

# Sounding Images

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*The auditive dimensions of pre-colonial Mixtec pictorial manuscripts from Mexico*



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Cover image: *Cut out of Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus I, page 20*

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manuscripts from Mexico*

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In loving memory of my mother,

Els Chaitanyo Versnel

\* 04-16-1952

† 01-31-1995

*Let me sail, let me sail,  
Let me crash upon your shore*

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# Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i> .....	10
<b>I. Hearing the past through pictographs</b> .....	11
1. Introduction.....	11
2. Research aims.....	16
3. Methodology.....	17
3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis.....	18
3.2 Structure and approach.....	21
3.2.1 Theoretical framework.....	21
3.2.2 Corpus.....	23
3.2.3 Analysis.....	24
<b>II. Music, manuscripts and Mixtec society</b> .....	25
1. Music archaeology of Mesoamerica.....	25
1.1 Overview.....	25
1.2 Types of music archaeological sources.....	26
2. An introduction to Mesoamerican pictorial manuscripts.....	28
2.1 Divinatory and narratological codices.....	29
2.2 The Mixtec group.....	29
2.2.1 Codex Bodley / Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuu.....	30
2.2.2 Codex Colombino-Becker I / Codex Iya Nacuaa.....	31
2.2.3 Codex Selden / Codex Añute.....	31
2.2.4 Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus 1 /.....	32
Codex Yuta Tnoho	
2.2.5 Codex Zouche-Nuttall / Codex Tonindeye.....	32
3. Indigenous Mixtec people.....	33
<b>III. Theoretical framework</b> .....	35
1. What is music?.....	35
1.1 Concepts of musical behaviour.....	35
1.2 Social significance of musical behaviours.....	36
1.3 Emotion as a foundation.....	39
1.4 Musical behaviour in rituals and ceremonies.....	40
2. Functions of Mixtec pictorial manuscripts.....	41
2.1 The mechanisms of oral narrative.....	42
2.2 'Flowery speech' and Mixtec codices.....	43
2.3 A broadened view on codices.....	45
3. Mixtec codices and their socio-cultural environment.....	47
<b>IV. Auditive scenes in Mixtec codices</b> .....	50
1. Classification of auditive scenes.....	50
2. Musical instruments.....	51
2.1 Musical instruments being played.....	51
2.1.1 Inaugurations.....	51
2.1.2 Religious duties.....	56

2.1.3 Wedding scenes.....	58
2.1.4 Funerary contexts.....	61
2.1.5 Hallucinogenic rituals.....	62
2.2 Musical instruments not being played.....	63
2.2.1 Offerings.....	63
2.2.2 Adornments.....	66
3. Sound volutes.....	66
3.1 Ceremonial speech and/or song.....	66
3.1.1 Foundations and veneration.....	67
3.1.2 Conversations.....	69
3.1.3 Funerary contexts.....	72
3.2 Sound volutes in anthropomorphic contexts.....	72
3.3 Volute as signifiers.....	76
4. Dance.....	77
5. Toponyms.....	78
<b>V. Analyses of auditive scenes.....</b>	<b>81</b>
1. Micro-level analysis.....	81
1.1 Concepts of musical behaviour.....	82
1.1.1 Toponyms.....	83
1.1.2 Anthropomorphic agents of musical behaviour.....	84
1.2 Social significance of musical behaviour.....	86
1.2.1 Inaugurations and foundations.....	86
1.2.1.1 Processions.....	86
1.2.1.2 Shell horn veneration.....	88
1.2.1.3 Speech and/or song.....	89
1.2.1.4 Musical offerings.....	91
1.2.2 Religious duties.....	92
1.2.3 Wedding scenes.....	93
1.2.4 Funerary contexts.....	94
1.2.5 Hallucinogenic rituals.....	96
1.2.6 Dance.....	99
2. Meso-level analysis.....	100
2.1 Contexts of auditive scenes.....	101
2.2 Roles of auditive scenes in oral performance.....	102
3. Macro-level analysis.....	104
<b>VI. Conclusions.....</b>	<b>108</b>
1. Research questions.....	109
2. General discussion and recommendations.....	112
<b>Abstract.....</b>	<b>116</b>
<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>117</b>
<b>List of figures and tables.....</b>	<b>129</b>



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# CHAPTER I

## Hearing the past through pictographs

*“Music produces a kind of pleasure which human nature cannot do without”*

~ Confucius (in Dawson 1915, 255) ~

### 1. Introduction

In this single phrase - clear, compact and straightforward - Confucius tried to capture the importance of music for mankind. Friedrich Nietzsche seemed to agree: *“without music, life would be a mistake”* (Nietzsche 1889, 33). For some this might seem exaggerated, others might agree, but the core message of both quotes entails the same: music is and always has been important for human beings.

Indeed, music might be as old as language (e.g. Morley 2003, 125; Vanechoutte & Skoyles 1998) and is found in every society around the world. Both in past and present-day societies music played and plays an important role in the formation of personal as well as social identities (amongst others Brown 2006; Dissanayake 2006; Fitch 2006; Huron 2001; Masataka 2007). Where Western society nowadays is characterized by popular music intended for dissemination over large groups of people (Tagg 1982, 41), in other time periods, such as the Middle Ages, ‘mainstream music’ had a more liturgical character and role in society (Hoppin 1978, 256). Assumably, music in prehistoric societies was often integrated with other activities of life, such as rituals, and often needed community participation (Dissanayake 2006, 32-34).

However, although the concepts and expression of sound and music – from now on referred to as *musical behaviour*<sup>1</sup> - might have changed through time and differ from culture to culture, the underlying mechanisms of musical

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<sup>1</sup> This thesis aims to approach sound and music from a broadest possible perspective. Therefore - instead of referring to ‘music’, it uses the term *musical behaviours* to take into account that certain societies could encompass sonic elements that in a Western sense might be disregarded as ‘music’.

behaviour have stayed the same (see Chapter III, section 1). In other words, regardless of the cultural context as well as the period in time, a study into musical behaviour can provide valuable tools for the analysis of broader sociological issues such as the formation of identities.

Regarding past cultures, music theory can therefore be of great interest for archaeology. One of the main interests of archaeologists is to identify societies in the past, mainly by analysing their material cultures. By doing so, archaeologists try to demonstrate how these material cultures engaged, and were engaged in the expression of social identities in the past (Díaz-Andreu & Lucy 2005, 9). Understanding ‘immaterial facets<sup>2</sup>’ of the past, however, seems to allow archaeologists to get an even more nuanced understanding of social identities in past cultural groups (see for example Bruchez 2007, King & Sánchez 2011 & Mills 2010). Notwithstanding this opportunity for an enhanced understanding, the importance of sound and music in past societies often seems to be overlooked by archaeologists (e.g. Watson 2001, 178-179).

That is not to say, however, that no research has occurred in this respect. Indeed, researchers in the discipline of music archaeology have contributed significantly to the state of the art in relation to this subject matter. This research discipline seeks to better understand cultural knowledge using music knowledge at its centre (e.g. Both 2009; Olsen 2007). It bases itself on music-related material finds and depictions of musicians, singers and dancers, in some instances supplemented with written sources such as ancient manuscripts or historical records, and ethnomusicology (Both 2009, 1-4). In this way music archaeology contributes to knowledge regarding sociocultural contexts and meanings of musical behaviour in past societies, and as such also contributes to broader socio-archaeological issues. However, as music archaeological research is rather rare in existing scholarship and is an ‘upcoming’ field of inquiry (see Chapter II, section 1.1), there is still a

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<sup>2</sup> In this thesis immateriality entails the intangible, such as musical behaviour, whereas materiality entails the tangible, such as objects.

significant amount of academic research to be done *vis-à-vis* music-archaeological related issues.

With an abundance of archaeological music cultures and living music traditions (Both 2012, 10), the Americas offer particularly appealing circumstances for music-archaeological research. Consequently, this thesis focuses on musical behaviour in the cultural region of Mesoamerica (see fig. 1). Mesoamerica is particularly known as a cradle for cultures such as the Aztec, Maya, Toltec, Olmec, Zapotec and Mixtec (e.g. Coe & Koontz 1962). The inheritance of these cultures - most of whom are far from 'dead' - is very rich and, regarding the Aztec, Maya and Mixtec cultures, amongst other things includes a corpus of written texts or *codices* (see fig. 2). These painted manuscripts contain information about history, religion and astronomy (see Chapter II, section 2). Moreover, they contain important information regarding behavioural patterns involving music – and sound, more general – in past societies.

For that reason, this thesis examines these ancient pictorial manuscripts in order to contribute to the knowledge about musical behaviour in

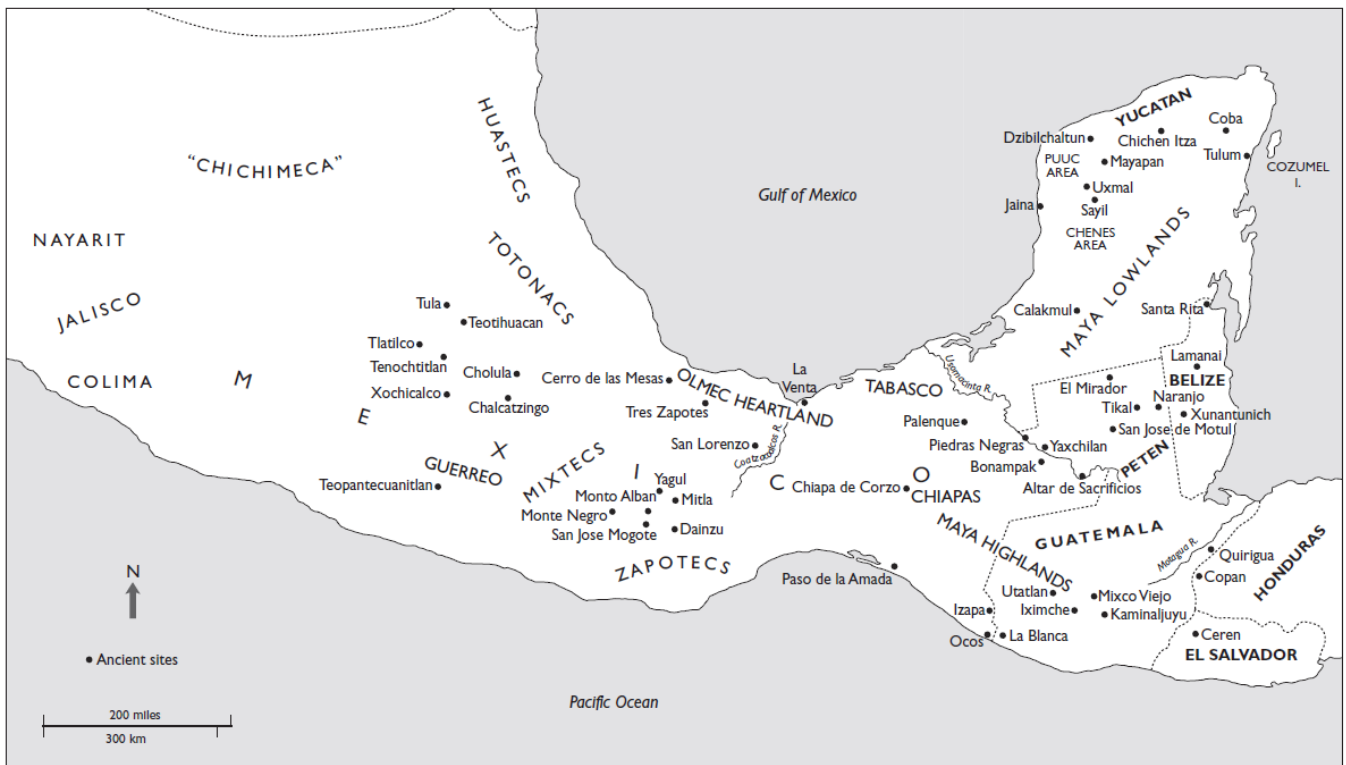


Figure 1. Map showing different cultural areas of Mesoamerica (Joyce 2003, 2)

Mesoamerica. More specifically, this thesis focuses on what will be referred to as *auditive scenes*. These scenes include images varying from musical instruments or song (sometimes in combination with dance), to sound depicted as part of non-human environments such as toponyms, animals or celestial bodies. As will be elaborated upon further in the methodology-section of this chapter, the corpus for this research is a collection of pictorial manuscripts belonging to the Mixtec people of what is nowadays the state of Oaxaca, Mexico. Mixtec societies probably originated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C., and between 500 B.C. – A.D. 900 developed into an urbanized civilization including many ceremonial centres and a writing system (Jansen & van Broekhoven 2008, 2). After a crisis, Mixtec culture revived during the so-called Postclassic (A.D. 900 – 1521) and amongst other things started producing pictorial manuscripts.

These manuscripts are remarkable for a number of reasons. First of all, in contrast to most Mesoamerican codices, Mixtec codices contain story-lines: in other words, they are narratological. Two main themes are prominent in these codices: genealogical registers of rulers, and dramatic accounts of their acts in war and ritual (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, xxi). Secondly, since



**Figure 2.** *Codex Zouche-Nuttall* (<http://www.mesolore.org/>, accessed 8 December 2014)

these manuscripts have a narratological character, they were important instruments for public performances and were used for disseminating information over a large group of people (amongst others Boone 1994a; 1994b; Hamann 2004; Houston 1994; Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011; King 1988; 1994; Monaghan 1990; 1994; Navarrete 2011). As such, performances and recitations of these texts in community rituals played an important role in local and interregional communication and network-forming, and in the construction of corporate identity (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2005, 43).

Today only few Mixtec codices remain. The five most remarkable and well-known codices in this so-called *Mixtec Group* are (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2004; Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2013, 53-84):

1. Codex Bodley (or *Codex N̄uu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuu*)
2. Codex Colombino-Becker I (or *Codex Iya Nacuaa*)
3. Codex Selden (or *Codex Añute*)
4. Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus 1 (or *Codex Yuta Tnoho*)
5. Codex Zouche-Nuttall (or *Codex Tonindeye*)

Research on these historical narratives has a long tradition, starting in 1902 when Zelia Nuttall first analyzed the Codex Zouche-Nuttall (Nuttall 1902). Subsequently, important interpretations by amongst others Alfonso Caso (1950; 1960; 1964a), Karl Nowotny (1948; 1961a; 1961b), Mary Elizabeth Smith (1973, 1979, 1983) and Ferdinand Anders (1988; 1992a; 1992b) and more recently Maarten Jansen & Gabina Aurora Pérez Jiménez (2000; 2005; 2007a; 2011) and Elizabeth Boone (2000; 2007) have been provided, which has contributed significantly to the knowledge about these codices. These interpretations often focus on toponymic identifications, genealogical reconstructions and chronological correlations exemplifying the historical importance of these manuscripts and are vital for the understanding of the codices' contents. At the same time however one might say the broader context of the use of these codices gets underexposed. As will be elaborated upon in the next section, this thesis is based on the idea that both a detailed

and a broader approach to codices are valuable for a better understanding of Mixtec codices (see also Chapter III, section 2).

## 2. Research aims

The main aim of this thesis is to get a better understanding of musical behaviour in pre-colonial Mixtec society in a most comprehensive way as possible. As shortly outlined above, musical behaviour plays an important role in the formation of personal as well as social identities. As such, research into musical behaviour of past cultures can contribute significantly to the knowledge about the worldviews of these cultures. Mixtec codices provide excellent means for this, since the stories in these manuscripts not only tell about individual actions and events in a certain time period, but also include important information about how these events related to a wider, cultural context. As such, *auditive scenes* in Mixtec codices offer the opportunity to analyse specific functions and concepts of musical behaviour and relate these to the broader context they were situated in. The comprehensive way of viewing these auditive scenes, as will be implemented in this thesis, thus entails that not only the text itself is analysed, but also its conveyance and the socio-cultural context Mixtec codices were part of.

As such - by analysing auditive scenes in Mixtec codices - on a **micro-level** the current thesis aims to contribute to the knowledge about the functions, contexts and concepts of sound, music and performance in pre-colonial Mesoamerica. In addition, this thesis focuses on the **meso-level** functions of codices. As shortly outlined in the introduction, the Mixtec codices played an important role in oral performances. As such, by continuously linking the corpus of auditive scenes to the broader functions of Mixtec manuscripts, this thesis aims to gain more insights in the mechanisms and functions of oral narrative in pre-colonial Mixtec society and the intertwined role auditive scenes played in this. Thirdly, given this inherent story-telling function of codices in Mixtec societies, it becomes increasingly clear that, on a **macro-level**, codices carried a significant potential of being active agents in the formation of societies. This thesis therefore aims to contribute to the



knowledge about the role of musical behaviour in socio-cultural, political and ideological dynamics of pre-colonial Mixtec society. The methodology-section of this thesis includes more information on how this three-level analysis will be conducted.

Ultimately, this thesis aims to contribute to a better understanding of Mixtec pictorial manuscripts, and hence also to past (and, for that matter, present-day) Mixtec society as a whole. Consequently, this thesis will proceed in accordance with the following research questions:

**Main research question:** *What is the role of musical behaviour contained in auditive scenes of pre-colonial Mixtec codices on the levels of the text, their conveyance and their socio-cultural context?*

**Sub-question 1:** *What is the micro-level function of musical behaviour in the auditive scenes of pre-colonial Mixtec codices?*

**Sub-question 2:** *What is the meso-level function of auditive scenes in relation to oral performances of pre-colonial Mixtec codices?*

**Sub-question 3:** *How is the macro-level socio-cultural context influenced by the interplay between the micro- and the meso-level in relation to musical behaviour?*

### **3. Methodology**

To recapitulate, the main aim of this thesis is to examine musical behaviour in codices from a micro-, meso-, and macro-level perspective. As outlined above, depictions of musical behaviours in codices (micro-level), as well as oral performances of codices (meso-level), played an important role in communal rituals and were interrelated with socio-cultural dynamics (macro-level). Hence, codices were not only informed by the context in which they were created, but they simultaneously contributed – through their performance – to the creation and development of such contexts in a circular

process. More specifically, it could be hypothesised that socio-cultural identity and codices were closely related in a bi-directional process. Given this, it may be worth investigating the possibilities of examining codices by an appropriate adaptation of a so-called *Critical Discourse Analysis*.

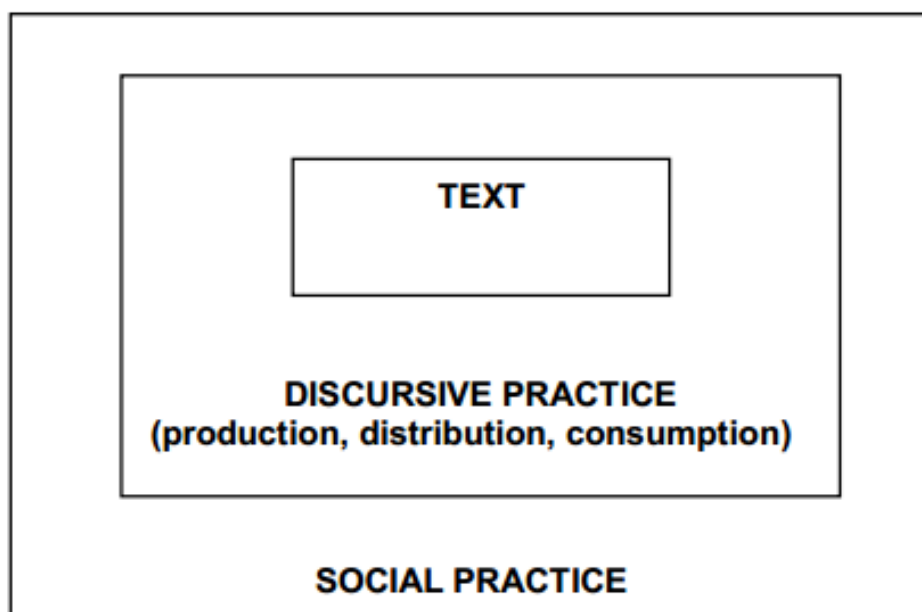
### **3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis**

A Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach to discourse that tries to unite three levels of analysis: a text, the discursive practice (writing, speaking, reading and listening) through which the text is conveyed, and the larger social context it appertains to (Blommert & Bulcaen 2000; Fairclough 1992; Hucking 1997). This method has effectively been applied in a variety of academic research fields, including political science (Horvath 2009), anthropology (Bucholtz 2001), criminal justice (Van Berlo 2014) and health sciences (Lupton 1992). As such, it is interesting to explore the possibility of utilising this method in relation to the study of music archaeology, which combines a plurality of perspectives, including musicology, archaeology, ethnography, art history, epigraphy and history.

This way of critical analysis comprises several key characteristics. First, CDA is highly context-sensitive, taking into account that authentic texts are produced and read or heard in a larger context (Hucking 1997, 78). As outlined by Phillips & Jørgensen, *“our ways of talking do not neutrally reflect our world, identities and social relations but, rather, play an active role in creating and changing them”* (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002, 1). Secondly, CDA aims to show how the abovementioned three levels of analysis (micro, meso, and macro) are interrelated (Hucking 1997, 78). As such, CDA includes the larger political, cultural and social context a text relates to. This way of analysing is typically used to show how texts are constructed so that particular, potentially indoctrinating, perspectives can be communicated delicately and covertly (Batstone 1995). From this perspective, discourse can be utilised by politically prominent actors to effectively communicate a particular ideology through text, speech and, arguably, performance (Wodak 1989). As such, the main aim of CDA is *“a close analysis of written or oral texts*

*that are deemed to be politically or culturally influential to a given society”* (Hucking 1997, 79).

In the context of CDA, Fairclough was the first to develop a three-dimensional analytical tool, which is set out schematically in figure 3. This figure exemplifies that a text is related to its discursive practices (production, distribution and consumption) and as such should be considered part of a wider cultural and social context (Fairclough 1992, 72-73). More precisely, the three dimensions of Fairclough’s analysis are, first, an assessment of the linguistic features of a text, second, the examination of production and consumption processes related to this text, and third, an analysis of the socio-cultural and political context (Fairclough 1992, 72-73). Discourse, then, is more than just ‘text’, but also involves processes of production, consumption and social interaction. Such processes are of a bi-directional nature, whereby text is influenced by, and simultaneously shapes and influences, the socio-cultural reality in which it is framed (Fairclough 1992, 72-73).

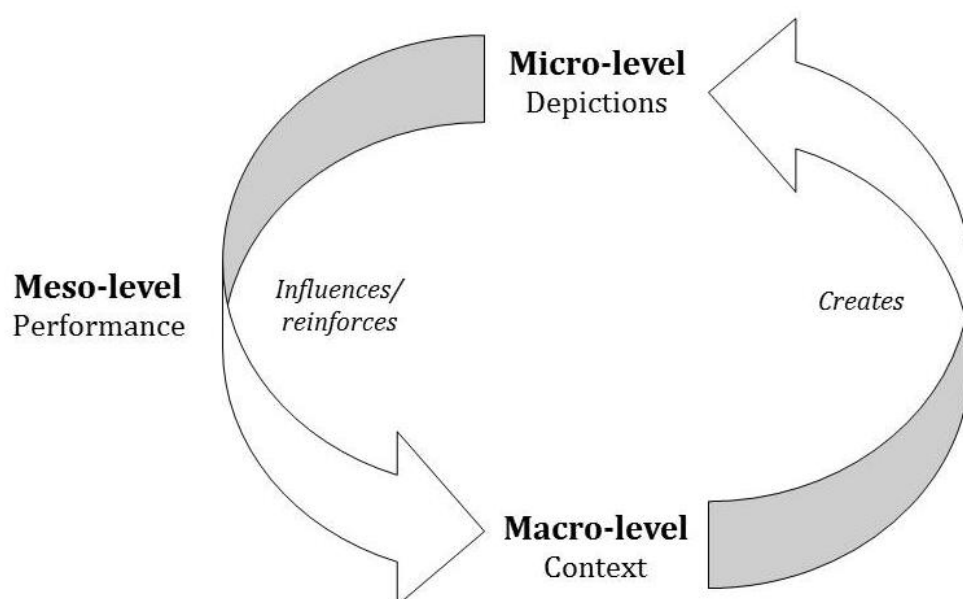


**Figure 3.** Schematic depiction of three-levelled critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1992, 73)

This thesis will utilise an adapted version of CDA, as schematically depicted in figure 4. Indeed, it is not a CDA in the traditional sense of the term, but has been adapted to the study of pictorial writing rather than (political) speech.

As such, it examines depictions, performance and context specific to pre-colonial Mixtec society. In this configuration it provides an interesting tool for the study of auditive scenes in codices, since it entails a way of looking at these scenes that incorporates the context codices were situated in. As has been outlined before, codices were part of a larger oral tradition and contained stories of a socio-cultural and political character. A micro-level (textual) analysis of these codices therefore includes valuable information about the macro-level context these codices were used in. The oral performance (discursive practice) through which the codices' stories were reproduced, distributed and consumed is the binding element between the micro- and macro-level. As such, this thesis includes three levels of analysis:

- 1) A micro-level analysis of the literal text, pertaining to the study of auditive scenes in codices themselves (see Chapter V, section 1);
- 2) A meso-level analysis of the discursive practice, pertaining to the study of the role of auditive scenes in oral performance (see Chapter V, section 2);
- 3) A macro-level analysis of the social practice, pertaining to the study of the interrelationship of auditive scenes with the socio-cultural reality in which they were situated (see Chapter V, section 3).



**Figure 4.** Schematic depiction of a Critical Discourse Analysis as adapted in this thesis

### **3.2 Structure and approach**

In pursuing the aforementioned aims, this thesis uses the following format. The next chapter (Chapter II) of this thesis will serve as an overview in various respects. First, it will provide an introduction to music archaeology in the Mesoamerican cultural area. Different types of sources used to conduct music archaeological research will be discussed. These sources for example include archaeological materials, historical records and ethnographical data. In addition, this chapter provides an introduction to Mesoamerican pictorial manuscripts. The difference between divinatory and narratological codices will be explained, as well as the history and contents of the different codices belonging to the *Mixtec Group*. Finally, this chapter includes information about present-day indigenous Mixtec peoples, who - due to various reasons - have little access to contemporary knowledge about their own history, which is arguably positioning them at a significant disadvantage.

#### *3.2.1 Theoretical framework*

Chapter III of this thesis contains the theoretical framework. On the basis of this framework, analyses will be performed in relation to different identified auditive scenes. The framework is, in a similar vein as the analyses, divided into three main themes: the function of musical behaviour, the function of Mixtec codices in oral performance, and the socio-cultural context Mixtec codices were utilised in. Each of these will be examined in a different section.

