown emerging from a cave in the river at Apoala. This is very likely a direct reference to Apoala as the source of this ritual and it is visually linked to Codex Zouche-Nuttall page 18 (Figure 22) which shows a sacred fire-drilling bundle emerging from a cave in the river at Apoala. Therefore Lord Eight Wind's tableau at Apoala on Zouche-Nuttall page one may be read as an ideological statement indicating that both he and the fire-drilling bundle with its associated ritual are from the same source, or, that they are the same intrinsically.



Figure 22. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, page 18. The fire-drilling bundle emerges from a cave in a river at Apoala.

Another quality of Lord Eight Wind is mentioned here briefly and examined in more detail later; namely, his association with sacred plants used in ordering rituals. A bundle of three plants is raised over areas to be ordered in the Codex Vienna ceremonial scenes portraying these rituals (Vienna, 22-1; Furst dissertation, 1978:229-256). Three plants are associated with Lord Eight Wind in the Zouche-Nuttall page two ordering ritual. One grows from the hill behind him and is the same as that portrayed in

Codex Vienna, one is in his crown, and another grows from the hill before him. Yet another sacred plant associated with ordering rituals is the maguey, which is displayed as part of Eight Wind's costume and seems to grow from his throat (Zouche-Nuttall, 2). In the final tableau on page one of Codex Zouche-Nuttall, at Monkey Hill, Lord Eight Wind literally speaks one of the sacred plants and another seems to grow from his body. The inference is that Lord Eight Wind is the bundle of sacred plants, or that he embodies them intrinsically. We will see in Codex Zouche-Nuttall page five tableau one that one of the chief ceremonialists of Codex Vienna, Lord Two Dog, appears in a ceremony honoring Lord Eight Wind. This scene presents Eight Wind in a superior position to one of the "gods", Two Dog of Apoala.

A third consideration regarding Lord Eight Wind's metaphysical nature is his similarity to a prominent god, Lord Nine Wind Quetzalcoatl. While this will be examined more completely in another place, I mention now that these two individuals shared the dignity of dual birth. That is to say, Lord Eight Wind was born from the earth and subsequently became one of the Tree-Born nobles at Apoala (Vienna, 35). Codex Bodley (40-I) tells us that Lord Nine Wind Quetzalcoatl was born either from or on earth at

Tezmacal and Codex Vienna (48c) illustrates that he was subsequently born from a stone knife in the sky. The chronological events in the careers of these two men (or demigod and god) are also inter-related and will be examined in Chapter IX.

Lord Eight Wind's later life as a "natural" human being -his rule and lineage founding at Monkey Hill/ Suchixtlan/Cerro Jasmin- is the subject of his continuing biography which is resumed on page five. However, shortly after he arrived at Yucunudahui in 963 A.D. the epic War from Heaven began and that is the subject of pages 3 and 4.

CHAPTER 5

THE WAR FROM HEAVEN, PART ONE

Page 3: War with the Stone Men and the Battle for Yucunudahui.

This page (Figure 23) has six tableaux and two sequential year dates. The first tableau occurs in Year 3 Reed (A.D. 963) Day 6 Dog, the next four occur in Year 5 House (A.D. 965) on various days, and the last is an undated, chronologically ambiguous ceremony related to the last two tableaux on page 4. The day sequences for Year 5 House events are not in chronological order and are listed in proposed order in the Appendix.

Tableau three displays three year dates spanning the duration of the war from Year 5 House (A.D. 965), Year 12 Flint (A.D. 972), and Year 5(6) Reed (A.D. 979). This is appropriate because the chief actor is Lord Seven Motion who is also seen participating in the War with the Stripped Men on page four. Therefore he is a dominant actor. His tableau and tableau two are larger than the others on page three and have a visual precedence not related to order of presentation.

The first tableau tells us that the war began at Yucunudahui in Year 3 Reed on Day 6 Dog, or 132 days after Lord Eight Wind arrived there as indicated on page two in Year 3 Reed Day 4 Flint. There are two days 6 Dog (#30 and #290) in Year 3 Reed and only one day 4 Flint (#158) so it is possible that the war began 108 days before Lord Eight Wind arrived at Yucunudahui.



Figure 23. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, page 3. Tableaux indicated by numbers above or below columns of pictogram text.

A curious set of two related pictograms begins tableau one; namely, an un-named male taken to be Lord Eight Wind because of his characteristic face-paint (yellow mask, red mouth area) is shown going into a cave at one place and observing the war at Yucunudahui from a cave opening at another place. Since Lord Eight Wind has been established previously as one who travels through caves and since his grand-daughter, Lady Six Monkey of Jaltepec is seen doing the same thing there (Codex Selden, 6-III), Lord Eight Wind is identified by a preponderance of evidence rather than by an inscribed name. On the two pages devoted to the War from Heaven in this first saga (it is also told in this codex in saga two, pages 20b-c and 21a) Lord Eight Wind is not shown as a combatant (Furst, 1978:6b-7b), in fact, it is implied that he avoided the war entirely.

Tableau One. This tableau is in two parts. The first shows Lord Eight Wind "going underground". The second has the date, Year 3 Reed Day 6 Dog and shows Lady Eight Monkey at Yucunudahui captured by one of two attacking Stone Men. Lady Eight Monkey appears again in the terminal scene of page four.

Tableau Two. In year 5 House Day 7 Snake (965 A.D.) Lady Six Eagle, the god Lord Seven Snake, and an insect

representing the polity of Sayultepec, defend Yucuita against the Stone Men. The War has spread! Size makes this a dominant tableau.

Tableau Three. This second dominant tableau displays Lord Seven Motion and three year signs in a district consisting of two hills. He sacrifices a Stone Man. As mentioned previously, the years are 5 House, 12 Flint, and 5(6) Reed.

Tableau Four. This tableau is chronologically complex because it has four day signs. The day sign associated by size with the Year sign for 5 House is 4 Dog. Two day signs associated with the Lord Seven Wind captures are the first Day 4 Wind and Day 8 Wind. The next Day 4 Wind is directly above Lady Eight Deer's capture. Lord Seven Wind and Lady Eight Deer both capture Stone Men. Also, the Year 5 House Day 4 Dog is drawn close to this and the following tableau.

Tableau Five. The Year 5 House is assumed. Lord Seven Motion is seen in full eagle attire at an unknown place as though perambulating. Directly above him Lords Seven and Six Dog capture a Stone Man.

Tableau Six. There is no associated date. This is a maguey goddess ceremony (Furst, dissertation, 1978:233) and as such has complex associations which demand discussion.

The tableau exists in three parts (Figures 24, 25, 26, 27).
On the viewer's right are two places, one above the other



Figure 24. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, page 3, tableau 6.

and the day name 11 Alligator is associated with them in this tableau and the final tableau of page 4. The uppermost place is a building with an opossum holding two cups overflowing with red liquid and topped by sacrificial flint knives.



Figure 25. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, page 3, tableau 6, Opossum Building.

A decapitated female is directly below the opossum house, standing on a ballcourt at a hill and holding the same overflowing cups and flint knives. This same ballcourt appears in the final part of the last tableau on page four.



Figure 26. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, page 3, tableau 6, Maguey Goddess.

On the hilltop directly before the decapitated female is a round, woven, green grass mat of the kind associated with bird decapitation sacrifice. A sinuous rope-like object with six numeral circles within it issues from the mat. The third part of this tableau is figured at the viewer's left and consists of three females equally spaced from top to bottom of the scene and named Eleven Snake, 7, and 5 -"Snake" is assumed as day names for these two women.



Figure 27. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, page 3, tableau 6, the three women.

The full-to-overflowing cups of blood may signify the blood of the goddess since pulche is made from the heart of the very plant she represents -the maguey (Vienna 25, institution of the pulche ritual). In fact, pulche and blood are synonymous, and pulche may even represent the human body (Monaghan, 1990:567).

Maguey, maguey ceremonial, the Maguey Goddess, and Personified Maguey with associated personnel are frequently displayed in Codex Vienna, specifically pages 33d (Lady Eleven Snake), 25d (Lady Eleven Snake with decapitated goddess head on her back), 25a (maguey plants and head in pulche vat), 22a (decapitated goddess, opossum, maguey plants), 20a (decapitated goddess, opossum, maguey plants),

18a (maguey plants), 13a (decapitated goddess, opossum, maguey plants), and 3 (Lady Eleven Snake). In those scenes featuring decapitated goddess and opossum, both hold cups overflowing with red liquid and topped by sacrificial flint knives. In those scenes which display the decapitated goddess and opossum, the female named Eleven Snake does not appear. In this respect the Zouche-Nuttall page three tableau presently under discussion is unique.

All of the Vienna scenes listed above are ceremonial in nature. Lady Eleven Snake on page 33d is in conference with several other gods headed by the brother gods, Lords Four and Seven Snake. Other personnel mentioned in this scene which is written on Vienna pages 33-32 of interest to us here are Lord 2 Dog (Zouche-Nuttall, page four, tableau six), Lords Four Motion and Seven Flower (Zouche-Nuttall, page four, tableau four), Lord Seven Wind (Zouche-Nuttall, page three, tableau five), and Lady Eight Deer (Zouche-Nuttall, page three, tableau four). Eleven Snake appears with Lady Eight Deer again on page 25d which is an ear perforation ceremony with many participants, including Lord Two Dog, Lords Four Motion and Seven Flower. On page 25a the maguey plants and goddess head-in-vat are associated with Lord Two Dog. Page 22a associates decapitated goddess, opossum, and maguey plants with Lord Two Dog, and

page 20a associates them with Lord Four Motion: the scene on 13a associates them with Lord Eleven Alligator. On page 18a the maguey plants are associated with Lord Seven Flower. In short, virtually every appearance of the decapitated maguey goddess and opossum, the Lady Eleven Snake in Codex Vienna has associated personnel found in Codex Zouche-Nuttall on pages three and, significantly, four.

Yucunudahui, Lord Eight Wind, and the Stone Men.

These first three Zouche-Nuttall pages reveal a society in dramatic, conflictive change from Late Classic Era to Epiclassic period to early Postclassic times. Yucunudahui, the location of Lord Eight Wind's ceremony on page two of codex Zouche-Nuttall, is also the territory for the original inhabitants of the Mixteca, the Nuú or Stone Men. Significantly, Lord Eight Wind is an earth-born noble. Antonio de los Reyes (1976 [1593]:i-ii, in Byland and Pohl, 1994:111) recorded from folklore that the Mixtec were not the original inhabitants of the territory. The Mixtecs conquered indigenes called Tey Nunu who came from the center of the earth.

These people, called simply Nuú, are well represented in Mixtec art and myth and are identified as Stone Men. In codices they wear colored diagonal bands of body paint

redolent of exposed strata of colored rock, often have prominent fanged teeth, and large, round eyes. John Monaghan (1987, in Byland and Pohl, 1994:13) writes that the Rain God, Dzahui, was their chief lord. Mary Elizabeth Smith (1973b, in Byland and Pohl, 1994:11) suggests that the Reyes myth was a direct reference to the War of Heaven and our interpretation of the final tableau of page four will support her conclusion. We have noted that Codex Zouche-Nuttall tells us the war itself began at Yucunudahui (Rain God Hill) shortly after Lord Eight Wind arrived there in A.D. 963.