As such, the first section focuses on the functions of musical behaviour. This thesis is premised on the idea that a study concerning auditive scenes, which depict musical behaviour, should include a theory about what such musical behaviour actually is. The sub-sections will consequently deal with the following subjects:

- 1) The meaning of 'music' and 'musical behaviour'
- 2) The social significance of musical behaviour
- 3) The mechanisms underlying musical behaviour
- 4) The function of musical behaviour in rituals and ceremonies

By examining these subjects, this section aims to examine the universal mechanisms of musical behaviours in order to understand their importance for societies. In turn, this section of the theoretical framework will provide an analytical frame of reference on which the micro-level examination of pre-colonial Mixtec codices and their respective auditive scenes will be premised.

Besides its focus on the mechanisms of musical behaviours on a micro level, the theoretical framework also provides information about the meso-levelled performance functions of Mixtec pictorial manuscripts. The reason for this enhanced attention to oral performance is that codices are often researched in a detailed manner focussed on the depictions themselves, arguably without sufficient attention for the manner in which they are conveyed. Although this thesis affirms the need of a detail-by-detail analysis, it simultaneously aims to incorporate an examination of the so-called discursive practice, i.e. the way and setting in which text or pictographs are conveyed. In turn, the meso- level and micro-level analyses will mutually enhance an understanding of musical behaviour and performance practices. This part of the theoretical framework focuses on the following sub-sections:

- 1) The mechanisms underlying oral performances
- 2) The relation between Mixtec codices and oral performance
- 3) The potential of the meso-level and the micro-level to enhance a mutual understanding of both levels when studied in a joint fashion

Having examined these sub-sections, the theoretical framework then focuses on the macro-level socio-cultural context of Mixtec codices. The sub-sections that are important in this respect are:

- 1) The socio-political system in Mixtec society
- 2) The social, economic, and ideological characteristics of this system

### 3.2.2 Corpus

Chapter IV provides the corpus of this thesis. In this chapter auditive scenes from the Mixtec codices are classified and interpreted. The selection and interpretation utilised in this thesis uses the following guidelines:

1) Five Mixtec codices are analysed: the so-called *Mixtec Group*. These codices have been chosen on the basis of their **type**, **contents** and **time period** in which they were manufactured. As mentioned in the introduction, the Mixtec codices differ from most Mesoamerican codices, because of their narratological character and because of their content (i.e. genealogical registers of rulers), which made them valuable instruments for public performances. As such, Mixtec codices provide excellent means for an analysis of musical behaviour. The stories in these manuscripts not only tell about individual actions and events in a certain time period, but also include important information about how these events related to a wider, socio-cultural context. As such, context is of fundamental importance for a proper understanding of depictions of musical behaviour in codices. Studying the selected Mixtec auditive scenes without analysing the context in which they are situated is - due to their very story-telling nature - deemed to result in a scrutiny void of sufficient significance. In addition, the pre-colonial content of these codices offer a unique opportunity to analyse the role of musical behaviour in Mixtec society from an *emic* point of view. Since Mixtec codices were written by people coming from *within* the culture, they include much information about the worldview of these people and the place musical behaviour had in this.

2) The five Mixtec codices that are selected for this thesis are the Codex Bodley, Codex Colombino-Becker I, Codex Selden, Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus 1 and Codex Zouche-Nuttall. For the purposes of this thesis, these codices will be read and analysed one by one in order to identify their amount of auditive scenes. The selection of these scenes is conducted with the idea that musical behaviour can include many different agents, natural, animal *and* human. The final selection therefore includes all instances in

which musical instruments, song and/or dance is depicted, as well as depiction of sound as part of non-human environments such as toponyms, animals or celestial bodies. After this selection, the scenes will be categorized on the basis of the context in which they appear (e.g. wedding scenes, funeral scenes, and inauguration rituals). This is in line with the aim of this thesis to connect the auditive scenes to the broader context in which they are depicted (see Chapter V for more information on the categorization of these scenes). The categorized scenes are then examined using the interpretations of leading specialists in the field. In many instances these interpretations are supplemented with archaeological, ethnohistorical and ethnographical examples and parallels.

### 3.2.3 Analysis

In the fifth chapter the auditive scenes are analysed using the theoretical framework that will be discussed in Chapter III. In this chapter I will come back to the main research question of this thesis, namely: *What is the role of musical behaviour contained in auditive scenes of pre-colonial Mixtec codices on the levels of the text, their conveyance and their socio-cultural context?* As discussed above, the analysis will be done by means of a Critical Discourse Analysis.



## CHAPTER II

### Music, manuscripts and Mixtec society

*“Mujer que nace en el silencio de la noche  
de un caracol respira el aire de ese mundo rojo  
y aunque se esconde la verdad entre las piedras,  
se ve bailando con la muerte  
ante un baño de vapor  
yuu yuchi-ri,  
yuu yuchi-ri, yuu yuchi-ri”*

~ Lila Downs - Tres Pedernal (from Tree of Life/Yuta Tata, 2000) ~

#### 1. Music archaeology of Mesoamerica

The term Mesoamerica refers to a cultural area roughly extending from Mexico to Costa Rica, which - over a long period of time - various pre-colonial societies inhabited (see for example Evans 2004; Kirchoff 1943). These societies shared multiple practices traversing amongst others cultural, linguistic, ecological and political boundaries (Joyce 2003, 3). Mesoamerica has been the cradle of many civilizations, including the Olmec, Maya, Aztec, Toltec, Zapotec and Mixtec. The legacy of these cultures is very diverse and amongst other things includes a rich tradition of musical practices, which have been studied and discussed from various angles (Both & Sanchez 2007, 7-9).

##### 1.1 Overview

Different researches on musical practices of the past come together within the discipline of music archaeology: *“the study of the phenomenon of past musical behaviours and sounds”* (Both 2009). Music archaeology has been known for more than a century, but until recently it has always been a rather small discipline (Both 2012, 10). Due to institutions such as the *International Study Group on Music Archaeology* (ISGMA), interest in music archaeology has grown significantly however, which for example resulted in the *First Meeting on the Music Archaeology of the Americas* in 2011 (Both 2012, 11). As a result

of this growing interest, music in Mesoamerica has been studied more and more extensively over the past decade<sup>3</sup>. Important contributions to this particular field of study amongst others include the works of A.A. Both (2002a; 2004; 2006; 2007), S. Martí & G.R. Kurath (1964), G.A. Sánchez Santiago (e.g 2005; 2007; 2009), R. Stevenson (1968), and G. Tomlinson (1995; 2007; 2012). Other recent contributions related to musical behaviours in Mesoamerican societies include the works of: Arndt 2014; Barber & Sánchez 2012; Bruchez 2007; Denet & Kosyk 2013; García Gómez 2013; Hepp *et al.* 2014; King & Sánchez 2011; Rodens *et al.* 2013; Rojas Martínez Gracida 2008. For the analytical purposes of this thesis further elaboration on these topics is not required. It should be kept in mind however, that music archaeology comprises a large field of distinctive branches with accordingly significant amount of scholarly attentions.

## 1.2 Types of music archaeological sources

Translated to English, the Nahuatl word *cuicatlamatiliztli* means 'the art of song' (Both 2007, 94). Since in pre-colonial Aztec society no term for music or musician existed, music was referred to with this word and all musicians were considered to be 'singers' or *cuicanimeh* (Both 2007, 94). Musicians did not play on their instruments, but sang on them. In Mixtec language the term *yaa* merges dance, music, and game all in one concept (Stanford 1966, 103). Dancing was also metaphorically referred to as 'to sing with the feet'.

Coming from 16<sup>th</sup> century dictionaries recorded by Spanish colonizers, the examples above show how linguistics can contribute to a better understanding of Mesoamerican concepts of musical behaviour. Likewise, types of sources from a variety of disciplines - including musicology, archaeology, ethnography, art history, epigraphy and history - can get us closer to the musical behaviours of past societies. Archaeological data on musical instruments, for example, shows a variety of instruments that were

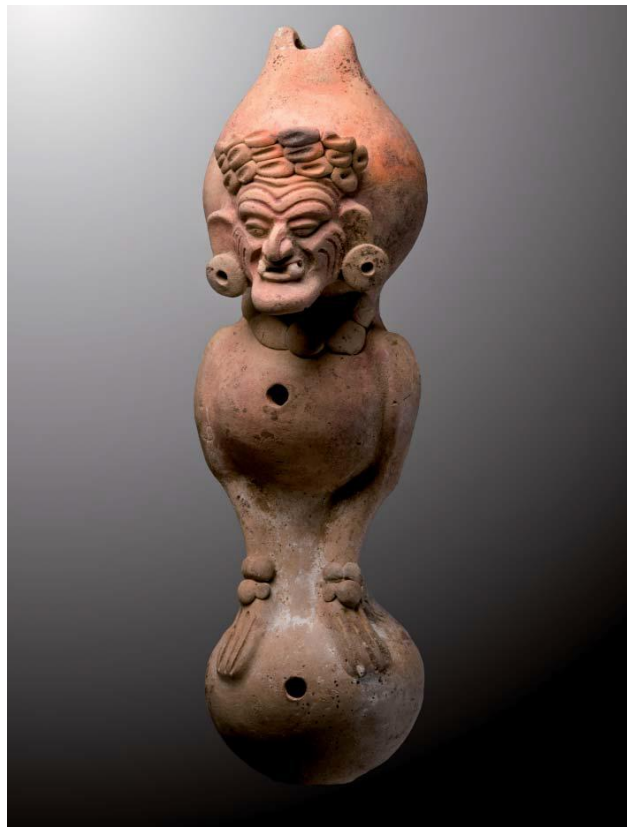
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<sup>3</sup> For information about the development of music archaeological research on pre-colonial music cultures see the article by A.A. Both (2010)

used in Mesoamerica. Most frequently found during excavations are ceramic instruments such as flutes (see fig. 5), whistles and rattles. The context where musical instruments are excavated can contribute significantly to the knowledge about its function and meaning. Reconstructions and recreations of musical instruments play an important role in this, especially gaining more insights into the sounds of these musical devices (Both 2009, 4-5).

Also valuable for music archaeology are written (Spanish) sources recorded during the colonization of the Americas. These ethnohistorical documents, mainly dating from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, include valuable descriptions of indigenous Mesoamerican musical practices, amongst other things regarding rituals such as processions, ceremonial dances and funerary rituals (Both 2005, 6267). In addition these texts include information about how indigenous music was perceived by the Spaniards. Aztec music, for example, was perceived as 'shrill,' 'sharp' or 'high' in pitch (Durán [ca. 1581] 1994). However, since Spanish Catholic missionaries mainly composed these writings, caution is needed to avoid misinterpretations.

Another important discipline for music archaeology is ethnomusicology. Such research consists of ethnographic fieldwork in contemporary indigenous communities, for example in Mexico and Guatemala. Since the colonial period, many attempts were made to convert indigenous people to Catholicism, which resulted in multi-layered syncretism (Both 2005, 6267). Despite this, certain musical practices



**Figure 5.** Ceramic flute representing a Maya god, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim (Both 2011, 27)

of contemporary indigenous groups contain pre-Hispanic elements which can be highly informative (e.g. Both 2004; Brown 1971; Mendivil 2004). A relationship with these indigenous communities, based on equality and mutual benefits, can therefore be of major importance (see also section 3 of this chapter).

Music iconographies, or musical visual cultures, provide another crucial dataset to better understand musical behaviours of past societies. These visual cultures include depictions of instrumentalists, singers, and dancers showing musical instruments and performance postures (Both 2009, 1). Such depictions can for example be found on stone reliefs, mural and vase paintings, and pictorial manuscripts. As mentioned before, this thesis particularly focuses on musical images in pictorial manuscripts. As such, the present study only concerns a smaller part of a larger music archaeological picture. Other sources however, such as the ones discussed above, are also incorporated to better understand the concerned pictographs.

## **2. An introduction to Mesoamerican pictorial manuscripts**

Mesoamerican manuscripts contain a form of pictorial writing used as records of the past and divinatory guides for the future (Boone 2000, 28). It is a graphic way of writing of which its precursors probably originated around 1100 – 600 BC (Justeson 1986, 440). Nearly all of the Mesoamerican manuscripts still preserved today date from the Post-classic period (ca. AD 900-1521), as well as from the early colonial period (A.D. 1521-1642). Although not limited to them, these so-called codices derive mainly from the cultural areas of the Aztec, Maya and Mixtecs. Due to Spanish colonial book-burning policies only few codices are still preserved today. As this thesis' corpus comprises the pre-colonial codices of Mixtec origin, the following paragraphs will focus on shortly explaining the contents of these manuscripts. Mixtec codices are historical narratives and differ in that sense from most other pre-colonial Mesoamerican manuscripts, which often had a divinatory function. The first paragraph of this section will therefore explain the difference between divinatory and narratological (or historical) codices.

## **2.1 Divinatory and narratological codices**

Generally, the Mesoamerican codices can be distinguished into two types: divinatory and narratological codices. Divinatory codices particularly dealt with cycles of time connecting humans to their fates and to the gods (Boone 2007, 2). These books clarified how and what mantic forces influenced certain days or sequences of days. They for example described the fate of newborns, based on their day of birth, and advised them how to live as they matured (Boone 2007, 2). As such, they explained which and when particular rituals should be performed in order to overcome negative fates, or to nurture positive ones (Boone 2007, 2). Divinatory codices from Mesoamerica amongst others include the Codex Laud, the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, the Codex Vaticanus B and part of the Codex Dresden.

While divinatory codices particularly deal with the future, narratological codices are more focused on the past. These codices deal with stories – narratives – and often include two main themes: genealogical registers of rulers, and dramatic accounts of their acts in war and ritual (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, xxi). Narratological codices explain many aspects of ancient society and way of life such as history, religion and astronomy (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 3). As such, these manuscripts were often used as scores for oral literature in the context of important social events (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, xxiii). Narratological codices from Mesoamerica mainly comprise the *Mixtec Group*, five pictorial manuscripts belonging to the Mixtec cultural area. These codices form the main attention of this thesis and are therefore discussed in the next paragraphs.

## **2.2 The Mixtec Group**

The Mixtec Group consists of the Codex Bodley, the Codex Colombino-Becker I, the Codex Selden, the Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus 1, and the Codex Zouche-Nuttall. In 2004, Jansen & Pérez Jiménez suggested to rename these codices, since many of their names are alien to the people who created them and are unrelated to the regions to which they refer (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez

2004, 267). As Jansen & Pérez Jiménez rightly question: “How would the present-day inhabitants of *Ñuu Dzau* [Mixtec people of southern Mexico] suspect that the history of the kings and queens who once ruled their towns is registered in books called *Codex Bodley* or *Codex Vindobonensis*?” (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2004, 267). Indeed, renaming the codices seems wanted, if not necessary (see section 3 of this chapter). The ‘new’ names Jansen & Pérez Jiménez proposed in their article are:

1. *Codex Bodley* → *Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuu*
2. *Codex Colombino-Becker I* → *Codex Iya Nacuaa*
3. *Codex Selden* → *Codex Añute*
4. *Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus 1* → *Codex Yuta Tnoho*
5. *Codex Zouche-Nuttall* → *Codex Tonindeye*

To avoid confusion, throughout this thesis I will use the ‘new’, indigenous names in combination with the general names. The same applies to the names of towns/village-states.

### 2.2.1 *Codex Bodley* / *Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuu*

The *Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuu* is preserved in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. It is therefore generally known under the name *Codex Bodley*. The codex consists of 40 pages which, like many Mixtec codices, are divided in an obverse and reverse side (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 65-66). The obverse tells the genealogical history of the dynasty of *Ñuu Tnoo* (Santiago Tilantongo) up to the birth and marriage of an important ruler, Lord 4 Deer (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 66). Specific attention is given to the life of the important ruler Lord 8 Deer. The reverse focuses on the genealogical history of the dynasty of *Ndisi Nuu* (Tlaxiaco) up to the rule of Lord 8 Grass, who was born in 1435. This side of the codex pays much attention to the successor of Lord 8 Deer: Lord 4 Wind (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 66). Both stories refer to *Yuta Tnoho* (Santiago Apoala) as the place of sacred origins of these two village-states (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2005, 32-36). The main segment of the *Codex Bodley* deals with genealogical connections such as marriages

and enthronement rituals, regarding members of different noble houses (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2005, 42).

### 2.2.2 *Codex Colombino-Becker I / Codex Iya Nacuaa*

The fragmentary and heavily damaged *Codex Iya Nacuaa* or *Codex Colombino-Becker I* depicts the story of Lord 8 Deer. The original codex was larger, but during the Spanish colonization was cut up in different parts. Two portions (*Colombino & Becker I*) have survived (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 76). The name of the codex (*Iya Nacuaa*) refers to the calendar name of Lord 8 Deer, to whom the story of this codex is dedicated. Unlike other codices, the *Codex Iya Nacuaa* tells the story of Lord 8 Deer in a much more dramatic and impressive way. Amongst other things this codex refers to Lord 8 Deer killing Lady 6 Monkey and her husband. In other codices, such as the *Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuú* (*Codex Bodley*), this story is referred to in a much less dramatic way (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 74). The dramatic structure of the codex suggests it had an important role in oral performances. As Jansen & Pérez Jiménez put it: *“The narrative structure but also the vivid and colorful representations of actions and the presence of “special effects” such as an orchestra, all indicate that this codex was indeed related to a dramatic performance of great impact”* (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 74).

### 2.2.3 *Codex Selden / Codex Añute*

The *Codex Añute* contains the genealogical history of the *Añute* dynasty, up to the rulership of Lord 10 Grass. Nowadays the town of *Añute* is better known as Magdalena Jaltepec (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 80). The codex - preserved in the Bodleian Library in Oxford - consists of 20 pages of which pages 1 to 15 were overcoated and originally contained a different pictographic text. Two hides were added later to create pages 16 to 20. Just like the *Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuú* (*Codex Bodley*), the main segment of the *Codex Añute* recounts different genealogical events. A particularly interesting segment focusses on Lady 6 Monkey who, as mentioned before, was killed by Lord 8 Deer. In this codex however, the tragic death of Lady 6 Monkey is left untold (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 82). The codex as a whole is

characterized by pre-colonial styles and conventions, but was written during colonial times, around AD 1560 (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 80). The contents of the *Codex Añute* are remarkably self-glorifying: the successive Mexica and Spanish invasions are left out (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 82). This suggests that the codex was a strong statement by conservative native Mixtecs struggling with colonial oppression (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 84).

#### 2.2.4 *Codex Vindobonensis / Codex Yuta Tnoho*

Just like part of the *Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nu* (Codex Bodley), the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* deals with the dynastic history of the town of *Ñuu Tnoo* (Santiago Tilantongo). The codex is preserved in the library of Vienna (*Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*), where it is also named after (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 53). The codex consists of a reverse covering 13 pages, and an obverse covering 52 pages. The obverse deals with the sacred story of creation, based in the town of *Yuta Tnoho* (Santiago Apoala) (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 55). In short, the main theme of this codex is the origin of the dynasty of *Ñuu Tnoo* (Santiago Tilantongo) in the town of *Yuta Tnoho* (Santiago Apoala), where the main person of this story - 'Culture Hero' Lord 9 Wind - comes down from the 'Place of Heaven' (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 56). The codex contains many parallelisms (*difrasismos*), which indicates that it was used for official discourse (*parangón*) during special occasions (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 57). Possibly the text was used in the enthronement ritual of a *Ñuu Tnoo* ruler and as such played an important role in emphasizing the importance of this event for the whole region (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 57).

#### 2.2.5 *Codex Zouche-Nuttall / Codex Tonindeye*

The *Codex Zouche-Nuttall*, or *Codex Tonindeye*, is named after two persons: Lord Zouche, who bequeathed the codex to the collection of the British Museum in London, and Zelia Nuttall, who first wrote a commentary about the codex (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 70). The codex consists of a reverse and an obverse, both of 47 pages. The reverse was painted earlier than the



obverse, which for example becomes visible when comparing the graphic compositions on both sides of the codex. Moreover, the (unfinished) reverse shows many similarities to the Codex Colombino-Becker 1 (*Codex Iya Nacuaa*): the elaboration of the life of Lord 8 Deer (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 71). The obverse of the codex contains different segments of Mixtec history, without a coherent structure connecting them (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 72).

### **3. Indigenous Mixtec people**

Now that all Mixtec Group codices have been discussed, it is really important to consider to whom these manuscripts originally belong, namely the Mixtec people. The Mixtec people are part of an indigenous population of Mexico which is substantial in quantity as well as in cultural influences (Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas 2006; Jansen 2004, 237). Sadly, within their national boundaries the indigenous peoples of Mexico are often considered 'strangers in their own land' (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, xxiv; Watkins 2001, ix-xiii) and have little access to contemporary knowledge about their own history. In addition, their living conditions - amongst other things economically, educationally and medically speaking - are often rather poor (Jansen 2004, 237; Psacharopoulos & Patrinos 1996). These are the dubious ingredients for a lot of paradoxes regarding the situation of indigenous people in Mexico. For example, while many people visit Mesoamerican archaeological sites, venerating the relics of a culture that 'once was', the people to whom this cultural heritage actually belongs are unpermitted to continue their spiritual tradition at these sites (Jansen 2004, 238; Watkins 2005, 432). Along these line; while many archaeologists aim to understand the cultural traditions of 'past Mesoamerican societies', the people who inherited these cultural traditions are often watching from the sidelines.

It is evident that there is a high degree of cultural continuity within these indigenous communities, dating back to pre-colonial periods (Browman 1978; Jansen 2004, 237-239). As such, the knowledge and concepts of

present-day indigenous communities can be an important key to, for example, better understand the ancient codices (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 110-111). Luckily, archaeological research is more and more focused on conversation and interaction with indigenous peoples (Jansen 2004, 241). In addition, more and more indigenous people follow professional education and start to take a keen interest in questions regarding their cultural history, while at the same time a growing amount of community museums are founded (e.g. Ardren 2002; Jansen 2004, 238-239; Morales & Camarena 2012).

Archaeologists dealing with the Americas can (and should) have an important position in *decolonizing* indigenous cultural heritage. Part of this for example entails the use of indigenous terms for cultural heritage such as Mixtec codices (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2004). In addition, instead of promoting the idea of digging up remains of 'dead cultures', archaeologists should affect and enter relationships with indigenous communities. Based on equality and mutual benefits, conversation, interaction and working with indigenous peoples can be of major importance for both parties involved. In this process the ancient pictorial manuscripts are a wonderful example of such cultural interaction (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 212-216). Alas, time and space limits made it difficult to incorporate such an approach in this thesis. In view of future research however, I indeed aim to practice the above outlined research methods. For this thesis, I will here and there incorporate ethnographic studies done by others.

## CHAPTER III

### Theoretical framework

*“I really believe that art is not part of reality. It belongs to a spiritual dimension. Music is a transcendent language that allows the communication of a deeper joy. Music is a powerful force.”*

~ Sufjan Stevens (in Rockdelux vol. 289, 2010) ~

#### **1. What is ‘music’?**

This quote by American singer-songwriter Sufjan Stevens quite accurately expresses the mysteriousness and elusiveness music often seems to entail. Philosophically and scientifically music is often described in vague terms and is for example described as a “*human cultural universal*” (Perlovsky 2010, 3). Where some say music is a byproduct of human evolution (e.g. Pinker 1997), others see music as something that actively contributed to human survival and reproductive success (e.g. Dissanayake 2006).

Despite its apparent elusiveness, music nonetheless seems to be very important to research. Music often plays a crucial role in rituals and ceremonies (e.g. Howard 2007). In turn, rituals and ceremonies communicate cultural values and ideas of societies (Berthomé and Houseman 2010, 65; Rappaport 1999). In fact, art and religion could be seen as being intertwined with each other and in ritual contexts they both influence each other’s affectivity (e.g. Dissanayake 2006, 6; Rappaport 1999, 385). Thus, as will elaborate on in the next sections, sound and music can have significant social value within a society and can be expressed in a plethora of ways.

#### **1.1 Concepts of musical behaviour**

Starting off with an important consideration, the concept of ‘music’ can differ from culture to culture. First of all the term music could be considered ‘Western’, since most societies do not have a word for music in a Western sense (Dissanayake 2006, 32). In Western minds music is often conceived as

a talent that only a limited number of people possess. Generally speaking, music in a Western sense is produced by human voice or musical instruments, potentially in combination with each other, which results in formalized melodic and rhythmic sounds. However, in many 'traditional societies' music is seen as just one facet of a range of sounds, and includes e.g. the sound of rain, wind, waterfalls and birds (Dissanayake 2006, 33). In many societies the concept of music thus includes more agents; natural, animal *and* human. Furthermore, in these societies singing, dancing and playing a musical instrument are often combined and connected. That is to say, music is seen as inseparable from bodily movement (Dissanayake 2006, 33). Another important consideration is that music and sounds in 'traditional societies' are often seen as intrinsic to ritual ceremonies and include the participation of many (Dissanayake 2006, 34). In Western societies music-making is often more of an individualistic pursuit for recognition and is in many cases separated from ritual (Woods 2010, 1-3). As shortly mentioned in the introduction - instead of referring to 'music' - this thesis therefore uses the term *musical behaviours* to take into account that certain societies could encompass musical elements that in a Western mindset might be disregarded as 'music'.

## **1.2 Social significance of musical behaviours**

Unlike the cultural concepts of musical behaviour, the mechanisms underlying musical behaviour seem to be universal (e.g. Brown 2006, Dissanayake 2006 and Fitch 2006). Musical behaviour influences human behaviour and can be used for example for political and economic ends, both in present-day and past societies (Brown 2006, 2-3). On a macro-level musical behaviour primarily serves as a 'binder', creating harmony within social groups and strengthening solidarity. On a more personal level musical behaviour aids in channelling, expressing and regulating emotions (amongst others Brown 2006; Dissanayake 2006; Fitch 2006; Huron 2001; Masataka 2007). Logically, especially in a ritualized setting, these two levels are interrelated. To give an example, musical behaviour during a funeral aids in channelling the individual emotions of the participants. At the same time it

creates a feeling of togetherness among those who are present, who are all grieving over the loss of a loved one.

Several authors have attempted to identify different social functions musical behaviour serves. Amongst others Brown (2006), Dissanayake (2006) and Fitch (2006) have identified important social aspects of musical behaviour. These authors all more or less take an ethological approach to musical behaviour. In the words of Dissanayake (2006) this entails: "*treating music as a behavior that evolved in ancestral humans because it contributed to their survival and reproductive success*" (Dissanayake 2006, 31). Although this thesis is premised on the idea that the product of musical behaviour is culturally determined - i.e. the *concepts* of musical behaviour differ from culture to culture - it simultaneously agrees with the authors' ethological view on musical behaviour that the *functional roles* of musical behaviour are universal. In other words, as Frith puts it, "*different sorts of musical activity may produce different sorts of musical identity, but how music works to form identities is the same*" (Frith 1996, 112).

Dissanayake (2006) mentions six different social functions of what she calls 'ritual music'. She bases herself on ethnomusicological studies in 30 traditional societies in which 'ritual music' is used to shape the behaviour and feelings of participants (Dissanayake 2006, 42). The first social function of musical behaviour she mentions is *display of resources* (Dissanayake 2006, 42). An example of this is the *kaiko* dancing Rappaport elaborates on in *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (1999, 78-80). In this ritual Maring males perform dances combined with singing and drumming for visitors from nearby local groups. After a while, the dancing ground turns into a trading ground where members from different local groups exchange goods. The second function is *control and channeling of individual aggression* (Dissanayake 2006, 43). Referring to the same ritual, the *kaiko* dancing could in a way be seen as 'aggressive'. The 'hosting' local group uses the dances to display resources and individual qualities like endurance, wealth and beauty, but at the same time it could be seen as a ritualized territorial display

(Rappaport 1968, 193-195). A third function of music Dissanayake mentions is that musical behaviour helps in the *facilitation of courtship* (Dissanayake 2006, 43). Like birds that attract potential mates by song, musical behaviour can have the same function for humans. An example of such a ritual is young Hmong males and females who sing improvised songs together, while at the same time tossing a ball back and forth (Dissanayake 2006, 43). Fitch also mentions this function of musical behaviour, referring to its potential aid in sexual selection (Fitch 2006, 200-202). However, according to him people should be careful not to take this social function of musical behaviour for granted. As he puts it: “*For every Bach with many children there may be a Beethoven who died childless, and for every popular conductor or lead guitarist there may be a lonely oboist or bassist*” (Fitch 2006, 201).

The other three functions of musical behaviour Dissanayake mentions are slightly broader than the abovementioned functions. These three functions are (Dissanayake 2006, 44-47):

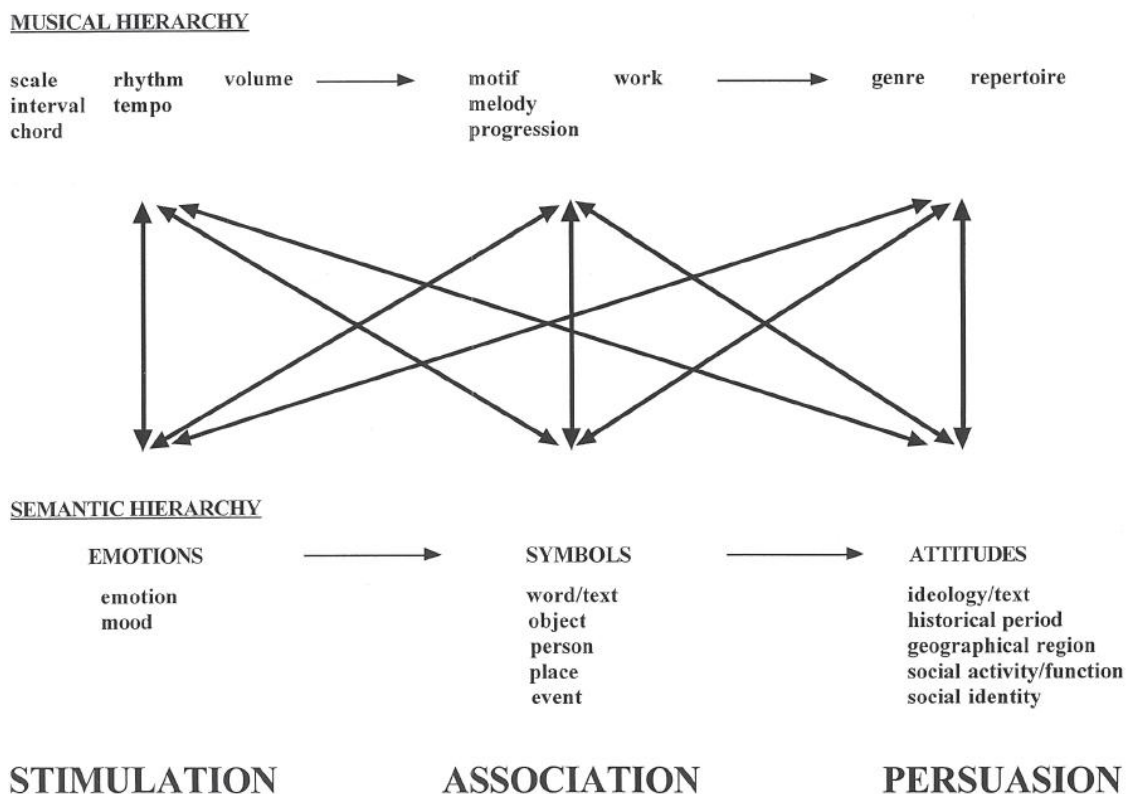
- *Establishment and maintenance of social identity through rites of passage*
- *Promotion of group cooperation and prosperity*
- *Relief from anxiety and psychological pain*

When comparing this to Brown (2006), there are many similarities to be noticed, especially in regard to the functions of musical behaviour in establishing social identity and group cooperation. Following Browns argument, musical behaviour can have the effect of “*homogenizing social behaviours within groups, especially in ritual contexts*” (Brown 2006, 4). In line with this, musical behaviour can persuade and manipulate people. In such a way musical behaviour can have the function of a *knowledge-bearer* that enhances local, regional, or even intraregional ideologies (Brown 2006, 4; Eyerman & Jamison 1998). In addition, musical behaviour can *establish and maintain social identities*, for example through rites of passage, which could lead to the *enculturation* of individuals (Brown 2006, 4; Dissanayake 2006, 44). Enculturation might lead to *group coordination, cooperation and*

*prosperity*. It might be worthwhile to mention that all of these social functions can also be commingled with playful musical behaviour, as Fitch points out (2006, 204-205).

### 1.3 Emotion as a foundation

The last social function of musical behaviour deserves special attention, since it is interrelated with all of the above functions. Musical behaviour is an important device for *emotional expression*, both on an individual and on a group level (amongst others Balkwill & Thompson 1999; Brown 2006; Dissanayake 2006, 2012; Fitch 2006; Huron 2001; Juslin & Västfjäll 2008; Perlovsky 2010; Woods 2010). Musical behaviour might for example channel individual psychological pain, but since every person is part of a larger social environment this also has social implications. As Frith states; “*Music [...] offers, so intensely, a sense of both self and others, of the subjective in the collective*” (Frith 1996, 10). The idea that emotions of musical behaviour are the basis of all the social functions it might entail is represented in a figure by Brown (see fig. 6). In this figure Brown refers to a musical hierarchy and a semantic hierarchy. Reading from left to right, the musical hierarchy refers to the idea



**Figure 6.** Hierarchical representation of musical semantics (Brown 2006, 15)

that anything at a higher lever unavoidably incorporates elements of all lower levels (Brown 2006, 16). The semantic hierarchy is based on the same principle, but includes the idea that musical meanings (such as emotion or ideology) can typically be ascribed to musical hierarchy. Semantic meaning is therefore dependent upon, and interrelated with musical structure: “*Whereas a single chord is usually limited to a certain emotive meaning [...] a musical genre can signify whole cultures, subcultures, geographical regions, social identities, and other similar things.*” (Brown 2006, 16)

#### **1.4 Musical behaviour in rituals and ceremonies**

As stated before, musical behaviour often plays a crucial role in rituals and ceremonies that, in turn, communicate cultural values and ideas of societies (Berthomé and Houseman 2010, 65; Rappaport 1999). Therefore, the social functions of musical behaviour as described above often originate in such rituals and ceremonies. But *why* is musical behaviour such an essential element herein?

This might be explained by the fact that musical behaviour plays an important role in creating a certain experience for participants of rituals and ceremonies. Musical behaviour can often help people to connect with what in ritual contexts could be called something like ‘the divine’. This *numinous experience* reunites parts of the psyche that are ordinarily out of touch with each other (Rappaport 1999, 220). The basis of the numinous experiences lies in what Rappaport refers to as *driving behaviors* (Rappaport 1999, 228). Dissanayake emphasizes the importance of these driving behaviors and how they can affect emotions. In short she states that driving behaviors, like formalization or regularization, stereotypy, repetition, exaggeration, and elaboration, can be seen as the basic modes of operation for the creating emotions in musical behaviours (Dissanayake 2006, 8). The numinous experience thus is very much related to emotions of participants in rituals and ceremonies.



Since rituals and ceremonies are particularly appropriate for invoking a numinous experience in its participants, they are suited to express information that might otherwise remain unexpressed. As Rappaport states; *“certain meanings and effects can best, or even only, be expressed or achieved in ritual”* (Rappaport 1999, 30). The role of musical behaviour in expressing these meanings and effects is related to the fact that *“metaphors [i.e. art/musical behaviours] can represent significata which didactic forms can only denote”* (Rappaport 1999, 393). Or as Langer (1953, 32) puts it: *“Art is significant form and its significance is that of a symbol, a highly articulated sensuous object, which by virtue of its structure can express the forms of vital experience which language is peculiarly unfit to convey”*

To summarize the above, this section of the theoretical framework has emphasized the idea that the mechanisms underlying musical behaviours are universal. These mechanisms have their basis in human emotions. Emotions in ritual, for example triggered by musical behaviour, are the basis of all the social functions this ritual might entail. In ritual context musical behaviour thus plays an important role in shaping the experiences of the participants. In this way, musical behaviour can be part of rituals that can control, manipulate and communicate the identities of the people involved. As such, rituals can for example foster group solidarity and cooperation. The concepts involved in these rituals however, might differ from culture to culture. In some culture for example, funerary rites might be accompanied by organ music, while in other cultures such rituals might be accompanied by the singing of mantras.

## **2. Functions of Mixtec pictorial manuscripts**

The previous section of this theoretical framework provided tools for a micro-level analysis of auditive scenes in Mixtec codices. The next step section does the same for a meso-level analysis of auditive scenes. This requires an in-depth view on the interrelationship between auditive scenes in Mixtec codices and the oral performances in which they would come alive. This section will therefore first analyze the mechanisms of oral narrative, and

subsequently will go into the link between oral performance and Mixtec codices.

## **2.1 The mechanisms of oral narrative**

As Scheub states in his article *Oral Narrative Process and the Use of Models*, the basis of oral narrative is what he refers to as *image* (Scheub 1975, 353). Narrative images are vehicle used by a performer of oral narrative composed out of words (Scheub 1975, 353; Scheub 1977, 345-346). Using techniques such as rhythm, intonation, gesture, bodily movements, song and music, images can shape the perceptions of the audience. The performer evokes these images in the participating audience and then seeks to channel and govern the audience's experiences of the images (Scheub 1975, 354; Scheub 1977, 347-349). This channelling and governing can amongst other things be done by encouraging the audience to actively participate in the performance, for example by clapping hands or singing along (Scheub 1975, 355). In such a way the performer brings the audience in a certain psychological and emotional state, so that he can manipulate them and their emotions (Scheub 1975, 362). The performer can then shape their reality and thereby communicate the essential message of the narrative, thus affirming social institutions. Metaphor plays an important role in this. As Scheub states; "*Metaphor is the ultimate end of a psychological and emotional involvement in the art form. Image and metaphor are inextricably bound in the oral narrative tradition, and the accomplished artist binds the audience into the package as well*" (Scheub 1975, 369). In short, oral narrative forms a way to retain certain social values in the memory of the people involved. These values are not only communicated but also embodied by the members of the audience (Scheub 1975, 362).

It is interesting to see the similarities between the way oral narrative works and the way musical behaviour in ritual works. Similar to the role of musical behaviour in ritual, the performer's role in an oral narrative is to create a *numinous experience* for his audience. As stated above, techniques such as bodily movements, song and music play an important role in this. Given the

fact that Mixtec narratological codices were used as scores for oral performances, one might wonder in what way the pictographs in codices aided an oral performer in his task to create a numinous experience for his audience. Since the basis of a numinous experience lies in triggering emotions, it could be hypothesized that certain scenes in codices suit this aim better than others. Hence, it becomes increasingly clear that the micro-level of auditive scenes in Mixtec codices was interrelated with the meso-level of performing the codices' stories. Chapter V of this thesis analyses this matter in a more in-depth way.

## 2.2 'Flowery speech' and Mixtec codices

In scholarly terms Mesoamerican writing systems are considered to be *semasiographic* (e.g. Boone 1994a, 16). Within this category writing systems such as Mixtec and Aztec pictographs are termed *iconic*. This means that the images depicted in for example codices, *denote* certain elements of speech without being completely dependent on it (Powell 2009, 32; 51). In other words *iconic semasiography* could be described as “writing with signs”, and could for example be compared with traffic signs. Where alphabetic systems graphically record language, semasiographic systems convey messages through images (see e.g. Boone & Urton 2011 for more information on the typology of Mesoamerican writing systems).

In Mesoamerican cultures art and writing were generally considered the same (Boone 1994a, 3). This has led to a general tendency among scholars to believe that Mesoamerican writing did not develop into a “true writing system”, or in other words, an alphabetic writing system (Boone 1994a, 4-6). The idea behind this is that spoken language is the most sufficient system for humans to transmit messages. However, as Boone states, speech might be efficient to communicate many things, but is remarkably insufficient in transmitting messages of, for example, a musical character (Boone 1994a, 9). In addition, writing on its own is incapable of conveying a complete message, but often relates to acoustic and bodily messages (Houston 1994, 30; 35). As Hill states; “*All writing systems seek to perform their central task as efficiently*

*as possible leaving out all information beyond that necessary to identification*" (Hill 1967, 95). Writing should therefore always be understood in its social context.

According to Houston (1994, 30) texts in general are often points of departure for performances, or for further amplification of their messages. The earliest forms of Greek writing for example served as mnemonic devices to preserve memory (Houston 1994, 30). Public orations of such texts allowed non-literate persons to participate and to memorize these stories. However, the unequivocal character of "modern" alphabetic systems has reduced the need to memorize and transmit information orally (Houston 1994, 31-32). In this way writing and reading slowly separated itself from oral discourse and changed to a more private matter.

Per contra, many scholars agree that Mesoamerican pictographic manuscripts were far from isolated from spoken language (amongst others Boone 1994b, 71; Hamann 2004, 72; Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011; 217-218; King 1994, 103; Monaghan 1994, 88; Navarette 2011). Codices were not read silently and privately, as Western academics might do, but were part of a *communicative tradition* in which oral communication, or 'flowery speech', played an important role (e.g. Boone 1994b, 71; Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2007a, 37; Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 217-218). Accordingly, the information in these codices was shared with a large group of people and played an important role in local and interregional communication and network-forming, and in the construction of corporate identity (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2005, 43; Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 218; Monaghan 1990, 133). Thus, it seems likely that Mesoamerican writing systems did not originate out of the need to record visible speech, but were intended for different goals.

Boone argues that the pictographs in codices were *signal references* which needed to be interpreted during performances (Boone 1994b, 71). As mnemonic devices, the pictographs in codices triggered the performers' understanding or memory of the story (Boone 1994b, 72). Along these lines King mentions that *"the grammatical and compositional qualities of Mixtec*

*writing directed the singer in ways suggestive of music notation*" (King 1994, 127). To certain extent codices could therefore be seen as sheet music which helped the performer(s) to transpose written words to spoken words (King 1990; Monaghan 1990, 133-134). For these purposes specialists were trained to perform the codices' stories, which were commonly displayed on the walls of palaces and read aloud on special occasions (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 218; Kubler 1962, 100). The contents of these codices might suggest that such performances were ritualistic in nature and had ideological and religious implications (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2007a, 63). In other words, the public was not just passively watching the performance, but was actively engaged in the ritual action (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2007a, 37). Only in (ritual) performances the full story captured in these codices would come alive.

Monaghan in turn refers to Mesoamerican codices as *skeletons of performances* (1994, 88). He approaches the Mixtec codices as if it were scripts containing systemic structures that allowed the performer to easily understand and read them. Just as poems and chants have structures in them (such as couplets and triplets), Monaghan proposes that codices contain these structures as well: indeed, he alleges that this can be discerned in, for example, the grouping of figures and their gestures and clothing (1990, 137-139). Moreover Monaghan underlines that performance of the codices not only included speech and music, but also dance. As he states: "*The texts, when performed, were given voice through the entire body*" (Monaghan 1994, 91). In a similar vein, Jansen & Pérez Jiménez (2007a, 34) state that the figurative images in codices are very close to body language and physical enactment and are therefore very suitable for ritual expression.

### **2.3 A broadened view on codices**

Still, although many scholars studying the Mixtec codices seem to be aware of the fact that they were important in oral communication, these manuscripts are (unconsciously) viewed and studied from a rather 'Western mindset'. Indeed, in his article *Seeing and the Mixtec Screenfolds* (2004) Byron Hamann tries to raise awareness about this issue. As he puts it, "*Western academic*

*approaches to Mixtec screenfolds have led to rich interpretations, but they have been also powerful techniques of blindness, obscuring important aspects of Mixtec scribal art”* (Hamann 2004, 82). As aforementioned, codices were easily unfoldable screenfolds, assumingly displayed on walls of palaces. However, Western scholars often view codices as if they were books, reading them with two facing pages at once and only focusing on the opened pages (Hamann 2004, 98). As such, the pictographs in the codices get removed from the larger context in which they occur. ‘Books’ containing complete pages of codices are rare and therefore scholars hardly view several pages of codices simultaneously (Hamann 2004, 98; 115). Whilst a detail-by-detail analysis of the codices concerned is important to enhance an understanding of the content of codices, as Hamann shows, a broader view on codices can simultaneously reveal information that has previously remained unnoticed (Hamann 2004, 96-120). According to Hamann, Western scholars should therefore be aware of how their “*peculiarities of modern Western academic reading practices have been unconsciously brought to our reading of the Mixtec screenfolds*” (Hamann 2004, 99).

As Hamann underlines, a detail-by-detail analysis on codices is important, but a literally more broadened view on these screenfolds can also be of significant value. Based upon this idea, this thesis will start of by focusing on identifying particular scenes and interpreting them in a detail-by-detail manner. Indeed, whilst a broadened view may be necessary for a wholesome understanding of the codices concerned, the present thesis will also provide due attention to a detailed approach in order to understand and interpret the meaning of particular auditive scenes; for example to set out the musical actions of certain human figures in the codices. Subsequently, however, the thesis will simultaneously incorporates a broadened view as recommended by Hamann (2004) by linking these detailed descriptions of different scenes to the broader functions codices had. As such, this thesis will seek to provide a comprehensive and all-encompassing analysis of the codices concerned, both on a zoomed-in, detailed level, and on a broader contextual level.

### 3. Mixtec codices and their socio-cultural environment

Given the fact that Mixtec codices were performed, the question arises in what context these oral performances took place. In other words, what was the socio-cultural and political environment of oral performances of codices? To understand this it is important to discuss 1. the Mixtec village-state culture, and 2. the social, economic, and political implications of such a village-state culture.

Postclassic Mixtec culture was characterized by a 'village-state culture' (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 503-504). This village-state culture consisted of peer polities; autonomous (i.e. self-governing) socio-political units coexisting in geographical and cultural unity. This resulted in "*a network of independent but interacting communities, each of which was internally structured around the noble house [...]*" (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 505). These village-states were governed by one supralocal, genealogical family. In other words, members (i.e. couples) of this genealogical family internally governed these autonomous, yet interacting communities, from their noble houses (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 505-506). As such, historiography, as well as ritual performance was pointed toward the central position of the ruling couple. Political discourse, or 'patrimonial rhetoric', concentrated on "*the narrative of the noble house in relation to the community, its sacred origin, its connection to the land, its pious compliance with ritual obligations, its heroic exploits and tribute rights*" (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 505). Codices should therefore not be considered an exact and complete reproduction of historical and social realities (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 506). The contents of codices are ideologically idealized memories and focus on the aristocracy, without paying specific attention to the 'common people'.

Important in this respect is to consider that Mixtec village-state culture existed in a non-monetary and non-accumulating economy (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 511). This entails a reciprocal system in which thoughtful diplomacy and investment in social relationships were of considerable importance. In addition, the geographical situation in which Mixtec village-

states existed, as well as the lack of modes of transport (i.e. no wheels or carrying animals) made it impossible for settlements to create a permanent hegemony (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 505 & 511). This reinforced the reciprocal system with nearby communities, which was often of a ritualized character. Indeed, the codices suggest that in Mixtec village-states influence was exerted by entering into alliances rather than by military conquest (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 511). In contemporary Mixtec communities this system of reciprocity (*dzaha*) is still present. Whenever needed, members of the community help each other, knowing that they will receive help themselves as well when they need it (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 512). This social relationship is often established and enhanced in a religious sphere, thus taking the form of ritual kinship (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 512-513).

Hence, kinship in Postclassic Mixtec village-states was important for internal power structure and was crucial for the regional interaction between different polities (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 515). As has been examined in the previous section, codices were an active agent in this socio-cultural environment. In public performances they played an important role in the process of local and interregional communication and network forming (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 512). Rituals in which the codices were recited created a corporate identity amongst the inhabitants of a community, as well as an intra-regional identity amongst different village-states belonging to same genealogical family. As Jansen & Pérez Jiménez phrase it: *“On an ideological level they [i.e. codices] document the kinship-based worldview of the village-state culture: this was a landscape of autonomous units, all governed by their own dynasty, but at the same time all ideally connected through bonds of brother and sisterhood”* (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 515).

On a macro-level, these codices therefore provide important insights into the political and ideological dynamics of pre-colonial Mixtec society. The effect of musical behaviour on this macro-level is apparent because of its role in ritual



discourse such as oral performances. Moreover, as outlined above, the micro-level information contained in codices is interrelated with the macro-level context in which codices were situated. On the basis of a bi-directional relationship, micro-level analyses of auditive scenes in Mixtec codices can therefore provide important tools for understanding the role musical behaviour played *vis-à-vis* macro-level socio-cultural and political dynamics. Considering the above, it can be assumed that in communal ritual contexts musical behaviour and socio-cultural behaviour were very much interrelated. As such, research on auditive pictographs provides insights into the role of musical behaviour in political dynamics and ideological dynamics of pre-colonial Mixtec society and *vice versa*. Chapter V of this thesis analyses this matter in a more in-depth way.

## CHAPTER IV

### Auditive scenes in Mixtec codices

*“Visual art and writing don't exist on an aesthetic hierarchy that positions one above the other, because each is capable of things the other can't do at all.”*

~ William S. Burroughs (in Los Angeles Times, 1996) ~

#### 1. Classification of auditive scenes

The following chapter covers the main corpus of this thesis: the classification and interpretations of auditive scenes in the Mixtec Group. As discussed earlier in this thesis the Mixtec Group consists of the *Codex Bodley*, *Codex Colombino-Becker I*, *Codex Selden*, *Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus 1* and *Codex Zouche-Nuttall*. However, rather than discussing the auditive scenes in this chapter one codex after the other, a different classification will be used. As Gómez Gómez states in his article on music iconography in Mixtec pre-Hispanic codices, a systematic classification of musical behaviour in pre-Hispanic codices is fundamental for the study of music iconography in Mesoamerica (2006, 95). Gómez Gómez therefore proposes to subdivide visual cultures of musical behaviour in four general categorizations: 1. musical instruments, 2. song, 3. dance, and 4. other musical elements (2006, 96). This last category of ‘other musical elements’ includes for example depictions of gods related to music or symbols that seem to imply a sonorous phenomenon. When combining categorization 1, 2 and 3, four more categorizations can be divided: 5. musical instrument and song, 6. musical instrument and dance, 7. musical instruments with song and dance, and 8. song and dance (Gómez Gómez 2006, 97).

The classification system of Gómez Gómez is a valuable contribution for the ones seeking to broaden their knowledge of musical behaviour in Mesoamerican codices. It serves as a tool to divide separate images of musical behaviour into categories and therefore serves as a general foundation for this thesis. However, this thesis not only seeks to extract and

categorize separate images, it also intends to connect these images to the broader context in which they are depicted. The classification used in this thesis will therefore extend the four general categorizations of Gómez Gómez (i.e. 1. musical instruments, 2. song, 3. dance, and 4. other musical elements) with categorizations that are more specified on the context in which musical behaviours in codices show up. The general categories used in this thesis are: 1. musical instruments, 2. sound volutes, 3. dance, and 4. toponyms.

## **2. Musical instruments**

Musical instruments are frequently depicted in the Mixtec codices. The sounding of shell horns is depicted particularly often. Other depictions of musical instruments being played include slit-drums, three-legged drums, rattles, flutes, rasps and turtle shells. In addition, the Mixtec codices include depictions of musical instruments that are not being played. These include adornments such as conch necklaces used as tinklers and golden bells attached to clothing. Furthermore, musical instruments are sometimes depicted as offerings. Such offerings vary from golden bells to rattle sticks. The following paragraphs elaborate on the abovementioned categories. At the beginning of each scene the literature on which the interpretations are based on is mentioned.

### **2.1 Musical instruments being played**

The Mixtec codices include numerous images in which musical instruments are being played. In this thesis these auditive scenes are divided in five subcategories: inaugurations, religious duties, wedding ceremonies, funerary contexts, and visionary rituals.

#### *2.1.1 Inaugurations*

Throughout the Mixtec codices there are numerous depictions of inaugurations. Multiple of such inauguration scenes include the playing of musical instruments. Considering the context of these rituals, it is likely that the playing of the musical instruments, together with other offerings, venerates the new ruler. The following examples include scenes from the

*Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuu* (Codex Bodley), *Codex Tonindeye* (Codex Zouche-Nuttall) and the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* (Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus 1).

The first example comes from the the *Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuu*, pages 31 and 32 (see fig. 7; Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2005, 86-87), which immediately is one of the most emblematic auditive scenes in the Mixtec Group. The scene depicts the inauguration ritual of Lord 4 Wind, who gave order to kill Lord 8 Deer, the murderer of a large part of his family<sup>4</sup>. During the enthronement, Lord 4 Wind is accompanied by a long procession consisting of important allies, priests, dancers and musicians. Ahead of the procession (marked by the footprints) goes a priest who announces the arrival of Lord 4 Wind by consecrating the air with incense and blowing a shell horn, in Mixtec language known as *yee* (I). In front of the procession walk five important Toltec ambassadors. The first carries a rattle (or *ndoco*; II), the second carries a flute (or *cutu*) and has a parrot in his hands (III), the third carries a tobacco bag and is whistling (IV), the fourth carries a drum (or *ñuu ñee*; V) and the fifth a banner (VI). They are followed by close allies of Lord 4 Wind and several kinds of priest. The procession continues with a ritual performance that recalls the story of origin of the Mixtec royal families. One of the participants can be identified as a dancer with gourd rattles (VIII). The procession closes with several men that are performing a theatrical representation of the way Lord 8 Deer was killed by assassins loyal to Lord 4 Wind (IX).