The Zouche-Nuttall manuscript begins with an account of this struggle between the Mixtecs and the original inhabitants of the northern Nochixtlan Valley. It also tells us that one of the Stone Men nobles, Lord Five Flower, participated with Lord Eight Wind in the ordering ceremony at Yucunudahui, survived the war itself, and that the conquering Mixtecs made their peace with him and his Rain God lord (Zouche-Nuttall, page four, tableau six). The Mixtecs themselves became People of the Rain and their territory the Land of the Rain God (Jansen and Jimenez, 2005:12b-13a).

Therefore the Stone Men were not exterminated. This is why we see them honorably remembered in later text with

the Mixtecs, notably on page 23a, where Lord Ten House and Lady One Grass who founded the first dynasty of Tilantongo ruled at Stone Man River. At a still later time, when Lord Eight Deer Jaguar Claw usurped rulership at Tilantongo and established his confederacy with 112 nobles and their districts in the Mixteca, a Stone Man named Lord Ten Alligator is among them (Zouche-Nuttall, 66b).

Lord Eight Wind's relationship to Yucunudahui and the Stone Men are also highlighted. Page two shows Eight Wind peacefully interacting with Stone Men at Yucunudahui and indicates that he was present there for seventeen years, leaving for Apoala one year after the war. Page four indicates a peaceful resolution between Stone Men and the new Apoala Lords of the Mixteca. Jill Furst writes (1978:7b) that Lord Eight Wind: "...is therefore described as an original Mixtec who may be entitled to his territories by right of first possession. It also suggests that Eight Wind is on the losing side of the war between the stone men and the victorious Mixtec-speakers, and yet manages to keep his lands. The first seven pages of Zouche-Nuttall repeatedly make the point that Eight Wind is earth-born..."

Codex Vienna records three conferences immediately attending the Apoala Tree-Birth Ceremony (pages 37a-35a). Lord Eight Wind has "Twenty" added to his name and is seen

in the third conference held between the Ladies Five and Seven Flint, the Lords Five and Seven Vulture, Lord and Lady One and Seven Flower, respectively, and, the Lords Seven and Eight Flower, Five and Nine Wind, Seven Deer, Eight Wind Twenty (our protagonist), and the Lords Seven Vulture #2 and Four Reed. Significantly, a qualifying Nuu Spirit (Stone Man) figure appears in the section displaying Lords Eight Wind Twenty, Seven Vulture #2, and Four Reed in Year 13 Rabbit Day 2 Deer.

CHAPTER 6

THE WAR FROM HEAVEN, PART TWO

Page 4, War with the Stripped Men and Subsequent Events.

This page (Figure 28) is visually and chronologically complex with six tableaux and four year dates, one of which (10((9)) House) is reconstructed. These years are: 12 Flint (972 A.D.), 13 Rabbit (986 A.D.), 6 Rabbit (966 A.D.), and 10(9) House (969 A.D.). Three tableaux are concerned with war events, one with a retrospective event, and the final two with events after the war.



Figure 28. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, page four.

Tableau One. This occurs in Year 12 Flint (972 A.D.) with a one day interval from days 7 Alligator to 8 Wind. There is no ambiguity about this interval since both numbered days occur only once in solar Year 12 Flint. This year was first seen on page three, tableau three, associated with Lord Seven Motion sacrificing Stone Men.

The antagonists are identically costumed males with red-and-white stripped body paint who emerge from a cave opening in the sky and descend to earth. The sky itself is a place sign and has the day names of two divinities within it: Two Alligator and Seven Flower. The three striped men who descend from above have no day names but are given meteorological qualities. The first striped man to the reader's left makes a loud sound and is associated therefore with thunder. He also holds a heavy object about to be thrown. The second, in the center of this display, is lightning and he holds a long object curled at either end and festooned with stars, thus it is bright. The third to the far left is rain, for he holds a gout of water. All three are armed with darts and shields. In the animistic religion of the Zapotecs, natural forces such as lightning and its companions of cloud, rain, wind, and hail were personified, as were earthquake and thunder, called "lightning's earthquake" (Marcus and Flannery, 1996:19).

This Zouche-Nuttall scene reflects a personification of natural forces.

Tableau Two. This scene is directly below the first and shows Lord Four Snake (the deity-brother of Lord Seven Snake who first appeared on page three, tableau two, defending Yucuita) and an un-named Lord Seven Motion capturing two of the stripped men. These two captives are without meteorological attributes. Lord Four Snake stands on a square containing the year sign for 10 House which is corrected here to be 9 House (969 A.D.), three years before tableau one. This square is one of four connected squares each with illustrations within: the next square to the right contains a day-sign for "flower", the next for "grass", and the last an un-numbered year sign for House.

Tableau Three. This scene is brief: Lord Four Snake (brother of Seven Snake) sacrifices a bird named One Jaguar in Year 12 Flint on Day 12 Motion (972 A.D.). The deity name Two Alligator which first appeared in the sky in tableau one on this page is repeated here at the same level with Lord Four Snake's name. This is not a bird-decapitation sacrifice, but, rather, a heart excision sacrifice with the eagle lying upon a hill-toponym. Birds for sacrifice are not usually named.

Tableau Four. This is a retrospective scene, a mummy-bundling of two supernatural lords in Year 6 Rabbit Day 2 Motion (966 A.D.). A bird sacrifice accompanies this ceremonial bundling of Lords Seven Flower (whose name appeared in the sky in tableau one on this page) and Four Motion. Both lords are associated with the maguey goddess and various ceremonies in Codex Vienna as I mentioned in the previous chapter. Two un-named actors are directly above the two bundled lords, both actors sing, both hold tri-lobed wands of the kind seen on page one, and the day sign 9 Motion is between them. This Year 6 Rabbit tableau introduces events in the next tableau (see: appendices II and III). Both days 2 Motion and 9 Motion occur twice in Year 6 Rabbit. Day Two Motion is days 62 and 322 and 9 Motion days 82 and 342 so there are always twenty days between them.

Tableau Five. This tableau (Figure 29) is displayed across the top of page four from right to left and spans text columns B and C. It shows three un-named lords and Lord One Wind facing left and processing to a Stone Man named Five Flower who faces right. Five Flower was last seen on page two as a ceremonial participant at Lord Eight Wind's ordering ceremony for Yucunudahui. According to visual presentation, Lord 5 Flower is one of three

individuals: the Lords 10 Death and the Rain God, Dzaui, are directly below him and facing right. These latter two lords conference: Lord Ten Death with Lady Eight Monkey (who was captured at Yucunudahui on page three, tableau one) and The Rain God Dzaui with Lord Two Dog. This is one of the few instances where the rain god is personified; another occurs on page five. Lord Ten Death presents Lady Eight Monkey with a kind of baton and Dzaui speaks with Lord Two Dog. The Rain God has been noted as the chief patron of the race of Stone Men. A round grass mat for the bird sacrifice is shown between Dzaui and Lord Two Dog. The date is Year 13 Rabbit Day 2 Deer (986 A.D.)

This tableau is introduced by tableau four and connected to the one that follows in this page's last column of text. The ceremony figured in this tableau is a bird-decapitation combined with the subsequent conference.



Figure 29. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, page 4, tableaux 5, 6.

Tableau Six (Figure 30). Continuing in Year 13 Rabbit Day 2 Deer but at two places -the Ballcourt of Death (last seen on page three, tableau six) and Eleven Alligator place (last seen on page three, tableau six at the Maguey Goddess and Opossum ceremony). This tableau is a séance wherein Lady Eight Monkey and an un-named woman are seated at Eleven Alligator place. Lady Eight Monkey faces the previously-bundled Lords Seven Flower and Four Motion who are now shown alive and seated in the Ballcourt of Death. Directly above the un-named woman (who faces away from Eight Monkey) is the day-sign 7 Wind. A cup filled with red liquid and surmounted by an indistinguishable object is connected to the round scene directly above Eight Monkey's head. A large bird is directly above both women.



Figure 30. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, page 4, tableau 6.

Regarding the day signs 2 Deer and 7 Wind (assuming that it is one, and not Lady Eight Monkey's companion's name), they both appear only once in Year 13 Rabbit. Day 7 Wind is first (#47) and 2 Deer is second (#172) with an interval of 125 days between them. So, by chronological progression the tableaux from four to six are ordered: tableau four bundling of two lords (966 A.D.), tableau six on Day 7 Motion séance with the two bundled lords (987 A.D.), tableau six conference with Lord 5 Flower, Dzauui, Lord Ten Death, Lord Two Dog and Lady Eight Monkey. The séance tableau is drawn in a slightly smaller scale.

However the date of this tableau, Year 13 Rabbit Day 2 Deer is critical because it directly corresponds to events in Codex Vienna (pages 37-35) involving Lord Eight Wind (Vienna, 35a) and the founding of the Tree-Born Lineage at Apoala. The Stone Man conflict which began at Yucunudahui ended when the War from Heaven did (979 A.D.), and, according to Codex Vienna, a new lineage system was instituted. The terminal scenes of both pages three (Pulche Goddess Ceremony) and page four (Séance, Rain God and Lord Two Dog Conference) are related and terminate the war sequences of each page as a kind of visual literary device which relates the Apoala events to those in the northern Nochixtlan Valley after the War from Heaven.

Another critical point about this final page four tableau and the one preceding it is that they bring together both a prominent lord of the Stone Men (5 Flower) and his deity the Rain God, both displayed in peaceful circumstances. Since the War began at Yucunuahui, Rain God Hill, the scribes now relate a peaceful conclusion achieved between Apoala, the Stone Men, and their deity who is more often represented as a personified place.

As mentioned, this Zouche-Nuttall tableau is a conference and resembles similar gatherings seen in Codex Vienna, specifically conferences after the Apoala Tree Birth Ceremony, pages 37-35. Subsequent to the Tree Birth Ceremony, there are three conferences in Year 13 Rabbit Day 2 Dog. The first (and closest to the ceremony) occurs on pages 37b-36b. In it, twelve lords, among them Lord Ten Death (Zouche-Nuttall, page four tableau five) Ten Dog, Ten Jaguar, Lord Ten Death (Zouche-Nuttall, speak to ten lords, among them Lady Eight Monkey (Zouche-Nuttall, pages 3 and 4).

The second conference is on Vienna pages 36b-c. In this second conference Lords Nine Wind Quetzalcoatl and four other lords speak to six lords, among them is Eleven Alligator (Eight Wind's companion on Zouche-Nuttall, pages 1 and 2). In the third conference (Vienna 36b-35a), the

Ladies Seven and Five Flint and the Lords Five and Seven Vulture speak to ten lords, among them are Lord Seven Flower (Zouche-Nuttall, 4) and Eight Wind Twenty (our protagonist in Zouche-Nuttall, pages 1-8).