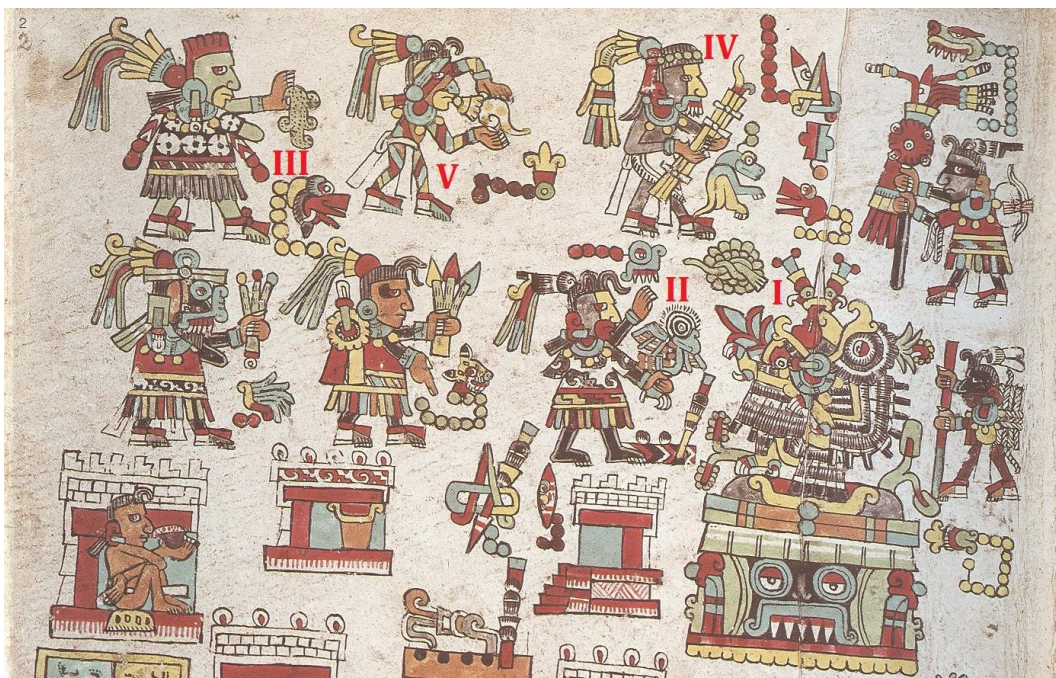
Although less elaborated, a notably similar procession is depicted on page 9 and 10 of the same codex (see fig. 8; Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2005, 62-63). Interestingly, this scene depicts how Lord 8 Deer is seated as a ruler in *Yucu Dzaa* (Tututepec), who, as mentioned above, was later killed under orders from Lord 4 Wind. Similar to the inauguration ritual of Lord 4 Wind, this scene depicts Lord 8 Deer receiving a group of Toltecs. The first Toltec in this

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<sup>4</sup> For more information about Lord 4 Wind, and the life and death of Lord 8 Deer see amongst others Jansen (2003, 13-27), Jansen & Pérez Jiménez (2007a, 282-289), Jansen & Pérez Jiménez (2011, 373-406) and Pohl (2002).

scene carries a bone flute (or *cutu yeque*; I), which is also similar to the abovementioned scene in which the second Toltec ambassador carries a flute. Lord 8 Deer welcomes the Toltecs with a ceremonial salute (II).

The *Codex Tonindeye* (Codex Zouche-Nuttall) also depicts several inauguration rituals in which musical behaviour plays a role (Anders *et al.* 1992b, 85-88). Page 2 depicts the prospective acclamation of Lord 8 Wind (I) as a ruler of *Chiyo Yuhu* (Suchixtlan) and other places in the surrounding regions (see fig. 9). Various persons ceremonially salute Lord 8 Wind by making offerings and celebrate the establishment of a new reign. These offerings include quails (II), tobacco (III) and torch fires (IV). Of special interest for this thesis is the depiction of a person blowing a shell horn (V). A similar scene is depicted on page 5 (Anders *et al.* 1992b, 95-98).



**Figure 9.** Inauguration ritual of Lord 8 Wind in Suchixtlan (Codex Zouche-Nuttall, 2)

Another example can be seen on page 17 of the *Codex Tonideye* (Anders *et al.* 1992b, 120-122). This scene depicts the pilgrimage of Lady 3 Flint 'Jade Quechquemitl', who soon after is inaugurated as a new queen (see fig. 10). During this pilgrimage Lady 3 Flint receives teachings from amongst others her father Lord 5 Flower and makes several offerings (I). After the pilgrimage a great ceremony takes place during which Lady 3 Flint is seated on her

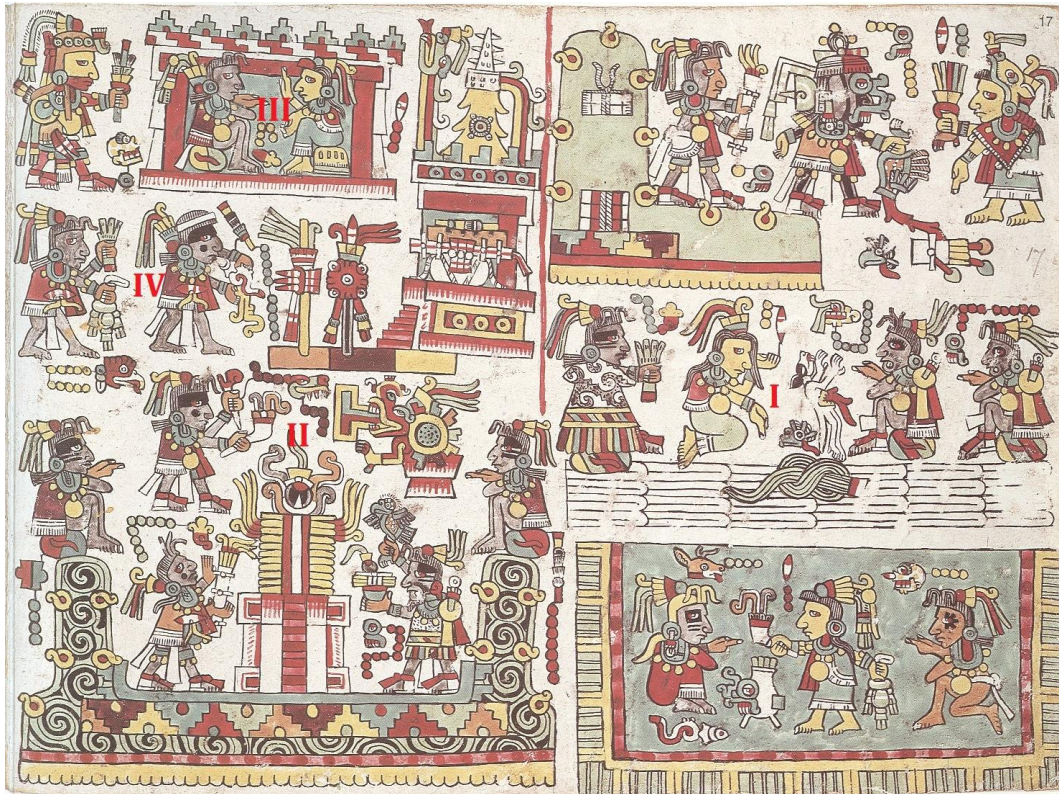


Figure 7. Procession in honour of the inauguration of Lord 4 Wind (Codex Bodley, 31-32)



Figure 8. Small procession in honour of Lord 8 Deer (Codex Bodley, 9-10)

throne. The ceremony is centered on a large fire where several priests make offerings (II). In front of the *The Temple of the Feathered Serpent*, next to where Lady 3 Flint is seated in a palace together with her father Lord 5 Flower (III), priest 10 Vulture offers copal and palm leaves and priest 10 Reed blows a shell horn (IV).



**Figure 10.** *Inauguration ritual of Lady 3 Flint 'Jade Quechquemitl'* (Codex Zouche-Nuttall, 17)

The *Codex Yuta Tnoho* (*Codex Vindobonensis*) also includes several inauguration scenes (Anders *et al.* 1992a, 150-179). Pages 22 to 5 (obverse) depict the founding and inauguration of ceremonial centres in the Mixtec area (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 357-368). Pages 22 and 21 for example, are dedicated to the founding and inauguration of lordships and dynasties in the North. In many of these rituals the playing of the shell horn plays an important role. In all cases the shell horn occurs in the context of ceremonial salutations towards the Lords and Ladies of these ceremonial centres. On page 20 a shell horn player is shown facing a person who is burning incense (see fig. 11a). From the shell horn emerge four sound volutes. A similar example is found on page 18, where a priest dressed as Xolotl plays the shell horn from which four sound volutes emerge (see fig. 11b). Moreover the

Xolotl Lord has head- and ear ornaments which represent golden bells. Other examples occur on pages 16, 13 and page 11.



**Figure 11.** Shell horn salutations as part of inaugurations (Codex Vindobonensis, 20 & 18)

### 2.1.2 Religious duties

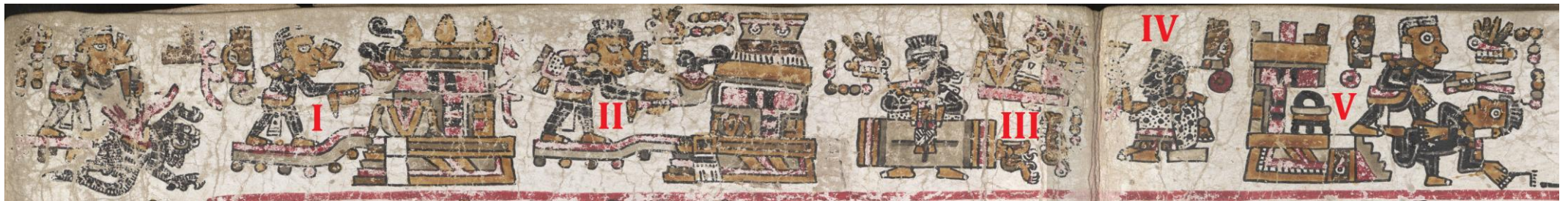
Musical instruments also appear in the context of religious duties. Pages 7 and 8 (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2005, 60-61) of the *Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuú* (Codex Bodley) tell the story of a young Lord 5 Alligator who is taken by three priests, after permission of his parents, to carry out priestly duties (I). He undertakes several proceedings in order to become a priest. First, he offers a tunic as a tribute to a Rain Spirit (II). After that, he offers another tunic at the ancestral place of the ruling dynasty of *Ñuu Tnoo* (Santiago Tilantongo) (III). On the next part of his journey Lord 5 Alligator is ceremonially welcomed by two priests: one offers him fire and the other blows the conch shell (IV). Shortly after this, Lord 5 Alligator burns incense in the ceremonial centre of *Ñuu Tnoo* and becomes a priest (V).

The other example is depicted on page 13 and 14 (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2005, 66-67). This scene tells the story of half-brothers Lord 1 Lizard and Lord 8 Grass. Like Lord 5 Alligator in the previous example, both are engaged in religious duties. Lord 1 Lizard makes offerings in the Temple of Blood and Cacao (I) and Lord 8 Grass makes offerings in the Temple of Heaven (II). After that, they both play music in honour of Lord 4 Alligator, the deified founder of the lineage of *Ñuu Tnoo*. Lord 8 Grass plays the slit drum (III) and Lord 1 Lizard plays a rattle (IV). In the continuation of the story the two end up having a conflict where Lord 1 Lizard chases Lord 8 Grass from the *Temple of the Brazier* and beats him with sticks (V).





**Figure 12.** Religious duties of Lord 5 Alligator (Codex Bodley, 7-8)



**Figure 13.** Religious duties of half-brothers Lord 1 Lizard and Lord 8 Grass (Codex Bodley, 13-14)

### 2.1.3 Wedding scenes

Since the Mixtec codices amongst other things tell about genealogical histories, weddings are frequently depicted. In most instances a marriage is represented by a couple seating on a mat and pointing their fingers towards each other (see fig. 14). Sometimes however, wedding scenes are more elaborate and may include depictions of musical behaviour. Two scenes are particularly elaborate in this respect.



**Figure 14.** Example of wedding scene (Codex Selden, 2)

The first example is a very emblematic scene on pages 19a and 19b of the *Codex Tonideye* or *Codex Zouche-Nuttall* (Anders *et al.* 1992b, 125-129). It shows the marriage of Lady 3 Flint 'Jade Quechquemitl' and Lord 12 Wind 'Smoking Eye' (see fig. 15). The scene starts in 'the Heavens' where Lord 12 Wind receives a temple and a fire drill (signs of foundation) from Lord 4 Alligator and Lord 11 Alligator (I). After this act, Lord 12 Wind descends from the Heavens, joined by one individual on his left and his right side<sup>5</sup>. Lord 12 Wind himself carries a rattle stick (II). Upon a Sacred Cord Lord 12 Wind travels to the earth. He still carries the rattle stick in his hands, together with a temple on his back (III). He is followed by three priests who are carrying several attributes including a shell horn (IV). They are ceremonially welcomed by four Lords (V). Meanwhile Lady 3 Flint is carried on the back of Lord 6 Water, and is ceremonially welcomed by Lord 1 Flower offering a tunic and Lord 9 Reed offering a branch and copal (VI). Ahead of them

<sup>5</sup> See *Codex Vindobonensis*, page 48 (obverse) for a very similar scene. In this example the main character is not holding a rattle stick, but wears auditive ornaments such as conch tinklers.

advances a wedding procession. One of the individuals in this procession, Lord 9 Flower, is blowing a shell horn (VII). Subsequently, Lord 12 Flower and Lady 3 Flint marry in a cave, where there is water poured over them (VIII). Later they go to bed within the palace (IX). The remainder of the scene depicts amongst other things a procession of gods coming to the marriage festival (X).

The second example is the wedding scene of Lady 6 Monkey and Lord 11 Wind in the *Codex Añute* (Codex Selden), pages 6 and 7 (see fig. 16; Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2007b, 200-204). In the bottom left corner of this scene Lady 6 Monkey is consulting a ‘sacred deity’ or *Ñuhu* (I). In the context of narratological codices like the *Codex Añute*, depictions of such ‘deities’ can generally be interpreted as rulers who had passed away. Sound volutes come out of the mouth of the *Ñuhu*, which might suggest Lady 6 Monkey is having a ritual conversation with the ancestors (i.e. the *Ñuhu* adviser). After the consultation, Lady 6 Monkey travels to the *Temple of the Skull*. Here, she and her future groom, Lord 11 Wind, are advised on their future marriage (II). Again, sound volutes come out of the mouth of the adviser. Shortly after is depicted a circling dance. The bride and the groom, three elders and two *Ñuhus* are dancing around a drummer who is playing the slit drum (III). The scene ends with the couple taking a ritual bath and marrying (IV).



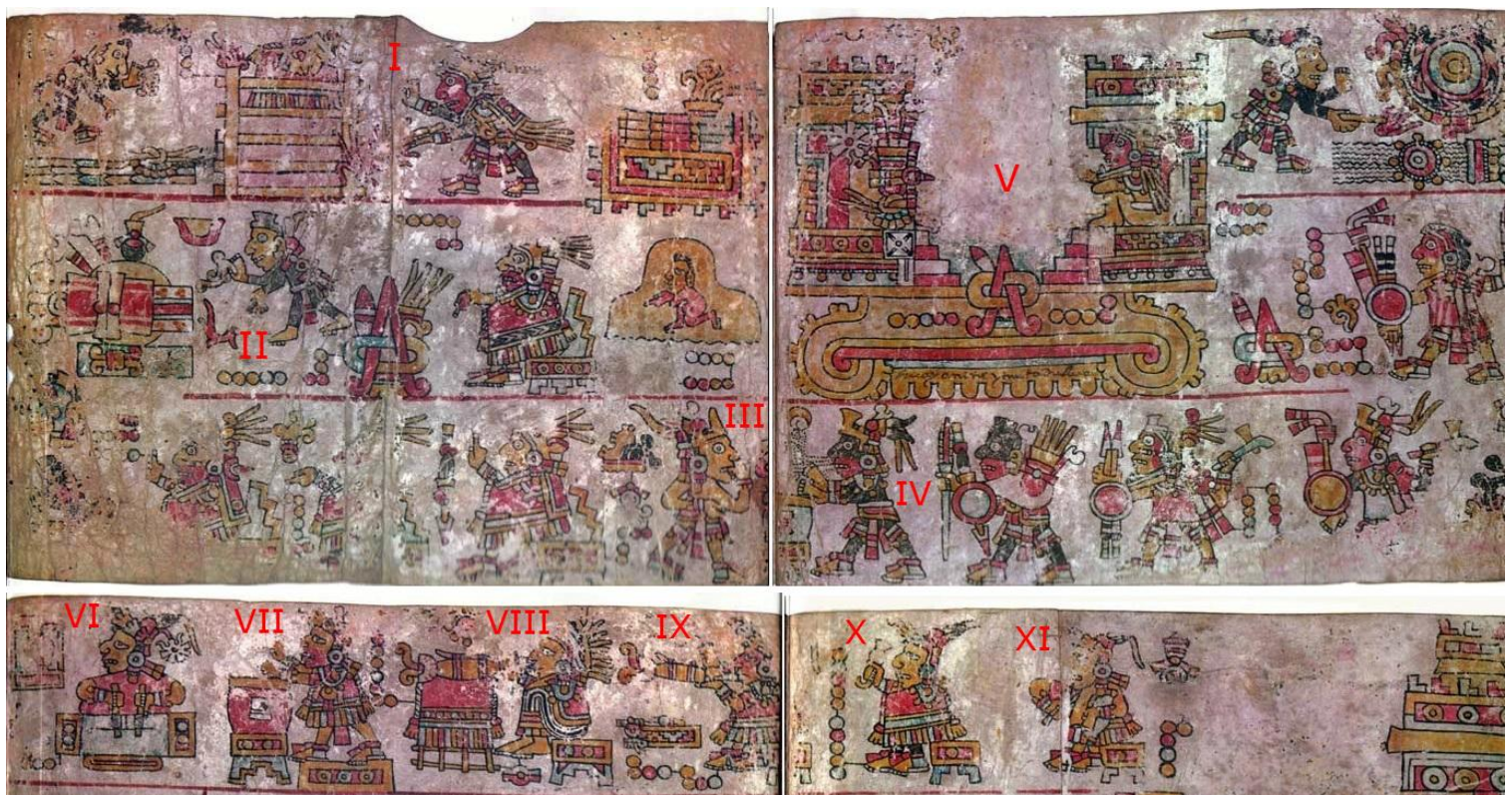
**Figure 16.** Wedding scene of Lady 6 Monkey and Lord 11 Wind (Codex Selden, 6-7)  
Auditive scenes in Mixtec codices | 59



Figure 15. Wedding scene of Lady 3 Flint and Lord 12 Wind (Codex Zouche-Nuttall, 19a-19b)

#### 2.1.4 Funerary contexts

The *Codex Iya Nacuaa* (Codex Colombino-Becker I), pages 6 to 9, shows another emblematic auditive scene (see fig. 17; Troike 1974, 297-302). It depicts several events that comprise funeral ceremonies for Lord 12 Movement, the half-brother of Lord 8 Deer<sup>6</sup>. The scene starts with the burning of Lord 12 Movement's body (I). Next, under command of Lord 8 Deer, a man sets fire to a bundle of very large bones, which probably survived the first cremation of Lord 12 Movement (II). The next scene shows a procession of six men. The first man in the procession holds his hand in his mouth, which might indicate that he is whistling. Facing him is a man who plays a three-legged drum and at the same time speaks/sings (III). Next are shown four other men of which the first carries a bundle with feathers and bones (IV). After the procession two buildings are depicted, in which Lord 8 Deer is seated in the right one and a bundle is lying in the left one (V). Because the area in between these buildings is heavily damaged it is not sure how both building and events are connected to each other. The bundle might



**Figure 17.** Funerary ritual of Lord 12 Movement (Codex Colombino-Becker I, 6-9)

<sup>6</sup> For more information on the death of Lord 12 Movement see Codex Zouche-Nuttall, pp. 81-82 and Jansen & Pérez Jiménez (2007a, 243-245)

contain remains of Lord 12 Movement to which Lord 8 Deer is presenting additional offerings. He might also be witnessing the performance of another phase of the funeral ceremonies. Continuing to page 8, a musical ensemble of five men and one woman is depicted. The first man of the ensemble plays a slit drum (VI) and the second a three-legged drum (VII). The third member of the ensemble is a woman playing an instrument that looks like a long horn resting on a frame (VIII). Next in line is a man playing a similar instrument as the woman before him. However, in this case the instrument is not resting on a frame (IX). Since there are no archaeological remains of such large instruments, it is unclear what musical instruments both of these individuals are playing (Saville 1898, 283). The fifth member of the orchestra shakes a rattle (X). The last member holds a turtle shell in the crook of his left arm and a stick to beat on it in his right hand (XI).

#### *2.1.5 Hallucinogenic rituals*

The *Codex Yuta Tnoho* (Codex Vindobonensis), page 24 (obverse), depicts the only visionary ritual in the Mixtec Group in which musical behaviour plays a very important role (see fig. 18). It deals with the ritual of the hallucinogenic mushrooms (Anders *et al.* 1992a, 146-148; Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 170). The scene shows how Lord 9 Wind is seated in front of eight Primordial Lords and Ladies who are holding (i.e. eating) hallucinogenic mushrooms (I). Lord 9 Wind is singing and is holding two objects on top of a skull (II). The objects he is holding are a notched bone (*omichicahuaztli* in Nahuatl) and a scapula, with which he is scraping the notched bone. The skull is used as a resonator and is placed upon a circular object to enhance its resonance. The leader of the Primordial Lords and Ladies, who is seated right in front of Lord 9 Wind, is in trance and shedding precious tears. Together the eight participants have a vision that deals with the foundation of settlements, and the village-states (III).



**Figure 18.** *Hallucinogenic ritual of eight Primordial Lords and Ladies (Codex Vindobonensis, 24)*

## **2.2 Musical instruments not being played**

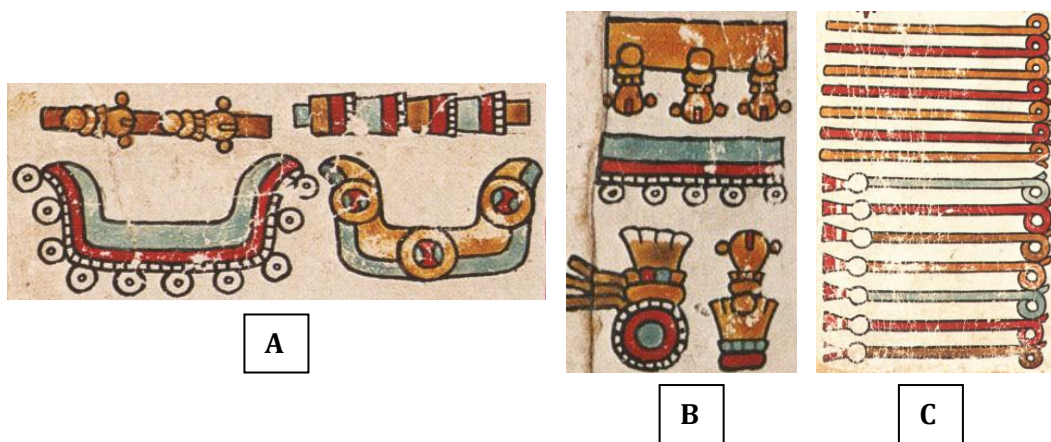
In addition to the above category, there are also numerous depictions of musical instruments that are not actively being played. In this thesis these auditive scenes are divided in two subcategories: offerings and adornments.

### *2.2.1 Offerings*

This subcategory focuses solely on musical instruments being offered, without clear indications that the instruments were also being played in that context. Examples include scenes from the *Codex Tonindeye* (Codex Zouche-Nuttal), the *Codex Añute* (Codex Selden), and the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* (Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus 1). The first example focuses on the reverse of the *Codex Tonindeye*, pages 76-80 (Anders *et al.* 1992b, 229-236). These pages depict Lord 8 Deer's journey to and visit of the Temple of the Sun/Jade. Pages 77-78 depict how Lord 8 Deer, in the company of Lord 12 Movement and Lord 4 Jaguar, fight the guardians of the Temple of the Sun/Jade (see fig. 19). These guardians are *Hueuecoyotl*, the god of music, dance, mischief and song, and *Mictlantecuhtli*, the god of Death (I). *Hueuecoyotl* is depicted with shell tinklers around his neck, and a large conch shell hanging on his waist. They pass through and Lord 8 Deer and Lord 4 Jaguar enter the Temple of the

Sun/Jade, where the god of the Sun is seated. The two warriors lay down their weapons and offer the god of the Sun jade and a golden bell (II). After that, Lord 8 Deer, together with a Toltec ally, consecrate their lordship (III). Subsequently, on page 79, the god of the Sun instructs Lord 8 Deer and Lord 4 Jaguar to go to the *Precious Altar of the Heaven in the East* (IV). There Lord 8 Deer and Lord 4 Jaguar consult with each other (V). Then the god of the Sun offers them a band of jade and golden bells (VI).

The *Codex Yuta Tnoho* (Codex Vindobonensis) also shows several examples of offerings of musical instruments. Page 32 (obverse) shows a staff with golden bells attached to it (see fig. 20a). Page 28 shows the offerings of a bell combined with a flower, and bells combined with a rectangular object (see fig. 20b). Page 26 of the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* shows a harvest ritual, including dance (more information in section 4). There are several ritual objects depicted in the scene, including staffs with objects on top of them which could very well be interpreted as rattles (see fig. 20c).



**Figure 20.** Several types of offerings of musical instruments (Codex Vindobonensis 32, 28 & 26)

The previously examined wedding scene on page 6 and 7 of the *Codex Añute* also includes several offerings of musical instruments. As discussed before Lady 6 Monkey and her future groom, Lord 11 Wind, are advised on their marriage. Several offerings are made to the adviser, Lady 9 Grass, including two necklaces with golden bells and a sliced shell, possible a horn (see fig. 16).





Figure 19. *The journey of Lord 8 Deer* (Codex Zouche-Nuttall 78-79; [www.famsi.org](http://www.famsi.org), accessed 5 April)  
Auditive scenes in Mixtec codices | 65

### 2.2.2 Adornments

Adornments of musical instruments are explicitly depicted various times in the *Codex Tonindeye* (Codex Zouche-Nuttall) and the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* (Codex Vindobonensis). Examples from the *Codex Tonindeye* include:

1. Page 27: a woman wearing a blouse (*huipil*) with conch tinklers attached to it.
2. Page 38: several individuals that are part of a performance wearing conch tinklers around their necks and larger spiral shells on their breasts.
3. Page 65: Lord 9 Wind 'Quetzalcoatl' wearing conch tinklers around his neck.

This last mentioned Lord 9 Wind 'Quetzalcoatl' also appears in the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* wearing the same auditive ornaments (see for example fig. 18). Other examples of individuals with auditive ornaments in this codex include depictions of Xolotl (for example pages 18, 47 & 49), and a man with golden bells on page 48.

## 3. Sound volutes

In Mixtec codices scrolls or volutes are frequently depicted. They can represent various things including vapour, smoke and different types of sound. Types of sound volutes include natural, instrumental and vocal sounds. The following paragraphs elaborate on auditive scenes depicting these different types of sound volutes by categorizing them in 1. Ceremonial speech and/or song, 2. Volute in anthropomorphic context, and 3. Volute as signifiers. At the beginning of each scene the literature on which the interpretations are based on is mentioned.

### 3.1 Ceremonial speech and/or song

Sound volutes in Mixtec codices represent amongst other things speech and/or song. Sometimes it is not clear whether the sound volute signifies speech or song, but in other instance it can be derived from the context. The same goes for the question what kind of speech is depicted. In many

instances the context suggests a ceremonial type of discourse, hence the category's name *ceremonial speech and/or song*. Scenes of this type are divided into four subcategories: 3.1.1 foundation and venerations, 3.1.2 conversations, and 3.1.3 funerary contexts.

### 3.1.1 Foundations and venerations

In the Mixtec codices there are numerous depictions of speech/song in the context of foundations and venerations. These for example include scenes where offerings are venerated through vocal sounds, or foundation rituals in which vocal sounds have a prominent role.

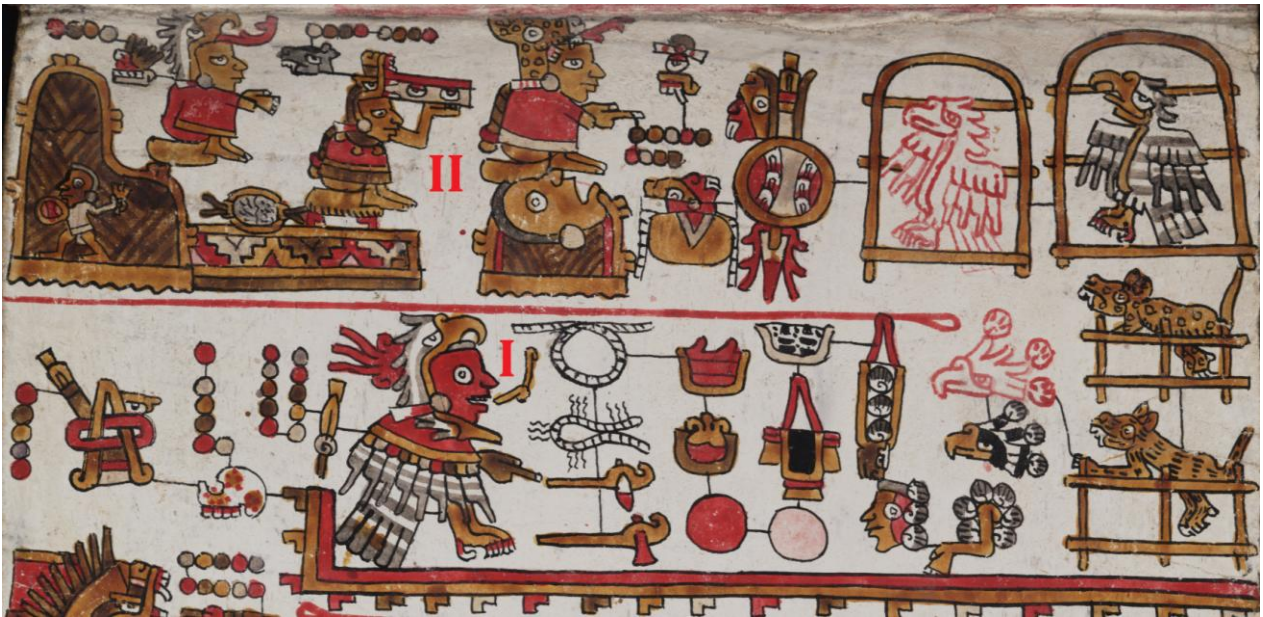
The *Codex Añute* (Codex Selden) includes several of such scenes. On page 1 of this codex is depicted part of the foundation of the town of *Añute*, or Magdalena Jaltepec (see fig. 21; Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2007b, 165-168). In the upper band of this scene two human figures make offerings to the ruling couple of the mythical place of origin, the town of *Yuta Tnoho*, or Santiago Apoala (I). The woman of this ruling couple, Lady 9 Lizard, communicates with the figures that are making the offerings (II). This is represented by the sound volutes coming from her mouth. The sound volutes are directed towards the offerings, which symbolize a request for nourishment and prosperity (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2007b, 168). Other scenes of foundation rituals in which speech/song is depicted include page 38 & 39 of the *Codex Tonindeye* (obverse).



**Figure 21.** *Offering ceremony for the foundation of the town of Añute* (Codex Selden, 1)

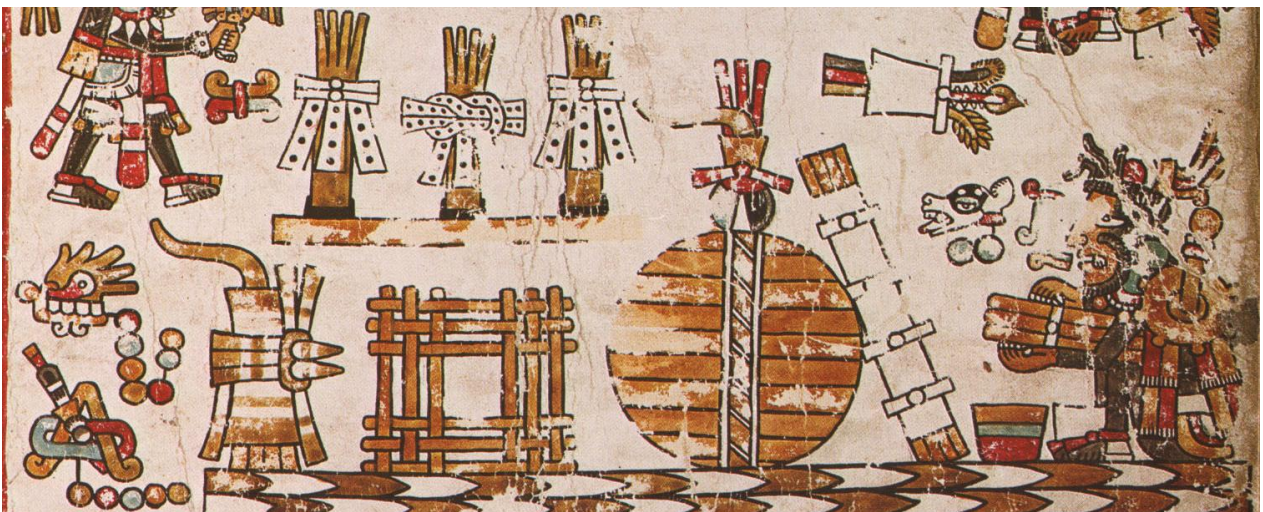
Pages 3-5 of the *Codex Añute* continues on the same subject. It shows the actions of Lord 10 Reed that preceded the foundation of the first dynasty of

*Añute*, when Lord 10 Reed marries Lady 2 Lizard (see fig. 22; Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2007b, 172-180). Depicted on page 3 is Lord 10 Reed sitting in a temple making gestures and speaking or singing to a series of offerings he is about to make (I). Lord 10 Reed takes these offerings on a journey, visiting *Hill of the Human Head*, *Place of the Grey Disk* and *Hill of the Dancing Man* (II) and many other places. Eventually he gets seated and marries Lady 2 Lizard.



**Figure 22.** Lord 10 Reed making gestures and speaking/singing to a series of offerings (Codex Selden, 3)

A similar scene is depicted on page 30 of the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* (Codex Vindobonensis). This page shows the ear perforations of Lord 9 Wind and Lord 2 Dog, followed by a naming ceremony of important Lords and Ladies (see fig. 22; Anders *et al.* 1992a, 132-133). Prior to the ear perforations, Lord 2 Dog makes several offerings during which he speaks or sings.



**Figure 23.** Lord 2 Dog making offerings as part of an ear perforation ritual (Codex Vindobonensis, 30)

A last example shows ceremonial speech (*paragón*) as part of a ritual reference to the principles of the cosmos (see fig. 24). Such ceremonies nowadays still take place among indigenous Mixtec communities in Mexico (Anders *et al.* 1992a, 81). The ceremony often starts by telling how the world was created, referring amongst other things to the origin of nature, rocks, animals and human being. The first human figure in the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* (Codex Vindobononensis), page 52, is depicted with a volute in front of his mouth, which in this context probably signifies such *paragón*.



**Figure 24.** Ceremonial speech or *paragón* (Codex Vindobonensis, 52)

### 3.1.2 Conversations

There are a great amount of conversational scenes in Mixtec codices. In many instances these are depicted by human figures making certain hand gestures towards each other. Sometimes however, sound volutes are added, probably to emphasize the interaction of the persons concerned. Again, it is not clear what kind of conversation is depicted. The title of this subcategory therefore refers to conversations both through speech and song.

Page 28 (reverse) in the *Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuú* (Codex Bodley) depicts an example of such conversation (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2005, 82-83). Mentioned firstly is the date of death of Lord 4 Wind in 1164 A.D. Subsequently it shows the remembrance of Lord 4 wind in the year 1171 A.D., fifty-two years since he had come to power. Several priests are consulting with each other and singing songs together (see fig. 25). Possibly these songs refer to the glorious past; to the times when Lord 4 Wind was

still in reign (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2005, 82). After the consultation three men go out to arrange the future of the realm.



**Figure 25.** *Singing priests remembering the life of Lord 4 Wind (Codex Bodley, 28)*

Page 5 (obverse) shows another conversation in the *Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuu* (see fig. 26; Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2005, 58-59). The persons involved are Lord 10 Rabbit and Lord 2 Rain. Considering the context, this scene probably depicts how the elder Lord 10 Rabbit gives counsel and instructions to the 21-year old Lord 2 Rain (I). Shortly after the conversation, Lord 2 Rain - who is aimed to become the new ruler of *Ñuu Tnoo* (Santiago Tilantongo) - is engaged in a hallucinogenic ritual in which he dies (II).



**Figure 26.** *Lord 2 Rain receiving instructions for a hallucinogenic ritual in which he dies (Codex Bodley, 5)*

Page 25 of the *Codex Tonindeye* (Codex Zouche-Nuttall) shows a similar conversation in which four seated priests are depicted (see fig. 27; Anders *et al.* 1992b, 144-146). First in line is Lord 5 Alligator, who was an important

priest of *Ñuu Thoo* (Santiago Tilantongo)<sup>7</sup>. He is holding tobacco in his hands. Tree priest are facing him: the first is pointing his hand towards Lord 5 Alligator and speaks or sings important words, the second holds tobacco, and the third is also pointing his hand towards Lord 5 Alligator. After this Lord 5 Alligator performs an auto-sacrificial ceremony and holds a council with a priest preparing for the ceremonies of the new pulque. Just like the previous scene, this scene might depict how three elder priests give counsel and instructions to Lord 5 Alligator regarding his forthcoming ritual activities.



**Figure 27.** Lord 5 Alligator receiving instructions (Codex Zouche-Nuttall, 25)

Page 8 of this same codex depicts a naming ceremony (see fig. 28; Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2007b, 208-210). First, the scene how Lady 6 Monkey is conducting several battles. After this she is cleansed by a priest and is given a second nickname: *Virtue or Power of War/Famous for her Accomplishments in War* (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2007b, 210).



**Figure 28.** Naming ceremony of Lady 6 Monkey (Codex Selden, 8)

<sup>7</sup> Pages 7 and 8 of the Codex Bodley also deal with the life of Lord 5 Alligator. It describes how Lord 5 Alligator became and functioned as a priest. See page 55-56 of this thesis.

Other examples of communication depicted in the Mixtec codices include page 7 (obverse) and page 33 (reverse) of the *Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuu*, page 7 (obverse) and page 45 (reverse) of the *Codex Tonindeye*, and page 38 and 41 (obverse) of the *Codex Yuta Tnoho*.

### 3.1.3 Funerary contexts

In the *Codex Tonindeye* (Codex Zouche-Nuttall) there are two very similar scenes depicting funerary rituals and including symbolized vocal sounds. The depicted scenes are commonly known as the ‘war against the Stone Men’<sup>8</sup>. The scene on pages 3 and 4 (see fig. 29) shows how the First Mixtec Lords defend themselves from the Stone Men (I) and eventually defeat them (Anders *et al.* 1992b, 90-95; Jansen 1990, 103-104). After these battles two mortuary bundles, those of Lord 4 Movement and Lord 7 Flower, are set on fire (II). Considering the context, Lord 4 Movement and Lord 7 Flower were probably killed during the war against the Stone Men. During the ritual burning of these mortuary bundles two priests perform a ceremony using palm leaves and singing songs. A similar scene on page 20 and 21 depicts another war against the Stone Men (Anders *et al.* 1992b, 130-134), in which one Stone Men succeeds in killing Lord 4 House. The mummified bodies of Lord 4 Wind and his brother Lord 3 Monkey, who was also killed during the war, are placed in a scaffold and put to fire. The priest Lord 10 Rain ‘Jaguar’ sings them a song (see fig. 30).

## 3.2 Sound volutes in anthropomorphic context

Some sound volutes in the Mixtec Group show up in anthropomorphic contexts. This means that human sound is attributed to non-human beings, such as animals and deities. Scenes of this type particularly show up in the *Codex Tonindeye* (Codex Zouche-Nuttall) and the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* (Codex Vindobonensis).

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<sup>8</sup> The ‘Stone Men’ probably refer to people who were people associated with earlier socio-political organizations and cultural systems in Mesoamerica. While the dynastical records in the codices date from Post-Classical periods (ca. AD 900-1521), the war of the Stone Men most likely refers to people from Classical periods (ca. AD 200 – 900) trying to restore the order of former (Classical) times (Jansen & Jiménez Pérez 2007, 133-141).



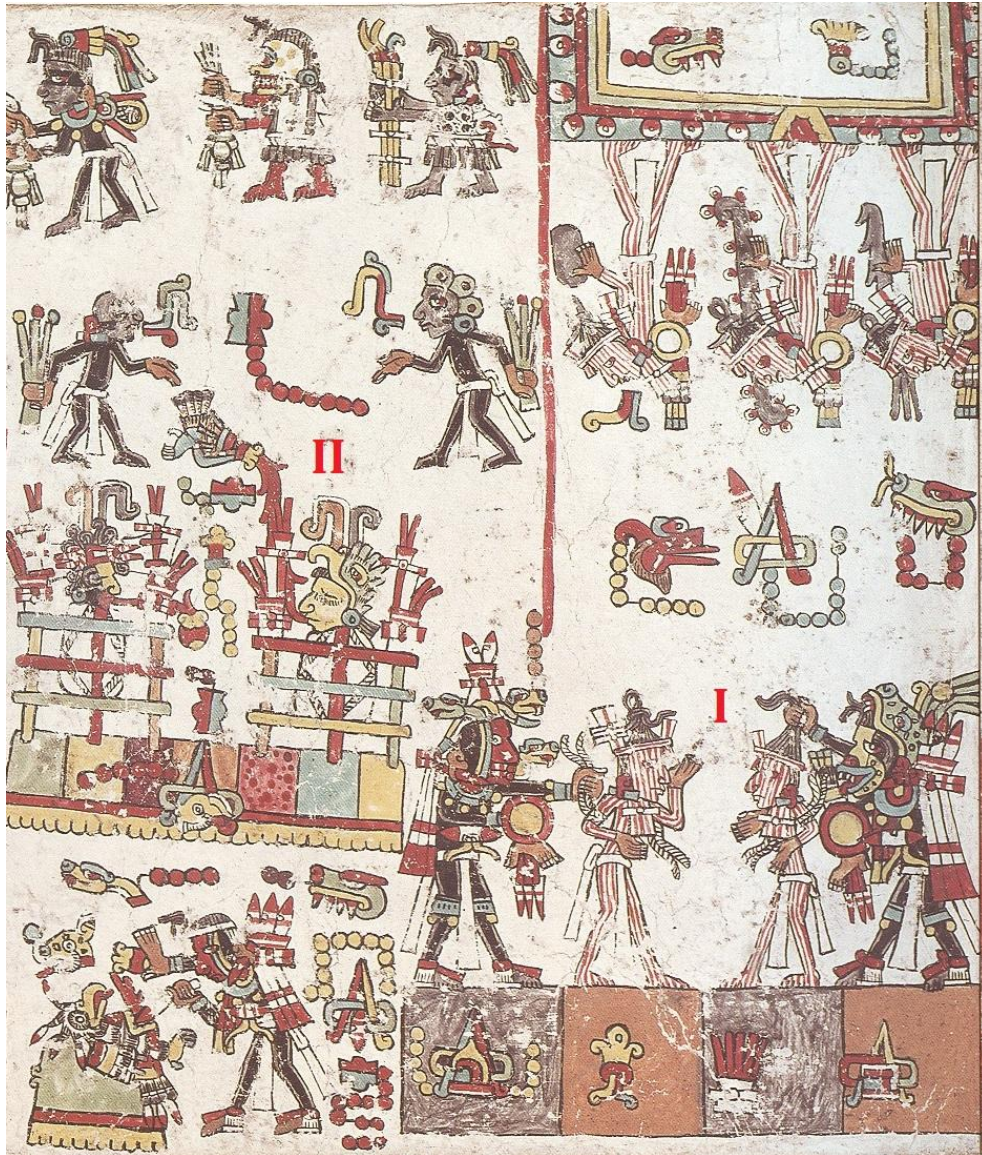


Figure 29. War against the Stone Men, including funerary ritual (Codex Zouche-Nuttall, 4)

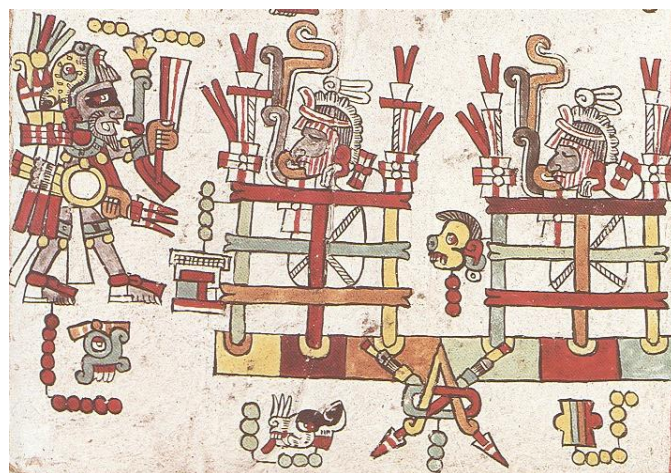
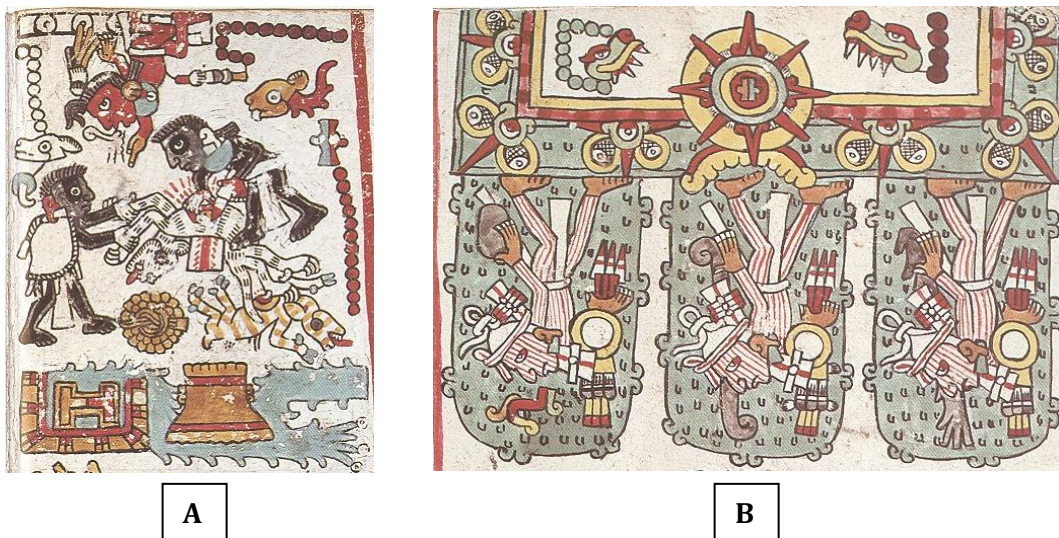


Figure 30. Funerary ritual after war against the Stone Men (Codex Zouche-Nuttall, 20)

Page 44 (reverse) of the *Codex Tonindeye* for example depicts a ritual in which Lord 8 Deer and Lord 12 Movement sacrifice a dog and a deer (see fig. 31a). Above them is depicted Lord 13 Reed, who is speaking from ‘the Heavens’. In other words Lord 13 Reed is represented as an ancestor and is, considering the context, probably ‘assisting’ the ritual of Lord 8 Deer and Lord 12 Movement. The sound volute coming from his mouth is represented in such a way that it could be read as ‘a blowing wind’. Thus, in this scene the wind and its sounds seem to be metaphorically represented by Lord 13 Reed in ‘the Heavens’.

The previously discussed scenes depicting ‘the wars against the Stone Men’ (*Codex Tonindeye*, 3-4 & 20-21) include similar metaphorical representations. In these scenes striped men are depicted coming down for ‘the Heavens’. They carry arms and throw black balls, cast darkness, and shoot mudslides (see fig. 31b). One of them is making noise; possible he is shouting. One might say the figures are metaphorically linked to heavy weather such as thunder and rain, which in turn might be a representation of war itself as well.



**Figure 31.** Sound volutes in anthropomorphic contexts (*Codex Zouche-Nuttall*, 44 & 21)

Another noteworthy scene is depicted on page 23 (obverse) of the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* (Anders *et al.* 1992a, 148-149). It shows the First Sunrise, the beginning of human society (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 361). The scene is situated near a spring water source at the foot of a mountain, there where the

sun comes up. Depicted are a *Stone Corral* and an *Altar of Songs*. Several figures are seated at this place having conversations with each other. The next scene takes place on the *Altar of Songs*. Depicted is the First Sun, rising from the *Altar of Songs* in a stream of light; a path of blood. In the middle of the sun are depicted sound volutes.

Other examples of sound volutes in anthropomorphic context include page 80 (reverse) of the *Codex Tonindeye* (Codex Zouche-Nuttall). Depicted on this page is a singing fish (Anders *et al.* 1992b, 236). Page 5 (obverse) of the same codex depicts the god of rain, *Tlaloc*, producing vocal sounds.

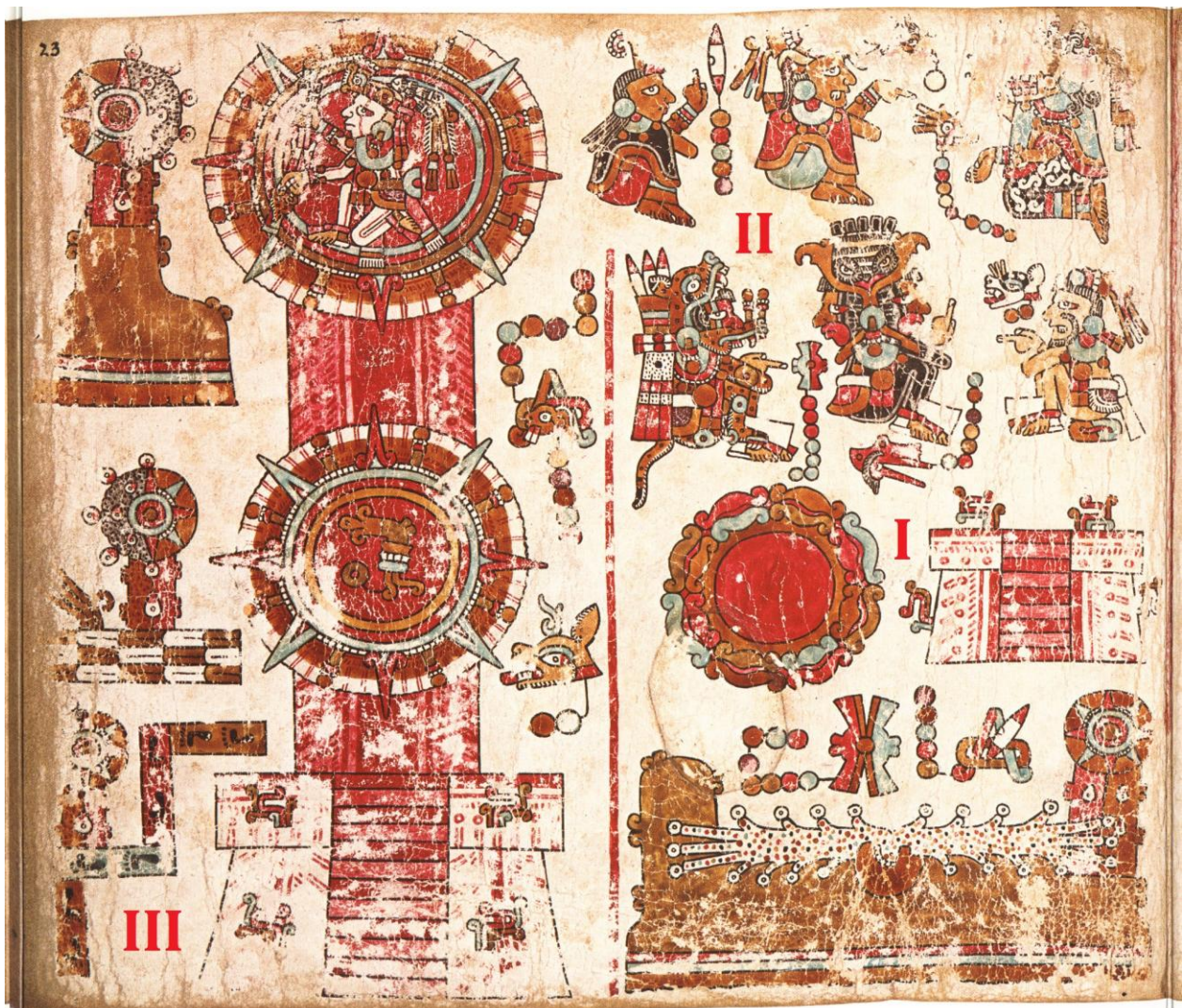


Figure 32. Depiction of the First Sunrise (Codex Vindobonensis, 32)

### 3.3 Volutes as signifiers

In the above examples sound volutes are depicted in relations to human or non-human depictions. In some cases however, sound volutes are part of so-called *difrasismos*. A difrasismo is the pairing of two terms employed as a single metaphorical unit (Hull 2003, 137). To give an example, the Nahuatl term *in xochitl, in cuicatl* is literally translated as ‘flower, song’, but joined together these terms mean ‘poetry, art or symbolism’ (León-Portilla 1992, 54).