After the establishment of the Apoala Lineage (Vienna, 35-34d), a fourth conference occurs. The brother gods, Lords Four and Seven Snake (both seen in Zouche-Nuttall pages 3 and 4), speak to 26 nobles prior to the beginning of the Vienna ordering rituals. The ones who also appear in our Zouche-Nuttall pages examined so far, are Lord Two Dog, Lord Four Motion, Lord Seven Flower, Lord Seven Motion, Lady Eleven Snake (pulche ceremony on Zouche-Nuttall, page 3), Lord Seven Wind (Zouche-Nuttall, page 3, tableau five), Lady Six Eagle (Zouche-Nuttall, page 3, at Yucuita) and Lady Eight Deer (Zouche-Nuttall, page 3, tableau four).

After the Apoala Tree Birth Ceremony and prior to the assumption of the Vienna ordering rituals, several personnel present at the various conferences at Apoala are demonstrated to be major actors in the events on Codex Zouche-Nuttall, pages three and four. In fact, with the exception of Lord Five Flower the Stone Man, Dzaui the Rain God, the maguey ceremony ladies Six and Five (Snake?), Lords Seven and Five Dog (Zouche-Nuttall, 3, tableau five),

five stripped men, two un-named actors at the mummy bundling ceremony on Zouche-Nuttall page four tableau four, Lord One Wind, page four tableau five, and three un-named ceremonialists processing to Lord Five Flower, all other characters on Zouche-Nuttall pages three and four are also found in pivotal Apoala events in Codex Vienna.

It must be concluded, therefore, that Apoala played a major role in the War from Heaven, before and after the Tree Birth Ceremony there. Lord Eight Wind Eagle Flints (Twenty) is emphasized as a fulcrum of these events, chiefly because of his activities at Yucunudahui (Rain God Hill). Yucunudahui is among the first places mentioned in Codex Vienna, 47b, as the site of the first earthly activities of Lord Nine Wind Quetzalcoatl after being born from a sacrificial stone knife in the sky. According to Codex Vienna it is the place where Nine Wind Quetzalcoatl holds sky and water above the earth. This makes a conclusive statement about the importance of Rain God Hill and establishes an ideological link between the two deities, Dzau (Rain God) and Nine Wind Quetzalcoatl, who conducted important conferences listed in Codex Vienna. The ideological link between Nine Wind Quetzalcoatl and Lord Eight Wind Eagle Flints (Twenty) will be examined in text subsequently, especially as regards their interlaced

chronologies, the first recorded in Codex Vienna, the second (for Eight Wind) recorded in Codex Zouche-Nuttall.

Chronology for pages 3 and 4.

Since this interpretation is driven by chronological sequences, it is productive to integrate both sets of pages (one and two, three and four) in Table 4 by progression of years.

Table 4.

Chronology of pages 1-4.

Page/Tablexu/Event	Mixtec Date	European Date
1/1. ♂12 Alligator birth	1 Reed 12 Alligator	935 A.D.
1/1. ♂8 Wind birth	1 Reed 8 Wind	935 A.D.
		+28 years
2/2. At Yucunudahui	3 Reed 4 Flint	963 A.D.
3/1. War/Yucunudahui	3 Reed 6 Dog	963 A.D.
		+2 years
3. War/Stone Men	5 House	965 A.D.
3/3. ♂7 Motion sacrifice	5 House	965 A.D.
		+1 year
4/4. ♂4 Motion & ♂7 Flower	6 Rabbit	966 A.D.
		+3 years
4/2. Capture Stripped Men	10(9) House	969 A.D.
		+3 years
4/1. Stripped Men from Sky	12 Flint	972 A.D.
4/3. Eagle Sacrifice	12 Flint	972 A.D.
3/3. ♂7 Motion sacrifice	12 Flint	972 A.D.
		+7 years
3/3. ♂7 Motion sacrifice	5(6) Reed	979 A.D.
		+1 year
1/3. ♂8 Wind at Apoala	7 Flint 1 Motion	980 A.D.
		+6 years
3/6. Maguey goddess ceremony	13 Rabbit 2 Deer	986 A.D.
4/6. Séance ♂4 Motion, etc.	13 Rabbit 2 Deer	986 A.D.
4/6. Rain God Ceremony	13 Rabbit 2 Deer	986 A.D.

Discussion: The War From Heaven.

Alfonso Caso remarks (1960:58a) that this war "...which ended the dynasty of (Wasp Hill) is extraordinarily important in the history of the Mixtec region, for it was this development which permitted Tilantongo to establish itself as the metropolis of the Northern Mixteca." Caso referred to Wasp Hill -the modern designation of that site- as "Hill that Opens-Bee" and I have corrected it here. This event, or more accurately -events- are indeed extraordinarily important for they are twice told in two codices, Zouche-Nuttall pages 3-4 and 20b-21a, and Codex Bodley, pages 3-4 and 34-35-36. As seen in the forgoing description and analysis, the Nuttall manuscript, pages 20b-21a) provides the most detail for us by dividing the war into two accounts from two political regions of the Nochixtlan Valley -north, pages 3 and 4- and south (Pohl, 1994:53).

It also indicates there were two wars fought as one: first with the original inhabitants of the Mixteca, the Stone Men, and another with Stripped Men. This latter group is un-named as to individuals and there is no other course left but to associate them as allies with the Wasp Hill Dynasty. In both Zouche-Nuttall appearances these mysterious beings have meteorological attributes and, as mentioned, no calendric names.

While the Nuttall page 20b-21a account informs us that this was a dynastic conflict against Wasp Hill, Codex Bodley provides us the most detail of this political lineage extermination. It names at least a dozen royal personages executed. The Bodley artifact portrays the oracle of the dead, Lady Nine Grass of Chalcatongo, as the chief executioner of Wasp Hill royalty. Only the second account in Codex Zouche-Nuttall displays her as a combatant and as executing Lord Nine Wind Curly Hair. This activity highlights Lady Nine Grass's role in determining lineage alliance and validity, as will be seen later in text during the lineage war between Tilantongo and Hua Chino.

According to the Zouche-Nuttall chronology the war lasted for sixteen years. It had many anabases, skirmishes, and battles. The next year after the 13 Rabbit 2 Deer Conference (986 A.D.) which ends Zouche-Nuttall page four, is 1 Reed 1 Alligator (987 A.D.). A full-length red line divides page four from page five and signifies that this section of narrative is ended. Lord Eight Wind is seen on page one, tableau four, at Suchixtlan on date 1 Reed 1 Alligator, which begins the resumption of his biography on page five.

CHAPTER 7

LORD EIGHT WIND'S FAMILY

Page five.

Page five (Figure 31) of Codex Zouche-Nuttall resumes the biography of Lord Eight Wind, now at the beginning of Mixtec Year Cycle 3. There are four tableaux, seven dates (for a span of 40 years, Table 5), and page 6a displays Lord Eight Wind's second and third wives.



Figure 31. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, page 5.

Tableau one. In Year 1 Reed on Day 1 Alligator - literal date is 987 A.D., metaphorical meaning is "beginnings" (Furst, 1978:91), Lord Eight Wind emerges from a cave opening in the temple at a place qualified by a small yellow man seated below and in front of the temple. This occurs in Lord Eight Wind's fifty-second year of life and is preparatory to his lineage founding and rule at Monkey Hill/Suchixtlan/Cerro Jasmin.

Four ceremonial assistants are shown with implements. Lord Six Death pours tobacco and holds a sacrificial bird, Lord Six Water blows a conch shell trumpet, Lord Seven Monkey bears a torch, and Lord Two dog, who was last seen on page four, tableau five conferencing with the Rain God. He bears a tri-lobed wand. This event precedes a Rain God Ceremony which occurs in the next tableau and spans two columns of pictogram text, page 4a and 4b.

Tableau two. In Year 5(6) Flint (1004 A.D.) on Day 7 Flower, Lord Eight Wind emerges from a cave opening in a masonry enclosure before an effigy of the Rain God. He is 69 years old. A bird decapitation ceremony is conducted above on a feather carpet surmounted by a half-round green grass mat and white-bound bundle. Two un-named males participate: one bears a spear and incense burner and the other wears a two-faced mask and carries a torch. The

second part of this tableau shows the results of the ceremony: the Rain God appears from above and pours water over Lord Eight Wind. Subsequently Eight Wind founds his lineage at Monkey Hill.

While bathing rituals frequently precede marriages (Codex Selden, 7-I; Codex Zouche-Nuttall, 19) they usually include both marriage partners. This ritual is different because, although it precedes a marriage, no marriage partner is illustrated. Therefore this ceremony is particular to Lord Eight Wind. While Byland and Pohl (1994:121) note that this ceremony transforms Lord Eight Wind into a fully human person who is then authorized to marry and found lineages, I agree completely because I see it as his transition from "santo" to lineage founder. This concurs with the previous designation made in this thesis that the first part of Lord Eight Wind's life was as a supernatural being and the second part of it (told here) is that of a "normal" human being.

Tableau three. Reading from right to left, first displayed is the toponym for Monkey Hill. To the left of it and seated on a yellow mat are Lord Eight Wind and his first wife, Lady Ten Deer. He is 73 years old. They founded the female line for the second dynasty of Jaltepec (Selden 5-III). A vessel footed with snake heads and

containing frothy liquid and flowers is between them.

Three dates are displayed: Year 9 House Day 1 eagle, Year 9 Flint Day 6 Flower (1008 A.D., the date of this marriage), and Year 2 Reed Day 2 Reed. This tableau is continuous with page 6a which displays Lord Eight Wind's second and third wives --the ladies Five Grass and Ten Eagle.

The third part of page five tableau three shows the children of Lord Eight Wind and Lady Ten Deer displayed in the register above them. They are: Lord Thirteen Grass born in Year 2 Rabbit (on Day 13 Grass, 1014 A.D.), the twin Lords Three Lizard; Lady Two Snake, and Lady Six Reed.

Table 5.

Page five chronology.

Page/Tableau/Event	Mixtec Date	European Date
5/1. Yellow Man Hill	1 Reed 1 Alligator	987 A.D.
5/2. Rain God Ceremonies	6(5) Flint 7 Flower	1004 A.D.
5/3. ♂8 Wind's 1 st marriage	9 Flint 6 Flower	1008 A.D.
6a. 2 nd marriage	11 Rabbit 3 Eagle	1010 A.D.
6a. 3 rd marriage	12 Reed 9 Deer	1011 A.D.
5/3. ♂13 Grass birth	2 Rabbit 13 Grass	1014 A.D.
3/3. Unexplained	9 House 1 Eagle	1020 A.D.
3/3. ♂8 Wind death	2 Reed 2 Reed	1027 A.D.

Lord Eight Wind's death at age 92 in Year 2 Reed is inferential. The year and day sign appears directly over his head and the year-qualifier "reed" or "dart" points directly to him. Reed dates used as pointers are rare but do occur, as on page 20c of this manuscript where they indicate sequence among two day dates and events associated with each day. This scene on page 20c is also an abbreviated, composite reading, or text; however, in this Mixtec notational form, complicated data is reduced to its simplest elements and intended to be understood by the reciting bards. Once one begins to interpret a pars pro toto text, the data unfolds. Further, Lord Eight Wind is not shown as a mummy as is typical in other codices for death events because available space demands visual abbreviation. When he does appear again on page seven of this codex he is shown, seated in a temple, and conversing with his great, great grandson, the six-year-old king of Tilantongo, Lord Two Rain. If Eight Wind were alive for this conversation he would be 146 years old. Therefore, we contend that his death at age 92 is shown here in abbreviated form to save space. We infer from this data that Lord Eight Wind's chronology fits within the possible span of a human life. Spores (1974:303) writes that in

Mixtec succession, older age is a determinate factor because it is esteemed.

Lord Eight Wind's family.

As patriarch, Lord Eight Wind founded two (there were more) lines of descent through his daughters and they ultimately conflicted with one another. The resolution of this conflict is the subject of pages 7d and 8b. One line of descent founded the first dynasty of Tilantongo which failed in the time of Lord Two Rain Twenty Jaguars (Eight Wind's great, great grandson), and, the second dynasty of Jaltepec which continued through his grand daughter Lady Six Monkey's son Lord Four Rain until the Spanish Entrada in 1521 A.D.

In Year 9 Flint (1008 A.D.), Lord Eight Wind married Lady Ten Deer as has been demonstrated in the appropriate tableau on Codex Zouche-Nuttall page five. Their daughter, Lady Two Snake (page 5c) married Lord Ten Flower of Tilantongo (Zouche-Nuttall, page 23b; Bodley, 5-V). Their son was Lord Twelve Lizard Arrow Legs who inherited the mat (throne) of Tilantongo. Lady Two Snake's sister, Lady Nine Wind of Jaltepec, married Lord Ten Eagle the brother of Lord Ten Lizard Arrow Legs there (Selden, 5-IV). The following diagrams (Table 6) display this descent through Eight Wind's daughters.

Table 6. Lord Eight Wind's Daughters.

<u>The First Dynasty of Tilantongo</u>	
♂Lord 8 Wind of Suchixtlan + ♀ 10 Deer	
*	
*	
♀2 Snake + ♂Flower of Tilantongo	
*	
*	
♂12 Lizard Arrow Legs & ♂10 Eagle.....	.
*	.
*	.
♂12 Lizard Arrow Legs + ♀4 Flint & ♀4 Alligator	.
*	.
*	.
♂5 Motion + ♀2 Grass	.
*	.
*	.
♂2 Rain , last king of 1 st dynasty	.
	.
	.
<u>The Second Dynasty of Jaltepec</u>	
♂8 Wind of Suchixtlan + ♀10 Deer	.
*	.
*	.
♀9 Wind Jaltepec + ♂10 Eagle.....	.
*	.
*	.
♀6 Monkey & ♀4 Death	.
*	.
*	.
♀6 Monkey + ♂11 Wind of Hua Chino	.
*	.
*	.
♂4 Wind & ♂1 Alligator	.

The chronologies of these births and marriages are interesting. The births of Lord Eight Wind's female children are undated. However, Eight Wind and Lady Ten Deer married in Year 9 Flint (1008 A.D.). Assuming their first daughter's birth to be one year after their marriage, then their daughter Lady Two Snake was betrothed or married

to Lord Ten Flower in Year 1 House (1013 A.D., Zouche-Nuttall, 23 and Bodley 5-V) making her age five years. Lady Two Snake and Lord Ten Flower's first son, Twelve Lizard Arrow Legs, was born in Year 5 Reed (1043 A.D., Zouche-Nuttall, 23b) which is also the date of his marriage to the Ladies Four Death and Four Alligator (Byland and Pohl, 1994:240). On the other hand, if his birth day is one year after his parents marriage in 1013 A.D. (Year 2 Rabbit, or, 1014 A.D.), then he marries the ladies at age 29 in Year 5 Reed (1043 A.D.). However, this would mean his mother was no more than six years old at the time of his birth. The second son's birth —Ten Eagle— is undated.

Lady Nine Wind (Lady Two Snake's sister) of Jaltepec married Lord Ten Eagle of Tilantongo in Year 3 House (1040 A.D., Selden 5-III). If she was born the year after her sister, Lady Two Snake, in Year 11 Rabbit (1010 A.D.), then she would be 31 years old at the time she became regent of Jaltepec by marrying Lord Ten Eagle of Tilantongo there.

Therefore we see that the only understandable part of this sibling chronology concerns the birth and marriage of Lady Nine Wind of Jaltepec. The other elements involving her sister, Lady Two Snake of Suchixtlan, are irresolvable.

CHAPTER 8

PAGES SIX THROUGH EIGHT

Page six (Figure 32).

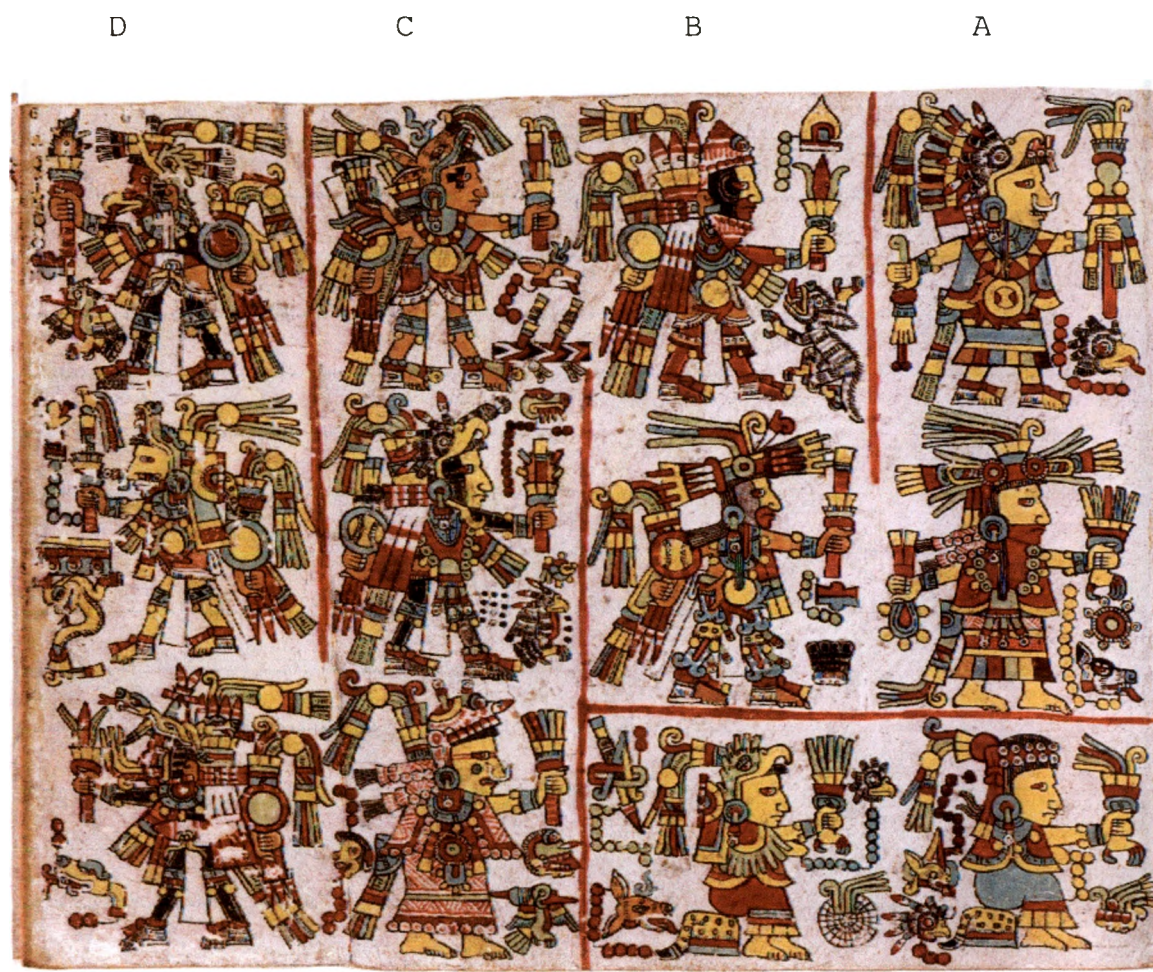
As mentioned in the previous chapter, page 6a illustrates Lord Eight Wind's second and third wives. The dates of these marriages have been incorporated into our chronology reconstruction. Page 6b remains and there are no temporal markers until page 7d.

Page 6b presents a series of individuals facing right against the reading order and toward Lord Eight Wind's children illustrated in the last tableau on page five. There are seven individuals. From right to left they are: the Ladies Nine Eagle and Twelve Dog; then in the next column, the Lords Six Motion and Five House; in the next column, Lords Five Deer, Twelve Alligator, and Lady Nine Monkey. Many have personal names attached and carry ceremonial instruments. Of those in this array, Lord Twelve Alligator was born from the great tree at Apoala (Vienna, 37c)

The last column of pictogram text to the reader's left, begins a series of individuals facing left, contra

reading order and away from Eight Wind's offspring.

Counting the three on page six there are twelve in all. On page six are: Lords Four Snake, Seven Flower (Vienna 33b), and Seven Motion (Vienna 33d); on page seven (Figure 33) are: Lords Thirteen Reed, Nine House, and Five



6a

Figure 32. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, page 6.

Motion; in the next column from bottom to top, the Ladies Nine Jaguar, Two Flint, and Six House; and in the last

column from top to bottom, Ladies Ten Deer, Nine House, and Three Eagle.

The tableaux of these mysterious individuals comprise a transition from the time of Lord Eight Wind and his family into the future. We know this because the final



Figure 33. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, page 7.

scene on page seven displays a special event in which Lord Eight Wind reappears many years after his death. Page 7d illustrates him seated in the temple at Monkey Hill. He is very elderly, as indicated by the snaggle-tooth at the

corner of his mouth. According to the date displayed (Year 4 House Day 1 Rain, 1081 A.D.) he would be 146 years old. He is deceased yet shown alive and speaking with his six-year-old great, great grandson, Lord Two Rain Twenty Jaguars, the last king of the first dynasty of Tilantongo.

Mixtecs preserved their deceased ancestors as mummies and stored the mummy-bundles in caves. Thus they could have festivals with them and consult them via certain priests or by the oracle of death, Lady Nine Grass at Chalcatongo. This prominence of the Mixtec Cult of the Dead was noted by the early Spanish, notably Burgoa who compared both Zapotec and Mixtec burial customs (1934a[1674], II:64; in Byland and Pohl, 1994, 194-195). These early references specifically refer to Chalcatongo Temple and its oracle, Lady Nine Grass. Burgoa noted that the Mixtec kings were buried at a specific place which he called "The Cave of Chalcatongo". This custom of regarding the dead as having especial abilities important for the living can also be related to European Catholic societies and the Medieval/Renaissance custom of shrines of spiritual power which were special tombs of saints. An especially important and impressive one can still be seen at the Basilica of St. Ambrose in Milan, Italy, which displays the skeletal relics of St. Ambrose the Great and the martyred

twins, Ss. Gervasius and Protasius, to constant public veneration (Figure 34). It is a common practice for people to pilgrimage to the saints at Milan for spiritual consultation as well as consolation.