Such *difrasismos* are depicted particularly frequent in the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* (Codex Vindobonensis). Representations of such *difrasismos* suggest that they are written forms of a ceremonial address (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 363-364). Pages 13, 20 & 22 for example show a sign of a mouth spitting out a dotted volute and down balls, followed by signs representing a split stick and a banner. In the Mixtec language the spitted material, or ashes, can be read as *yaa hui*, ‘sweet and soft song’ (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 366). The split stick and the banner can be read as *huayu*, or ‘nice, beautiful’. In combination, these signs thus seem to express ‘beautiful and elegant song/speech’ (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 367)<sup>9</sup>.



Other examples of volutes as signifiers are the many depictions of combined sound volutes in the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* (see fig. 33). These signs can generally be read as ‘speaking to the four directions’ and are often held in the hands of Lords or Ladies who are in charge of a ritual (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 361). They also appear as part of ritual objects.

**Figure 33.** Lord holding combined sound volutes (Codex Vindobonensis, 20)

<sup>9</sup> The dotted volute sign can also be noted on page 7 of the *Codex Iya Nacuaa* (Codex Colombino-Becker 1) and page 28 of the *Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuu* (Codex Bodley), probably referring to the same concept of beautiful song/speech (see fig. 17 & 25).

#### 4. Dance

Dance is often an important element of musical behaviour. In the Mixtec codices, depictions of dance are almost always combined with depictions of other musical behaviours such as singing or the playing of instruments. Scenes in which dance is depicted are therefore already discussed in the above categories. This chapter will shortly summarize these scenes.

Firstly, dance is depicted on pages 31-32 (reverse) of the *Codex Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuu* or Codex Bodley (see also chapter 2.1.1). Here it is part of a procession; an inauguration ritual for the new ruler, Lord 4 Wind. The dancer is depicted with rattles in his hand (see fig. 7).

Dance is also depicted during the wedding scene of Lord 6 Monkey and Lord 11 Wind in the *Codex Añute* (Codex Selden), page 7 (see also chapter 2.1.2). The bride and the groom, three elders and two *Ñuhus* are dancing around a drummer who is playing a slit drum (see fig. 16)

A last example of a dance scene is depicted on page 26 of the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* or Codex Vindobonensis (Anders *et al.* 1992a, 141-142). It shows a harvest ritual in which eight Primordial Lords dressed as the god of Rain (*Tlaloc*) are dancing with a crop in one hand and a shield in the other (see fig. 34). Offerings depicted in this scene include rattles sticks (see fig. 20c).



**Figure 34.** Cut out of dancing ritual depicting several Lords dressed as gods of Rain (Codex Vindobonensis, 26)

## 5. Toponyms

The last category is focussed on musical behaviour as part of place names, or toponyms. Toponyms are depicted very frequently in codices, sometimes referring to musical elements such as drums, flutes or singing. Some examples will be discussed below, while other examples are summarized in a table.

Page 73 (reverse) of the *Codex Tonindeye* (Codex Zouche-Nuttall) depicts a toponym including several auditive elements: sound volutes indicating both vocal and instrumental sound, a three-legged drum, and a rattle (see fig. 35a). The toponym is shaped as a humanlike being. The shape further indicates the toponym is a hill or mountain. Considering the flames that are emerging from the head of the humanlike figure however, the toponym probably indicates a volcano. The auditive elements added to the toponym could possibly be read as a metaphoric representation of the rumbling and roaring sounds a volcano produces. Thus, the toponym might be read as *Place of the Rumbling Volcano*.

Another example can be seen on page 77 (reverse) of the *Codex Tonindeye* (see fig. 35b). Depicted here is a screaming or singing humanlike figure standing on top of a mountain. The appearance of this figure suggests he symbolizes an ancestor. Thus, this toponym might be read as *Mountain of the Speaking/Singing Ancestor*.

The right bottom corner of page 45 (obverse) of the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* (Codex Vindobonensis) mentions a place where “*the rocks have the splendor of precious birds*” (Anders *et al.* 1992a, 100). This is the place where the *Ñuhu* (the sacred beings) sing and make music with their rattles (see fig. 35c).

Page 27 (obverse) of this same codex depicts a sounding mummy bundle in combination with a toponym (see fig. 35d). This could be read as *Place Where One Can Hear the Ancestors Speak/Sing* (Anders *et al.* 1992a, 140).

A last example, on page 3 (obverse) of the *Codex Añute* (Codex Selden), depicts a sign for mountain in combination with a dancer holding a rattle (see fig. 35e). This toponym can be read as *Mountain of Song with Dance* and is identified as *Yucu Cata* (Zahuatlán). This toponym also appears on page 11 and 13 of the same codex.



**Figure 35.** Various toponyms including musical behaviour (Codex Zouche-Nuttall 73 & 77 – [www.famsi.org](http://www.famsi.org), accessed 5 April 2015; Codex Vindobonensis 45 & 27; Codex Selden, 3)

The following table shows other examples of toponyms with auditive elements:

<b>Codex Zouche-Nuttall</b>		
<i>Page</i>	<i>Auditive elements</i>	<i>Toponym</i>
3	Three-legged drum	Hill of the Drum <sup>10</sup>
25	Three-legged drum	Huehuetl River – Leg of Stone
43	Slit drum	Place of the Slit Drum <sup>11</sup>
46	Flutes	Hill of the Flower Flutes <sup>12</sup>
48	Slit drum mallets	Hill of the Slit Drum Mallets <sup>13</sup>
51	Sound volutes	Hill of the Speaking Tree <sup>14</sup>
<b>Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus 1</b>		
23	Sound volutes	Altar of Songs <sup>15</sup>
39	Sound volutes	-
45	Bells	-
46	Bells	-
<b>Codex Colombino</b>		
7	Flute	Hill of the Flower Flutes <sup>16</sup>

**Table 1.** Overview of different toponyms including musical behaviour

<sup>10</sup> Anders, Jansen & Jiménez Pérez 1992b, 90

<sup>11</sup> Pimental Diaz 2007, 87

<sup>12</sup> Pimental Diaz 2007, 87

<sup>13</sup> Pimental Diaz 2007, 89

<sup>14</sup> Anders, Jansen & Jiménez Pérez 1992b, 196

<sup>15</sup> Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 364

<sup>16</sup> Troike 1974, 153



## CHAPTER V

### Analyses of auditive scenes

*“Kuángoyo musico, kuángoyo kuánakihinde Sàu.  
Uán kúu ja chaàkoyo vehe Sàu<sup>17</sup>”*

~ G.A. Pérez Jiménez (2008, 114) ~

The previous chapter has shown a variety of auditive scenes in different contexts. In this chapter these scenes will be analysed in accordance with the aims, ideas and frameworks as discussed in Chapter I and Chapter III. The main methodology for this is a Critical Discourse Analysis (see Chapter I, section 3.1). In an adapted form, CDA in this thesis entails a three-dimensional investigation of:

- 1) A micro-level analysis of auditive scenes in Mixtec codices
- 2) A meso-level analysis of the role of these scenes in oral performance
- 3) A macro-level analysis of the interrelationship of auditive scenes with the socio-cultural reality in which they were situated

#### 1. Micro-level analysis

The first analytical step focusses on determining the functions of musical behaviour in the previously discussed auditive scenes. The framework as discussed in Chapter III, section 1, will serve as a guideline. In this framework several things regarding musical behaviour were brought to the attention. First of all, this section analysed how the concepts of musical behaviour can differ from culture to culture. Musical behaviour may thus include elements that would be disregarded as ‘music’ in a Western sense of the word. Moreover, this section examined the social significance of musical behaviour, as well as its underlying mechanisms (in rituals and ceremonies), which led

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<sup>17</sup> Translation: *They are musicians, going to bring rain. This is where they arrive at the House of Rain.*

to the observation that social functions of musical behaviour - both on a micro- and a macro-level - amongst other things include:

1. *Establishment and maintenance of social identity*
2. *Promotion of group cooperation and prosperity*
3. *Knowledge-bearer*
4. *Facilitation of courtship*

As was also discussed in section 1 of Chapter III, the incentive of all these social functions is emotional expression. In rituals and ceremonies, these emotions are often stimulated by a numinous experience: a connection to 'the divine'. During such an experience, the designation of individuals towards their emotions leads to social significance amounting to one of the abovementioned functions.

The following analysis will connect the abovementioned concepts, functions and mechanisms of musical behaviour to the auditive scenes as discussed in Chapter IV. The first subsection will examine to what extent pre-colonial Mixtec codices can enhance the understanding of musical behaviour in pre-colonial Mixtec society.

### **1.1 Concepts of musical behaviour**

As shortly mentioned in Chapter II of this thesis, pre-colonial indigenous terminologies regarding musical behaviour can tell much about the concepts of musical behaviour in Mesoamerica. Another important source of information comes from present-day indigenous people, whose worldviews to some degree show parallels with pre-colonial cultures. Bruchez (2007), for example, shows that present-day Maya societies revere natural sounds, associating them amongst other things with voices of the ancestors and music (Bruchez 2007, 53). Moreover, natural surroundings such as caves are, due to their acoustic properties, often used for rituals and ceremonies and are conceived to be 'alive' (Bruchez 2007, 53-54). But what information do codices offer in this respect? Since these manuscripts contain emic

descriptions of pre-colonial Mixtec worldviews, they might strengthen the hypotheses about the concepts of sounds and musical behaviours as outlined above. The following paragraphs analyse several auditive scenes that might contain valuable information in this respect.

### 1.1.1 Toponyms

Toponyms (i.e. place-names) can contain important information concerning the worldviews of the people who invented them. Indeed, as Radding and Western state, “a toponym [...] has a significance connected to societal perceptions that most ordinary words lack” (Radding & Western 2010, 407). As outlined in Chapter IV, Mixtec codices contain numerous depictions of place-names. Several of these include sonic and musical references. Page 73 of the *Codex Tonindeye* (Codex Zouche-Nuttall), for example, depicts a volcano in the shape of a human figure. The musical instruments this figure holds, together with the sound volutes coming from his mouth, most likely resemble the rumbling and roaring sound of the volcano. An ethnographic comparison with indigenous Maya from Santiano Atitla’n in Guatemala reveals that mountains and volcanoes in that area are considered to be inhabited by rain deities (Carlsen & Prechtel 1994, 92-93). Because of their natural forces, these mountains and volcanoes are believed to be powerful agents, which can only be contacted through song (O’Brien 1975, 43). Bruchez states that in pre-colonial Mesoamerica “sounds associated with earthquakes and volcanoes, [...] appear to have been conceptualized as human and animal voices and/or natural music that is rendered in imagery used to create an ideological basis of power in ancient society” (Bruchez 2007, 55).

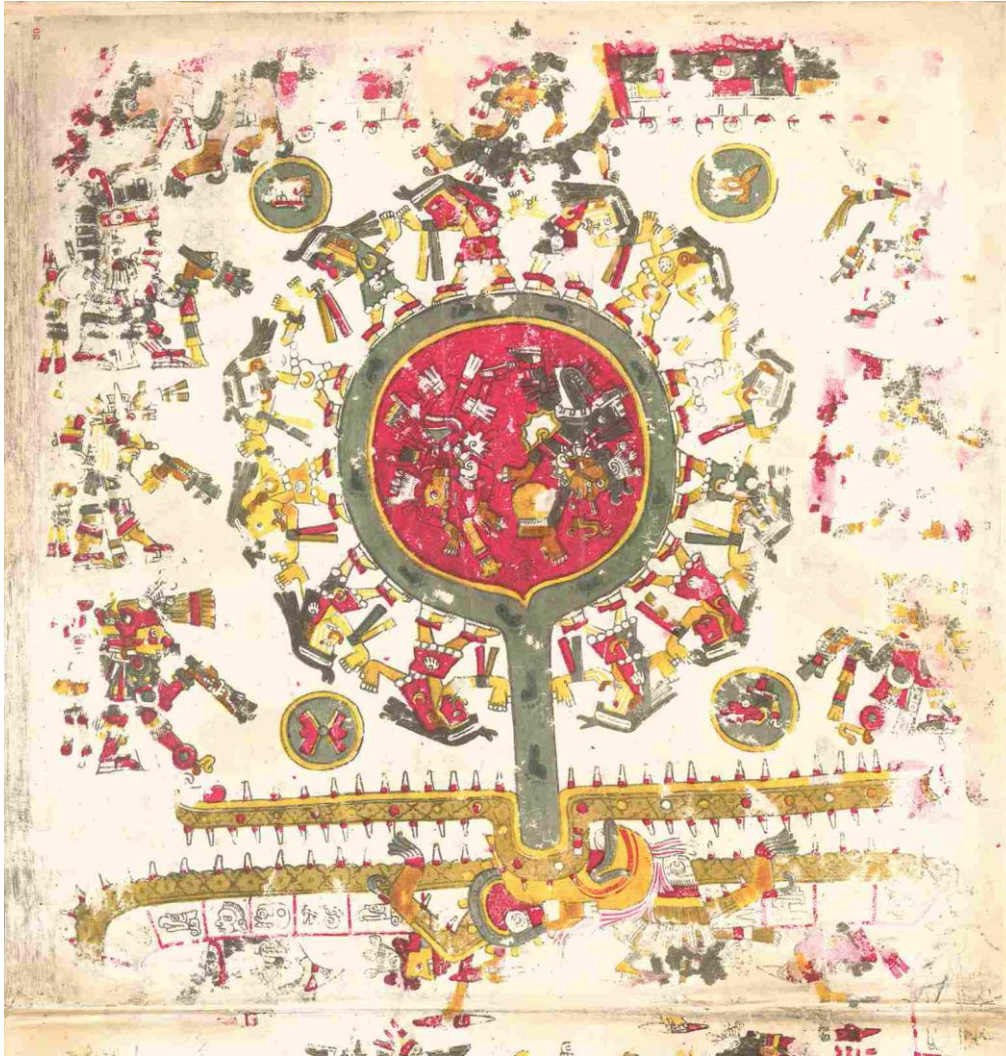
In a similar vein, page 78 of the *Codex Tonindeye* depicts a toponym of a speaking or singing humanlike figure standing on top of a mountain, which can be read as *Mountain of the Speaking/Singing Ancestor*. The depiction of an ancestor on top of a mountain coincides with the view amongst many present-day indigenous peoples in Mesoamerica that ancestors inhabit different natural surroundings (Bruchez 2007, 48-53). Page 45 of the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* (Codex Vindobonensis) indicates a similar concept of musical

elements in relation to the ancestors. This page mentions a place where “*the rocks have the splendor of precious birds*” (Anders *et al.* 1992a, 100). Depicted in relation to this place is a *Ñuhu* (ancestor/sacred being) who sings and makes music with its rattles. Page 27 of this same codex depicts a sounding mummy bundle in combination with a toponym, which could be read as *Place Where One Can Hear the Ancestors Speak/Sing* (Anders *et al.* 1992a, 140).

These examples show that place-names can indeed be important signifiers of the way pre-colonial Mixtecs conceived and gave meaning to their surroundings. As a matter of fact, it seems likely that musical behaviour was not destined for human agents alone, but also included ancestral and deified agents. The following paragraph enhances this idea with several more examples of non-human musical behaviour in codices.

### *1.1.2 Anthropomorphic agents of musical behaviour*

As exemplified in the previous paragraph, sonic and musical elements in codices frequently appear in combination with toponyms. In addition, codices include numerous depictions of ‘anthropomorphic agents’ of sonic and musical behaviour. An important example in this respect is the scene depicted on page 44 of the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* (Codex Vindobonensis), which shows the First Sunrise: the beginning of human society (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 361). Noteworthy in this scene is, first of all, that the ritual depicted in this scene is set around an altar named *Altar of Songs*. From this altar a sun rises in a stream of light. The middle of the sun shows depictions of sound volutes, which suggests that there is an auditive dimension related to the sun. This can be supported by comparing this scene to the Codex Borgia, page 39 (see fig. 36). On a conceptual level the centre of page 39 represents a setting sun. In the middle of the sun are depicted two musicians, one playing a flute and the other playing a drum and singing. Another comparison can be made with a sacred story of the Nahuas, recorded in the colonial document *Histoyre du Mechique*, which speaks about the sun as being the place where musicians lived (García Gómez 2013, 36). Also *Mixteco Texts* by Anne Dyk, who recorded some 45 contemporary Mixtec stories, mentions



**Figure 36.** Two musicians depicted in the centre of a setting sun (Codex Borgia, 39)

the auditive dimensions of the sun (Dyk 1959). The first story, ‘The First Sunrise’, starts as follows:

*“The day the sun rose. A long time ago there was no sun at first. People lived this way in darkness. Then at the coming of the sun very awesome things happened. A great deal of music was played and the music came along with sun and it was very hot.”* (Dyk 1959, 3)

Similar examples occur on pages 3-4 and 20-21 of the *Codex Tonindeye* (Codex Zouche-Nuttall). The ‘War against the Stone Men’ as depicted on these pages, might include metaphorical representations of sound linked to heavy weather such as thunder and rain. In a similar vein, page 44 of the same

codex includes a representation of the sensory properties of weather: the figure coming down from 'the Heavens' has a sound volute in front of his mouth, which could be interpreted as the blowing wind. These examples, again, coincide with the idea that natural surroundings in pre-colonial Mesoamerica carried powerful sonic properties.

## **1.2 Social significance of musical behaviour**

As made clear several times in this thesis, musical behaviour (in rituals and ceremonies) can have a variety of social functions. The following paragraphs analyse these function in relation to the auditive scenes as outlined in Chapter IV. The analyses follow the same format as Chapter IV, which means that several auditive scenes will be discussed on the basis of the contexts in which they appear. However, in order to prevent confusion and duplicate analyses, the subdivision has been narrowed down to seven, more general categories.

### *1.2.1 Inaugurations and foundations*

As discussed in Chapter IV, there are multiple depictions of inaugurations and foundation in the Mixtec codices in which musical behaviour appears. In some of these cases speech/song plays an important role, while in others the actual playing of musical instruments is involved. Since inaugurations and foundations are closely related to each other<sup>18</sup>, the analyses of these scenes are treated in one category.

#### *1.2.1.1 Processions*

There are two scenes in which an inauguration takes place in the context of a procession, pages 9-10 & 31-32 of the *Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nu* (Codex Bodley). The scene on pages 31-32 is particularly elaborated in this respect. The inaugurated ruler in this scene is accompanied by a long procession consisting of important allies, priests, dancers and musicians. The depicted allies include five ambassadors from Toltec origin, who amongst other things

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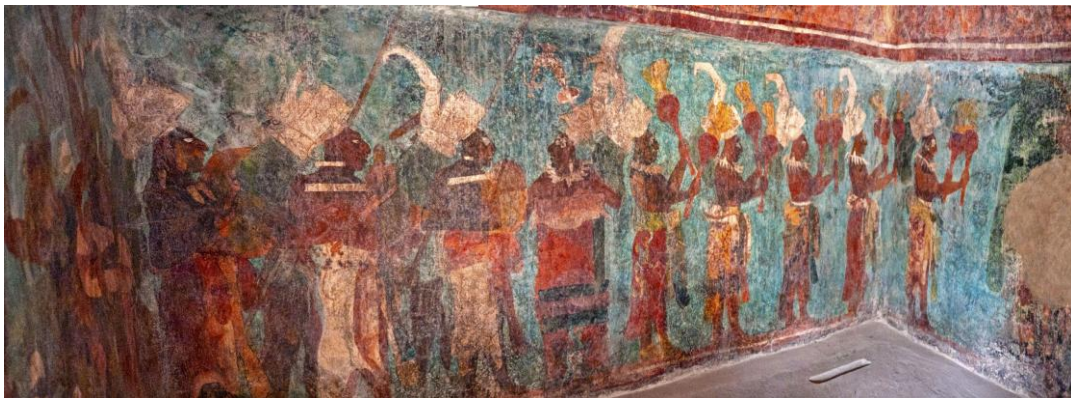
<sup>18</sup> Within the storyline of Mixtec codices, the foundation of new place is often followed by the inauguration of a new ruling couple.

carry musical instruments (see fig. 37a). Similar ambassadors also show up in the scene on pages 9-10 of this codex. Since the ambassadors originate from a different cultural area, it seems plausible that musical behaviour in this context played an important role in establishing and maintaining intra-regional identities. Closely related to this, musical behaviour might have had the function of promoting group cooperation and prosperity. Also noticeable in the scene on pages 31-32, is that somewhat in the middle as well as at the end of the procession is depicted a performance (see fig. 37b & 37c). Both performances recall historical events: the middle one recalls the story of origin of the Mixtec royal families, while the closing one represents the way Lord 8 Deer had been killed by assassins loyal to Lord 4 Wind (see fig. 37b; Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2005, 86-87). Examples from Aztec culture show that musical behaviour played an important role in such marriages within the dynasty, and other cultural legacies (Both 2007, 100). Correspondingly, the performance in the middle of the procession includes a dancer with gourd rattles. Presumably, musical behaviour and performance thus played an important role in transmitting cultural knowledge. As such, these performances could be seen as *knowledge-bearers*. Connected thereto, musical behaviour in such performances strengthened the establishment and maintenance of social identity.



**Figure 37.** Procession and performances (Codex Bodley, 31 & 32)  
Analyses of auditive scenes | 87

For both procession scenes a comparison can be made with the famous Maya murals of Bonampak. The scene painted inside *Structure 1* (see fig. 38) of Bonampak depicts a procession celebrating the designation of the ruler's son as heir (Sanchez 2007, 38). Participating in this political procession are amongst others nobles from other villages and a large group of musicians. Just like the scenes from the *Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuu*, this scene shows the importance of musical behavior, performance and the attendance of prominent individuals in such political processions.



**Figure 38.** Mural painting (*Structure 1*) of procession in Bonampak  
(<http://fromatob.org>, accessed 15 January 2015)

#### 1.2.1.2 Shell horn venerations

The playing of the shell horn is often depicted in the context of inauguration and foundation rituals. Throughout the Mixtec Group codices there are about ten scenes in which inaugurations and foundations are shown in combination with the playing of shell horns, mainly as venerations for the new ruler. To take an example: on page 20 of the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* (*Codex Vindobonensis*), two persons are depicted facing each other. One is playing a shell horn, from which four sound volutes emerge, while the other is burning incense (see fig. 39). Their actions are part of a foundation/inauguration ritual of communities in 'the North'. It is important to understand in this context, that the primordial Mixtec Lords and Ladies divided themselves in four groups corresponding to the four cardinal directions (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 308). The *Codex Yuta Tnoho* depicts this division, representing the foundation of the different communities in the four cardinal directions in combination with the inauguration of the primordial Lords and Ladies



(Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 308-318). Presumably, the role of the shell horn in such rituals relates to the ubiquitous Mesoamerican association of these instruments with creation and fertility (Both 2004). In Aztec sacred origin stories for example, the deity *Quetzalcoatl* blows the shell horn to unleash a primordial blast and herald the creation of humankind (Johansson 1997). To achieve this, *Quetzalcoatl* blows the shell horn four times, in all cardinal directions<sup>19</sup>. Inaugurations and foundations rituals themselves could also be seen as ‘creations’. Indeed, the codices exemplify that the rulers of Mixtec village-states were believed to originate from natural surroundings and derived their agency from creative events and actions such as the First Sunrise and consultations with deities and ancestors (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 357-368). A comparison with the First Sunrise, as discussed above in section 1.1.2, shows that creative events regularly were interrelated with audibility. Hence, creation is an important concept in the foundation of new places and implies the importance of sound, and more specifically the sound of shell horns, in such events.



**Figure 39.** *Inauguration of communities in 'the North'* (Codex Vindobonensis, 20)

### 1.2.1.3 *Speech and/or song*

Next to the playing of shell horns, speech/song is also frequently depicted in the context of foundation and inauguration rituals. In line with what has been discussed in the previous paragraphs, page 52 of the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* depicts ceremonial speech (*paragón*) in the context of a foundation ritual,

<sup>19</sup> Interestingly, in the scene on page 20 four sound volutes emerge from the shell horn. In this context, it thus might indicate that the instrument was played towards the four cardinal directions. This way of playing the shell horn still occurs in rituals amongst present-day indigenous peoples in e.g. Mexico (Both 2004, 265-266).

referring to the principles of the cosmos (see fig. 40). Nowadays, such ceremonies often start by telling how the world was created, mentioning amongst other things the origin of nature, rocks, animals and human being (Anders *et al.* 1992a, 81). Another example is page 1 of the *Codex Añute* (Codex Selden), which depicts two human figures making offerings to the ruling couple of a mythical place of origin: *Yuta Tnoho*. Sound volutes coming from their mouths indicate the involvement of speech/song in this ritual undertaking. Again, this fits the idea that the rulers of Mixtec villages often consulted ancestors and deities from which they derived their power. Indeed, this scene shows how two human figures (a prospective ruling couple) request nourishment and prosperity from the ancestors (the ruling couple of *Yuta Tnoho*) (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2007b, 168). Similarly, on page 3-5 of this same codex, Lord 10 Reed makes gestures and ceremonially speaks/sings to a series of offerings he makes. These ritual actions are part of his path to rulership, as he eventually marries Lady 2 Lizard and they together become the first ruling couple of *Añute* (Magdalena Jaltepec).