Figure 34. The relics of St. Ambrose and St. Gervasius of Milan.
Basilica de San Ambrogio, Milano, Italia.

Encounters with the dead shown alive also occur in Codex Alfonso Caso (Colombino-Becker I) when the warlord of Tilantongo, Eight Deer Jaguar Claw, enters the realm of the Sun God and overcomes defending warriors who were previously sacrificed by heart excision (Troike, 1974:267;

Codex Becker I, 2-3-III). Zouche-Nuttall, page four, also displays two deceased, previously mummified individuals, as alive during a consultation with living persons.

This present tableau with Lord Eight Wind's mummy is a consultation invoked by his great, great grandson Lord Two Rain Twenty Jaguars in Year 4 House Day 1 Rain. Six-year-old Two Rain is shown on page 8a (figure 35) attired as a priest and bowing to his great ancestor. This begins a series of events in Mixtec history which is ruinous for Tilantongo.



Figure 35. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, page 8.

Page 8a, second figure up from the bottom right) shows the boy-king, Lord Two Rain, venerating his deceased ancestor, Lord Eight Wind of Monkey-Hill, who is pictured across the page-fold in the last column of text on page 7. Page 8b shows Lord Two Rain seated in a temple and surrounded by warriors. Two of these warriors appear at the top of page 7d above Lord Eight Wind in the Monkey Hill Temple and their presence in that position demonstrates that these two tableaux are continuous. The date on page 8b (figure 35) is Year 10 Flint (1100 A.D.) Days 1 Eagle and 2 Flint (an interval of 280 days). Year 10 Flint occurs four years after Lord Two Rain's death in 996 A.D. Therefore, he, too, is a mummy and shown as alive and communicating with the living. This event connects in chronology with an event in the career of Lord Eight Deer Jaguar Claw of Tilantongo (figure 36). A cognate scene appears on pages 82-84 of this codex reverse and establishes that, indeed Lord Two Rain as seen here is a mummy. Considering this, page eight (the last page of saga one) ends on a high note, without resolution, and can only be resolved by integrating relevant codex tableaux on Zouche-Nuttall reverse. This is the reason the transitional tableaux of processing individuals on pages 6

and 7 move us into the future, into the time of Lord Eight Deer of Tilantongo.

The Parliament of Mummies, Marriage Alliance War, and Lord Eight Deer's Resolution.

The history encapsulated by this final tableau details a complex series of historical events. They involve Mixtec marriage alliances, the Oracle of the Dead at Chalcatongo, Lord Eight Wind's descendant—Lord Two Rain of Tilantongo—and a political conflict resolved later during the lifetime of Lord Eight Deer who usurped the throne of Tilantongo after Two Rain's death. This complex story is best told by the codices themselves, and we will use three of them to do it briefly: the present manuscript, Zouche-Nuttall, both sides; Codex Selden, a document of the royal families of Jaltepec; and Codex Bodley.

In Year 4 House on day 1 Rain (1081 A.D.), the boy-king of Tilantongo, Lord Two Rain attired as a priest (Zouche-Nuttall, 8a), confers with his ancestor, the deceased Lord Eight Wind of Monkey Hill (Zouche-Nuttall, 7d). According to Codex Selden (6-II), three days after this consultation, Lord Eight Wind's elderly son, Three Lizard, acted on behalf of boy Two Rain of Tilantongo, attacked Tilantongo's marriage alliance partner, Jaltepec, lost the war, and Two Rain sought refuge in a cave-shrine.

The marriage alliance between Tilantongo and Jaltepec is fractured and, later, there is a conference with Lady Nine Grass at Chalcatongo (Zouche-Nuttall, 44). She confirms not only the severance of the previous alliance between Tilantongo and Jaltepec, but reassigns it between Jaltepec (in the person of Lady Six Monkey) and Tilantongo's rival, Hua Chino, in the person of suitor, Lord Eleven Wind (Selden, 6-IV).

Lord Two Rain, the defeated king of Tilantongo, lives until 1096 A.D. According to Codex Zouche-Nuttall reverse, Lord Eight Deer uses this time to enterprise himself successfully and, after Two Rain commits suicide under mysterious circumstances (Codex Bodley, 5-I), becomes ruler at Tilantongo and avenges the insult to his town by destroying Hua Chino and its rulers, Lord Eleven Wind and Lady Six Monkey of Jaltepec (Zouche-Nuttall, 81-84; Bodley, 34-35; Codex Alfonso Caso, 36-37). Lord Eight Deer also sacrifices Eleven Wind's sons by a previous marriage but spares his two children from Lady Six Monkey; Lords Four Wind and One Alligator.

The ultimate meaning of the mummy scenes on the final two pages of Zouche-Nuttall's obverse saga one stands revealed. It connects the previous Lord Eight Wind founding events —events which profoundly influenced the

entire subsequent history of the Mixteca and the Stone Men—to events which happened in the future in the time of the all-famous Lord Eight Deer of Tilantongo. These two men were the greatest social “reformers” in Mixtec history, but the connection between Zouche-Nuttall obverse and reverse events requires further elaboration.

The year of Lord Two Rain’s mummy event on Zouche-Nuttall page eight is 10 Flint (1100 A.D.) Days 1 Eagle to 2 Flint, with the latter (2 Flint) qualifying the mummy event itself . We know this to be so because Day Two Flint is recorded near a ballcourt at the place where Lord Two Rain is displayed: a ballcourt and consultation with the dead has been previously noted on page 4, tableau six. Day 1 Eagle is prominently displayed “floating” near the year indicator near the middle of the page. This same date (Year 10 Flint Day 2 Flint) appears on Zouche-Nuttall reverse, pages 80-82 prior to Lord Eight Deer’s attack on Hua Chino. Page 82 figures Eight Deer consulting with an un-named mummy bundle on Day 2 Flint at a site drawn as a decorated snake, that is, the place in Codex Bodley (5-I) where Lord Two Rain’s mummy was interred after his mysterious suicide four years previously. After this consultation, Lord Eight Deer attacks Hua Chino in the following Year, 11 House (1101 A.D.). The interval of 280

days written on Zouche-Nuttall page 8 is from Day 1 Eagle to Day 2 Flint, and that is likely the period in which Lord Eight Deer collected his army, the chiefs of whom are shown displayed and surrounding Lord Two Rain as he gesticulates with his right hand. This emblem of communication-his right hand pointing-also contains a reference to the receptor of his communication; namely, a single jaguar claw which is Lord Eight Deer's personal name. Further, the 280-day interval is why the siege of Hua Chino began in the following year, 11 House (1101 A.D.).

Therefore, the reverse side Zouche-Nuttall scene shows Lord Two Rain as an actual mummy and the object of Lord Eight Deer's ceremony preparatory to besieging Hua Chino (Figure 36). The display recorded on the obverse pages 7 and 8 show Two Rain and his ancestor Eight Wind as alive post mortem during communication with the living. The first consultation started a marriage alliance war, the second resolved it, or nearly so. The history continues and has unexpected outcome -but that story is not within the purview of this thesis. Interestingly, after consulting with Lord Two Rain's mummy on Zouche-Nuttall page 82a, Lord Eight Deer burns it (82b). Thereafter Eight Deer becomes founder of the second dynasty of Tilantongo.



Figure 36. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, page 82. Lord Eight Deer consults with Lord Two Rain's mummy, then burns it just prior to the siege of Hua Chino.

Table 7.

Complete Chronology, Codex Zouche-Nuttall, pages 1-8.

Page/Tableau/Event	Mixtec Date	European Date
1/1. ♂8 Wind birth.	1 Reed 8 Wind	935 A.D.
2/2. ♂8 Wind at Yucunudahui.	3 Reed 4 Flint	963 A.D.
3/1. War at Yucunudahui.	3 Reed 6 Dog	963 A.D.
3. War with Stone Men.	5 House	965 A.D.
3/3. ♂7 Motion sacrifice Stone Men	5 House	965 A.D.
4/4. Mummy bundling.	6 Rabbit	966 A.D.
4/2. Capture of Stripped Men.	10(9) House	969 A.D.
4/1. Stripped Men from the Sky.	12 Flint	972 A.D.
3/3. ♂7 Motion sacrifice Stone Men	12 Flint	972 A.D.
4/3. Eagle Sacrifice	12 Flint	972 A.D.
3/3. ♂7 Motion sacrifice Stone Men End of War.	5(6) Reed	979 A.D.
1/3. ♂8 Wind at Apoala.	7 Flint 1 Motion	980 A.D.
3/6. Maguey Goddess ceremony}	13 Rabbit 2 Deer	986 A.D.
4/6. Séance, Conference }		
1/4. ♂8 Wind at Suchixtlan.	1 Reed 1 Alligator	987 A.D.
5/1. ♂8 Wind at Yellow Man Hill.	1 Reed 1 Alligator	987 A.D.
5/2. Rain God ceremonies.	6(5) Flint 7 Flower	1004 A.D.
5/3. ♂8 Wind's 1 st marriage.	9 Flint 6 Flower	1008 A.D.
6a/3. 2 nd marriage.	11 Rabbit 3 Eagle	1010 A.D.
6a/3. 3 rd marriage.	12 Reed 9 Deer	1011 A.D.
5/3. Birth of ♂13 Grass	2 Rabbit 13 Grass	1014 A.D.
5/3. Unexplained.	9 House 1 Eagle	1020 A.D.
5/3. ♂8 Wind dies.	2 Reed 2 Reed	1027 A.D.
7d-8a. ♂8 Wind's mummy.	4 House 1 Rain	1081 A.D.
8b. ♂2 Rain's mummy.	10 Flint 2 Flint	1100 A.D.

Throughout the twenty-six dates recorded on the first eight pages of Codex Zouche-Nuttall, 165 years of history are related from the Epiclassic Era to the Early Postclassic Period (Table 7). Lord Eight Wind's biography is demonstrated to encompass a possible human lifespan. Lord Eight Wind's life and history detailed on the codex obverse are connected to those that transpired in the time of Lord Eight Deer the Jaguar Claw of Tilantongo whose life and history are detailed on the codex reverse. The scribes who painted the first side of Codex Zouche-Nuttall had a vested interest in connecting what was for them older epic history with more recent epic history and doing that provided a detailed saga of the founding of their people's culture. Therefore, the purpose of Zouche-Nuttall, pages one through eight, has been elucidated.

This prehispanic history of the Mixtec People of Oaxaca is as astonishing, dramatic, colorful, insightful, and valuable as any we have from ancient Greece, Rome, or Medieval Europe. Great men and women -with interested motives- interacted forcefully and dramatically with people and places -physical and metaphysical, familial and political- to weave the elaborated tapestry of their enduring culture. As did the non-Mixtec cultures mentioned, these great men and women seized their moments

with admirable intelligence and remarkable insight. They created the kingdoms of their Mixteca. These royal people stand now as a unique and mighty expression of Oaxaca, itself a unique culture area amid the rich, intellectually nourishing splendors of ancient Mesoamerica. Although comprising only eight pages of a much longer text, the beginning of Codex Zouche-Nuttall and its story of Lord Eight Wind of Suchixtlan, inspires the anthropologist, ethnographer, and historian with many feelings. Perhaps chief among them is gratitude for the privilege of knowing the cultural poetry and mighty deeds of great men and women who lived long ago.