**Figure 40.** *Paragón in the context of an inauguration ritual* (Codex Vindobonensis, 52)

Berthomé and Houseman stress that postures, gestures and utterances (like speech or song) can help someone to get diverted from ‘daily concerns’ and focus his/her mind on devotion (Berthomé and Houseman 2010, 66). This seems to apply to the examples discussed above, in which persons undertake ritual actions such as speech, song and gestures in order to venerate offerings and consult supernatural agents. These ritual actions created a numinous experience for the once involved. As such, musical behaviours presumably was important in relating individuals to the past (e.g. the ancestors) and the

'the divine' (e.g. deities). In this way, it could be said that such actions helped rulers in establishing their (socio-political) identities.

#### *1.2.1.4 Musical offerings*

In a foundation ritual depicted on pages 76-80 in the *Codex Tonindeye* (Codex Zouche-Nuttall), 'passive' musical behaviour plays an important role (see fig. 19). It concerns a mythical journey of Lord 8 Deer, which is devoted to the consecration of his lordship. In the company of two allies, Lord 8 Deer fights the guardians of the Temple of the Sun/Jade, passes through and enters the temple, where he offers a golden bell to the god of the Sun. Subsequently, the god of the Sun instructs Lord 8 Deer and Lord 4 Jaguar to go to the *Precious Altar of the Heaven in the East*, where Lord 8 Deer and Lord 4 Jaguar consult with each other. Then the god of the Sun offers them a band of jade and golden bells.

Again it becomes clear that the Mixtec rulers related themselves to the supernatural. In this example, the ruler in question (i.e. Lord 8 Deer) visits the god of the Sun to offer him a golden bell. In return he receives a band of jade and golden bells from the god of the Sun. According to Anders *et al.* these are signs of fortune and high status (1992b, 235). Hosler (1995, 105-107) mentions that in pre-colonial Western Mexico the colour of gold was associated with the sun. Also, according to this same author, the sound of golden bells was associated with (colourful) birds and human voices that represent deities and their human transformations. As such, the golden bells depicted in these scenes signify personal qualities such as leadership and status, while at the same time acknowledging a connection to the supernatural<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> See Chapter IV, section 2.2.1 for more scenes depicting offerings of golden bells

### 1.2.2 Religious duties

Pages 7-8 and 13-14 of the *Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuu* (Codex Bodley) depict musical behaviour as part of ritual undertakings. The main characters in the story line are individuals who are planning on becoming priests. The scene on pages 7-8 focusses on Lord 5 Alligator who, shortly prior to entering the ceremonial centre of *Ñuu Tnoo* (Santiago Tilantongo) and becoming a priest, receives a ceremonial welcome by two other priests: one offers him fire and the other blows a shell horn (see fig. 41). Considering the potential of musical behaviour to connect individuals to the 'divine', it could be hypothesised that the shell horn brought Lord 5 Alligator in the right mental and physical state prior to entering the ceremonial centre of *Ñuu Tnoo*. Moreover, Lord 5 Alligator carries out his last duty before becoming a priest. It thus seems likely that the shell horn's sound aided Lord 5 Alligator in his rite of passage and emphasizes it as being such a rite.



**Figure 41.** *Ceremonial welcome for Lord 5 Alligator* (Codex Bodley, 8)

Similarly, pages 13-14 of the same codex depict the religious duties of two brothers: Lord 1 Lizard and Lord 8 Grass. In this case the persons concerned are playing musical instruments (a slit drum and a rattle) themselves, in honour of Lord 4 Alligator (see fig. 42). This fits well with one of the social functions of musical behaviour to establish and maintain social identity. By honouring Lord 4 Alligator with a musical concert, Lord 1 Lizard and Lord 8 Grass are reminded of the importance of this deified founder of their community. Closely related to the function of musical behaviour in inaugurations and foundations, musical behaviour in this particular case might have helped Lord 1 Lizard and Lord 8 Grass to contact 'the

supernatural', which in turn might have strengthened their personal and local identity.



**Figure 42.** Lord 8 Grass honouring Lord 4 Grass by playing a slit drum (Codex Bodley, 13)

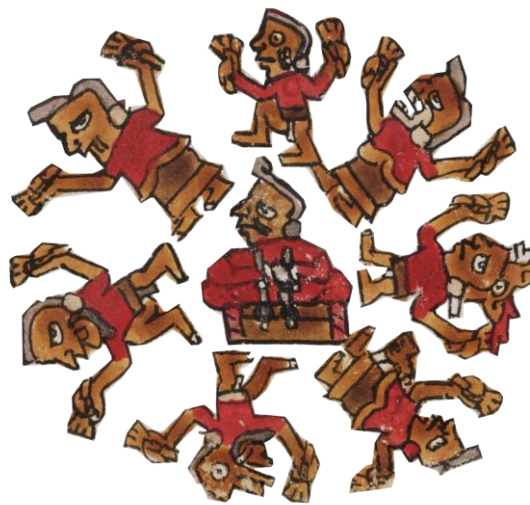
### 1.2.3 Wedding scenes

Wedding scenes including musical behaviour are depicted two times in the Mixtec Group. The example from pages 19a-19b of the *Codex Tonindeye* (Codex Zouche-Nuttall) shows Lord 12 Wind, the groom, coming down from 'the Heavens' while carrying a rattle stick (see fig. 43). In Aztec culture this musical instrument, also known as the *chicahuaztli* or *ayauhchicahuaztli* in Nahuatl, was associated with rain, wind, fertility and possibly the rays of the sun (Both 2006, 322-323; Gómez Gómez 2008, 39; Neumann 1976, 258). In the same scene, the bride of this marriage, Lady 3 Flint, is part of a wedding procession. One of the individuals in this procession, Lord 9 Flower, is blowing a shell horn. Part of the scene also depicts a procession of gods coming to the marriage festival.



**Figure 43.** Lord 12 Wind carrying a rattle stick (Codex Zouche-Nuttall, 19a)

The second example is the wedding scene of Lady 6 Monkey and Lord 11 Wind in the *Codex Añute* (Codex Selden), pages 6-7. In this scene we see how Lady 6 Monkey and Lord 11 Wind consult a *Ñuhu* and are advised on their future marriage. Several offerings are made to the adviser, including two necklaces with golden bells and a sliced shell, possibly a horn. During their wedding ritual a circling dance involving the bride and the groom, three elders, two *Ñuhus* and a slit drum player is performed (see fig. 44).



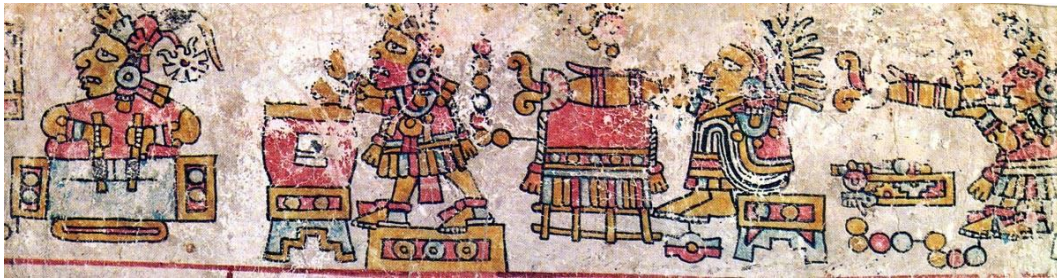
**Figure 44.** Circle dance during wedding of Lady 6 Monkey and Lord 11 Wind (Codex Selden, 7)

Again, both scenes show how Mixtec rulers related themselves to the ancestors and deities, and how musical behaviour plays an important element herein. The scene on pages 6-7 of the *Codex Añute* is particularly explicit, as it depicts a circling dance with a slit drum player in which the ancestors themselves are dancing along with the bride and groom. In addition, musical behaviour in these scenes might have had the function of facilitating courtship, and establishing and maintaining social identity through a rite of passage (i.e. marriage).

#### *1.2.4 Funerary contexts*

There are a number of scenes in which musical behaviour plays an important role in funerary contexts. Pages 6-9 of the *Codex Iya Nacuaa* (Codex Colombino-Becker I), for example, show a funeral ritual in honour of the departed Lord 12 Movement. Part of the ritual involves the attendance of a

procession. Leading this procession is a person whistling his fingers. He is followed by five men, of which the first is playing a three-legged drum while speaking/singing. Further on in the funeral ritual a musical ensemble of five men and one woman is depicted (see fig. 45). All of these individuals are playing musical instruments. A very similar musical ensemble is depicted on a Mixtec tripod olla, which is part of the collection of the *Museo de las Culturas de Oaxaca* (see Pohl 2007, 20-24).

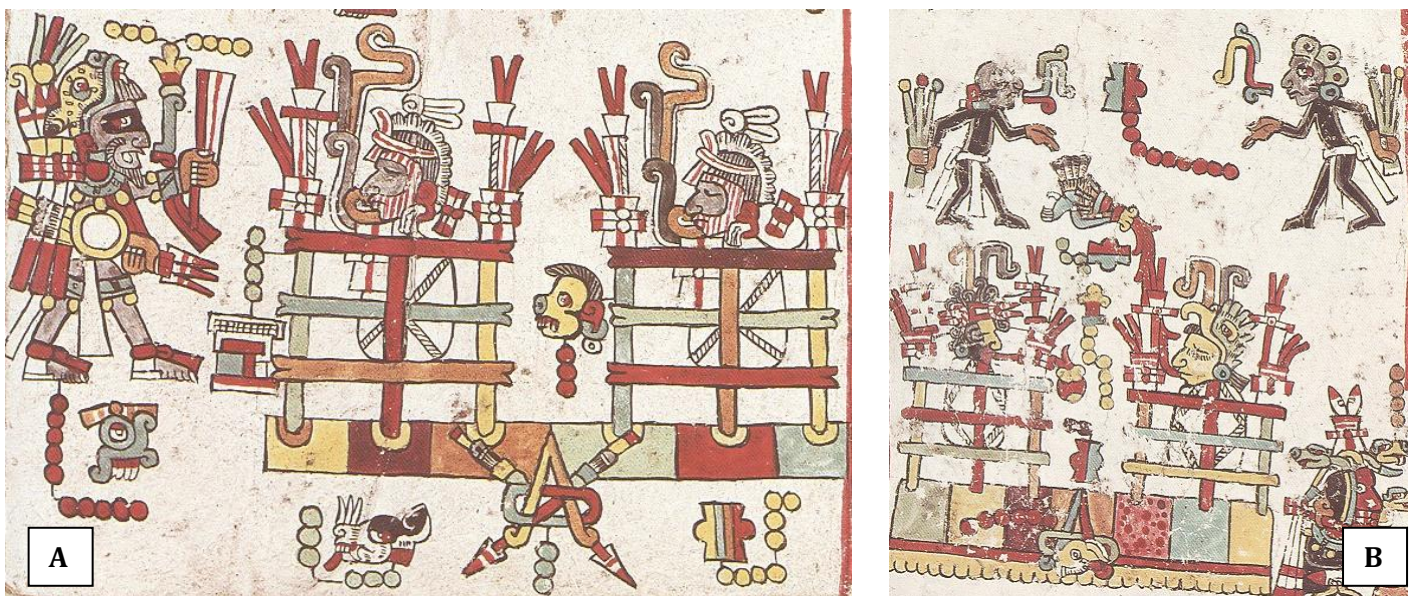


**Figure 45.** Part of musical ensemble at Lord 12 Movement's funerary ritual (Codex Colombino-Becker 1, 8)

Considering the funerary context of this scene, it seems probable that in this example musical behaviour played an important role in channelling sorrowful emotions of the individuals present. Moreover, the depiction of a procession and a musical ensemble suggests that the funeral ritual was far from ordinary. On the contrary, it could be hypothesized that this scene resembles something like a 'state funeral', including a procession. The main function of processions namely, is to include an audience as part of the ceremony (Sanchez 2007, 41). Often such 'state-run processions' involve the participation of nobles (see 1.2.1.1 for more examples). Processions aided nobles in demonstrating their power and ability to perform and organize important events (Sanchez 2007, 42). Indeed, we see that in the scene on pages 6-9 of the *Codex Iya Nacuaa* nobles play an important role on different levels of the ritual (Troike 1974, 301-305). The burning of Lord 12's body is done under command of his half-brother and important ruler, Lord 8 Deer. This same Lord 8 Deer is also part of the ritual procession which is depicted next. Similarly, the musical ensemble that is depicted on pages 8-9 also involved nobles. The lady playing the horn in the middle of the procession, for example, is Lady 9 Movement who will later marry the son of Lord 8 Deer. As such, it seems likely that the funerary ritual depicted in this scene

established and maintained the social identity of the nobles involved in the ritual. The same seems applicable for the ‘commoners’ who are not explicitly depicted in this scene, but most likely participated in the ritual nonetheless.

Pages 3-4 and 20-21 of the *Codex Tonindeye* (Codex Zouche-Nuttall) depict two very similar scenes including funerary rituals. In these scenes, several victims of war are ritually venerated and cremated, amongst other things involving the singing of songs by priests. Interestingly, the song depicted on page 20 in the codex seems to refer to the same song depicted on page 4 of the codex. On page 20 we see a priest with a sound volute in front of his mouth, which is connected to the sign ‘7 Flower’ (see fig. 46a). The song might therefore be interpreted as ‘The Song of Lord 7 Flower’. In the funerary ritual on page 4 one of the mortuary bundles being honoured with a song was that of Lord 7 Flower (see fig. 46b). The song depicted on page 20 therefore seems to refer to the same song which was sung during the mortuary ceremony of Lord 7 Flower on page 4 (Anders *et al.* 1992b, 132). As such, the song on page 20 possibly served as a knowledge-bearer, both remembering Lord 7 Flower, as well as mourning over the loss of Lord 4 Wind and his brother Lord 3 Monkey.



**Figure 46.** Funerary rituals of war victims (Codex Zouche- Nuttall, 20 & 4)



Page 28 in the *Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuu* (Codex Bodley) depicts another scene that can be placed in the category of funerary contexts. This scene shows the date of death of ruler Lord 4 Wind, which is followed by the remembrance of his life. Several priests consult with each other and sing songs together, possibly referring to the glorious past and the times when Lord 4 Wind was still in reign (see fig. 47; Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2005, 82). As such, musical behaviour in this scene might again function as a knowledge-bearer: a mnemonic device used to recall historical events.



**Figure 47.** Priests remembering the life of Lord 4 Wind (Codex Bodley, 28)

### 1.2.5 Hallucinogenic rituals

Page 24 of the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* (Codex Vindobonensis) depicts a scene, involving musical behaviour as well as the consumption of hallucinogenic mushrooms. The attention is drawn to Lord 9 Wind singing and playing a notched bone on top of a skull, which is part of a visionary experience of eight Primordial Lords and Ladies (see fig. 48). The instrument Lord 9 Wind is playing, the *omichicahuaztli*, was often used in funerary rituals (McVicker 2005) and the sound of bone instruments was probably associated with the underworld and death (Both 2006, 323-325). In the context of this scene, the rasping of the instrument - together with the singing of Lord 9 Wind - could therefore be considered a way to get in touch with the otherworld. The use of a human skull as a resonator might underline this. An archaeological example of such a resonator skull might be the famous mosaic skull found in Tomb 7 of Monte Albán (see fig. 49). It is uncertain whether this skull was actually

used as a resonator, but the intentionally removed top of the skull makes this a plausible hypothesis.



**Figure 48.** Lord 9 Wind playing a notched bone (Codex Vindobonensis, 24)



**Figure 49.** Mosaic skull from Monte Albán (<http://commons.wikimedia.org/>, accessed 8 April 2015)

Page 5 of the *Codex Añute* (Codex Bodley) and page 25 of the *Codex Tonindeye* (Codex Zouche-Nuttall) show musical behaviour prior to hallucinogenic rituals. The first mentioned scene shows how Lord 2 Rain, who at that time is aimed to become the new ruler of *Ñuu Tnoo* (Santiago Tilantongo, receives instructions from Lord 10 Rabbit. These instructions probably concern the hallucinogenic ritual Lord 2 Rain is engaged in soon after. During this ritual he dies. Similar instructions are depicted on page 25 of the *Codex Tonindeye*. In this scene Lord 5 Alligator receives instructions from three important priests, whereupon he performs an auto-sacrificial ceremony and holds another council with a priest. Musical behaviour in these scenes seems to have had an instructional function. Whether this happened in the form of



**Figure 50.** Lord 5 Alligator (right) receives instructions from three priests (Codex Zouche Nuttall, 25)

ceremonial speech or song is not clear, but it seems valid to assume that musical behaviour nonetheless played an important role in transmitting knowledge.

### 1.2.6 Dance

Several auditive scenes in the Mixtec Group include depictions of dance. Often, these dance rituals are interrelated with musical performances. Two scenes are already discussed in section 1.2.1.1 and 1.2.3: the inauguration ritual on pages 31-32 of the *Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuu* (Codex Bodley) and the wedding scene on page 6-7 of the same codex. A scene that has not been analysed yet however, is the harvest ritual on page 26 of the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* (Codex Vindobonensis). Eight Primordial Lords, dressed as the god of Rain (*Tlaloc*), are dancing and holding a crop in one hand and a shield in the other (see fig. 51). Part of this rain ritual is a series of offerings, which amongst other things include rattle sticks. Rattles were often used in harvest rituals and the sound of these instruments has been associated with rain and wind (Both 2006, 322-323; Gómez Goméz 2008, 39). As such, the offering of rattle sticks in this rain ritual is easily explained. The reason why the Primordial Lords are depicted as *Tlaloc*, the god of rain, might be explained on the basis of what Matthew Loper (2012) states about dance in ancient Maya society. He discusses the importance of dance in supernatural communication. As he states: “[...] through its capacity to induce trance states [...], dance performance transformed participants into images of gods or spirits or otherwise allowed them to achieve altered states of consciousness” (Loper 2012, 90). Apart from this function, dance could also have important political functions (Loper 2012, 98-99). Dance rituals of ancestor veneration and



Figure 51. Part of harvest ritual (Codex Vindobonensis, 26)

communication for example, could help in assuring dynastic continuity. On an intra-regional level, dance rituals were conducted to confirm alliances between different village-states. As such, dance, (in combination with musical behaviour), helped in establishing and maintaining socio-cultural identities, as well as in promoting intra-regional group cooperation.

## **2. Meso-level analysis**

The next analytical step focuses on determining the functions of auditive scenes in oral performances of Mixtec codices. The framework as discussed in Chapter III, section 2, will serve as a guideline. In this framework several things regarding Mixtec codices and oral performances were brought to the attention. First of all, this section examined the general mechanisms of oral performances. These mechanisms show many similarities with the mechanisms of musical behaviour in rituals. As such, an oral performer uses techniques such as rhythm, intonation, gesture, bodily movements, song and music, to create 'images' and shape the perceptions of the audience. In such a way the performer brings the audience in a certain psychological and emotional state, so that he can 'manipulate' their emotions.

Given the mechanisms of oral performances, section 2 in Chapter III then focussed on oral performance of Mixtec codices. Based on several literary studies, it was suggested that Mixtec codices were *skeletons for performance*, meaning that the script was structured in such a way that an oral performer could easily interpret and translate them. As such, the pictographs in Mixtec codices can be seen as *signal references* which needed to be interpreted during a performance and served as triggers for the oral performer.

The last paragraph of section 2 of the theoretical framework focussed on the way Mixtec codices are often analysed. Mainly based on the ideas of Hamann (2004), this section argues for a broader view on codices. Given the fact that Mixtec codices were used in performance, a broader view on these manuscripts - in combination with a detailed approach - might indeed provide interesting insights about the functions of Mixtec codices.

The following analysis will connect the abovementioned ideas and mechanisms of oral performances to the auditive scenes as discussed in Chapter IV. The first subsection analyses the different contexts in which auditive scenes in codices are depicted (as discussed in the micro-level analysis), where the second subsection analyses the possible implications this might have for oral performances of codices.

## **2.1 Contexts of auditive scenes**

On the basis of the micro-analysis (see section 1) it can be derived that musical behaviour in codices appears in the following contexts:

- Inaugurations and foundations
- Religious duties
- Hallucinogenic rituals
- Wedding scenes
- Funerary rituals
- Dance rituals (mainly as part of one of the above contexts)

What immediately stands out is that the contexts in which musical behaviour appears are not exactly 'ordinary'. Rather the opposite applies, namely that musical behaviour appears in dramatic events in the storylines of the Mixtec codices. As an example, let us take a look at the story of Lord 4 Wind in the *Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuu* (Codex Bodley). The reverse of this codex is for a large part dedicated to this former ruler of *Ndisi Nuu* (Tlaxiaco). It tells about the political history of Lord 4 Wind and devotes much attention to his inauguration ritual (pages 31-32). As discussed in the micro-analysis, this scene is of a highly 'auditive character', depicting several musicians and performances as part of a procession. Later in the story-line Lord 4 Wind dies at the age of 72 (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 397). Again, an auditive scene appears (page 28). In this scene we see several priests, remembering the life of this great ruler and consulting with each other. The priests sing songs together, possibly referring to the glorious past and the times when Lord 4 Wind was still in reign.

What is striking in this short example is that throughout the story about the life of Lord 4 musical behaviour is depicted two times: during the enthronement of this ruler and during his death. Both can be considered important moments in the life of Lord 4 Wind. It thus seems likely that for an oral performer, these scenes were of particular importance in order to bring out the story to the listeners, and - more importantly - to 'implant' the story in their social memories. Indeed, as outlined by Ong, an important aspect of oral literature is that people can recall the storyline (Ong 2002, 33-36). As discussed in the theoretical framework, techniques such as rhythm, intonation, gesture, bodily movements, song and music, can be of major importance in this respect. Logically, these *mnemonic patterns* are particularly used in parts of the storyline that are considered important. Indeed, as Ong (2002) states: "*One of the places where oral mnemonic structures and procedures manifest themselves most spectacularly is in their effect on narrative plot*". In other words, important events in a storyline can be emphasized by an oral performer using particular techniques and narrative mnemonic patterns. In fact, these techniques can be considered crucial for conveying the storyline in all sorts of narratives, including for example film (Knopf 2008, 104).

## **2.2 Roles of auditive scenes in oral performance**

Back to the story of Lord 4 Wind, the inauguration ritual and death of this ruler lend themselves particularly well for the use of dramatization techniques as discussed above. The enthronement and death of Lord 4 Wind are two important events in his life, and for that reason in the lives of all the community members who were in some way related to this ruler. As discussed in the theoretical framework, Mixtec codices could be seen as scripts for performances. Hung on the walls of palaces and temples, the stories recorded in these books were orally transmitted to a large audience. The performer interpreted these stories, using the depicted images as signal references. As such, auditive scenes in Mixtec codices probably served this same function. As outlined above, auditive scenes particularly show up in the

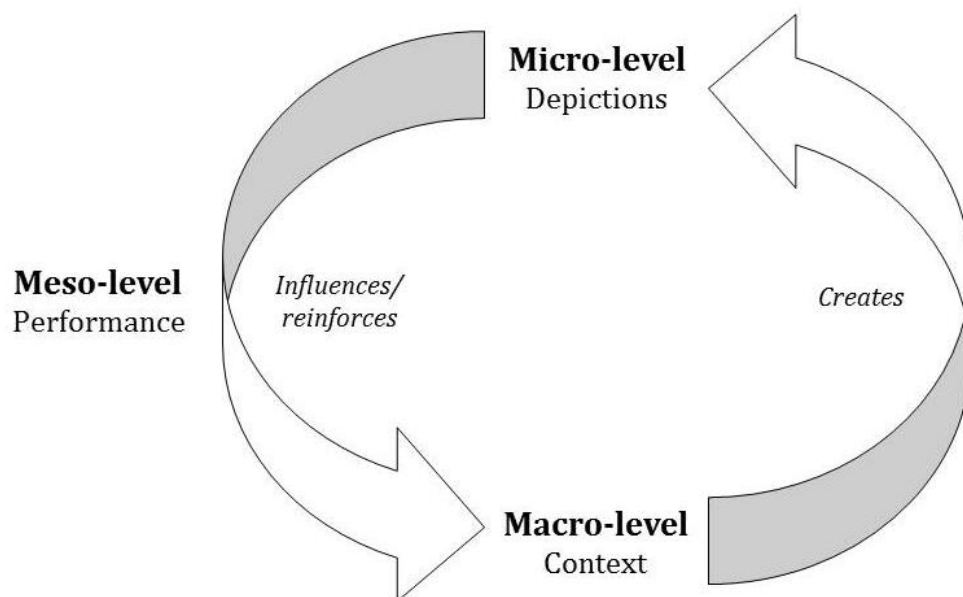
context of dramatic events. It could therefore be hypothesized that these scenes served as signal references for an oral performer, reminding him/her to dramatize the storyline. However, although in some cases this hypothesis seems valid, it should not be generalized and carelessly applied to all Mixtec codices. Rather this hypothesis should be tested for each scene separately. As an example, take the death of Lord 12 Movement, depicted in both the *Codex Tonindeye* (Codex Zouche-Nuttall) and the *Codex Iya Nacuaa* (Colombino-Becker I). In the *Codex Tonindeye* this scene pays particular attention to the way Lord 12 Movement was killed: with a flint knife in a steam bath, or *temazcal* (see fig. 52). In the *Codex Iya Nacuaa* however, the scene focusses on the funerary ritual of Lord 12 Movement, involving a procession and a large musical ensemble honouring him (see fig. 45). In other words, the death of Lord 12 Movement is a dramatic event in both codices, but is depicted in two different ways. As such, in the scene of the *Codex Tonindeye* the killing of Lord 12 Movement can be considered the most prominent signal reference, while in the *Codex Iya Nacuaa* the musical honouring during his funeral ritual can be considered the most prominent signal reference. As such, signal references in codices do not necessarily have to be of a ‘musical nature’. Similarly, images of musical behaviour do not necessarily have to be signal references. However, as outlined above, this option is worth considering when looking at the role of auditive scenes in Mixtec codices. Particularly so, because of the apparent interrelation of auditive scenes and dramatic events in the storyline of these codices.