CHAPTER 9

RITUALS OF ORDER: CODICES ZOUCHE-NUTTALL AND VIENNA

The first topic of comparison between codices Zouche-Nuttall obverse pages 1-8, specifically page two, and Vienna concerns pages 22-1 in the latter. The Vienna passages are qualified by Furst (1978 dissertation: 229) as "The Nine Rites" (Table 8). These rituals for ordering the Mixtec world occupy the last twenty-two pages of that manuscript. Furst notes they are similar in structure and content and follow a basic pattern which includes six elements. These elements are listed on pages 22a-5 of Vienna and are: 1) an initial date, 2) cradleboard, 3) major deity or deities as subjects of the dedication ceremonies, 4) objects pertaining to architecture and measuring, 5) a second date different from the first, 6) a fire drilling or the apparatus for it, 7) place signs which include both man-made constructions and natural features.

The first seven rites on Vienna pages 22a to 11b have three components not mentioned above: 1) one to four sets of ritual objects, 2) a bird sacrifice, 3) a ceremony

whereby three plants bound together by white paper or cloth are raised before the place signs (figure 37). In these first seven rites the bird sacrifice, fire drilling, and ceremony of three bound plants occur together (Furst, dissertation, 1978:231). Furst notes (1978, dissertation:229) that the rite displayed on page ten includes these seven basic elements as well as the three bound plants, but page five is only the minimal basic structure, including fire drilling apparatus. I note a further distinction among these rites; namely, some are short term and others long term when comparison is made between their first and second inclusive year dates. Also there is a correspondence in first and second dates between one of the Vienna rituals (pages 18-17a) and the Lord Eight Wind fire-drilling ritual at Yucunudahui as written on Zouche-Nuttall, page 2.

The Zouche-Nuttall page two ritual at Yucunudahui has the same years and thus the same interval as the Vienna ritual recorded on pages 18-17a. The entirety of Zouche-Nuttall page two is a single complex ceremony and because it has the most space allotted to it I conclude that it is the peak event recorded on the first two pages of the Zouche-Nuttall narrative. It lists some of the same elements as the ordering rituals described by Furst for

pages 22a to 11b, specifically: 1) an initial date, 2) major deity or deities to whom the dedication is made, 3) a second date different from the first, 4) fire drilling apparatus, 5) a list of place signs consisting of both natural and man-made features, and 6) secondary actors used

Table 8.
The Vienna Ordering Rituals

Pages 22-21	
Year 13 Rabbit Day 2 Deer	
Year 5 House Day 5 Snake.....	31 years
Pages 20-19	
Year 8 House Day 4 Rain	
Year 13 Rabbit Day 7 Lizard.....	5 years
Pages 18-17a	
Year 3 Reed Day 2 Grass	
Year 7 Flint Day 1 Flower.....	17 years
Pages 17b-15a	
Year 10 Flint Day 1 Eagle	
Year 5 House Day 13 Wind.....	21 years
Pages 15b-14	
Year 9 Rabbit Day 1 Lizard	
Year 1 Reed Day 1 Alligator.....	5 years
Pages 13-12a	
Year 7 Reed Day 4 Alligator	
Year 7 Reed Day 4 Deer.....	26 days
Pages 12b-11	
Year 5 Flint Day 5 Flint	
Year 5 Flint Day 7 Vulture.....	148 days
Pages 10-9	
Year 7 Reed Day 4 Motion	
Year 7 Reed Day 6 Eagle.....	58 days
(Note: a third date, 1 Reed 1 Alligator occurs on page 10)	
Page 5	
Year 5 House Day 7 Snake	
Year 5 House Day 9 Snake.....	60 days

as ceremonial assistants. In addition to these ritual elements the Zouche-Nuttall narrative also includes: 1) a bird sacrifice, 2) the three bound plants ceremony, although here displayed in a manner different from that

portrayed on the Vienna pages. The Zouche-Nuttall ritual also differs from that in Vienna by day dates and toponyms (i.e. they do not occur in the same place and though in the same years, not on the same days).

The three bound plants found in Codex Vienna are seen in Zouche-Nuttall page two as 1) growing from Rain God Hill directly behind the emerging figure of Lord Eight Wind and at his feet, 2) another in his eagle crown, and 3) a third growing from Rain God Hill before him at his feet. The first of these is exactly the same plant displayed in the Codex Vienna tableau, except in Zouche-Nuttall they are unbound and growing un-plucked from both Rain God Hill and, apparently, from Lord Eight Wind. The implication given by the Zouche-Nuttall scribes is that Eight Wind himself and especially Rain God Hill is the source of these particular plants because they grow there. Although these three plants are seen frequently associated with ordering rituals in Vienna their meaning remains elusive as Furst notes in her excellent dissertation (1978). The data recorded on Zouche-Nuttall page two is both evocative and suggestive.

As I have mentioned, Lord Eight Wind Eagle Flints is himself identified intrinsically as the three bound plants and also has strong associations with the fire-drilling bundle and apparatus. Further, his identification with

both ordering of places and lineage founding is perhaps indicative of implied meaning for these ritual plants raised by the gods at Apoala over places founded and ordered. That is to say, in Codex Vienna the three bound plants are themselves raised over or before places to be ordered; in the Zouche-Nuttall tableau Lord Eight Wind himself is raised over Yucunudahui at its fire-drilling ritual. The god, Lord Two Dog, is seen in Codex Vienna conducting ordering rituals and in other ritual contexts. Codex Zouche-Nuttall page 5 shows Two Dog as one of four secondary actors functioning as ceremonialists conducting a ritual in honor of Lord Eight Wind (Furst, 1978:162). Significantly, neither codex shows Lord Eight Wind conducting a ritual in honor of anyone else except the Rain God. By this I understand that he is the precedent figure in his own domain.

In addition the Vienna rites on pages 22a-21, 20-19, 18a-17a, and 13a-12a, display the decapitated maguey/pulche goddess or maguey plants themselves as elements of ordering rituals. The Zouche-Nuttall tableau in discussion here shows the maguey plant growing from Lord Eight Wind's throat as a part of his accoutrements. In effect, then, Yucunudahui is the source of the three ceremonial plants and Lord Eight Wind a seminal figure for them and for the

all-important maguey itself. In addition, on Codex Zouche-Nuttall, page one, tableau four, Lord Eight Wind speaks a type of plant used for ceremonial wands and yet another grows from his body. As to ideology contained in these scenes, then, Lord Eight Wind and Yucunundahi are a source.

The Zouche-Nuttall page two tableau indicates that the deity to whom the fire-drilling ordering ceremony is dedicated is the Rain God as personified by his toponym. This deity/toponym is also seen on Vienna page 47 as the site where the god Lord Nine Wind Quetzalcoatl holds up sky and water. Therefore Yucunudahui seems to pre-exist the later ordering rituals shown in Codex Vienna.

Subsequently, Yucunudahui is seen on Vienna page 38b (Year 8 Flint Day 8 Grass) just prior to the Tree-Birth ceremony in which Lord Eight Wind participates. This is eighteen years before the Tree Birth Ceremony at Apoala (Year 13 Rabbit Day 2 Deer) and five years after the date recorded for Lord Eight Wind's arrival at Yucunudahui.

Yucunudahui is then shown on Vienna page 10 where Lord Nine Wind Quetzalcoatl drills for fire and deity Lord Two Dog raises the bound plants over a vast, two page schematic map of the Mixteca. Otherwise, the Rain God as an individual does not appear in Vienna, although he does so in Zouche-Nuttall pages four and five. Codex Vienna

suggests that the Rain God is personally manifested as a place which pre-existed the ordering rituals and is first in that ritual which ultimately unified the whole Mixteca. In as much as the Rain God is known as the deity of the original inhabitants of the Mixteca, i.e. the Stone Men, and the Mixtecs themselves became known as People of the Rain, this pre-eminence of place for Yucunudahui seems appropriate.

This precedence of place may also apply to the person of Lord Eight Wind as implied in our recovered chronology. Is his ordering ritual on Zouche-Nuttall page two a tenth ordering rite not mentioned in Codex Vienna, is it a rite conducted simultaneously with that in Vienna, or is it the prototypal ordering rite which Lord Eight Wind then took to Apoala where it was replicated and utilized by the gods in various ordering ceremonial contexts? The chronology recovered in this thesis suggests the latter, and even more.

The attendants for Lord Eight Wind at Apoala (Zouche-Nuttall, page one, tableau three) and then at Suchixtlan in tableau four, suggest ordering rituals at those places also, but conflated to the simplest representations for the sake of available space (*pars pro toto*). As I have shown in the proposed chronology, Lord Eight Wind arrived at

Apoala some years before the Tree birth Ceremony.

Immediately after the conclusion of the War from Heaven, he was present at that ceremony and assumed his dual dignity as both Earth Born and Tree Born noble: then he founded his lineage at Monkey Hill/Suchixtlan/Cerro Jasmin.

The scribes suggest that Lord Eight Wind's greatness is more than that of a lineage patriarch: he participated in some way in the War from Heaven -perhaps precipitating it by his arrival at Yucunudahui- which destroyed the old lineage at Wasp Hill and he was a seminal figure instituting a new lineage order and the ritual ordering system for a new lineage franchise of Tree-Borns at Apoala. Perhaps this is the reason why -if he was an original resident and ruler at Yucunudahui- he survived the war and did so well for himself.

The ideology of birthing nobles from Trees caught on, apparently, because codices Selden and Bodley mention it happening subsequently at other places also. Of interest is the fact that Codex Selden states that the first dynasty to rule Jaltepec was earth born and tree born, yet it failed for unstated reasons. The second dynasty of Jaltepec which succeeded was that of Lord Eight Wind and Lady Ten Deer.

Yet another ritual seen in Vienna on page 24 implies a correspondence with a Nuttall tableau. Nuttall, page one, tableau three shows Lord Eight Wind at Apoala. He emerges from a cave in one of two rivers, a river and cave which also produces the fire-drilling bundle (Figure 22). A cave at Apoala also produces or is associated with a sacred plant, as shown on Vienna, page 24b. Among other things, the magic mushroom ceremony begins with Lord Nine Wind Quetzalcoatl before an effigy of the Rain God. At the conclusion of the magic mushroom ceremony (Figure 37), Lord Seven Motion of the Two Faces enters a cave in a river at Apoala (as did Eight Wind), then, standing at that same cave, displays a sacred three-leaved plant to Lord Seven Motion (the sacrificer of Stone Men in Zouche-Nuttall, page three, tableau three and capturer of Stripped Men (Zouche-Nuttall, page four, tableau two). The plant in Vienna resembles the one spoken by Lord Eight Wind at Suchixtlan, Zouche-Nuttall, page one, tableau four. After all, Lord Eight Wind is seen frequently emerging from caves. Apparently travel beneath the earth was not unusual for him.



Figure 37. Codex Vienna, page 33. The sacred plant at Apoala.

The Two Codices as Maps.

These sister manuscripts portray individuals, temporal indicators, and geographical places (both natural and man-made) as integrated units. A typical tableau presentation consists of four elements: place, date, actor(s), and action(s). In Codex Vienna there are often more places than temporal indicators or actors. In effect, Codex Vienna is one long map ranging from sky to earth and divided into several sections representing individual places, districts, and regions. Codex Zouche-Nuttall

employs similar visual devices, has many more actors, and occasionally represents entire regions as unified map-tableaux, as in double page 19, page 22, and page 36. The introduction page for Zouche-Nuttall's third saga, page 36, is a single page toponym for Apoala, showing the two lineage-rivers, valley walls, a waterfall, Serpent's Mouth Cave, and lineage persons associated with the two rivers. The effect of this union of place, person, and time is to firmly associate the elite with their hereditary territories and rights to rule to them.

My interest is focused on the specific Epiclassic era site of Yucunudahui since it is prominent as the major toponym on Zouche-Nuttall's first two pages. It appears three times in codex Vienna on pages 47b, 45d, and in the regional map on pages 10-9 where it is included as first in the ordering ritual conducted by Lord Two Dog for an entire landscape composed of twelve hills and a number of buildings, valleys, and lakes.

This latter map representation and ordering ritual by Lord Two Dog differs in scope from the ritual conducted at Yucunudahui by Lord Eight Wind. The latter is conducted for Yucunudahui and its immediate district. The former is conducted by Two Dog for an inclusive large area which includes Yucunudahui as first among many. As mentioned

previously, Zouche-Nuttall page five tableau one shows Lord Two Dog participating in a ritual honoring Eight Wind, formerly of Yucunudahui, at Yellow Man Hill.

Yucunudahui, Lord Nine Wind Quetzalcoatl, Lord Eight Wind.

Codex Vienna places Yucunudahui in a unique context which serves to underscore it as literally the first ordered area in Codex Zouche-Nuttall. After an ordering or creation event which occurs in the sky (Vienna, pages 52-48b), after the birth and empowerment of Lord Nine Wind Quetzalcoatl in the sky and his subsequent descent, Vienna, 48c), Yucunudahui is seen as the place where Lord Nine Wind Quetzalcoatl holds up water and the sky in Year 10 House on Day 2 Rain. Suggestively, Lord Eight Wind's ordering ritual for Yucunudahui has Year 3 Reed for its initial date and Year 7 Flint as final date, a seventeen year interval. Year 7 Reed, associated in Vienna with Yucunudahui itself, occurs four years after 3 Reed. Year 10 House occurs five years before 3 Reed. This provokes thought about an interesting sequence of events regarding these two heroes, Eight and Nine Wind (Tables 8 and 9). Although they are not recorded in the codices as interacting directly, they are shown in Vienna as being at the Tree Birth Ceremony at the same time, Year 13 Rabbit Day 2 Deer. Nine Wind is

seen on Vienna 36b and Eight Wind on Vienna 35a. Both were also at Yucunudahui.

Table 9.

Nine Wind and Eight Wind at Yucunudahui

Codex/Page	Event	Mixtec Date
Vienna 47b	Ꝁ9 Wind holds sky, water at Yucunudahui	10 House 7 Rain +5 years
Nuttall 2	Ꝁ8 Wind orders Yucunudahui	3 Reed 4 Flint +4 Years
Vienna 47b	Yucunudahui itself	7 Reed 7 Reed +13 years
Nuttall 2	End of ordering ritual, Ꝁ8 Wind goes to Apoala one year after the war ends	7 Flint 1 Motion +6 years
Vienna 37b	Ꝁ8 Wind & Ꝁ9 Wind at Apoala	13 Rabbit 2 Deer

Remembering that pictograms only show parts of any particular ritual, a twenty-eight year series of rituals is demonstrated involving the god Lord Nine Wind Quetzalcoatl and the patriarch Lord Eight Wind of Suchixtlan. Yucunudahui and the individuals associated with it are connecting elements between these two codices and the chronologies reinforce these documents, the individuals, and their actions. The Apoala event at which both were present is an evocative point in their chronology. So, a

hallmark of Codex Zouche-Nuttall pages one through eight is that it mixes and matches actors and actions with some from Codex Vienna. The chronology in table seven functions as a kind of concordance to enhance Zouche-Nuttall's representation of Lord Eight Wind just as connecting his biography with that of the later Lord Eight Deer of Tilantongo on Zouche-Nuttall reverse does.

The Zouche-Nuttall narrative creates a unified history and ideology with its own obverse/reverse narratives and also with those in Codex Vienna. Whether or not correlation of dates in Codex Vienna with European calendar dates is possible can be debated, but we have shown one such correspondence. I intend to further investigate this in the future. For those who interpret events in Codex Vienna's first pages as the beginning or creation of the world long ago, correspondence with European calendar sequences will seem inappropriate. Yet, as remarked in another place, there is nothing to suggest in the codices that the Mixtecs were interested in vast cycles of time as would be implied by cycles of creation in either the Mayan religious system. Hammond (2002, previously cited) has noted ethnographic evidence regarding previous cycles of creation.

Codex Vienna begins its events in the sky, but considering both manuscripts, several events begin in the sky and then individuals descend to earth. Most prominent of them is Lord Nine Wind Quetzalcoatl and it is possible that the Vienna representation of his descent constitutes a paradigm for subsequent individuals doing the same, notably on pages 18, 19, and 22 in Codex Zouche-Nuttall obverse. Vienna describes the celestial creation of certain unique stones, the birth of Lord Nine Wind Quetzalcoatl from a stone knife, his descent to earth, and his holding up water and sky at Yucunudahui (Furst, 1978:109), which is shown here in Figure 38.



Figure 38. Codex Vienna, page 47. Lord 9 Wind holds up water and sky at Yucunudahui.

The Codex Zouche-Nuttall scribes integrated these chronological events according to their own traditions, but with subtlety, each series of tableaux presupposing unstated prior events or excluding events between tableaux known to those who painted and recited them. From this point of view, the Vienna and Zouche-Nuttall narratives are not mutually exclusive, but mutually inclusive and integrated, though differing by details chosen for inclusion or omission by the various authors of each document. One codex recites certain parts of an event and the other recites those or other parts of events particular to its concerns. The relationship between them is not impaired by this political selection of historical poetry.

Since Zouche-Nuttall is an historical manuscript with verifiable dates, we should not be surprised therefore that historicity transfers to Codex Vienna as well. As seen previously regarding Year 13 Rabbit Day 2 Deer events recorded in both codices and connected by the historical person of Lord Eight Wind Eagle Flints, Vienna has historicity. These sister documents need not have been painted at the same time by the same artists from the same place. They illustrate a common ideological history from mutually shared traditions which gained purchase in the Epiclassic Era, assumed greater value as time passed, and

they can illustrate different parts or facets of those traditions with the whole being implied.

The Zouche-Nuttall scribes who painted the obverse did so with the intention of unifying their ancient Epiclassic history and its ideology from the Northern Nochixtlan Valley with critical events at Apoala, and also with those in the time of Lord Eight Deer at Tilantongo in the southern Nochixtlan Valley. These royal anonymous princes had an eye to the future and exploited their prestigious past.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSIONS

Epiclassic Mixtec Ceremonial Complex.

The obverse of Codex Zouche-Nuttall throughout all 41 pages of it is primarily a document recording ceremonies, the histories of these ceremonies, and, therefore, almost certainly, the ideology which these ceremonies validate. For purposes of definition and considering the similarity of the Zouche-Nuttall rituals with those recorded in Codex Vienna, the implied ideology is the Epiclassic Mixtec Ceremonial Complex. All three narratives which I have termed "sagas" are, in fact, ritual histories. All involve lineage, ordering rituals, and the cult of the dead.

Considering the pictogram tableaux recorded on pages 1-8, all of them except, perhaps, the capture events in the War from Heaven pages 3-4, are ceremonies. The locus of this ceremonial complex is found at Apoala and the relationship and exchange of ceremonial components between Apoala and Yucunudahui is emphasized by the codex scribes.

According to the narrative testimony examined in this thesis, this ceremonial complex -which includes the Mixtec system of oracles- remained a stabilizing feature of Mixtec culture. The reverse of Codex Zouche-Nuttall which details the political history of Lord Eight Deer Jaguar Claw of Tilantongo, indicates that this warlord attempted cultural changes during his lifetime. Codex Bodley records that subsequent to Eight Deer's assassination in 1115 A.D. most changes he attempted to effect, primarily those involving the oracle of the dead at Chalcatongo, were deleted.

Shifts in Epiclassic Settlement Patterns and Ideologies.

Careful archaeological work in the Nochixtlan Valley (Spores, 1969:560c) indicates that previous settlements from about 300 A.D. were gradually phased out during the Classic and Late Classic Periods beginning in the era we have identified as Epiclassic. Some settlements persisted and flourished especially Yucuita and very notably Yucunudahui. Other civic centers or towns developed at this time, namely, Cerro Jasmin (Suchixtlan, Monkey Hill) and Jaltepec. Further, in the Epiclassic Period and Early Postclassic at a time Spores (1969, 561c-562a) refers to as the Natividad Phase beginning ca 1000 A.D., the number and population of civic centers in this area continued to increase until the Spanish Entrada in 1521. In fact, a

long ridge from Yanhuitlan to Sayultepec and Etlantongo shows evidence of nearly continuous occupation in the Natividad Phase.

Codices Zouche-Nuttall and Vienna pictorially record Epiclassic ideological changes. Zouche-Nuttall's second saga on obverse pages 14-22 concerns itself with (1) founding the Wasp Hill ruling lineage prior to Lord Eight Wind, (2) the extermination of that lineage in the War from Heaven, and (3) the founding of the first lineage at Tilantongo. It almost certainly depicts the founding of four great temples (ceremonial centers). Pages 14-19 are replete with sky images and descents of various persons from the sky-essentially they are interactions between earth, sky and water landscapes. Pages 14-22 display thirteen sky and water images, five of them with cave openings and three of those have individuals associated with them. Pages 1-8, the first saga, have only one tableau where landscape water is featured and a second one where water is poured from a jar. Representations of sky only appear once in the War from Heaven sequence on page four where Stripped Men from the Sky are captured. Otherwise, pages 1-8 have twenty-five cave/earth images.

Codex Vienna begins paradigms of order in the sky, and many things happen there, but, paramount among them is the

birth of Lord Nine Wind Quetzalcoatl -an event upon which all subsequent events in Vienna depend. In other codices Lord Nine Wind is a prominent ceremonial figure and is also shown at war against the Striped Men from the Sky (Zouche-Nuttall, 21-22).

The ideological shift implied by this is dramatic: the previous and subsequently exterminated Wasp Hill lineage-ideology is replaced with the establishment of a different set, and emphasis is shifted to sky elements at Apoala in Codex Vienna. In Zouche-Nuttall's first saga Lord Eight Wind is prominently associated with caves (figure 39). He only appears from a cave in water once and all other appearances are either in earth-caves or temple-caves. In Eight Wind's case caves imply a mode of movement from one place or element to another. Remembering that Zouche-Nuttall pages one through eight only have one scene with prominent water (page 5) and one with landscape water (page 1) and only one scene representing sky (page 4), the preponderance of earth images and absence of sky and water iconography is striking.