**Figure 52.** *Killing of Lord 12 Movement* (Codex Zouche-Nuttall, 81; [www.famsi.org](http://www.famsi.org), accessed 5 April 2015)

### 3. Macro-level analysis

The last analytical step focuses on the interplay between the micro- and the meso-level in relation to musical behaviour. In other words, it concentrates on the interrelationship of auditive scenes with the socio-cultural reality in which they were situated. The micro-level analysis of this thesis focused on interpreting the role of musical behaviour in particular scenes in the Mixtec Group codices. However, as figure 53 shows, the micro-level is very much interrelated with the macro-level socio-cultural context. Indeed, as has been hinted at before, Mixtec codices were based in a village-state culture. Governed by members of one, overarching family, the historiography and ritual discourse in such village-states pointed towards the central position of their rulers. Codices were a product of this, written down as a form of *dynastic legitimation* and consequently disseminated to the public through oral performances. In other words, an aristocratic group of people created the codices as a form of propaganda, or 'patrimonial rhetoric' (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 505). By means of a circular process, the information contained in these codices - through oral discourse - influenced and reinforced the macro-level socio-cultural context. As such, the stories in codices pertain to the ideology and worldview of Mixtec village-state cultures.



**Figure 53.** *Interrelation between micro-, meso- and macro-level of Mixtec codices*



As has been discussed in section 3 of Chapter III, Mixtec codices were produced in a socio-cultural context that was part of village-state culture. This village-state culture was of a counter-hegemonic nature: multiple different communities, all with independent noble houses, lived in close proximity of each other. The geographical and economic situation within these village states made it impossible for settlements to create a permanent hegemony (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 505 & 511). As such, the different village-states were very much dependent on each other. Indeed, because of the geographical variation in altitudes, the economy of these village-states was determined by a vertical differentiation of production, which, as Jansen & Pérez Jiménez state, “*naturally promoted a mutual dependency and symbiosis between the cold mountainous areas of the Highlands and the tropical zones of the deep river gorges and the coastal lowlands*” (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 511). As a result, the counter-hegemony in these village-states reinforced a reciprocal structure: a socio-economic system in which thoughtful diplomacy and investment in social relationships were essential. Without these social relationships, an individual village-state would most likely not be self-sufficient enough to continue its existence. Taking this into account, what will be proposed here is that a village-state culture invites to the emergence of a reciprocal system in which oral performance and musical behaviour play an important role. Indeed, as has been examined throughout this thesis, musical behaviour plays an important role in establishing and maintaining social identities and homogenizing social behaviour within groups. Hypothetically speaking, the key feature of musical behaviour to bind people thus is manifested to its full advantage in a reciprocal system in which social ties and interdependent relationship are of major importance.

A comparison with Greek city-state may provide more substantiation for this hypothesis. Just like the Post-classic Mixtec society, ancient Greece was characterized by a city-state culture in which, although having much in common with each other, each city-state had its own independent form of government (Sealey 1976). Even though since the Classical period (ca. 500-300 B.C) Greek society left a substantial amount of alphabetic literature,

ancient Greece was yet in many ways an oral society in which the spoken word was more important than the written (Thomas 1992, 3). Indeed, until the second half of the fourth century, written documents in legal context were not considered to be capable of transcending their message by themselves (Thomas 1992, 3). In other words, politics were largely carried out on an oral basis. Also in later time periods public oral performance was of major importance, and where written texts existed, it was still commonly read aloud (Thomas 1992, 4). As Thomas exemplifies, the reason to record and transmit oral literature is not accidental. Oral traditions in ancient Greece had a mnemonic basis and were interwoven with cultural, social, political, and ideological concepts (Thomas 1992, 108-109). Similar to Post-classic Mixtec society, the aristocracy in ancient Greece gained their status from stories about the past, often related to the deeds of (legendary) ancestors with whom they could identify themselves (Thomas 1992, 109). As such, oral performances were political devices as well as collective 'identity machines'.

The similarities to Post-classic Mixtec village-state culture are apparent and it is interesting to see that in both of these cultures oral performance had such an important role. Given the example above, one might assume that in a village-state culture such as the Post-classic Mixtec one, ritualized performances helped bringing different communities of different village-states closer to each other. In a reciprocal system, it was much more beneficial for all parties involved to emphasize communal identities (through oral performance), rather than underlining 'otherness' between each other. Ritualized performances of codices, as well as musical behaviour involved in such performance and in other communal rituals, could be perfect devices in emphasizing this communality. This becomes even more likely if we take in mind that codices were easily to transport and, because of their pictographic nature, permitted the communication of narratives and ideas in multi-linguistic contexts (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 512).

In some auditive scenes discussed in the micro-level analyses, the codices themselves even explicatively hint at the importance of performative and musical behaviour in communal and intraregional context. It should be taken in mind though, that even in auditive scenes in which rituals are not specifically depicting a communal nature, they most likely still were. Rituals concerning for example inaugurations, weddings and funerals, were probably not conducted in private spheres. Rather, they were 'state rituals' that largely dependent on the participation of community members. Just like oral performances of codices, these rituals thus contributed to the establishment and maintenance of social identity. The micro-level analysis of this thesis has shown that musical behaviour in such rituals (i.e. inaugurations, weddings, funerals etc.) was of considerable importance.

## CHAPTER VI

### Conclusions

Musical behaviour and archaeological research do not always go hand in hand. Indeed, since archaeology particularly deals with materiality, immaterial aspects of the past - such as musical behaviour - are hard to grasp and (potentially as a result thereof) often underestimated and overlooked by archaeologists. Indeed, as Watson states, *“it is only recently that archaeologists have begun to consider the role of sound in prehistory”* (Watson 2001, 179). However, the fact that musical behaviour is ‘immaterial’ does not mean that its role in past societies should be disregarded. On the contrary, as captured in the words of Brown, *“music is a functional object whose universal persistence over time and place has resulted from its contribution to the operations of societies”* (Brown 2006, 2). As such, this thesis has argued that musical behaviour can greatly influence societies, especially with regard to the formations and maintenance of socio-cultural and political identities. It has done so by analysing five pre-colonial Mixtec codices using an adapted form of a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

CDA aims to unite three levels of analysis: a text, the discursive practice (writing, speaking, reading and listening) through which the text is conveyed, and the larger social context it appertains to (Blommert & Bulcaen 2000; Fairclough 1992; Hucking 1997). In the present thesis CDA has proven to be a useful tool in research on Mixtec codices. The main aim of this thesis was to get a better understanding of musical behaviour in pre-colonial Mixtec society in a most comprehensive way as possible. Mixtec codices provide excellent means for this, since the stories in these manuscripts not only tell about individual actions and events in a certain time period, but also include important information about how these events related to a wider, socio-cultural context (see for example Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2007a; 2011). Indeed, the auditive scenes in these codices offer the opportunity to analyse specific characteristics of musical behaviour in pre-colonial Mixtec society and relate these to the broader contexts they were situated in.

## 1. Research questions

In line with the three-step analytical model of CDA, the present thesis started off with an outline of three sub-questions. The first of these sub-questions entailed an analysis looking into the micro-level function of musical behaviour, particularly questioning what the function of such micro-level entails in the auditive scenes of pre-colonial Mixtec codices. From the micro-level analysis, which focuses on the 'textual' aspects of the codices, it became apparent that auditive scenes in Mixtec codices contain valuable information for the study on the role of musical behaviour in pre-colonial Mixtec society and, more generally, Mesoamerica as a whole. Firstly, these auditive scenes show that the concepts of sound and musical behaviour were interrelated with non-human elements of life, such as the natural environments, the ancestors and deities. The codices show that these different 'musical agents' probably had a significant place in the worldview of the Mixtec people. Toponyms such as *Mountain of the Speaking/Singing Ancestor* capture the interrelationship of sonic elements with ancestors and deities, whereas sound volutes - for example depicted as part of a sunset - display the sonic properties of the natural environment. Moreover, it seems plausible that phenomena such as war were metaphorically associated with sonic events and were represented as natural elements such as heavy weather.

Secondly, the micro-analysis of this thesis focused on the social functions of musical behaviour in pre-colonial Mixtec societies. The present thesis has argued that the social functions of musical behaviour are universal. In addition, it has argued that the context in which musical behaviour in codices appears is of vital importance in order to understand the social significance of musical behaviour and should therefore be taken into account. In addition to signalling that musical behaviour *is* going on in auditive scenes, the method in this thesis has gone beyond such a mere identification and has also questioned *why* there is musical behaviour going on. This context-based approach to auditive scenes in codices aims to better incorporate the role of

musical behaviour in past society. As such, the analyses of auditive scenes in Mixtec codices have led to the following conclusions:

1. The contexts in which musical behaviour in Mixtec codices appears are (i) inaugurations and processions, (ii) religious duties, (iii) hallucinogenic rituals, (iv) wedding scenes, (v) funerary rituals, and (vi) dance rituals (mainly as part of one of the other contexts). The number and variety of different contexts in which musical behaviour is depicted, demonstrates the importance musical behaviour had in pre-colonial Mixtec worldview and is reflected in the textual level of Mixtec codices.

2. Musical behaviour presumably was an important instrument for Mixtec rulers to identify and relate themselves and their society to past times (e.g. the ancestors) and the 'the divine' (e.g. deities). In all of the different contexts mentioned above this function of musical behaviour is apparent. Some typical examples include, first, the foundation ritual on pages 76-80 of the *Codex Tonindeye* (Codex Zouche-Nuttall), in which Lord 8 Deer offers a golden bell to the God of the Sun as a request for prosperity and high status (see fig. 19). Second, the wedding scene on page 7 of the *Codex Añute* (Codex Selden), in which the wedding couple and several ancestors and deities are all involved in a circle dance involving slit-drum music (see fig. 16). Third, the hallucinogenic ritual on page 28 of the *Codex Yuta Tnoho* (Codex Vindobonensis), in which musical behaviour appears in combination with the eating of mushrooms. The participants of the ritual are in trance, contacting the otherworld, and have a vision dealing with the foundation of settlements, and the village-states (see fig. 18)

3. The identification and relation of rulers to past times and the divine probably had a legitimizing function. In this legitimation process, musical behaviour played a role in establishing and maintaining identities on a personal, local, regional and intra-regional level. Indeed, musical behaviour and performance were amongst other things used to recall historical events and transmit cultural knowledge. As such it had a knowledge-bearing as well as an identity-confirming function. As the auditive scenes in codices exemplify, this function of musical behaviour is particularly apparent in rites

of passage such as 'state-run processions' (during foundations), funeral rituals, and wedding ceremonies.

Subsequently, the thesis looked into the question what the meso-level function of auditive scenes in relation to oral performances of pre-colonial Mixtec codices is. From the meso-level analysis of this thesis, it has been argued that codices were interrelated with oral performances. As such, the pictographs in codices could be seen as signal references that needed to be interpreted by an oral performer during his/her recitation of the story. What is observed in this thesis is that the appearances of auditive scenes in codices regularly coincide with dramatic events in the storyline of the codices, such as weddings scenes, funerary scenes and inaugurations/foundations. In oral performance, dramatization is a vital instrument for the performer(s) to draw the participants in the storyline. Important events in a storyline can be reinforced by an oral performer using particular techniques and narrative mnemonic patterns such as musical behaviour, hand gestures and dance. Taking this in mind, the present thesis has argued that there is a strong interrelationship between auditive pictographs in codices and the actual performance of the codices. More specifically, this thesis has argued that auditive scenes in codices could be seen as signal references for dramatization. In other words, these scenes reminded the oral performer to dramatize the storyline. On the other hand, care should be taken not to generally apply this hypothesis to all auditive scenes in Mixtec codices. Whereas in some instances this hypothesis indeed seems to be valid - such as in the story of Lord 4 Wind in the Codex *Codex Ñuu Tnoo-Ndisi Nuú* (Codex Bodley (see chapter V, section 2) - in other instances it might not work. Nonetheless, this option should always be considered when looking at the role of auditive scenes in Mixtec codices.

Lastly, this thesis looked into the question how the socio-cultural context in Mixtec societies was influenced by the interplay between the micro- and the meso-level in relation to musical behaviour. The macro-level analysis of this thesis argued that the socio-cultural context in which Mixtec codices were

situated largely influenced both the micro-level contents, as well as the meso-level use of codices. Codices were produced in a village-state culture, in which every village-state was independently governed by a small aristocracy, or ruling couple. Since geographical and economic conditions did not allow one village-state to create hegemony, all these independent village-states benefited from proper social relationships with each other that were based on reciprocal structures. This demand for social relationships amongst other things entailed that independent village-states favoured the establishment and maintenance of a corporate identity that transcended the borders of their self-contained village-states. Codices were very suitable devices to achieve these goals. The contents of the codices were managed by the aristocracy and as such amongst other things pointed towards the histories of village-states and the lives and deeds of important rulers in these village-states. In other words, codices were written forms of *dynastic legitimation*, used to create corporate identities within and between different village-states. Through oral performances and community rituals alike, this identity forming was carried out in optima forma. Ritualized performances of codices, as well as musical behaviours involved in such performances, perfectly created and emphasized communality. In other words, musical behaviour in the socio-cultural context of Mixtec village states played an important role in establishing and maintaining social identities and homogenizing social behaviour within and between different Mixtec communities. As such, the socio-cultural context and the 'textual' level were simultaneously shaping each other, respectively through the constitution of codices or the performance of them, thereby standing in a reciprocal - or circular - relationship. In other words, the importance of musical behaviour in Mixtec society was not only reflected in Mixtec codices, but was – through (oral) performances - also of major importance in creating and shaping Mixtec worldview and identity.

## **2. General discussion and recommendations**

Through colourful and vivid pictorial scenes, pre-colonial Mixtec codices provide a unique window into ancient Mixtec concepts of time, history,



drama, worldview and memory. The information contained in these manuscripts can be of major importance for enhancing a better understanding of social, political and ideological dynamics in pre-colonial Mixtec village-states. Indeed, the pictographic scenes in these codices provide many details about the historiography of Mixtec village-states pointing towards the lives and deeds of Mixtec rulers (Jansen & Pérez Jiménez 2011, 503-529).

As the present thesis has shown, these historiographies contain many references to musical behaviour and performance which, as outlined in the foregoing, can tell much about the functions, contexts and concepts of musical behaviour in pre-colonial Mixtec societies. However, as this thesis has also shown, Mixtec codices were more than just records of the past, but were multifaceted and active agents in the dissemination of the stories they contained. As such, codices played an important role in the formation of socio-cultural and political identities in Mixtec societies. Given this pivotal discursive function, there exists a need - or at least, a window of opportunity - for scholars in this field of research to broaden the view on these manuscripts and to look at them as oral devices. As a first attempt of doing so, this thesis has aimed to provide a comprehensive and all-encompassing analysis of the codices concerned, both on a zoomed-in, detailed level, and on a broader contextual level - also incorporating discursive practice elements. This approach takes into account that pre-colonial Mixtec discourse differed from 'Western discourse' in the way they were utilised, and as such avoids a too 'bookish' approach to Mixtec codices *"in which Western modes of seeing and thinking are so powerful that any attempt at viewing "other" visual modes will simply produce projections of Western desires"* (Hamann 2004, 121).

Indeed, by applying a too bookish approach to codices, one might get stuck in an increasingly narrowing fish trap that obstructs a comprehensive view on codices. In order to avoid this trap, one could reflect on what it actually meant to be part of a society which relied so heavily on oral performance (of codices) and on living voice. What were the meso and macro level contexts in

which Mixtec codices were situated? To what extent can a mutually reciprocal relationship between the socio-cultural context and the 'textual' codices be discerned? By structurally examining such questions, academics can properly discern the importance of sound and performance in Mixtec society and can simultaneously draw conclusions in relation to Mesoamerica as a whole. As such, our understanding of pre-colonial Mixtec worldview can be deepened through new avenues of conducting analytical research, via which we can avoid getting stuck in the aforementioned fish trap.

On the other hand, this by no means entails that a zoomed-in, detailed analysis is no longer vital for understanding the contents of Mixtec codices. Indeed, it remains of major importance for understanding these manuscripts as a whole and a research about the broader functions of Mixtec codices is impossible without understanding the contents of these manuscripts. As such, by means of a CDA, this thesis has attempted to take arguably important steps towards a better understanding of the intrinsic and interwoven functions, concepts and contexts of musical behaviour in pre-colonial Mixtec society. Although the Critical Discourse Analysis used in this thesis might demand some tuning and (re)structuring, it succeeded in its main purpose: uniting Mixtec pictographic scenes with the oral performances and broader social context they were recorded for.

On a more conceptual level this thesis research has been conducted from the point of view that present archaeological research often has had little regard to immaterial aspects of the past and the importance of such immateriality on the formation and worldviews of past societies. As this thesis has emphasized, immaterial aspects – and more specifically, musical behaviour – of societies can tell much about cultural identities of the past. By means of a case study on Mixtec codices this thesis attempted to show that research on musical behaviour of the past can gain interesting insights about the worldview of ancient societies. However, it could be suggested that due to the status quo mentioned above, archaeologists have not only developed a blind spot concerning musical behaviour in the past in general, but also tend to

miss the broader sociocultural implications musical behaviour might have regarding important issues such as identity, politics and economy in past societies. This not only calls for empirical research that further explores the bi-directional relationships between materiality and immateriality but also encourages archaeologists to open their (material-oriented) minds to ideas concerning the importance of immateriality in cultural processes of the past. As this thesis has shown, the field of music archaeology offers a good opportunity for archaeological scholars to cooperate with research disciplines such as musicology, sociology and ethnography, and to combine their respective analytical approaches such as discourse analysis with more traditional archaeological research. Only by genuine cooperation a clear, all-encompassing and full-fledged understanding of the deeper link between musical behaviour and past cultural processes can be realized in future research. With codices being increasingly available and scholars starting to cross boundaries into different disciplines, the way is slowly but steadily being paved towards new insights and unexplored terrains in the field of Mixtec-related research. Hopefully, such paving will not only enhance scholarly endeavours, but will also benefit members of present-day Mixtec societies to explore their own past, present, and future. The contemporary study of past codices can consequently contribute to future identity-(re)forming in Mixtec societies, and as such these manuscripts can cast long shadows way beyond their initial context-shaping reach into present-day reality.

## Abstract

Pre-colonial Mixtec codices vividly and colourfully tell about the history and religion of Mixtec polities and have, since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, attracted the interest of many scholars. Indeed, these historical narratives provide a unique window into ancient Mesoamerican concepts of time, history, drama, worldview and memory. Incorporated in these codices are numerous *auditive scenes*: events in the story line in which *musical behaviour* plays an important role. The present thesis examines these scenes, aiming to get a more comprehensive and arguably more full-fledged understanding of musical behaviour in pre-colonial Mixtec society. Since musical behaviour plays an important role in the formation of personal as well as social identities, research into musical behaviour of past cultures can contribute significantly to the knowledge about the worldviews of these cultures. Mixtec codices provide excellent means for this, since the stories in these manuscripts not only tell about individual actions and events in a certain time period, but also include important information about how these events related to a wider, socio-cultural context. By means of a novel, comprehensive approach, consisting of an adapted variant of the Critical Discourse Analysis methodology, this thesis analyses auditive scenes from five Mixtec codices: the Codex Bodley, Codex Colombino-Becker I, Codex Selden, Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus I & Codex Zouche-Nuttall. As such, this thesis examines the role of musical behaviour contained in auditive scenes of pre-colonial Mixtec codices on the levels of the text, their conveyance and their socio-cultural context. The results of these analyses show that musical behaviour played an important role in codices at a variety of levels. Indeed, this thesis shows that, on the basis of a bi-directional relationship, textual analyses of auditive scenes in Mixtec codices can provide important tools for understanding the role musical behaviour played *vis-à-vis* socio-cultural and ideological dynamics. The oral performance (discursive practice) through which the codices' stories were reproduced, distributed and consumed was the binding element between the codices' text and the socio-cultural context. On the basis of these findings, recommendations for further research are provided.

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## List of figures and tables

<b>Cover image:</b> Cut out of Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus I, page 20	cp
<b>Figure 1:</b> Map showing different cultural areas of Mesoamerica (Joyce 2003, 2)	13
<b>Figure 2:</b> Codex Zouche-Nuttall ( <a href="http://www.mesolore.org/">http://www.mesolore.org/</a> , accessed 8 December 2014)	14
<b>Figure 3:</b> Schematic depiction of three-levelled critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1992, 73)	18
<b>Figure 4:</b> Schematic depiction of a Critical Discourse Analysis as adapted in this thesis	19
<b>Figure 5:</b> Ceramic flute representing a Maya god, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim (Both 2011, 27)	26
<b>Figure 6:</b> Hierarchical representation of musical semantics (Brown 2006, 15)	38
<b>Figure 7:</b> Procession in honour of the inauguration of Lord 4 Wind (Codex Bodley, 31-32)	52
<b>Figure 8:</b> Small procession in honour of Lord 8 Deer (Codex Bodley, 9-10)	52
<b>Figure 9:</b> Inauguration ritual of Lord 8 Wind in Suchixtlan (Codex Zouche-Nuttall, 2)	53
<b>Figure 10:</b> Inauguration ritual of Lady 3 Flint 'Jade Quechquemitl' (Codex Zouche-Nuttall, 17)	54
<b>Figure 11:</b> Shell horn salutations as part of inaugurations (Codex Vindobonensis, 20 & 18)	55
<b>Figure 12:</b> Religious duties of Lord 5 Alligator (Codex Bodley, 7-8)	56
<b>Figure 13:</b> Religious duties of half-brothers Lord 1 Lizard and Lord 8 Grass (Codex Bodley, 13-14)	56

<b>Figure 14:</b> Example of wedding scene (Codex Selden, 2)	57
<b>Figure 15:</b> Wedding scene of Lady 3 Flint and Lord 12 Wind (Codex Zouche-Nuttall, 19a-19b)	59
<b>Figure 16:</b> Wedding scene of Lady 6 Monkey and Lord 11 Wind (Codex Selden, 6-7)	58
<b>Figure 17:</b> Funerary ritual of Lord 12 Movement (Codex Colombino-Becker I, 6-9)	60
<b>Figure 18:</b> Hallucinogenic ritual of eight Primordial Lords and Ladies (Codex Vindobonensis, 24)	62
<b>Figure 19:</b> The journey of Lord 8 Deer (Codex Zouche-Nuttall 78-79; <a href="http://www.famsi.org">www.famsi.org</a> , accessed 5 April)	63
<b>Figure 20:</b> Several types of offerings of musical instruments (Codex Vindobonensis 32, 28 & 26)	63
<b>Figure 21:</b> Offering ceremony for the foundation of the town of Añute (Codex Selden, 1)	66
<b>Figure 22:</b> Lord 10 Reed making gestures and speaking/singing to A series of offerings (Codex Selden, 3)	67
<b>Figure 23:</b> Lord 2 Dog making offerings as part of an ear perforation ritual (Codex Vindobonensis, 30)	67
<b>Figure 24:</b> Ceremonial speech or paragon (Codex Vindobonensis, 52)	68
<b>Figure 25:</b> Singing priests remembering the life of Lord 4 Wind (Codex Bodley, 28)	69
<b>Figure 26:</b> Lord 2 Rain receiving instructions for a hallucinogenic ritual in which he dies (Codex Bodley, 5)	69
<b>Figure 27:</b> Lord 5 Alligator receiving instructions (Codex Zouche-Nuttall, 25)	70
<b>Figure 28:</b> Naming ceremony of Lady 6 Monkey (Codex Selden, 8)	70

<b>Figure 29:</b> War against the Stone Men, including funerary ritual (Codex Nuttall, 4)	72
<b>Figure 30:</b> Funerary ritual after war against the Stone Men (Codex Zouche-Nuttall, 20)	72
<b>Figure 31:</b> Sound volutes in anthropomorphic contexts (Codex Nuttall, 44 & 21)	73
<b>Figure 32:</b> Depiction of the First Sunrise (Codex Vindobonensis, 32)	74
<b>Figure 33:</b> Lord holding combined sound volutes (Codex Vindobonensis, 20)	75
<b>Figure 34:</b> Cut out of dancing ritual depicting several Lords Dressed as gods of Rain (Codex Vindobonensis, 26)	76
<b>Figure 35:</b> Various toponyms including musical behaviour (Codex Zouche-Nuttall 73 & 77 – <a href="http://www.famsi.org">www.famsi.org</a> , accessed 5 April 2015; Codex Vindobonensis 45 & 27; Codex Selden, 3)	78
<b>Figure 36:</b> Two musicians depicted in the centre of a setting sun (Codex Borgia, 39)	84
<b>Figure 37:</b> Procession and performances (Codex Bodley, 31 & 32)	86
<b>Figure 38:</b> Mural painting (Structure 1) of procession in Bonampak ( <a href="http://fromatob.org">http://fromatob.org</a> , accessed 15 January 2015)	87
<b>Figure 39:</b> Inauguration of communities in ‘the North’ (Codex Vindobonensis, 20)	88
<b>Figure 40:</b> Paragón in the context of an inauguration ritual (Codex Vindobonensis, 52)	89
<b>Figure 41:</b> Ceremonial welcome for Lord 5 Alligator (Codex Bodley, 8)	91
<b>Figure 42:</b> Lord 8 Grass honouring Lord 4 Grass by playing a slit drum (Codex Bodley, 13)	92

<b>Figure 43:</b> Lord 12 Wind carrying a rattle stick (Codex Nuttall, 19a)	92
<b>Figure 44:</b> Circle dance during wedding of Lady 6 Monkey and Lord 11 Wind (Codex Selden, 7)	93
<b>Figure 45:</b> Part of musical ensemble at Lord 12 Movement's funerary ritual (Codex Colombino-Becker 1, 8)	94
<b>Figure 46:</b> Funerary rituals of war victims (Codex Zouche Nuttall, 20 & 4)	95
<b>Figure 47:</b> Priests remembering the life of Lord 4 Wind (Codex Bodley, 28)	96
<b>Figure 48:</b> Lord 9 Wind playing a notched bone (Codex Vindobonensis, 24)	97
<b>Figure 49:</b> Mosaic skull from Monte Albán ( <a href="http://commons.wikimedia.org/">http://commons.wikimedia.org/</a> , accessed 8 April 2015)	97
<b>Figure 50:</b> Lord 5 Alligator (right) receives instructions from three priests (Codex Zouche-Nuttall, 25)	97
<b>Figure 51:</b> Part of harvest ritual (Codex Vindobonensis, 26)	98
<b>Figure 52:</b> Killing of Lord 12 Movement (Codex Zouche-Nuttall, 81; <a href="http://www.famsi.org">www.famsi.org</a> , accessed 5 April 2015)	102
<b>Figure 53:</b> Interrelation between micro-, meso- and macro-level of Mixtec codices	103
<hr/>	
<b>Table 1:</b> Overview of different toponyms including musical behaviour	79