Remembering also that Zouche-Nuttall saga one has strong connections with Apoala and Lord Eight Wind's emergence from a cave there (Figure 39), the third saga (pages 36-41) begins in Apoala with a cave event. The

third saga has no sky images whatever and water is only illustrated as the two Apoala lineage-rivers on page 36.

Conclusion.

The data recorded in the first pages of Codex Zouche-Nuttall obverse indicates that the protagonist, Lord Eight Wind, was a prime-mover in an era of sweeping, dramatic, and conflictive social change. He either forged links with the new lineage order emerging at Apoala or was an intrinsic part of its formation. Subsequent data in this and other codices indicate the extreme importance of his lineage and the organization associated with it.

Although Lord Eight Wind is not displayed as a direct participant in the crucial War from Heaven, the Zouche-Nuttall manuscript indicates that he was involved with its conflict with the Stone Men, that he was a seminal figure in the organization and subsequent institution of a new order of rule by the miraculous Tree Born Nobles from Apoala, and that after his diplomatic career ended, he married three women and began a large, enduring family. In the later war of extermination conducted by Tilantongo against the Jaltepec/Hua Chino marriage alliance, the two conflicting royal parties (Tilantongo's first dynasty and Jaltepec's second dynasty) were descended from Lord Eight Wind through his daughters. The exterminated lineage at

Hua Chino was not (Caso, "Las Genealogias en El Codice Selden, 1964:54a).

Regarding this intra/extra-familial fight, Eight Wind's power and influence did not end with his death at age 92. Communication with his mummy was instrumental in beginning the marriage alliance war between his descendants. The codex scribes even provide us with a visual connection to events on the manuscript reverse which transpired in the time of Lord Eight Deer the Jaguar Claw. It is reasonable to conclude that a function for Zouche-Nuttall's first saga is to connect formational events in the early Epiclassic era ordering of the new Mixtec society to its later history through the power and prestige of a dominant patriarch.

Lord Eight Wind was indeed a great patriarch of his people. His influence continued both mystically and physically as his lineage grew, diversified, and extended itself through time. One can assert that descent from Eight Wind through his daughters validated some royal descents in the female line. The three obverse sagas of our manuscript under study all involve lineage establishment and they are connected by lineage histories. That is why Jansen and Jimenez (2005:14b) propose that the

manuscript should be called "Codex Tonindeye", the Book of Lineage History.

These histories tell us that early Mixtec history was tripartite in their minds: saga one (pages 1-8) is the beginnings of Mixtec history with a new lineage formation at Apoala. Saga two (pages 14-22) is a Mixtec history based around a previous lineage subsequently removed from power, and, the founding of ceremonial centers, and saga three (pages 36-41) is Mixtec history depending entirely from Apoala lineage authority.

In order to give us the complicated historical and ideological information encoded in Codex Zouche-Nuttall's first eight pages, the scribes advantaged the project by using interesting, creative formats. I have demonstrated one such whereby certain pages can be "eclipsed", still another other involves chronology integrated with those in Codex Vienna.

The text also displays a kind of literary duality. Each two pages comprise a data set: pages one and two are Eight Wind's introduction as a "santo" or supernatural being wherein he participates in creating the ideology for Mixtec people to be called "People of the Rain", and the Mixteca the "Land of the Rain God". Pages three and four tell of the War from Heaven, itself in two parts -the

campaign against the Stone Men, and the battle against the Stripped Men from the Sky. Pages five and six are the history of Lord Eight Wind's lineage founding and the patron deities attendant upon them. Pages seven and eight are a transition to the future of Lord Eight Deer of Tilantongo's era. These last two pages provide two metaphysical events which may be seminal to the Oaxacan cult of the dead; namely, conferences with two deceased kings.

Also, pages three and four each terminate with a section from a ceremony known to be associated with Apoala; that is, each page has a terminal text comprising part of a whole so that the ceremony itself is displayed in two parts. Even the protagonist of this story, Lord Eight Wind, is associated with the deity Lord Nine Wind Quetzalcoatl by sharing the dignity of double birth with him. In this later association there are two sequential interconnecting chronologies, as has been shown. Lord Eight Wind himself had two lives -one supernatural during his first fifty-two years and the second natural during his final forty years. This latter "life" is enriched by a third quality, however: his life beyond the grave whereby he continued to influence the political history of his descendants.

Codex Zouche-Nuttall itself is not a singular artifact. It is closely associated with its "sister", Codex Vienna. This dual association has been recognized from the time Zelia Nuttall first examined them, and even before during the time of the Aztecs. Both artifacts were presented by Emperor Montezuma II as part of the treasure he gave to Hernan Cortes (Nuttall, 1902:9a-11b). The codices traveled to Europe together and were divided only after arriving in that strange land. Although they remain physically separated at this present time, the investigations of scholars have recognized them to be part of a historical and ideological unity representing in bold and beautiful artistic statements the greatness of the people who wrote them more than seven hundred years ago.

In this present era we observe that these ancient manuscripts were not written specifically for us to read. They are time machines which give us windows through which we see the world of a great indigenous people who pursued the dynamics of their existence without previous European influence. Theirs was a world of animated power which astonishes us even now; perhaps because it is literally focused in might and authority upon great houses of nobles who controlled their keeps wisely and at no great distance from one another.

This historical panorama also grants us a taste of an enduring sorrow, because when Europeans finally arrived in Oaxaca in 1521, the new cultural paradigm imposed on Native Americans swept away pre-existing societies and created people without history. The Mixtec codices -fragile manuscripts painted in bright colors on leather pages covered with thin gesso- are the remaining true testimonies of that history. I would like to think this the reason that the doomed Emperor Montezuma II included them as treasure to be sent to the great royal houses of alien Europe. For the most part, the gold and jewels which the Spanish so esteemed have either vanished or are forgotten now that the flurry of excitement surrounding them has been quelled by five centuries. At this time, in more considered and reflective moments, perhaps more appreciative moments, we can see and know the true treasure that grew and blossomed among indigenous peoples of New World Oaxaca because we are now learning to read their few surviving books, the tonindeye, the family histories and deeds of their great kings and queens. In these books which stand among the great literatures of the world, one can recognize that the political and ideological culture of ancient Oaxaca was brought to life by the deeds of their great Lords and Ladies.



Figure 39. Codex Zouche-Nuttall, page 1, tableau 1.
"It happened long ago, Lord Eight Wind the Great
was born from the land he ruled."

APPENDIX

PAGES 1 AND 2: SECONDARY (2) AND TERTIARY (3) ACTORS

Page	Actor	Action	2/3
At Toto Cuee Cave			
1	♂12 Alligator	birth ceremony	2
At Suchixtlan			
1	♂12 Alligator	bird sacrifice/ordering	2
1	♂1 Reed	bird sacrifice/ordering	3
1	♂1 Rain	bird sacrifice/ordering	3
1	♂8 Vulture	bird sacrifice/ordering	3
1	♂10 Lizard	bird sacrifice/ordering	3
At Apoala			
1	♂11 Flower	bird sacrifice/ordering	2
1	♂7 Jaguar	bird sacrifice/ordering	3
1	♂7 Monkey	bird sacrifice/ordering	3
1	♂10 Lizard	bird sacrifice/ordering	3
1	♂3 Eagle	bird sacrifice/ordering	3
At Yucunudahui			
2	♂12 Alligator	bird sacrifice/ordering	2
2	♂11 Flower	bird sacrifice/ordering	2
2	♂2 Lizard	bird sacrifice/ordering	3
2	♂5 Flower Stone Man	bird sacrifice/ordering	3
2	♂7 Wind	bird sacrifice/ordering	3
2	♂4 Rain	bird sacrifice/ordering	3
2	♂10 Jaguar	bird sacrifice/ordering	3
2	♂2 Rain	bird sacrifice/ordering	3

The chief figure in charge of, or the recipient of, these ceremonies is Lord Eight Wind Eagle Flints. In the first at Toto Cuee Cave, Lord 11 Alligator is ceremonially present at Lord Eight Wind's birth. The page one bird sacrifice ceremonies show secondary actors bearing royal garments for Eight Wind (Xicollis); the page two ceremony though also a bird sacrifice does not.

PAGE 3: PROPOSED DAY-DATE SEQUENCE FOR YEAR 5 HOUSE WAR
EVENTS

Page	Day & Number	Event
3a	7 Snake, #55 & 315	Stone ♂♂ at Yucuita
3b	4 Wind, #52 & 352	Stone ♂♂ capture
3b	8 Wind, #212	" " "
3b	4 Wind, #52 & 352	" " "
3b	4 Dog, #260	" " "

The earliest day in this sequence in Year 5 House is the first occurrence of 4 Wind #52. The second occurrence of Day 4 Wind is the latest, #315, so it is possible for the other recorded days to fall within that 260-day span from 4 Wind to 4 Wind. The sequence would be:

Day 4 Wind: ♂7 Wind captures a Stone Man.
 Day 7 Snake: ♂7 Snake & ♀6 Eagle attack Stone Men.
 Day 4 Dog: ♂7 Snake perambulates.
 Day 4 Wind: ♀8 Deer captures a Stone Man.

The difficulty with this purely chronological sequencing is that the Day 4 Dog in Year 5 House is drawn larger than the other days, so it has emphasis. It is also positioned close to Lord 7 Snake's perambulation, so that assignment is made in the sequence. Of the six tableaux shown on page three only three have days assigned in Year 5 House for a total of 5 days encompassing a 260-day span. Therefore, the page three Year 5 House events all occur within that 260-day span of time.

The total length of time for page three and four events is twenty-three years. The Stone Man war begins in Year 3 Reed (#29), the Year 5 House (#31) events continue it, the Stripped Men war begins in Year 12 Flint (#38), the war ends in Year 6 Reed (#45), and the council is held in Year 13 Rabbit (#52).

Year & Number	Event
3 Reed (29), 963 A.D.	War begins.
5 House (31), 965 A.D.	Stone Man War.
12 Flint (38), 972 A.D.	Stripped Men War.
6 Reed (45), 979 A.D.	End of War.
13 Rabbit (52), 986 A.D.	Council.

CHRONOLOGICAL SCHEMATIC FOR PAGES 3 AND 4 TABLEAUX

Page 3 Tableau One
 Year 3 Flint, 963 A.D.
 *
 *
 Page 3 Tableau Two
 Year 5 House, 965 A.D.
 *
 *
 *****Page 3 Year 5 House
 * Tableau Three
 *
 *
 *
 * Page 4 Year 6 Rabbit, 966 A.D.
 * Tableau Four
 *
 *
 Page 3 Year 12 Flint*****Page 4 Year 12 Flint
 Tableaeu Three Tableaux One, Two, Three
 *
 *
 *
 Page 3 Year 5(6) Reed 979 A.D. *
 Tableau Three*****
 *
 *
 Page 3 Year 13 Rabbit 986 A.D.
 Tableau Six
 *
 *
 Page 4 Year 13 Rabbit
 Tableau Six

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